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Growth and Decline of Evangelicals, Fundamentalists, Pentecostals, and Charismatics in Switzerland 1970–2013

JÖRG STOLZ
Institute of Social Sciences of Religions
University of Lausanne

OLIVIER FAVRE
Institute of Social Sciences of Religions
University of Lausanne

This article describes and explains patterns of growth and decline undergone by evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal/Charismatic (EFPC) denominations in Switzerland from 1970 to 2013. We combine data from different censuses, membership registers of denominations, and a National Congregation Study (NCS) to establish and explain patterns of growth and decline. Our main results are that (1) the overall EFPC milieu has grown since the 1970s; (2) the growth is predominantly caused by a rather strong increase in membership of Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations. In contrast, evangelical denominations are overall rather stable, while fundamentalists seem to be in decline; (3) EFPC growth is not related to deprivation orientation, strictness, or socialization efforts, but to recruitment focus and spontaneity of ritual. We discuss these findings in the light of different theories.

Keywords: *evangelicals, fundamentalists, Pentecostals, Charismatics, Switzerland.*

INTRODUCTION

One counterexample to secularization theories is the alleged "success" of the evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal/Charismatic milieu (in short "EFPC milieu") (Casanova 2001:434 ff; Hutchinson 2015; Kay and Dyer 2011; Moberg and Skjoldli 2018). Important literature has charted the trends of EFPC denominations in various regions of the world, especially in the United States and South American countries (Chaves 2011; Gooren 2015; Pew 2011; Smith 1998). Starting with Kelley's ([1972] 1986) influential book on "why conservative religions are growing," scholars have debated in depth just why it is that EFPC denominations seem to have more success in terms of growth than mainline denominations. Kelley's initial intuition was that a religion could only grow if it gave powerful answers to religious questions. This in turn was only possible, he argued, if the group had "social strength" and was "strict." Later, Iannaccone (1994) developed this idea in a predominantly economic framework, which led to a major debate on the link between strictness and EFPC growth. But other scholars have argued that various alternative mechanisms might explain EFPC success, among them deprivation orientation, ritual attractiveness, socialization, and recruitment orientation (Hunt 2002a; Perrin and Mauss 1993; Pollack and Rosta 2017; Poloma and Pendleton 1989).

While there has been much literature on the EFPC milieu in the United States and South American countries, scholarly work on the quantitative development of EFPC groups and the

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Correspondence should be addressed to Jörg Stolz, Professor of Sociology of Religion, ISSR, University of Lausanne, 1015 Lausanne, Switzerland. E-mail: joerg.stolz@unil.ch

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factors determining growth and decline in European countries is relatively rare (see, however, Fath 2005; Kay and Dyer 2011; Ketola 2007; Pollack and Rosta 2017). The reason for this is that EFPC groups are hardly ever among the "established" groups in European countries, leading to a lack of official statistics on the phenomenon that would permit the charting of trends. Furthermore, since EFPC groups in Europe are normally small, "representative" surveys do not capture enough individuals from the EFPC milieu to permit statistical analysis.

This lack of research is unfortunate for several reasons. For one, the importance of the development of EFPC groups for the secularization paradigm can only be judged if their development is also analyzed in the very secularized European context. For another, knowledge of the extent and the causes of the development of EFPC are interesting in their own right, since it seems to be one of the main motors of religious vitality in the West (Pollack and Rosta 2017).

In this article, we set out to fill this gap in the literature at least for one European country—Switzerland. Our goal is to combine and triangulate a variety of data sources, allowing us to describe how the largest EFPC groups in Switzerland have evolved from 1970 to 2013, and to test a certain number of well-known theories that try to account for the growth or decline of such groups. We use data from the membership registers of denominations and the National Congregation Study (NCS) data, as well as the Swiss census, to establish the patterns of growth and decline of EFPC denominations in the last few decades. Furthermore, we draw on NCS data to test a number of theories that try to account for these findings.

We limit our study to members of nonestablished, Protestant denominations that can be described as evangelical, fundamentalist, or Pentecostal/Charismatic. This is noteworthy as other individuals may also be seen—or may see themselves—as belonging to the EFPC milieu; well-known examples are evangelicals in established Reformed churches or charismatic Catholics.

Switzerland is a European country with an important evangelical history, home of Jean Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, Konrad Grebel, and Jakob Amman. The roots of the current Swiss EFPC milieu are to be found, as for most European countries, in the continental precursor groups (i.e., Anabaptism, Pietism, the Swiss Revival of the 19th century), in influences from the Anglo-Saxon world (e.g., Methodism, the Great Awakenings, the Billy Graham crusades, and missionary movements like Campus for Christ and Youth with a Mission), as well as in EFPC groups coming to Switzerland through immigration since the 1960s, especially from South America, Africa, and Asia (see Elwert and Radermacher 2017).

Our main results are that: (1) the overall EFPC milieu has grown since the 1970s from 23,677 (1970) to 100,666 (2012–2016) individuals. This represents an increase from .5 percent to 1.5 percent of the population. This growth is remarkable when compared to the large losses of mainline Protestants, whose membership has decreased from 2,290,649 (1970) to 1,746,623 (2012/2016), or in percentages from 47.7 percent to 25.6 percent of the population.[1] (2) The growth is mainly caused by a rather strong increase in membership of Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations. In contrast, evangelical denominations are overall rather stable, while fundamentalists seem to be in decline; (3) EFPC growth is not related to deprivation orientation or strictness, but to spontaneity of ritual, recruitment focus, and socialization efforts. The contribution of our article lies in providing the first quantitative description and explanation of EPFC growth and decline in a European country based on a triangulation of different data types.

The plan of our article is as follows. In the next section, we review a number of theories that try to explain the growth and decline of religious groups, especially EPFC groups. The following section presents the different data sets and methods that we used. The later section shows the descriptive and explanatory results. We conclude in the final section with a discussion.

[1] We use the harmonized OFS census data for these percentages. See the Appendix.

Theory

Defining Evangelicals, Fundamentalists, Pentecostals, and Charismatics

Various definitions of the terms "Evangelical," "Fundamentalist," "Pentecostal," and "Charismatic" have been proposed, and anyone acquainted with the literature knows that proposing such definitions is not an easy task (Bebbington 1989; Marsden 1991; Rosson and Fields 2008). The diversity of the movements and their fluidity over time is such that terms that attempt to categorize these movements according to a small number of types must necessarily seem crude and will always create "borderline cases." A related point is that the way that such groups are defined influences the size that they will have, and that arguments about the size in number of, say, "Evangelicals" in a country are only useful once a common definition has already been chosen (Hackett and Lindsay 2008).

For our practical purposes, we define evangelicals as Christians who believe in (1) the importance of personal conversion; (2) the salvation of man through the redemptive death on the cross of Jesus Christ; (3) the belief that the Bible should be interpreted factually and not symbolically or historically critically, and that it contains the absolute truth about the work of God; (4) that Christians should evangelize. Fundamentalists are Christians who show all four of the elements mentioned for evangelicals, but they also add a special insistence on a literal interpretation of the Bible and on a very strong separation from the world. Pentecostals/Charismatics again show all four points mentioned for evangelicals, but they add a strong focus on literal interpretation of the Bible and the belief in the importance of the gifts of the spirit such as speaking in tongues, healing, prophecy, and discernment of the spirits. These definitions show a large body of shared points, which is why it seems sensible to speak of an EFPC milieu.

Congregations and denominations can also be classified as evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal/Charismatic according to these criteria, and we have done so with existing EFPC groups in Switzerland (see the Appendix).[2]

Mechanisms of Growth and Decline

Scholars have suggested a wide variety of mechanisms that might explain why EFPC groups have shown more growth and less decline than mainline Christian groups since the 1970s. We briefly review the most important mechanisms mentioned in the literature.

- *Deprivation*. An important strand of thought has argued that, with their emphasis on healing, signs/wonders, and exorcism, Pentecostal and Charismatic churches are growing because they are attractive to people who are in some way deprived (Hollenweger [1972] 1988; Hunt 2002a, 2002b; Robbins 2004:123). For such people, Pentecostals/Charismatics (1) provide a symbolic toolbox that helps them interpret and manage the situations of deprivation; (2) offer promises of immediate and future gains concerning health, wealth, and happiness; (3) provide a sense of religious and social worth and identity; (4) produce very practical benefits for the life of the believer, such as comfort, normative guidance, structuring of time, and interpersonal help. All of this can be obtained if the individual submits to the Pentecostal/Charismatic rules, even if the individual does not have any educational or financial resources at her disposal.

[2]We combine Pentecostal and Charismatic groups in one category for practical reasons. There are groups that put a lot of emphasis on both the literal interpretation of the Bible and the gifts of the spirit—but that would not want call themselves Pentecostal. They can, however, be nicely put into a conflated Pentecostal/Charismatic category. Historically, the Pentecostal movement preceded and has influenced the Charismatic movement.

- *Strictness*. Inspired by Kelley ([1972] 1986), a number of authors have suggested that EFPC groups have an edge over their mainline competitors due to their higher level of strictness (Ferguson 2014; Iannaccone 1994; Olson and Perl, 2001, 2005; Thomas and Olson 2010). The definition of strictness and the exact formulation of the mechanism vary between different authors, but the overall idea is as follows: the *strictness* of a group is the extent to which it is able to impose norms and make demands *vis-à-vis* its leaders and members. In strict groups, it is clear what members must and must not believe, and what behavior is expected as well as forbidden. Such strictness, it is argued, makes the "religious product" more attractive and its religious function more powerful. According to Kelley ([1972] 1986), strict religious groups are better at fulfilling their religious function of giving answers to ultimate questions than lax groups, since their answers are more clear-cut and the higher demands lead members to take both their membership and the religious message more seriously. More specifically, according to Kelley, strictness (absolutism, conformity, and fanaticism) leads a given church to have social strength (a high level of commitment, discipline, and missionary zeal); both strictness and social strength allow the church to give powerful religious answers to members' existential questions. According to Iannaccone (1994), who builds on Kelley's work but frames the argument in an economic perspective, strictness makes religious groups stronger because it screens out potential or actual members who have a low level of commitment. On this account, such members, or free riders, weaken the group and deplete the benefits for all members. Excluding free riders allows strict groups to increase benefits for members, thus making group membership more attractive to potential newcomers.[3]
- *Ritual attractiveness*. According to this position, EFPC groups are successful insofar as they produce more attractive rituals than their mainline competitors (Poloma and Pendleton 1989). Especially Pentecostal and Charismatic groups are known for their extremely emotional, experiential, and eventful religious services (Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose 1996:179; Robbins 2004:125). Robbins (2009:58 ff.) sees the central reason for the worldwide proliferation of the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement as lying in its ability to create successful "interaction rituals." In Pentecostal and Charismatic rituals, members do not just hear about what Jesus did 2,000 years ago; they may actually see what he did with their own eyes, and possibly be filled with the spirit or healed in their own body. Going to such a service, members may well "expect a miracle" (Roberts 1995). Similarly, evangelical groups have been noted to be strong in packaging their often conservative message in very modern and attractive forms. Often using modern marketing and business techniques, they succeed in making the ritual entertaining, emotional, and meaningful to the individual participant (Wellman, Corcoran, and Stockly-Meyerdirk 2014). Fundamentalists, however, have fewer spontaneous/emotional rituals and, if this theory is true, should show less growth (Robbins 2009:63).
- *Recruitment*. Another approach holds recruitment effort by religious groups to be important (Gooren 2015). The central idea is simply that groups that actively try to recruit new members have a higher probability of actually doing so. EFPC groups see it as the personal responsibility of every member to evangelize and testify explicitly or implicitly, and members who actually succeed in bringing more people to Jesus enjoy a high level of prestige (Stolz et al. 2012; Robbins 2004). But it is not just the ideology that is geared to recruitment—EFPC churches as organizations also pursue a variety of specific strategies to promote recruitment and growth.

[3] As Iannaccone (1994:1,202) notes, there must be an optimal level of strictness, as extreme strictness will prove so costly for members that many will eventually drop out and new converts will be scared away. On this point, see Ferguson (2014). On the Iannaccone paper, see also Marwell (1996) and the reply by Iannaccone (1996). A close relative of strictness theory is the subcultural identity thesis put forward by Smith (1998); this thesis has not been tested in this article.

- *Socialization and retention*. A further argument is that EFPC groups grow faster than their mainline competitors because they are better able to hold on to the offspring of their members through socialization (Stolz and Favre 2005; Bibby 1978; Bouma 2008). EFPC groups place great emphasis on the family and on members transmitting the faith to their offspring. They may be helped in their socialization efforts by the fact that conservative, exclusivist religion is less diffuse and thus more easily transmitted than liberal, tolerant religion (Bruce 2002b:178). Another element conducive to efficient religious socialization lies in the strong boundaries of EFPC groups, which help to keep children in a social environment that reinforces EFPC beliefs and practices.
- *Immigration*. Obviously, religious groups can also grow through immigration (Bouma 2008). We know that Pentecostalism and Charismatic Christianity have been extremely successful in South America, Africa, and to a certain extent also in Asia (Pew 2011). It is therefore possible that some of the growth of the EFPC milieu—especially among the Pentecostal/Charismatic groups—can be explained by the fact that migrants from these areas of the world are often Pentecostals/Charismatics.

The empirical research using these different approaches is very unevenly distributed. A large number of studies have tested the strictness approach (with mixed results). Deprivation accounts have also been tested quite frequently, and seem to explain the emergence of classical Pentecostalism better than the success of the Charismatic movement; and they are stronger when explaining differences, say, between Europe and Africa than when explaining differences within Europe (Bruce 2002a:181; Hunt 2002b). In comparison, approaches that highlight ritual attractiveness, recruitment focus, socialization/retention, and immigration have received less attention from empirical studies.

The theories here presented will be tested with NCS data in the second half of our results section. Before we come to this step, however, we have to present our data and method.

Data and Method

Individual Census Data

One way to measure the development of the EFPC milieu is to look at census data. In Switzerland, a census has been conducted every 10 years throughout the 20th century, up to 2000 (Bovay 2004). In 2010, the census was replaced by a very large "structural survey" and by a series of smaller thematic surveys (Flaugergues de 2016).[4] With these censuses and structural and thematic surveys, it is possible to estimate the growth in the number of official members aged 15+ of the EFPC milieu in Switzerland since the 1970s.

There are issues with these data, though: (1) the wording of the questions has changed over the decades, possibly creating bias and making comparisons over time more difficult (Stolz et al. 2009:7). To harmonize the data, we therefore have to make certain corrections based on assumptions (for this, see the Appendix). (2) A certain number of members of EFPC churches have a double membership and are also members of an established church.[5] Since the census/survey did not allow for double membership, these individuals had to decide on which of

[4]https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/enquetes/se.htm. Accessed March 29, 2018).

[5]Favre (2006:268) finds that 29.9 percent of evangelicals are also members of an established Christian church. A total of 93.8 percent of these are also members of the Reformed Church, while the remaining 6.2 percent are also members of the Roman Catholic Church. Double membership is very unevenly distributed among EPFC orientations. It is highest among evangelicals (37.0 percent), lower among Pentecostals/Charismatics (25.5 percent), and very low among fundamentalists (6.0 percent).

the two memberships to mention. (3) EFPC groups in Switzerland are not very well accepted in society and are sometimes seen as "sects" or "cults," which is another reason why individuals might not state their EFPC affiliation.

Bearing these issues in mind, we can nevertheless assert that the census/structural survey data are an important resource that allow valuable insights into the development of the EFPC milieu.

Denominational Statistics

Another type of data stems from the membership registers of EFPC denominations. We have two sources where researchers have compiled such data. Polo (2010) contacted the largest EFPC groups in Switzerland and asked them for their membership statistics from 1970 to 2000; we have updated these data to include the years up to 2013 (henceforth called the Polo data). Data are available for the 17 largest evangelical and Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations in Switzerland. Fundamentalist denominations are not included, since they either did not have member counts or did not want to share them. A second source of membership statistics for denominations is Favre (2006), who gives estimates of the largest EFPC groups in Switzerland for the year 2002 (henceforth called the Favre data). This author limits his estimation to EFPC groups that are linked to denominations and counts members, family, and friends. A third source of membership statistics for denominations is the World Christian Database (henceforth called the WCD data).[6] These data include potentially all EFPC groups in Switzerland. Data points are available for 1970, 2000, 2005, 2010, and 2015. The World Christian Database data are reliable concerning evangelicals, but have certain issues concerning fundamentalists and Pentecostals/Charismatics, with some groups that exist missing, and some groups that are mentioned in the database actually not existing. Also, the number of EFPC congregations is overestimated by about 500.[7]

There are also issues with denominational statistics. (1) The diversity and dynamics of the EFPC milieu is such that it is very difficult to contact the entire field to obtain the relevant information. Independent and immigration congregations are especially difficult to find and contact, and some denominations and congregations (especially independent and fundamentalist) are more likely than others to withhold information (Polo 2010:15). (2) Denominations may overstate the number of their members. There may be a conscious effort to appear larger, or some wishful thinking may be involved. Whatever the cause, it is likely that denominational statistics have an upward bias (Kelley [1972] 1986:14). (3) EFPC denominations have differing ways of defining what a "member" is, and so membership statistics are not always easy to compare between denominations (Kelley [1972] 1986:14). However, as long as the denominations keep their definition of membership stable, membership statistics may permit us to describe growth and decline accurately *within* denominations.

These problems notwithstanding, the membership statistics for denominations remain an indispensable resource to measure EFPC development, especially when trying to gauge differential internal development.

An NCS

The Swiss NCS was modeled on the NCSs conducted in the United States in 1998, 2006, and 2012.[8] In order to create the sampling frame, a census was conducted from September 2008

[6]http://www.worldchristiandatabase.org/wcd/

[7]These assertions are made as a result of systematically cross-checking the different data sets.

[8]For more details about the U.S. NCS, see http://www.soc.duke.edu/natcong.

to September 2009 that counted all local religious groups in Switzerland.[9] This was done by combining all available sources of information, including existing lists of local religious groups produced by churches and religious federations; existing lists (published or not) constructed by scholars; existing lists appearing on institutional websites, directories, or databases; and interviews with informed individuals within the religious milieus. All this information was combined and reviewed to identify local religious congregations. A congregation was retained on the final list only if it appeared on two independent sources of information. From the resulting list of 5,734 congregations from all religions in Switzerland, a random sample of 1,040 religious congregations, stratified to overrepresent religious minorities, was chosen.

For every congregation chosen, one key informant (in most cases the spiritual leader) was interviewed by telephone in 2008–2009 in one of the three national languages. The approximately 250 questions focused on concrete and verifiable congregational practices as well as on the tangible characteristics of the organization for which the respondent could provide reliable information. The response rate was 71.8 percent.[10]

Since the key informants in the NCS data give us an estimation of the size of their congregations, we can estimate the size of the overall EFPC milieu and its submilieus on the basis of these data, and compare these numbers with the results of the other data sets.

Dependent Variables

Our key dependent variables in the NCS data set are two five-point scales indicating whether the number of regular participants had, compared to two and 10 years earlier, grown by more than 10 percent or by 10 percent and less, had remained stable, or had shrunk by 10 percent or by more than 10 percent. This information relates to the period between 1998 and 2008. Note that we are dealing in both cases with an estimate that relies on the subjective judgment of our key informant. Both indicators have pros and cons. The indicator measuring the two-year period is more reliable since the key respondent is more likely to have the necessary knowledge. However, the short time period may not be long enough to pick up a general trend of growth or decline. The indicator measuring the 10-year period, on the other hand, is probably less reliable, but the time period is more likely to pick up relevant trends of growth or decline. We have run models with the indicators separately and with the two indicators combined. The results are very similar. We present those that use a summative index of both variables.

Independent Variables

Our religious tradition variable consists of six dummy variables that distinguish Reformed, Evangelical, Fundamentalist, Pentecostal/Charismatic, Immigration/Other EFPC, Orthodox, and Other Christian. Roman Catholic is the reference category. The categorization of EPFC denominations into four groups, namely, Evangelical, Fundamentalist, Pentecostal/Charismatic, and Immigration/Other EFPC, was effectuated on the basis of our knowledge of the denominations and according to the definitions presented above. The fourth category consists of immigration congregations and the congregations that could not be clearly categorized. Immigration congregations are operationalized as EFPC groups whose primary language during their ritual is not one of the Swiss national languages. We decided to create this fourth group because the reality of immigration groups is sociologically very different from that of autochthonous groups; also, there were some groups that were simply impossible to classify.

[9]The American and Swiss NCSs used different sampling strategies. For more details on sampling in the Swiss case, see Monnot (2013).

[10]This is the RR1 response rate defined by AAPOR (2016).

Deprivation was operationalized with one item measuring the percentage of regular participants with an income of under 25,000 CHF per year. An individual—and even more so, families—with such an income would find themselves below the poverty threshold in Switzerland.

Moral strictness was operationalized with four dichotomous NCS items that asked whether full-fledged members and leaders of the congregation would be allowed to live as one-half of an openly gay or lesbian couple in a committed relationship, or to live with someone as a member of an unmarried cohabiting couple. The four yes/no responses were added to form a scale ranging from 0 (very liberal) to 4 (very strict). A factor analysis shows that these four items lie on one common factor. A reliability analysis gives an alpha of .812. This scale obviously only operationalizes one specific dimension of moral strictness—albeit a dimension that is very central for EFPC groups.

Theological strictness was captured by a dichotomous item that asked (only Christian groups) whether the congregation believed that "the Bible was God's literal and inerrant words" (yes/no).

Recruitment effort was operationalized with three dichotomous items asking whether congregations encouraged members to invite a new person to the congregation's rituals (yes/no), whether the congregation tried to encourage new people to participate in its activities (yes/no), and whether the congregation contacted first-time visitors again by telephone or by visiting them (yes/no). The three items lie on one dimension. The alpha was .650.

Spontaneity of ritual was operationalized by six dichotomous items measuring whether there had at the last ritual been (1) applause, (2) laughter, (3) jumping or shouting by someone, (4) spontaneous gestures by the participants, (5) use of drums, or (6) use of guitars. These six items were added up to form a summative index. The six items lie on one dimension. The alpha was .722.

Socialization efforts were operationalized by five dichotomous variables asking whether there was (1) a religious class for children under 12 that was not organized by the congregation itself but by some higher-level entity (e.g., denomination); (2) a religious class for children under 12 organized by the congregation; (3) a religious class for children aged 13–14; (4) a religious youth group; (5) a youth minister or special person responsible for work with young people. The items were added up to form a summative index. The six items lie on one dimension. The alpha was .723.

The extent to which the group is an immigration congregation was measured by a proxy variable: namely, the language used in services of worship. This variable is "1" if one of the three national languages is used, and "0" otherwise.

The traditional religion of the canton is measured by two dummy variables, where "1" denotes the existence of a Catholic or Reformed tradition in the canton, respectively. If both dummies are "0," this means that the canton has a mixed traditional confession. The canton's confessional traditions were coded according to Pfister (1984).

Religious attendance was operationalized by asking the key informant how many people were associated in any way with the religious life of the congregation, how many people participated regularly in the religious life of the congregation, and how many people were present at the last regular religious celebration. These variables are logged (log 10) in our analyses.

The year of foundation of the local religious group was measured in a straightforward way by asking when the local religious group had been founded officially.

The size of the community in which the congregation is located was measured with an eight-level variable based on Swiss government data, ranging from 1 (fewer than 1,000 inhabitants) to 8 (100,000 or more).

The language region was measured by two dummy variables, with "1" signifying the German-speaking and the French-speaking part of Switzerland, respectively (the Italian-speaking part being the reference category).

Immigration impact was measured by the percentage of the regular participants who originate from non-European countries.

Results

How Many Evangelicals, Fundamentalists, Pentecostals, and Charismatics Are There in Switzerland?

It may be disconcerting to observers who try to understand how many individuals belong to the EFPC milieu in Switzerland that the estimates given in the literature differ wildly. For example, for the period between 2008 and 2010, numbers vary from 75,210 (Polo 2010) to 201,850 (WCD data). How are such large differences possible?

Following the strategies of Hackett and Lindsey (2008), we have systematically compared the methodologies and cross-checked the data of the different researchers for the time points 2000, 2008–2010, and 2012–2016. We come to the conclusion that differences in estimates can be explained by differences of methodology.[11] To be able to compare the results, we have harmonized the data sets and come up with two estimates for 2000, five estimates for 2008–2010, and one estimate for 2012–2016 (Table 1).

Harmonizing the data involved weighting the Polo and the Favre data (these data only take into account congregations affiliated to a denomination) according to the numbers of evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal congregations arrived at in the NCS count of congregations. Since the Polo data set only considers groups that are members of a federation or denomination, it is possible that such weighting may produce biased results if congregations with and without a denomination differ. We have tested this assumption with our NCS data and find no significant differences. We can now compare the different data sets and obtain a rather consistent view of the size of the EFPC milieu (Table 1). Several observations can be made.

1. The size of the EFPC milieu in the first decade of the new millennium ranges from about 100,000 to about 170,000 individuals, depending on whether we count official members, attendees, or regular participants as "members." Thus, the Office fédéral de la statistique (OFS) count of official members in 2000 arrives at 101,634 (1.4 percent), while the NCS estimate in 2008 of regular participants arrives at 172,054 (2.3 percent).
2. The number of members that we arrive at consistently depends on the method that we use. Census data (OFS) produce lower numbers than denominational statistics and NCS data. The two estimates of formal members provided by the census (1.4 percent in 2000, 1.4 percent in 2012–2016) are lower than all other estimates arrived at with denominational statistics or NCS data. The differences may be caused by different mechanisms. For one, EFPC membership is not completely accepted in Swiss society, and individuals may refrain from stating their membership in an official survey. For another, EFPC denominations may strategically or because of biased perception exaggerate their numbers.
3. The number of members that we arrive at also depends consistently on how we define "member." In the EFPC milieu, the count of official members will be the lowest since a person becomes a member only after serious reflection and commitment. Counts that define members as attendees at a specific point in time or regular participants will be higher since many people attend EFPC services without being an official member. Counts that also include family and friends, or individuals with "any link," will naturally be much higher still. This fact is well shown by our data and for both the EFPC milieu in general and the submilieus. Thus, in 2000, we find that the EFPC milieu had a size of 1.4 percent

[11] We have systematically cross-checked all the entries in OFS, Polo, WCD, and the NCS census concerning (1) the presence or absence of denominations on the list; (2) the estimation of members of that denomination; (3) the estimation for the subgroups evangelical, fundamentalist, Pentecostal/Charismatic; and (4) the estimation of the overall number of congregations both in total and in the three subgroups.

Table 1: Absolute numbers and percentages of EFPC groups in Switzerland according to different operational definitions

Year/Data	Membership Definition	Method	Evangelical	Fundamentalist	Pentecostal	Ethnic/Other	Total	Percent of Population
2000								
(OFS 2000)	Formal members	census	46,440	8,041	24,144	5,009	101,634	1.4%
(Favre 2000)	Formal members + children/friends	denom. statistics	83,900	12,600	37,100	20,000	153,600	2.1%
2008–2010								
(Polo 2008)[a]	Formal members	denom. statistics	49,845	10,001	42,116	12,478	114,440	1.5%
(NCS 2008)	Attendees last weekend	NCS	66,888	13,033	57,710	12,475	150,105	2.0%
(NCS 2008)	Regular participants	NCS	77,019	14,338	66,207	14,490	172,054	2.3%
(WCD 2010)	Members, widest possible affiliation	denom. statistics	79,385	26,410	96,055	15,200	219,060	2.8%
(NCS 2008)	Individuals with any link to congregation	NCS	104,622	17,548	90,625	23,680	236,475	3.1%
2012–16								
(OFS 2012–2016)	Formal members	Census	63,247	3,610	35,822	12,614	115,294	1.4%

Note: OFS = Office fédéral de la statistique; NCS = National Congregation Study; WCD = World Christian Database.
[a]Numbers of congregations weighted to match NCS distribution.

when counting official members (OFS), and a size of 2.1 percent when counting members including family and friends (Favre 2000). In 2008–2010, we find that the EFPC milieu had a size of 1.5 percent when counting formal members using statistics provided by the denomination (Polo), a size of 2.3 percent when counting regular participants (NCS), and a size of 3.1 percent when counting individuals with "any link to the congregation" (NCS).

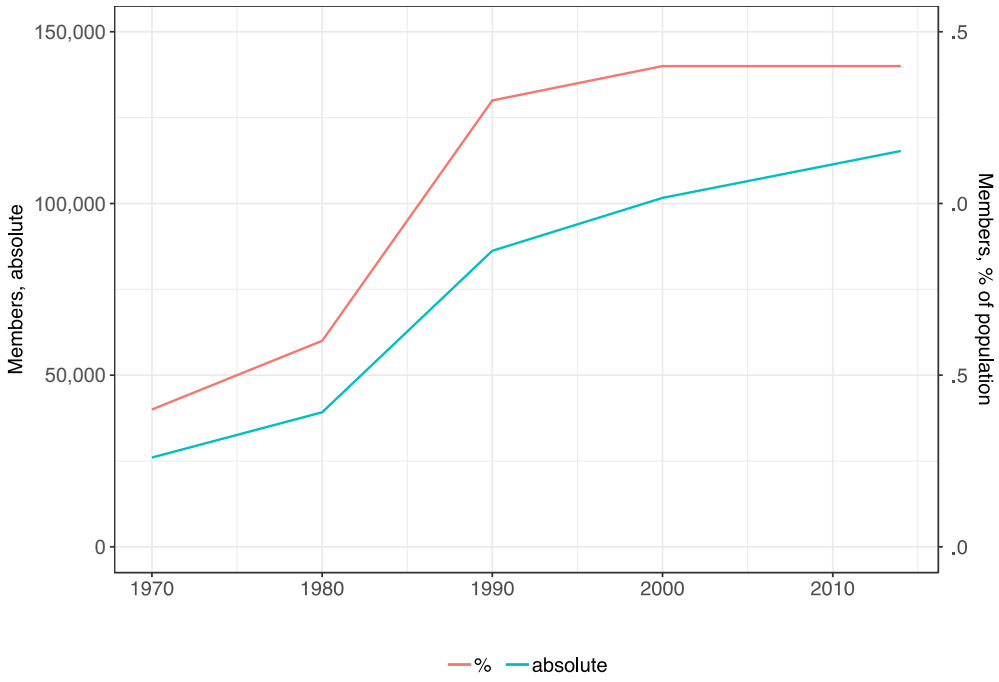
4. The submilieus vary in size. In all but one study, the evangelical submilieu is the largest, the fundamentalist submilieu is the smallest, and the Pentecostal/Charismatic submilieu lies between the two. The exception is the WCD data set, which in our view overestimates the number of Pentecostals/Charismatics. The difference in size is also reflected in the number of congregations: according to NCS 2008 data, about half of all EFPC congregations are evangelical, about a third are Pentecostal/Charismatic, and the remaining are fundamentalist.

EFPC Growth and Decline 1970–2014

From questions of size, let us now turn to questions of growth. Has the EFPC milieu as a whole grown in Switzerland in the last few decades? To answer this question, we can use the harmonized census data for the Swiss confederation.

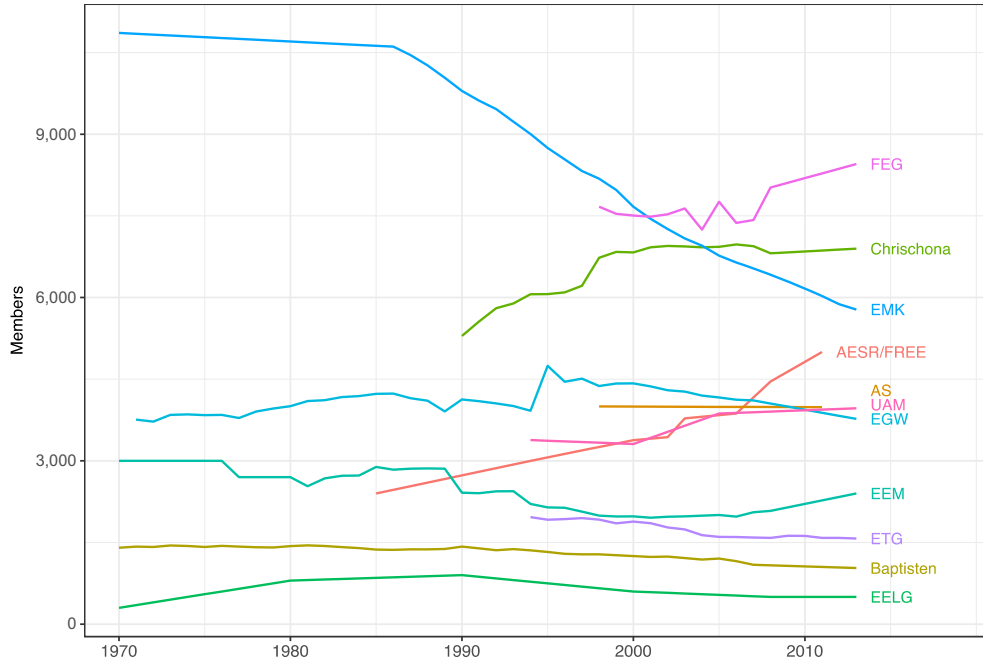
According to census data, the proportion of official members of EFPC groups rose from .4 percent (1970), to .6 percent (1980), 1.3 percent (1990), 1.4 percent (2000), and remained at 1.4 percent in the period between 2000 and 2016 (Figure 1; for details, see the Appendix). In

Figure 1
Official members of EFPC groups 1970–2013
[Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



Note: BFS data. First *y*-axis (left) represents absolute numbers. Second *y*-axis (right) represents percentage of the population.

Figure 2
Development of the most important evangelical denominations in Switzerland 1970–2013
[Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



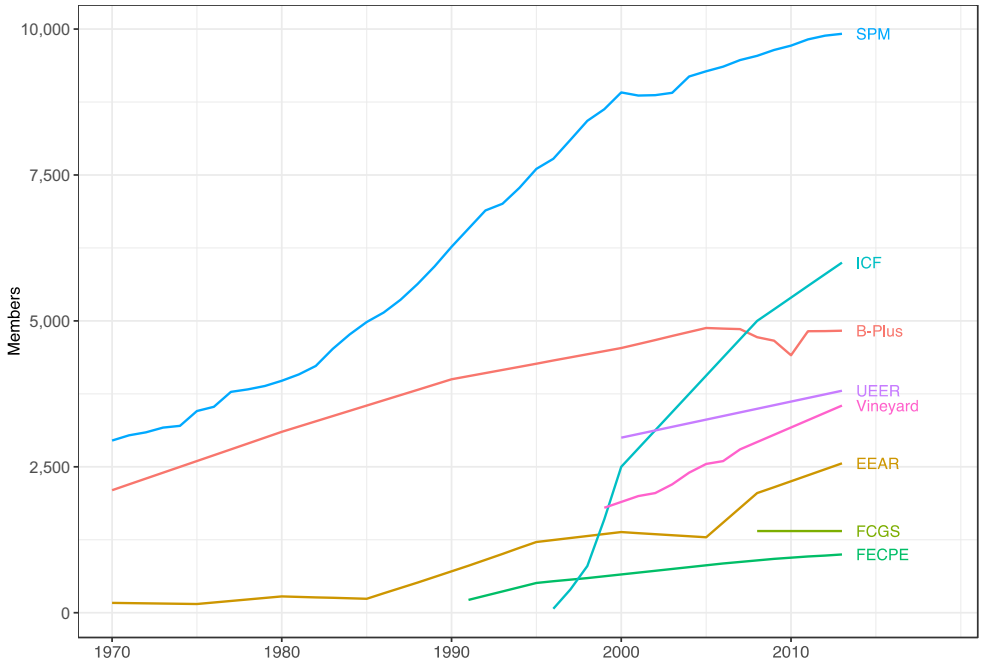
Note: Polo data. EEM = Eglise évangélique méthodiste; ETG = Evangelische Täufergemeinschaft; BSBG = Bund schweizer Baptistengemeinden; EGW = Evangelisches Gemeinschaftswerk; FEG = Freie evangelische Gemeinschaften; EELG = Eglise évangélique libre de Genève; UAM/VFMG = Union des Assemblées Missionnaires/Vereinigung Freier Missionsgemeinden; FREE = Fédération Romande des Eglises Evangéliques; AS = Armée du Salut; EMK = Evangelisch-methodistische Kirche.

absolute terms, the EFPC milieu has—according to these data—grown continuously from 26,017 (1970) to 115,294 (2012–2016), which amounts to roughly 90,000 additional individuals. As in all previous decades, there seems to have been growth in absolute numbers since 2000, but there has been no more relative growth compared to the Swiss population. Although there are issues with these data (see above), there can be no doubt that there has since 1970 been an increase in both the absolute numbers of members and the proportion of the population belonging to the EFPC milieu. While the EFPC milieu remains small, the sheer fact that there is growth is remarkable given the strong absolute and relative losses incurred by the large established Reformed and Roman Catholic churches in Switzerland. However, the census data do not allow us to ascertain which denominations have been primarily responsible for this growth.

It is here that denominational statistics are useful. We can see in Figure 2 the numerical development of the largest evangelical denominations in Switzerland. For some denominations, the time series begins in 1970; for others, at a later point in time. The overall impression is one of stability, with many groups showing relatively constant membership, some with a slight growth, and others with a slight decline. The one exception is Methodists (EMK), who find themselves in a significant downward trend.[12] If we assume that membership remained stable from 1970 to the point in time when our time series for the different denominations begin, then the overall

[12]The EMK is one of the most liberal EFPC groups and is closest to the established Reformed Church.

Figure 3
Development of the most important Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations in Switzerland 1970–2013
[Color figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



Note: Polo data. SPM = Schweizerische Pfingstmission; EEAR = Eglises Evangéliques Apostoliques de Romandie; B-Plus = Bewegung Plus; FECPE = Fédération d'Eglises et Communautés du Plein Evangile; ICF = International Christian Fellowship; FCGS = Freie charismatische Gemeinden der Schweiz. EER = Eglises Evangéliques du Réveil.

aggregated size of these evangelical denominations changed only slightly from 1970 to 2013, from 44,628 to 43,351 (−2.9 percent).

A different picture emerges when we look at the development of Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations (Figure 3), which are all growing either weakly or strongly. Important examples of growth are the Schweizerische Pfingstmission (SPM) or Bewegung+, and most importantly, the International Christian Fellowship (ICF), a home-grown denomination that began in 1996.[13] Because data are missing, we cannot ascertain exactly how much the Pentecostal/Charismatic milieu represented by these denominations has grown. However, if we assume that membership remained stable from 1970 to the point when our time series for the different denominations begin (which underestimates growth), then we arrive at a growth of 182.4 percent.

Despite his best efforts, Polo was not able to collect reliable information on the development of fundamentalist groups in Switzerland. The reason for this was mainly that these groups either did not have centralized membership statistics or did not want to share them. Polo (2010:46) writes that his impression after talking to various fundamentalist leaders was that the fundamentalist groups were shrinking slightly (except for VEFG). In any case, reproduction of these groups is very largely biological and due to a relatively large number of children, since fundamentalist groups of this type find it difficult to attract outsiders.

[13]The quite remarkable success of ICF may in part be explained by its very efficient use of modern marketing techniques (Favre 2014).

In summary, we can assert that there has been an overall growth of the EFPC milieu in Switzerland since the 1970s. The relatively small fundamentalist denominations have perhaps shrunk slightly, while the number of evangelical denominations seems to have remained rather stable; the growth stems from the Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations, which have grown considerably in terms of both members and congregations. The general growth of the EFPC milieu seems to have slowed down in the last decade, continuing only in absolute, but not in relative, terms.

Determinants of EFPC Growth and Decline According to NCS Data

Having established that the EFPC milieu has grown, and that it is especially the Pentecostal/Charismatic part that is driving this growth, we have yet to establish why they are growing. What are the determinants that make growth or decline probable for a given EFPC congregation?

In what follows, we use the NCS data set and present the results of a series of multiple regressions explaining our nine-step growth index, built from two variables measuring growth in the last two and the last 10 years. Our independent variables measure the different theories presented in our theory section: deprivation, strictness, recruiting, ritual spontaneity, and socialization.

We use weighted data, and correct over- and underrepresentations with respect to religious denomination in comparison to the percentages arrived at in our census. In this way, we correct for bias because of (a) nonresponse and (b) oversampling of small religious traditions (in our design we had oversampled small religious traditions for comparative purposes). We do not weight for congregation size since our unity of analysis here is the congregation, not the individual. We have conducted a sensitivity analysis to see whether the weighting affects the results—this is not the case. We exclude non-Christian religions since some important items could otherwise not have been used; this leads to a sample size of 846.[14] An extended analysis of missing values shows that they are a problem only for the variable measuring the number of poor people in a congregation, and information on the liberal/conservative outlook of the congregation. We imputed missing values with the multiple imputation procedure in SPSS. We conducted extensive analyses of residuals, but detected no significant problems.

In Table 2, we present descriptive information, i.e., the means of our dependent and independent variables for Evangelical, Fundamentalist, Pentecostal/Charismatic, and Immigrant/Other EFPC congregations. It would be tedious to comment on all these differences, many of which are not surprising. Let us just note three points. First, concerning our dependent variables, Pentecostal/Charismatics report more membership growth for both a two-year and a 10-year period than evangelicals, who report more growth than fundamentalists. This is in line with our membership statistics mentioned above. Second, concerning deprivation, EFPC groups report small percentages of poor members, with fundamentalists having the lowest number with only 2.2 percent. This is a first indicator of the fact that deprivation theories are not good at explaining growth in Switzerland. Third, fundamentalist groups show a very high level of strictness and conservativeness, while Pentecostal/Charismatics score very high on ritual spontaneity. These differences are of course expected because of the way that we delimited our three groups.

The analytical strategy is first to enter the variable denomination (in the form of dummy variables, with Catholics as the reference category) (Table 3). In the following six models, we always enter the denomination variable and one or two independent variables testing a specific theoretical mechanism. It is interesting to see whether the variable(s) representing the mechanism has/have a significant influence on growth/decline; and it is also interesting to see just how the inclusion of the new variable(s) changes the strength of the denomination variable. In the final model, we enter the controls and the explanatory variables that have proved to be significant

[14] We have also run models with only EFPC congregations and with the single growth indicators (instead of a summative index). The results are substantively similar.

Table 2: Descriptive information for EFPC groups and other Christian denominations

	Evangelical	Fundamentalist	Pentecostal/Charismatic	Immigrant/Other EFPC	Other Christian
Growth in membership 2 years					
Declined 10% or more	5.2%	5.1%	6.0%	22.4%	1.8%
Declined less than 10%	7.8%	5.1%	4.0%	4.1%	9.3%
Maintained	28.7%	30.8%	34.0%	10.2%	11.0%
Grown less than 10%	28.7%	30.8%	34.0%	10.2%	11.0%
Grown more than 10%	23.5%	5.1%	32.0%	32.7%	12.5%
Growth in membership 10 years					
Declined 10% or more	20.5%	31.6%	10.2%	16.7%	17.0%
Declined less than 10%	10.7%	10.5%	2.0%	6.3%	29.7%
Maintained	21.4%	31.6%	18.4%	31.3%	31.5%
Grown less than 10%	10.7%	10.5%	18.4%	6.3%	9.4%
Grown more than 10%	36.6%	15.8%	51.0%	39.6%	12.4%
Deprivation					
Participants % poor	6.1%	8.8%	2.2%	6.8%	9.9%
Strictness					
Moral strictness scale (mean)	2.2	2.6	2.3	2.3	2.1
Recruiting					
Recruiting scale (mean)	4.4	4.7	4.6	4.4	3.2
Ritual spontaneity					
Ritual spontaneity scale (mean)	2.9	.9	4.4	3.3	.9
Socialization					
Religious socialization (mean)	3.8	2.4	3.7	3.2	3.0
Total	**115**	**53**	**39**	**50**	**605**

Note: Year 2008–2009.

Table 3: Determinants of growth and decline (only Christians)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 4	Model 5	Model 7	Model 8
Denomination								
Evangelical	.401**	.407**	.253	.369**	.336**	223	.453**	.179
Pentecost/Charismatic	.668**	.670**	.439*	.645**	.610**	.362*	.699**	.332
Fundamentalist	.037	.063	−.148	.055	-.058	.041	.088	−.039
Immigration/Other (Catholic = Reference)	.342	.353	.119	.313	.270	.117	.141	.071
Deprivation								
% poor		.024						
Strictness								
Moral strictness			.109					
Bible inerrant			−.008					
Socialization								
Youth socialization				.073				
Recruiting								
Recruiting					.096*			.081*
Ritual spontaneity								
Ritual spontaneity						.149**		.140**
Immigration								
Percentage non-European							.044	
R^2 (Adj.)	11.5%	11.6%	11.2%	11.7%	11.9%	13.0%	11.9%	13.2%

Note: Models show unstandardized coefficients; In all models, we controlled for: size of political community, traditional religion of the canton, foundation year, congregation size. Coefficients for Reformed, Orthodox, Other Christian are not shown. Model 7: immigration congregations are excluded because of multicollinearity issues.
*significant at the .05 level; **significant at the .01 level.

in the previous models. In all models, we control for size of the political community (another way of saying urban/rural), language region, traditional religion of the canton, year of foundation of the congregation, and size of the congregation (measured as the logged number of regular participants).

Model 1 only enters the denomination variable. We can see that Pentecostals/Charismatics and evangelicals, but not fundamentalists, are growing much faster than Catholics (the reference category). Note that the category immigration EFPC groups and other (nonclassifiable) EFPC groups does not show significant growth. This model explains 8.9 percent of the variance of the dependent variable.

Models 2, 3, and 4 test for the deprivation, strictness, and socialization mechanisms, but do not find significant effects. Model 2 enters the percentage of "poor people" in the congregation as an indicator of the number of "deprived" members. Congregations with higher percentages of deprived members do not have higher growth rates than other congregations. Model 3 tests the strictness mechanism, and includes both our scale for moral strictness (including drinking alcohol, cohabitation of nonmarried couples, and openly gay relationships—all at the level of both full-fledged members and leaders), and our dichotomous item measuring conservativeness of theology (Bible inerrant). Neither item has a significant influence on growth. Model 4 looks at youth socialization efforts of congregations and again does not find a significant effect.

Models 5 and 6 show that there are, however, significant influences emanating from our variables measuring recruitment efforts and ritual spontaneity, both in the specific models and the final model. Groups that show more efforts at recruiting and include more ritual spontaneity in their religious services have a significantly higher rate of growth. It is noteworthy that ritual spontaneity has the strongest influence of all mechanisms, both in the specific model 5 and the final model 8. While the literature in the past has mostly looked at strictness and deprivation orientation as the main drivers of growth, these results suggest that—at least in our case—other mechanisms are in fact at work.

We have already seen that EFPC growth is clearly not due to EFPC immigration groups. One might, however, suspect that the growth in nonimmigrant EFPC groups was due to immigration. For example, African Pentecostals might immigrate and join Swiss Pentecostal groups. To test this, we have added a model 7 where we operationalize non-European immigration with the logged percentage of non-European regular members. We do not find a significant effect.

The final model 8 includes only variables that have previously proven to be significant (plus the controls). In this model, denomination is no longer significant, while recruiting and ritual spontaneity each have a significant effect. The model explains 13.2 percent of the variance.

Conclusion and Discussion

This article has set out to describe and partly explain the growth and decline of evangelicals, fundamentalists, Pentecostals/Charismatics (in short, the EFPC milieu) in Switzerland. All of the data sources and indicators used have possible bias; but, by combining all our sources, we can nevertheless formulate a rather consistent answer to our research questions. To recap, we have shown that:

1. The size of the EFPC milieu between 2000 and 2008 ranges from about 98,000 to 175,000 individuals, if we count official members, attendees, and regular participants as "members." If we also include family, friends, and individuals with "any link," the size of the milieu rises to 241,000 (3.2 percent); however, this definition seems too broad and includes many individuals who would not identify themselves as evangelicals/fundamentalist/Pentecostals/Charismatics. We have shown that the large variety of estimates in the literature can be integrated into one coherent picture where differences in

estimate are due to different (1) methods (individual census or denominational statistics); (2) definitions of who counts as a milieu member; (3) sampling frames; and (4) errors.

2. The EFPC milieu has grown since the 1970s. Such growth is consistently shown by census data, membership statistics for denominations, and NCS data. In absolute terms, the EFPC milieu has—according to census data—grown from .5 percent (1970) to 1.5 percent in the period between 2000 and 2016. In absolute terms, the EFPC milieu has—according to these data—continuously grown from 23,677 (1970) to 100,666 (2012–2016), which amounts to roughly 76,000 additional individuals. As in all previous decades, there seems to have been growth in absolute numbers since 2000, but this has translated into a slight relative decrease with respect to the more rapidly growing Swiss population.
3. The growth is predominantly caused by an increase in membership of Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations. In contrast, the absolute size of evangelical denominations has remained rather stable overall, while the number of fundamentalists seems to have declined. This finding is borne out by both membership statistics for the denominations and by NCS data.
4. EFPC growth is related not to deprivation, strictness, socialization efforts, or immigration, but to recruitment focus and spontaneity of ritual. This result is especially noteworthy since the literature has placed so much emphasis on strictness and deprivation, whereas our results find significant effects for mechanisms that are less often discussed—with the strongest influence being ritual spontaneity. Our measure of the impact of immigration has its limits, but what we can say with certainty is that the growth/stability of EFPC groups that we show here is not caused by what we have called "immigration groups," and that it is not affected when we control for the percentage of non-Europeans in the EFPC groups observed.
5. The results show that, in numerical terms, the development of the EFPC in Switzerland in the last decade has been a *success story*. The growth of the EFPC milieu is all the more noteworthy given the significant losses incurred by the mainline Protestants: the established Reformed Church has shrunk from 2,290,649 (1970) to 1,746,623 (2012/2016) individuals, or in percentages from 47.7 percent (1970) to 25.6 percent (2012/2016) of the population.

Why it is that especially Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations show more growth than evangelical and fundamentalist denominations and much more than the established Reformed Church? While our data on their own do not lead to a definitive answer, together with the findings in Stolz and Favre (2005) and Stolz et al. (2012), they allow us to form a coherent picture. The EFPC milieu in general is more successful than the Protestant mainline church because it has higher fertility and is better able to keep its own offspring in its fold. The Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations are even able to slightly grow because they excel in ritual spontaneity and recruiting; they are therefore better able than their evangelical and fundamentalist competition to draw in offspring from evangelical and fundamentalist denominations and recruit young people who do not come from EFPC backgrounds.

This has an influence on the internal power structure of the Christian field in Switzerland. If established groups decline and the EFPC groups grow, the power and influence of the latter will tend to grow. This is all the more the case since EFPC members are highly motivated and active practitioners of their faith. Already now, while EFPC members account for only about 1.6–2.3 percent of the population, they account for 33.6 percent of Swiss churchgoers at any given weekend (Stolz et al. 2011:24). It is therefore understandable that different Swiss cantons have in the last few decades provided increasing possibilities of collaborating or possibly even recognizing EFPC congregations and denominations.

Do our findings therefore disprove the secularization thesis? Will Swiss society be won over to Jesus through the efforts of the EFPC milieu? We do not think so. For one, growth of the EFPC

milieu has slowed down in the last decade and has even shown a relative decline. Moreover, even when considered over the whole period since the 1970s, the absolute and relative growth of the EFPC milieu has not been able to offset the much more powerful secularizing tendencies in Swiss society. It seems that the processes in Switzerland are similar to those observed in most other Western European countries and in the United States: namely, that society in general is on a secularization path, and that the mainline groups are in steep decline, while the EFPC groups—and especially the Pentecostal/Charismatics—are much better at holding on to their members or even growing by creating small "sacred canopies" (Chaves 2011; Pew 2011; Pollack and Rosta 2017). One of the contributions of this article is to have shown just how these more general processes play out in one specific European country.

But there are limits to how much milieus may shut themselves off from overall society to create a "sacred canopy." These limits are more important in Switzerland than, say, in the United States. For example, Switzerland regulates private schools quite strongly, which makes it difficult for the EPFC milieu to control the education that its offspring receive (Pahud de Mortanges 2007). We also have to remember that an increasingly secular society will make evangelizing increasingly more difficult. All of this makes it more likely that the EFPC milieu will remain a very small minority in Swiss society in the foreseeable future.

Our findings also have their limits. As we have mentioned above, all our data sets have specific shortcomings (which is why we have taken so much trouble to "triangulate" them). Our results on the determinants of growth/decline have an evident issue concerning causality. These data are cross-sectional, retrospective data; we assume that the attributes measuring the independent variables have remained constant over time—an assumption that may not be valid. Furthermore, we had no possibility to measure differential fertility in different congregations. Finally, we were not able to measure the impact of immigration as well as we would have liked to.

Our results can only be generalized to Switzerland. Findings from other European countries such as France, Germany, and the Nordic countries suggest, however, that the general trends and mechanisms may not be very different for Europe as a whole (Fath 2005; Kay and Dyer 2011; Ketola 2007; Pollack and Rosta 2017).

We welcome longitudinal studies that further elucidate how evangelicals, fundamentalists, and Pentecostals/Charismatics are changing the landscape in other European countries.

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Appendix

A1 How Federations are attributed to three submilieus

	Denominations
Evangelical	Evangelische Täufergemeinschaft (ETG), Bund schweizer Baptistengemeinden (BSBG), Evangelisches Gemeinschaftswerk (EGW), Freie evangelische Gemeinschaften (FEG), EELG, Chrischona, Union des Assemblées Missionnaires (UAM), L'Union des Assemblées et Eglises évangéliques en Suisse romande/Fédération romande d'Eglises évangéliques (AESR/FREE), Armée du salut (AS), Evangelisch-methodistische Kirche (EMK), Eglise évangélique méthodiste (EEM), Bund Schweizer Baptistengemeinden (BSB)
Fundamentalist	Darbystes, Evangelischer Brüderverein/Gemeinde für Christus (EBV/GfC), Action Biblique (AB), Association évangélique d'Eglises baptistes (AEEB), Gemeinden Christi (Church of Christ)
Pentecostal/ Charismatic	Schweizerische Pfingstmission (SPM), Eglises Evangéliques Apostoliques de Romandie (EEAR), (Bewegung Plus) B-Plus, Fédération d'Eglises et Communautés du Plein Evangile (FECPE), International Christian Fellowship (ICF), Vineyard, Freie charismatische Gemeinden der Schweiz (FCGS), Eglise Evangélique du Réveil 1EER

A2 Census/Structural survey data set construction

Figure 1 is based on the information contained in the file "Religion_Stolz_unharm70_heute.xlsx" provided by the Office fédérale de la statistique (OFS). We thank Christoph Freymond and Dominik Ullman from the OFS for letting us use these data. The categories capturing EFPC groups change slightly over time and are not as precise as we would like them to.

To obtain comparability over time, we harmonized the data in the following way.

1970: EFPC groups are Methodists and "other protestant churches". We correct for churches that do not belong to the EFPC milieu by subtracting 17% (see for a justification of this number below).

1980: EFPC groups are Methodists and "other protestant churches". We subtract a number for Mormons and a number for Christian science, estimated from their known size from 1970. The assumption here is that the number for Mormons and Christian science has remained stable. We correct for churches that do not belong to the EFPC milieu by subtracting 17%.

1990: EFPC groups are Methodists and "other protestant churches". We correct for churches that do not belong to the EFPC milieu by subtracting 17%.

For 2000 the data are very good; this is a census with a very fine distinction of religious groups. It is here that we find that "other Protestants" are 17% when compared to the EFPC milieu. We use this percentage as a correction factor for 1970, 1980, and 1990. This is of course an assumption that may be wrong, but it is the best assumption based on evidence we came up with.

For 2012/16, we do not have a census, but a structural survey, meaning that the numbers of EFPC members are estimated by weighting the survey results to population size.