

Research Paper

Values as a connecting bridge between religiosity and volunteering

Hajnalka Fényes¹, Zsolt Csák²

Recommended citation:

Fényes, H., & Csák, Zs. (2026). Values as a connecting bridge between religiosity and volunteering. *Central European Journal of Educational Research*, 8(1), 154–161. <https://doi.org/10.37441/cejer/2026/8/1/16958>

Abstract

Numerous studies examine behaviours associated with religiosity, including volunteering, which shows a positive correlation especially with collective religious practice. This effect may also derive from character development and value transfer associated with religiosity, based on certain studies. However, factors originating from religious community may be the primary drivers of this positive association. In our paper, we examine Schwartz's four higher-order value dimensions as mediators between religiosity and volunteering. Using the European Social Survey 2023/24 database (N=42,489), we applied a mediation analysis in which individual-level effects of religiosity can be identified through indirect, value-mediated pathways, while effects originating from religious community can be identified through direct effects. Our results support the mediating role of values between religiosity and volunteering. However, the value-shaping effects of religiosity overall reduce the likelihood of volunteering, as religiosity primarily promotes conservation values, which in turn decrease the probability of volunteering. In contrast, our mediation model revealed a direct positive association between religiosity and volunteering. Based on our findings, religiosity contributes to higher volunteering behaviour primarily through the reinforcement of mutually supportive networks and prosocial norms, as well as through the provision of formal frameworks for volunteering in religious communities. Our future plans include incorporating more control variables into the model, which may nuance our results to date.

Keywords: religiosity; basic human values; volunteering; mediation analysis

Introduction

Values have played a central role since the early 1900s in explaining both macro-level (Durkheim, 1933; Inglehart, 1977) and micro-level phenomena (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Schwartz (1992) conceptualized values as broadly defined motivational factors underlying human behavior and decision-making. In Schwartz's value model, which comprises the 10, or later 19 basic values, the values are arranged in a circular structure that does not follow a hierarchical ordering. The aim of our study is to explore the relationship between Schwartz's basic value dimensions and volunteering, as well as its association with religiosity.

In the theoretical section of the paper, we first present Schwartz's (2016) micro-level theory of value orientations, which – due to its interdisciplinary and cross-cultural applicability – has become one of the most widely used frameworks in contemporary research (Schwartz, 2014, 2016; Schwartz et al., 2012, 2017; Schwartz & Cieciuch, 2022; Schwartz & Sortheix, 2018). Subsequently, we examine the relationships between values and volunteering, religiosity and values, and finally religiosity and volunteering, based on the literature. Following the presentation of the methodology, the empirical section analyses data from Wave 11 of the ESS database. We applied mediation analysis to investigate the direct effect of religiosity on volunteering, as well

¹ Department of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Debrecen; MTA-DE Development of Future Consciousness Research Group, University of Debrecen, Debrecen, Hungary

² MCA Collegium Professorum Hungarorum; MTA-DE Development of Future Consciousness Research Group, University of Debrecen; Debrecen, Hungary (corresponding author)

as its indirect effect through value identifications. In the concluding section, we interpret our findings in light of the existing literature.

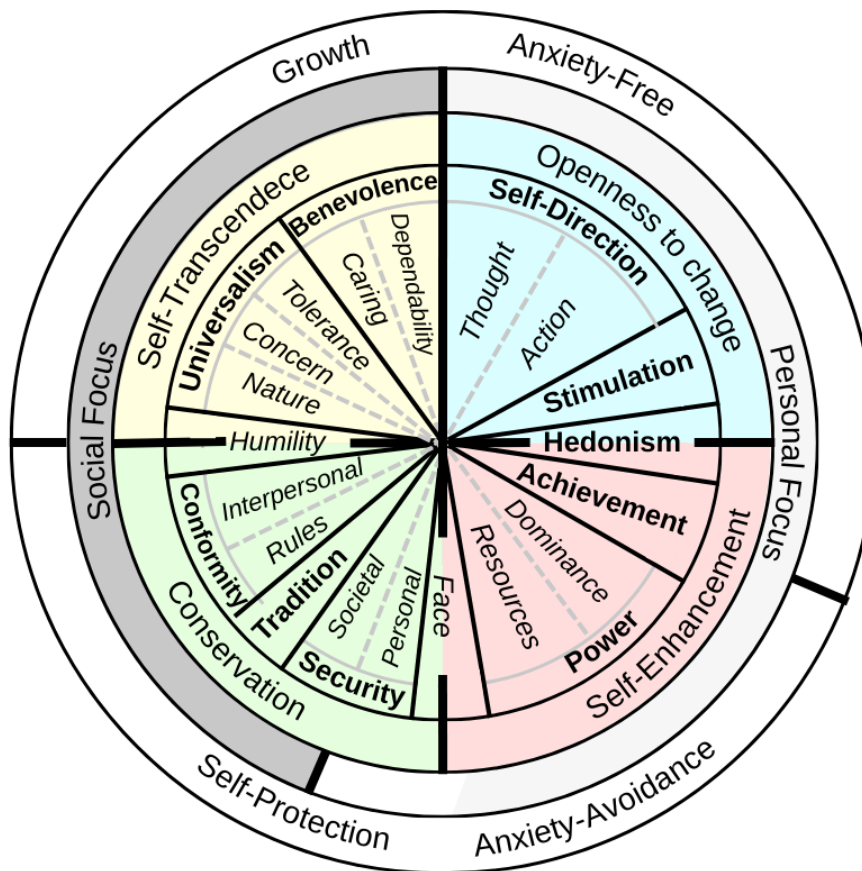
Our study may contribute to the development of comprehensive and complex explanatory models examining the relationship between values and volunteering, and it also facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the association between religiosity and volunteering.

Theoretical background

Schwartz's Value Model

Schwartz expanded his original value orientation model, which contained 10 basic values, to include 19 basic values (Schwartz et al., 2012, 2017; Schwartz & Cieciuch, 2022). Among other aims, the revised framework sought to provide greater explanatory power and to allow for more fine-grained subdimensions, which may be more advantageous in predicting other variables (e.g., political orientation or volunteering) (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Schwartz's 19 basic values model



Source: Adapted from Schwartz et al. (2017), authors' own editing.

Note. The values presented in bold originate from the earlier model comprising 10 basic values, whereas the values shown in italics represent the additional values introduced in the 19-value model.

Basic values can be grouped according to several criteria. In empirical studies, the ten basic values are often examined along two bipolar dimensions (Döring et al., 2015; Schwartz & Cieciuch, 2022; Schwartz & Sortheix, 2018). On one dimension, the values of Conservation (conformity, tradition, security) are opposed to Openness to Change (self-direction, stimulation), while on the other dimension Self-Enhancement (power, achievement) and Self-Transcendence (universalism, benevolence) form opposing value poles (see Figure 1) (Schwartz & Cieciuch, 2022).

The Relationship Between Religiosity and Values

The association between religiosity and values has been the focus of numerous empirical studies (Chan et al., 2020; Koscielniak et al., 2024; Luria & Katz, 2020). Research indicate that religiosity is a significant value-forming factor, but the relationship between religiosity and specific values is ambiguous. Most studies report a positive association between religiosity and conservative values (Carneiro et al., 2021; Chan et al., 2020; Schwartz, 2016), but some studies suggest that religiosity is also linked to values reflecting benevolence and concern for others' well-being (Koscielniak et al., 2024; Saroglou et al., 2004). Chan et al. (2020) found that religious individuals show stronger endorsement of the values of tradition, benevolence, conformity, and universalism, while placing less emphasis on hedonism, power, self-direction, stimulation, and achievement.

At the same time, findings in the literature vary depending on the level of value aggregation, the measurement instrument applied, and the national context. Using data from 19 countries in the ESS7 database, Koscielniak et al. (2024) measured value orientations through Schwartz's four higher-order value dimensions. In line with the hypotheses, the values of conservation and self-transcendence showed a positive relationship with religiosity, whereas openness to change was negatively related to it. Contrary to expectations, however, the self-enhancement dimension – which includes the values of power and achievement – also showed a positive association with religiosity, although this relationship was weaker than those observed for conservation and self-transcendence.

The Relationship Between Schwartz's Basic Values and Volunteering

Numerous studies provide evidence for the behavior-organizing role of values, both directly (Kesberg & Keller, 2018; Schwartz, 2016; Schwartz et al., 2017) and indirectly (Barni et al., 2011; Chan & Tam, 2016; Pastorelli et al., 2021; Roest et al., 2012). Volunteering as an activity, as well as its motivational background, is related to individuals' value preferences, however, there is no one-to-one correspondence between value preferences and volunteering. Specific basic values in Schwartz's model (e.g., benevolence or universalism) do not necessarily lead to volunteering, and individuals who engage in volunteer work may hold diverse value preferences. Nowakowska (2024) highlights that volunteering may arise not only from the intention to enhance others' well-being but also from motives related to increasing one's own well-being. This perspective is also reflected in the functionalist theory of volunteering (VFI) (Clary et al., 1998). Within Schwartz's framework, volunteering is most closely associated with self-transcendence values (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2022). However, volunteering may also be linked to conservation values (e.g., security, tradition, conformity), which likewise have a social focus. Moreover, values with a personal focus may also be present in the background of volunteering, such as self-enhancement (e.g., achievement) or openness to change (e.g., self-direction or stimulation).

The Relationship Between Religiosity and Volunteering

Religiosity is a multidimensional construct. Tienen et al. (2011) define collective religiosity as denominational membership and religious attendance, whereas individual religiosity comprises personal praying, religious worldview, spirituality, and the salience of religion in everyday life.

Empirical research indicates that participation in religious services enhances the likelihood of volunteering (Becker & Dhingra, 2001; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Tienen et al., 2011; Voicu & Voicu, 2003; Wilson & Musick, 1997). Individuals who are active members of religious communities tend to volunteer more frequently than those without such affiliations. This pattern can be attributed to the role of religiosity as an indicator of social capital, as religious institutions foster networks that facilitate civic engagement (Pusztai, 2011). Religious attendance strengthens social integration, providing access to information about volunteer opportunities (Wilson, 2000).

Religiosity also exerts an intrinsic effect on volunteering. Religious individuals may view helping others as a moral obligation, reflecting value orientations that align closely with prosocial behavior. Wilson and Musick (1997) suggest that ethically guided behavior encourages volunteering, a relationship mediated by personal religiosity and prosocial values (Musick et al., 2000). Similarly, Son and Wilson (2011) found that generativity – the motivation to contribute to the well-being of others – mediates the relationship between religiosity and volunteer engagement. Empirical findings regarding the effects of individual religiosity are mixed. Paxton et al. (2014) reported that individual religious practices, such as regular praying, positively

influence volunteering. In contrast, Tienen et al. (2011) found no significant relationship between individual religious characteristics and volunteering.

Fényes (2015) showed that among higher education students, collective religiosity (for example, participation in religious youth groups) has the strongest positive effect on volunteering. The data showed also that the religious students' motivational background is mixed. In addition to altruism, personal and professional development, networking, and spending their leisure time usefully through volunteering were also important motivations for them.

Materials & Methods

In the theoretical section, we outlined the potential relationship between volunteering and values, and discussed the associations of religiosity with value orientations and volunteering. In the empirical section, we formulated two research questions and three hypotheses:

- 1) Which higher-order value dimensions are associated with volunteering?
- 2) What is the direct effect of religiosity and its indirect effect via values on volunteering?

H1: Religiosity is differently associated with four higher-order value dimensions identified by Schwartz (Koscielniak et al., 2024).

H2: The four higher-order value dimensions are significantly related to volunteering due to their influence on behavior (Schwartz, 2016).

H3: The indirect positive effect of religiosity on volunteering via values is smaller than the direct effect (Tienen et al., 2011).

Sample

We used data from the 11th wave of the European Social Survey (ESS). The ESS aims to provide representative samples of populations aged 15 and older in the 30 participating countries, with sample sizes ranging from approximately 800 to 1,500 per country. The survey also provides insights into value orientations, as well as political, environmental, and cultural attitudes. Trained interviewers were primarily employed for data collection. In this study the full sample ($N = 46,162$; 53.3% female, mean age of 51.6) was used.

Variables

Religiosity was measured with a single item: "How religious are you?" Respondents answered on a scale from 0 to 10 (0 = "Not at all religious," 10 = "Very religious"; $M = 4.75$, $SD = 3.13$).

Values were measured using the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ; Schwartz et al., 2001), which contains 21 portrait descriptions rated on a six-point Likert scale based on how similar the respondent feels to the described person. Each of the 10 basic Schwartz values is measured with two items, except for universalism, which has three. We calculated the four higher-order value dimensions by averaging the items for each dimension. Internal consistency of the dimensions, assessed using McDonald's ω , was acceptable: the lowest reliability was for Conservation ($\omega = 0.691$) and the highest for Self-Transcendence ($\omega = 0.749$).

Volunteering was measured with a single dichotomous item: "Have you volunteered for a not-for-profit or charitable organization in the past 12 months?", where 18.7% of respondents answered "yes."

Data Analysis

Mediation analyses were conducted using the SPSS PROCESS macro v4.2, with 5,000 bootstrap samples (Hayes, 2022; Preacher & Hayes, 2004). The dependent variable was volunteering, the predictor was religiosity, and the four higher-order Schwartz value dimensions were mediators. Missing data (don't know or refused) were handled listwise, slightly reducing the sample size ($N = 42,489$). Due to volunteering being a dichotomous variable, non-standardized regression coefficients are reported (Hayes, 2022).

Results

We first examined how religiosity predicts respondents' value orientations. Results indicate that higher religiosity promotes identification with Self-Enhancement ($B = 0.008$, $SE = 0.002$, $p < 0.001$), Self-Transcendence ($B = 0.006$, $SE = 0.001$, $p < 0.001$), and Conservation values ($B = 0.072$, $SE = 0.002$, $p < 0.001$). In contrast, religiosity was negatively associated with Openness to Change values ($B = -0.029$, $SE = 0.001$, $p < 0.001$). Thus, religiosity primarily encourages the internalization of Conservation values, while also modestly

supporting identification with Self-Transcendence and Self-Enhancement values. The latter finding is noteworthy, as these two value dimensions are theoretically opposed according to Schwartz (2016). However, although the associations with Self-Transcendence and Self-Enhancement are statistically significant – likely due to the very large sample size – their coefficients are extremely small, limiting their practical significance.

Secondly, all value dimensions included in our model were significantly associated with volunteering. Volunteering was higher among respondents who place greater emphasis on Openness to Change ($B = 0.26$, $SE = 0.019$, $p < 0.001$) and Self-Transcendence ($B = 0.673$, $SE = 0.023$, $p < 0.001$). Conversely, stronger identification with Self-Enhancement ($B = -0.21$, $SE = 0.014$, $p < 0.001$) and Conservation values ($B = -0.473$, $SE = 0.019$, $p < 0.001$) reduced the likelihood of volunteering.

The results for indirect effects support our theoretical assumption that religiosity may influence volunteering through individuals' value orientations (Table 1). Religiosity had significant indirect effects on volunteering through Openness to Change ($B = -0.008$, $CI [-0.009, -0.006]$), Self-Enhancement ($B = -0.002$, $CI [-0.003, -0.001]$), Self-Transcendence ($B = 0.004$, $CI [0.002, 0.005]$), and Conservation ($B = -0.034$, $CI [-0.037, -0.031]$). Among these mediated effects, only Self-Transcendence had a positive effect on volunteering, indicating an encouraging influence. The strongest negative association was observed via Conservation. Overall, value changes associated with religiosity slightly reduced the probability of volunteering ($B = -0.04$, $CI [-0.043, -0.037]$).

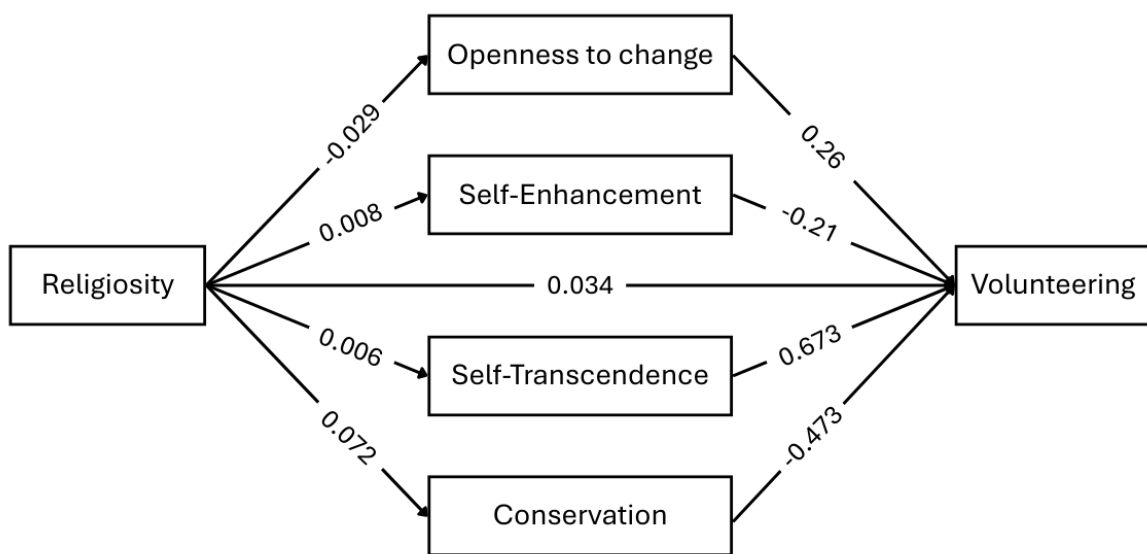
Table 1. Indirect effects of religiosity on volunteering through value orientations.

	Effects	BootSE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
Openness to change	-0.008	0.001	-0.009	-0.006
Self-Enhancement	-0.002	0.001	-0.003	-0.001
Self-Transcendence	0.004	0.001	0.002	0.005
Conservation	-0.034	0.001	-0.037	-0.031
Total	-0.04	0.0016	-0.043	-0.037

Note: All indirect effects are significant, as none of the 95% bootstrap confidence intervals include zero (BootLLCI and BootULCI).

The mediation analysis showed also a significant direct positive effect of religiosity on volunteering ($B = 0.034$, $SE = 0.004$, $p < 0.001$). The magnitude of this direct effect matches the effect through Conservation values in absolute terms but has the opposite sign. Overall, while religiosity's influence on values tends to reduce the likelihood of volunteering, its direct effect promotes it. Coefficients estimated in the mediation model are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. The results of the mediation model



Note. Reported values are unstandardized regression coefficients, as volunteering is a dichotomous variable while religiosity and values are continuous. The model explains 7.8% of the variance of volunteering.

Discussion

Previous research indicates that religiosity is a strong predictor of volunteering (Becker & Dhingra, 2001; Ruiters & De Graaf, 2006; Tienen et al., 2011). While some authors argue that religiosity promotes higher volunteering at the individual level, for example by shaping personal values, others highlight its community aspects, suggesting that volunteering is encouraged through the social networks and direct requests associated with religious participation.

In the theoretical section, we reviewed the relationships between religiosity, values, and volunteering. In the empirical part, we examined both the direct effect of religiosity on volunteering and the indirect effect through value orientations. The indirect effect relates mainly to individual religiosity, whereas the direct effect may reflect collective religiosity.

Our results show that religiosity is differently associated with individual values, in accordance with Hypothesis 1. It is positively associated with Conservation and negatively with Openness to Change, while associations with Self-Transcendence and Self-Enhancement are marginal. Our results show a highly similar pattern to those observed in earlier analyses based on the 2014–2015 ESS7 data (Koscielniak et al., 2024). Overall, religiosity is associated with values reflecting a need for security and stability, while it shows a negative relationship with values oriented toward seeking new experiences (Schwartz, 2016). In our study, the relationship between religiosity and the Self-Transcendence and Self-Enhancement value dimensions was negligible. This may be attributable to the level of aggregation of the variables, as well as to treating religiosity as a single, undifferentiated construct, without distinguishing between religious traditions (e.g., Islam, Christianity) or denominations. In a study comparing Protestant Christians and non-religious individuals, Christians demonstrated significantly higher identification with benevolence and universalism values, and lower endorsement of power and achievement values (Chan et al., 2020). Based on these findings, it can be assumed that the relationship between Self-Transcendence and Self-Enhancement values and religiosity may vary across religious denominations. This variation may have been attenuated in our study, which employed a robust sample including multiple denominations.

Secondly, all value dimensions were significantly related to volunteering, consistent with Hypothesis 2. Self-Transcendence had the strongest positive effect, whereas values linked to self-protection (Self-Enhancement and Conservation) reduced the likelihood of volunteering. In contrast, values associated with personal growth (Openness to Change and Self-Transcendence) increased it. Based on the VFI model, volunteering may also be driven by self-oriented motives (Clary et al., 1998), and thus, theoretically, Self-Enhancement values could also have shown a positive association with volunteering. However, in our study we measured only a specific form of volunteering, namely volunteering in not-for-profit or charitable organizations. This type of volunteering does not provide clear or direct benefits to the individual (e.g., it is not necessarily linked to potential career advancement). Rather, volunteering in such organizations places greater emphasis on promoting the well-being of others. Accordingly, in our study, the strongest positive association with volunteering was observed for Self-Transcendence values related to helping others.

Consistent with Hypothesis 3, the motivating effect of religiosity on volunteering operates less through individual value orientations. Among indirect effects, only Self-Transcendence showed a weak but significant positive influence. Most value changes associated with religiosity tended to reduce volunteering. However, a direct positive effect of religiosity on volunteering was observed, suggesting that collective religious practices – through collective norms, social embeddedness, and direct requests – may directly encourage volunteer participation. Our findings support the conclusions of the literature highlighting the resources embedded in religious communities and their norm-forming role (Fényes, 2015; Pusztai, 2011). Previous research has reported mixed evidence regarding whether individual religiosity promotes volunteering (Paxton et al., 2014; Tienen et al., 2011). Based on our results, religiosity is associated with individual-level value endorsements in a way that ultimately reduces the likelihood of volunteering. However, it is also possible that differences exist across religious traditions (e.g., Christianity, Islam) as well as across denominations (e.g., Protestant, Catholic). Accordingly, future research should examine the relationship between religiosity and volunteering separately along different dimensions of religiosity, and should also incorporate additional individual-level constructs beyond values, such as personality traits.

Conclusion

In our study, we demonstrated that volunteering, individuals' values, and religiosity are interrelated. The results indicate that the positive influence of religiosity on volunteering is less mediated by value formation and more

shaped by religious communities and social connections, which reinforce prosocial norms and provide a formal framework supporting individual engagement in volunteer work.

Limitations and further research plans

A limitation of our study is that, due to the constraints of the survey, religiosity and volunteering were each operationalized with a single item. The aggregation of values may also have led to loss of information. Using the full set of Schwartz's 10 or 19 basic values could have provided a more precise understanding of the value-shaping influence of religiosity and the role of values in volunteering. Another limitation is that our mediation model was relatively simple: we did not control for socio-demographic background variables, nor did we examine cross-national differences. Although we attributed the direct effect to participation in religious communities, this interpretation remains tentative until the variable is explicitly included in the model.

Future plans include examining these effects in a more complex model that incorporates background variables within this dataset. Additionally, we aim to replicate the analysis in other datasets where different forms and motivations for volunteering are measured alongside value orientations, in order to further explore the relationships identified in the present study.

Acknowledgments: The research on which this paper is based has been implemented by the MTA-DE Development of Future Conscientiousness Research Group and with the support provided by the Scientific Foundations of Education Research Program of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This research was supported by the MCA – Collegium Professorum Hungarorum.

We thank Johnathan Dabney for the English language editing.

Ethical approval: The study was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki, and approved by the Institutional Review Board (or Ethics Committee) of the School Ethics Committee of Doctoral Program on Educational Sciences at the University of Debrecen (protocol code 1/2022 and date of approval: 09 March 2022).

Data availability statement: The data used in this study are openly available on the European Social Survey (ESS) website. <https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/data-portal>

References

- Barni, D., Ranieri, S., Scabini, E., & Rosnati, R. (2011). Value transmission in the family: Do adolescents accept the values their parents want to transmit? *Journal of Moral Education*, 40(1), 105–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240.2011.553797>
- Becker, P. E., & Dhingra, P. H. (2001). Religious involvement and volunteering: Implications for civil society. *Sociology of Religion*, 62(3), 315–335. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3712353>
- Carneiro, A., Sousa, H. F. P. e, Dinis, M. A. P., & Leite, Â. (2021). Human values and religion: Evidence from the European Social Survey. *Social Sciences*, 10(2), Article 75. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10020075>
- Chan, H.-W., & Tam, K.-P. (2016). Understanding the lack of parent–child value similarity: The role of perceived norms in value socialization in immigrant families. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 47(5), 651–669. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022116635744>
- Chan, S., Lau, W. W. F., Hui, C. H., Lau, E. Y. Y., & Cheung, S. (2020). Causal relationship between religiosity and value priorities: Cross-sectional and longitudinal investigations. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*, 12(1), 77–87. <https://doi.org/10.1037/rel0000175>
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R. D., Copeland, J., Stukas, A. A., Haugen, J., & Miene, P. (1998). Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: A functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1516–1530. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.6.1516>
- Döring, A. K., Schwartz, S. H., Cieciuch, J., Groenen, P. J. F., Glatzel, V., Harasimeczuk, J., Janowicz, N., Nyagolova, M., Scheefer, E. R., Allritz, M., Milfont, T. L., & Bilsky, W. (2015). Cross-cultural evidence of value structures and priorities in childhood. *British Journal of Psychology*, 106(4), 675–699. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjop.12116>
- Durkheim, É. (1933). *The division of labor in society*. Free Press.
- Fényes, H. (2015). Effect of religiosity on volunteering and on the types of volunteering among higher education students in a cross-border Central and Eastern European region. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Social Analysis*, 5(2), 181–203.
- Hayes, A. F. (2022). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach* (3rd ed.). The Guilford Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1977). *The silent revolution: Changing values and political styles among Western publics*. Princeton University Press.
- Kesberg, R., & Keller, J. (2018). The relation between human values and perceived situation characteristics in everyday life. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9, Article 1676. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01676>
- Koscielniak, M., Bojanowska, A., & Gasiorowska, A. (2024). Religiosity decline in Europe: Age, generation, and the mediating role of shifting human values. *Journal of Religion and Health*, 63(2), 1091–1116. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-022-01670-x>
- Luria, E., & Katz, Y. J. (2020). Parent–child transmission of religious and secular values in Israel. *Journal of Beliefs & Values: Studies in Religion & Education*, 41(4), 458–473. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13617672.2019.1688472>

- Musick, M. A., Wilson, J., & Bynum, W. B., Jr. (2000). Race and formal volunteering: The differential effects of class and religion. *Social Forces*, 78(4), 1539–1570. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3006184>
- Nowakowska, I. (2024). Altruists will be altruists, but what about individualists? The role of future time perspective and social value orientation in volunteers' declarations to continue engagement in three time horizons. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 35(3), 503–514. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-023-00613-8>
- Pastorelli, C., Zuffianò, A., Lansford, J. E., Thartori, E., Bornstein, M. H., Chang, L., Deater-Deckard, K., Di Giunta, L., Dodge, K. A., Gurdal, S., Liu, Q., Long, Q., Oburu, P., Skinner, A. T., Sorbring, E., Steinberg, L., Tapanya, S., Uribe Tirado, L. M., Yotanyamaneewong, S., ... Bacchini, D. (2021). Positive youth development: Parental warmth, values, and prosocial behavior in 11 cultural groups. *Journal of Youth Development: Bridging Research and Practice*, 16(2–3), 379–401. <https://doi.org/10.5195/jyd.2021.1026>
- Paxton, P., Reith, N. E., & Glanville, J. L. (2014). Volunteering and the dimensions of religiosity: A cross-national analysis. *Review of Religious Research*, 56(4), 597–625. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13644-014-0169-y>
- Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2004). SPSS and SAS procedures for estimating indirect effects in simple mediation models. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers*, 36(4), 717–731. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03206553>
- Pusztai, G. (2011). Schools and communities of norm-awareness. *Religions*, 2(3), 372–388. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel2030372>
- Roest, A. M. C., Dubas, J. S., & Gerris, J. R. M. (2012). Children's value orientations as they traverse adolescence and emerging adulthood: Alternative routes of parental transmission. *Family Science*, 3(1), 22–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19424620.2012.716207>
- Rokeach, M. (1973). *Understanding human values*. Free Press.
- Ruiter, S., & De Graaf, N. D. (2006). National context, religiosity, and volunteering: Results from 53 countries. *American Sociological Review*, 71(2), 191–210. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240607100202>
- Sagiv, L., & Schwartz, S. H. (2022). Personal values across cultures. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 73, 517–546. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-020821-125100>
- Saroglou, V., Delpierre, V., & Dernelle, R. (2004). Values and religiosity: A meta-analysis of studies using Schwartz's model. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 37(4), 721–734. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2003.10.005>
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 1–65). Academic Press. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601\(08\)60281-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60281-6)
- Schwartz, S. H. (2014). National culture as value orientations: Consequences of value differences and cultural distance. In V. A. Ginsburgh & D. Throsby (Eds.), *Handbook of the economics of art and culture* (Vol. 2, pp. 547–586). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-444-53776-8.00020-9>
- Schwartz, S. H. (2016). Basic individual values: Sources and consequences. In T. Brosch & D. Sander (Eds.), *Handbook of value: Perspectives from economics, neuroscience, philosophy, psychology and sociology* (pp. 63–84). Oxford University Press.
- Schwartz, S. H., & Cieciuch, J. (2022). Measuring the refined theory of individual values in 49 cultural groups: Psychometrics of the revised Portrait Value Questionnaire. *Assessment*, 29(5), 1005–1019. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191121998760>
- Schwartz, S. H., Cieciuch, J., Vecchione, M., Davidov, E., Fischer, R., Beierlein, C., Ramos, A., Verkasalo, M., Lönnqvist, J.-E., Demirutku, K., Dirilen-Gumus, O., & Konty, M. (2012). Refining the theory of basic individual values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 103(4), 663–688. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029393>
- Schwartz, S. H., Cieciuch, J., Vecchione, M., Torres, C., Dirilen-Gumus, O., & Butenko, T. (2017). Value tradeoffs propel and inhibit behavior: Validating the 19 refined values in four countries. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 47(3), 241–258. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2228>
- Schwartz, S. H., Melech, G., Lehmann, A., Burgess, S., Harris, M., & Owens, V. (2001). Extending the cross-cultural validity of the theory of basic human values with a different method of measurement. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(5), 519–542. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022101032005001>
- Schwartz, S. H., & Sortheix, F. M. (2018). Values and subjective well-being. In E. Diener, S. Oishi, & L. Tay (Eds.), *Handbook of well-being* (pp. 872–886). DEF Publishers.
- Son, J., & Wilson, J. (2011). Generativity and volunteering. *Sociological Forum*, 26(3), 644–667. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1573-7861.2011.01266.x>
- Tienen, M., Scheepers, P., Reitsma, J., & Schilderman, H. (2011). The role of religiosity for formal and informal volunteering in the Netherlands. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 22(3), 365–389. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-010-9160-6>
- Voicu, M., & Voicu, B. (2003). Volunteering in Romania: A rare avis. In P. Dekker & H. Halman (Eds.), *The values of volunteering: Cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 143–160). Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Wilson, J., & Musick, M. (1997). Who cares? Toward an integrated theory of volunteer work. *American Sociological Review*, 62(5), 694–713. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657355>

