

VALUES IN CONSERVATION:
The Relationship between Values, Religion, and European Society

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<p>The purpose of this thesis is to determine how values, specifically Conservation, relate to religion, between Catholics and Protestants in particular, and with spirituality. It explores previous research and literature, and seeks to understand how human values are related to religiosity in Europe today by focusing on socioeconomic variables and the participants' self-reported measurements of values and religiosity. It also considers the history and significance of current values, as well as the social dynamics that inspire and shape, support and challenge them. Values, religion, and society dynamically interact, and this study attends to this relationship. Survey data regarding values and religiosity were taken from the European Social Survey 2010 and were analyzed using paired independent sample t-tests. All genders, ages, education levels, and income levels were considered. Regarding Conservation, there was a very significant difference between those affiliating with a religion and those not affiliating with a religion, and also between Catholics and Protestants. These results may indicate that while Europe is a post-industrial, post-modern region of the world, religion remains an important influence among many.</p>		
Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords Human values, religion, Catholicism, Protestantism, spirituality		

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to determine how values, specifically Conservation, relate to religion, between Catholics and Protestants in particular, and with spirituality. It explores previous research and literature, and seeks to understand how human values are related to religiosity in Europe today by focusing on socioeconomic variables and the participants' self-reported measurements of values and religiosity. It also considers the history and significance of current values, as well as the social dynamics that inspire and shape, support and challenge them. Values, religion, and society dynamically interact, and this study attends to this relationship. Survey data regarding values and religiosity were taken from the European Social Survey 2010 and were analyzed using paired independent sample t-tests. All genders, ages, education levels, and income levels were considered. Regarding Conservation, there was a very significant difference between those affiliating with a religion and those not affiliating with a religion, and also between Catholics and Protestants. These results may indicate that while Europe is a post-industrial, post-modern region of the world, religion remains an important influence among many.

Keywords: Human values, religion, Catholicism, Protestantism, spirituality

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Introduction

This thesis is intended to analyze the relationship between human values and religiosity. The field of human values has been studied through political, economic, sociological, and psychological contexts. The goals of such inquiries have been to understand human motivation and how individuals acquire their end goals, as well as how these motivations and goals are affected by society, culture, and technology. Values are also studied from a social psychological perspective because values are obtained through socialization; yet, they also impact the individual on a psychological level. They are also indicators of personal needs, and individuals adapt their values according to their current social setting. According to Gordon Allport, a decisive contributor to social science, “social psychology is the attempt to understand and explain how the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of other human beings” (Allport, 1954, p. 5). Because values are neither strictly sociological nor psychological, it is important to analyze them from this perspective. In light of this, the goal of this thesis is to see how the presence of religion and its adherents affect the values of individuals.

As it will be examined here, values and religion influence each other. The study of religion is also an anthropological field of study that observes beliefs, traditions, and rituals that are practiced by every culture worldwide. Religions or belief systems are universal and are therefore part of the human experience. Social structures with certain sets of values are promoted by religion, and these values in turn have a psychological impact on religious people. These structures abide by rules, which facilitate social interactions among members in order to build community and help curtail conflict. There is also an intrinsic, more personal aspect of religion that enables the individuals to experience spirituality and express a more profound connection to the particular deity.

Conservative values are often associated with religion because they promote conformity in order to have more fluid social interactions and tradition in order to transfer values and practices among members through space and time. The analysis in this thesis will serve as an example of applying values theory to one aspect of culture, religion, so as to assess the degree of conservatism in participants who affiliate with

religion, identify with Catholicism or Protestantism, and define themselves as spiritual. The analysis will also focus on all other value types and their relationships with religion.

What Are Values

Values have played an important role in significant aspects of the individual and of the society that can explain changes in societies and among individuals; therefore, they have played an important role in various fields of the social sciences. Values are desirable end states that reflect what is important to an individual (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987), and “are used to characterize societies and individuals, to trace change over time, and to explain the motivational bases of attitudes and behavior” (Schwartz, 2006). If a society holds materialist values (what it values, what is important to it, what it admires and strives toward), it will tend to emphasize virtues, sustained character dispositions, which reflect and support materialism. If a society holds more deeply human or spiritual values, it will tend to emphasize character dispositions – virtues – that reflect and support these values (Harrington & Keenan, 2002). Many social scientists have argued over the content and structure of the ways values relate to each other and as to how to properly measure values empirically, resulting in the lack of a unified theory of values, with one singular, universal definition. Of these theories, Schwartz’s “Basic Human Values”, which supports the above observation, will be used as a methodology. The reason for selecting Basic Human Values is because the values theory, as defined by Schwartz, accounts for all values that are exhibited universally among all cultures, and as such it identifies ten distinct values that are distinguished by their motivations and how they complement or conflict with each other.

The Basic Human Values theory accounts for all values, which are exhibited universally among all cultures, and identifies ten distinct values that are distinguished by their motivations and how they complement or conflict with each other. The congruence or discordance, however, among values comprises the general structure of values, and are thus not relevant to their importance. If this structure holds across various cultures, then it can be suggested that this would indeed suffice as a model to describe the organization of human motivation. Values are ordered according to relative importance by individuals and groups, and may or may not be consistent

among individuals of the same group (Schwartz, 2006).

The Structure and Content of Values The individual ranks values according to what he or she finds most important in life, and categorizes them with varying degrees of importance (Schwartz, 2006). The values I hold differ from any individual in my same group in the way I organize them hierarchically and to the degree of importance I assign each one of these values. What I may find important will not agree with what the next individual finds important; therefore, there are commonalities and differences. The values theory as defined by Schwartz identifies six main features that are shared among the many theorists of human values:

1. Values are beliefs based on emotion that are freed of objective reasoning. For example, if a person's power were challenged in the workplace, he/she would feel as though his/her authority is threatened when he/she couldn't protect it. However, if this authority continues unchallenged, the person enjoys this position.
2. Values refer to desirable goals that motivate behavior. Values are expressed by behaviors that correspond to their content (Torelli & Kaikati, 2009). People who regard independence and nontraditional lifestyles as highly important will be motivated to pursue the goals of living according to their own direction in life.
3. Values transcend specific actions and situations. Integrity, which is the adherence to accepted moral code, is a value that is relevant in politics, business, and work, and also among friends and family. This feature is what separates values from norms and attitudes, which refer to specific objects, issues, or behaviors.
4. Values serve as standards or criteria. People decide what is just or unjust, worthwhile or meaningless, good or bad based on the consequences for the values they hold dearly. In essence, values serve to guide the selection of people, policies, and actions. The casual, everyday decisions affected by values are rarely conscious. It is when actions have the potential to cause conflict among the values an individual holds that values are conscious.
5. Values are ordered by importance relative to one another. There is a hierarchal order among values for each individual, which differentiates them from norms and attitudes, which are judged independently. The ordering of

values is what characterizes an individual or group.

6. The relative importance of multiple values guides action. Because of the complementing-conflicting nature of values, any attitude or behavior has a repercussion for more than one value and therefore guides attitudes and behaviors (Schwartz, 1992). For example, one who values power may compromise his/her actions for helping others achieve their goals or even simply helping others.

So how do values differ among themselves? Each of the ten value types are expressed by individuals, and it is the individual's goals or motivations that will distinguish one value type from another. Some of these goals or motivations may complement each other, while others show stark contrast between two value types. Basic Human Values theory stipulates that there is universal recognition across cultures of motivationally distinct values, because this recognition is grounded in the three universal requirements of human existence (Schwartz, 2006). There are three requirements that satisfy the individual, while maintaining communication and the propagation of a culture or society. These three requirements are: (a) the needs of individuals as biological organisms, (b) fundamentals of harmonized social interaction, and (c) welfare and survival needs of groups (Schwartz, 2006). According to Schwartz & Bilsky (1987), these goals, "preexist the individual and are universal, and must be communicated by individuals in order to be effective members of social groups." Through socialization, individuals are taught the values that circulate within their culture that allow them to communicate about these values (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). According to Buss's (1986)¹ paper on social science and evolutionary biology, these goals and the values expressed, are crucial to survival. In order to cope with these requirements, people must communicate appropriate goals and gain cooperation in this pursuit (Schwartz, 2006).

Below are the ten basic value types, the goals individuals wish to pursue based on the value, and how through these individuals satisfy the universal human requirements. Also mentioned are examples of some values that correspond to their appropriate value type that have been identified by Schwartz's first survey on

¹ As cited in Schwartz & Bilsky (1987)

measuring values (Schwartz, 2006). The value types are shown below in italic typeface:

Self-direction is defined by the desire to have independent thought and action, and the ability to choose, explore, and create. This value derives from the organism's need for control and mastery (Bandura, 1977; Deci 1975) and interactional requirements of autonomy and independence (Kluckhohn, 1951). *Stimulation* is expressed through the goals of excitement, challenge in life, and novelty, and is derived from the biological need for stimulation and change in order to maintain a positive level of activation (Berlyne, 1960). *Hedonism's* defining goal is pleasure or sensuous gratification for the self. It is derived from the biological needs and pleasure with satisfying them (Schwartz, 2006). The defining goal of *Achievement* values is personal success through the demonstration of competence measured by social standards, obtaining social approval, and recognition. This creates resources that are necessary for individual and group survival and for reaching their objectives (Schwartz, 2006). *Achievement* focuses on the individual's successful performance as recognized by society. Related to achievement is *Power*, which is defined as having the goal to obtain social status, prestige, and control over resources and people. Lonner (1980) states that there is a dimension of dominance/submission that emerges in most analyses conducted on interpersonal relations within and across cultures. In order for an institution to continue, it requires a degree of status acknowledged by the members of its society. *Power* focuses on an individual's attainment or preservation of a dominant position.

The defining goal of *Security* is to reach harmony, safety, and stability within a society and among one's personal relationships. *Security* values satisfy the survival needs for individuals and groups, which are described as two subtypes. Some serve individual interests, such as for example, the need to feel clean, which therefore makes one feel safe about health concerns, while others serve group interests such as national security to protect a nation from perceived threats expressed by others (Schwartz, 2006). The goal of *Conformity* values is the restraint of actions and impulses likely to harm or upset others that violate social conventions. These values derive from the need to keep smooth interaction among individuals and group functioning (Schwartz, 2006). It is the practice of self-

restraint for the greater good as a whole. *Conformity* favors subordination to people and institutions an individual is in frequent contact with and responds to current and changing expectations of said people and institutions (Schwartz, 2006). *Conformity* does not necessarily inhibit progress, but rather, it guides individuals to behave according to what the expectations of a particular time are, else little commonality would exist among members of a society to bind them over time; it thus enables community to be sustained. Related to conformity values are *Tradition* values, which seek respect, commitment, and the acceptance of religious and cultural customs, and also help to connect past, present and future, and thus offer a society stability and continuity, necessary for its present and ongoing life. The abstract concepts and meanings attached to symbols of religions and cultures are recognized by the members and represent the group's solidarity. *Tradition* favors consent to abstract notions and ideas such as religion, which expects responsiveness to expectations formulated from the past (Schwartz, 2006). The consenting behavior to religion transcends time and requires the individual to adhere to behaviors based on the principles of the belief systems of that particular religion. *Benevolence* seeks to achieve the preservation and enhancement of the welfare of those with whom one is frequently contacting. These values derive from the need to maintain smooth group functioning as stated by Kluckhohn (1951) and from the organismic need for affiliation (Korman, 1974). These values emphasize the voluntary concern for the welfare of others within the in-group, or the group with which one is in frequent communication (Schwartz, 2006). *Universalism* is closely related to *Benevolence* in that it seeks to protect the welfare of others, however, it does so for all people of the out-group, or those who do not pertain to one's group of relevance, as well as in the in-group. These values seek to understand, appreciate, and accept others with whom one is not frequently contacting. *Universalism* values derive from the needs of groups and individuals to survive (Schwartz, 2006). Among these values there are two subtypes: one that focuses on maintaining the welfare of others and self, while others focus on maintaining and protecting the environment (Schwartz, 2006), which are two of the defining characteristics of spirituality according to Hill et al. (2000). The motivations of each of these values are not separate, but rather a continuation between each value type that links all ten together. An appropriate visual is a wheel, where similar values are placed next to each other, and through

monotonic or subtle continuous differences between each, values containing opposite goals lie opposite each other, thus forming dimensions that measure the degree to which an individual expresses these values.

General Structure of Values and Their Relations Because there is a continuum of motivations among values, it can be argued that there is a structure that derives from the fact that pursuing any value will have consequences that either complement or conflict with other values (Schwartz, 2006). So, if one were to pursue achievement values, his or her actions would require him/her to behave in ways that conflict with pursuing benevolence values. When seeking success, there is a tendency for one to ignore or bypass actions that would otherwise ensure the welfare of others. However, achievement and power values work well together in that they both strengthen each other when one tries to seek personal success and enhancing one's position or authority over others (Schwartz, 2006).

Schwartz says that, "actions in pursuit of values have practical, psychological, and social consequences" (Schwartz, 2006). Schwartz describes a situation when a person chooses an action alternative that promotes one value, in a practical sense, while violating a competing value as an example of the various consequences for a particular action. When choosing to perform this type of act, the person makes sense of it in a psychologically dissonant, or mentally discomforting, manner. This action is then interpreted socially as being hypocritical by others because this person is viewed as not adhering to his/her principles. People can and do pursue conflicting values, but in different acts, settings, or times (Schwartz, 2006). Essentially, it is within a specific context that an action is usually evaluated as being conflicting or congruent with one's values. The internal argument within the person committing this action reflects how values are structured in that they are not independent of each other due to the motivation continuum that connects all values together, whether in a complementary or in a conflicting manner. In other words, though interpreted socially as hypocritical or internally through psychological dissonance, an act is expressed through values that meet and interact within the individual. The individual negotiates his/her goals and values, drawing from the various types of values listed above to perform an act that that can be seen as powerful and successful or powerful and, which bypasses the welfare of others. Another possibility is that motivated by religious, cultural or other

reasons, a person may understand ‘power’ or ‘achievement’ in terms of ‘serving’ the good/welfare of others (benevolence)/altruism.

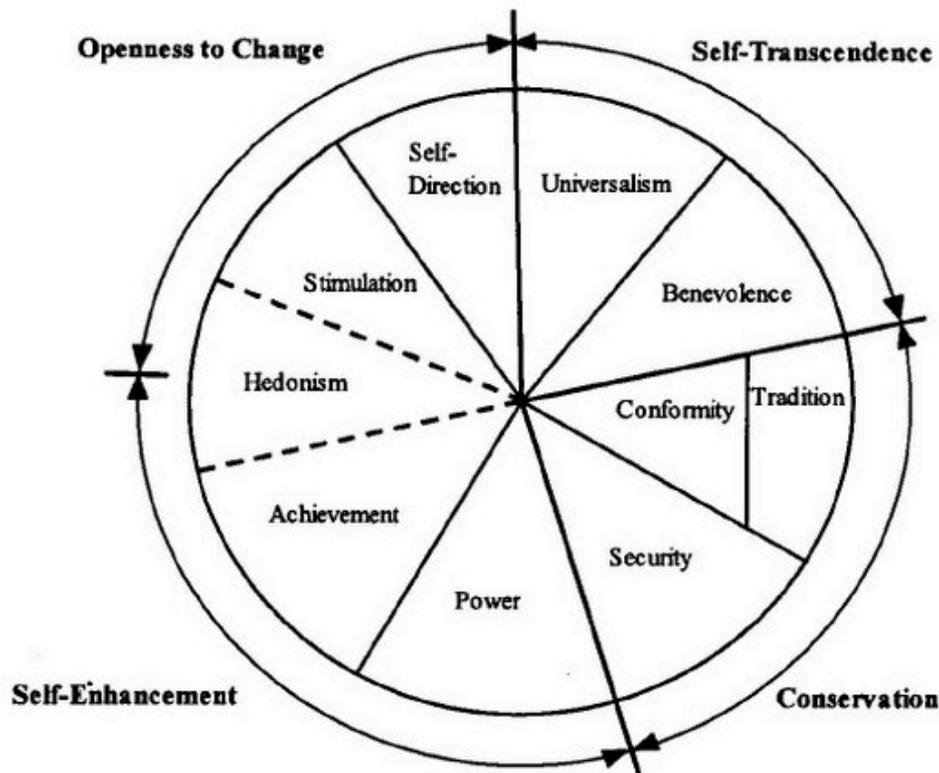


Figure 1. Schwartz's organization of the ten value types and corresponding value directions.

In Figure 1, the ten value types are represented in a circle with complementary values adjacent to one another and conflicting values directly across from them. One wedge (Conformity and Tradition), however, is shared because they have a similar motivational goal; conformity is placed toward the center and tradition toward the outer, signifying that conformity is less likely to conflict with the opposing values of self-direction and stimulation than tradition based on their positions along the Openness to change vs. Conservation dimension (Schwartz, 2006). Tradition can be a counter-balance to conformism to new emerging social demands, where one conforms to materialistic values according to the present society, expressing selfishness, which opposes the values of humility and modesty encouraged by religion. The other dimension, which lays orthogonal to the previous, is the Self-Enhancement vs. Self-Transcendence dimension where Power/Achievement, and Benevolence/Universalism lie, respectively. The idea of this circular image is to emphasize the way values relate to one another and to what degree individuals find certain values significant factors of their daily lives. The further toward the edge of the circle along a dimension the significance level lies, the more important the values associated with the particular

direction are within the value system. Likewise, as the significance level approaches the center of the circle, the less significant certain values become. To return to the example of conformity and tradition, an individual who feels that Conservatism is highly important will theoretically place Tradition values above Conformity because Tradition values lie on the extreme end of Conservatism. However, if an individual places more importance on Conformity values, which are located toward the center of the theoretical values circle, along the Openness to change vs. Conservatism dimension, the less likely this individual is to conflict with the idea to change particular aspects of his/her life so long as the rest of society does so as well. This is to facilitate social interactions. Important to note is that as society changes, behaviors exhibiting Conformity also change. Conformist behavior, in a sense, depends on the current norms of a particular society, whereas traditional values transcend these norms. According to Roberto S. Goizueta, a practical theologian who specializes in Latino theology and issues, tradition also can guard a person from subjectivism and from conforming to shifting popular pressures, which can be the result of market or political manipulation, for example. In other words, there is a positive side to ‘tradition’ that ought to be taken into account. And if the tradition upholds the more humanistic values, then it may be more ‘progressive’ than new claims, which may actually demand far more conformism and submission than those which tradition is sometimes accused of. In other words, the *content* should be the basis for rendering judgments. So, whether something is traditional or novel ought not to be the sole criteria for making judgments (Goizueta, 1995).

Hedonism is the only value that does not lie on any end of the dimensional structure because it contains features of both Self-Enhancement and Openness to change (Schwartz, 2006). Just as the circle provides a visual interpretation of opposing values, it also serves to depict how complementary values relate with one another as a spectrum of values where each adjacent value differs slightly in their motivational goals (Schwartz, 2006). Schwartz has combined all of the ten value types into adjacent complementary pairs along with shared examples of values and human requirements for each pair:

1. Power and Achievement – social superiority and respect
2. Achievement and Hedonism – self-centered satisfaction
3. Hedonism and Stimulation – a desire for affectively pleasant arousal

4. Stimulation and Self-Direction – intrinsic interest in novelty and mastery
5. Self-Direction and Universalism – reliance upon one’s own judgment and comfort with the diversity of existence
6. Universalism and Benevolence – enhancement of others and transcendence of selfish interests
7. Benevolence and Tradition – devotion to one’s in-group
8. Benevolence and Conformity – normative behavior that promotes close relationships
9. Conformity and Tradition – subordination of self in favor of socially imposed expectations
10. Tradition and Security – preserving existing social arrangements that give certainty to life
11. Conformity and Security – protection of order and harmony in relations
12. Security and Power – avoiding or overcoming threats by controlling relationships and resources

This circular structure of values with complementary types adjacent to one another, and conflicting types on opposite ends of either dimension, is analogous to the color wheel or color spectrum. This is where similar colors are located next to each other and opposing colors across from each other. Schwartz explains that this structure is useful for measuring values because it has implications for how values relate to other variables, suggesting that the whole set of value types relate to other variables in an integrated manner (Schwartz, 2006). More on this will be reviewed later on in this paper.

Predicting Behavior The Basic Human Values theory has united values with other variables present in the lives of individuals, and shows the importance values hold in our lives. We all value something and it’s conceptually impossible to not have any values. The circular structure of values provides a pattern that allows us to predict behavior (Schwartz, 2006). For example, we can predict that if one value set at the end of one dimension is important to an individual, then we can assume that he/she opposes the other extremes and makes choices based on his/her values’ motivational goals. Also, if a background variable correlates to a specific value then there is also an expected pattern of associations that will follow a circular structure (Schwartz,

2006). For example, low income corresponds to a higher level of religiosity in Western societies and therefore more conservative personal values are favored. Schwartz says that this integrated structure facilitates the understanding of relations of value priorities with other variables, and that one theory identifies the values likely to relate most and least positively to a variable, the circular structure then implies a specific pattern of positive, negative, or no associations for the remaining values (Schwartz, 2006).

I will refer to Schwartz's Basic Human Values theory as my base for explaining the phenomena of my research, which will explore value relations among the socioeconomic variables age, education, income, and gender with the religious denominations of Catholicism and Protestantism, secularism, and spirituality. Religion generally encourages its adherents to pursue tradition and conformity values, but how these two values relate to the other eight types depends on a given society, time period, and the historical background and practices of particular religions.

What Affects Values There are three principles that govern the structure of values. Previously discussed was the first principle of how value types relate with one another conceptually based on their motivational goals. The second principle focuses on what interests the value types serve. Half of the value types that serve the personal interests of the individual are self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, power, and achievement, while the other five - security, conformity, tradition, benevolence, and universalism - focus more on how the individual relates to others socially. Anxiety is another factor that contributes to the organization of values, with some ensuring little or no conflict with others: conformity, tradition, power, and security. Other values such as hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, and benevolence contain anxiety-free goals due to the motivations of seeking one's own way in life regardless of not being "tried and true," and ensuring that others are cared for even at the expense of one's own personal enhancement (Schwartz, 2006). The achievement value type is used to express one's competence according to social standards - therefore addressing anxiety - but it also affirms one's sense of accomplishment (Schwartz, 2006). These three principles therefore confirm the circular structure of values based on similarities of motivational goals, interests served, and the importance of handling anxiety. Next, I will look into what socioeconomic variables

affect the importance of values among individuals within a society. These variables have an impact on the differences in life circumstances and therefore different experiences on individuals (Schwartz, 2006).

A person's experiences affect the organization of their personal values. Whether it is the role one plays, the traumas, other circumstances experienced, or one's economic situation, these variables are bound to be a determining factor for how one pursues a particular lifestyle (Schwartz, 2006). It is possible for people to adapt their values to changes in their lives by upgrading values that can readily be attained, while downgrading other values based on pursuits perceived to be more difficult to attain, as suggested by Bardi and Schwartz (2003). However, as Inglehart (1997) states, this mechanism also functions in reverse, where values that are difficult to attain become more important, while those that are easily acceptable are no longer significant (Schwartz, 2006).

Gender An important socioeconomic variable is gender. Men and women are given or pursue a particular gender role in society, which is associated with specific behaviors. In a previous study, it was postulated that many theories surrounding gender agree that men express more agentic-instrumental values such as achievement, power, hedonism, self-direction, and stimulation, while females place more importance on universalism and benevolence values that are characterized as being expressive-communal values (Schwartz & Rubel, 2005; Schwartz, 2006; Schwartz & Rubel-Lifschitz 2009). Although these are generalizations of roles in society, it is important to note that these differences are small (Schwartz, 2006). Since Schwartz & Rubel-Lifschitz (2009) state that most of these values are presented universally among men and women, the adoption of certain values for the two genders can be argued from a perspective presented by evolutionary psychology. Problems that humans' ancestors endured affected the psychological goals that guide human thought and behavior within different situations presented in life (Kenrick et al., 2002). Because women had to invest more time in child rearing, they sought men who could obtain a dominant status because they would therefore have more power over resources needed for survival (Davies & Schackelford, 2008; Schwartz & Rubel-Lifschitz, 2009). Thus, this produced a cycle that encouraged men to seek power and achievement in order to successfully mate (Kenrick et al., 2002).

Also, the physiological qualities of males promoted dominance across social roles, which contain a high level of power (Whyte, 1978; Wood & Eagly, 2002). These behaviors are congruent with competition among men, which in turn encouraged them to value stimulation more than women in order to obtain more reproductive gains. Risks and challenges were sought in order to obtain power and achieve reproductive success (Daly & Wilson, 2001). Likewise, through the perspective of evolutionary psychology, women's values and roles can be defined as focusing more on the family and raising children. Women seek to maximize a return for investing time in parenting, and for seeking the welfare of their family and children (Schwartz & Rubel 2009). According to Valian (1998), the reproductive role women have allows them to experience the role of being nurturers. Because of these value orientations, it can be argued that men will pursue open and self-enhancing values more than women, who will value conservatism and self-transcendence values more than men. Results from van Herk & Poortinga's (2011) indicate that women hold more conservative values when compared to men, whereas men value self-enhancement more. According to Hofstede's values system, masculinity is one of the values dimensions, which measures how masculine a society, culture, or nation is. "Masculine" nations are those that emphasize on achievement and power, for example the United States, and "feminine" nations are those that emphasize on the welfare of all, for example Denmark (Hofstede, 1997).

Age Another important variable is age, since typical circumstances that accompany certain ages affect the dimensional orientation of an individual's values (Schwartz, 2006). For example, Glen (1974) states that the older one becomes, the greater the desire is for one to become more embedded in their social groups, committed to habitual patterns, and less open to change increases. So as one becomes older, the more likely one is to shift toward the Conservation direction along the "Openness to change vs. Conservation dimension". This may be most definitely true, but it may not necessarily be the only factor. For example, experiences over time may lead individuals to make certain conclusions and decisions of what is important. This suggests that when one is young, self-direction and values promoting openness are encouraged. Similarly, openness may also be due to a lack of information and a search for experiences in order to reach conclusions and decisions. In both cases,

however, integration/maturity can involve both a daring openness and conservation regardless of age. In fact, it can be argued that some older people to be far more open-minded and some young people more closed-minded, although the *tendency* is probably the other way around. The opposite may occur when one seeks higher education as a person ages, for example. Van Herk & Poortinga's (2011) research discovers an association with age and the two value dimensions. Younger participants in the study appear to value Openness and Self-Enhancement, whereas the older participants value Conservatism and Self-Transcendence more. A possible explanation may be due to the many changes that occur throughout life, and values are adapted in order to accommodate them (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). One of these changes, which are experienced by many people, is having children, for example. When a person has others to care for, he/she will become more preoccupied with the welfare of the children at the expense of their self-enhancing values, thus shifting toward the Self-Transcendence direction along the Self-Enhancement vs. Self-Transcendence dimension (Schwartz, 2006). Age cohorts, however, may continue to reflect the values held during difficult circumstances, such as living during difficult political and socioeconomic conditions (Inglehart, 1997).

Education The level of education one has attained will also affect the orientation of values. Kohn and Schooler (1983), argue that education has the tendency to promote flexibility, openness, and self-direction values; yet, it should also be noted that schools are in many ways 'reproducers' of the dominant social ideals and values, although at times they also can promote alternatives. These alternatives can themselves be motivated simply by new emerging orthodoxies and dominant values. Schools are to a great extent 'institutions of socialization'. While encouraging these values, educational experiences reduce the importance of Tradition and Conformity values (Schwartz, 2006). Referring back to Goizueta's argument, these values replace Conservative values, but in a way also act as a means to conform individuals, within the academic, context to adopt the new Universalist values. There is also a positive correlation with achievement and education, which is explained by the nature of schooling. There are standards by which students are graded, and so in order to meet them, students will raise the significance they place on achievement in order to meet these standards in education (Schwartz, 2006).

Universalism values also show a positive correlation with education, but that is not entirely visible, nor will it become significant until higher-level education has been attained (Schwartz, 2006). This may be due to the environment of university education, which tends to broaden one's social horizons and expose individuals to global issues and to the importance of addressing them. It is important to note that Universalist values have greater associations with education than do Benevolence values, because the content of a university education encourages students to reach beyond their groups and care for the wellbeing of others not pertaining to their social groups, as well as the environment (Schwartz, 2006). In other words, values are embedded within these systems, which are comprised of individuals who acted according to their goals. In this case, the goal of higher education for university educators and administrators is self-direction and personal enhancement. Therefore the structure created accommodated for these values in the form of evaluations and the university environment.

Income Income has been found to correlate with how one chooses to live. The higher the income, the more likely one may choose to lead a more self-directed lifestyle (Schwartz, 2006). A high income provides people with enough security to venture out and risk leading their lives in a nontraditional manner (Schwartz, 2006). Also, with more income, more resources to choose certain lifestyles are easily available, so the expression of openness to change would be easily cultivated. The less one earns, the more the individual places significance on power and security values (Schwartz, 2006). Within the context of being poor, an individual forms values and pursues value-informed actions. The individual is not 'naturally' benevolent, but prefers culture and tradition because there is a base of security and predictability that eases one's anxiety. In turn, this sense of security and predictability can permit a person to exercise more benevolence.

What Is Religion

Religion is one of the fundamental aspects of what it means to be human, and is one of the defining features of every civilization, along with marriage and language. Every society has always had a religion, which has spread through time and space during the course of a given society's history. Even some of the earliest human ancestors, such as ancient Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon, exhibited religious

awareness, as their burial sites suggest. Religion is indeed a universal phenomenon that affects all people. Religious thinking is partly an expression of what makes the human being an exceptional species on Earth, and has developed mankind's existential worth. Self-awareness is one of the factors that encouraged early peoples to explore the mysteries of life and interpret them by means of supernatural, unknown forces. Religious beliefs are basic perceptions of space, time, behavior, and how the world should be.

Religion has offered explanations about the more transcendent meaning of events that have not been experienced or sensed by the individual or community. It relies on belief and faith, and it guides behavior from the micro to the macro levels of society, such as the family and the government. Anthropologist, Stanley Tambiah argues that it is the belief in the existence of a power outside to which one is obligated, and the feeling of piety one has toward that power. Religion is essentially something one feels and does (Tambiah, 1990), and for Christians, this is in relation to the "Wholly Other," as coined by Karl Barth. The concept of the "Wholly Other" is that God is uniquely and radically transcendent from all creation, yet has a special relationship with people, and is thus not a distant god, but imminent and accessible god (Barth, 1960).

There is much debate as to what religion really is, and how to differentiate a religion from a philosophy. Defining religion within sociology has played a crucial role in developing theories to rightly describe the phenomenon on a universal level in order to encompass any belief that exists outside of the profane, material world (Parsons, 1944). In general, anthropologists agree with a very broad definition, which describes religion to be any system of beliefs in symbols, rituals, and supernatural forces that serve to make life meaningful and intelligible. Two common characteristics included in religion are recognition of the supernatural (sacred), and an ideology that interprets and orders the world. There is a distinction made between what is tangible (the profane) and what is otherworldly that relies on faith (the sacred) as first defined in 1912 by Emile Durkheim in his *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. The most accepted definition of religion is given by Clifford Geertz as, "a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in people by formulating conceptions of a general order of

existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic” (Livingston, 1993). According to Charles Glock, “every religion places some value on subjective religious experience as a sign of individual religiosity... and sets forth some set of beliefs to which its followers are expected to adhere” (Glock, 1962, pp. 99). Other anthropologists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss argue that symbols embodied in myths are formed in common patterns, such as juxtaposing sets of symbolic elements that identify a value, a desirable object (Lévi-Strauss, 1978). These symbols also embody a course of action; those that identify its opposition; and a set of values that resolve conflicts that arise from the two opposing sides (Bates & Fratkin, 2003). Such myths therefore serve as a guide for resolving conflicts of morals and values within a society. Religious ritual is important to analyze because it develops a structure within the religion, which I predict will affect differences in value priorities among various denominations. “The ritualistic dimension encompasses the specifically religious practices expected of religious adherents” (Glock, 1962, pp. 99) and therefore guides behavior and defines stages in life and expectations the individual must achieve.

Religion is a means to describe the unknown world, and through the accepted belief and worship of that power, a set of practices and rules for living are formulated in order to create a sense of predictability in the aspects of life where rational, empirical explanation falls short. According to Shalom Schwartz’s theory of Basic Human Values, truly believing in this power and how to carry out one’s life accordingly exhibits motivations and behaviors congruent with traditional values. Likewise, acting accordingly in order to avoid conflict and follow along with one’s group exhibits motivations and behaviors associated with conformity values. Traditional values in this sense are more intrapersonal in that an individual expresses piety toward his/her deity, whereas conformity values express an individual’s need for predictability and prescribed functionality in society.

According to Malinowski, “primitive religions” were able to distinguish between technology and magic. Magic had a role in structuring situations that contained high levels of uncertainty and potential danger (Malinowski, 1948), and could therefore bring some sense of order into the uncertainty experienced by the society for a particular object or event. Organized forms of worship and ritual served

to explain and settle anxieties related to such situations. I therefore predict that the more structured a religion, the more conservative values are held by its members. More ritual requires the members of a society to adhere to a set of rules for communicating with the divine entity, thus increasing the importance placed on conservative values. This hypothesis can be tested on Catholics and Protestants in Europe using data collected from the European Social Survey in 2010.

Christianity Catholicism emphasizes the importance of ritual and community, and has a hierarchical system of the divine's representatives, with the pope serving as the leader of the church and representative of both the people and the divine. For example, participating in Mass is of high importance (Eliade, 1987) for Catholics, since it is the central act of worship in the Church. Catholicism's doctrines, including its teachings on worship, are taken from both tradition and sacred texts (Hinnells, 1984). For Catholics, union and communication ("communion") with the divine is realized and expressed in rich ceremonial, prayers and ritual sacramental practices. The importance is placed on community, authoritative institutional structures, such as the Magisterium², and continuity and tradition within its very ecclesiology (self-identity). Protestantism, on the other hand, tends to reject this hierarchal system. It also de-emphasizes rituals in order to emphasize the importance of the individual's own personal connection with the divine. It began as an alternative to that which place more emphasis on individualist interpretations of Scripture (Sola Scriptura)³ and, therefore, more individualism and less traditional community. This personal connection can be achieved (more authentically, according to them) with the absence of a particular set of rituals. Generally, the concept of Protestantism, regardless of any particular denomination, is the belief in being a 'religion of the word', and emphasizing the individual's ability to interpret and apply the divine revelation contained in the 'word' of sacred texts (Eliade, 1987). This belief is a unifying factor of all Protestant denominations, and in general can be described as being more faith-orientated, whereas Catholicism is more faiths-inspired, works-oriented (Park, Cohen, & Herb, 1990).

² Magisterium: the teaching authority of the Catholic Church

³ Sola Scriptura: the doctrine that claims the Bible is the only source needed for salvation. A hierarchy of clergy and ritual is not necessary to have one's soul saved.

Religion, particularly Christianity, serves to keep a society bounded together with moral and ethical rules that enhance both the certainty and fluidity by which the members live and interact with one another. The Ten Commandments are a set of guidelines, for example, which guide behavior. These, according to the Bible, were given to Moses directly from God. These laws transcend humanity, and therefore are highly revered due to the power of their provenance. For example, the seventh commandment, “thou shall not steal” condemns theft and considers it a crime. All ten recognize basic duties of justice toward the deity and neighbor, and thus serve to reduce crime and confrontation in a society. According to Hill et al. (2000), religion is negatively related to deviancy. The Ten Commandments are, yet again, a good example of how religion guides its adherents to live peacefully with each other. This in turn allows for a community or society to develop based on mutual trust and reduction of fear and anxiety, as well as enhances the relations among its members. Other than a guiding structure and a set of laws sent by the divine, religion allows its members to communicate with the divine on a more personal level, as well through established prayer and good works. Arguably, a highly structured system is not needed in order to exhibit either pro-social behavior or to communicate with the divine. This other level of religion focuses more on the individual’s experience with the divine and the value one places on this. In a sense there are “inner” and “outer” layers of religion, individual and communal.

There is an extrinsic value to religion. Religion serves to guide members of a society in their behaviors and interactions with others in order to facilitate smooth cooperation among individuals. This aspect of religion serves as a mechanism and structure, which allow individuals to build and preserve social cohesion (Wilson, 1982). That is why traditional and conformity values are strongly correlated with religion as opposed to self-directed, hedonism, and stimulation values. Religion has its own form of economics that is governed by prescribed relationships between men and women that include the distribution of property among members of the society. The social structure maintains common beliefs through ritual and fulfills basic social functions (Durkheim, 1954). Charles Glock states that for a religious structure to exist there must be several dimensions that compose it:

The first is the ideological dimension, which claims the existence of a divine power, defines its purpose and one’s role with regard to that purpose, and how

that purpose is to be implemented. Agreeing to the existence of the divine allows one to carry out the purpose he/she believes has been given to him/her through the facilitation of a structured system. The next is the ritualistic dimension, which depends on the members and the frequency of their participation. The propagation of a religion depends on the willingness of its members to participate in rituals in order to maintain its message through space and time. The third deals with “feeling religion,” or the experiential dimension, which describes one’s own religious experience, such as feeling the presence of the Holy Spirit or ancestors, depending on the particular religion. In this dimension, a person “feels” the religion and relates experiences based on the explanations provided. Each religious person is informed about his/her faith, and there are varying degrees of knowledge of it among the members. This is the intellectual dimension, which encompasses the knowledge of how the faith functions, its history, and to what extent each member knows about it. Not all religions require their members to know as much as priests, while other expect that their members spend their lives studying it in the example of Christianity and Orthodox Judaism, respectively. The final dimension is the consequential, which deals with the effects of carrying out religious practices and living according to its established norms. In Christianity, one is to be the “steward of God” and regard the earth and the body as gifts from the divine and therefore treat them with care and live responsibly (Glock, 1962, pp. 99).

One can physically conform to all these dimensions and meet the requirements for the religious society. Depending on the individual, the values set held would either consider this conformity important or incongruent with other beliefs. Through socialization one learns behaviors and consequences of conformity or self-direction. In Catholicism, for example, there is a strong emphasis on fulfilling sacraments and other rituals, whereas in Protestantism the emphasis is on one’s personal connection (or relationship) with God. Catholics are therefore socialized into practicing religious rituals as part of their social and religious selves, while Protestants maintain the importance of connecting with God without many particular rituals. Catholicism emphasizes community – and thus a unifying common language of symbols, language and ritual – and Protestantism emphasizes the individual.

The intrinsic value of religion deals more with the individual's experience with the sacred and one's own personal understanding and handling of anxieties presented by the uncertainties of life, in contrast to adhering to a social structure. In a study conducted by Crystal Park et al. an attempt was made to determine differences in intrinsic religiousness between Catholics and Protestants. It was found that an intrinsic orientation aids Protestants to find strength and meaning after uncontrollable stressful situations by helping make sense of negative experiences; while Catholics tend to prefer acting in ways that reduce guilt when stressful situations are partly self-induced (Park, Cohen, & Herb, 1990). Park et al. also suggest that these findings could be attributed to the fact that Protestantism's focus on faith may allow an individual to use intrinsic religious orientation as a means to help him/her cope with stressful situations (Park, Cohen, & Herb, 1990). According to Gordon Allport, "intrinsic religiousness regards faith as a supreme value in its own right and is oriented toward a unification of being, takes seriously the commandment of brotherhood, and strives to transcend all self-centered needs," whereas extrinsic religiousness (or religiosity) "is strictly utilitarian; useful for the self in granting safety, social standing, solace and endorsement for one's chosen way of life" (Allport, 1966).

Religion in Europe Early Christianity in Europe had a centralized structure that formed an organized community, and was considered of high importance along with faith that affects every aspect of life. If all aspects reflect the teachings of a religion, then a certain set of values will be held. Value differences are heavily influenced by history, such as the differences in power distance between the Catholic countries that were once part of the Holy Roman Empire and the Protestant countries that were not (Hofstede, 2001). The Catholic Church acted as a more centralized form of government adhering to one creed, whereas Protestant nations were comprised of several denominations functioning at more local levels and thus catering to the wishes of a smaller majority where it is easier for an individual to express oneself. Belonging to the Holy Roman Empire has had an impact that has been passed down until present day, which explains the defining characteristics in the structure of beliefs and values between Northern Europe and Latin European countries (Hofstede, 2001). According to Feather (1975), institutions pass down specific sets of values, so the values of a highly structured religion have been maintained in the form of participating in rituals

and practices in order to remain in the church community and adhere to religious teachings. Thus those who identify with an organized church should hold more traditional values, as conforming to an established set of beliefs and practices is important. In Catholicism, one must participate in at least five of the seven sacraments, for example. One does not need to be particularly religious to perform these sacraments; nearly conforming to participating in them serves to maintain one's place in society.

According to Livingston (1993), many religions in the world experience reform from within brought about by protests and changes from its members. Even within particular denominations, there are degrees to which people are religious or not based on their needs and goals, church attendance, and amount of time dedicated to prayer. Those who do not feel their needs and ideals, or the religious community's ideals and needs or goals have been satisfied by their current religion, will opt for another one or try to make changes within their own community. This is one of the causes of the emergence of subgroups in religious communities (Livingston, 1993). Disagreements over the interpretation of doctrine or scripture and authority were likely causes for protest, reform, and separation. There are two reasons a new community breaks away from the original church: (a) it has overlooked or denied the original teachings, and (b) it claims an independent revelation that challenges the church and the greater society (Livingston, 1993). I argue that leaving the Catholic Church in order to fulfill a more satisfying religious life based on conflicting interpretations of scripture shows a more self-directed approach to communicating with the divine, and therefore less emphasis on more defined organized religion, with its governance, doctrinal emphasis, ritual practices and norms for interacting with the divine. As a consequence, I predict that Protestants should not emphasize conservative values as do Catholics.

The Reformation created an alternative form of Christianity that differed substantially to the much more structured Catholic Church and religion. Leaders of different Protestant denominations claimed that people should not subject their faith onto a centralized government (the Magisterium), nor to a large entity, such as society, because faith is something personal (Tambiah, 1990). Protestantism's focus on the individual on more local levels, I believe, can translate to a weaker connection

with conservative values when compared with Catholicism's connections to conservative values. Greater freedom of faith was granted in Protestant philosophy and could therefore harbor more approval for self-direction values. The Enlightenment also played a major role in religious beliefs in Europe. Religion was then studied in a rational, cognitive manner that reflected the interest in the abstract and intellectual constructs of faith (Turner, 1991). The Enlightenment produced the idea that the belief in an omnipotent, existential power can be obtained through "natural reasoning." Turner points out that after this period, a rational approach to religion was combined with history in order to better understand how faith and culture function together. Faith and religious systems have guided human interaction throughout space and time, and this more reasoned-centered approach offered new avenues for exploring these or in many cases critiquing them.

Several examples point to a more individualist approach to faith as a result of the Reformation. In the Middle Ages, the Catholic church ensured monogamous unions between a man and a woman through its teachings, while the teachings of the Reformation, as Friedrich Engels argues, did not agree with systems of arranged marriages, which were contracted in order to maintain property and wealth through contractual relationships (Turner, 1991). Instead, the Reformation encouraged the freedom of conscience, which challenges parental control and other roles the family played in an individual's life. However, this freedom did not transcend class, but allowed for choice within class (Engels, n.d.)⁴. This change of thought is a possible explanation for the slight difference that may exist between Catholic and Protestant values, where Protestants should theoretically be more open to change than Catholics or at least less conservative than Catholics. The power granted to the individual to act within society, and with God, allows the individual to act in a more self-directed manner, which places less importance on conformity and structuralized ritual and more on self-guidance.

Protestantism's stress on individualism, in turn, is at the root of capitalism (Turner, 1991). Capitalism would come to change the economic structure of Europe to industrialism, and this ushered in the values of modernity (Inglehart & Baker,

⁴ As cited in Turner (1991)

2000). The breakaway from an established church is a result of not trusting human fellowship and of seeing the centralized church as an obstacle between the individual and God (Turner, 1991). Religious individualism is an ideology, which separates and combines individuals within a society (Hirst & Woolley, 1982), and views the individual as a component in socioeconomic functions (Hirst, 1979). The belief in the sovereignty of the individual is mainly found in Christianity, yet Christianity is inherently communal as well. Even in other monotheistic religions, such as Judaism and Islam, there exists some adherence to ritual and collectivist beliefs and practices (Turner, 1991). In non-Western societies, the lack of a strong support for the doctrine of the individual is tied to economic stagnation (Turner, 1991). Individualism has an impact on the economic development in a society, and as can be observed, nations with higher regard for individualism have higher standards of living and larger GDPs, for example. Capitalism supports the idea that each individual has the right to property and their own personal rights, and is supported by a Protestant work ethic.

The Protestant movement of individualism and the individual's contract with God also challenged the institutionalized sacraments of the Catholic Church (Turner, 1991). Catholics strongly believe in ritual and a centralized community, whereas Protestants believe the faith an individual nourishes is all that is needed for salvation and communication with God. In reality, both are important Christian values: the individual and community, not one at the expense of the other. Neither collectivism nor individualism are inherent Christian traits. As Christians, both Catholics and Protestants share similar teachings from the Bible and arguably can somewhat agree on the same Creed. The major difference between the two is the social structure and the importance placed on the individual or the church community as a whole.

Spirituality Spirituality and religion are deeply connected. However, modern society tends to believe that a marked difference exists between spirituality and religion. For example, there is a general feeling that one can be spiritual without having to belong to any particular religion or worship any particular deity. Religion is often seen as something “bad”, “old-fashioned”, “rigid”, and “formal”, whereas spirituality contains a connotation of being “good”, “profound”, “sensitive”, “transcendental”, and “meaningful” (Pargament, 1997; Hill et al., 2000). Because “religion” has this connotation, the questions asked on the European Social Survey

may not accurately measure participants' spirituality (that is, those who consider themselves secular). This is because these questions employ "religion" in their wording rather than "spirituality".

Religio, is the Latin root for, "religion" and has three historical definitions: (a) a supernatural deity (or deities) with followers who are committed and motivated, (b) a feeling present within one of these followers, and (c) ritual practices carried out to worship that power (Wulff, 1997). Spirituality's root word *Spiritus* means life or breath in Latin, and according to Hill et al. (2000), has three dimensional constructs: (a) a God-oriented spirituality, (b) a world-oriented spirituality, and (c) a humanistic spirituality (Hill et al., 2000). Rudolf Otto refers to the spiritual relationship with God as an experience whose primary object is outside of the self. This transcendental experience is non-sensory and non-rational, but rather "mystifying", "terrifying", and "fascinating" (Otto, 1950). Other theorists of religion claim that spirituality expresses "an ultimate concern" (Tillich, 1952), and a search for meaning in life (LaPierre, 1994). This "quest" to answer the unknown and to discern what one's role on this earth is and what life means agrees with Ingelhart & Baker's (2000) observation that with the adoption of post-modern values, there is still a need for a connection with something that transcends what we see in this life, on this earth. Spirituality and religion involve a constant search for truth with the presence of uncertainty. Praying to a god or gods offers comfort to people and offers them hope for their present lives.

Important to distinguish is what spirituality exactly is. It often takes on a very loose meaning where an individual makes claims about something is his/her spirituality. Although religion and spirituality have no exact or concise definition, as previously argued, there are parameters that certainly distinguish a loose, casual (or popular) interpretation from one that has more psychological and sociological reasoning. According to Hill et al., (2000), a spiritual ideology must contain a sense of the Sacred, in the form of a person, principle, or object that transcends the self and what is seen on earth (Hill et al., 2000). Using this definition, it is difficult to claim that arts and crafts alone is the core of one's spirituality, unless it incorporates the belief that the objects produced from this hobby are manifestations of God's beauty, and gift of creativity and art to humankind, for example. Such a 'this-worldly' and individualist spirituality tends to be favored by those who prefer to remain

independent established religion. However, due to “spiritual” needs either to create their own spirituality, or believe that what enables them to fulfill this need is to have a strong personal connection between the self and their own deity. In the groundbreaking study of individualism and community in North American society, *Habits of the Heart*, Bellah et al., discuss the example of “Sheilaism”, which is a form of spiritual life expressed in the United States. Sheilaism distances established religion from the spiritual self, and instead emphasizes on the importance of the individual and his/her connection with his/her own god (Bellah et al., 1985). In modern America, many have adopted this notion of religion that avoids traditional forms of religious community and belief and instead opt for a more self-directed and self-enhancing spiritual religious construct. A Gallup poll conducted in 1999 revealed that 30% of Americans identify themselves as “spiritual but not religious.” Another Gallup poll conducted in 2002 revealed that nearly a third of those who are “spiritual but not religious” are actually committed to their spirituality. What this means is that Americans value individualism, and individualism extends even into their religion (Gallup, 2003). American individualism is not recent, but rather has roots in the Protestant Reformation where the structure of Christianity was challenged and rejected by those who favor a more direct and personal relationship with God sans clerical hierarchy and dogmatic teachings (Tillich, 1952; Hill et al., 2000). In contrast, in Latino communities in Latin American countries, the traditional and institutional dimensions of Christianity as exemplified by Catholicism are regarded as integral to the community. In Latino society, tradition is likewise considered as essential, while change and individualism tend to be considered as threatening to the stability of community and society (Goizueta, 1995).

The casual definition of spirituality has taken the connotation of extreme subjectivism, whereby principles are based on relative ideas and concepts, observations made in Hill et al. (2000) support. At times, some create practices and personal beliefs in order to justify their personal actions, or in order to serve as therapy or self-enhancement (Sedikides & Gebauer, 2009); yet without reference to the Sacred or transcendent Mystery. Such a posture can easily claim that practices, such as attending yoga classes or adhering to a strict organic vegetarian diet, makes one spiritual in the sense that one becomes self-integrated and fulfilled. This lifestyle makes them “spiritual”. However, this particular lifestyle by itself lacks devotion to

something sacred beyond oneself and beyond the sensory world. To be spiritual, as defined by those in my review, means to act for the sake of the Sacred, to do the will of God without expecting something in return. To be truly spiritual is in this sense to adhere to and serve God, not have God serve one and justify one's actions. Once the Sacred, that which transcends humanity and worldly objects, is acknowledged, a religion may not necessarily be needed in order to be spiritual. Unless this person attends yoga classes because he/she feels that this particular exercise and complementary diet serves to maintain the gift of life given to them by God, then he/she is not spiritual. Based on this, those who understand spirituality and are "spiritual, but not religious" should theoretically hold Self-Transcendence values: Universalism, Benevolence, and to some degree Self-Direction.

Influence of Religion and Economy on Values

Values are shaped by many social factors such as history, economics, politics, culture, and religion. The state of a nation's economy has a strong impact on a society's value orientation; however, it is important to recognize that the cultural heritage of a society is also influential (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). In Inglehart's *Modernization and Post- Modernization* (1997), he makes the claim that economic development, cultural change, and political change all influence each other and can possibly predict patterns according to changes among them. A changing economy provokes a change in relationships among individuals and between the individual and the greater society. Thus, a value shift is imminent when the economic structure changes. This agrees with Schwartz in that an individual or a society cannot hold conflicting values to the same degree of importance. Economic factors also have a relationship with religious belief, as Max Weber states in his *Protestant Ethic*. Thus in being industrious, one is "working" for God or participating in the ongoing act of creation.

The accumulation of wealth is also considered morally justified if it is combined with a moral career (Feather, 1984). How Conservatism values relate to Protestants and Catholics depends also on the societies and economies. Many theorists such as Weber believe that religiosity will be more positively correlated to Achievement, as explained in the *Protestant Ethic*. The ideal conservative is one who favors religious values at the expense of hedonistic behavior (Wilson, 1973) and

therefore emphasizes the importance of discipline, authority, and hard work (Feather, 1984). The importance for one to be disciplined and industrious changed the economic environment of Europe, due to this work ethic presented by the individualism that was promoted during the Protestant movement. A central aspect of “Protestant ethic” is the effort of the individual to attain success and rewards (Feather, 1984), and societies with strong “Protestant ethic” therefore contained a competitive structure in their economies, which pushes the individual to strive for achievement and success (McClelland, 1971). Also, a Protestant interpretation of certain Old Testament passages in isolation tends to see wealth ‘as blessings for obedience to God’. This, of course, is not the view of all Protestants, and most especially Catholics, especially since there are plenty of biblical books, sections and passages that flatly deny this. Important to remember is that if Protestants are industrious, and are so for God, then this shows some transcendental reason for working, and this may not necessarily be for personal enhancement.

The industrialization of a society also has a profound influence on social values. Industrialization tends to facilitate rising educational levels and changing gender roles, and is seen as a significant component of the modernization process that produces changes in other elements of society (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). In industrialized societies women work outside the home, and as a result have more influence in the societal dimensions of culture than before when they were relegated to domestic chores around the house and personal property. The demands of the transition to industrialization called for an increase in education and learned skills in order to sustain the economic development. Education became an important market, which employed those who can convey knowledge to groups of people at a given time. Capitalism, which was born out of Protestant individualism and the desire to obtain wealth in a way that honors God, also honors one’s individuality and personal direction and achievement. Such a worldview allows its adherents to grow according to their own ambition and creativity, and thus lead a more self-directed life. In general, the path toward post-industrialism encouraged the adoption of self-expressive values, while leaving behind security, tradition, and conformity values (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Security in a growing economy made security values less important in exchange for values that encourage stimulation and self-direction.

According to Inglehart & Baker, there are two widely accepted schools of thought of how social values relate to socioeconomic changes. One of these schools proposes that values will “converge” as a result of modernization, which is comprised of the political and economic changes that fuel changes in society. These changes in value orientation will result in a shift away from traditional values; but affluence and political changes in modern society are recent and, therefore, religious orientations will continue to persist (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). The second school emphasizes that traditional values will “persist” despite political and economic changes. According to other studies, values are independent of economic changes (DiMaggio, 1994)⁵. Despite there being similar economies for Catholic and Protestant nations, different religious backgrounds do affect value orientations (Schwartz & Huisman, 1995). There are eight cultural zones into which most known societies can be categorized under (Huntington, 1996). Despite the modernization movement, religious traditions still remain influential because they have persisted over time, shaping the political and economic systems; they transcend space and time. These eight zones are African, Confucian, Hindu, Islamic world, Japanese, Latin American, Orthodox world, and Western Christianity. These zones have existed for centuries and have endured as cultural systems, and it is highly unlikely that the global population will eventually merge into one society. Each culture has its own path into the future based on its own needs brought about by its history, context, and people. Although people attend less church services today, the cultural religious heritage is still integrated in each of the eight zones in the post-modern era (Huntington, 1996)⁶. In addition, the religious heritage of a country may weaken or restrain the acceptance of openness if the religious traditions are still influential (Huntington, 1996; Inglehart, 1997). My study will focus on what the differences in values are between Catholics and Protestants in Europe based on their structural differences and the emphasis placed on the individual’s path, personal relationship to God, the greater church community, and the importance of participating in rituals.

According to Weber (1905), the values promoted by Calvinism supported industrialization in Western Europe. Modernization theory claims that economic development is linked with predictable changes in cultural and social affairs. This is

⁵ As cited in Schwartz & Bilsky (1987)

⁶ As cited in Schwartz & Bilsky (1987)

so because ‘modernity’ is itself a constellation of ideology, values, and ideals based in part on Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment”post-modern” philosophical currents. Industrialization requires that people learn specialized skills in order to propel the economy, which requires higher education levels. The income rates of the majority of the individuals in such a society will rise due to the increasing levels of education and occupational opportunities, which are necessary for the economy to function. All this lessens the importance of traditional values, whereby gender roles change and authority and sexual norms are challenged. These in turn affect the dynamics of the family (Inglehart & Baker, 2000), and are seen in countries with a higher economic development (van Herk & Poortinga, 2011). Many of these countries are also historically Protestant. Those with a lower Gross Domestic Product (GDP) exhibit Conservation and Self-Enhancement values. In wealthy Protestant regions, openness is more accepted, whereas in wealthy Catholic regions there tends to be more importance placed on Conservation and Self-Enhancement values (van Herk & Poortinga, 2011). Inglehart & Baker’s (2000) study also mentions how modernization theory can be used to actually further traditional values. According to a study conducted by Stokes and Marshall, the elites in underdeveloped nations use traditional and cultural components to cause social change, such as in the example of how Algeria’s government utilized Islam to gain the support of its people (Stokes & Marshall, 1981)⁷. The interests of groups can be promoted by cultural identity (Bernstein, 1997)⁸. The implementation of change by traditional values is evidence that cultural factors will continue to persist through a changing economy.

Affluence increased along with the development of industrialization, which also increased the significance of self-expression, quality of life, and the protection of the environment (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). The GDP of a country correlates with individualism (Hofstede, 1980), so there is more emphasis on the individual and less on the collective the higher the GDP. According to Hofstede’s individualism dimension of values, wealth encourages individualism in a society. Members believe in taking care of themselves and prefer a loosely knit society (Hofstede, 1984). This agrees with Schwartz’s measure of individual values because self-direction values, which promote individualism, oppose conservative values. Now that individuals

⁷ As cited by Inglehart & Baker (2000)

⁸ As cited by Inglehart & Baker (2000)

during the industrial and post-industrial eras had more freedom and power over their own lives and the environment, they no longer needed religion to explain every day phenomena, although this is by no means the core meaning or role of religion, thus it continues to thrive even more with a more scientific world. Science was a fast-developing field that could test, prove, and demonstrate how the world works in an empirical fashion. As a result, materialist ideologies were adopted along with secular interpretations of history, and the secularization of societies was achieved through bureaucracies (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). The rational, secular organization of society is a result of acknowledging that humans have power over nature and therefore themselves, thus lessening the need for religion, and shifting away from traditional values. The rational and the empirical are not at all the sole components of the broader human experience; and actually tend to narrow the human potential by limiting/reducing it to market values and political ideologies. The irony is that modernity both expands human technological potential, while radically reducing the more personal potential. Going back to Basic Human Values theory, the industrial era produced a shift along the Conservation vs. Openness to change dimension. The dawn of post-industrial society brought about changes in the work environment and demanded service-based employment. Services became a highly important factor in this new economy and therefore had an impact in how individuals related to one another (Bell, 1973). Economic development is one of the factors that changes cultural values, and is evident in the value orientation of affluent and impoverished countries (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). As economies grow and nations become more prosperous, values begin to shift away from Security and Traditional values toward Self-Expression, but it can be argued that people simply shift their sense of security – or is redirected toward – material wellbeing, success, status, etc., and in fact, it can lead to more insecurity, whereby people are constantly seeking social approval. This was Alexis de Tocqueville's⁹ criticism of individualist/materialist values vs. tradition and community: that ironically, it simply left people at the mercy of the wider 'collective will' (Bellah et al., 1985). This falls in line with the mechanics explained in Basic Human Values theory. When values on one end of a dimension are no longer needed, there is a shift toward the other end, or in other words, a shift in value priorities occur at the expense of previously held values. The rise of a service

⁹ De Tocqueville, A. (1838). *Democracy in America*. London: Saunders and Otley.

economy is strongly correlated to a rise in self-expression values (Inglehart & Baker, 2000), which agree with the changes in the church that occurred during the Protestant movement. According to Inglehart (1997), Self-Expression values begin to take a higher meaning among individuals in a post-industrial society because it allows for more autonomy where social relationships and concepts have grown to become the center of the work environment. Gradually, there was an increase in interpersonal trust among members of post-industrial societies, especially those with a Protestant heritage. Nations with a Protestant background lean more toward self-expression values, whereas Catholic societies maintain a relatively low level of inter-personal trust regardless of the shift to post-industrialism (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). A key fact can lie in the histories of these two denominations as well as in their structures. The Catholic Church has been regarded as an institution and has had a large impact in the political affairs of nations, whereas Protestantism was historically more decentralized and emphasized on the individual's personal connection with God (Putnam, 1993). However, among individuals of different religions in one particular society, the level of self-expression and interpersonal trust differ slightly, thus demonstrating that society maintains a strong influence over the value orientations of its individuals (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Although secularism has become widespread, the members of Protestant and Catholic societies are still shaped by the impact these two Christian denominations had on cultural heritage, such as in the example of how institutions gave rise to the Protestant work ethic, which in turn contributed to the changes in economy (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Changes in economy have in turn affected value priorities, as previously mentioned. There is still a difference in power distance between Catholics and Protestants, where Catholicism still maintains a large power distance among its hierarchical order unlike Protestantism (Hofstede, 1984). This is closely related to Schwartz's idea of security and conformity (the conservation dimension) because it expresses the importance of maintaining a social order. Referring back to the eight cultural zones, there is a difference among religions and their correlations with value types. According to Durkheim, Catholics are more likely to express the importance of tradition and communal bonds. Protestants, however, give more priority to freedom and autonomy. Inglehart & Baker's research proves Durkheim's claim. In Hofstede's "tolerance of uncertainty" dimension, societies that accept uncertainty are more open to differing opinions, have few social rules, and are more relativist (Hofstede, 1988). This compares to Schwartz's theory because

openness to change values are more accepting of uncertainty since they conceptually oppose conservative values. Hofstede focuses more on the society as a whole, while Schwartz focuses more on the values of individuals.

In general, religion serves to protect individuals from uncertainty in life and therefore offers a set of values that enhances transcendence and preserves the social order (Schwartz & Huisman, 1995), but it also questions certainty by questioning political, ideological, social, cultural, expressions that make absolute claims. It has a subversive aspect to it, which is a reason why many totalitarian regimes or dominant market societies seeking to promote consumer values tend to either outlaw it or to trivialize, ignore it, or explain it away. Religion says that no earthly system is the definitive one; therefore, every system stands in need of reform, change and transformation. For those protecting the status quo, religion is subversive. Also, in the case of the biblical values of freedom, equality, justice, and compassion, what would it mean for a society to dispense of these? Individuals are given an abstract set of rules that continues beyond the profane world, which also ensures a social order that will benefit the smooth interactions among individuals and between the individual and the society (Schwartz, 2006) at the cost of restraining individual freedom (Morselli et al., 2002). In contrast to these values are the values that promote hedonism and openness to change. These value types are typically expressed by individuals with a strong sense of independence in life and by those who seek to lead the lifestyles they choose regardless of what the social order is.

In Calvinist Protestantism, wealth, achievement, and perseverance are highly valued at the expense of self-indulgence. These values promoted industrialized economies. It can be interpreted that they saw, “the pursuit of wealth as an end in itself as highly reprehensible; but the attainment of it as a fruit of labor in a calling was a sign of God’s blessing” (Weber, 1905). According to Basic Human Values theory, Achievement values are on the opposite end of Universalism and Benevolence values. However, this kind of achievement was for God. Benevolence is often associated with religion, however according to other research, religion is not necessarily required to promote Benevolence values (Batson, Schoenrade, & Pych, 1985). As previously discussed, Inglehart & Baker’s research also agrees that there are social and economic factors that shape values. The key values promoted by

religion are Tradition and Conformity, which can be affected by social and economic factors to agree more with either Power and Achievement or Benevolence values, which share common properties with Tradition and Conformity. However, many of Christian faith throughout history have been radical non-conformists with the present society. Christianity's call to conformity and tradition is to some extent a call to remain true to its non-conformism. Examples of this are the Old Testament prophets and Jesus, who was executed as an enemy of both state and religion. Note also Christians who have suffered because they have refused to accept – to conform to – social and political standards and norms. My aim is to analyze how Catholics and Protestants differ in their values orientation. Since there are little differences in values among individuals in a society, then I will look at Protestants and Catholics as two major groups in Europe. Based on religious heritage, a certain set of social norms are formed, and according to Wulff (1991) and Brown (1987), religions influence the value orientation of their adherents through socialization.

Most religions promote transcendence of material concerns and therefore function, “to temper self-indulgent tendencies and to foster transcendental concerns and beliefs” (Schwartz & Huisman, 1995), and also to change social, political and economic structures of *this* world. In promoting abstract concerns and beliefs, religions have established moral codes, rituals, and a unifying message of its particular faith. If this is true of religion, then it should correlate most strongly with tradition values and should theoretically be most negatively correlated with self-indulgent and hedonistic values. Durkheim also states that religions stress the importance of symbolizing, preserving, and justifying the prevailing social structure. Religion has established itself in a society as an institution. In this way, it can remain strong throughout space and time, maintaining its faith system and values for all adherents centralized. It is not, however, without its own history of developments, reformations, and renovations (Livingston, 1993).

Because religion affects the psychology of individuals by providing explanations about what is unknown in life, it relieves anxiety about unknown phenomena, which allows the individual to cope with situations in their lives (Durkheim, 1954). However, that is by no means its only role at least in Christianity, which is the religion – Catholic and Protestant; it also raises many questions as well.

Christian faith is more about relationship with God and more all encompassing than with seeking answers to life's enduring questions. Religion is a tool individuals use to find peace in life, but many times its role is the opposite; it *unsettles*, confronts, challenges, calls for transformation. And it often calls for non-conformity to the unquestioned assumptions by which a society runs. The nature of religion tends to be positively correlated with conservative values: security, tradition, and conformity, and negatively correlated with openness to change values: hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction. How do the remaining value types relate to religion?

According to Schwartz & Huisman (1995), universalism, power, and achievement are less positive than conformity, benevolence, tradition, and security, and less negative than self-direction, stimulation, and hedonism values. Those whose goals are to ensure the welfare of all people and the environment adopt Universalist values. These values correspond to selflessness, which is also encouraged by many religions. However, religions tend to focus on members of one's in-group, which can cause a negative correlation between universalism and religion (Glock 1973; Burt 1957). Universalism also contains motivations for acting out of one's judgment and tolerance of diversity, which has a negative association with religion as well (King, 1954). Power values also maintain positive and negative associations with religion depending on the context. These values focus on obtaining or maintaining control over others and resources, and therefore expresses and satisfies self-interest, which is opposed to religious teachings. However, it also maintains a social order that helps reduce uncertainty in life and thus shares many of its aspects with security values (Schwartz & Huisman, 1995). Achievement values emphasize personal success, which does not agree with the non-materialist teachings of religion. However, these values are also subject to social order in that one considers achievement based on how society measures success (Schwartz & Huisman, 1995). In order to pursue what society's standards of success, an individual ignores, or attempts to subdue, the urge to follow hedonistic and stimulating values in order to perform well according to those standards; this involves a shift of priorities for the individual. Delaying the satisfaction of hedonistic and stimulating values agrees with religious teaching of avoiding self-indulgent activities, and according to Calvinist and Puritan teachings, delaying these activities allows one to have more time to work and achieve success for God. This research will also explore how self-enhancement (power, achievement,

and hedonism) values and self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence) relate between Protestants and Catholics - and with religion in general - among those with or without religious affiliation. Morselli et al. (2002) have proven that Catholics are more conservative than Protestants, and that adherents to both denominations are more conservative to non-religious people.

Although there is a push toward secularism and self-expression encouraged by economic development in the modern world, there is likewise a growing interest in spirituality that does not necessarily adhere to any structured religion, but rather focuses on one's own existential path and fulfillment (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Society and economy have a very influential presence in the value orientation of individuals, but religion continues to persist in shaping them as well. In the case of ex-Soviet nations, when communism collapsed, there was a return from secular to religious beliefs. The individuals of these societies no longer had the security they were feeling when their governments and economies fell apart, in spite of the fact that they had been highly controlled and their freedoms severely curtailed (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Post-industrial societies show a decrease in church attendance, but an increase in spirituality. Part of the reason why individuals are reverting to a spiritual self is because there is a need to seek a personal quest in life as well as meaning, significance and purpose, as well the development of the spiritual potential (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Hill, 2000). This is more of a personal connection with the abstract world, where each individual seeks his/her own fulfillment in a self-directed way. It will be important to observe how the values of the religious spiritual and secular spiritual. In spite of a post-industrial, rational society, the human experience still contains aspects that cannot be methodically explained. Religion and spirituality themselves attest that on the more intuitive and less rationalistic experience being human potential, there is a sense that being human is always something more that cannot be totally expressed or explained. In some non-Western faiths, such as Sufism, rationality is seen as something that can blindside the way truths are known. Rationality is seen as illusory and as distraction from knowing God (Chittick, 2005).

Hypotheses

The hypotheses are based on the relationships between values and socioeconomic demographics and religious affiliation and spirituality as expressed by participants in the fifth round of the European Social Survey conducted in 2010.

Hypothesis 1: Males affiliate themselves less with religion than do females because males value openness and self-enhancement more than females who value conservatism and self-transcendence instead.

Hypothesis 2: Younger age groups show a decline in overall religiosity due to post-modern social values.

Hypothesis 3: Religious affiliation overall and spirituality increase with education, but as one continues onto higher education, Universalism and Achievement values are adopted in exchange for Conservation.

Hypothesis 4: As income increases, religiosity decreases.

Hypothesis 5: Those who affiliate with any religion will hold more conservative and benevolence values than do those who do not affiliate with a religion.

Hypothesis 6: Catholics value conservatism and self-enhancement more than do Protestants, whereas Protestants are more open to change. Catholicism is highly structured and Protestantism emphasizes on the importance of the individual.

Hypothesis 7: In general, all religions are structures, in which people adhere to, so those who are religious spiritual will be more conservative than those who are secular spiritual. Secular spirituality abandons the idea of conforming to religion, however, it seeks truth in something greater than what can be seen, and therefore is spiritual in a more self-directed, self-transcendent manner.

Research Framework

This study analyzes the differences in value orientations with regard to religious affiliation. There are three parts to this study, which compare those who identify with a religion and those who do not, Catholics and Protestants, and religious spirituality with non-religious (secular) spirituality. For the first test, those who identified with any religion were compared with those who did not identify with any religion, whereas in the second test, respondents who selected either Catholicism or Protestantism as their affiliated religion were selected for analysis. The third test focuses on those who are considered religious by the defining parameters I describe below. The point of the third test is to see how those who are spiritual and affiliate

themselves with a religion compare with those who are spiritual, but do not affiliate themselves with a religion. This test should reveal some information as to how the structure of religion may have an influence on human values. The analysis aims at discovering how structured systems such as religion affect values, and how a connection with a spiritual entity, religious or not, affects values as well. Is there a relationship with value priorities and believing there is something “greater” that transcends the material world? This study is intended to collect this information in order to determine whether or not there are strong relations with value sets and particular religious beliefs present in Europe.

Method

Data

The data I used for my research is from the European Social Survey (ESS), which is administered to over 30 nations every other year and seeks to document changes and continuity among social variables concerned with the use of media; trust’ political interest and participation; socio-political orientation; values; national, ethnic, and religious allegiances; well-being; demographics, and socioeconomics (European Social Survey). It is currently undergoing its sixth round, and would therefore have measured beliefs and attitudes of Europeans for over a decade. The data in this analysis is from 2010, as it is the most complete round up to date, and is fairly recent. Respondents from all participating countries are considered, so long as they have answered all questions pertaining to this research. This research is intended to include people of all economic, educational, gender, and age backgrounds. Because this research focuses on the general European population, only questions answered at this level were analyzed, in other words, no country specific data were taken into account. The parts of the questionnaire considered in this paper are available in the appendices.

Participants

In this research, data concerning human values, self-reported levels of religiosity, and demographic data about gender, age, education, and income will be used for analysis. There are 21 questions that describe a person relating to 1 of the 10 value types. Respondents were presented with a 1 to 6 scale where 1 is “very much like me” and 6 is “not like me at all”. Only those who responded within the 1-6 scale

were considered, as the filter omitted all other responses. See Appendix B for detailed information about the 21 values questions. Gender was recoded so that females were marked as 0, and males as 1 in order to produce clearer results when comparing to previous research. Year of birth was divided into 10 groups, each consisting of 9 years. Total income was recoded into 5 separate classes: lower, lower middle, middle, upper middle, and upper, and education level was also recoded into 8 different groups: less than primary, primary, lower secondary, upper secondary, post-secondary non tertiary, short-cycle tertiary, bachelors or equivalent, masters or equivalent, and doctoral or equivalent (see Appendix A). The data used are not country specific, so that all participants are analyzed as the general European population. A filter was created in order to select only the cases that provided valid answers to all questions except for the missing cases pertaining to religious denomination (see Appendix C for questions and scales). For the first test, those who did not provide an answer for religious affiliation have answered “no” to whether or not they belong to a denomination. These respondents who total to 16, 814 will be compared with those who do identify with a religion who total to 29, 534. The demographic breakdown for belonging to a religion vs. not belonging to a religion is presented below in the descriptive data. For the second test, there are a total of 13, 451 participants who responded as being affiliated with Catholicism and 5, 585 respondents who affiliated themselves with Protestantism. See descriptive data below. The third test explores spirituality and its relation to values. For this analysis, data was further filtered to define religiosity, and only those who are defined as such were observed, regardless of their religious affiliation. The total for belonging to a religion and being religious is 10, 236 and for not belonging to a religion, but expressing some sense of spirituality is 507. The participants were selected based on their answers to these questions, which measure religiosity:

1. “Regardless of whether you belong to a religion or not, how religious would you say you are?” Respondents were given a 0-10 scale with 0 being “not religious at all” and 10 being “very religious”. The filter omitted all other answers or missing data. I defined “religious” as someone who responded 7 or greater on this scale.
2. “Apart from when you are at religious services, how often, if at all, do you pray?” A scale of 1-7 was presented where 1 is “every day” and 7 is “never”.

All other answers were filtered out. To define someone who is religious, I selected responses 3 or less.

These variables will be used in the analysis to compare the religious with the non-religious, and with the religious who identify with a denomination with the religious who don't identify with a denomination, or in other words, secular but spiritual. The socioeconomic variables included gender, year of birth, total income, and education level, and below are figures containing how this particular group of people is broken down according to these variables.

Analysis

I included the missing data for “which religious denomination you belong to” because as previously mentioned, those who responded “not applicable” or “no answer” may not belong to any particular religion, but still express some level of religiosity or spirituality. Those who answered “no” on the question “do you belong to a particular denomination” are likely to not identify with a particular denomination. After processing the data through the filter, the total valid sample size is 29,434 and missing sample size is 17,067. The valid sample size is used only when comparing Catholics and Protestants. Note that the missing sample size is due to the fact that those who do not identify with a particular denomination are interpreted by SPSS as missing data.

In this analysis, paired independent sample t-tests were conducted in order to observe relations with the two value dimensions: a. comparing those who identify with a denomination with those who do not identify with one, b. comparing Catholics and Protestants, and c. comparing those who identify with a denomination and consider themselves religious with those who do not identify with a denomination, but still consider themselves religious. According to Shalom Schwartz's recommended method, as provided by the European Social Survey, the 21 human values questions were recoded so that the 1-6 scale, where 1 is “most like me” and 6 is “not like me at all” were reversed in order so that the statistical analysis would produce accurate results. The 21 questions were then each designated into one of the appropriate 10 value types, and then a centered mean was calculated in order to average the responses for each type. These 10 new variables were in turn, divided among the 2 value dimensions: Openness vs. Conservatism and Self-Transcendence

vs. Self-Enhancement, as Steenkamp, Hofstede, and Wedel (1999) suggest, as mentioned in van Herk & Poortinga (2011). See Appendix D for further information. Four new variables were then produced for each direction of the two dimensions, which will show the direction respondents lean according to their religiosity and religious affiliation. These variables are openness, conservatism, self-transcendence, and self-enhancement.

Results

Descriptive Data on Demographics

Below are the results concerning the demographic variables: gender, year of birth, education level, and economic class and their distributions for belonging to a religion, affiliation with Catholicism and Protestantism, and religious spirituality and secular spirituality.

Gender and Religious Affiliation

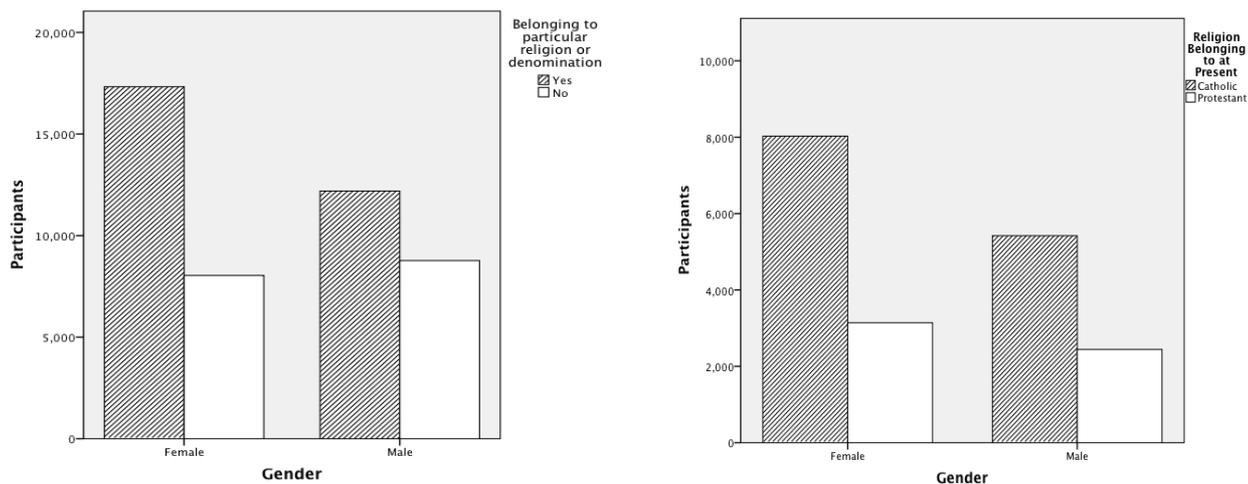


Figure 2. Distribution of gender for religious affiliation.

According to gender values, males seek more self-directed values, and because religion is structured and requires one to conform to participate in ritual, this opposes openness values, since if one side of this dimension is valued, the other side conceptually cannot hold as much importance (Schwartz, 1992). Females are more conservative, so conforming to religious dogma does not necessarily require them to compromise their values. These results agree with evolutionary psychology in that women have adapted to tend to the family and adopt conservative values, while men competed with each other in order to obtain more resources and thus, have more

mating potential and have learned to prioritize self-enhancing values (Kenrick et al., 2002). Proportionally, there is a larger difference between males and females who consider themselves Catholics. The difference between the two genders for Protestantism is not as large. One possible explanation refers back to self-directed and conservative values, where Catholicism is more structured than Protestantism, and Protestantism focuses more on the individual and his/her path in life and personal connection with God. Proportionally, females are more likely to be spiritual (see Appendix E, Figure E1), regardless of their affiliation with any religion. One possible reason refers, again, to values adopted by the two genders as explained through evolutionary psychology. Women value benevolence and universalism more than men do because they invest the majority of their time and resources on the family. According to Schwartz (1992), these values exhibit self-transcendence, and therefore express concern in that, which is beyond the self.

Year of Birth and Religious Affiliation

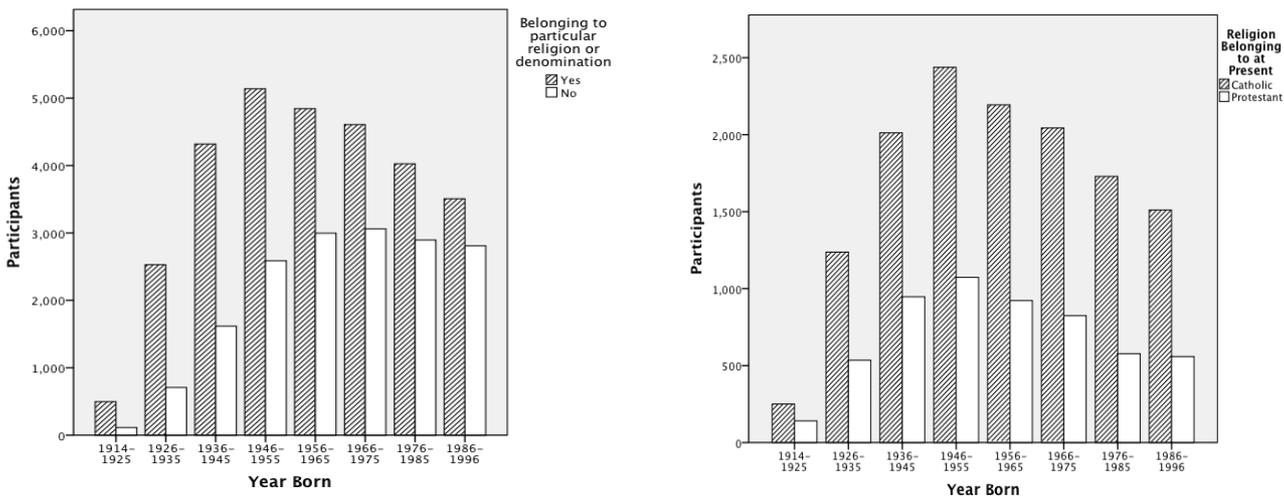


Figure 3. Distribution of year of birth for religious affiliation.

In the first analysis, the age distribution for belonging to a religion decreased with the younger generations as expected. Post-modernization values, as Inglehart & Baker (2000) explain in their study, influence individuals to abandon conservative values and therefore also religion. There is no noticeable difference in age distribution between the decreasing number of those who consider themselves either Catholic or Protestant. The results of the second analysis complement the first in that there is a general decline among younger generations who affiliate themselves with any religion. Contrary to what Inglehart & Baker (2000) say in their study that post-modern values leave the individual wanting to seek a spiritual quest in life, the age

distribution in this study for spirituality (see Appendix E Figure E2) shows a decline with each younger generation. However, there are limitations in this study regarding the wording of the questions used to define spirituality: (a) how religious are you, (b) how often to you pray apart from church services. These two questions may have an effect on the way people answer because they contain the words “religion” and “church”, which is associated with belonging to a particular religion, and may not be necessarily clear among those who are spiritual, but also secular. For the religious spiritual participants, the decline is a reflection of the general decline in religious affiliation.

The data shows a sharp increase in religious affiliation in general between the years 1914-1945 for all three analyses. Two possible explanations are: (a) the majority of participants in this study were born after 1945, so the age distribution is skewed, (b) the years leading up to 1945 were full of uncertainty due to World War I, World War II, and other global issues occurring at the time, and when there is uncertainty, there is a need for religion (Tambiah, 1990; Inglehart & Baker, 2000).

Education Level and Religious Affiliation

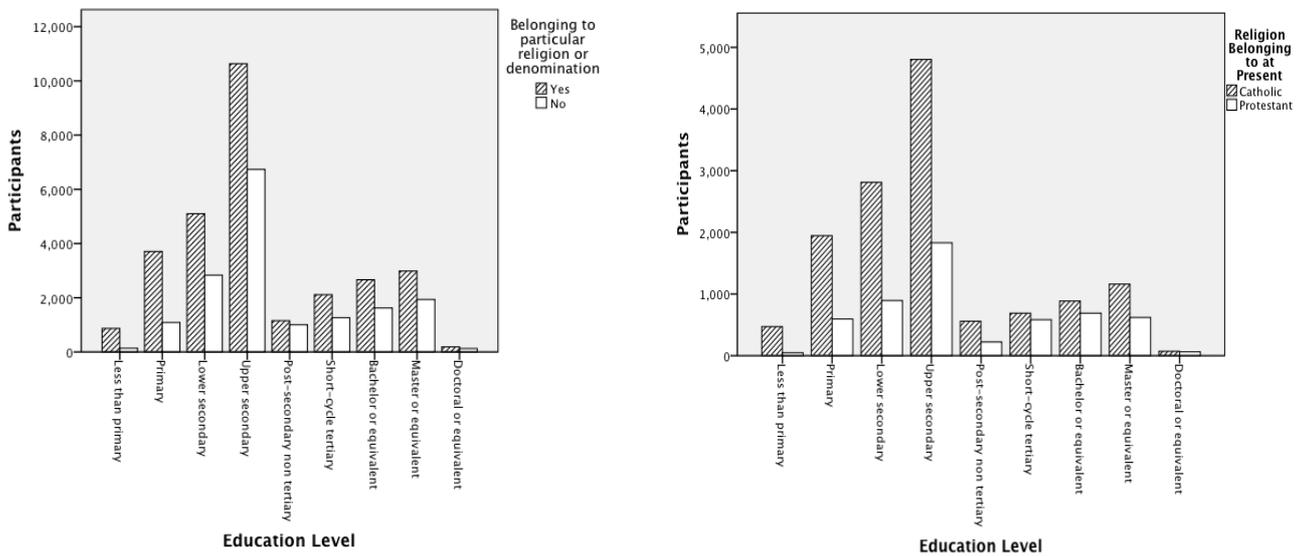


Figure 4. Distribution of education level for religious affiliation.

For all three tests, the education level distribution seems to follow the same pattern, with a steady increase in the amount of people who have achieved an upper secondary, then a sharp decline in those who sought or are currently seeking post-secondary or higher education, and then a decline in those who hold or are currently in school for a doctoral degree. However, proportionally, more Catholics have sought

or are currently seeking a master's degree than Protestants. One possible explanation for this is that because Catholics value Self-Enhancement more than Protestants, seeking higher education may be a way in which these values are manifested. Higher education is associated with Universalism values; however, there are exceptions, for those who value Achievement (Schwartz, 2006). In seeking higher education, Achievement values are satisfied, and because Catholics tend to favor Self-Enhancement more than Protestants do, which agrees with the paired independent samples t-test results shown below. To see the figures for religious spirituality and secular spirituality see Appendix E, Figure E3.

Economic Class and Religious Affiliation

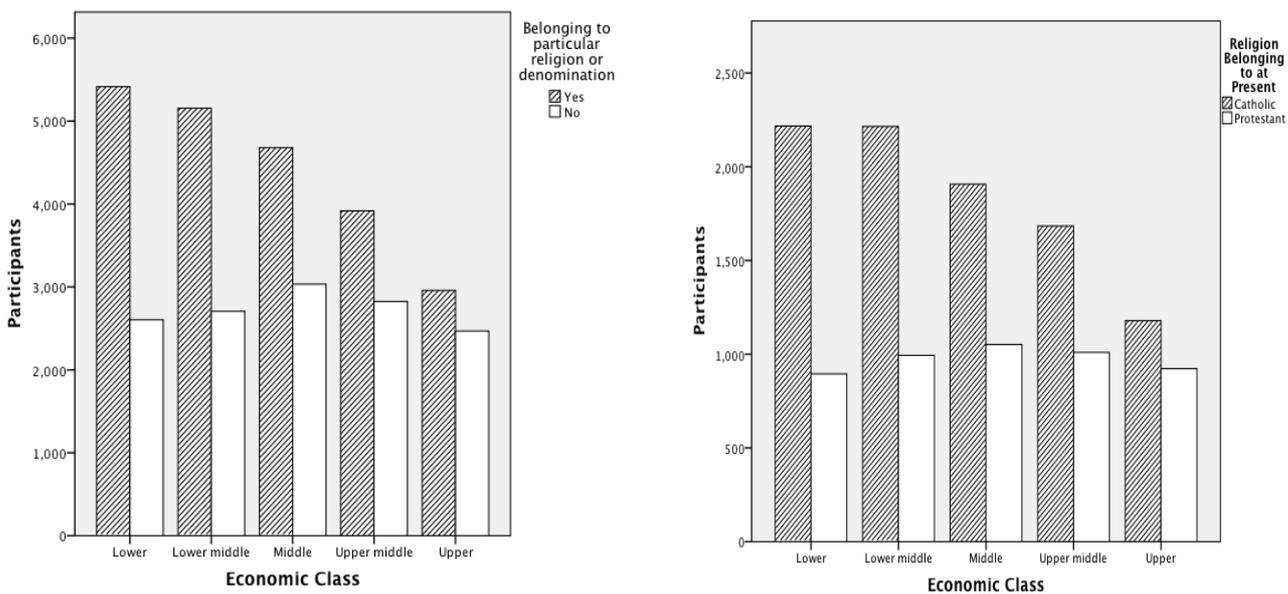


Figure 5. Distribution of income for religious affiliation.

In the first analysis, the economic class distribution for those belonging to any religion shows a decrease, whereas those not belonging to any religion show a more uniform distribution. These results agree with Schwartz & Huisman's (1995) research that those who are poor tend to hold more conservative values and therefore tend to seek religion as a means to settle uncertainties. The wealthier one is, the more likely he/she is able to satisfy their own lifestyles, whereas those in the lower and lower middle class prioritize obtaining basic needs first. For the second test, the number of participants who affiliated with Catholicism declined as total income increased, whereas there is a relatively even distribution among Protestants. According to van Herk & Poortinga (2011), the GDP levels of Protestant nations are very high, thus indicating wealth, whereas the GDP levels of Catholic nations vary between high and low. Overall, Protestant nations in Europe have more wealth, and as wealth increases,

the need for religion decreases. Because GDP levels vary greatly among historically Catholic nations, there are proportionally more people who affiliate themselves with Catholicism because these nations do not have as much wealth as the Protestant ones. For the third test, there is a constant decrease in economic class with religious spirituality, whereas secular spirituality shows a more uniform distribution (see Appendix E, Figure E4). This third test agrees with the previous two in that belonging to a religion, or a more structured religion, is more important for those in the lower income brackets.

Belonging to A Particular Religion

This first test, which was conducted using a paired independent samples t-test, observes the differences between those who belong to any religion, and those who do not. That is, participants identify with any particular religion vs. those who do not. Openness shows a statistically significant difference between those who belong to a religion ($M = -0.32$, $SD = 0.56$) and those who do not ($M = -0.14$, $SD = 0.55$); $t(35389) = -33.11$, $d = -0.32^{**10}$. The differences for Conservatism is very significant between those who belong to a religion ($M = 0.2470$, $SD = 0.6$) and those who do not ($M = -0.06$, $SD = 0.62$); $t(33868) = 52.1$, $d = 0.51^{***11}$. These results are congruent with the conceptual reasoning that those who affiliate themselves with a religion will tend to hold more conservative values at the cost of openness, whereas those who do not belong to any religion exhibit the opposite.

The same conceptual reasoning and statistical results are found with the Self-Enhancement vs. Self-Transcendence dimension. Those who belong to a religion ($M = -0.49$, $SD = 0.74$) and those who do not ($M = -0.52$, $SD = 0.75$), $t(34555) = 3.8$, $d = 0.04^{**}$, show a significant difference in prioritizing self-enhancement values, where those who belong to a religion have a slightly less negative mean than those who do not, which indicates these values are more important for those who identify with a religion in general. As expected, there is also a very significant difference for Self-Transcendence between those belonging to a religion ($M = 0.58$, $SD = 0.5$) and those not belonging ($M = 0.61$, $SD = 0.53$); $t(33408) = -5.262$, $d = -0.06^{***}$. In prioritizing Self-Enhancement values, those who belong to a particular religion see Self-

¹⁰ ** indicates a significance $p < 0.01$.

¹¹ *** indicates a significance of $p < 0.001$.

Transcendence values as less important, however, it is important to remember that in achieving success, many respondents view that as sacrificing self-indulgent behavior, which is congruent with religious teachings.

Comparing Catholic and Protestant Values

A paired independent samples t-test was conducted to compare value priorities between Catholics and Protestants. The difference was very significant in the scores for Catholics ($M = 0.29$, $SD = 0.59$) and Protestants ($M = 0.15$, $SD = 0.61$) for Conservatism; $t(10069) = 14.3$, $d = 0.23^{***}$. These results suggest that affiliating with Catholicism may be a factor that causes one to adopt more conservative values. This agrees with the results from Devos et al. (2002) study where Catholics were more conservative than Protestants. Self-Enhancement values are also statistically different when comparing Catholics ($M = -0.51$, $SD = 0.73$) and Protestants ($M = -0.77$, $SD = 0.75$); $t(10171) = 21.72$, $d = 0.35^{***}$. These results agree with the literature that Catholics tend to value self-enhancement more than do Protestants, however, the negative means show that these values are not necessarily a priority for either group.

Openness was not significantly different between either Catholics ($M = -0.33$, $SD = 0.56$) or Protestants ($M = -0.34$, $SD = 0.55$); $t(19034) = 0.32$, $d = 0.02$, which is expected. Belonging to a denomination affects one's values, and because openness lies opposite from conservatism on Schwartz's value dimension, these values agree with the theoretical basis. Self-Transcendence was also not statistically different between Catholics ($M = 0.57$, $SD = 0.5$) and Protestants ($M = 0.75$, $SD = 0.5$); $t(19034) = -22.89$, $d = -0.36$.

Spirituality: Religious vs. Secular

This final test focuses on how spirituality affects the religious and non-religious (secular) in order to see if there are any similarities with value priorities due to believing in a higher power, which possibly affects behavior. Both Conservatism and Self-Transcendence values show a significant difference between these two groups. For Conservatism, the groups representing religious spirituality ($M = 0.42$, $SD = 0.6$) and secular spirituality ($M = 0.03$, $SD = 0.66$), $t(546) = -12.59$, $d = 0.62^{**}$ are significantly different. One reason may be that Conformity values, which are part

of Conservatism, are heavily encouraged by religions and not necessarily by believing in an existential being. Religious spirituality ($M = 0.66$, $SD = 0.5$) and secular spirituality groups ($M = 0.75$, $SD = 0.57$), $t(545) = 3.5$, $d = -0.17^{**}$ also differ significantly for Self-Transcendence in that those who are secular spiritual value this set more than those who are religious spiritual.

No significant differences were found for Openness between religious spiritual ($M = -0.45$, $SD = 0.57$) and secular spiritual ($M = -0.25$, $SD = 0.58$); $t(10741) = 7.7$, $d = -0.35$ nor for Self-Enhancement between religious spiritual ($M = -0.6$, $SD = 0.75$) and secular spiritual ($M = -0.67$, $SD = 0.78$); $t(10741) = -2.01$, $d = 0.09$.

Discussion

Human values are motivations that guide people's behavior in order to help them achieve their goals. Some values prioritize self-satisfying behaviors, while others encourage pro-social behavior. Values are affected by people's society and personal situations, and can change throughout one's lifetime. Gender, age, education, and income level are important socioeconomic variables that influence values. Societies usually maintain the same values for longer periods of time, but can change with the introduction of technology and industrialization (Hoftsede, 1997). Religious affiliation is also another factor affecting value priorities where members of any religion in general prioritize more conservative values.

Socioeconomic Variables

The results in this thesis agree with previous research and literature regarding socioeconomic variables, values, and religiosity. From an evolutionary perspective, males hold more self-enhancing and self-directing values at a higher regard than do women who prioritize conservative and self-transcending values more (Kenrick, et al, 2002). The results in my research build on this theory because women proportionally identify more with religion and express spirituality more than do men. Religiosity encourages more conservative and traditional values, and therefore serves as a factor to prove that women tend to be more conservative and transcendental than men. When focusing on Catholics and Protestants, proportionally compared to men, more women have identified with Catholicism than Protestantism. As previously discussed,

Catholicism is more structured and requires its adherents to practice rituals and have a more conformed way with communicating with God, whereas Protestantism emphasizes on individualism and independence, which are self-directed values.

Age also affects levels of religiosity where older generations prioritize more conservative values than do younger generations. As Inglehart & Baker (2000) suggest, this is due to post-modernization/post-industrialization. A change in the economy and standard of living provided people with more security, and when certain goals are obtained, values shift (Schwartz, 2006). In the case of European countries, which are predominately Western societies, this research reveals that older generations are more conservative than younger generations. Europe is a post-modern/post-industrial region of the world therefore the data presented agree with previous literature. Conservation was measured according to levels of religiosity. With each younger generation presented in the data, there was a decline in religious affiliation. When focusing on Catholicism and Protestantism, there was also a decline in affiliation with the two, however in the youngest two generations, affiliation with Protestantism stabilized, which can possibly indicate that younger generations find Protestantism to be more relevant when satisfying their religious and spiritual needs because it encourages self-direction. In the years 1914-1945, there is an increase in religious affiliation (including Catholicism and Protestantism). One reason may be that during this time period, there was much turmoil worldwide such as World War I and World War II. This turmoil causes uncertainty, and when uncertainty is present, people prioritize conservative values and therefore are likely to refer to religion as a source of security (Schwartz, 2006). Another reason for this increase is due to the fact that the majority of the participants were born after 1945, and very few were born before then. However, when focusing on secular spirituality, there was a normal distribution among the different age groups. In post-modern/post-industrial societies, people still have a spiritual need to fulfill (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). As society emphasizes more on the individual and independence, movements in religion and spirituality such as “Sheilaism” become apparent. This kind of interpretation comes from a prioritization of individualism (Bellah, et al, 1985).

With industrialization came a change in the economy and accessible education to more people. Religious affiliation declines among those who seek a bachelor level

degree, however, it tends to slightly increase among those with post-graduate studies. Theoretically, according to Schwartz (2006), universalism values should have a higher priority over conservative values the further one pursues education. That is not to say that this data disprove Schwartz's theory, however the data reveal that although people who seek higher education and adopt universalism values, they may still maintain a relatively high priority level for conservation values. Transcendental values (universalism and benevolence) are promoted in many religions, and can therefore often be associated with conservative values. According to Schwartz's Basic Human Values, Benevolence and Tradition/Conformity are complementary as well. These values do oppose hedonism and stimulation as long as their expressions are guided by the religious and moral teachings of the religion. In the case of many Protestant denominations, it is important that one "works for God" at the expense of self-indulgent behavior. Education requires discipline and work. For Catholics, self-enhancement is important and in order that one achieves success, he/she seeks education.

According to Schwartz & Huisman (1995) and van Herk & Poortinga (2011), wealth increases levels of security therefore encouraging more self-directed values. In the results presented here, participants in higher income brackets show less affiliation with a religion in general, which implies that these particular participants may prioritize conservative values less than those in lower income brackets. When looking at Catholics and Protestants, this decline is only seen among Catholics and not among Protestants. Protestants have an even distribution among income levels, as do those participants who do not belong to a religion at all. Religion in general and Catholicism in particular express the need for conservative values and provide security, which appeals to people in lower income levels.

Religiosity, Spirituality, and Values

When comparing those who affiliate with a religion and those who do not, a paired independent samples t-test was conducted. The results indicate that there is a significant difference in prioritizing Conservative and Openness values, where those belonging to a religion are more conservative than those participants who do not. This reveals that in Europe in 2010, religion still has some affect on values prioritization; and according to Huntington (1996), the eight "cultural zones" will continue to

persist. When observing the other two value directions, Self-Enhancement and Self-Transcendence, those affiliated with a religion have a less negative mean than those who do not regarding Self-Enhancement. Focusing on the socioeconomic variables, some religions encourage “working for God” and avoiding self-indulgent behavior; therefore, increasing the importance of achievement (self-enhancement). Also, those in lower income brackets tend to affiliate with a religion more so openness and self-direction are not as highly valued. With the way Western societies are, one must have an education in order to pursue a secure career where income is stable, so those in lower income levels, who also tend to affiliate themselves with religion more, strive for this security. According to Schwartz’s theory of Basic Human Values, when Self-Enhancement is prioritized, conceptually Self-Transcendence cannot be prioritized at the same level.

When focusing on value priorities between Catholics and Protestants, a paired independent samples t-test was also conducted. There was a very significant difference in the scores for Catholics and Protestants regarding conservative values. This agrees with the highly organized structure of Catholicism, which encourages conforming to participating in ritual and proper communication with God. Protestants, on the other hand, have a decentralized structure and emphasize the importance of the individual communicating with God without the use of mediums. However, both Catholicism and Protestantism encourage the avoidance of self-indulgence, which indicates a stronger value for conservation in general. There was no significant difference between the two regarding Openness. Theoretically, Protestantism encourages self-direction and individualism more than Catholicism, however, the way the values questions were worded, may have affected the responses. Catholics prioritize Self-Enhancement values more than Protestants, as the results indicate a significant difference between the two regarding these values. This seems to go with van Herk & Poortinga’s (2011) research that claims that Catholic nations prioritize Self-Enhancement values more than do Protestant nations. Because their research focuses on group values, it may be more difficult to determine if Catholicism itself does encourage Self-Enhancement. There was no significant difference between Catholics and Protestants regarding Self-Transcendence, which both show positive relationships with these values. In general, both Catholics and Protestants value

Conservatism, only Catholics prioritize it more, and both value Self-Enhancement, but Catholics give it a higher priority.

A third paired independent samples t-test was conducted to compare religious spirituality with secular spirituality regarding values priorities. There was a significant difference between the two groups in prioritizing conservative values, where those who are religious spiritual hold conservative values to a higher regard than do secular spirituals. Religions encourage the adoption of conformity values in order to maintain a certain set of beliefs and practices among adherents. This supports both unity and continuity. Those who do not identify themselves with any religion, but consider themselves “spiritual” or “religious” have a mean close to “0”, which indicates no particular association with conservation. This can be argued conceptually that the less positive the mean for conservatism, the more likely these participants are towards accepting openness. However, important to note is that the mean for Openness among secular spirituals is negative, but less negative than for religious spirituals. Secular spirituality seems to have a stronger emphasis for Self-Transcendence values than does religious spirituality. When analyzing the content of Self-Transcendence values, Benevolence and Universalism, there is an emphasis on caring for others. However, Benevolence focuses more on the immediate community, whereas Universalism goes beyond the immediate to the global community and the environment as well. Universalism, according to Schwartz, also contains values that complement Self-Direction, which opposes Conservation. Both religious and secular spirituality have similar negative means regarding Self-Enhancement, which indicates that spirituality in general works towards helping others before helping oneself. Important to note is that, while Protestants value work and achievement, this may not necessarily be for personal Self-Enhancement, but perhaps more so for God. According to Hill et al (2000), spirituality requires self-transcendent behavior toward the Sacred, humanity, and the environment. To be truly spiritual by these terms, one must help others at the expense of self-improvement, for an ideology, a god, or a cause.

Limitations, Reliability, and Validity

Participants in this survey, or in any survey in general, may not respond to the questions honestly since they may want to answer in ways that will make themselves seem favorable, according to Paulhus (1984), as cited in Lalwahi, Shrum, & Chiu

(2009). Also, people may have a bias when observing themselves, which they may be unaware of, and may therefore affect the validity of the research. This is an issue for the social sciences in general. Surveys can never obtain ideal responses from participants, and can never reveal exactly what is on the mind of every individual. False information can be intentional or unintentional. Not every participant may understand what the questions are trying to ask completely or they cannot find a response that is suitable for them. The data obtained through these surveys must always be observed accounting for these errors, which affect the validity of the research. Careful consideration of the various statistical methods should be appropriate for particular questions asked by researchers.

The European Social Survey has been administered for 12 years, and has continued to present participants with the same values questionnaire, thus indicating that it has good levels of reliability and validity. The methods for classifying values into proper types and directions, used in my research, have been recommended by Schwartz (2010) and Steenkamp, Hofstede, & Wedel (1999), and have thus far proven to be reliable and valid. However, in measuring spirituality, there may be a slight issue with the questions selected and their wording. To measure spirituality, the questions “how religious are you” and “how often do you pray” were selected. What would determine religious spirituality is affiliation with a particular religion, whereas secular spirituality was characterized by a lack of a religious affiliation. Respondents who answered as “not belonging to any religion”, may have provided responses that indicate low levels of spirituality because the questions on the survey contain the words “pray” and “religious”, which are commonly associated with established religions. Therefore these responses were filtered out for measuring spirituality. The responses for secular spirituality may therefore lack solid levels of reliability and accuracy due to the misinterpretation or wording of these particular questions. This is a challenge for any research.

Importance of this Research

The importance of conducting research on the relationship between religion and values, and how these interact with society, lies in its applications. First, it reveals one of the most dynamic and significant relationships (that of religion and society) that have historically shaped the lives of countless and their civilizations. Secondly,

such research enables both communities of faith, as well as those who prefer a more independent form of spirituality, to better understand themselves and each other. Thirdly, the values of that a society adopts forge the character, choices, and direction of that society; therefore, any study of values should disclose some of the profound implications that values have upon the life and character of a society and its members. Fourthly, by better understanding the relationship between religion and values, Catholics, Protestants, and non-religious spiritual seekers can better engage in self-critique and seek greater authenticity. This they can do by more consciously adhering to their tradition's or personal worldview, and contribute to their wider society through both supportive and counter-cultural stances. Finally, by conducting such inquiries researchers continue to contribute to the ongoing academic investigations and conversation. This research has offered some contribution in each of these areas by seeking to advance the increasing appreciation for the connections between religious belief and values, which in no doubt has been historically – and continues to be – a major influence on society.

Future Research

One possible way of improving survey methodology is presented by Bardi et al (2003). Their research seeks to discover another paradigm for measuring values in order to reduce bias among participants and facilitate measuring values across space and time. Their research still utilizes Schwartz's 1992 values theory in order to develop a new lexicon, and they propose using the Internet, newspapers, and other sources of media to determine which words and phrases occur together and how often they occur together. Because language does change over time, using these sources to develop a lexicon that reflects the current language is a good approach for developing questions that even more people can understand and reply to more appropriately. This method would require the same procedure for obtaining the proper lexicons for different languages and dialects. Bardi et al make this an important point, arguing that not even other English-speaking nations will relate to the wording to their research because they used American English as the base language and dialect for forming the lexicon in their research. These sources for obtaining the lexicon should provide the research with a strong sense of reliability since these sources are apparent to most participants and should also ensure the accuracy of the research by providing questions that participants can easily understand and answer.

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Appendix A: Socioeconomic Variables¹²

Gender

Gender

Values and categories

1 Male

2 Female

9 No answer

Year of Birth

And in what year were you born?

Values and categories (Respondents wrote in their year of birth)

7777 Refusal

8888 Don't know

9999 No answer

Education Level

In order to obtain information on a general European scale, the ESS organized a Quality Enhancement Meeting (QEM) on Comparative and Harmonized Measurement of Educational Qualification in the ESS where new target harmonized educational attainment measures for respondent, partner, father and mother, served to unify country specific variables into these measures as of ESS Round 5. UNESCO's International Standard Classification of Education was implemented for the 2010 survey, where the variable contained a 3-digit code, which records more accurate measures on a European level. The first digit represents one of the eight levels of education according to the ISCED, the second represents whether the program was general or vocational, and the third further distinguishes among levels and programs to represent the direction and duration of these programs (ESS). For the purpose of this thesis, only the first digit was considered for analysis and are defined as follows: 0 - Less than primary, 1- Primary, 2 - Lower secondary, 3 - Upper secondary, 4 - Post-secondary non tertiary, 5- Short-cycle tertiary, 6 - Bachelor or equivalent, 7 - Master or equivalent, 8 - Doctoral or equivalent.

What is the highest level of education you have successfully completed?

000 not completed ISCED level 1

113 ISCED 1, completed primary education

¹² All socioeconomic variables and questions in this appendix are from the European Social Survey 2010, Round 5.

- 129 Qualification from vocational ISCED 2C programs of duration shorter than 2 years, no access to ISCED 3
- 221 Qualification from vocational ISCED 2C programs of 2 years or longer duration, no access to ISCED 3
- 222 Qualification from vocational ISCED 2A/2B programs, access to ISCED 3 vocational
- 212 Qualification from general/pre-vocational ISCED 2A/2B programs, access to ISCED 3 vocational
- 213 Qualification from general ISCED 2A programs, access to ISCED 3A general or all 3
- 229 Qualification from vocational ISCED 3C programs of duration shorter than 2 years, no access to ISCED level 5
- 321 Qualification from vocational ISCED 3C programs of 2 years or longer duration, no access to ISCED level 5
- 322 Qualification from vocational ISCED 3A programs, access to 5B/lower tier 5A institutions
- 323 Qualification from vocational ISCED 3A programs, access to upper tier ISCED 5A/all ISCED level 5 institutions
- 312 Qualification from general ISCED 3A/3B programs, access to ISCED 5B/lower tier 5A institutions
- 313 Qualification from general ISCED 3A programs, access to upper tier ISCED 5A/all ISCED level 5 institutions
- 421 Qualification from ISCED 4 programs without access to ISCED level 5
- 422 Qualification from vocational ISCED 4A/4B programs, access to ISCED 5B/lower tier 5A institutions
- 423 Qualification from vocational ISCED 4A programs, access to upper tier ISCED 5A or all ISCED level 5 institutions
- 412 Qualification from general ISCED 4A/4B programs, access to ISCED 5B/lower tier 5A institutions
- 413 Qualification from general ISCED 4A programs, access to upper tier ISCED 5A/all ISCED level 5 institutions
- 520 ISCED 5B programs of short duration, advanced vocational qualifications
- 510 ISCED 5A programs of short duration, intermediate certificate or academic/general tertiary qualification below the bachelor's level

- 610 ISCED 5A programs of medium duration, qualifications at the bachelor's level or equivalent from a lower tier tertiary institution
- 620 ISCED 5A programs of medium duration, qualifications at the bachelor's level or equivalent from an upper/single tier tertiary institution
- 710 ISCED 5A programs of long cumulative duration, qualifications at the master's level or equivalent from a lower tier tertiary institution
- 720 ISCED 5A programs of long cumulative duration, qualifications at the master's level or equivalent from an upper/single tier tertiary institution
- 800 ISCED 6, doctoral degree
- 5555 (Other) 5555
- 8888 (Don't know)

Economic Class

In order to obtain measures at the greater European scale, members of each country were presented with the following table, which appropriately separates the different income percentiles according to the standards of each country. Each amount was adjusted according to country specific data on income, and then converted to Euros. Important to note is that each participant selected his/her response according to country specific data before currencies were converted. Then, participants were asked to mark which category their income falls into and based on their responses, the European level data was calculated. Response "J", as coded 01 in the data file, represents the lowest tenth decile, and increases by ten until "H", which represents those with the highest total income. Participants were presented with this question:

YOUR HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Showcard code	Approximate WEEKLY	Approximate MONTHLY	Approximate ANNUAL	Data file code
J	Less than €xx	Less than €xxx	Less than €xxx	01
R	€xx to under €xx	€xxx to under €xxx	€xxx to under €xxx	02
C	€xx to under €xx	€xxx to under €xxx	€xxx to under €xxx	03
M	€xx to under €xx	€xxx to under €xxx	€xxx to under €xxx	04
F	€xx to under €xx	€xxx to under €xxx	€xxx to under €xxx	05
S	€xx to under €xx	€xxx to under €xxx	€xxx to under €xxx	06
K	€xx to under €xx	€xxx to under €xxx	€xxx to under €xxx	07
P	€xx to under €xx	€xxx to under €xxx	€xxx to under €xxx	08
D	€xx to under €xx	€xxx to under €xxx	€xxx to under €xxx	09
H	More than €xx	More than €xxx	More than €xxx	10

Using this card, please tell me which letter describes your household's total income,

after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources? If you don't know the exact figure, please give an estimate. Use the part of the card that you know best: weekly, monthly or annual income.

Values and categories

J 01

R 02

C 03

M 04

F 05

S 06

K 07

P 08

D 09

H 10

(Refused) 77

(Don't know) 88

Appendix B: Values Questions¹³

Respondents were given the appropriate set of questions depending on gender. In this appendix, I will simply combine the two together. The only difference between genders is the use of “he/him” and “she/her”, while the rest of the questions remained the same in both. Each of these questions were presented with a 1-6 scale: 1 very much like me, 2 like me, 3 somewhat like me, 4 a little like me, 5 not like me, 6 not like me at all. The survey questions have been taken from the European Social Survey appendix in order to provide the correct format of the questions.

Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and tick the box on each line that shows how much each person is or is not like you.

How much like you is this person?

1. Thinking up new ideas¹⁴ and being creative is important to him/her. He/she likes to do things in his own original way.
2. It is important to him/her to be rich. He/she wants to have a lot of money and expensive¹⁵ things.
3. He/she thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He/she believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.
4. It's important to him/her to show¹⁶ his abilities. He/she wants people to admire¹⁷ what he/she does.
5. It is important to him/her to live in secure¹⁸ surroundings. He/she avoids anything that might endanger his safety.
6. He/she likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He/she thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life¹⁹.
7. He/she believes that people should do what they're told²⁰. He/she thinks people should follow rules²¹ at all times, even when no one is watching.

¹³ All questions in this appendix are from the European Social Survey 2010, Round 5.

¹⁴ Having new ideas, with an emphasis on the creative side of having them through generating them himself.

¹⁵ “Expensive”: in the sense of costing a lot rather than their being ‘luxury’ items.

¹⁶ The idea is to show whatever abilities he has, with no assumption that he actually has great abilities. It is important to him to be perceived as being able.

¹⁷ He wants his actions to be admired, not his person.

¹⁸ In the sense of the surroundings actually being secure, and not that he feels secure.

¹⁹ Important for himself (his life) is the focus.

²⁰ The idea here is that when someone else tells you what to do in actual interpersonal interaction, (implying also that the person has some authority), you should do it.

²¹ “Rules” in the sense of ‘rules and regulations’.

8. It is important to him/her to listen to people who are different²² from him/her. Even when he/she disagrees with them, he/she still wants to understand them.
9. It is important to him/her to be humble and modest. He/she tries not to draw attention to him/herself.
10. Having a good time is important to him/her. He/she likes to “spoil”²³ him/herself.
11. It is important to him/her to make his own decisions about what he/she does. He/she likes to be free and not depend²⁴ on others.
12. It's very important to him/her to help the people around him/her. He/she wants to care for²⁵ their well-being.
13. Being very successful is important to him/her. He/she hopes people will recognize his achievements.
14. It is important to him/her that the government ensures²⁶ his safety against all threats. He/she wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.
15. He/she looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He/she wants to have an exciting²⁷ life.
16. It is important to him/her always to behave properly. He/she wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.
17. It is important to him/her to get²⁸ respect from others. He/she wants people to do what he/she says.
18. It is important to him/her to be loyal to his friends. He/she wants to devote²⁹ him/herself to people close to him/her.
19. He/she strongly believes that people should care for³⁰ nature. Looking after the environment is important to him/her.
20. Tradition is important to him/her. He/she tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.
21. He/she seeks every chance³¹ he/she can to have fun. It is important to him/her to do things that give him/her pleasure.

²² “Different” in almost any way. The key idea is that he sees difference/diversity positively and as something worth learning about.

²³ “Spoil himself”: “treat himself” is another idiom. Strongly negative ‘self-indulgence’ is not intended.

²⁴ In the sense of not to have to depend on people

²⁵ “care for”: here in the sense of actively promote their well-being.

²⁶ “Ensures” in the sense of ‘guarantees’.

²⁷ “Exciting” more in the sense of ‘exhilarating’ than ‘dangerous’.

²⁸ Get/have this respect, not deserve respect

²⁹ “Devote”: is intended to convey deep concern for these people and readiness to invest his time, resources and energy in their welfare.

³⁰ “care for”: look after, basically synonymous with ‘looking after’ in the second sentence.

³¹ Seeks: active pursuit rather than ‘taking every’ chance.

Appendix C: Religiosity³²

Belonging to a Particular Religion

Do you consider yourself as belonging to³³ any particular religion or denomination?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 (Don't know)

Which Particular Religion One Belongs To

Only respondents who answered “yes” to belonging to a particular religion answered this question.

Which one?

- 01 Roman Catholic
- 02 Protestant
- 03 Eastern Orthodox
- 04 Other Christian denomination
- 05 Jewish
- 06 Islamic
- 07 Eastern religions
- 08 Other non-Christian religions

How Religious One Is

Regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion, how religious would you say you are?

A scale from 0 to 10 was presented with 0 representing “not at all religious” and 10 representing “very”.

Not at all religious Very (Don't religious
know)

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 88

How Often One Attends Church Services

Apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services nowadays?

- 01 Every day
- 02 More than once a week
- 03 Once a week

³² All questions in this appendix are from the European Social Survey 2010, Round 5.

³³ Identification is meant, not official membership.

- 04 At least once a month
- 05 Only on special holy days
- 06 Less often
- 07 Never
- 88 (Don't know)

How Often One Prays

Apart from when you are at religious services, how often, if at all, do you pray?

- 01 Every day
- 02 More than once a week
- 03 Once a week
- 04 At least once a month
- 05 Only on special holy days
- 06 Less often
- 07 Never
- 88 (Don't know)

Appendix D: Methods for Analyzing Values

The responses to the 21 values questions administered to the participants of the European Social Survey in 2010 were grouped together according to Shalom Schwartz's recommendations³⁴ for analyzing values according in order to group these questions into one of the 10 types of basic values. Once these questions were assigned to their proper type, an average mean was calculated in order to use these responses according to the Basic Human Values Theory. The 1-6 scale where 1 represents "very much like me" and 6 "not like me at all" were reversed in order to present the data clearly so that 6 measures "very much like me" and 1 "not like me at all". The index numbers refer to the values questions from Appendix B, and are presented with their appropriate value type. The coding of each question and the process used in order to calculate the average mean is shown below.

7, 16 Conformity

9, 20 Tradition

12, 18 Benevolence

3, 8, 19 Universalism

1, 11 Self-direction

6, 15 Stimulation

10, 21 Hedonism

4, 13 Achievement

2, 17 Power

5, 14 Security

Once the values questions have been assigned to their appropriate value type, scores were computed by taking the means of the items in that index. A mean score was then computed among all 21 values so that the centered scores of the 10 value types were calculated by subtracting the means of the 10 types from the overall mean of the 21 questions.

After the centered means of the 10 value types were calculated, the 10 value types were further divided among the four value directions as van Herk & Poortinga (2011) did in their study. Listed below are the 10 value types divided into their appropriate directions.

Conservatism – Conformity/Tradition and Security

³⁴ The recommendations can be found on the European Social Survey website for 2010, Round 5.

Self-Enhancement – Power, Achievement, and Hedonism

Openness to Change – Hedonism, Stimulation, and Self-direction

Self-Transcendence – Universalism and Benevolence

Appendix E: Graphs of Socioeconomic Variables for Spirituality

The following graphs are the socioeconomic variables: gender, age (presented as year of birth), education, and economic level for participants who identify as religious spiritual and secular spiritual.

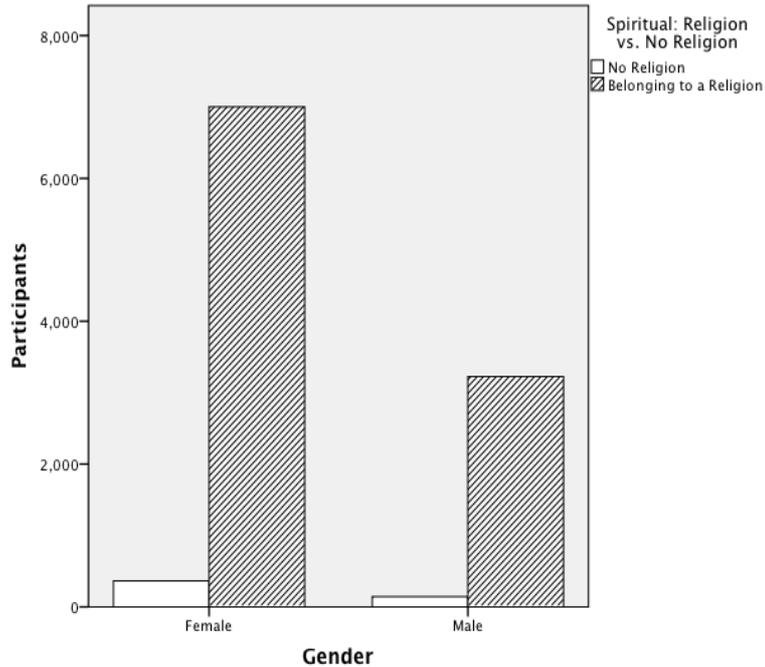


Figure E1. Distribution of gender for spirituality.

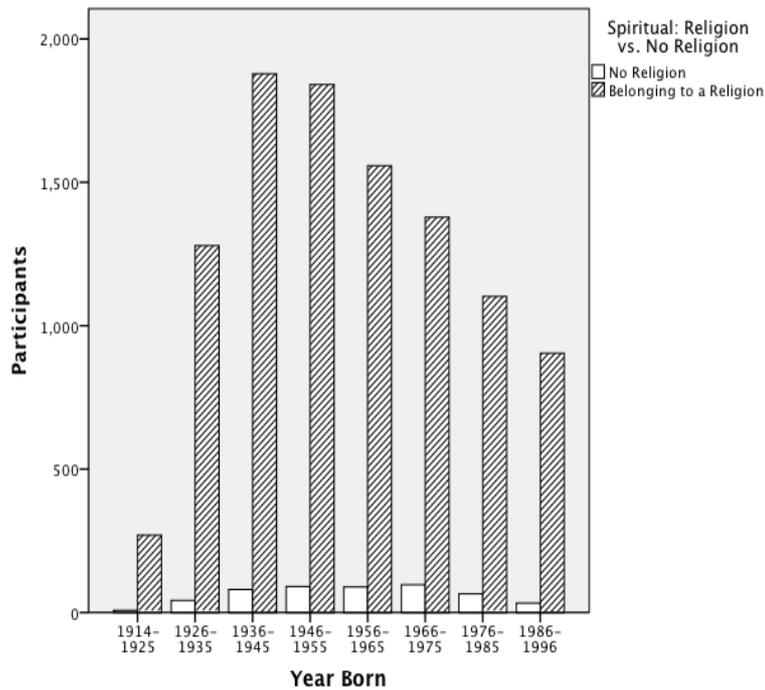


Figure E2. Distribution of age for spirituality.

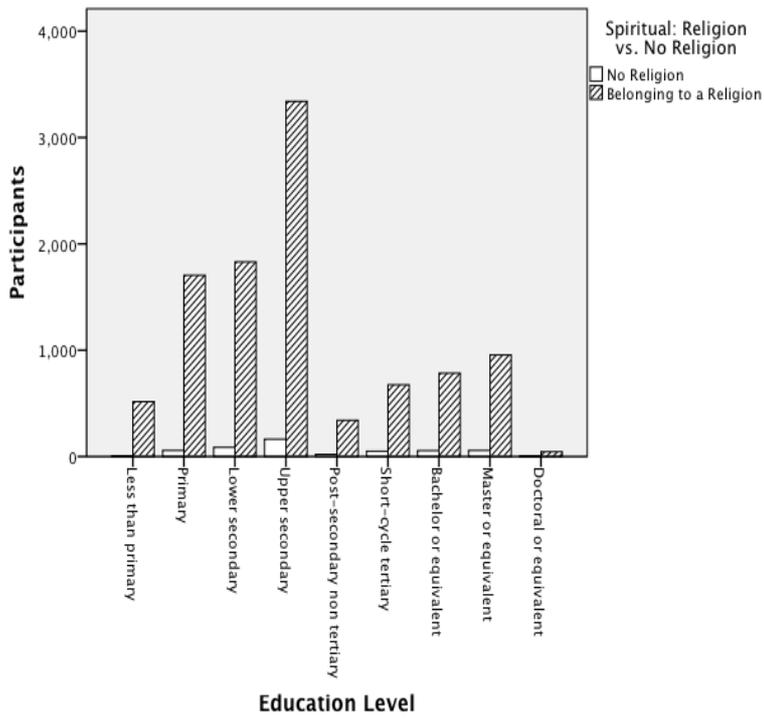


Figure E3. Distribution for education for spirituality.

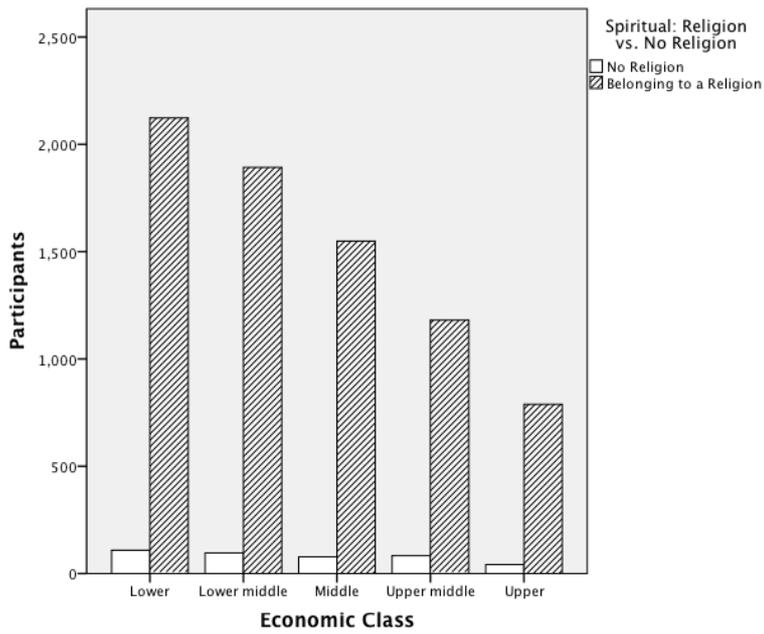


Figure E4. Distribution of income level for spirituality.