

**Basic Personal Values**

Report to the National Election Studies Board

Based on the 2006 NES Pilot Study

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## **Rationale**

Politics in many democracies of the Western World has presumably become increasingly personalized (Caprara, Barbaranelli & Zimbardo, 1999, 2002; Ricolfi, 2002). The personalization of politics encompasses two presumed processes. First, the personalities of candidates capture center stage and become the focus of voters' attention. Second, the individual personalities of voters, rather than their social locations in various interest groups, become decisive for political choice (Caprara & Zimbardo, 2004). The proposal to include basic personal values in the ANES pilot study was intended to help examine the second aspect of personalization.

The relative importance for political choice of the personal characteristics of individuals vs. their group-affiliated interests is still unclear. A shift in their relative importance might be occurring as a consequence of such changes as declining diversity, distinctiveness, and extremity of parties as they seek the political center to attract larger followings, increased complexity of political issues and growing interdependence among political units, and greater concern in the electorate with social relations and intimacy (e.g., Wattenberg, 1998).

Ideology may remain important, but individuals' personalities, particularly their basic personal values, may have replaced traditional group interests as the crucial grounding of ideology. Early research on personality in politics dealt mainly with individual differences in the dispositions, attitudes, and motives of voters and leaders. Researchers proposed politically relevant constructs such as alienation (Seeman, 1959), conservatism (McClosky, 1958), dogmatism (Rokeach, 1960), and power (Browning & Jacob, 1964; Winter, 1973). The absence of a general theory of personality functioning limited this research, however, as did the lack of agreed upon methods to assess personality. No integrated conceptual vision guided the early research. It was therefore difficult to compare findings and build cumulative knowledge (Brewer-Smith, 1968; Knutson, 1973). A broad literature attests to the merits and limitations of these early approaches (e.g., Knutson, 1973; Simonton, 1990).

The proposal to include personal values in the 2006 ANES Pilot Study was based on a theory of the content and structure of basic human values (Schwartz, 1992, 2006) that social and cross-cultural psychologists have adopted as an integrative framework to study human values. Studying individuals' basic value priorities can contribute directly to our understanding of voting behavior. Equally important, basic value priorities, through their influence on core political values and on perceptions of candidates and of party platforms, can help us to understand individual differences in political opinions and attitudes. Basic value priorities are less vulnerable to the impact of current events than political values, attitudes, and opinions. Consequently, change in basic value priorities can be used to track fundamental changes in the political atmosphere that are likely to persist over the longer term.

## **Conceptual and Theoretical Foundations of the Questions**

The value theory (Schwartz, 1992, 2006) specifies six features of basic values (e.g., obedience, honesty, independence) that are implicit in the writings of many theorists:

(1) **Values are beliefs** linked inextricably to affect. When values are activated, they become infused with feeling.

(2) **Values refer to desirable goals** that motivate action.

(3) **Values transcend specific actions and situations.** This distinguishes values from narrower concepts like norms and attitudes that usually refer to specific actions, objects, or situations.

(4) **Values serve as standards or criteria.** Values guide the selection or evaluation of actions, policies, people, and events. People decide what is good or bad, justified or illegitimate, worth doing or avoiding, based on possible consequences for their cherished values. The impact of values in everyday decisions is rarely conscious. Values enter awareness when the actions or judgments one is considering have conflicting implications for different values one cherishes.

(5) **Values are ordered by importance** relative to one another. People's values form an ordered system of value priorities that characterize them as individuals. This hierarchical feature also distinguishes values from norms and attitudes.

(6) **The relative importance of multiple values guides action.** Any attitude, opinion or behavior typically has implications for more than one value. For example, opposing abortion might express and promote tradition and conformity values at the expense of autonomy and stimulation values. The tradeoff among relevant, competing values is what guides attitudes and behaviors (Schwartz, 1996, and see below). Values contribute to action to the extent that they are relevant in the context (hence likely to be activated) and important to the actor.

The above are features of *all* values. What distinguishes one value from another is the type of goal or motivation the value expresses. The theory defines ten broad values according to the motivation that underlies each of them. These values may encompass the full range of motivationally distinct values recognized across cultures (see Schwartz, 2006). These values are likely to be universal because they are grounded in one or more of three universal requirements of human existence with which they help to cope: needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and survival and welfare needs of groups. Below is a list of the ten distinct values from the theory that the ANES Pilot Study instrument sought to measure. Each is defined in terms of the broad goal it expresses.

**Power:** social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.

**Achievement:** personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.

**Hedonism:** pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.

**Stimulation:** excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.

**Self-direction:** independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring.

**Universalism:** understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.

**Benevolence:** preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.

**Tradition:** respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.

**Conformity:** restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.

**Security:** safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.

The theory also specifies the structure of dynamic relations among the values. It identifies two higher-order dimensions of contrasting values. Openness to change values (self-direction, stimulation) encourage independence of thought, feeling, and action, and receptiveness to change. They conflict with conservation values (conformity, tradition, security) that call for submissive self-restriction, preserving traditional practices, and protecting stability. Self-transcendence values (universalism, benevolence) emphasize accepting others as equals and concern for their welfare. They conflict with self-enhancement values (power, achievement) that encourage pursuing one's own relative success and dominance over others. Hedonism values share elements of openness and self-enhancement.

The oppositions among values are critical for identifying the trade-offs inherent in political and other choices. The 10 values form a motivational continuum based on their pattern of compatibility and conflict. Figure 1 depicts this continuum in the form of a motivational circle. The order of the values listed above follows this circle. Tests of the theory in more than 200 samples from 70 countries, using different instruments, largely support both the content of the 10 basic values and the structure of relations among them (Schwartz, 1992, 2005).

### **Relevance of Basic Values to Politics**

An abundant literature reports relations of values to political attitudes and choice (e.g., Feldman, 2003; Knutsen, 1995; Rokeach, 1973; Miller & Shanks, 1996, Zaller, 1992). Values may enable people to organize their political evaluations in a relatively consistent manner; they may provide a general structure to political attitudes (Feldman, 2003). Converse (1964: 211) likened values to “a sort of glue to bind together many more specific attitudes and beliefs.” This structuring process is one path through which values may influence voting.

Caprara, et al. (2006) discuss mechanisms through which own values promote particular political choices. Briefly, people are inclined to vote for parties or coalitions whose leaders and policies they perceive as likely to promote or protect attainment of their own important values. They are inclined to vote against those they perceive as likely to frustrate or block attainment and preservation of the values they cherish. Voting may also serve an expressive function. By voting for a party or leader whose programs they perceive as congruent with their own values, voters actively express and affirm that they indeed endorse the values they believe they hold dear.

Schwartz (1994) argued that systematic variations in value priorities underlie political ideologies. Thus, values may influence political choice through their effects on ideologies. The particular values that structure ideological discourse depend upon the issues that are central in a given political context. In the Israeli political arena of 1988, for example, where protection of religious practice competed with free expression of a secular life style, the key values that differentiated party supporters were tradition versus self-direction (Barnea & Schwartz, 1998). In a study of 14 countries, Barnea (2003) found that the key values whose relative priorities structured voters' preferences tended to be security and conformity vs. universalism and self-direction where political competition revolved around issues of national security vs. equal rights and freedoms for all. Where the focus of political competition revolved around the distribution of material resources, the key values tended to be universalism and benevolence vs. power and achievement. Caprara et al. (2006) reported that the priority voters assigned to universalism,

benevolence and self-direction values predicted support for the center-left in the 2001 elections in Italy; the priority they assigned to security, power, conformity, tradition, and achievement values predicted support for the center-right. Values accounted for 18% of the total variance in political preference whereas age, income, education, and gender together contributed only 2%.

These past findings indicate that the value priorities likely to influence political attitudes and behavior are sensitive to the issues prominent in the social context. Hence, basic values can be a flexible tool for identifying what motivates voters in numerous political contexts. The European Social Survey of 2002-3 included a set of value items from which the ANES Pilot items were derived. Schwartz (2007) reports several findings, based on hierarchical linear modeling, that relate value priorities to politically relevant issues in 15 West European countries. In all analyses, he controlled the effects of age, gender, years of education, household income, marital status, religiosity, foreign born, ever unemployed three or more months, and community size. These findings illustrate the relevance of basic values to a wide range of politically significant topics.

(1) The trade-off of security and conformity values vs. universalism values predicted opposition to receiving immigrants from poorer European countries and from outside Europe into one's country.

(2) Universalism, stimulation, and self-direction values predicted political activism, both directly and in interaction with subjective political efficacy, whereas conformity values predicted negatively (political activism = # legal acts performed in past 12 months out of nine listed).

(3) The trade-off between universalism values (positive) and security values (negative) predicted a two item interpersonal trust scale (most people can be trusted, most people generally try to take advantage of you).

(4) The trade-off of universalism and benevolence values vs. conformity/security/tradition values predicted joining humanitarian and environmental organizations, whereas the tradeoff of self-direction and stimulation values vs. conformity/security/tradition values predicted joining cultural, sports, and hobby groups.

## **Design and Measurement**

The original proposal to measure basic values in the ANES Pilot study recommended adopting the 21-item instrument that has now been included in three rounds of the European Social Survey (ESS). That instrument is a short version of a 40-item instrument that has been applied in 35 countries. The ANES board decided that it would not be possible to include the full 21-item ESS instrument in the Pilot Study. Instead, in collaboration with me, they selected 10 items, one to represent each of the 10 motivationally distinct basic values.

The ANES board also raised questions about the format of the proposed items. They suggested a more straightforward format than that of the items from the ESS. It was decided to run an experiment involving the value items. In the Pilot study, interviewers asked a randomly selected half of the sample ten value items in the ESS format and the other half of the sample ten items with parallel content in an alternate format. The alternate format included two additional items to obtain more detail about two types of success, financial success and success at getting people's respect for achievements. This report will compare the effectiveness of the two methods of measurement.

The ESS format drew on items from and on the methodology of the Schwartz Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ: Schwartz, 2003). Each item presents a brief verbal portrait of a person, gender-matched to the respondent. Each portrait describes a person's goals, aspirations, or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of a single value. Each description includes two short sentences. By describing each person in terms of what is important to him or her—the goals and wishes he or she pursues—the portraits capture the person's values. This method does not identify values as the topic of study. For each item, respondents are asked: Is this person very much like you, like you, somewhat like you, a little like you, not like you, or not like you at all? Respondents' own values are inferred from their self-reported similarity to people described in terms of particular values. The similarity judgments are transformed into a 6-pt. numerical scale.

Table 1 lists the ten items in the PVQ format, marked to indicate the values they measure.

**Table 1. Ten Value Items in the PVQ Format**

<p>Next, I will describe some people. Please tell me how much each person is or is not like you. Is this person very much like you, like you, somewhat like you, a little like you, not like you, or not like you at all? [Repeat "Please tell...all" for each item only as needed.]</p>	
1. First, (he/she) thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. (He/She) believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.	Universalism (UN)
2. Next... It is important to (him/her) to live in secure surroundings. (He/She) avoids anything that might endanger (his/her) safety.	Security (SE)
3. (He/She) looks for adventures and likes to take risks. (He/She) wants to have an exciting life.	Stimulation (ST)
4. Tradition is important to (him/her). (He/She) tries to follow the customs handed down by (his/her) religion or (his/her) family.	Tradition (TR)
5. (He/She) seeks every chance (he/she) can to have fun. It is important to (him/her) to do things that give (him/her) pleasure.	Hedonism (HE)
6. (He/She) believes that people should do what they're told. (He/She) thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no one is watching.	Conformity (CO)
7. Being very successful is important to (him/her). (He/She) hopes people will recognize (his/her) achievements.	Achievement (AC)
8. It is very important to (him/her) to help the people around (him/her). (He/She) wants to care for their well-being.	Benevolence (BE)
9. It is important to (him/her) to be in charge and tell others what to do. (He/She) wants people to do what (he/she) says.	Power (PO)

10. It is important to (him/her) to make (his/her) own decisions about what (he/she) does. (He/She) likes to be free and not depend on others.

Self-  
Direction  
(SD)

Two features of the PVQ method to measure values concerned the ANES board. First, they asked: Why not directly present the valued goal and obtain a personal importance rating (e.g., How important is it for you to be tolerant, secure, etc.?) rather than asking about similarity of another person to self? The PVQ method had been developed after pre-testing and interviewing small samples who responded to different formats. This preliminary research led to the conclusions that:

(1) The PVQ method of assessment is closer to people's everyday experience and thought processes. People constantly assess others and compare them to self but spend little time thinking about what is and is not important to themselves.

(2) Many people find it difficult to decide what is really important to them and may be disturbed by what they conclude, eliciting self-presentation biases.

(3) People who are unaccustomed to thinking about themselves or describing themselves with abstract terms or trait adjectives, which is especially common in subgroups from East and Southeast Asian cultures, may have difficulty responding to the direct question format.

(4) Analyses of Indonesian and Singaporean studies that compared first person self-reports of importance with the indirect PVQ method revealed that the first-person method yielded a poorer approximation of the prototypical, theory-based structure of value relations in Figure 1.

The second concern of the ANES board was with the inclusion of two sentences in each item. They noted that this produced double-barreled items. This could leave a respondent in a quandary if she believes that one of the sentences is very much like her but the other is not much like her. Respondents might choose a compromise answer (e.g., somewhat like me) that does not represent her values accurately or she might even give no response. The justifications for including two sentences in each item in PVQ method, despite recognition of the problem of double-barreled items, was:

(1) In pretests, that provided only one sentence, some respondents complained that the portrait was insufficiently detailed for them to generate a response. The two sentence version provided richer portraits to which respondents related more easily.

(2) The European Social Survey methods team included an experiment in round one of the Survey to assess whether the two sentences in each of three universalism value items measured the same concept. Analyses of the data led to the conclusion that, for all practical purposes, they did. Combining the two neither increased nor harmed reliability and validity (Schwartz, 2003). Only one of these items was used in the ANES Pilot study (#1), so we cannot be certain that this conclusion applies to the other nine items. However:

(3) To the extent that respondents experience a particular item as double-barreled, a compromise answer is a reasonable index of the broad value. This is because each of the ten broad values encompasses a range of specific value concepts that overlap only partially. Development of the value survey aimed to cover as much of the conceptual range of each broad value as possible within a single item. For example, concepts encompassed in the broad self-direction value include creativity, curiosity, independence, and freedom, among others. In studies using the Schwartz Value Survey, that measures each of these with a separate item, all four show

similar patterns of positive and negative correlations with other values, suggesting that they are part of a broader value construct. But the four items are only moderately intercorrelated among themselves. Having the two sentences in each PVQ item makes it possible to include at least two of the concepts encompassed in each broad value, thereby obtaining an indicator that captures more of the conceptual content of the broad value.

Rather than viewing the two sentences as creating a problem of double-barreled items, they might be viewed as yielding an index based on responses to two or more items that are components of the same value. In this case, it is the respondent who does the summarizing when selecting a response, rather than the data analyst who creates an index based on the separate items. If the two sentences in a PVQ item present a significant number of respondents with what are experienced as substantially inconsistent value concepts, we might expect this to be reflected in the number of ‘don’t know’ and refusal responses. This was assessed (see below).

Another question that might be asked about the PVQ method is why respondents are asked to compare the portrait to themselves rather than themselves to the portrait? The latter might seem more straightforward. The rationale underlying the procedure adopted is that comparing other to self directs attention only to the aspects of the other that are portrayed. Thus, the similarity judgment is also likely to focus on these value-relevant aspects. In contrast, comparing self to other would focus attention on self and might cause respondents to think about the wide range of self-characteristics accessible to them (Srull & Gaelic, 1983; Holyoak & Gordon, 1983; Tversky, 1977). Not finding these characteristics in the portrait, respondents might overlook the similarity of values.

As noted, in light of the presumed problems with the PVQ method, an experiment was run in the Pilot study. Interviewers asked a randomly selected half of the sample a set of ten value items with parallel content, using an alternate method. Table 2 lists the ten items in the alternate format, marked to indicate the values they measure. Two added item intended to measure additional components of the success value were included as numbers #11 and #12. In this format, a five point response scale was employed, rather than a six point scale as used in the PVQ format.

**Table 2. Ten Value Items in the Alternate Format + Two**

The next few questions are about how important things are to you: Extremely important, Very important, Moderately important, Slightly important, or Not important at all	
1. First, how important is it to you that every person in the world have the same opportunities in life?	Universalism (UN)
2. (How important is it to you) that you feel safe from harm?	Security (SE)
3. (How important is it to you) that you take risks in life?	Stimulation (ST)
4. (How important is it to you) that you follow traditions?	Tradition (TR)
5. (How important is it to you) that you have fun whenever you can?	Hedonism (HE)
6. (How important is it to you) that people always follow rules?	Conformity (CO)
7. (How important is it to you) that you are very successful?	Achievement (AC)
8. (How important is it to you) that you help other people?	Benevolence (BE)
9. (How important is it to you) that you be in charge of others?	Power (PO)
10. (How important is it to you) that you choose what you do in life?	Self-Direction (SD)
Earlier I asked you how important it is to you to be very successful. Now I'd like to ask you about two different kinds of success separately. Being successful financially, and being successful at getting other people's respect for your achievements.	
11. First, how important is it to you that you be financially successful?	Financial Success
12. Now, how important is it to you that you be successful at getting other people's respect for your achievements?	Gaining Respect for Achievements

Respondents differ in their use of the similarity response scale. Some rate most portraits very similar to themselves, others use the middle of the response scale, and still others rate most portraits dissimilar to themselves. The scale should measure people's value *priorities*, the relative importance of the different values. This is because it is the tradeoff among relevant values, not the absolute importance of any one value, that influences behavior and attitudes. To measure value priorities accurately, individual's responses are centered on their own mean for all questions. This method has worked well in studies using the ESS data.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Centered value scores are appropriate for computing correlations of value priorities with other variables, mean differences in value priorities among groups, and when treating value priorities as dependent variables. When multiple values are simultaneously included in the same analysis, however, raw scores are appropriate to avoid

### Evaluation of Pilot Study Results

Consider first the means, standard deviations, and importance ranks of the value items in the two formats, and the number of respondents who gave no answer to each of the items. Table 3 presents this information.

**Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for Value Items in Two Formats**

Value	PVQ Method (N = 334)				Alternate Method (N = 331)			
	Centered Mean	Standard Deviation	Importance Rank	# No Answer	Centered Mean	Standard Deviation	Importance Rank	# No Answer
UN	.441	1.114	3	1	.024	.965	5.5	0
SE	.075	1.222	6	1	.708	.705	1	0
ST	-.688	1.320	9	0	-.556	.901	9	2
TR	.127	1.264	4	0	-.414	.909	7	0
HE	-.221	1.186	8	0	.086	.816	4	1
CO	.082	1.206	5	0	.023	.840	5.5	1
AC	-.060	1.111	7	1	-.510	.729	8	2
BE	.872	.855	1	0	.492	.636	3	0
PO	-1.263	1.292	10	0	-.970	1.025	10	0
SD	.636	1.064	2	0	.652	.660	2	0
FinSuc	----	----	----		-.159	.814	----	1
RespSuc	----	----	----		-.121	.952	----	0

In both methods, almost all respondents answered all of the value items. Apparently, if respondents experienced some inconsistency between the two sentences in the PVQ items, it was not sufficiently problematic as to make it too difficult for them to select a compromise response. If anything, the number of no responses was trivially greater in the alternate method.

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problems of item interdependence or multicollinearity. This applies to multidimensional scaling, factor analyses, and all forms of regression in which multiple values enter as predictor variables. Such analyses deal with individual differences in scale use automatically.

As reflected in the standard deviations of the items, the average variance is almost twice as large using the PVQ method. This is due in part to the use of a 6-pt response scale for the PVQ method vs. a 5-pt scale for the alternate method. It may also indicate that the PVQ method is somewhat more sensitive to individual variation in value ratings.

The two methods yield non-trivially different importance orders (hierarchies) for the ten values. The Spearman rank correlation between the means obtained with the two methods, across the ten values, is .37. This indicates that the value priorities obtained for a group may look quite different depending on which method is used. The Pearson correlation is .78, suggesting greater agreement. Even so, the Pearson correlation reveals that 40% of the variance in the value hierarchy of a group may differ as a function of method. In order to judge whether the set of means from one or the other method is likely to give a more accurate picture, we can compare these means with those obtained in other samples.

Schwartz and Bardi (2001) examined the values of teacher and student samples in a large number of countries, using the Schwartz Value Survey. The SVS method presents a list of abstract values and asks respondents to indicate how important each value is “as a guiding principle in MY life.” This method is closer to the alternate than to the PVQ method of the ANES Pilot Study. Like the alternate method, it obtains first-person judgments of importance and presents a single, abstract term as the value to be rated. Schwartz and Bardi (2001) reported a Spearman correlation of .95 between the value hierarchy of US school teachers and the average of school teachers from 56 countries, and a correlation of .89 between US students and the average of students from 54 countries. This suggests that the correlation between the means of the US representative sample in the Pilot Study and the average of the set of 13 near-representative national samples they studied should also be quite high. The Spearman correlations between the value hierarchy of these national samples and the ANES Pilot Study value hierarchies are .80 for the PVQ method and .75 for the alternate method. Thus, despite the greater similarity of measurement approaches with the alternate method, the correlations with the PVQ method were trivially higher.

Round 1 of the European Social Survey (ESS) measured the value hierarchies of large representative national samples in 20 countries. The method used was a 21-item scale in PVQ format. The Spearman correlation with the average value hierarchy of the 20 ESS countries with the ANES Pilot Study hierarchy is .96, as measured by the PVQ method, and .73, as measured by the alternate method. The substantially stronger correlation with the PVQ method may well reflect the similarity of measurement approaches in part. However, the fact that the alternate method did not outperform the PVQ method in the comparison in the preceding paragraph, where shared method favored it, suggests that part of the superiority of the PVQ here may also reflect greater accuracy.

Another basis for assessing which method may yield more accurate group value hierarchies is the plausibility of the observed ranks. For an adult sample, the importance order of values based on the PVQ method appears more plausible than that based on the alternate method. Value hierarchies are available for more than 40 adult samples, based on both the SVS and the PVQ methods. The ANES PVQ rank of 7 for hedonism is much closer to the average international adult rank of 8 than is the ANES alternate method rank of 4. Hedonism never

reached rank 4 in any of the adult samples studied. Benevolence ranked 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> in almost all adult samples studied. It ranked 1<sup>st</sup> in the ANES Pilot Study when measured with the PVQ method, but only 3<sup>rd</sup> when measured with the alternate method. Tradition is the only value for which the Pilot Study rank differs more from the typical adult sample rank (9<sup>th</sup>) if measured with the PVQ (4<sup>th</sup>) than the alternate method (8<sup>th</sup>). This finding may imply rather than question greater accuracy of the PVQ method, however. As Baker (2005) notes, "...America at the turn of the millennium has one of the most traditional value systems in the world. America's values are more traditional than any other wealthy society, with the exception of Ireland, as well as more traditional than almost all other societies covered in the World Values Surveys" (p.35).

The above analyses indicate that the two methods tested in the Pilot Study yield non-trivially different value scores for groups. They also suggest that the PVQ method may yield somewhat more accurate information about group value priorities and may be somewhat more sensitive to individual differences in value priorities.

Another basis for choosing between the two methods is the extent to which the data they yield reproduces the theorized structure of relations among the ten values. The PVQ data reproduce the theoretical structure of value relations better than the alternate method data (compare Figures 2 and 3 with Figure 1). The higher-order regions are present in both figures, but locations of single values within regions deviate more with the alternate method. In Figure 3, based on the alternate method data, contrary to the theoretical structure, (a) SE is closer to BE than to other conservation values, (b) BE is closer to SE than to UN, (c) SD is closer to UN than to other openness values, (d) AC is closer to ST than to PO, (e) TR is closer to the center than CO is. In Figure 2, based on the PVQ data, AC is closer to the center than PO, but is not uncommon, occurring in about 40% of samples studied with the SVS (see Schwartz 1992).

Experimental studies of adolescents in Indonesia and in Singapore can also shed some light on the ability of the alternate method to reproduce the theoretical structure of value relations. These two studies presented the 40 PVQ items to matched samples in an experiment. One sample in each country received the 40-item PVQ in its standard format. The other sample received items phrased in the first person [e.g., Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to *me*.] and were asked: How much is this like you? Thus, the methods differed with regard to whether the portraits described 3<sup>rd</sup> persons or the respondent herself (1<sup>st</sup> person). Data from the standard format reproduced the circular order of the ten values almost perfectly in both countries. Data from the alternate format reproduced the theorized structure poorly, with four deviations from the circular order in each spatial projection. This suggests that a switch from 3<sup>rd</sup> person to 1<sup>st</sup> person phrasing of the value assessment task may be problematic. Of course, this is not decisive evidence against the alternate method in the Pilot Study which uses a different 1<sup>st</sup> person approach.

In past studies, value priorities have exhibited systematic associations with a variety of background variables. To further assess the two methods employed in the ANES Pilot Study, we can compare both the patterns and strength of their correlations with background variables to those obtained using the full length 40-item PVQ, the 57-item SVS, and the 21-item ESS version of the PVQ. Table 4 presents the Pearson correlations of values with age. Results for the two values added in the alternate method are presented as well.

**Table 4. Pearson Correlations of Value Priorities (centered) with Age, Using Different Methods of Measurement**

Value	ANES PVQ10	ANES Alternate	SVS <sup>A</sup>	PVQ40 <sup>B</sup>	ESS21 <sup>C</sup>
SE	.12*	.07	.22***	.25***	.26***
CO	.21**	.13*	.19***	.21***	.32***
TR	.26**	.04	.20***	.25***	.33***
BE	.05	-.01	.06*	-.01	.13***
UN	-.06	.01	.16***	.09**	.15***
SD	.02	-.01	-.09**	-.03	-.08**
ST	-.18**	-.09	-.28***	-.24***	-.37***
HE	-.14*	-.05	-.33***	-.29***	-.33***
AC	-.20**	-.13*	-.17***	-.21***	-.26***
PO	-.07	.02	-.08**	-.07**	-.09**
FinSuc	----	.00	----	----	----
RespSuc	----	.10	----	----	----

\*\*\*p<.001, \*\*p<.01, \*p<.05

<sup>A</sup>Average of correlations in representative national samples from Chile, Finland, France, and Sweden, and representative city samples from Osaka, Japan and Victoria, Australia.

<sup>B</sup>Correlations in a near representative sample from Rome (N=2441).

<sup>C</sup>Average of correlations in representative national samples from 20 European countries.

The correlations of values with age are somewhat stronger for the PVQ method than the alternate method, with six significant correlations compared to two. The patterns of correlation for both the PVQ and alternate methods are similar to those found in larger samples tested with the other methods. The hierarchy of PVQ means correlates a little more strongly with the hierarchies based on the other samples and methods than the hierarchy of alternate method means: PVQ correlations are .83, .91, and .91 with SVS, PVQ40, and ESS21, respectively. Correlations for the alternate method are .80, .86, and .85. Most striking, however, is that the correlations with age are substantially stronger in the other sets of data than in the ANES Pilot

Study, especially with regard to the alternate method. Since all sets of data had similar variances for age and for values, the likely cause of the dramatic drop in the strength of correlations is the lower reliability of the ANES value scales. These scales included only one item per value as compared with at least two in all the other scales.

Rather than present the full set of comparative data for each of the background variables, Table 5 and the text that follows summarize the results of the comparisons. Table 5 presents the correlations of values, using the two ANES methods, with gender, education level, and household income, as measured in the Pilot Study.

**Table 4. Pearson Correlations of Value Priorities (centered) with Gender, Education Level, and Household Income in the ANES Pilot Study**

Value	PVQ Method			Alternate Method		
	Gender (m=1, f=2)	Education Level	Household Income	Gender (m=1, f=2)	Education Level	Household Income
SE	.17**	-.07	-.07	.19**	.07	-.07
CO	.12*	-.09	.03	-.04	-.08	.04
TR	.13*	-.20**	-.01	.04	-.07	-.05
BE	.13*	.02	.05	.15**	.01	-.07
UN	-.04	.05	.05	.05	.09	-.07
SD	-.02	.05	-.03	-.03	.14*	.12*
ST	-.20**	.10	.00	-.08	.05	.09
HE	-.11	-.06	-.12*	-.04	-.10	-.06
AC	-.05	.03	.03	-.10	.01	.11
PO	-.10	.17**	.14*	-.08	-.08	-.01
FinSuc	----	----	----	-.04	.01	.11
RespSuc	----	----	----	.10	-.04	-.03

\*\*p<.01, \*p<.05

There are five significant correlations of gender with values using the PVQ method and only two using the alternate method. The correlations of gender with values in the Pilot Study are

of a similar magnitude to those in representative samples where other methods to measure values were used. In the latter analyses, benevolence typically has the most positive correlation and power, followed by stimulation and hedonism, the most negative correlation. The fact that security shows the most positive correlation with gender in the Pilot Study is therefore surprising. Given that this occurred with both methods of measurement, however, it may point to a distinctive American pattern rather than to a problem with the methods. The correlation between the pattern of value correlations with gender across the ten values with the average pattern found in 20 ESS countries is .75 for the PVQ and .84 for the alternate method.<sup>2</sup>

There are two significant correlations of education level with values using the PVQ method and only one with the alternate method. The overall level of correlation between values and educational level in the Pilot Study is weaker than in previous studies, again suggesting that the reliability of the single-item indexes weakens associations. The correlation between the pattern of value correlations with education level across the ten values with the average pattern found in 20 ESS countries is .71 for the PVQ and .41 for the alternate method. This may point to a problem with the validity of the alternate method.

There are two significant correlations of household income with values using the PVQ method and only one with the alternate method. The overall level of correlation is a little weaker than in previous studies for the PVQ method and weaker yet for the alternate method. The correlation between the pattern of value correlations with household income across the ten values with the average pattern found in 20 ESS countries is .83 for the PVQ and -.48 (!) for the alternate method. The reversal of sign for the alternate method again raises a question about its validity.

- In sum, examination of the correlations of values with four background variables reveals:
- (1) a generally lower magnitude than found in studies using multi-item indexes of each value, suggesting that the use of single-item indexes results in a meaningful loss of reliability;
  - (2) patterns of correlation that are quite similar to those in earlier studies for the PVQ method but considerably less so for the alternate method (with the exception of gender);
  - (3) larger numbers of significant correlations for the PVQ than for the alternate method;

We next examine the contribution of basic values to the prediction and explanation of politically relevant values, attitudes and behavior. We also address the question of whether one or the other Pilot Study method for measuring values is preferable for these purposes. The preceding analyses suggested some advantage for the PVQ method. Is this also the case when using values as a predictor variable?

Correlations of values with 50 attitudes and behaviors available for the Pilot Study sample assessed relevance to ANES topics of values measured with the two methods. Variables were also drawn from the 2004 National Election Study file. The topics included voting, political identification, involvement and interest, conventional morality, patriotism/nationalism, military

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<sup>2</sup> Small differences between the correlations of the patterns of correlation for the two methods should be viewed with some caution because few of the correlations that contribute to differences between these patterns differ significantly from one another.

issues, feeling thermometers for many groups and prominent individuals, religiosity, gender equality, interpersonal trust and trust in various institutions, attitudes to the environment and immigration, and more.

Correlations with values were higher for the PVQ method in 58% of cases, about the same in 18%, and higher for the alternate method in 21%. The frequency of significant correlations ( $p < .05$ , 2-tailed) tells a similar story. Considering only questions answered by at least 200 respondents, there were 3.4 significant correlations per question across the ten values, on average, for the PVQ method and 2.8 for the alternate method. These significant correlations are consistently weaker than those observed in other studies that relate multi-item indexes of value priorities to politically relevant questions (e.g., Caprara, et al., 2006; Schwartz, 2006).<sup>3</sup>

To provide a clearer picture of the explanatory power of values as compared with the classical background variables used to understand political orientations, I present regressions for a diverse set of six politically relevant variables available for the Pilot Study sample. These analyses use uncentered values.

Table 5 presents the binary logistic regression for voters' reports of their preference to vote for Clinton or Bush. As a group, the background variables did not predict voter preferences significantly in either sub-sample, though household income was significant in the PVQ sub-sample. Universalism and tradition values predicted voting preferences whether measured with the PVQ or the alternate method. The more importance attributed to universalism and the less to tradition, the more likely a voter was to prefer Clinton. The more importance attributed to self-direction values and the less to conformity, also predicted a preference for Clinton, when values were measured with the alternate method. These two values correlated in the same direction with voting preference when measured with the PVQ. The alternate method yielded somewhat stronger results, but both methods revealed that values are stronger predictors than any of the classical background variables. Moreover, the values identify highly plausible motivational bases of voter preferences. Those who emphasize values of intellectual openness, tolerance and concern for the weak preferred Clinton, whereas those who emphasize values of accepting and preserving the status quo of traditional ideas and norms preferred Bush.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> I also examined the correlations of the two added items in the alternate method (centered). For item #11 (financial success), 14/50 correlations were significant, the highest was .22, and four of these were the strongest correlation with the variable. This item correlated .35 with the achievement item. For item #12 (success at getting other people's respect for achievements), only 5/50 correlations were significant, all were  $</19/$ , and none of these was the strongest correlation with the variable. The strongest correlation of this item with other values was -.12 with tradition.

<sup>4</sup> Alternate items #11 and #12 did not enter the regression when given the opportunity.

**Table 5. Prediction of Preference to Vote for Clinton or Bush**

Question: Suppose that an election were being held today....And imagine that the only candidates...were Bill Clinton and George W. Bush....Who would you vote for?				
Variable	PVQ Method		Alternate Method	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Gender	.048 [.246]	-.053 [.256]	-.200 [.250]	-.223 [.265]
Age	.011 [.008]	.004 [.008]	-.006 [.008]	-.007 [.008]
Education Level	-.122 [.088]	-.062 [.093]	-.082 [.084]	-.014 [.089]
Household Income	.062* [.026]	.058* [.027]	.048 [.025]	.048 [.027]
Universalism Value		.280** [.104]		.371** [.130]
Tradition Value		-.356** [.096]		-.355** [.135]
Self-Direction Value				.478** [.201]
Conformity Value				-.364* [.158]
Number Cases	293	293	282	282
p-value	.083	<.001	.242	<.001
Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>	.037	.124	.026	.159

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01

Table 6 presents the OLS regression for respondents' reported votes in the most recent federal senate and house of representatives elections. The only background variable to predict these votes was household income, and only in the PVQ sub-sample. Universalism and tradition values again predicted voting preferences whether measured with the PVQ or the alternate method. The more importance attributed to tradition values and the less to universalism, the more likely respondents were to vote for Republicans rather than Democrats. The less importance

attributed either to self-direction values (PVQ sub-sample) or to stimulation values (alternate method sub-sample) also predicted a preference for Republicans. Self-direction and stimulation

**Table 6. Prediction of Vote in 2006 House and/or Senate Race**

Question: Was [that candidate /[NAME]] ... you voted for in November 7, 2006 election a Democrat, a Republican, or something else? (Asked of those who said they voted for a candidate to the Federal House of Representatives and to the Senate) Coding: Both votes for Democrat = 1, both for a Republican = 2, split = 1.5.				
Variable	PVQ Method		Alternate Method	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Gender	-.084 [.070]	-.105 [.006]	-.044 [.069]	-.050 [.066]
Age	.003 [.002]	-.001 [.002]	-.004 [.002]	-.003 [.002]
Education Level	-.027 [.024]	-.014 [.023]	-.021 [.024]	-.009 [.023]
Household Income	.026** [.007]	.023** [.007]	.011 [.007]	.011 [.007]
Universalism Value		-.126** [.028]		-.086** [.031]
Tradition Value		.058* [.024]		.102** [.030]
Self-Direction Value		-.057* [.028]		
Stimulation Value				-.088** [.032]
Number Cases	202	202	211	211
p-value	.002	<.001	.193	<.001
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.061	.188	.010	.101

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01

values both express an emphasis on openness to change and both had similar correlations with voting preferences in the two sub-samples. Due to their intercorrelation, only one could enter the

regression. In this regression, the PVQ method yielded somewhat stronger results. Again, both methods revealed that values are stronger predictors than the combination of classical background variables. The fact that the same values predicted voter preferences both for congressional representatives and for president points to a consistent set of motivational bases for preferring Democrats or Republicans.<sup>5</sup>

Table 7 presents the OLS regression of self-placement on a liberal/conservative scale. In the PVQ sub-sample, age, education level, and household income predict significantly, whereas only household income predicts in the alternate method sub-sample. In both sub-samples, values are more powerful predictors than the combination of background variables.<sup>6</sup> In the PVQ sub-sample, age and education level no longer predict significantly once the values are added, suggesting that their effects are at least partially mediated by values. Conformity and tradition values predicted conservative self-placement in both sub-samples: The more importance attributed to these values that emphasize maintaining the status quo and submitting to the expectations of others, the more conservative people perceived themselves to be.

The apparent value trade-off in this case differed in the two sub-samples. Universalism values opposed conservatism and favored liberalism in the PVQ sub-sample; self-direction and stimulation values played this role in the alternate method sub-sample. Both these sets of values are important motivational bases of liberalism. They both express openness to diverse ideas, with universalism also expressing concern for the welfare of those who are different, and self-direction and stimulation expressing an interest in creative ideas and change. Universalism and stimulation values correlated significantly with left-right self-placement in both sub-samples, even when they did not enter the regressions.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Alternate items #11 and #12 did not enter the regression when given the opportunity.

<sup>6</sup> Note that the self-placement data were gathered from the same respondents two years earlier than the values data. Given possible change in peoples' political views and value priorities over this time period, the findings may underestimate the explanatory power of the values.

<sup>7</sup> Alternate item #12 (success at getting...respect for achievements) predicted self-placement as liberal when given the opportunity to enter the regression, replacing the stimulation value. The reasons for this are not obvious.

**Table 7. Prediction of Self-Placement on Liberal/Conservative Scale**

Variable	PVQ Method		Alternate Method	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Gender	-.167 [.188]	-.342 [.179]	.129 [.193]	.053 [.179]
Age	.017** [.006]	-.011 [.006]	.014 [.016]	.010 [.006]
Education Level	-.165* [.068]	-.090 [.065]	-.085 [.065]	-.041 [.061]
Household Income	.055** [.018]	.044* [.017]	.042* [.019]	.046* [.018]
Universalism Value		-.234** [.073]		
Tradition Value		.130* [.066]		.356** [.086]
Conformity Value		.275** [.070]		.309** [.101]
Stimulation Value				-.190* [.083]
Self-Direction Value				-.323* [.126]
Number Cases	252	252	246	246
p-value	<.001	<.001	.029	<.001
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.063	.172	.028	.168

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01

The next three regressions concern politically relevant attitudes. First, consider responses to the gay/lesbian thermometer from the 2004 NES data. Table 8 presents the OLS regression to predict responses on this thermometer.

**Table 8. Prediction of Ratings of Homosexuals on a Feelings Thermometer**

<p>Question: I'd like to get your feelings toward...[ ]...on a thermometer that runs from 0 to 100 degrees. Rating above 50 means that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Rating below 50 means that you feel unfavorable and cool toward the person. Rating right at the 50 degree mark means you don't feel particularly warm or cold.... how would you rate gay men and lesbians, that is, homosexuals? (From the 2004 National Election Study)</p>				
PVQ Method				Alternate Method
Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Gender	6.118* [2.939]	8.670** [2.857]	8.054* [3.177]	8.092* [3.108]
Age	-.305** [.087]	-.176* [.086]	.035 [.099]	-.074 [.099]
Education Level	3.438** [1.038]	2.989** [.994]	2.976** [1.049]	2.839** [1.028]
Household Income	.109 [.284]	.290 [.275]	.303 [.308]	.275 [.301]
Universalism Value		3.360** [1.177]		
Conformity Value		-3.888** [1.888]		-4.599** [1.647]
Security Value		-2.502* [1.100]		
Hedonism Value		2.217* [1.075]		
Benevolence Value		3.055* [1.059]		
Achievement Value				-3.867* [1.691]
Number Cases	291	291	275	275
p-value	<.001	<.001	.001	<.001
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.082	.176	.049	.095

Regarding attitudes toward homosexuals, background variables play a greater role than for more direct indexes of political orientation. In both sub-samples, being a woman and more educated predicted more positive feelings, and younger people in the PVQ sub-sample were also more positive. For the first time, we find here that the value predictors of the dependent variable differ considerably depending upon method of measurement. In the PVQ sub-sample, the value trade-off was between self-transcendence values (universalism and benevolence) that lead to more positive feelings toward homosexuals and conservation values (conformity and security) that lead to more negative feelings. Interestingly, those who valued hedonism for themselves were also more favorable toward homosexuals, perhaps because they are sympathetic toward others who, like themselves, reject societal restrictions on the free pursuit of sensual pleasure. Although age, education, and gender were significant predictors of responses, when measured by the PVQ method, the set of values explained more variance than they did in attitudes toward homosexuals.

Given the relative similarity of prediction in the earlier regressions, it is surprising that the only value that predicted significantly in both sub-samples is conformity. It is also not obvious why achievement values predicted attitudes to homosexuals in the sub-sample that responded to the alternate measure of values. For understanding the motivational bases of attitudes toward homosexuals, the PVQ method for measuring values was clearly superior to the alternate method.<sup>8</sup>

Next, consider the effect of values on interpersonal trust. Table 9 presents the binary logistic regression for the single-item indicator from the Pilot Study.

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<sup>8</sup> Alternate item #11 (financial success) predicted a negative evaluation of homosexuals when given the opportunity to enter the regression, replacing the achievement value with which it is substantially correlated.

**Table 9. Prediction of Interpersonal Trust**

Question: Generally speaking, would you say that most people CAN BE TRUSTED, or that you CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL in dealing with people? (Most people can be trusted = 1 Can't be too careful = 2.)				
Variable	PVQ Method		Alternate Method	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Gender	.172 [.348]	-.024 [.384]	.178 [.379]	.372 [.400]
Age	-.003 [.011]	-.011 [.012]	-.018 [.013]	-.019 [.014]
Education Level	-.108 [.114]	-.091 [.123]	-.344** [.133]	-.374** [.139]
Household Income	-.050 [.033]	-.067 [.035]	-.107* [.043]	-.120** [.046]
Conformity Value		.394** [.147]		
Achievement Value		.300* [.139]		.629** [.244]
Self-Direction Value		-.428* [.169]		
Stimulation Value		-.310* [.148]		
Benevolence Value				-.614* [.273]
Number Cases	152	152	139	139
p-value	.195	<.001	<.001	<.001
Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>	.052	.233	.209	.294

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01

The influence of background variables on interpersonal trust was quite different in the two sub-samples. Although the direction of association was the same in both, none predicted significantly in the PVQ sub-sample whereas higher education level and household income

predicted more trust in the alternate sub-sample. Of primary interest to us, however, is the fact that adding values as predictors significantly increased the variance accounted for as measured by the Nagelkerke R<sup>2</sup>. Values raised this indicator by .181, when measured by the PVQ method, and .085, when measured by the alternate method.

In the PVQ sub-sample, the motivational base of trust reflects a trade-off between the conformity and achievement values and the openness values of self-direction and stimulation.. Both conformity and achievement values express concern with the expectations of others— avoiding violation of their expectations or obtaining their approval by meeting expectations. Conformity and achievement values may lead to mistrust because it is necessary to be vigilant and focus on others' potential negative evaluations in order to attain or protect these values. In contrast the openness values may lead to greater interpersonal trust because they express an anxiety-free, autonomous outlook that focuses on pursuing new ideas and experiences with little concern for external expectations (Schwartz, 2006).

The motivational base of interpersonal trust suggested by the data from the alternate method sub-sample is somewhat different. The finding for achievement values replicates, but here benevolence values promote trust. Benevolence values call for caring for others' well-being out of concern for their welfare rather than in response to social expectations or in the hope of gaining their approval. This is consistent with trusting others rather than maintaining vigilance and suspecting their motives. Benevolence values correlated with trust in the PVQ sub-sample as well, though they did not enter the regression. Self-direction values correlated with trust in the alternate method sub-sample, but not strongly enough to enter the regression. Overall, the contribution of values to predicting interpersonal trust was considerably greater when values were measured with the PVQ.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, consider the effect of values on the attitude toward protecting the environment vs. maintaining jobs and the standard of living, measured on a 7-pt scale. Data are from the 2004 NES Study. Table 10 presents the OLS regression. In both the PVQ and alternate method sub-samples, the higher the education level the more important people felt it was to protect the environment even at the expense of maintaining jobs and the standard of living. The other background variables had no additional influence on this attitude. In the sub-sample whose values were measured with the PVQ format, four values accounted for additional variance in this attitude. Willingness to protect the environment at the expense of jobs was a function of the trade-off between universalism values on the environment side and conformity, tradition and power values on the jobs side. These values explained substantially more variance than the combined background variables.

In the sub-sample whose values were measured with the alternate format, no value added significantly to the variance accounted for by the background variables. In Table 10, the values that predicted significantly when measured by the PVQ method were entered in Model 2 of the alternate method only to show that they did not contribute. Conformity and tradition values correlated significantly (.14, .12, respectively) with a preference for maintaining jobs in the alternate method sub-sample, though more weakly than in the PVQ sub-sample (.19, .21,

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<sup>9</sup> Alternate item #11 (financial success) predicted a lack of trust when given the opportunity to enter the regression, replacing the achievement value with which it is substantially correlated.

respectively). In the alternate method sub-sample, neither universalism nor power correlated significantly with the environment vs. jobs attitude. Given the meaningfulness of the values findings in the PVQ sub-sample, the lack of influence of values in the alternate method sub-

**Table 10. Prediction of Attitude toward Environment-Jobs Tradeoff**

Question: Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. (... scale...point...1) Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. . . (... scale...point...7) .... Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? (From the 2004 National Election Study)				
Variable	PVQ Method		Alternate Method	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Gender	.043 [.197]	-.070 [.187]	.290 [.188]	.288 [.188]
Age	.010 [.006]	.002 [.006]	.008 [.006]	.008 [.006]
Education Level	-.193** [.070]	-.148* [.068]	-.243** [.063]	-.225** [.065]
Household Income	.015 [.019]	.002 [.018]	.036 [.019]	.034 [.019]
Universalism Value		-.332** [.079]		-.067 [.087]
Conformity Value		.190* [.074]		.093 [.097]
Tradition Value		.171* [.071]		.091 [.090]
Power Value		.139* [.066]		.011 [.084]
Number Cases	271	271	264	264
p-value	.037	<.001	.001	.007
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.023	.145	.053	.049

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01

sample may point to a problem with this method of measurement, although it could reflect a peculiarity of the sample itself. Analyses of the full Pilot Study sample, when available, may clarify this issue.<sup>10</sup>

The motivational goal of universalism values includes concern for the well-being of nature along with concern for the welfare of *all* people. In the 21-item PVQ of the European Social Survey and in the full 40-item PVQ and in the SVS, there are items that specify nature as a valued object. The item that measured universalism in both formats in the Pilot Study, however, referred only to equality of opportunity. It is therefore particularly interesting that it predicted greater willingness to sacrifice jobs in order to protect the environment, at least when measured in the PVQ format. Given the growing importance of environmental issues in the public discourse in the USA today, it would nonetheless be better to measure this aspect of the universalism value directly by adding one item.

Conformity and tradition values predicted a preference for jobs and the standard of living over the environment. These are values that emphasize maintaining the status quo and rejecting new or non-conventional ideas and changing practices. They are also values grounded psychologically in some anxiety and desire to avoid uncertainty (Schwartz, 2006). The question poses a conflict between protecting the environment, on the one hand, and the established, conventional way of meeting one's needs and those of one's family, on the other. A preference for jobs over the environment is a preference for avoiding uncertainty and anxiety by possibly undermining the basis for one's economic welfare instead of risking change for the sake of relatively new ideas that concern long-term costs. Power values also predicted a preference for jobs over the environment. These values emphasize the goal of control over resources in order pursue one's own interests as well as to control potential threat. This too is a motivation to protect one's economic welfare and avoid risk.

Following are remarks that summarize the findings of the regression of politically relevant attitudes and behavior on background variables and values. First, note that these six attitudes and behaviors are not a random or representative selection from the 50 variables whose correlations with values I summarized above. Rather, I chose a diverse set of variables that appeared to me to capture different types of content likely to be of interest. Findings for another selection of variables would certainly look somewhat different. Critically, however, the strength of the correlations based on the two methods for measuring values played no part in the choice of variables. Hence, the relative performance of the two methods for measuring values in the regressions probably gives a reasonable estimate of their relative predictive power. Although six regressions is a small number on which to base inferences, the relative performance of the two methods is consistent with the relative strength of their correlations across 50 variables.

In every regression, where values were measured with the PVQ method, values explained a larger proportion of variance in the dependent variable than the set of background variables did. This was the case in three of the six regressions where values were measured with the alternate method. In four of the six regressions, values explained more variance when measured with the PVQ method than with the alternate method. This was not the case for the preference to vote for

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<sup>10</sup> Neither of the success items in the alternate method contributed significantly to predicting the environment vs. jobs attitude when given the opportunity to enter the regression.

Clinton vs. Bush or for self-placement on the liberal/conservative scale. Even in these two cases, however, values measured with the PVQ method explained substantial variance and outperformed the background variables. Combined with the evidence from the higher frequency of value correlations with the PVQ method across 50 variables, results of the regression analyses suggest that the PVQ method is preferable to the alternate method for measuring values.

Examination of the correlations of the two success items added in the alternate method sub-sample suggested that neither of these items provided much information not already available from the correlations of the achievement or self-direction items. However, item #11 replaced the achievement item in the two regressions where achievement was a significant predictor. The gain in variance accounted for was  $\Delta R^2 = .023$  for interpersonal trust and .016 for feelings toward homosexuals. Perhaps, then, a narrower focus on the value of financial success might provide some gain. On the other hand, we do not know whether the content of this item would have added when compared with the PVQ method.

The regression results also point to the usefulness of values for understanding political attitudes and behavior. As noted, values (PVQ measurement) consistently outperformed such important variables as age, gender, education, and income. Equally important, in each instance, the values that predicted suggested meaningful motivational bases for the attitude or behavior. Moreover, as the values theory anticipates, a trade-off between motivationally opposed values helped to explain each attitude or behavior. This reinforces the idea that peoples' attitudes and behaviors are guided by the importance both of values whose goals the attitudes or behaviors express or promote and values whose goals they contradict or harm.

### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

Although the alternate method follows a number of accepted best practices for attitude measurement that the PVQ method does not, the latter yielded somewhat stronger, more consistent, and more meaningful findings in the Pilot Study. The following reasons may help to explain the superior performance of the PVQ method:

- (1) People constantly assess others and compare them to self, as required by the PVQ method. They spend little time consciously thinking about what is and is not important to themselves, as required by the alternate method.
- (2) Many may find it difficult to decide what is really important to them and may be disturbed by what they conclude, eliciting self-presentation biases. This is more likely when one is asked directly about what one believes to be important.
- (3) People may determine how to respond to questions about their values by comparing themselves to reference others. The alternate method asks: "How important is it to you that you feel safe from harm/ take risks in life/ etc.? Asked such questions, people are likely to think about whether feeling safe/taking risks is more or less important to them than to other people they know and with whom they spend time. Each person thinks about a set of reference others that is unique to him/herself. Hence peoples' responses are not calibrated against the same scale. The PVQ presents the same defined comparison other to everyone, one for whom the value is important. This standardizes the comparison, reducing individual differences in the reference others used.

Based on the findings, I recommend that the ANES adopt the PVQ method to measure values. The ten items included in the Pilot Study should provide a useful basis for estimating individuals' value priorities and relating them to other variables of interest. Nonetheless, the analyses reported above suggest that inclusion only of these ten items substantially reduces what values can offer. The ten items are each called upon to measure a broad construct that encompasses a variety of conceptual components (see the motivational goals of each on page 3). It is simply not possible for one item to capture adequately (let alone optimally) the variety of components that make up each value. Clearly, the Panel Study cannot include a large number of value items, but I urge the board to consider including two items per value construct.

The single-item indexes of values, compared even with two-item indexes, have demonstrably weaker associations with other variables. The substantially weaker correlations of values with age and education level in the Pilot Study, as compared with other studies, attest to a considerable loss of reliability. But the loss is not limited to reliability. It also refers to less valid coverage of the content of each value construct. Comparison of the value correlations with several attitudes and behaviors in the ANES data with parallel correlations in studies that used multiple-item value indexes attest to this. For example, in a sample of Italian adults, values accounted for twice as much variance in voting preferences as they did in the Pilot Study (Caprara, et al., 2006). And in another Italian adult sample, values accounted for approximately twice the variance in traditional morality attitudes as they do in the Pilot Study (unpublished data).<sup>11</sup>

Including additional value items in the Panel Study would have the important advantage of permitting comparisons of American national representative samples with representative samples from more than 25 European countries. The European Social Survey will field two items per value construct (three for universalism) in its 2006 round and will do so again in 2008 and 2010. The ESS includes many other items that are also regularly asked in ANES studies. Thus, inclusion of the same set of value items would provide researchers a rich dataset for comparative work.

Should it be impossible to include all 21 value items from the ESS, I strongly recommend adding at least two value items. First is an item to supplement security item #4. In the Pilot Study, the security value had very few significant correlations with politically relevant attitudes and behaviors. It correlated with one measure of interpersonal trust and with attitudes toward homosexuals and toward abortion. In other studies, security values have consistently been one of the stronger predictors of voting preferences, liberal/conservative self-placement, traditional morality, aspects of law and order, and patriotism. The reason for this difference is almost certainly because the content of the Pilot Study security value item (#4) covers only the personal aspect of security (live in secure surroundings, avoid anything that endangers safety). This is an important aspect for various topics (e.g., victimization, crime, punishment of criminals, sense of community cohesion). In other studies, the security index also included an item referring to security in the larger societal environment—social order, national security. The personal and societal aspects of security form a single, higher-order latent construct (Schwartz & Boehnke,

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<sup>11</sup> Of course, other differences between the studies may explain some of the superiority of the multi-item indexes of values, but almost certainly not all of it.

2004), but they differ in their relevance to particular issues. The item I propose, that has demonstrated its usefulness in the ESS, is:

It is important to (him/her) that the government insure (his/her) safety against all threats. (He/She) wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens. *security (societal)*

Second, is an item to supplement self-direction item #10. The performance of the self-direction value in the Pilot Study was somewhat puzzling. Presumably, the two methods of measuring self-direction captured the same content. However, the correlations of the self-direction items differed considerably. Measured with the alternate method, it correlated significantly and contributed to the regression of both voting preference and self-placement on the liberal/conservative scale. Measured with the PVQ method, it correlated significantly and contributed to the regression of interpersonal trust and vote in the house and senate elections. In other studies, self-direction has been one of the most consistent predictors of liberal attitudes of all sorts (e.g., civil liberties attitudes, traditional morality). Apparently, the content in the single PVQ item in the Pilot Study is too narrow to capture some aspects of self-direction that are important for understanding attitudes and behavior. Item #10 covers only the autonomy of action aspect of self-direction. I therefore recommend including an item that covers the autonomy of thought aspect that is relevant to tolerance of diversity:

Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to (him/her). (He/She) likes to do things in (his/her) own original way. *Self-direction (independence of thought)*

For the reasons outlined above, I also recommend including the other nine value items from the ESS study. I list them below. As noted above, there was some evidence that alternate method item #11 (financial success) might add useful content to the value survey. Adding the power value item from the ESS (see below) that was not included in the Pilot Study would cover this content. Should the full set of ESS items be included in the Panel Study, the items should be ordered as they are in the ESS.

It is important to him/her to be rich. He/she wants to have a lot of money and expensive things. *Power*

It's very important to him/her to show his/her abilities. He/she wants people to admire what he/she does. *Achievement*

He/she likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He/she thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life. *Stimulation*

It is important to him/her to listen to people who are different from him/her. Even when he/she disagrees with them, he/she still wants to understand them. *Universalism*

It is important to him/her to be humble and modest. He/she tries not to draw attention to herself. *Tradition*

Having a good time is important to him/her. He/she likes to "spoil" him/herself. *Hedonism*

It is important to him/her always to behave properly. He/she wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong. *Conformity*

It is important to him/her to be loyal to his/her friends. He/she wants to devote herself to people close to him/her. *Benevolence*

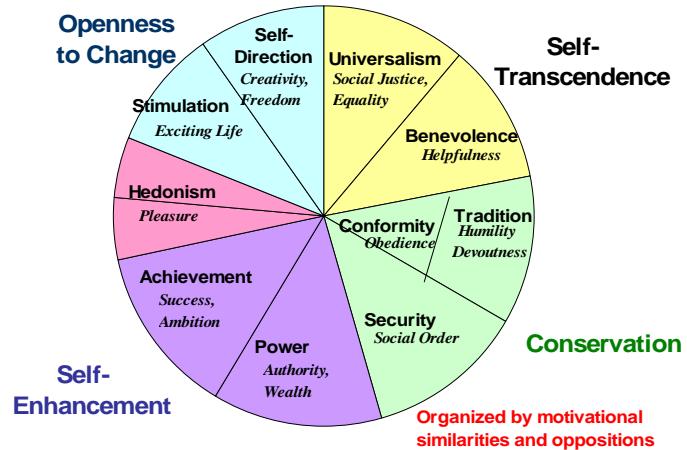
He/she strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him/her. *Universalism*

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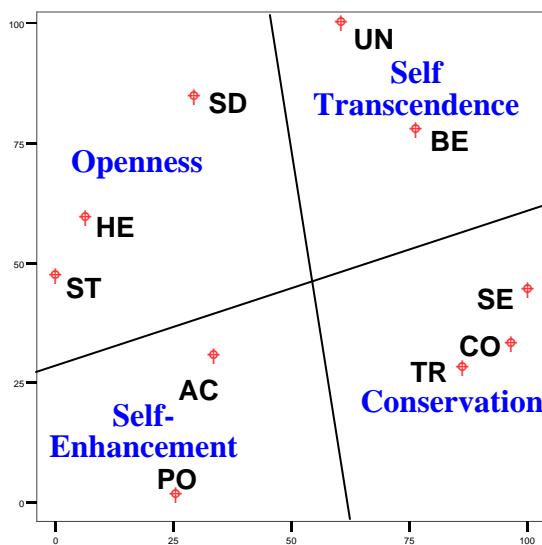
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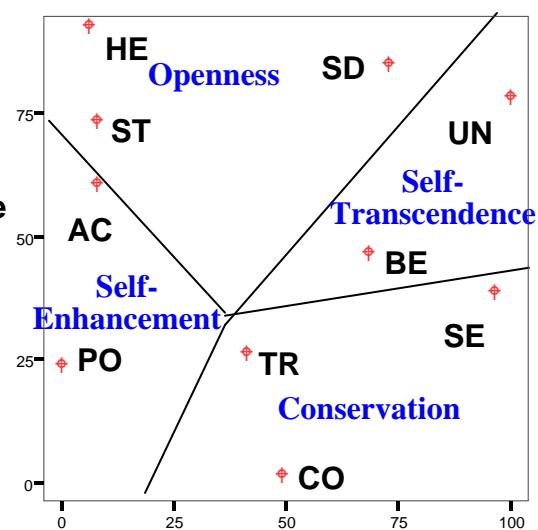
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**Figure 1. Theoretical Model of Value Relations**



**Figure 2. SSA of PVQ Values from ANES Pilot**



**Figure 3. SSA of Alternate Values from ANES Pilot**