

IS IT POSSIBLE TO DISCRIMINATE THE VALUE PATTERNS OF WULFF'S APPROACHES TO RELIGION IN A POLISH SAMPLE?

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Based on Schwartz's (1992) value theory, Fontaine, Luyten and Corveleyn (2000) found that the value patterns associated with Wulff's (1991, 1999) four approaches toward religion could be reduced to a combination of two theoretically meaningful value patterns: a Transcendence/Mutual Care and a Social order/Uncertainty avoidance pattern. In this study, we examined whether we could replicate these findings in a Polish sample.

Introduction

Relations between value preferences and religiosity are often the crucial problem discussed in the works of theologians, philosophers and psychologists. This interest seems to persist in the context of the "loss of values" visible in Western societies, in particular in Europe (Fontaine, Luyten, & Corveleyn, 2000; Duriez, Fontaine, & Luyten, 2001; Fontaine, Duriez, Luyten, Corveleyn, & Hutsebaut, 2005). Rokeach (1968) was the first researcher who conducted empirical studies regarding the relations between values and religiosity (see Fontaine, et al., 2000). Rokeach (1968) asked his respondents to prioritise 18 terminal values^[1] and 18 instrumental values^[2], and then compared religious and non-religious individuals regarding average ranks assigned to each value. It seemed that religious individuals, in contrast to non-religious ones, valued *salvation*, *forgiveness* and *obedience* higher, and *pleasure*, *independence*, *intellect* and *logic* – lower. However, according to Fontaine et al. (2000), the approach suggested by Rokeach (1968) has two limi-

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1. Terminal values refer to desirable end-states of existence. These are the goals that a person would like to achieve during his or her lifetime: true friendship, mature love, self-respect, happiness, inner harmony, equality, freedom, pleasure, social recognition, wisdom, salvation, family security, national security, a sense of accomplishment, a world of beauty, a world at peace, a comfortable life, an exciting life.
2. Instrumental values refer to preferable modes of behavior. These are preferable modes of behavior, or means of achieving the terminal values: cheerfulness, ambition, love, cleanliness, self-control, capability, courage, politeness, honesty, imagination, independence, intellect, broad-mindedness, logic, obedience, helpfulness, responsibility, forgiveness.

tations. First, religiosity is defined as belief or non-belief and corresponding studies are limited to comparing the representatives of various religious denominations. In this respect, researchers treat religiosity as a unidimensional construct within one or across various religious denominations. Even if there are multidimensional religiosity depictions, they are restricted to differing between intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity (Allport & Ross, 1967); this approach is criticised on both psychometric and conceptual levels (see Kirkpatrick, & Hood, 1990). Second, in Rokeach's model (1968) values are treated as separate entities which makes the description of its holistic structure impossible and hinders the synthesis of the research studies.

The development of new concepts and methods for the measurement of religiosity and value preferences has opened a new perspective for studies regarding the relationship of religiosity-values. A particularly promising approach to values is the one by Schwartz and Huismans (1995) and to religious attitudes – the Wulff's model (1991, 1999). Fontaine et al. (2000) claimed that the relationships between the Schwartz's and Huismans' values (1995) and Wulff's (1991) religious attitudes can be reduced to the combination of two theoretically separated patterns: a Transcendence/Mutual Care pattern and a Social order/Uncertainty avoidance pattern. Research on a sample of Belgian students confirmed this hypothesis, but only partially. We hold the opinion that the secularisation processes which the Belgian society is going through may be the reason for it. Conducting the study in a traditionally religious environment would enable us to verify this hypothesis. Poland is a country which is not subject to as dynamic a secularisation processes as is the case in Western Europe. According to research carried out in 2009 by the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) in Poland, a declared faith in God is a common feature of Poles, which has remained at the same level for the last 20 years: from 93% to 97% of Poles have declared themselves as believers since the early 90's. Also the attachment to religious practices, such as services, the Eucharist or religious gatherings, has remained at the same level in Poland for the last two decades (CBOS, 2009). Consequently, replicating the Belgian study on a Polish, traditionally religious field, may furnish interesting data about the role religion plays in prioritising values and also whether it can be discerned by Fontaine's et al.'s (2000) theoretical patterns.

First, we will show Schwartz's value approach and Wulff's religious attitudes, including their operationalisation suggested by Hutsebaut (1997); next, we will present assumptions regarding possible relationships between values and religious attitudes.

Schwartz's value approach

Schwartz (1992) created a comprehensive theory with respect to the content and the structure of the value domain. Schwartz's (1994, p. 21) definition of a value says that it is a trans-situational goal that varies in importance as a guiding principle in one's life. Implicit in this definition of values as goals is that (1) they serve the interests of some social entity, (2) they can motivate action, giving it direction and emotional intensity, (3) they function as standards for judging and justifying action, and (4) they are acquired both through socialisation to dominant group values and through the unique learning experiences of individuals. Based on theoretical analyses and empirical research, Schwartz (1992) identified 10 different types of values, each characterised by their own motivational goal: hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, security, power and achievement. Table 1 presents each of the 10 basic values Schwartz distinguished, its defining motivational goal and exemplary items used to measure it.

Table 1

Ten basic values in the Schwartz (1992) model (after Schwartz & Rubel-Lifschitz, 2009, p. 172)

Value	Defining motivational goal	Exemplary items
Hedonism	Pleasure, sensuous gratification	Pleasure, enjoying life, fun, spoiling oneself
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life	Exciting life, adventure, risk, daring
Self-direction	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring	Creativity, freedom, independence, curiosity
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature	Social justice, equality, wisdom, world peace, protecting the environment
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is close	Helpful, caring, loyal, supportive
Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of traditional and religious customs and ideas	Respect for tradition, humility, devoutness, modesty
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others or violate social norms	Following rules, obedience, honoring parents and elders
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, relationship, and self	Family security, social order, cleanliness, avoiding danger
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources	Authority, wealth, controlling others, social power
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards	Success, ambition, and admiration for one's abilities

According to Schwartz (1992), values form a two-dimensional space in the form of a circle and correlate with one another. Value types which share compatible goals are correlated positively and emerge adjacent to one another in

this two-dimensional representation.^[3] Value types that are characterised by conflicting goals are correlated negatively and are situated opposite to one another (see Figure 1).

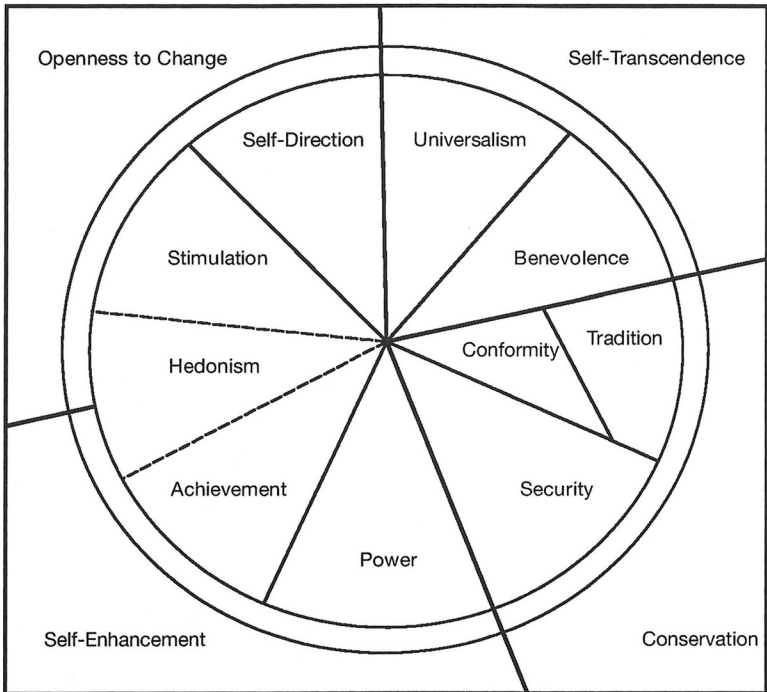


Figure 1

Theoretical model of relations among values types (after Schwartz & Huismans, 1995)

3. The shared emphases are as follows: (1) power and achievement – both emphasize social superiority and esteem; (2) achievement and hedonism – both focus on self-centered satisfaction; (3) hedonism and stimulation – both entail a desire for affectively pleasant arousal; (4) stimulation and self-direction – both involve intrinsic interest in novelty and mastery; (5) self-direction and universalism – both express reliance upon one's own judgment and comfort with the diversity of existence; (6) universalism and benevolence – both are concerned with enhancement of others and transcendence of selfish interests; (7) benevolence and conformity – both call for normative behavior that promotes close relationships; (h) benevolence and tradition – both promote devotion to one's in-group; (8) conformity and tradition – both entail subordination of self in favour of socially imposed expectations; (9) tradition and security – both stress preserving existing social arrangements that give certainty to life; (10) conformity and security – both emphasize protection of order and harmony in relations; (11) security and power – both stress avoiding or overcoming the threat of uncertainties by controlling relationships and resources (after: Schwartz & Huismans, 1995, pp. 24-25)

Schwartz (1994) also proposed a simpler way to view this value structure, summarising the relationships among the value in terms of two bipolar dimensions: Openness to change versus Conservation and Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence (see Figure 1). The first one, opposes values emphasising independent thought and action and favouring change (self-direction and stimulation) to those emphasising submissive self-restriction, preservation of traditional practices, and protection of stability (security, conformity, and tradition). The second dimension opposes values emphasising acceptance of others as equals and concern for their welfare (universalism and benevolence) to those emphasising the pursuit of one's own relative success and dominance over others (power and achievement). Hedonism is related both to Openness to Change and to Self-Enhancement (Schwartz, 1994).

Based on Schwartz's model, we can predict relations between values and other variables: they should form a sinusoid pattern. These relations should fall systematically if we move from the most positively correlated value to the most negatively correlated one; and, in the inverse direction, they should rise from the most negatively correlated to the most positively correlated value (see Figure 2)^[4].

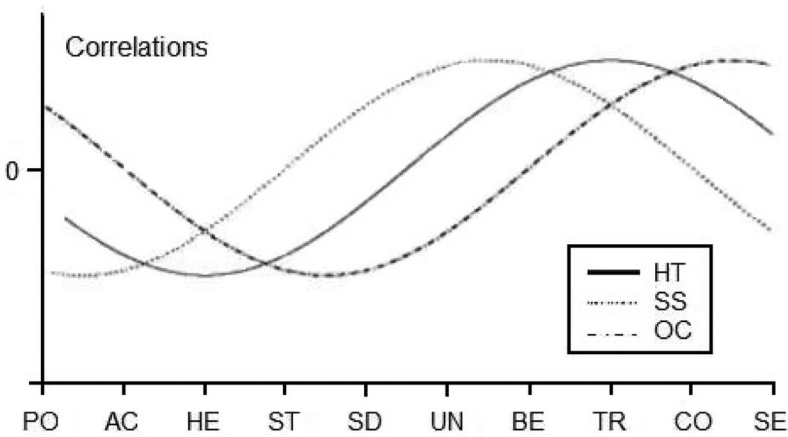


Figure 2
Hypothetical model of correlations between religiosity and value types (after Fontaine, et al., 2005)

Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, TR = Tradition, CO = Conformity, SE = Security, HT = Hedonism vs. Tradition, SS = Self-Enhancement vs. Self-Transcendence, OC = Openness vs. Conservation.

4. The size of the empirical associations between the value types is not so large as to completely determine the order of correlations with external variables. Only a tendency for a sinusoid correlational pattern can be expected (Fontaine, et al., 2000, p. 68).

Ample research conducted in more than 75 countries supports the discrimination of these 10 values and provides evidence of their predicted associations with numerous attitudes, behaviours, and personality traits (Schwartz & Rubel-Lifschitz, 2009).

Wulff's conceptualisation of attitudes toward religion

David Wulff (1991, 1999) described an interesting approach to religion in a secularised socio-cultural context. Wulff (1991, 1999) argued that we can situate various possible attitudes toward religion in a two-dimensional space (see Figure 3). The vertical axis in this space reflects the degree to which objects of religious interest participate in a transcendent reality (Exclusion vs. Inclusion of Transcendence). The horizontal axis shows whether individuals interpret religion literally or symbolically (Literal vs. Symbolic). In this way, the two dimensions define four quadrants, each reflecting a potential religious attitude (see Figure 3):

- **Literal Affirmation.** This is a position which is in particular included in religious fundamentalism. Wulff (1991, 1999) claimed individuals can sustain this position only if they accept the validity of the conservative view. They accept the existence of the religious realm and religious doctrines, and interpret them literally.
- **Literal Disaffirmation.** This is a position in which the individual does not accept the religious realm. Next, religious beliefs have no symbolic meaning – they are understood only literally. They accept absolute concepts only if they refer to rational and formal principles of knowledge and scientific methods.
- **Reductive Interpretation.** The individual rejects the religious realm but acknowledges a privileged perspective on the hidden meaning of religion's myths and rituals, and accepts the symbolic function of religion. Wulff (1991) draws on findings obtained using closely related tests, such as Batson's (1976) Quest scale and Barron's (1963) Enlightenment Disbelief scale, to fill out a portrait of persons in this quadrant, and concludes that these persons are complex, socially sensitive and insightful, relatively unprejudiced and original.
- **Restorative Interpretation.** The individual affirms the religious realm. However, they try to encompass and transcend all possible Reductive Interpretations in order to find the symbolic meaning of religious beliefs. According to Wulff (1991), characterising persons who occupy this position is somewhat more difficult, for until recently, they have been largely neglected in empirical research. Nevertheless, this posture might be represented by Fowler's (1981) fifth stage (conjunctive faith). The basic characteristics of this stage is going beyond

the defined world view system and the limits of individual identity towards the systematic perception of the world, understanding contradictions and paradoxes and the acceptance of various cultural and institutional contexts.

Inspired by Wulff (1991, 1999), Hutsebaut and his colleagues (Fontaine, Duriez, Luyten, & Hutsebaut, 2003; Hutsebaut, 1996) constructed the Post-Critical Belief scale (PCBS) as a tool for measuring the four religious attitudes. The PCBS consists of four subscales: Orthodoxy is the measure of Literal Affirmation, External Critique measures Literal Disaffirmation, Relativism-Reductive Interpretation, and Second Naiveté-Restorative Interpretation (Fontaine, et al., 2003).

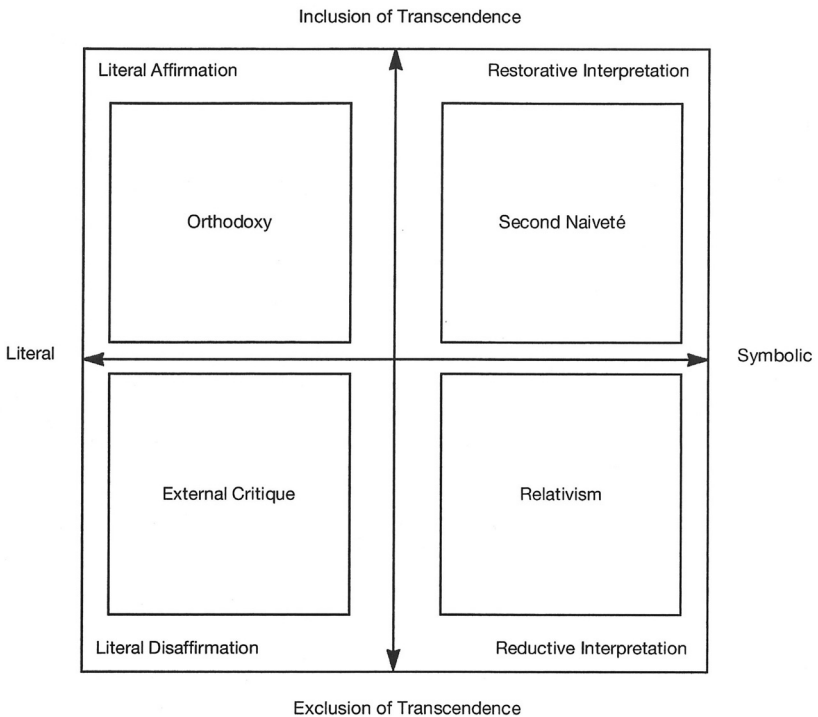


Figure 3

Integration of Hutsebaut's concepts in Wulff's (1991, 1999) theoretical model (after Duriez, et al., 2001)

Relations between the four attitudes toward religion and personal value orientation

Schwartz's and Huismans' (1995) studies, conducted on a sample of Israeli Jews, Protestants, Catholics and Greek Orthodox, revealed positive correlations of religiosity with tradition and conformity, and negative correlations with hedonism, stimulation and self-direction. However, the authors used short one-dimensional religiosity measures, reduced to the self-assessment of religiosity intensity or the frequency of Church attendance. Fontaine et al. (2000) replicated these findings by using PCBS (Hutsebaut, 1997). In a study of students they found that the religious attitudes were differentially related to value priorities, and that the associated value priorities could largely be explained as a specific combination of two theoretically derived value patterns, namely The Transcendence/Mutual Care pattern (TC) and The Social order/Uncertainty avoidance pattern (SU). They separated TC on the grounds of theological analyses of religiosity-values relationships. The TC content emphasises dependence on God, experienced as worshiping and having respect for God, manifested by prayer and focusing on others with care and love. Regarding the SU value pattern, authors derived it from socio-psychological religiosity analyses. Sociological theories emphasise the role of religion as a factor for the support of the acceptance of rules and social order, and psychological theories indicate that religion may be a source of certainty and predicted life structures (Fontaine, et al., 2000).

According to the TC value pattern, religiosity should have the highest correlation with tradition and benevolence, and the lowest (or even negative) one with hedonism and achievement (Fontaine, et al., 2000). As the location of values in the Schwartz model is specified by the sinusoid pattern, we should expect a gradual decrease in correlation coefficients, from tradition over conformity, security to achievement, and from benevolence over universalism, self-direction and stimulation to hedonism (see Table 2).

From the SU value pattern's perspective religiosity should have the highest correlation with security and conformity, and the lowest (even negative) one with self-direction and stimulation (Duriez et al. 2001). A decrease in correlation coefficients should be visible from security over power, achievement and hedonism to stimulation, whilst an increase should be visible from self-direction over universalism, benevolence and tradition to conformity (see Table 2).

The TC value pattern corresponds to the dimension of Inclusion versus Exclusion in the Wulff's model (1991, 1999). Next, the SU value pattern matches the Literal versus Symbolic dimension. People high in Orthodoxy (Inclusion of transcendence, literal approach) should reveal both a high TC and SU value pattern. Whereas in people with high results regarding External Critique (Exclusion of transcendence, literal approach) a positive correlation

Table 2

Hypotheses regarding the relations between Schwartz’s value types and TC and SU Value patterns

Value type	Value pattern	
	TC	SU
Hedonism	--	-
Stimulation	-	--
Self-direction	0	--
Universalism	+	-
Benevolence	++	0
Tradition	++	+
Conformity	+	++
Security	0	++
Power	-	+
Achievement	--	0

Note: “--” strong negative correlation; “-” negative correlation; “+” positive correlation, “++” strong positive correlation.

with the SU and a negative one with a TC value pattern should be visible. People high in Relativism (Exclusion of transcendence, symbolic approach) should be characterised by inverse tendencies in both the SU and TC value patterns. Next, those with high results in Second Naiveté (Inclusion of transcendence, symbolic approach) should also have high results in the TC value pattern and the inverse SU value pattern.

However, the results of the research conducted by Fontaine et al. (2000) on a sample of 211 students delivered only a partial support for these assumptions. Duriez et al. (2001) believed that it was caused by the imperfection of the PCBS. Thus they improved the PCBS and again, in a bigger sample of students ($N = 389$), tested the hypotheses formulated by Fontaine et al. (2000). However, their results were compatible with those documented by Fontaine et al. (2000).

The aim of our research was to check whether we could replicate the results documented by Fontaine et al. (2000) to Poles, a more traditional religious sample. First, we checked if the correlations between the Schwartz’s value types and Hutsebaut’s religious attitudes reflect the sinusoid pattern. Next, we verified whether the Polish sample allows for reducing the dependencies between values and the four religious attitudes to two dimensions separated by Fontaine et al. (2000): Transcendence/Mutual Care pattern and Social order/Uncertainty avoidance.

Method

Participants

The total sample consisted of 288 participants, 191 women and 97 men, whose age ranged from 18 to 30 years old. The mean age of all participants was 21.47 ($SD = 1.73$). All of them were Poles, students of following faculties: computer science, family sciences, education, dietetics, artistic education within the fine arts or musical arts, graphics, Polish studies, Russian studies. Participation in the research was voluntary and anonymous. Among all respondents, 238 individuals (82%) declared their religious affiliation as Catholic (compared to approx. 95% in the general Polish population). Other individuals represented following religious affiliations: Orthodox ($N = 7$), Protestant ($N = 6$). Thirty-seven individuals did not declare any religious affiliation. There were 205 individuals with a secondary level education and 83 with a higher education; 251 were single, 37 married; 117 were from rural areas, 171 from cities.

Measures

All participants completed the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ; Schwartz, Melech, Lehmann, Burgess, & Harris, 2001). The PVQ measures the respondents' values through judgments of one's similarity with another person. It includes 40 short verbal portraits of different people, each one describing a person's goals, aspirations, or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of a value. For example: "Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way". The subjects are asked to assess how similar to the portrayed person they are (Schwartz, et al., 2001). For each portrait, respondents answer the question "How much like you is this person?" on a 6-point labeled scale ranging from 1 = not like me at all to 6 = very much like me. The importance of a value is the mean response to the items that measure it. Thus, we infer respondents' own values from their self-reported similarity to people described implicitly in terms of particular values. The 40 items belong to 10 scales (see Table 1). The number of items per scale is between 2 and 6. Studies in seven countries have supported the reliability of the PVQ, as well as its convergent and discriminant validity (Schwartz et al. 2001). The authors of Polish adaptation are Zaleski and Żywiec (Żywiec, 2002).

Participants also completed a 33-item Post-Critical Belief scale (Fontaine, et al., 2003) in Polish adaptation by Bartczuk, Wiechetek, Zarzycka (2011). PCBS consists of four subscales: Orthodoxy (8 items), External Critique (9 items), Relativism (8 items), and Second Naiveté (8 items). All items were scored on a 7-point Likert scale. Estimates of internal consistency (Cron-

bach- α) were 0.71 for Orthodoxy ($M = 4.38$; $SD = 1.12$), 0.87 for External Critique ($M = 3.15$; $SD = 0.99$), 0.72 for Relativism ($M = 4.03$; $SD = 0.96$), and 0.72 for Second Naiveté ($M = 4.93$; $SD = 0.78$).

Results

Bivariate correlation

We analysed associations between Wulff’s religious attitudes (PCBS) and Schwartz’s 10 value types by means of bivariate correlations (see Table 3). Each of Hutsebaut’s (1996) four religious attitudes scale were characterised (at least partially) by a different value pattern.

Table 3
Bivariate correlations between Post-critical beliefs and 10 value types

Value type	Post-critical beliefs			
	ORT	SN	REL	EXT
Hedonism	0.01	-0.09	0.08	0.29****
Stimulation	0.06	0.04	0.04	0.05
Self-direction	-0.13*	-0.01	0.23***	-0.10
Universalism	0.17*	0.26****	-0.09	-0.25****
Benevolence	0.24****	0.30****	-0.15**	-0.25****
Tradition	0.56****	0.53****	-0.25****	-0.41****
Conformity	0.46****	0.31****	-0.08	-0.21***
Security	0.28****	0.18**	-0.04	-0.17**
Power	-0.02	-0.14*	0.10	0.22***
Achievement	0.05	-0.05	0.10	0.13*

* $p < 0.10$ ** $p < 0.05$ *** $p < 0.01$ **** $p < 0.001$

Orthodoxy correlated positively with tradition, benevolence, universalism, conformity, security and negatively – with self-direction. Tradition correlated most strongly positively and self-direction most strongly negatively with Orthodoxy. All correlations except two (power, self-direction) follow a sinusoid pattern. They decrease from tradition over conformity to achievement, and from benevolence over universalism and stimulation, to hedonism. Self-direction and power are an exception: self-direction correlated with Orthodoxy stronger negatively than hedonism and power correlated stronger negatively (but not significantly) than achievement (see Table 3).

Correlations for Second Naiveté also followed a near-perfect sinusoid pattern. Second Naiveté correlated positively with tradition, benevolence, universalism, conformity, security, and negatively with power. Second Naiveté showed the most positive correlation with tradition and the most negative cor-

relation with power. Correlations decrease from tradition over conformity to achievement, and from benevolence over universalism and stimulation, to hedonism. Power and self-direction do not follow the sinusoid pattern (see Table 3).

For Relativism, the pattern was less clear. Relativism correlated most positively with self-direction and most negatively with tradition. The correlations of tradition, conformity, security and power followed the sinusoid pattern. But the correlations of benevolence, universalism, self-direction, stimulation and hedonism were not in accordance with the sinusoid pattern. Only the positive correlation with self-direction and negative correlations with tradition and benevolence reached a statistically significant level (see Table 3).

External Critique correlated positively with hedonism, power and achievement, and negatively with tradition, benevolence, universalism, conformity and security. Hedonism correlated most strongly positively, and tradition negatively with External Critique. Correlations increase from tradition over conformity, security to achievement, and from benevolence over self-direction and stimulation to hedonism. Contrary to the sinusoid pattern, power correlated more positively with External Critique than achievement, and benevolence correlated as strong negatively as universalism.

Multiple regression analysis for the explanation of the value patterns

We aimed at analyzing the extent to which we could attribute the observed value pattern to the two theoretically derived value patterns (Fontaine, et al., 2000). Therefore, we performed regression analyses with the observed value patterns as dependent variables and the two hypothetical TC and SU value patterns as independent variables (see Table 4) (Duriez, et al., 2001; Fontaine, et al., 2000). Following the assumption that all value types are situated on a perfect circle and that all adjacent value types are equidistant from one another, we could obtain the expected value pattern by computing the sine of the angle of the value type on the circle (Fontaine, et al., 2000).

Table 4
Multiple regression analyses of the sinusoid TC and SU value patterns on the Post-critical beliefs

PCBS	Theoretical value patterns		
	<i>b_{TC}</i>	<i>b_{SU}</i>	<i>R²</i>
Orthodoxy	0.56**	0.50**	0.66***
Second Naiveté	0.78****	0.31*	0.82***
Relativism	-0.70**	-0.24	0.57**
External Critique	-0.88****	-0.12	0.81****

p*<0.10 *p*<0.05 ****p*<0.01 *****p*<0.001

Up to 66% of the value pattern associated with Orthodoxy could be accounted for by the two theoretical value patterns. The TC value pattern could explain 56% and the SU value pattern – by 50% of the value pattern associated with Orthodoxy. Regarding Second Naiveté, 82% of the associated value pattern could be accounted for by the two theoretical value patterns. The TC could predict 78%, and the SU value pattern – 31% of the value pattern associated with Second Naiveté. Concerning Relativism, 57% of the associated value pattern could be accounted for by the two theoretical value patterns. The inverse TC value pattern could explain 70% and the inverse SU value pattern – 24% of the value pattern associated with Relativism. As to External Critique, 81% of the associated value pattern could be accounted for by the two theoretical value patterns. The inverse TC value pattern could predict 88% and the inverse SU value pattern – 12% of the value pattern associated with External Critique (see Table 4).

The value patterns of the Orthodoxy and Second Naiveté could be predicted by the two theoretical value patterns, but Relativism and Second Naiveté – only by inverse TC value pattern.

Discussion

The aim of our research was to try and verify whether the relationship between value orientations (Schwartz, 1992) and four approaches to religion (Orthodoxy, Second Naiveté, External Critique, Relativism) can be reduced to a combination of two theoretically meaningful value patterns: a Transcendence/Mutual Care (TC) and a Social order/Uncertainty avoidance pattern (SU) (Fontaine, et al., 2000).

The value pattern associated with Orthodoxy was explained successfully by the combination of the TC and the SU value patterns, supporting the comprehensiveness of the present theoretical framework. Bivariate correlations (see Table 3) revealed the correlation pattern expected on the basis of the TC and SU value pattern. We observed the strongest positive correlations of Orthodoxy with tradition and benevolence, as well as with conformity and security, and some correlations that were close to zero: hedonism, achievement and stimulation. Orthodoxy only correlated negatively with self-direction. This supports the hypothesis that an orthodox approach to religion may be characterised by looking for dependence on God and taking care of others as well as by striving for safe social environments and uncertainty avoidance.

Second Naiveté can be characterised by the TC but not by the reverse SU value pattern although we expected it on the grounds of the assumption that the low level of uncertainty avoidance is related to symbolic thinking, but we observed a positive result for the SU value pattern. Furthermore, bivariate correlations (see Table 3) revealed the pattern that we expected on the basis

of the TC and SU value patterns. Second Naiveté correlated positively with tradition and benevolence, as well as conformity and security, and positively, but with indicators close to zero, with hedonism, stimulation, achievement, and self-direction. These results suggest that the value pattern which accompanies Second Naiveté corresponds to the one coexisting with Orthodoxy. The difference is that striving for safe social environments and avoidance of certainty was less important for the symbolic believers than the focus on transcendence.

The value pattern associated with External Critique can be best understood in terms of the reversed TC value pattern. The contribution of the socio-psychological value pattern was of no importance. Bivariate correlations showed that External Critique correlated negatively with tradition, benevolence, and positively with hedonism and achievement. Unexpectedly, External Critique correlated negatively with conformity and security, and also failed to correlate with stimulation and self-direction. These results are grounds for the assumption that the anti-transcendence perspective is important for the individuals with high results in External Critique. This group shares the rejection of transcendence and the typical value orientation implied by this rejection. However, the remaining values do not make up a consistent correlation pattern with External Critique. It may be due to the fact that, similar to the Flemish sample (Fontaine, et al., 2000), we deal with a highly heterogeneous group in terms of the preferred values. We find it difficult to analyse this sample in Poland because of the small percentage of unbelievers (Zarzycka, 2009).

The value pattern associated with Relativism can be best understood in terms of the reversed TC value pattern. The contribution of the SU value pattern was of no importance in the study. We must note that the bivariate correlations show some deviations from the TC value pattern. Whilst Relativism correlated negatively with tradition and benevolence, it correlated positively with neither hedonism or achievement. Moreover, the rejection of transcendence is stronger in relativistic Poles than the rejection of the mutual care perspective.

In the field of prioritising values, the "Inclusion versus Exclusion of Transcendence" dimension is more important than the "Symbolic versus Literal" dimension (with a negligible role). Therefore, it is being religious that prioritises the value system, not the way religious content is interpreted. The results obtained in the Polish sample join the extensive empirical data which confirms the key role of believing in the processes of prioritising values (Schwarz & Huismans, 1995; Duriez, Luyten, Snauwaert, & Hutsebaut, 2002; Saroglou & Muñoz-García, 2008). As found in the meta-analysis (Saroglou & Delpierre, Dernelle, 2004) of 21 studies from 15 countries (total $N = 8,551$), religious people tend to attribute high importance to values

reflecting conservatism and self-transcendence, and low importance to values indicating openness to change and self-enhancement. For four religious denominations (Judaism, Protestantism, Roman Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy), religiosity was associated with the importance of respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture and religion provide and a de-emphasis on pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself (Schwartz & Huismans, 1995, p. 90).

The Inclusion of Transcendence prioritises values which are parts of both the TC and SU patterns. In other words, being religious is favorable to the preference of traditional values which control the attitude of an individual towards God and towards other people, and it coexists with avoiding uncertainty and looking for stable social structures. However, the predictive power of Inclusion of Transcendence in terms of prioritising values which make up the TC pattern is higher than in terms of prioritising values which form the SU pattern. We think that these findings can be understood on the basis of the socio-cultural characteristics of the religious landscape in Poland. On the one hand, we have to make do with orthodox Catholicism which results in considerable traditionalism in the axiological field. Whilst on the other hand – with gradually intensified secularisation processes followed by a gradual increase in selectivity in interpreting the meaning of religion in the socio-cultural field. It may mean that although many Poles accept traditional religious values, they are straying from the model of orthodox Catholicism, and this is shown in their social functioning which is not in accordance with Christian ethics (Zarzycka, 2009). We suppose that, accompanied by increasing secularisation tendencies, the role of religion in prioritising social structures will decrease in significance.

Finally, by analogy to the Flemish sample (Fontaine, et al., 2000), we noted in the Polish study that religiosity is associated with stressing the importance of traditional values and de-emphasising the significance of hedonistic values, irrespective of whether religion is interpreted in a literal or symbolic way. However, in a traditionally religious Polish society, to a greater extent than it is in a secularised Flemish society, being religious helps people feel secure and helps give them a more stable social structure.

Conclusion

The present study replicates the systematic patterns of association found by Fontaine et al. (2000) only partially. In the Polish sample, the Inclusion versus Exclusion of Transcendence dimension is of a greater importance in the field of prioritising values than the Symbolic versus Literal dimension. The Inclusion of Transcendence prioritises values which make up both patterns: TC and SU. However, the predictive power of Inclusion of Transcendence is

greater in terms of prioritising values which form the TC rather than in terms of prioritising values which make up the SU pattern.

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