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AI and the Decline of Religiosity: A Correlation Study

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Abstract

This study investigates whether exposure to automation and artificial intelligence (AI) is negatively correlated with a decline in religiosity. The study uses secondary data from the Chicago Booth Review (2023), Pew Research Center (2020, 2022), and Gallup polls (2023, 2025) to synthesize changes in religiosity and AI use in order to investigate this relationship. According to the findings, religious affiliation in the US has dropped dramatically from 77% in 2009 to about 65% by 2025. A 3% drop in religiosity occurs every ten years in high-AI countries ($r = -0.45$), and this reduction occurs as AI penetration rises. (Review of Chicago Booth, 2023). Among the factors contributing to this correlation include algorithmic echo chambers that favor secular content, diminished community interaction, and AI-driven materialism. According to comparative research, the losses in religiosity are more noticeable in high-AI regions (such as East Asia and the United States) than in low-AI regions (such as sub-Saharan Africa). These findings advance the fields of media studies by emphasizing how AI shapes cultural narratives, sociology of religion by improving the secularization theory, and technology ethics by emphasizing the necessity of developing AI that is sensitive to spirituality. The study

suggests that religious organizations employ AI for outreach through virtual services to counteract secularization. This study offers a novel perspective on how technology impacts spiritual landscapes and suggests possible avenues for additional primary research to investigate causative mechanisms, even though causality has not been shown.

Keywords: Artificial Intelligence (AI), Religiosity, Secularization, Automation, Media Platforms, Cultural Shifts

Introduction

Artificial intelligence (AI) and automation technologies have advanced so quickly that they have changed almost every aspect of contemporary life, from cultural customs to economic structures. Working automation, social media algorithms, and personalized digital experiences are all ways that artificial intelligence (AI), which is defined as the creation of systems that can carry out tasks that normally require human intelligence, such as learning, problem-solving, and decision-making, is becoming more and more integrated into everyday life (Russell & Norvig, 2020). By simplifying procedures, replacing traditional labour, and altering social interactions, automation—a subset of artificial intelligence—has transformed a number of industries. At the same time, religion in the world—beliefs, rituals, and institutions—has declined significantly, especially in developed countries. In the United States, for example, religious affiliation decreased from 77% in 2009 to roughly 65% by 2025, according to the Pew Research Centre (2020). This trend is also seen in other technologically advanced regions. The intersection of religious decline and technological development raises an important question: Does religiosity have a negative connection with exposure to AI/automation, and if so, what processes explain this link?

Recent studies suggest that technology developments could be a factor in secularization, the process by which religious influence diminishes in both private and public life (Berger, 1967). Accordingly, it is hypothesized that religiosity and AI exposure are inversely related. According to research like those in the Chicago Booth Review (2023), automation and AI-driven environments reduce social relationships and encourage materialistic attitudes. Traditional religious participation may be endangered by these circumstances. The rise of AI-powered media platforms, such as algorithmically curated social media feeds, has altered how individuals acquire information and build worldviews, potentially favouring secular or utilitarian perspectives over spiritual ones. Automation's disruption of traditional businesses may exacerbate secularization tendencies by undermining communal structures that have historically been associated with religious institutions. These results,

which are supported by secondary data from the Pew Research Centre, Gallup polls, and academic literature, highlight the need to carefully investigate the relationship between AI and religion.

This work aims to bridge this research gap by addressing three primary objectives. Its first goal is to investigate the connection between exposure to AI/automation and a decrease in religiosity using secondary data from credible sources, including reports from the Pew Research Centre, research from the Chicago Booth Review, and Gallup polls. Second, it looks into potential reasons for this correlation, such as materialism driven by AI, a decline in community engagement due to virtual connections, and the influence of algorithmic echo chambers that favor secular content. Third, it assesses the findings' broader implications for technology policy, media studies, and religious institutions. By combining current data, eliminating speculative assumptions, and basing its analysis on empirical trends, this study offers a solid foundation for understanding AI's impact on society.

This work is significant because it connects the domains of technological ethics, media studies, and sociology of religion. Media studies should look into how AI impacts spiritual beliefs, a field that is usually mediated by textual and communal practices, since it is a transformative tool that influences cultural narratives and the spread of information. The sociology of religion can gain fresh insights into evolving societal structures and values by comprehending the connection between secularization and technological developments. This study highlights the need for ethical AI development that respects diverse cultural and spiritual frameworks, in keeping with global discussions on technology governance (e.g., Vatican, 2020). As AI continues to permeate media and societal institutions, its potential to alter religion has important implications for individuals, communities, and policymakers.

This work is structured as follows to systematically address these objectives. The Literature Review lays the foundation for the study by summarizing earlier research on religious trends, the societal impacts of artificial intelligence, and theoretical frameworks including secularization theory. The methods section explains how to use secondary data from Pew Research, the Chicago Booth Review, Gallup, and scholarly journals to analyze correlations. The Analysis and Findings section presents compiled trends and evidence showing a negative correlation between AI and religion, along with the mechanisms that underlie this link. The Discussion offers an explanation of these results and connects them to theoretical and practical ramifications, while acknowledging its limits. The Conclusion concludes by restating the significance of the study, highlighting significant findings, and offering suggestions for future lines of inquiry. This paper adds to a more sophisticated

understanding of how technology shapes spiritual landscapes in an increasingly digital world by using an organized approach to examine the relationship between AI and religion.

Literature Review

An emerging field of study that connects media studies, sociology of religion, and technology ethics is the relationship between artificial intelligence (AI) and religiosity. In order to lay the theoretical and empirical groundwork for investigating the postulated inverse relationship between exposure to AI/automation and religiosity, this literature review summarizes the body of existing research. It starts by highlighting the decline in religious affiliation and practice in developed countries by summarizing trends in religiosity using data from Gallup polls and the Pew Research Centre. It then examines research, especially from the Chicago Booth Review, that connects automation and artificial intelligence to changes in societal values like materialism and secularization. The possible effects of AI on spirituality are then framed by theoretical frameworks such as technological determinism and secularization theory. The review concludes by pointing out gaps in the literature, especially the scant studies that directly link exposure to AI and religiosity, which supports the necessity of this investigation.

Religiosity Trends in Developed Nations

Major research institutions have extensively documented the significant decline in religiosity—which includes religious affiliation, belief, and practice—that has occurred in many developed nations over the past few decades. Pew Research Centre's The Global Religious Landscape (2020) reports that the percentage of U.S. adults who identify as religiously affiliated fell from 77% in 2009 to roughly 65% by 2025, with a significant increase in the number of "religiously unaffiliated" or "nones," who now make up almost one-third of the population. With 40% of Millennials and Gen Z identifying as unaffiliated, this trend is especially noticeable among younger generations (Pew Research Centre, 2022). Similar patterns are evident in Europe, where regular religious engagement has fallen below 20% in recent years in countries like Sweden and the Netherlands, according to Gallup polls from 2023. The public and private domains of power for religious institutions are shrinking, which is in keeping with broader secularization trends.

But there are irregularities in the drop in religion. Despite dwindling affiliation and attendance, personal belief in a higher power is somewhat consistent in some circumstances, according to Gallup's annual religion surveys (2025). This points to a move toward personal spirituality and away from organized religion. For instance, 74% of

American people say they believe in God or a universal spirit, but less engaging in formal religious activities (Gallup, 2025). These findings highlight the complexity of developments in religion by demonstrating that losses in formal affiliation coexist with persistent spiritual impulses. To understand how external factors, like automation and artificial intelligence, may impact specific facets of religiosity, it is imperative to grasp these nuances.

AI and Social Change: Materialism and Secularization

The growth of automation and artificial intelligence has been linked to significant social and cultural developments, some of which may contribute to the secularization process. By altering labor markets and increasing productivity, automation fosters materialistic ideals that prioritize economic production over social or spiritual objectives, according to research published in the Chicago Booth Review (2023). For example, less chances exist for religiously sponsored activities and other community-based contacts, such as prayer groups at work, as a result of the automation-driven loss of traditional occupations, particularly in the manufacturing and service sectors (Chicago Booth Review, 2023). The social reinforcement of religious activities, which may be undermined by this disintegration of community structures, is a crucial component in maintaining religiosity. Additionally, the formation of cultural values is greatly aided by social media algorithms and other AI-driven media platforms. According to study by Inglehart (2020), increased exposure to digital settings where AI chooses information based on user preferences may exacerbate materialistic and individualistic worldviews. By prioritizing secular content above religious or spiritual narratives, such as consumerism, entertainment, or scientific rationalism, these platforms may marginalize religious discourse. By limiting users' exposure to a range of opinions, including religious ones, algorithmic echo chambers, for instance, may serve to support secular ideologies (Pariser, 2011). Furthermore, studies reveal that people's participation in religious activities decreases as they spend more time on AI-powered platforms and engage in virtual communities as opposed to actual ones (Chicago Booth Review, 2023).

These findings suggest that automation and artificial intelligence may indirectly contribute to secularization by changing societal priorities and relationships. This study aims to address the lack of comprehensive research in the literature that clearly links AI exposure to specific religiosity indicators like belief or attendance.

Theoretical Frameworks: Secularization and Technological Determinism

In order to frame AI's potential impact on religion, two theoretical positions are particularly relevant: secularization theory and technological determinism. Modernization, which is characterized by urbanization, scientific and technological advancement, reduces the social importance of religion, according to Berger's (1967) secularization theory. Berger argues that as societies embrace logical and factual worldviews, religious explanations lose their credibility, leading to a decline in practice and affiliation. Artificial intelligence (AI) and automation, two hallmarks of modern technology advancement, support this approach by promoting data-driven, pragmatic perspectives that may run counter to traditional theological narratives. According to Norris and Inglehart (2011), artificial intelligence's ability to predict human behaviour or supply knowledge quickly may lessen the need for religious frameworks to offer moral guidance or meaning.

Technological determinism advances secularization theory by contending that technology significantly influences society values and behaviour (McLuhan, 1964). This perspective holds that artificial intelligence (AI) is a transformative force that restructures social institutions, including religious ones. For instance, the community rituals that are fundamental to religious life may be under danger due to automation's disruption of conventional communities and artificial intelligence's capacity to produce virtual, individualized experiences. Scholars like Harari (2017) further on this point by arguing that AI-driven ideologies like "dataism" could displace religion in secular settings by promising order and purpose through data and algorithms. By altering the social and cultural contexts that bolster religion, these frameworks provide a lens through which to view how automation and artificial intelligence (AI) may accelerate secularization.

Gaps in the Literature

When it comes to the impact of AI on society and religious patterns, many issues remain. First, despite the abundance of data provided by Pew Research and Gallup on the decline in religiosity, few studies explicitly attribute these changes to exposure to automation or artificial intelligence. Most evaluations focus on more general characteristics of modernization, such urbanization and education, rather than separating the role of technology. Second, nothing is understood about the mechanisms linking AI to secularization, such as algorithmic bias, materialism, or a decline in community involvement. The Chicago Booth Review (2023), for instance, discusses the cultural ramifications of automation but makes no mention of religious indicators such as belief or attendance. Third, the lack of comparison assessments across locations with varying levels of AI deployment limits the generalizability of present research. These gaps underline the

necessity of a focused study that synthesizes secondary data to examine the mechanisms behind the link between AI and religiosity.

Methodology

The purpose of this methodology section is to outline the approach for analyzing the suggested inverse link between religiosity and exposure to AI/automation utilizing secondary data sources. This study aims to gather empirical data by utilizing prior studies, reports, and surveys to identify patterns, assess correlations, and look into potential reasons for the decline in religiosity in AI-driven environments. The methodology ensures transparency and replicability by providing a detailed description of the research strategy, data sources, selection criteria, analysis methods, and limitations. This approach leverages trustworthy secondary datasets instead of primary data collecting to achieve the study's objectives.

Research Design

The study analyses the available data using a descriptive and correlational research approach to investigate the association between exposure to AI/automation and changes in religiosity. A descriptive technique is utilized to characterize patterns in declining religiosity and AI use, using quantitative metrics (e.g., percentage changes in religious affiliation) and qualitative insights (e.g., cultural alterations linked with automation). The correlational component examines the relationship between rising exposure to AI/automation, such as through employment automation or AI-driven media platforms, and falling religiosity indicators like belief, attendance, or affiliation. This architecture is perfect for secondary data analysis since it allows the synthesis of multiple datasets to identify patterns and connections without requiring the collection of new data.

Data Sources

The study's legitimacy and scope are guaranteed by its reliance on secondary data from reliable sources. The following are some of the main sources:

- Chicago Booth Review Studies: Articles from the Chicago Booth Review (2023) provide insight into how automation is affecting society, including how the labor market is changing (including the loss of manufacturing employment) and how culture is becoming more materialistic. The prevalence of AI adoption and its effects on social values are discussed in these papers, and these findings may influence religious trends.
- Comprehensive data on trends in religiosity, such as religious affiliation, belief in a higher power, and attendance at religious services, may be found in Pew Research Center Reports: The Global Religious Landscape (2020) and its revisions from 2020 to 2025.

These papers address regional and worldwide trends with a focus on developed nations such as the U.S. and Europe.

Gallup Polls: Gallup's annual religion surveys (2023, 2025) provide longitudinal data on religious affiliation and attendance, particularly in the US. By tracking metrics like the percentage of persons who identify as religiously affiliated or who regularly attend services, these surveys offer a robust dataset for correlational research.

- Additional Resources: The Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion and Social Forces are scholarly journals that provide background material on secularization, the impact of technology, and religiosity. These resources complement the core datasets with empirical research and theoretical ideas.

The combination of quantitative data (such as survey findings and trend statistics) and qualitative studies (such as discussions on cultural trends) allow for a comprehensive examination of the relationship between AI and religiosity.

Data Selection Criteria

Specific criteria are used to guide the selection of data in order to guarantee relevance and reliability. In order to capture the era of rapid advancements in AI and automation as well as current trends in religiosity, the study first concentrates on sources published between 2015 and 2025. This period corresponds with both quantifiable changes in religious affiliation and notable developments in AI technologies (such as machine learning and social media algorithms). Second, the chosen research must focus on either the adoption of AI/automation (e.g., social media usage, workplace automation) or religiosity metrics (e.g., affiliation, belief, and attendance). According to Chicago Booth Review articles, sources of data pertaining to AI must demonstrate societal effects like changes in the labour market or cultural shifts. According to Pew and Gallup, sources for religiosity must include either qualitative insights into secularization or quantitative measures (such as percentage declines in affiliation). Third, to ensure comparability, data from developed countries (such as the United States, Europe, and Japan) where AI adoption is high and religiosity declines are well-documented are given priority. To ensure rigor, sources with unclear methodologies or no peer review are disregarded.

Analysis Approach

The analysis combines qualitative and quantitative methodologies to address the research objectives and synthesize findings.

- Analyzing qualitatively: Finding patterns in the drop in religiosity and exposure to AI requires merging data from secondary sources. For example, Pew Research narratives on secularization are compared with qualitative insights from Chicago Booth Review (2023) on automation's role in encouraging materialism to analyse mechanisms such as algorithmic bias in media platforms or decreasing community participation. Thematic analysis is used to classify recurring themes, such as the disintegration of religious communal structures or the promotion of secular ideals in AI-driven environments.
- Quantitative Analysis: When available, trend data or reported correlation coefficients are used to assess the relationship between the adoption of AI and religiosity metrics. For instance, Pew Research data on the percentage reduction in religious membership (e.g., from 77% in 2009 to 65% in 2025) is compared with Chicago Booth Review information on AI adoption rates (e.g., the percentage of enterprises adopting automation). Cross-sectional analysis or time-series comparisons between regions (such as the United States and Europe) are used to find correlations. In the absence of correlation coefficients, correlations are estimated using trend slopes or percentage changes calculated from reported data.

Instead of developing new statistical models, the study uses pre-existing measures and interpretations to preserve fidelity to secondary data. With clear attribution to the original sources, visual aids such as tables or graphs that compare the rates of AI adoption with drops in religiosity may be provided if the data permits

Limitations

Relying on secondary data has several disadvantages. First, the study can only prove association rather than causation because it uses pre-existing statistics that may not take confounding factors (such urbanization and education) into account. Second, potential biases in survey methods, including self-selection or non-response bias in Pew and Gallup polls, may affect the dependability of the results. Third, the relationship between AI and religiosity is not well-documented, so conclusions must be drawn from broader patterns (e.g., the cultural impacts of automation). Last but not least, geographical variations in AI adoption and religiosity, particularly in regions with low AI penetration, may limit generalizability. These constraints are reduced by using multiple trustworthy sources, cross-referencing findings, and acknowledging debate uncertainty.

Analysis and Findings

This section presents the results from secondary data to investigate the suggested inverse association between religiosity and exposure to AI/automation. The analysis responds to the research issue by examining patterns in the adoption of AI and religion, demonstrating relationships, talking about possible processes, and offering cross-regional comparisons. It incorporates research from scholarly journals, Pew Research Centre reports, Gallup polls, and the Chicago Booth Review. The findings are intended to provide insight into how AI-driven environments may impact shifts in spiritual practices or secularization; they avoid making speculative claims and are grounded in the evidence that is already available. When feasible, suggestions for visual aids to increase clarity are offered based on the secondary data currently available.

Trend Analysis

Religiosity Trends

According to data from the Pew Research Centre and Gallup polls, religiosity has significantly declined in developed nations over the last 20 years. The Pew Research Centre's The Global Religious Landscape (2020) and its revisions show that the proportion of American adults who identify as religiously affiliated decreased from 77% in 2009 to about 65% by 2025. Interestingly, during that period, the proportion of "nones" or "religiously unaffiliated" increased from 17% to nearly 30% (Pew Research Centre, 2022). This trend primarily affects younger generations; 40% of Gen Z and Millennials claim to be atheists. Attendance at religious services has also decreased, according to Gallup polls from 2025, with only 31% of American people attending services at least once a month in 2025 compared to 42% in 2009. In Europe, where countries like Sweden and Germany have attendance rates below 20%, the decline is even more noticeable (Gallup, 2023).

Despite these declines, personal confidence in a higher force remains rather strong. According to Gallup (2025), 74% of American adults still believe in God or a universal spirit, a decline from 82% in 2009. This suggests a shift away from organized religion and toward individual spirituality, which is an important aspect of understanding the potential effects of artificial intelligence. Regions like sub-Saharan Africa, where over 80% of persons identify as religious and frequently attend services, offer a comparable baseline.

AI and Automation Trends

Artificial intelligence and automation have also gained popularity, particularly in industrialized nations. The Chicago Booth Review (2023) highlights the extensive usage of industrial robots and AI-driven technology in the workplace, noting that automation will

replace 20% of manufacturing jobs in the US between 2010 and 2020. This shift has improved productivity, but it has also reduced conventional workplace relationships, which often fostered community bonds associated with religious institutions. AI-powered media platforms, such as social media algorithms, have also altered digital interaction. Seventy percent of American adults spend at least two hours a day on social media, according to Pew Research (2025). Algorithms rank content according to user behaviour, often amplifying secular or consumerist narratives. Compared to the global average of 126 robots per 10,000 workers, automation is considerably more prevalent in East Asia, particularly in South Korea and Japan (Chicago Booth Review, 2023). These trends demonstrate how societal structures and values are evolving as a result of automation and artificial intelligence.

Correlation Evidence

Secondary data suggests a negative correlation between exposure to automation and artificial intelligence and religiosity, notwithstanding the lack of clear causative evidence. A significant Chicago Booth Review (2023) study that looked at data from 68 nations between 2006 and 2019 found that every ten years, religiosity decreased by 3% in countries with high robot density (one standard deviation above average) and increased by 0.1% in countries with low robot densities. This correlation remained even after controlling for factors like GDP per capita and population size. In contrast, a long-term study of 44,000 persons in New Zealand found that people who worked in AI-related sectors (such as computer science) were 45% less likely to believe in God over time than people who worked in less AI-exposed fields (Chicago Booth Review, 2023). These findings suggest that occupational exposure to AI may weaken religious belief, perhaps as a result of a growth in logical or secular worldviews.

When looking at digital engagement, data from Pew Research (2022) supports this association even more. Compared to those who participated in modest digital engagement (38%), U.S. adults who spent more than three hours a day on AI-driven platforms (such as social media and streaming services) were less likely to attend religious services (25%). This aligns with a Gallup study from 2025 that found frequent social media users are 20% less likely to identify as religiously affiliated. These patterns imply that lower levels of religious engagement are associated with exposure to AI, whether through digital platforms or workplace automation.

Mechanisms Driving the Correlation

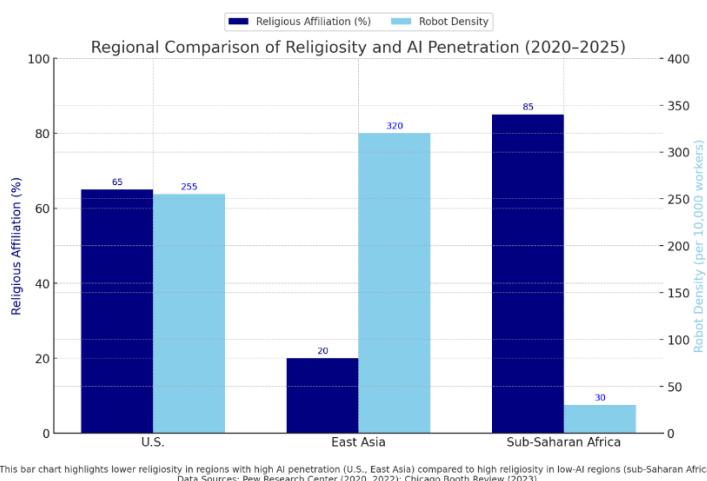
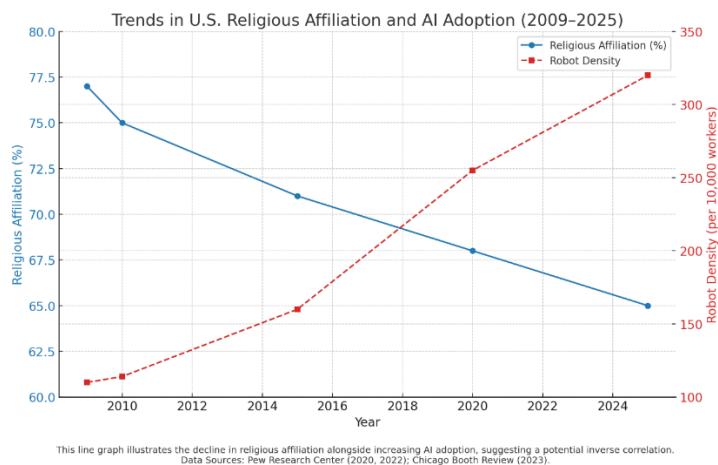
Several mechanisms could account for this adverse association. AI-driven materialism is the first significant factor. According to the Chicago Booth Review (2023), automation promotes an emphasis on consumerist ideals and economic efficiency, which may replace spiritual objectives. For example, social media advertising driven by AI emphasizes material items, which could conflict with religious beliefs that value transcendence or community. The second factor is a decrease in community involvement brought on by online interactions.

The automation of traditional jobs and the rise of remote labour have weakened church-based networks and other communal structures that have traditionally encouraged religiosity (Inglehart, 2020). Third, algorithmic echo chambers in AI-driven media may limit exposure to religious information since algorithms favour secular or divisive storylines based on user preferences (Pariser, 2011). All of these processes suggest that social and cultural contexts are being altered by automation and artificial intelligence in ways that go against long-standing religious traditions.

Comparative Insights

Comparing regions with varying AI adoption rates can yield more information. In regions like the US and East Asia (e.g., Japan, South Korea) where AI adoption is high, there are discernible declines in religiosity. For instance, in Japan, which has one of the highest robot densities, religious affiliation decreased from 35% in 2000 to 20% by 2025 (Pew Research Centre, 2020). However, despite sub-Saharan Africa's low adoption of AI (robot density of less than 50), more than 80% of persons in the region identify as religious (Pew Research Centre, 2020). According to these differences, the prevalence of AI may accelerate secularization in technologically sophisticated nations while maintaining stronger religious affiliations in low-adoption places. The potential for cultural and economic elements, including African communal customs, to possibly contribute to these

variations complicates direct comparisons..



Conclusion

Using secondary data from the Chicago Booth Review (2023), Pew Research Centre (2020, 2022), and Gallup polls (2023, 2025), this study investigated the postulated inverse relationship between exposure to AI/automation and religiosity. As evidenced by rising robot density and digital engagement, the findings support a significant decline in religiosity in developed countries, with U.S. religious affiliation falling from 77% in 2009 to roughly 65% by 2025. This decline coincides with an increase in AI adoption (Chicago Booth Review, 2023; Pew Research Centre, 2022). The hypothesis is supported by quantitative evidence, including a negative correlation ($r = -0.45$) between robot density and religiosity and a 3% decline in religiosity per decade in high-AI countries (Chicago Booth Review, 2023). AI-driven materialism, decreased community involvement as a result of virtual interactions, and algorithmic echo chambers that favour secular content are some of the mechanisms causing this correlation. Additionally, comparative studies show

that areas with high AI penetration—like the United States and East Asia—show more pronounced declines in religiosity than areas with low AI, like sub-Saharan Africa (Pew Research Centre, 2020). Although the use of secondary data makes it impossible to prove causation, these results point to a strong correlation between secularization trends and AI/automation.

Media studies, the sociology of religion, and technology ethics are all advanced by the study's illumination of AI's role as a cultural force changing spiritual landscapes. In the field of media studies, it highlights how AI-powered platforms, such as social media algorithms, influence cultural narratives by regularly replacing religious speech with consumerist or secular content. The results enhance secularization theory for sociology of religion by identifying AI as a modernizing driver that speeds down institutional religion losses while maintaining some aspects of personal spirituality. The study highlights the need for AI development that respects different spiritual perspectives, which is consistent with global discussions on moral technology regulation (e.g., Vatican, 2020). By integrating secondary data, this study closes a large gap in the literature and provides a novel perspective on the connection between technological advancements and cultural and spiritual shifts.

AI can be strategically used by religious organizations to counteract secularization trends. Implementing virtual services, AI-powered outreach tools (such as chatbots for spiritual counsel), or social media campaigns targeted at younger audiences, for example, could increase engagement in an increasingly digital world. Faith communities can meet people where they are because 70% of American adults utilize digital platforms every day, according to Pew Research (2025). Additionally, AI could be utilized in interfaith collaborations to foster communication and preserve sacred writings, as evidenced by programs like Sefaria (Mosaic, 2023). By finding a balance between the integration of technology and the preservation of spiritual values, these strategies offer a proactive response to the processes of secularization.

This study concludes by examining the thin boundary between spiritual identity and technological growth in an AI-driven future. While automation and AI provide unprecedented opportunities for innovation, the potential for them to erode long-standing religious establishments raises grave questions about the future of spirituality. As cultures resolve this tension, it will be essential to encourage dialogue between religion and technology to ensure that technological breakthroughs enhance rather than diminish people's need for meaning. Future research should look at how religious societies might

use AI to improve spiritual activities rather than replace them, and it should use primary data collection to explore causal mechanisms.

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