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Pro-social basic human values and civic involvement. The moderating role of survival vs self-expression cultural context

The present study investigated a hypothesis that the pro-social values differentiated by S. Schwartz's model of basic human values – universalism and benevolence - would positively predict civic involvement. Most importantly, authors expected that the type of pro-social value that would play a dominant motivational role would depend on moderating role of the level of self-expression and benevolence – cultural value dimension developed by R. Inglehart. Based on discriminant function analyses performed on the data gathered in 17 European countries through the European Social Survey conducted in 2002, authors found that universalism predicts civic involvement only in self-expression countries, whereas the role of benevolence is rather neglectable and independent of the cultural context. The results are discussed with reference to cross-cultural differences in Europe.

Keywords: civic involvement, personal values, benevolence, universalism, self-expression, survival, cross-cultural comparison

Civic involvement – i.e., individual engagement in organized, public activity, aimed at securing the well-being of and protecting the interests of social groups - lies at the heart of a democratic social organization. This type of activity, although basic and desirable within a democratic system, is far from universal. Research shows that participation in civic actions such as voting, self-organizing, promoting social and political organizations or participating in legal demonstrations is particularly low in countries of Eastern and Southern Europe (Skarżyńska, 2002). However, a decrease in civic involvement is also noted in developed democracies of Western and Northern Europe (Putnam, 1995; Uslaner, 1998). Not surprisingly, these findings have precipitated numerous studies investigating the sources of and motivation behind a collective action on behalf of others. Many of these works show that, apart from demographic variables such as age, social status and education (Nie, Powell, Prewitt, 1969; Milbrath & Goel, 1977), an individual sense of efficacy and trust in public institutions is among the most important factors increasing the likelihood of individual civic involvement (eg. Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Krampen, 1991; Miller & Jennings, 1986;

Schwartz, 2006). The results of numerous studies which have investigated the specific psychological needs and desires behind civic involvement are far from conclusive. Some analyses indicate that a need for power and influence over others may stimulate voluntary social action, whereas other analyses point to affiliative motivations - such as the need for social support or social solidarity (Deutsch, 1985; Winter, 1980; Constantini & Valenty, 1996). Among the personality traits; agreeableness, empathy, perspective taking, and extraversion were shown to positively inspire civic involvement and political activism (eg. Graziano & Eisenberg, 1994; Penner, 2002; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998).

Recently, it has been suggested that civic involvement might be seen as an expression of an individual hierarchy of values that, generally, tend to predict political behavior better than personality traits do (Bekkers, 2005; Patterson, 2004; see also Caprara et al., 2006; Roccas et al., 2002; Schwartz, 2006). In this paper we investigate pro-social human values that inspire civic involvement across 17 European countries participating in European Social Survey in 2002. In addition, our examination concerns a

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question of whether the role of pro-social human values in motivating civic involvement is moderated by the dominant cultural value pattern in a given country (see Schwartz, 2006).

Personal values and pro-social behavior

Our understanding of values is based on the widely accepted, comprehensive and empirically verified theory of basic human values formulated by Shalom Schwartz (1992; 2003; 2006). Schwartz defines values as cognitive representations of desirable, abstract goals (e.g., security, justice, power) that motivate and guide behavior across situations and time (eg. Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; see also Rokeach, 1973). He identifies 10 types of universal values (power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security) that create a circular motivational continuum (Schwartz, 1992; 2003; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). The closer together any two values lie in this continuum, the more they overlap in their motivational power. The more distant the values are within the circular structure, the more mutually exclusive they are and the less likely they are to exist together in an individual hierarchy of values (Roccas et al, 2002; Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 2003; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995).

Two of the basic human values which are specifically related to transcending individual self through action on behalf of others are benevolence and universalism (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). They emphasize caring for others, feeling responsible for their well being and helping them. They lie next to each other in the circular value structure, are related to one another and their motivational powers overlap. However, there is a clear distinction between the two. They differ with respect to each individual's concept of what constitutes 'others' (i.e., legitimate subjects of one's concerns). Universalism reflects an interest in the well-being and harmonious co-existence of individuals and groups within a society as a whole (i.e., humanity and a broader natural environment). Benevolence, however, reflects concern with the well-being of relatives, friends and acquaintances – specific people who are known, respected and liked. Universalism as a pro-social value seems to be more egalitarian and less grounded in individual social identity and a particular social network than is benevolence.

Thus, universalism and benevolence may both inspire civic involvement that may be seen as an expression of individual concern for the well-being of others. The question lies in how they may relate to each other in motivating civic involvement. Universalism may motivate civic involvement because individuals may feel responsible for the well-being of other people in general. Benevolence may motivate civic involvement because of specific concerns for particularly close individuals whose well-being may be secured through

organized action in a public sphere. Conversely, however, one may also argue that only general universalism may inspire civic action in a public sphere, while benevolence may motivate pro-social (rather than civic) action expressed and performed in a private sphere. Thus, only universalism would motivate civic involvement - participation in actions such as voting, self-organizing, promoting social and political organizations or participating in organized public action - while benevolence would inspire pro-social and altruistic behavior in interpersonal relations. It is also possible that the role of universalism and benevolence may depend on an additional factor - a dominant value pattern in a given cultural context. The cultural value pattern may strengthen the relative importance of one of these values over the other one.

In this vein, numerous studies show that there are stable and sound differences in the value priorities of people from different cultures. More importantly, cultural context influences the way the same values are expressed (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Schwartz, 1999). In the next section, we discuss cultural contexts that may emphasize general concern for the welfare of humankind (universalism) or the well-being and happiness of close and trusted ones (benevolence) as motivation for civic involvement.

Cultures, values and civic involvement

A distinction between cultures of survival vs. self-expression which is proposed and well-documented by Inglehart (eg. 2000; 2001) provides a useful framework within which one can conceptualize the role of cultural contexts that may bring about universalism or benevolence as incentive for civic action. This differentiation contrasts societies whose basic activities are focused on economic and physical safety - where individuals are concerned with the survival of their kin (materialistic values) - with societies in which the basic economic well-being of individuals and their families is (at least in the case of the dominant social classes) already satisfied and whose life goals focus rather on individual enrichment, self actualization, self expression and a more general quality of life (post-materialistic values) (Inglehart, 1997;2000).

Organization of the societies within the self-expression culture rely on tolerance and interpersonal trust. Such societies emphasize the importance of quality of individual life as well as individual autonomy and harmony with the social and natural environment. The 'others', that should be taken care of, are more likely to be understood in abstract and general terms as humankind - for whose welfare and betterment each human being should feel responsible. In such context, people may undertake actions within the public sphere in order to improve relations and institutions, enhance harmonious functioning of the whole social organization, or advance unprivileged groups (not necessarily one's own).

Therefore, it can be expected that in cultures of self-expression, universalism may be the most important value motivating civic involvement, since the individual importance of benevolence and a concern only for those close to the individual may be seen as properly expressed in caring behavior in the private rather than public sphere. The assistance with individual development rather than an improvement of social organization may be considered a more proper expression of the concerns of benevolence. On the other hand, expression of benevolence may be quite different in survival cultures, where the importance of benevolence often cannot be sufficiently expressed and realized in the private sphere through interpersonal care and providing for others. Therefore, benevolence may become transformed into motivation behind actions on behalf of one's social group performed in the public sphere.

In survival cultures, everyday activity focuses much more on assuring physical and economic safety for the individual and those close to him or her. This cultural context is characterized by the prevalence of a self concept as interdependent and embedded in social relationships. Such a self concept results from mere economic necessity: the chances of survival are larger in a group and within a social network rather than outside it. Embeddedness in close social relationships and improvement of survival chances of one's social group assures satisfaction of basic individual needs and enhances the bonds and responsibilities within the group. Pro-social action is directed to a particular group regarded as kin while the remaining 'others' are very likely to be seen as potential rivals that are not to be trusted. However, people can engage in civic action on behalf of the groups with which they closely identify. Any action (including civic actions) from which one's own group benefits is likely to be perceived as desirable and enhancing to individual security. This may be understood as privatization of the public sphere.

Hypotheses

Based on results of the World Values Survey conducted in years 1995-1998, Inglehart and Baker (2001) proposed a map which places 65 countries on the coordinates defined by two cross-cultural dimensions – traditional vs secular-rational values; and survival vs self-expression values. According to this map, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Spain are among the countries with post-materialistic cultures of self-expression. Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Portugal and Slovenia are among the countries which represent cultures of survival and material values. Using this map while analyzing the data of the 2002 European Social Survey we expected that:

- (1) universalism and benevolence are positive predictors of civic involvement;
- (2) universalism should be the stronger predictor of

civic involvement in countries belonging to SELF-EXPRESSION culture (i.e. Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Spain);

- (3) benevolence should be the stronger predictor of civic involvement in countries representing SURVIVAL culture (i.e. Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Portugal and Slovenia) (see Inglehart & Baker, 2001).

We expect that they both universalism and benevolence may predict individual civic involvement independent of and over and beyond the influence of the three categories of other variables which role has been analyzed in previous research: (1) demographics (i.e. age, gender, education), (2) social capital variables (i.e. tolerance, interpersonal trust, trust in public institutions) and (3) personality traits (i.e. sense of efficacy, extraversion, self-esteem).

Method

Dataset

We based the present analyses on a dataset from the international European Social Survey conducted in 19 European countries and Israel in 2002. The dataset consisted of 17 random, nationwide and representative samples of citizens over 15 years old.

The participants responded to an identical set of questionnaires which were translated from English into native languages. The translations were done by two independent translators, were back-translated and were then evaluated in a pilot study. They had the same structure as the original text. Below we present items in the questionnaire which were used in order to measure the primary variables of our study.

Measured variables

Primary variables

Civic involvement. Civic involvement was measured by a single question: "During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following?" with a set of 9 responses: "(1) contacted a politician, government or local government official; (2) worked in a political party or action group; (3) worked in another organization or association; (4) worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker; (5) signed a petition; (6) taken part in a lawful public demonstration; (7) boycotted certain products; (8) deliberately bought certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons; and (9) donated money to a political organization or group". The respondents were asked to answer "yes" or "no". Responses to the list of 9 possible activities form a reliable scale. The coefficient Cronbach α ranged from .63 in Sweden to .80 in Spain. The distribution of this index was asymmetrical and skewed in all the analyzed countries (with a majority of "no" answers). Therefore, in further

Table 1
Distribution of four categories of civic involvement (%) and centered means for universalism and benevolence.

Country	Civic involvement(%)				Universalism	Benevolence	N
	1 passive	2 low	3 moderately	4 highly			
Portugal	77.7	9.7	5.6	7.0	.45	.64	1511
Hungary	74.5	15.5	5.1	4.9	.45	.42	1685
Greece	73.9	13.8	5.1	7.3	.44	.45	2566
Poland	71.9	14.4	7.0	6.7	.51	.49	2110
Slovenia	69.3	16.6	8.9	5.3	.47	.30	1519
Spain	61.7	14.1	8.5	15.7	.58	.63	1729
Czech Rep.	47.9	24.1	13.7	14.3	.68	.60	1360
Netherlands	46.4	23.4	13.8	16.3	.57	.64	2364
Ireland	45.8	21.1	13.3	19.8	.58	.59	2046
Belgium	38.7	23.5	15.6	22.2	.58	.74	1899
Great Brit.	35.9	25.3	14.8	24.0	.53	.66	2052
Germany	35.6	22.2	17.0	25.2	.65	.78	2919
Denmark	32.3	26.6	17.1	24.1	.51	1.0	1506
Switzerland	29.3	18.3	19.4	32.9	.78	.76	2040
Finland	28.3	24.2	18.7	28.9	.76	.68	2000
Norway	26.7	21.6	18.3	33.4	.59	.75	2036
Sweden	22.8	23.6	20.2	33.4	.66	.76	1999

analyses we treated the index of civic involvement as a non-continuous, order-scale variable which could assume 4 values: “1 = passive”, “2 = low involvement; participated in one type of civic activity”; “3 = moderately involved, participated in two types of civic activities” and “4 = highly involved, participated in 3 or more types of civic activity”. The distribution of the new ordinal measure in each country is presented in Table 1.

Universalism, Benevolence and other Personal Values.

In order to measure the individual importance of 10 basic values, we used 21 items of the shortened version of Schwartz’s Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) included in the ESS. In the portrait method, participants were shown the value system of another person as that value system was expressed using the 10 basic values selected from Schwartz’s PVQ. Participants were then asked to evaluate how the individual’s value system was or was not similar to their own using a scale from “0 – very similar to me” to “6 – not similar to me at all”. In the version of the PVQ used in ESS, each of the ten values is measured using two such comparisons; with the exception of universalism which is measured using three comparisons.

An index of universalism was composed of the following items: (1) “He thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life”; (2) “It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them”; and (3) “He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him”.

The average Cronbach’s alpha for three items, calculated as a mean value of 17 sample coefficients, amounted to .59 (ranging from .52 to .69).

Benevolence was measured by the following items: (1) “He always wants to help the people who are close to him. It’s very important to him to care for the people he knows and likes”; and (2) “It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him”. The average Pearson’s r coefficient for these items, calculated as a mean value of 17 sample coefficients, amounted to .40 (ranging from .33 to .60).

The scales measuring remaining eight personal values were also constructed¹. In our analyses we controlled, among other variables, the overlapping influence of the remaining personal values from the circular continuum described by Schwartz (2006).

All scores on scales measuring personal values were centered in order to correct for individual differences in use of the scales. According to the method recommended by Schwartz (1992; 2006), we centered each person’s responses on their own mean. This procedure converts absolute value scores into scores that indicate the relative importance of each value to the person. Firstly, individual mean scores for each of 10 values were computed separately; then, individuals’ overall means of all 21 items were subtracted from their 10 separate means.

¹ The average Pearson’s r for two-item indexes of the remaining personal values were as follows: .33 – Self-direction; .53 – Achievement; .40 – Conformity; .53 – Hedonism; .23 – Tradition; .28 – Power; .47 – Stimulation; and .41 – Security.

Controlled variables

Earlier studies indicate that different aspects of civic involvement can be predicted based on several individual difference variables, i.e. socio-demographic variables (Nie et al, 1969; Milbrath & Goel, 1977), a sense of efficacy (Verba & Nie, 1972; Bynner & Ashford, 1994), extraversion and positive self-esteem (Milbrath & Klein, 1962; Davies, 1973); and social capital variables (Milbrath & Klein, 1962; Krampen, 1991; Putnam, 1995). The items included in the European Social Survey allowed us to control the influence of most of these variables in our analyses. Below we describe the items that were used in order to measure social capital variables and personality variables.

Tolerance. The index of tolerance was composed of four statements concerning cultural homogeneity, religious heterogeneity, foreigners in a country, homosexuality, etc. They were as follows: "It is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions?"; "It is better for a country if there are a variety of different religions?"; "Do you agree or disagree that gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish?" (1 – "agree strongly"; 5 – "disagree strongly"); and "Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries?" (0 – "worse place to live"; 10 – "better place to live"). The second and third items were reversed, and all the items were standardized. Four statements formed a quite reliable scale (except for the Belgian sample): the coefficient Cronbach α ranged from .43 in the Belgian sample to .68 in Sweden.

Trust in public institutions. The respondents to the ESS were asked to evaluate their trust in the following institution: (1) the country's parliament; (2) the legal system; (3) the police; (4) politicians; (5) the European Parliament and (6) the United Nations using a scale ranging from 0 – "no trust at all" to 10 – "complete trust". The Cronbach's α for a scale composed of all responses ranged from .80 in Norway, to .89 in the Spanish sample.

Interpersonal trust. Interpersonal trust was measured by three items. The respondents were asked to answer the following questions: "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or you can't be too careful in dealing with people?" (0 – "you cannot be too careful"; 10 – "most people can be trusted"); "Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?" (0 – "most people would try to take advantage of me"; 10 – "most people would try to be fair"); and "Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?" (0 – "people mostly look out for themselves"; 10 – "people mostly try to be helpful"). The items form a reliable scale with Cronbach's α coefficient ranging from .65 in the Norwegian sample to .77 in the Czech Republic.

Sense of efficacy. This variable was measured by

3 items assessing the cognitive and practical sense of control over personal experience in a public sphere. The respondents were asked to answer the following question: "How often does politics seem so complicated that you can't really understand what is going on?" (1 – "never" to 5 – "frequently"). In addition, they were also asked to answer two questions: "Do you think that you could take an active role in a group involved with political issues?" (1 – "definitely not" to 5 – "definitely yes") and "How difficult or easy do you find it to make your mind up about political issues?" (1 – "very difficult" to 5 – "very easy"). The responses to the first question were reversely coded. The higher the score on the scale the greater sense of efficacy it expresses. The three items formed a cohesive scale with Cronbach's coefficient ranging from .55 in Hungary, to .74 in Greece.

Satisfaction with life. The measure was used as a well-being index strongly related to high self-esteem and optimism. It was measured by one item - respondents were asked to answer the question: "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life nowadays?" (0 – "extremely dissatisfied" to 10 – "extremely satisfied").

Sociability. We used two-item sociability index as a measure of extraversion. Subjects' responses were standardized and summed up. The first question concerned frequency of social contacts: "How often do you meet socially with friends, relatives or work colleagues?" (0 – "never" to 7 – "every day"). The second question concerned social meetings and parties. The respondents were asked: "Compared to other people of your age, how often would you say you take part in social activities?" (1 – "much less than most" to 5 – "much more than most"). The correlation coefficients for both items ranged from .27 in the Finnish sample to .47 in the Greek sample.

Results

Prior to the principal analyses, we looked at the strength of the relation between universalism and benevolence. Depicted in Table 2 bivariate r-Pearson correlations show that the relationship is positive and relatively strong - suggesting that the influences of both variables may overlap. For the total sample the correlation amounts to .30 (ranging from .15 in Belgium to .39 in Czech Republic), whereas in self-expression and survival countries, respectively, .29 and .28. Consecutive columns of the Table 2 present Spearman's correlations between universalism, benevolence and the civic involvement in all the countries. One can see that only universalism emerges as a clear predictor, since in most countries (except for Czech Republic and Hungary) it is significantly and positively correlated with a tendency to engage in civic actions. In the total, the correlation between universalism and civic involvement amounted to $r=.17$, while in case of benevolence it was .12. However, cultural

Table 2
Bivariate correlations of primary variables in 17 European countries.

Country	Pearson's r coefficient for universalism & benevolence	Spearman's rho coefficient for civic involvement and...		N
		universalism	benevolence	
Self-expression				
Belgium	.31**	.13**	.02	1867
Denmark	.27**	.18**	.08**	1476
Finland	.33**	.12**	.07**	1770
Germany	.36**	.22**	.14**	2823
Great Britain	.21**	.23**	.02	1803
Ireland	.25**	.12**	.01	1919
Netherlands	.28**	.14**	.04	2341
Norway	.23**	.12**	.04	1819
Spain	.36**	.14**	.09**	1713
Sweden	.32**	.15**	.11**	1689
Switzerland	.30**	.14**	.13**	2034
Overall	.29**	.18**	.09**	21305
Survival				
Czech Republic	.39**	-.02	-.06*	1232
Greece	.32**	.05*	.00	2555
Hungary	.15**	.02	-.02	1637
Poland	.30**	.06*	.06*	2089
Portugal	.36**	.05*	-.04	1502
Slovenia	.17**	.10**	-.01	1490
Overall	.28**	.06**	.00	10519
TOTAL	.30**	.17**	.12**	31824

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

division shows that both universalism and benevolence tend to be stronger predictor in self-expression (respectively, .18 and .09) rather than in survival countries (respectively, .06 and .00), what – in case of the latter – is not consistent with the initial hypotheses. In general, at the stage of bivariate analyses, universalism emerges as a more stable and a bit stronger predictor than benevolence.

The actual, integrated test of our hypotheses was performed by means of a discriminant function model. The multivariate approach enabled us to determine the independent effects of universalism and benevolence controlling for the influence of: (1) demographics; (2) social capital variables; (3) personality variables and (4) remaining 8 Schwartz's personal values. Most importantly, we could apply the measure of civic involvement controlling for the distorted distribution, because the discriminant analysis allows for a dependent variable to be expressed on an ordinal scale. The discriminant analysis determined which of the primary and controlled independent variables predicted group membership in one of the four categories: (1) passive, not involved in any form of civic action; (2) little involved; participated in one type of civic action; (3) moderately involved, participated in two types of civic

action and (4) highly involved, participated in three or more types of civic activity.

In the overall sample, as well as in cultural subsamples, we obtained a similar three-function solution with the first function accounting for most of the total explained variance: 97% in the total sample, 98% in self-expression and 95% in survival countries. Wilks Lambda tests of statistical significance indicated that the effects of the second and third functions were insignificant. The first function was strongly related to the dependent variable - with canonical correlations .48 in the total sample, .46 in self-expression and .38 in survival countries. Figure 1 presents the first significant discriminant function. The line representing the function is defined by mean values of the function in each of the four categories of the dependent variable separately for both cultural clusters. The increase in the values of the discriminant function is accompanied by an increase in civic involvement.

Table 3 shows r and B coefficients for the first discriminant function. The former describe a bivariate correlation between a predictor and a discriminant function, whereas the latter show an independent effect of a predictor, when we control for remaining independent variables in

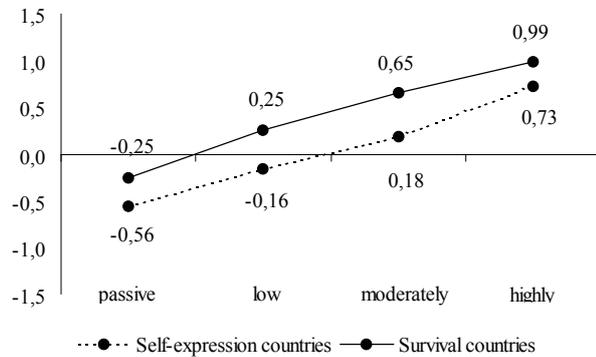


Figure 1. Mean discriminant scores for the first function in self-expression and survival countries by civic involvement.

a model. Thus, r is an absolute measure of a strength of relationship, and B tells us about variable's contribution to a discriminant function.

Overall multivariate analyses fully confirmed our prediction suggesting universalism and benevolence to be a positive predictor of civic involvement - B coefficient amounted to .24 and .12, respectively (see Table 3). Moreover, results in the cultural subsamples indicate a hypothesized interaction of universalism and a type of

dominant cultural value pattern represented by a given European country - B coefficients amount to .35 for self-expression and .08 for survival countries. The value of the statistic z that expresses the size of the difference between coefficients is statistically significant ($z = 23.4$; $p < .001$) and confirms strong interaction effect. On the other hand, an influence of benevolence had rather comparable magnitude - B coefficients amount to .10 for self-expression and .05 for survival countries - in both cultural subsamples, and, additionally, the effect in self-expression subsample was somewhat stronger. Therefore, we could not confirm hypothesized shape of interaction effect of benevolence and type of culture.

Apart from detailed investigation of the influence of universalism and benevolence on civic involvement, our purpose was to depict the impact of both values against a background of an array of other potentially meaningful factors: other types of values, social capital variables, social-demographic characteristics and several personality traits. Thus, thanks to such multivariate approach, we could find out particularly important and motivating role of universalism amongst of other personal values. Except for universalism and benevolence, absolute r correlations between the whole array of values and civic involvement shows noticeable positive meaning of such personal values

Table 3
Discriminant analysis in the total sample and in the division into cultural subsamples.

	TOTAL	Self-expression (N=22590)	Survival (N=10751)	B-s*** difference
Predictors	B* (r**)	B (r)	B (r)	
UNIVERSALISM	.24 (.34)	.35 (.36)	.08 (.17)	.27
BENEVOLENCE	.12 (.23)	.10 (.17)	.05 (.04)	.05
Self-direction	.08 (.35)	.09 (.31)	.07 (.35)	.02
Hedonism	-.05 (.07)	-.05 (.00)	-.07 (.06)	.02
Stimulation	.03 (.21)	.12 (.23)	-.09 (.14)	.21
Power	-.02 (-.13)	.03 (-.07)	-.08 (-.11)	.11
Achievement	-.04 (-.01)	.07 (.07)	-.12 (.02)	.19
Security	-.12 (-.36)	-.05 (-.36)	-.07 (-.14)	.02
Conformism	-.08 (-.31)	-.09 (-.36)	-.04 (-.18)	-.05
Tradition	-.13 (-.31)	-.03 (-.28)	-.20 (-.30)	.17
Gender	.08 (-.01)	.14 (.03)	.03 (-.13)	.11
Age	.07 (-.11)	.03 (-.14)	.05 (-.17)	-.02
Education	.34 (.59)	.34 (.58)	.46 (.69)	-.12
Trust in institutions	.00 (.25)	.03 (.22)	-.11 (.02)	-.08
Interpersonal trust	.18 (.40)	.05 (.22)	.07 (.19)	-.02
Tolerance	.14 (.42)	.08 (.35)	.02 (.24)	.06
Sense of efficacy	.49 (.65)	.56 (.71)	.64 (.78)	-.08
Sociability	.26 (.41)	.28 (.37)	.23 (.34)	.05
Satisfaction with life	.01 (.24)	-.06 (.06)	-.03 (.14)	-.03

* - standardized coefficients for discriminating variables and first discriminant function

** - correlations between discriminating variables and first discriminant function

*** - differences in B coefficients between self-expression and survival subsamples

like self-direction and negative impact of conformism, sense of security and tradition. Nevertheless, values of B dispel doubts – amongst personal values universalism is the strongest motivator of civic activity in the overall European sample, and especially in the subsample of self-expression countries. This general conclusion does not apply to the survival countries subsample, where the rejection of tradition seems to play the most important role as a single value.

Finally, it is worth stressing that among the controlled variables discriminant analysis revealed three variables of great relevance to civic involvement, having stable and independent of cultural patterns positive effects. It turned out that an inclination towards public activity is especially favoured by a sense of efficacy in public sphere ($B=.49$ in the total sample, $.56$ in self-expression and $.64$ in survival subsamples); a level of education ($B=.34$, $.34$ and $.46$, respectively), and sociability i.e. the frequency of social interactions, participation in social activities and meeting with friends and family ($B=.26$, $.28$ and $.23$, respectively).

Discussion

In the present analyses we tested the assumption that civic involvement (i.e., public, pro-social action aimed at securing the well-being and interests of others and improving the common welfare) can be predicted not only by factors related to skills or personality such as education or self efficacy (see Barnes & Kaase, 1979; Krampen, 1991; Milbrath & Goel, 1977; Miller & Jennings, 1986; Putnam, 1995) but also by priorities within a personal hierarchy of values (see Bekkers, 2005; Patterson, 2004; Roccas et al, 2002; Schwartz, 2006). Thus, we examined values that motivate individual civic involvement over and above demographic, personality and social capital variables. We looked at effects of two self-transcendence values described in the theory of basic human values formulated by Shalom Schwartz (1992; 2001; 2003; 2006): universalism and benevolence. Using the data from 2002 European Social Survey, we tested the hypothesis that these values inspire civic involvement independently and with varying strength across the cultural regions of Europe. More specifically, we expected that the individual importance of general and abstract universalism would motivate civic involvement in European countries representative of high self-expression culture, whereas an emphasis on more concrete and embedded benevolence would inspire civic action in countries representing survival culture.

Our expectations were confirmed with respect to the universalism and benevolence as independent, positive predictors of civic activity in the total sample of European respondents. However, the motivating impact of universalism turned out to be clearly stronger, regardless of the self-expression vs survival cultural context. In general,

our analysis have shown universalism – besides sense of efficacy, level of education and sociability - as one of the most important factors favouring civic activity.

A significant interaction of universalism and type of culture was found. As we expected, universalism did motivate civic involvement much stronger in this part of European countries which were classified as belonging to self-expression culture, than in the subsample classified as survival countries. This effect was shown over and above demographic and personality variables, which are traditionally associated with a tendency to engage in civic action, and the remaining nine personal variables described in Schwartz's model of basic human values. On the other hand, contrary to our expectations, benevolence did not reveal considerably stronger impact on civic involvement in survival countries in comparison with self-expression countries.

The explanation of that unsatisfying finding may be sought in distinguishing two forms of pro-social activity. First one concerns mainly institutional forms of social involvement, that is, those that are connected with active membership of organizations – usually social or political, though also business, academic or sport-related organizations. On the other hand, social involvement may also have an informal character, lacking an institutional basis. For example, it could be manifested in a propensity to cooperate with members of one's neighbourhood or social circle, or perhaps in self-help activities centred on one's limited, local milieu. Thus, relying on such differentiation, one may argue that universalism as a catalyst of pro-social activity is much more important for the former, whereas benevolence is a type of personal value activating the latter one.

Based on the results of our analysis, one may point out a bunch of core factors favouring civic action regardless of cultural context - education, sense of personal efficacy in a public sphere and extraversion. This three-factor pattern seems to be universal and very substantial overall in Europe, however there is considerable inter-cultural difference on account of the values motivating to public activity. In the self-expression culture it turned out to be motivated by universalism, whereas in survival culture mainly by a rejection of traditional norms and principles.

It is worth stressing, that although universalism motivates civic involvement in self-expression culture, its level is comparable in all European countries and there is no reason to think that it is valued definitely more in one part of Europe than in another. Therefore, we may conclude that the role of universalism in inspiring civic involvement does not result from greater regional importance of this personal value, but that it is brought about by the cultural context which emphasizes different aspects and goals of the activity in the public sphere.

Civic action is a matter of values mostly in European countries in which basic human needs are satisfied and thus

the main concerns become self expression, harmonious development and individual responsibility for one's social and natural environment. In countries where satisfaction of basic human needs is not yet guaranteed in broad sectors of the society, involvement in actions such as voting, self-organizing, promoting social and political organizations or participating in legal demonstrations seems far less a matter of personal principles. It is mainly a matter of sufficient knowledge, intellectual skills (provided by education) and motivation resulting from individual sense of efficacy in actions in the public sphere.

Interestingly, the same countries belonging to self-expression culture are also classified as individualistic rather than collectivistic by Hofstede (1980), and as countries valuing individual autonomy rather than social embeddedness by Schwartz (1992; 1999). The concern for independence and autonomy stressed by Hofstede and Schwartz as dominant cultural characteristic of these countries may, at first glance, seem to weaken social identification and solidarity. However, the present results suggest that it is complemented by the emphasis on individual social responsibility through which the independent and autonomous self can be actualized and expressed through public action on behalf of the common good, the welfare of humankind and social harmony. Thus, it may be assumed that in self-expression cultures action on behalf of others may be seen as a way of achieving self-actualization.

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