Valuing the Dutch

A study into the Dutch value priority between 2002 and 2010 and its relation to attitudes on immigration using the European Social Survey.

Master thesis

Student	Martijn Jonk
	0719617
Course	Master thesis
	Dr. Michael F. Meffert
	19.345 words (excluding tables)

Using the Schwartz' value module of the ESS the development of value priority within the Netherlands was explored between 2002 and 2010, also the relation between value priority and the attitude towards immigration was tested. The value priority within Dutch society proved to be fairly stable over time and underlined the assumptions of the current theory on human values. Unexpected was a decline in priority for values promoting Conservation and am increase in priority for values promoted by Openness to Change from 2002 on. This is attributed to events in 2001 and 2002, both in the Netherlands and abroad, which probably temporarily increased the importance of Conservation values. Also the development for the value priority of specific antecedents of individual value priority was assessed. In nearly all cases the development of the value priority followed the pattern of the general sample. The relation between the attitude on immigration and value priority proved to be constant in all rounds of the ESS, but appears to be different from earlier studies. The conflict line between values that support or oppose immigration is situated in the middle of the circular value model, dividing the Conservation higher order value type plus power and benevolence and the Openness to Change higher order value type plus achievement and universalism.

Contents

1

Introduction

The first decade of the 21st century was a tempestuous period in Dutch politics. Events, both abroad and at home, such as 9/11 and the rise and assassination of the Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn, put terrorism and the role of the Islam in Europe on the political and social agenda. New parties arose and severely changed the debate. But what happened to the basic human values of the Dutch, are they affected or is it business as usual? This study has two goals. First, I explored the development of the value priorities in Dutch society between 2002 and 2010. Have value priorities changed, and if so, in what direction did they change? A longitudinal study makes it possible to follow the value priority within Dutch society during a politically and socially moving decade. Furthermore, an analyses of this the Dutch value system over time, enabled me to assess whether they meet the current theory on human values and value structure. This broad research question will be followed by a more thorough test of the relation between the trade-off between human values and the attitude people hold towards immigration. Theory on human values describes extensively the goals of specific value types and this puts forth the opportunity to test the relation between specific conflicting values and the attitude people hold. Data from five waves of the European Social Survey, ESS, between 2002 and 2010 comprising both the measurement of value priority and the attitudes on immigration, will be used to test this relation. This is interesting because of two reasons. First of all, this longitudinal study provides the opportunity to test these relations for several rounds of the ESS. This makes it possible to test whether the variance in the attitude towards immigration explained by the value priority hold by an individual is stable over time. And hence enables me to draw more substantial conclusions about the relation between value priority and attitudes. Secondly, the longitudinal study is interesting because immigration was a fairly salient issue in the Netherlands

during the first decade of the 21ˢᵗ century. Parties, such as the Partij Voor de Vrijheid[1] (PVV) and Lijst Pim Fortuyn[2] (LPF), arose with their clear-cut vision on immigration and the threats it might pose for security, Dutch culture and the economy. Even though the saliency is not included as a variable in this study, I can still be able to distill whether the relation between value priority and attitudes towards immigration. Or, in other words: is the relation between the trade-off between value types and the attitude towards immigration stable between 2002 and 2010 or are there notable shifts over time? Both the development of the Dutch human value priorities and the multiple tests on the relation between value priority and attitudes towards immigration are aimed to understand the strength of human values and its theoretical underpinnings.

The structure of this thesis is as follows: First, in chapter 1, the current theory and debate on the human value system, its structure and its antecedents is presented and discussed. The universal human value system developed by Schwartz (1992) is explained and the origins and goals of the ten universal value types that make up the value system are described. Secondly, the link of these value types to the attitude on immigration is developed based on two theories on the attitude formation towards immigration and the goals of the individual value types. Hypotheses and research question are developed in chapter 2. The data and methods used in this thesis are presented and justified in chapter 3. In chapter 4 the results of the longitudinal study of the value priority in the Netherlands are presented, as are the results of the analyses to the relation between value priority and the attitude towards immigration. Finally, in the conclusion the notable findings from the analyses performed in this thesis are presented and discussed.

---

[1] Party for Freedom
[2] List Pim Fortuyn

2

Values and attitudes on immigration

Values have been a much-debated concept. Not so much because scholars doubted their mere existence, but mostly because scholars freely applied all sorts of meaning to the concept itself.[3] The biggest contribution to our understanding of the concept of values comes from Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (1992). The first developed a clear definition of values, how they develop and how they are prioritized over time.[4] The latter, Schwartz, was the first to develop a comprehensive value system that not only indentifies universal values, but also theorizes and successfully empirically tested their interrelatedness.[5]

Values are understood as "the criteria people use to select and justify actions and to evaluate people (including the self) and events."[6] Furthermore, values are relatively few and fairly stable over time.[7] I will further elaborate on this in the following paragraphs, but first it is important to distinguish *values,* the *value system* and *value priorities*. In the definition I will use, values are the criteria as mentioned above, a value system is the total of all values possessed and the relation between these (e.g. values can be compatible or conflicting) and value priorities indicate the result of the trade-off between these values within a value system.[8]

---

[3] Rohan, M.J. (2000). "A Rose by Any Name? The Values Construct." *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 255.
[4] Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press.
[5] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press.
[6] Ibid., p. 1.
[7] Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press, p. 479.
[8] See Rohan (2000) for a discussion on the development of the concepts and a clarifying definition to distinguish these concepts.

Values and the value system are fairly stable. They are brought to us during childhood by the polity surrounding us and maintained by institutions and policies.[9] The individual differences in value priority are caused by "intellectual development, (…) identification with sex roles, political identification, religious upbringing" and dozens of other factors, such as cognitive and biological characteristics.[10] Value priority, in this respect, is a variable of a unique sort. On the one hand, it is a dependent variable, depending on numerous variables that create a more or less unique value system for every individual. On the other hand, it is an independent variable with "far-reaching effects on virtually all areas of human endeavor."[11] The fact that value priority is both a dependent and independent variable implicate that our value priorities do change during our lifetime. This is necessary, as Rokeach (1973) emphasizes, because "if values were completely stable, individual and social change would be impossible." At the same time, he stresses that values must be stable enough to sustain societies and order.[12] Priorities can be adapted "in response to changes in circumstances and personal attributes."[13] This is the result of, in the words of Rokeach (1973), competition between values. Some social situations are subject to more than one value and if this is the case, the individual has to weight one value against another. This process comes into play as a child matures and continues during life.[14]

---

[9] Feldman, S. (1988). "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: the Role of Core Beliefs and Values". *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 32:2, p. 418.

[10] Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press, p. 23.

[11] Ibid., p. 23.

[12] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[13] Rohan, M.J. (2000). "A Rose by Any Name? The Values Construct." *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 264.

[14] Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press, p. 6.

Schwartz' circular continuum of colors

Building on the work of Rokeach (1973), Shalom Schwartz[15] developed his comprehensive value system.[16] Or, in other words, whereas Rokeach develops the concept and the different values, Schwartz develops the value system. The development of the value system is essential to our understanding of the interaction of values, or as Rohan puts it: "[without it,] it is impossible to understand the consequences of high priorities on one value type for priorities on other value types."[17] The Schwartz value system consists of ten universal values[18], based on basic human needs and the need to streamline human social interaction, with a specific location in a two dimensional space based on a smallest space analysis (SSA) or multidimensional scaling (MDS).[19] The consequence of the model being concentric and the possible overlap of the underlying value items between two adjacent value types create a continuum of related values, or as Davidov, Schmidt and Schwartz (2008) put it: "[the model resembles] the circular continuum of colors".[20] This continuum portrays the relation between values, either compatible or conflicting. This is because, as Bardi and Schwartz describe: "The pursuit of each value has psychological, practical, and social consequences that may conflict or may be congruent with the pursuit of other values."[21] The further away or -literally- opposing values are, the more they conflict.[22] The assumption of the Schwartz theory is then that "value systems are integrated structures within which there are stable and

---

15 Schwartz acknowledges his colleagues Sonia Roccas and Lilach Sagiv of the Department of Psychology of The Hebrew University for their collaboration, as I will do accordingly.

16 Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25) (pp. 1-65). New York: Academic Press.

17 Rohan, M.J. (2000). "A Rose by Any Name? The Values Construct." *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 260.

18 Although the Schwartz value system is regarded as being universal, the author himself doubts whether there is one universal value system. See Schwartz (1992), p. 47.

19 Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, pp. 44-47.

20 Davidov, E., P. Schmidt and S.H. Schwartz (2008). "Bringing Value Back in – The Adequacy of the European Social Survey To Measure Values in 20 Countries". *Public Opinion Quaterly*, vol. 72:3, p. 424.

21 Bardi, A. and S.H. Schwartz (2003). "Values and Behavior: Strength and Structure of Relations". Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, vol. 29, p. 1208.

22 Ibid.

predictable relations among priorities on each value type."[23] An overview of Schwartz' human values can be found in TABLE 1.

TABLE 1   *Schwartz' universal human values*

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 nature.
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the 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, relationships, and of self.

Source: Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". Political Psychology, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 424 - 425

---

[23] Rohan, M.J. (2000). "A Rose by Any Name? The Values Construct." *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 270

Openness to Change

Self-Transcendence

Self-direction

Universalism

Stimulation

Benevolence

Hedonism

Conformity

Tradition

Achievement

Power

Security

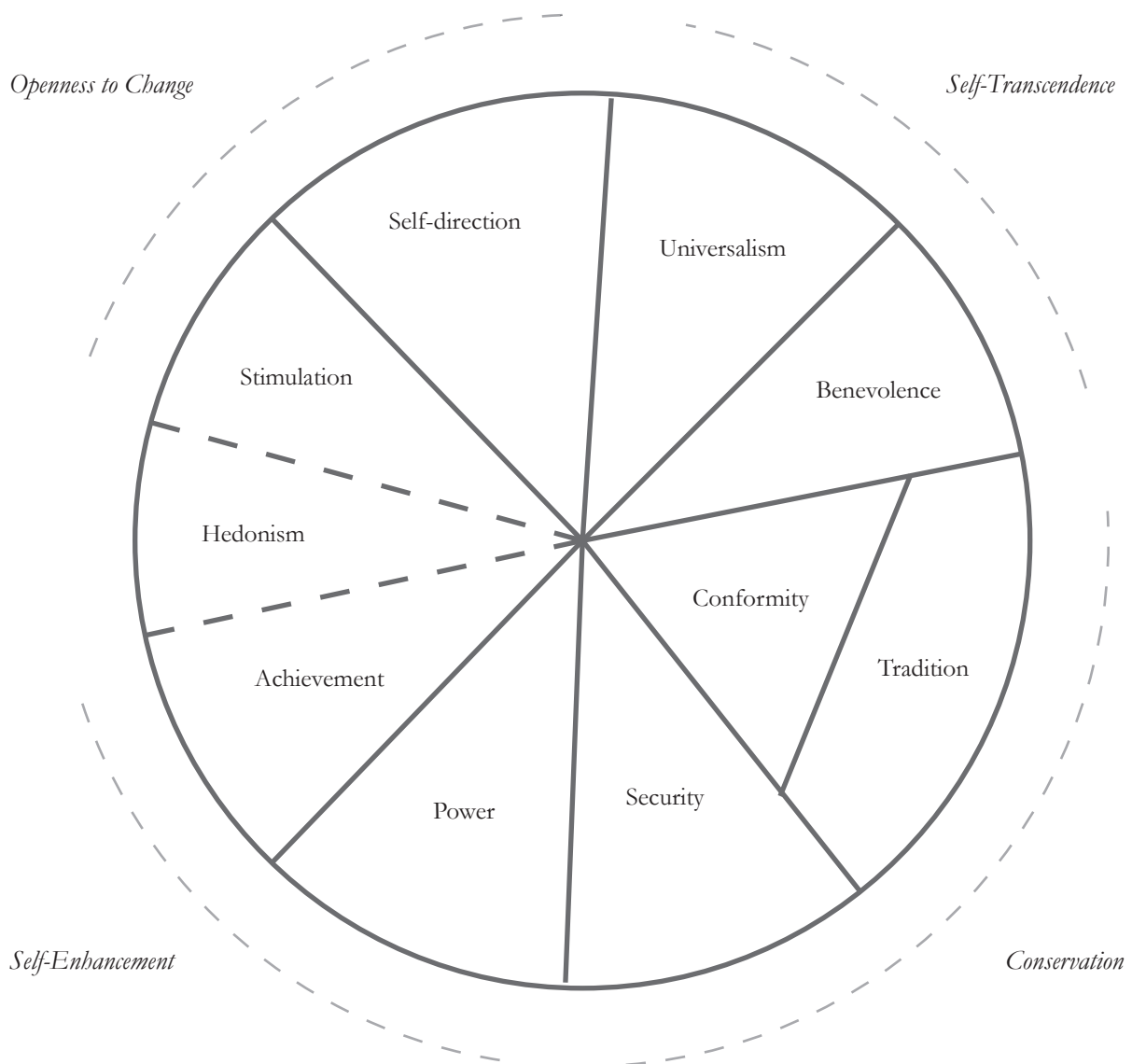*Self-Enhancement*

Conservation

FIGURE 1. *Schwartz' Continuum of Colors.* Displayed are the value types and their distinct position relative to each other. The dashed lines on the outside indicate the higher order value types. *Source: Captured from Schwartz, S.H. (2003). A Proposal for Measuring Value Orientations across Nations. Chapter 7 in the ESS Questionnaire Development Report. http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org (p. 270). Please note that this model deviates from the original model of Schwartz posed in his seminal paper. In this case conformity is not modelled as a separate "slice" in the model, but as part of the tradition dimension.*

2.1 Schwartz' ten universal human values

Since understanding the meaning and background of Schwartz' ten human values is core to interpreting developments in value priority and understanding the relation between a priority for a value type and specific attitudes, I will describe the ten human values and their underlying goals in more detail below.

Power

The existence of power is a necessary condition for the continuation of societies and is hence concerned a universal requirement. To maintain social institutions a certain differentiation of social status is needed and power is the value that justifies this condition.[24] Power is not only necessary for societies to function, but is also considered a human need. People have a need for dominance, prestige, wealth, social recognition, and preserving the status quo.[25] This can be connected to evolutionary psychology where these goals are increasing the ability and chances of successful reproduction of males. This argument will be further developed when we turn to the antecedents of human values. In the study by Schwartz, Caprara and Vecchione (2010) to the link between political core values and value priority, power is positively associated with blind patriotism, foreign military intervention, and free enterprise. Negatively associated are equality and civil liberties.[26]

---

[24] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 8.
[25] Ibid., p. 9.
[26] Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". Political Psychology, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 429 - 430.

Achievement

The motivation of the value type achievement finds it origin in the human need for personal success through the demonstration of competence.[27] The standard of achievement is linked to what is culturally accepted, for example, in most western societies, intelligence, ambition and success. Achievement is in this perspective a value that promotes the obtainment of social approval. This distinguishes achievement from self-direction since the latter is based on "internal standards of excellence" whereas achievement is based on cultural standards.[28] The achievement value type is concerned with showing competence in concrete situations of interaction, whereas the power value type is directed towards the attainment of a position within the social system as a whole, although both are concerned with social esteem.[29] Schwartz, Caprara and Vecchione (2010) find that achievement is positively associated with the political core value free enterprise, whereas it is negatively associated with equality.[30]

Hedonism

The hedonism value type is concerned with the promotion of pleasure in life and sensuous gratification.[31] The hedonism value type is based on the work of several authors, including Freud (1933) and is empirically supported by value studies within all cultures.[32] Political core values negatively associated with hedonism are traditional morality, blind patriotism, and law and order.[33]

---

[27] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 8.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid., p 9.
[30] Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". Political Psychology, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 429 - 430.
[31] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 8.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". Political Psychology, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 429 - 430.

Stimulation

Humans need variety and stimulation to fulfill their organismic need for an optimal level of activation.[34] The optimal level of activation and arousal, and hence the need for stimulation, varies from human to human and is based on social experiences and the biological blueprint of the individual. Stimulation will be achieved through excitement, novelty, and a varied life.[35] Schwartz, Caprara and Vecchione (2010) find that the stimulation value type is positively associated with accepting immigrants and negatively associated with traditional morality, blind patriotism, and law and order.[36]

Self-direction

The value type self-direction is derived from the human need "for control and mastery" and is aimed at autonomy through independent thought and action.[37] This goal is reached by creating new ideas, choosing ones own direction, freedom, choosing ones own goals and being curious.[38] Political core values that are positively associated with the self-direction value type are civil liberties and accepting immigrants. On the other hand is this value type negatively associated with traditional morality, blind patriotism, and law and order.[39]

Universalism

The universalism value type finds its roots in the realization of people that the acceptance and just treatment of those who are different is necessary to prevent life-threatening situations. Furthermore, they are aware that their failure to protect the natural environment might lead to a situation wherein the

---

[34] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 7.
[35] Ibid., p 8.
[36] Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". Political Psychology, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 429 - 430.
[37] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 5.
[38] Ibid, p. 6.
[39] Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". Political Psychology, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 429 - 430.

resources necessary to sustain life are depleted.[40] Hence, it is based on the survival needs of groups. The motivational goals derived from this notion are the "understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of *all* people and for nature."[41] In their study to the link between human values and core political values, Schwartz, Caprara and Vecchione (2010) find that the Universalism value type is positively associated with equality, civil liberties, and accepting immigrants. They find a negative association with traditional morality, blind patriotism, law and order, foreign military intervention, and free enterprise.[42]

Benevolence

The benevolence value type has two antecedents. First of all, there is the basic human need for affiliation with the ones close to the self. Secondly, it is based on the social need for positive interaction to promote the flourishing of groups, especially ones own group.[43] This leads to the motivational goals of "preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent contact" through being helpful, loyal, honest, responsible and creating true friendship and mature love.[44] An important difference between universalism and benevolence is, as said, the group to which the goals are directed. For benevolence the most important group is the in-group, be it people directly amongst oneself (such as friends, family and so forth) or a bigger in-group, for example the whole of society in a collectivist polity. Universalism on the other hand, is concerned with all people, also from other groups, societies et cetera. The latter is expected to be stronger in

---

[40] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 12.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". Political Psychology, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 429 - 430.
[43] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 11.
[44] Ibid.

individualistic societies.[45] The difference between benevolence and universalism is also apparent whit respect to their link to political core values. Benevolence is positively associated with equality and accepting immigrants, whereas it is negatively associated with foreign military intervention and free enterprise.[46]

Tradition

The underlying goal for the tradition value type is the survival of ones own group by cherishing, protecting, and accepting its unique customs, rites, and ideas. These are an embodiment of their shared experiences, history, loyalty, and solidarity. Tradition is about commitment to and acceptance of these shared ideas that create a unique worth of the existing group. Furthermore, humbleness, being moderate and being devout are part of this value type since it is also compromises values that are regarded to be linked to religion.

Conformity

Conformity is directed towards the smooth functioning of society and ones own group. To enhance this functioning one should prevent oneself from actions and impulses that might "upset and harm others and violates social expectations and norms."[47]

Security

The security value type includes both motivational goals that are aimed to serve individual interests and the interests of the group. These motivational goals include "safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of

---

[45] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 12.
[46] Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". Political Psychology, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 429 - 430.
[47] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 9.

self."[48] Also healthiness and cleanness is considered to be part of the security value type, with a clear link to the authoritarian personality. Furthermore, to enhance the survival of the group and to supply meaning to the individual, social order and a sense of belonging are regarded an important part of the security value type. The value types security, conformity and tradition are closely linked, as is also apparent in the study of Schwartz, Caprara and Vecchione (2010) to the link between human values and political core values. All three values are positively associated with traditional morality, blind patriotism, law and order, and foreign military intervention. They are on the other hand negatively associated with civil liberties and accepting immigrants.

---

[48] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 9.

2.2   Antecedents of human values

As said, value priority is both a dependent and independent variable. This distinguishes not only the value priorities of one society from the other, but also causes differences within a society.[49] The number of different value priorities is virtually unlimited, since it can be traced back to numerous and various antecedents. Differing value priorities can be caused by biological and cognitive reasons, for example the ability of an individual to deal with change and uncertainty. The composition of specific genes does not directly influence what values or attitudes people hold, but interacts with particular features in their environment and hence makes the attitudes and values of some people more flexible than those of others.[50] Alford, Funk and Hibbing (2005) made an interesting case for this notion in their paper "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted." When comparing the attitudes on several political and social issues of thousands of monozygotic and dizygotic twins they find that on average one third of the variance can be explained by heritability.[51] Since human values underlie these attitudes it is safe to assume that the biological blueprint of humans can also explain a great deal of the variance in value priority. Obviously, value priorities differ because of socialization, an interaction between mental development and the messages provided in the sociocultural environment.[52] Furthermore, role-perception, personal experience, and actual needs play a role in shaping ones value priority.[53] In the following paragraphs I will set forth a few of these important antecedents that are theorized in earlier literature and which can be distinguished in the European Social Survey (ESS), these are gender, education, age, religiosity and

---

[49] Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press, pp. 23 - 24.
[50] K.B. Smith et al. (2011). "Linking Genetics and Political Attitudes: Reconceptualizing Political Ideology". In Political Psychology, Vol. 32:3, pp. 369-397.
[51] J.R. Alford, C.L. Funk and J.R. Hibbing (2005). "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted" in *The American Political Science Review,* vol. 99: 2, p. 159.
[52] T.E. Cook (1985). "The Bear Market in Political Socialization and the Costs of Misunderstood Psychological Theories" in *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 79:4, p. 1087.
[53] Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press, pp. 57 – 72.

political identification. This supports two purposes. First of all, it is useful in light of the research question posed on the development of value priority within Dutch society; to be able to say anything meaningful about the development of value priority in the Netherlands, I need to take into account the most important antecedents of value priority. Furthermore, it is useful to study the differences between groups within society since these can be important variables when testing the relation between value priority and attitudes and interpret the results.

Gender

The differences in value priority by men and women have antecedents in biology, evolutionary psychology and socialization. Evolutionary psychology puts forward theories based on sexual and social needs to enhance sexual selection and genes survival. Or, as Sidanius and Kurban put it: "differential reproductive constraints and opportunities faced by males and females have led to the evolution of subtle differences in cognitive adaptations that have profound implications for political behavior and social structure."[54] Triver's 'parental investment theory' for example, expect women to invest more time in parental activities since their success depends not on the amount of sexual partners they can have, but on the survival of their offspring. After all, the offspring a female can produce is biologically limited. On the other hand, males will invest more time in mating, since the chances of survival of their genes is in numbers and -virtually- not limited biologically.[55] Hence, females are expected to put greater emphasis on social stability, security and so on. Furthermore, this leads to the situation where females will be pickier when it comes to choosing a mating partner since their investment is much higher. Hence, females will be "attracted to males with demonstrably good health and vigor, high social status, control over valued economic resources to her and

---

[54] J. Sidanius and R. Kurzban (2003). "Evolutionary Approaches to Political Psychology" in The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, D.O. Sears, L. Huddy and R. Jervis (eds.). Oxford University Press: New York, pp. 164 – 165.
[55] Ibid., p. 165.

her offspring."[56] This leads, in turn, to higher intrasexual competition for males and "greater tastes for acquiring and exerting political power and dominance", anti-egalitarian and more hierarchy-enhancing attitudes.[57] This difference between male and female is not only fueled by evolution, but also by socialization through society and its institutions. In other words: males and females are partially brought up to fit their specific roles in society.[58]

Education

Education is an important predictor for value priority. There are two reasons for this link. First of all, higher education is associated with the cognitive ability to cope with change and will be less declined to "reject deviant lifestyles, and more willing to value cultural diversity and to accept cultural differences."[59] Education promotes "intellectual openness, flexibility and breath of perspective essential for self-direction values."[60] Secondly, individuals with lesser job skills –as an effect of lower education- are more concerned about change and economic competition and hence hold other values dear than the higher educated. The latter is based on actual needs, which can be, as said, an important antecedent of value priority.[61] An increase in the education experience is associated with a higher priority for values promoting Openness to Change and Self-Enhancement, whereas the priority for Conservation values declines.

---

[56] J. Sidanius and R. Kurzban (2003). "Evolutionary Approaches to Political Psychology" in The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, D.O. Sears, L. Huddy and R. Jervis (eds.). Oxford University Press: New York, p. 165.

[57] Ibid., p. 166.

[58] Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press, p. 57.

[59] K. Manevska and P. Achterberg (2011). "Immigration and Perceived Ethnic Threat: Cultural Capital and Economic Explanations." In *European Sociological Review*, vol.

[60] Schwartz, S.H. (2003). A Proposal for Measuring Value Orientations across Nations. Chapter 7 in the *ESS Questionnaire Development Report*. http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org, p. 278.

[61] H. Whitt Kilburn (2009). "Personal Values and Public Opinion" in *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 90:4, p. 876.

Age

Age plays an important role in predicting value priority. The reason for this is straightforward: the values people priorities depend on the situation they find themselves in. In other words: the guiding principles in your life adjust to support what end-state, either personal or political, is appropriate for that moment in time. People usually face several transitions during their life-time all of them bringing new roles or influence existing role perceptions and bringing with them new threats and challenges, and so forth. Leaving school, entering the work force, getting children, et cetera. Furthermore, age has a profound influence on the cognitive ability of people, for example when it comes to coping with change and uncertainty or the willingness to do so.[62] Moreover, several studies have found that people with the coming of age get more "embedded in social networks, more committed to habitual patterns, and less exposed to arousing and exciting changes and challenges."[63] It is therefore expected that with the coming of age the priority for values promoting Openness to Change and Self-Enhancement declines, whereas values promoting Conservation will rise in priority.

Religiosity

Another predictor of the values one holds deer is religiosity. Rokeach (1972) finds in his study of the values in the American society that religious people share to a great extend the same value priorities even when controlled for -at least in the United States- important variables as income and race.[64] The reason for this difference can be traced back to both the socialization of more or less religious people and their perception of their role.

---

[62] Germine, L. T., et al. "Where cognitive development and aging meet: Face learning ability peaks after age 30." *Cognition* (2010)

[63] Schwartz, S.H. (2003). A Proposal for Measuring Value Orientations across Nations. Chapter 7 in the *ESS Questionnaire Development Report*. http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org, p. 278.

[64] Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press, p. 83.

Ideology

In contrary to the earlier mentioned variables, such as age, education, religiosity and so forth, political identification is not so much expected to influence value priority. On the contrary: studies find that value priority is an important predictor of ideology.[65] Kilburn (2009) for example, finds that in all European countries value priority and left-right self-placement are strongly associated. Especially in France and the Netherlands this is the case.[66] This is not surprising since human values are assumed to have an effect on political behavior, including the self-placement on a left-right dimension. Even though left-right self-placement is not a predictor of value priority, it is worthwhile to assess the development of the value priority over time by ideology.

2.3   *Linking values and value priorities to behavior*

"Basic personal values serve as standards for judging all kind of behavior, events, and people (…) and therefore underlie all attitudes and opinions."[67] It is therefore not surprising that a large body of studies linking values to behavior, attitudes and opinions have been developed.[68] There have been studies linking value priorities to voting behavior (Barnea and Schwartz, 1998 and Schwartz, 1996), product choice (Grunert and Juhl, 1995) and even the choice of enrolling in a particular university course (Feather, 1988). Bardi and Schwartz (2003) test the Schwartz value theory by experiments measuring real-life behavior and find a strong correlation between diverse forms of behavior and the value priorities an individual holds dear.[69] Notwithstanding the abundant studies of the value – behavior relation, it is not unchallenged. This is

---

[65] H. Whitt Kilburn (2009). "Personal Values and Public Opinion" in *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 90:4, p. 874.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". Political Psychology, Vol. 31, No. 3, p. 422.
[68] Torelli, C.J. and A. M. Kaikati (2009). "Values as Predictors of Judgments and Behaviors: The Role of Abstract and Concrete Mindsets". Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 96, No. 1, p. 231.
[69] Bardi, A. and S.H. Schwartz (2003). "Values and Behavior: Strength and Structure of Relations". Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, vol. 29, pp. 1207 - 1220.

partly because of the complexity of the concept of values itself[70] and partly due to the numerous and implicit cognitive paths through which values can affect behavior.[71] Rohan considers in this respect several of these paths that are possible using different constructs such as ideology, worldview and the social value system.[72] As with all independent variables, value priorities are "but one of the many factors that may influence behavior" in the complex reality of everyday life.[73]

Another important question is: do values play a role in all decisions, behavior and so forth, or do they only attribute in certain situations? Some scholars argue that values are used only in specific situations where the individual has to make a conscious decision; others reason that values are translated into cognitive mechanisms that require little or none consciousness.[74] Torelli and Kaikati (2009) find that values become salient if they are primed by abstract mindsets.[75] Schwartz, Caprara and Vecchione (2010) use the construct of core political values to translate values into political behavior and party choice.[76] An exploration of the literature learns that when it comes to explaining human behavior, whether it is political or concerning other aspects of human life, with the universal human values as independent variables, scholars are divided on the strength of this association and the method to do so. There are aspects of human behavior for which the cognitive process is thoroughly simplified, while for other aspects of behavior the cognitive process will invoke an active trade-off amongst human values. The latter has been subject to study by scholars such as Tetlock. In his paper on ideological reasoning, Tetlock (1986) tests the

---

[70] As Rohan (2000) summarizes the sceptical attitude towards the concept of values: "Behaviorists would have looked with disfavor at this unobservable contruct", p. 255.

[71] Rohan, M.J. (2000). "A Rose by Any Name? The Values Construct." *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 272

[72] Ibid.

[73] Bardi, A. and S.H. Schwartz (2003). "Values and Behavior: Strength and Structure of Relations". Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, vol. 29, p. 1209.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Torelli, C.J. and A. M. Kaikati (2009). "Values as Predictors of Judgments and Behaviors: The Role of Abstract and Concrete Mindsets". Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 96, No. 1, p. 235.

[76] See S. Schwartz, G. Vittorio Caprara and M. vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses" in *Political Psychology*, Vol 31:3.

relation between value priority of American citizens and their attitude towards several issues. He finds that the strongest predictor of policy preferences of an individual was the *"differential value ranking index"*, or in other words: The degree to which a respondent rates or ranks one value over the other when these two values are conflicting with respect to the issue at hand.[77] This trade-off is a logical result of the interrelatedness of value types within the human value system.

In his seminal work, Schwartz (1992) also studies the relation between outside variables, such as political behavior, and his universal human value system. He renders two conclusions:

> "(1) Any outside variable tends to be similarly associated with value types that are adjacent in the value structure. (2) Associations with any outside variable decrease monotonically as one goes around the circular structure of value types in both directions from the most positively associated value type to the least positively associated value type."[78]

This has two implications for studying the relation between Schwartz' value structure and outside variables. First of all, not all variables have a meaningful relation with an outside variable under investigation. The monotonically decrease in association with the outside variable while one moves from the highest associated value type, in this example negatively associated, to the other, positively, highest associated value type, implies that some variables in between these two value types have an association that is close to null. Secondly, if one can indentify the two conflicting value types by theoretical reasoning, the relation of the other value types within Schwartz' circular

---

[77] Tetlock, P.E. (1986). "A Value Pluralism Model of Ideological Reasoning" in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* vol. 50:4, p. 822.
[78] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p 54.

continuum can be logically deduced from this. The assumptions of the value theory with respect to the necessary trade-off between values and the interrelatedness of the value types will be used to test the relation between value priority and the attitude towards immigration.

2.4   Attitudes on immigration

In this study, the relation between value priority and attitudes is tested using the attitude on immigration as a dependent variable. First, it is helpful to define the concept of attitude as I deploy in this thesis. Attitudes are "mental and neural representations, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence on behavior."[79] The definition by Breckler and Wiggins (1989) makes clear that attitude is a broad psychological construct that is hence unfit for the purpose of this thesis that is aimed at testing attitude as a dependent variable. In the data used for this study, the operationalization of the attitude towards immigration is measured using a fairly straightforward question on the position of the respondent. The definition of attitude as I use is therefore more limited. I regard attitudes in this respect to be a one-dimensional representation of the position of an individual towards a specific social object.

Studying the relation between values or variables derived from value priority and the attitude towards immigration is not new (cf. Whitt Kilburn (2009), Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet and Schmidt (2008) and Manevska and Achterberg (2011)). My aim is to add to this a test on this subject not for one ESS round, but for five sequential ESS rounds including value priority as the main independent variables. By conducting these analyses it is possible to make more robust statements on the relation between values and attitudes, not only

---

[79] S. J. Breckler and E.C. Wiggins (1989). "On Defining Attitude and Attitude Theory" in *Attitude, Structure and Function*, eds. A.R. Pratkanis, S.J. Breckler and A.G. Greenwald. Hillsdale, NJ, Hove: Erlbaum.

in size, but also in stability. Furthermore, I will not only test the relation between the attitude towards immigration overall, but I will also focus on the relation between specific attitudes towards immigration, such as the cultural component and the economic component and the trade-off between expected conflicting value types. The reason to choose for immigration is twofold. First of all, the immigration issue has proved to be a highly salient issue during the first decade of the 21st century in the Netherlands. It could therefore be interesting to see whether there is an apparent change in the relation between value priority and attitudes over time between 2002 and 2010. Is there a significant change in the pattern of the relation between value priority and the attitude towards immigration? Secondly, the multiple questions on immigration in the ESS regarding different perspectives of the possible threats immigration poses, put forward the opportunity to very narrowly test the relation between specific conflicting value types and their trade-off amongst them and the specific attitudes.

Immigration

The annual influx of immigrants into Europe has grown undisputable during the last decades. Between 1994 and 2004 the number of immigrants coming to Europe grew from over 1.4 million to 2.4 million per year.[80] Figures from the OECD show that the number of immigrants coming to the Netherlands also steadily grew, albeit far less strong then elsewhere in Europe. Between 2000 and 2009 the inflow grew to 6,3 immigrants per 1000 inhabitants and averaged at 5,1 immigrants per 1000 inhabitants.[81] Elsewhere in Europe, and certainly in the Netherlands, anti-immigration parties or political parties promoting tougher policies towards immigration were fairly successful.[82] The Dutch political party PVV for example, with its unambiguous critical stance towards

---

[80] E. Davidov et al. (2004). "Values and Support for Immigration: A Cross-Country Comparison." In *European Sociologic Review*, vol. 24:5, p. 583.
[81] OECD, International Migration Outlook 2011. http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/44/29/48356273.pdf, visited on 2012/05/04.
[82] E. Davidov et al. (2004). "Values and Support for Immigration: A Cross-Country Comparison." In *European Sociologic Review*, vol. 24:5, p. 583.

immigration, saw its electoral support in the second chamber of parliament, *Tweede Kamer*, almost tripled between 2006 and 2010.[83]

Immigration as a threat

To be better able to theorize which value types are conflicting with respect to the attitude towards immigration, two important theories on the antecedents of the attitude towards immigration are explained in this paragraph.

Scholars identify two main sources people would include when forming their attitude towards immigration, namely *interests* and the *identities*.[84] The first, known as the *ethnic competition theory*, theorizes that immigrants possibly pose a threat to the economic position of native citizens. Immigrants will enter competition with natives over the same scarce resources: jobs, income, education and welfare programs. Also considered to be part of this threat is the impact, whether perceived or present, of immigration on criminality.[85] The second threat, the *identity theory*, is expected to be experienced when people fear the possible negative influence of immigrants on ones own culture. The nation state and its distinct culture are in many European countries regarded as an important part of the identity of the self and is an important part of an in-group identity.[86] Immigrants can be perceived as a threat to this unique culture and hence be perceived as a threat to the goals of the individual, namely protecting the self by a strong group identity.

The goals I mention above, whether it is to protect ones own culture or economic interests, are expected to relate to the individuals' value priority. Also, the extend to which people perceive this threat and how they react to

---

83 The PVV got 5,89% of the votes for parliament (*Tweede Kamer*) in 2006 and 15,54% of the votes for parliament (*Tweede Kamer*) in 2010. See: http://www.nlverkiezingen.com/index_en.html, visited on 2012/05/04.
84 J. Sides and J. Citrin (2007). "European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." In *British Journal of Political Science,* vol. 37, p. 478.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid., p. 480.

them will be partially directed by the individual human value priority as theorized earlier in this thesis. This relation between the individual value priority and the attitudes on immigration will be tested. As said, several studies have been done in recent years to the antecedents of the attitude people have towards immigration. Scholars have studied the influence of education, marital status, labor market position, occupational status, income, age, values, perceived threat, knowledge, the authoritarianism personality, and sense of a national identity. Moreover aggregate level variables such as economic growth, unemployment, and the actual influx of immigrants have been subject to investigation. Obviously, as with all social phenomena, a virtually unlimited range of variables interacts with the attitudes people hold.

3

Research questions and hypotheses

This thesis has two aims. First of all, it explores the development of the priority for human values in the Netherlands between 2002 and 2010. This provides the opportunity to follow the development of the priority of human values during a very moving political decade in the Netherlands. The second aim of this thesis is to test the relation between value priority and attitudes towards immigration and again for all the rounds of the ESS thus far. For both topics research questions and hypotheses will be presented below.

The aim of this thesis is not to explain *why* the value priority of the Dutch changed during the first decade of the 21$^{\text{st}}$ century, but to explore *how* it developed. Since there is no theory included that suggests a change in value priority that can be used to formulate hypotheses on the direction or size of the change, I will formulate two research questions aimed to explore the development. Studying the development is not only useful to assess the strength of the current theory on values, but will also be helpful to interpret the results of the analyses to the relation between value priority and the attitude on immigration. Furthermore it enables me explore the strength of the current value theories.

RQ1   How did the value priority within Dutch society develop between 2002 and 2010?

Since theory predicts several important antecedents of value priority, I will include these and formulate an extra research question.

RQ2   How did the value priority within Dutch society develop between 2002 and 2010 for specific antecedents of value priority, such as level of education, gender, age, religiosity, and ideology?

The second part of the analyses is aimed at testing the relation between value type trade-off and attitudes people hold towards immigration. The relation with three attitudes will be tested: a general attitude towards immigration and two on specific aspects of immigration, namely the perceived influence of immigration on the economy and cultural life. First, the overall attitude towards immigration is studied using respondents' value priority on the higher order value type dimensions Openness to Change – Conservation (OCCO) and Self-Transcendence - Self-Enhancement (STSE). These dimensions are of special interest since the decision making process of individuals is based on the trade-off between values.[87] It is, to say, the difference between two conflicting values that is expected to be a predictor of a specific position on an attitude. When this trade-off is operationalized in the hypotheses presented below, the direction of the trade-off will be chosen so that the result of the trade-off will render the predicted positive contribution to the attitude on immigration.

In this study all rounds of the ESS, five rounds between 2002 and 2010, are included in the analyses. The purpose of including all these rounds is to test whether the relation between the trade-off of value types and attitude is stable over time or that this pattern has changed. Since there is no theoretical ground to expect a changed pattern in the relation the expectation for all following hypotheses is that the hypothesized relations are stable for all consecutive rounds of the ESS.

---

[87] P.E. Tetlock (1986). "A Value Pluralism Model of Ideological Reasoning" in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* vol. 50:4, pp. 819 – 827.

When it comes to the underlying values, the Conservation higher order value type is considered to be highly associated with a negative attitude towards immigration. Conservation promotes the values security, conformity and tradition. Furthermore, several studies have found empirical support for the relation between the *identity theory* and values promoting Conservation (cf. Davidov et al, 2008, Manevska and Achterberg, 2011). The Conservation higher order value type comprises "stability of society", "acceptance of the customs and ideas provided by the traditional culture or religion", "safety" and "harmony."[88] On the contrary, people prioritizing values promoting Openness to Change, will be inclined to have a more positive attitude towards immigration. They are open to new experiences and value variation in experiences and promote arousal. Following the logic of Schwartz circular continuum, it can be expected that the value trade-off on this OCCO-dimension, Openness to Change – Conservation, will make an important contribution to the attitude of the individual.[89] As such, I expect a positive trade-off for the Openness to Change higher order value type compared to the Conservation higher order value type to indicate a more positive attitude towards immigration and vice versa.

H1   With respect to the Openness to Change versus Conservation dimension (OCCO), a priority for Openness to Change will be positively correlated with a positive attitude towards immigration.

Also the other dimension within the human value structure is expected to correspond with the attitude of an individual on immigration. However, since this dimension can be found in between the two higher order value types that

---

[88] H. Whitt Kilburn (2009). "Personal Values and Public Opinion" in *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 90:4, p. 871.
[89] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p. 54.

are expected to be most strongly related, the magnitude of the effect will be smaller. Davidov et al. (2008) find in a cross-country comparison that a priority for values promoting Self-Transcendence is correlated with a positive attitude towards immigration.[90] Following Schwartz' theory it is then expected that the opposing higher order value type Self-Enhancement will correlate with a negative attitude towards immigration, but concerning the attitude on immigration I doubt the strength of this assumption. The *ethnic competition theory* is particularly focused on whether an individual perceives immigration as a threat to ones economic position or material well-being. This is predominantly apparent in the lower educated part of society, since the labor market position of lower educated people is more likely to be threatened by the influx of immigrants. At the same time earlier studies provide empirical evidence that the average difference between low- and high-educated individuals is rather large when it comes to their priority for Self-Enhancement values. Both lower and higher educated people assign Self-Enhancement their lowest priority compared to the four other higher order value types, but the higher educated prioritize it significantly higher than the lower educated. People with a priority for achievement, one of the two values promoting Self-Enhancement, prioritize intelligence, ambition, and success.[91] They are hence not expected to feel threatened by the though of immigrants taking over their job. Partially because the actual competition from immigrants is far less apparent due to their higher job skills and on the other side, even if they actually face competition, their values predict that they would not shy away from it. In this situation I expect the two opposing values, achievement and universalism, to articulate the same attitude, but for different reasons and with a different preferred end-goal. I expect then that values promoting Self-Enhancement will correlate with a negative attitude towards immigration, but that the effect of

---

[90] E. Davidov et al. (2004). "Values and Support for Immigration: A Cross-Country Comparison." In *European Sociologic Review*, vol. 24:5, p. 593.

[91] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p. 24.

the interaction between Self-Enhancement value types and the level of education plays an important role in mitigating the strength of this relation.

H2   With respect to the Self-Transcendence versus Self-Enhancement dimension (STSE), a priority for values promoting Self-Transcendence is positively correlated with a positive attitude towards immigration. A priority for Self-Enhancement values is negatively correlated with a positive attitude towards immigration, but is mitigated by a higher level of education.

Also two specific attitudes towards immigration are included. This more detailed study makes it possible to test the result of the trade-off of individual conflicting value types. As becomes apparent in the formulation of hypotheses *H1* and *H2*, it is expected that values that are operationalized by Schwartz (1992) within the same higher order value type can work in opposite directions when predicting the specific attitudes towards immigration. A detailed study employing only the value types that are theoretically expected to correlate the strongest with these specific attitudes will thus be meaningful. This implicates that not all value types and value types trade-off will be operationalized. The most important reason to select only the values that are theoretically expected to be strongly conflicting is that, following the reasoning of Schwartz (1992), some value types will have a correlation with outside variables that is close to null because of the circular structure of the human value system. Including all variables is thus undesirable for two reasons: 1) for some values there is no sufficient theoretical ground to include them or their supposed conflicting value type and 2) including all value types or trade-offs into the model will result in a statistical worthless model since psychological constructs, such as human values, need to be handled with care when employed into regular statistical procedures. Scholars of social psychology tend to prefer procedures as Multi Dimensional Scaling (MDS) or simple correlations to study

psychological constructs like the human value system. This is however not suited to make any sound predictions on the strength of the relation and the possible interference of third variables on the studied relation.

The two attitudes included in this study will be on the perceived influence of immigration on cultural life and the perceived influence of immigration on the economy. These two specific attitudes can be linked to the earlier mentioned theories on the formation of attitudes towards immigration, the *identity theory* and the *ethnic competition theory*. The threat because of a competition over scarce resources within society, the *ethnic competition theory*, can be directly related to three pairs of conflicting value types. It predicts that people may feel immigration as a threat when it comes to their economic position within society and their material well-being because a limited amount of resources has to be shared with more people from another group. As I mentioned earlier, the motivational value types of success, intelligence and ambition are considered to be part of the achievement value. People prioritizing this value will not be frightened by the thought of immigrants as competitors on the labor market. They are not afraid of competition; indeed, they like competition and are self-confident of their own chances.[92] Conflicting with this achievement value type is the benevolence value type. Although it is considered to contribute positively to the attitude towards immigration when combined into the Self-Transcendence higher order value type, I expect it to be predicting a more negative stance towards the perceived influence of immigration on the economy. Although both universalism and benevolence promote the well-being of other people, benevolence is primarily directed towards the well-being of a smaller group of people. The definition of what this group constitutes is not comprehensive in the literature, but is, for example by Rokeach (1972) linked to the need to sustain the in-group, which is for most people probably a wider group than family and friends, but certainly not *all* people. Protecting the

[92] Ibid.

welfare of the people nearby can conflict with the role of people from the out-group competing for the same resources, such as jobs, social security and so on. Therefore it is not unthinkable that people promoting benevolence are more cautious towards immigrants because of the threat they may cause towards this goal. I expect therefore people prioritizing benevolence over achievement to be more negative towards the perceived role of immigration on the economy and vice versa. Furthermore, I expect an interaction effect between this trade-off and the level of education of the respondent. The role of a positive trade-off for achievement gets stronger when interacting with a lower level of education. People with a higher level of education have several reasons to be more positive towards immigration, for example a greater intellectual openness, flexibility of mind and their relatively safe position on the labor market. Having a priority for achievement is hence expected to make a lower contribution to their attitude. For people with a lower level of education who are expected to possess less intellectual openness and so forth, but show a priority for achievement when traded-off against benevolence the strength of the predictor of this trade-off will increase. This underlines the expected importance of the trade-off between conflicting value types.

H3a   A priority for achievement values when traded-off against benevolence values is positively correlated with a positive attitude towards the perception of the role of immigrants on the national economy. This effect gets stronger when interacting with a lower level of education.

The second pair of conflicting values is power versus universalism. A priority for the power value type is expected to have a negative effect on the attitude towards immigration. This value type is associated with protecting the status quo and ones own position within society. It is reasonable that from this point of view, immigration is perceived as a threat to the valued status quo and ones own position and hence will negatively influence the attitude towards

immigration. Universalism on the other hand is an important predictor of a positive attitude towards immigration. Universalism promotes the well-being of all people in the world and hence it is expected that people who value this type more important when traded-off against power will have a more positive attitude towards the perceived influence of immigration on the economy.

H3b   A priority for universalism values when traded-off against power values is positively correlated with a positive attitude towards the perception of the role of immigrants on the national economy.

The last pair of values that is expected to be of influence for this specific attitude towards immigration is security versus self-direction. Security is concerned with the promotion of stability of society and the self, related to preventing uncertainty and is considered to play a role within the *ethnic competition theory* (cf. Manevska and Achterberg, 2011). Immigration might be perceived by people valuing security over self-direction as a threat to this stability and might enhance uncertainty. Hence I expect these people to have a more negative attitude towards the influence of immigration on the economy. On the other hand I expect people who favor self-direction over security to be more positive towards the possible influence of immigration on the economy. Self-direction promotes autonomy for the self and new ideas, directions and so forth.

H3c   A priority for self-direction values when traded-off against security values is positively correlated with a positive attitude towards the perception of the role of immigrants on the national economy.

The second specific attitude towards immigration is the perceived influence of immigration on the cultural life in the Netherlands. With respect to this attitude I expect three pairs of values to be theoretically conflicting. First of all,

I expect a conflict between tradition on the one hand and stimulation on the other. The tradition value type promotes the shared identity of a group, commitment to and acceptance of the customs, ideas, and traditions that the dominant culture imposes on the individual.[93] This value can be linked to the negative influence immigrants might have on ones own culture. People prioritizing *tradition* value render their own distinct culture to be highly important to them personally, but also to society as a whole. Culture is necessary because they value it as a presumed guarantee for survival of their own group.[94] It is then expected that people who prioritize this value will be inclined to have a negative attitude towards immigration as a whole and to the perceived effect of immigration on cultural life. Moreover there is empirical evidence that suggests that people tend to associate "immigration" predominantly with immigration of people with another ethnical background and coming from poorer countries around the world.[95] When asked about the possible influence of immigrants on cultural life, it is expected that people will understand this as immigration of people with a different, and hence conflicting, cultural background. The goals embodied by the tradition value type are expected to conflict with the *simulation* value type. The latter promotes novelty and new experiences that deliver an optimal level of activation to the self.[96] New cultures and new ideas brought by immigrants with differing backgrounds might bring forth this arousal and is hence positively evaluated by people prioritizing this value type.

---

[93] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p. 10.
[94] Ibid.
[95] J. Sides and J. Citrin (2007). "European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." In *British Journal of Political Science,* vol. 37, p. 483.
[96] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p. 10, pp. 7-8.

H4a   A priority for stimulation values when traded-off against tradition is positively correlated with a positive attitude towards the perception of the role of immigrants on the cultural life in the Netherlands.

The other pair of value types that I expect to be conflicting with respect to this issue is self-direction versus conformity. The goal of the latter is to promote the smooth functioning of society. People prioritizing this value will be inclined to restrain themselves from actions that may harm social expectations and norms. They also expect others to show this self-restrained in everyday interaction.[97] The preferred end-state of people prioritizing conformity is a situation in which there is stability and as much homogeneity of conduct within society. Again, it is reasonable that people coming from other places with a different cultural background and hence possibly conflicting conduct may put a threat to this goal. People prioritizing self-direction on the other hand, prioritizes autonomy of the self through independent thought and actions, and feel less inclined to act as others might expect or wish. Instead, they use their own standards as guidelines for their conduct. Furthermore, studies to the link between core political values and human values, have found that this value type is strongly negatively associated with traditional morality.[98] As such, I expect people who favor self-direction values over conformity values to be significantly more positive towards the possible influence of immigration on cultural life and vice versa.

H4b   A priority for self-direction values when traded-off conformity values is positively correlated with a positive attitude towards the perception of the role of immigrants on the cultural life in the Netherlands.

---

[97] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p. 9.

[98] Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". Political Psychology, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 429 - 430.

Furthermore, universalism is also rendered to be an important predictor of a positive attitude towards the role of immigration on ones own culture. Universalism is associated with understanding, appreciation and tolerance towards all people: "People may then realize that failure to accept others who are different and treat them justly will lead to life-threatening strife."[99] They are hence expected to see accepting and understanding other cultures immigrants might bring forth not as a threat, but as a part of their preferred end goal in their life. I expect universalism to conflict with security. The security value type promotes, among other things, a sense of belonging and social order. Ones own culture might bring this sense of belonging, and the influx of immigrants could then pose a threat to this goal.

H4c   A priority for universalism values when traded-off against security values is positively correlated with a positive attitude towards the perception of the role of immigrants on the cultural life in the Netherlands.

As the reader could have noticed, some values are operationalized in both hypotheses H3 and H4. Hence, values are linked to several attitudes at the same time. This is not surprising since there are only ten universal human values, whereas the number of attitudes logically equals the number of objects in the world. To assess the specific relation this thesis aims to unveil, careful interpretation of the outcomes is therefore vital. Another important remark should be made here. I expect the attitude towards immigration with respect to economy and culture to be highly related. It can be assumed that people who fear immigration because of the economic threats it might pose to the status quo, are very unlikely to be enthusiastic about the role of immigration on the cultural life in the Netherlands and vice versa.

---

[99] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p. 12.

4

Data and method

The data used in this thesis comes from the European Social Survey (ESS). This ESS is a multi-national survey that is administered in nearly all European countries every two years since 2002 and on. The ESS is initiated and funded by the European Science Foundation, the European Commission and national research institutions of the participating countries. The goal of the ESS is to "design, develop and run a conceptually well-anchored and methodologically bullet-proof study of changing social attitudes and values."[100] Since its start in 2002, five rounds of the ESS have been administered and all five rounds, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010, are included in the data set used for this thesis. Data from the ESS is used in this study because it is the only survey in which Schwartz' universal human values are measured. Other studies aim to measure human values but fail to include the value structure or do only measure political values. Furthermore, the ESS is useful since its repeated character makes it possible to include consecutive rounds of the ESS in this study. By including all rounds thus far in the analyses it is possible, as said, to make more sound statements on the relations and assumptions of value theory.

In the ESS a shortened version of Schwartz' Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) is included. The PVQ presents short verbal portraits of different people. Each portrait describes the goals, aspirations or wishes of the person portrayed. These goals, aspirations and wishes are implicitly linked to the specific value type measured by the question. An example –part of the universalism value type- is: "He [she] thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. He [she] wants justice for everybody, even for people he [she] doesn't know." Respondents are asked for every portrait to answer: "How

---

[100] ESS Project specification:
http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=77&Itemid=349, visited on 2012/05/25.

much like you is this person?" and can fill it out by answering one of the six options varying from "Very much like me" to "Not like me at all." For every value type two questions are included, except for the universalism value type where, because of the broadness of the value type, three questions are included. In total, the ten universal human values of Schwartz are measured using 21 questions. An overview of the 21 items of the PVQ is supplied in the appendix.

Furthermore questions on the respondents' gender, age, religiosity, level of education, and self-placement on a left-right scale are used from the ESS. Of these variables only level of education had to be transformed for use in statistical procedures. Respondents where asked to report their highest level of education by the Dutch name of the highest school type they had finished, for example elementary school, VMBO-T, MBO, HBS, university or postdoc. Both old and current names of the highest school type were accepted. To limit the number of responses and create a meaningful scale that is internationally comparable, I transformed the responses into three categories: low level of education, medium level of education, and high level of education.

The PVQ data of the five ESS rounds is cleaned following the procedure that is proposed by Schwartz.[101] This includes excluding cases with more than five missing responses and respondents who answered identically on more than 16 items. Furthermore, the direction of the responses was inversed to create a scale where a higher conformance with a PVQ item equals a higher priority.

For *RQ1* and *RQ2* the difference between the rating of an individual value type and the average value priority for each respondent was calculated. There are two reasons to do so. First of all, all individuals render the ten universal human

---

[101] Bilsky, W., M. Janik and S.H. Schwartz (2011). "The Structural Organization of Human Values: Evidence from Three Rounds of the European Social Survey (ESS)". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol. 42, pp. 761-762.

values that Schwartz distinguishes more or less important. Obviously, it is hard to find a soul that would not appreciate security for his family and his country. At the same time almost everybody would like to have control over his own life and wants to be free. The question is then not whether people find certain values important, but *how* important they render them compared to other values. In other words: What is the result of the trade-off of these values? This result becomes manifest by comparing the rating of individual values to the average value rating by the respondent. For example: respondents X and Y have both rated the security value items at 4 (on the 6-point scale), but respondent X has an average value rating of 5, whereas respondent Y has an average of 2. On first sight they both equally responded: "The [PVQ security] is somewhat like me", but if we subtract the mean of their scores from the rating for the security value items we can identify the value priority of security for that specific respondent, or in other words: how important the security values are compared to other values. In this case for respondent X the value priority of security is (4 – 5 =) -1, whereas the value priority for security for respondent Y is (4 – 2 =) 2. For respondent X security is 1 point *less* important than average; for respondent Y security is 2 points *more* important than average. This fits the value theory that defines our value system as a trade-off between all values that make up the system. Moreover, subtracting the average value rating of the respondent from his rating of specific values eliminates the possible negative effects of different scale-use by respondents when using the data for statistical procedures.

To test hypotheses *H1* to *H4* the same data source has been used, namely the five rounds of the ESS in the period between 2002 and 2010. The ESS comprises in each round six questions on the attitude towards immigration. Three of them ask people how many immigrants with a specific background should be admitted and respondents are asked to answer this question on a four-point scale: "allow none", "allow a few", "allow some" or "allow many".

Of these questions, two ask the respondent how many immigrants with a specific ethnic background, either from the Dutch dominant ethnic group or from another ethnic origin, should be admitted. The other question asks how many people coming from poorer countries around the world should be admitted. The three other questions deal with the influence of immigrants on the quality of life in the Netherlands: "Are immigrants good or bad for your country's economy?", "Do immigrants enrich or undermine cultural life of your country?" and finally, "Do immigrants make your country a better or worse place to live?" Respondents can answer these questions using an eleven-point scale (0-10). The average response to these questions over time is shown in TABLE 2. Since I will only operationalize the three questions on the perceived influence of immigration on the quality of life, these are reported in this table. Again, the responses are inversed to make sure that a higher score indicates a more positive attitude towards immigration.

TABLE 2   *Attitude towards immigration 2002 – 2010*

Item	Range	Mean 2002	s	Mean 2004	s	Mean 2006	s	Mean 2008	s	Mean 2010	s
Immigration is bad or good for Dutch economy	0 = bad; 10 = good	**4.82**	1.993	**4.61**	2.012	**5.21**	1.912	**5.36**	1.912	**5.23**	1.941
Dutch cultural life is undermined or enriched by immigrants	0 = undermined; 10 = enriched	**6.03**	2.111	**5.88**	2.081	**6.14**	1.918	**6.15**	1.970	**6.14**	1.898
Immigrants make the Netherlands a worse or better place to live	0 = worse; 10 = better	**4.65**	2.019	**4.79**	2.016	**5.11**	1.803	**5.16**	1.927	**5.25**	1.833
(Minimum) N		**2243**		**1789**		**1776**		**1611**		**1711**	

The attitude on immigration will be measured using a scale integrating the three questions on the perceived effect of immigrants on Dutch economy, culture and overall quality of live. Including the three questions on how many immigrants with specific backgrounds should be admitted to the country is less useful. The scale of both sets of questions is fairly different. Whereas the questions on admitting immigrants use a four-point scale, the questions on the perceived effect of immigrants use an eleven-point scale. Combining these two might lead to the loss of useful information. Furthermore, the variance in response between the three questions on how many immigrants with specific backgrounds should be admitted is very limited and therefore adds little to our understanding. The reliability of the immigration attitude scale is acceptable.[102]

TABLE 3	*Immigration Attitude Scale*				
	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010
Cronbach's α	.723	.776	.770	.764	.764
X	15.48	15.25	16.50	16.66	16.61
S	4.905	5.074	4.660	4.799	4.676
N	2161	1760	1732	1631	1669

Number of items: 3; possible minimum score: 0; possible maximum score: 30.

To test this relationship between a specific attitude towards immigration and corresponding conflicting values, all rounds of the ESS provide two comprehensive questions: "Is immigration bad or good for the Dutch economy?" and "Is Dutch cultural life enriched or undermined by immigrants?" The attitude of the respondent towards this specific question on the perceived role of immigrants on the national economy or cultural life is measured using an eleven-point scale (0-10), and will be used as the dependent variable. As the independent variables the trade-off between two conflicting

---

[102] Cronbach's α would only slightly increase when including the other three variables into the scale, while doubling the number of items. It is clear therefore that also this provides no need for including these variables.

values is used. The trade-off is used because it is this that renders importance for one value type over the other. What is interesting is not what the result is of people possessing certain values, but what the result is of the trade-off among values, especially when these values are theoretically expected to be conflicting with respect to this specific attitude. In other words: what are the implications for their attitude on immigration when individuals prioritize one value over the other. This is, as said, based on the work of scholars such as Tetlock (1986) who aim to explain the reasoning processes people apply when it comes to the formation of attitudes.[103] For example, the trade-off between universalism and power is calculated by the mean of the sum of the responses of the universalism PVQ-items minus the mean of the sum of the responses of the power PVQ-items. This obviously poses the problem of different scale-use by respondents, but because we measure the difference between two responses of the same respondent this problem is fairly mitigated. Furthermore, the average rating of the values by the respondent will be included as a covariant variable. This is one of the methods proposed by Schwartz (1992, 2003) to overcome the problem of different scale use by respondents.[104]

The earlier theorized antecedents of value priority, age, level of education, religiosity, gender, and ideology (operationalized as self-placement on the left-right scale) will be included as control variables in my model.[105] The models created for the linear regression analyses to test the hypotheses will hence include the attitude on immigration as dependent variable, and as independent variables the value type or higher order value type trade-off, the five control variables, and the average value rating of the respondent. If an interaction effect is expected, as stated in hypotheses *H2* and *H3a* the product of this

---

[103] Tetlock, P.E. (1986). "A Value Pluralism Model of Ideological Reasoning" in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* vol. 50:4, pp. 819 – 827.

[104] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, pp. 1-65 and Schwartz, S.H. (2003). A Proposal for Measuring Value Orientations across Nations. Chapter 7 in the *ESS Questionnaire Development Report*. http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org, pp. 259-319.

[105] Further explanation on the relation between value priority and these variables can be found in the theoretical framework of this thesis.

interaction will be included in the model. As proposed by Brambor, Clark and Golder (2005) I will include both the product of the interacting variables (eg. STSE x Level of education) and the constituting variables (eg. STSE and Level of Education). This prevents me from misinterpreting the outcome.[106] The independent variables are all inserted at once into the model since there is no evidence to insert them in a specific order. Missing cases are removed list-wise. The final model is applied to the 2002 ESS and the consecutive rounds.

---

[106] T. Brambor, W.R. Clark and M. Golder (2005). "Understanding Interaction Models: Improving Empirical Analyses." In *Political Analyses*, vol. 14, pp. 66-67.

5

Results

The development of the priority for the ten human values in the Netherlands between 2002 and 2010 as stated in *RQ1* is shown in FIGURE 2 on the next page and in TABLE 4. Furthermore, TABLE 4 provides the mean (X) and standard deviation (s) for the ten human values within Dutch society.

The ten human values distinguished by Schwartz are placed around the mean (0) of all respondents. A value above 0 indicates that this value is rated more important than the average of all human values. Accordingly, a value below 0 indicated that this value is, on average, rated less important. The outcome follows what value theory already suggests: Value priority is fairly stable over time, also within Dutch society. This is even more apparent if we take into account the maximum relative value priority that is possible. If a respondent gives the maximum rating to all value items, while rating the security value items at a minimum, the average of that respondent is: (((16 x 6) + (3 x 5) + (2 x 1)) / 21) = 5,38 or, the other way around, (((16 x 1) + (3 x 2) + (2 x 6)) / 21) = 1,619.[107] The maximum distance (e.g. value priority for security) is than (1 − 5,380 =) -4,38 or (6 − 1,62 =) 4,38.

---

[107] Please remind that by cleaning the data a respondent can rate no more than 16 values identically. To obtain the highest possible average in this situation the respondent would answer "6" on 16 items, "5" on 3 items and "1" on the two security value items.

TABLE 4   *Value priority from ESS for the Netherlands 2002 - 2010*

	2002		2004		2006		2008		2010	
	X	s	*X*	s	*X*	s	*X*	s	*X*	s
Security	**0,215**	0,801	**0,175**	0,809	**0,053**	0,801	**0,034**	0,817	**0,056**	0,827
Conformity	**0,016**	0,865	**0,056**	0,843	**-0,079**	0,853	**-0,063**	0,840	**-0,068**	0,0833
Tradition	**-0,201**	0,927	**-0,171**	0,918	**-0,216**	0,896	**-0,197**	0,879	**-0,213**	0,908
Benevolence	**0,640**	0,593	**0,645**	0,624	**0,619**	0,573	**0,670**	0,612	**0,680**	0,597
Universalism	**0,577**	0,589	**0,627**	0,583	**0,612**	0,574	**0,576**	0,583	**0,589**	0,586
Self-direction	**0,556**	0,711	**0,536**	0,734	**0,554**	0,682	**0,565**	0,698	**0,597**	0,700
Stimulation	**-0,577**	0,939	**-0,563**	0,959	**-0,447**	0,929	**-0,498**	0,929	**-0,484**	0,912
Hedonism	**0,029**	0,597	**0,006**	0,809	**0,068**	0,780	**0,027**	0,771	**0,035**	0,763
Achievement	**-0,524**	0,921	**-0,543**	0,896	**-0,476**	0,860	**-0,465**	0,837	**-0,485**	0,867
Power	**-1,025**	0,827	**-1,086**	0,838	**-0,995**	0,787	**-0,991**	0,787	**-1,002**	0,771
Conservation	**0,010**	0,620	**0,019**	0,618	**-0,081**	0,618	**-0,058**	0,611	**-0,075**	0,603
Openness to change	**-0,104**	0,644	**-0,013**	0,668	**0,054**	0,632	**0,033**	0,644	**0,057**	0,642
Self-Enhancement	**-0,773**	0,724	**-0,813**	0,711	**-0,752**	0,683	**-0,728**	0,669	**-0,744**	0,680
Self-Transcendence	**0,602**	0,476	**0,635**	0,478	**0,615**	0,457	**0,615**	0,475	**0,626**	0,473
All values	**4,135**	0,463	**4,153**	0,500	**4,177**	0,466	**4,184**	0,508	**4,198**	0,472
N	2300		1824		1812		1693		1754	

* Significant at p < 0,05   ** Significant at p < 0,01

All values is the average score of respondents on 21 value items in the ESS, not corrected for scale use.
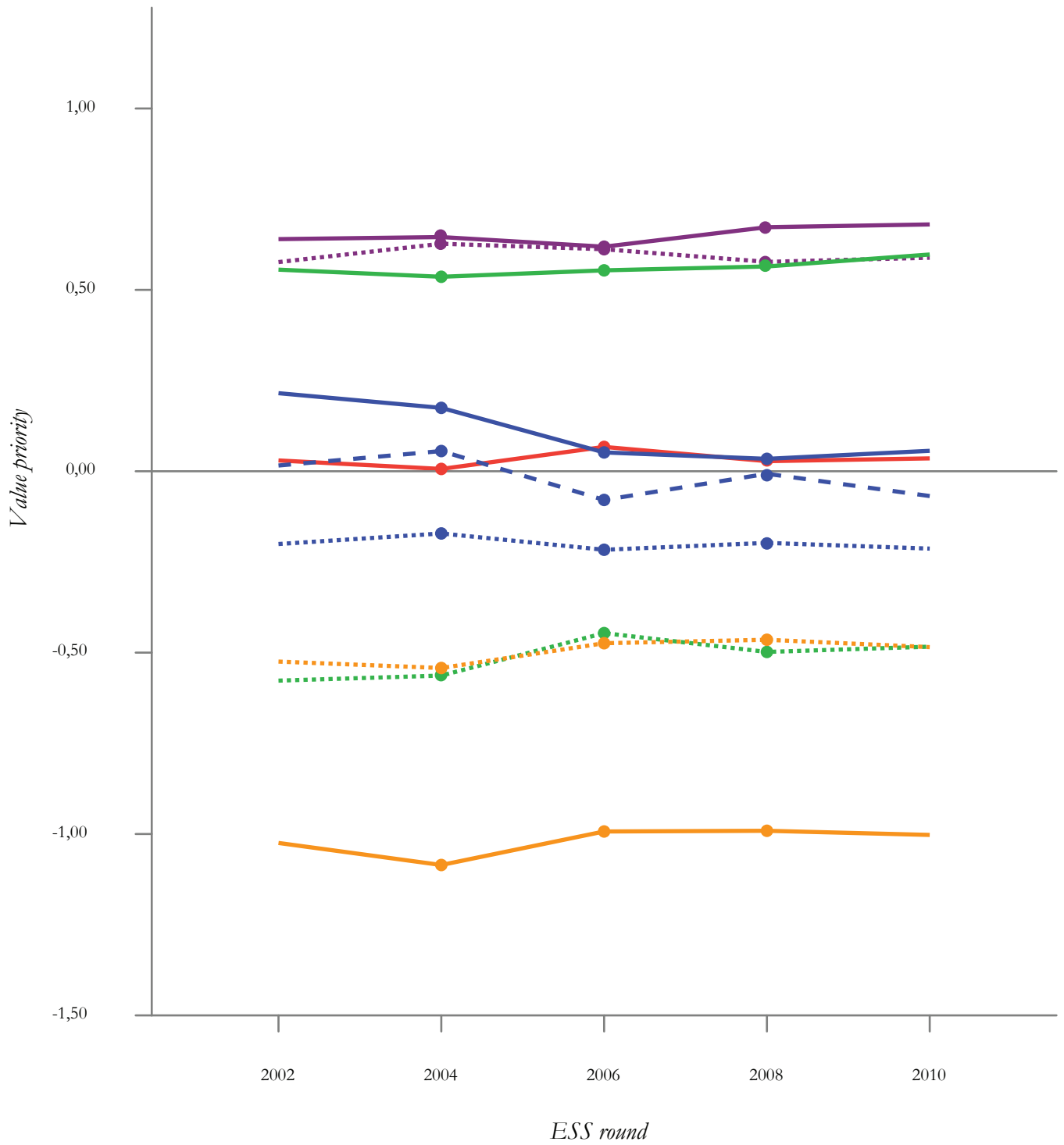
FIGURE 2. The development of the ten human values in the Netherlands between 2002 and 2010. The value priority for the value types is placed around the mean (0) of the average value rating. *The color of the values indicate their respective higher order value type.*

Legend:
- Security
- Conformity
- Tradition
- Benevolence
- Universalism
- Self-direction
- Stimulation
- Hedonism
- Achievement
- Power

Also, when assessing FIGURE 2, the structure of Schwarz' human values becomes apparent. Values opposing each other in his two-dimensional model are, over time, developing fairly parallel. The interrelatedness of the ten human values making up the Schwartz value structure predicts that the values can be grouped in four distinct higher order value types, namely Conservation, Openness to Change, Self-Enhancement and Self-Transcendence. To test this assumption five factor analyses were conducted, one for each ESS-round. Since all value items are measured using the same 6-point scale a covariance matrix is included.[108] Furthermore the method of rotation I choose is *direct oblimin*, since theory assumes the four higher order value types (e.g. the four expected factors) to be correlated.[109] In all ESS-rounds two factors arise comprising the four higher order value types loading in different directions. On the one hand, security, tradition and conformity versus stimulation and self-direction and on the other hand power and achievement versus universalism and benevolence. These represent the higher order value types of Conservation, Openness to Change, Self-Enhancement and Self-Transcendence and their distinct position relative to each other. The hedonism value type is problematic in this respect, a finding already noticed in earlier studies. Hedonism is a value type that falls partly within the Openness to Change higher value type and partly within the Self-enhancement-value type.[110] In the factor analyses hedonism loaded in all five instances in a distinct own factor. Because hedonism does not add much to our understanding of the higher-order value types[111] I will exclude hedonism from these higher order value types. Since values are by their nature vectors, and not points, the use of standard statistical procedures is generally difficult.[112] As a psychological construct, the position of values relative to each other is

---

[108] A. Field (2005). Discovering Statistics Using SPSS. London: Sage Publications ltd., p. 643.
[109] Ibid., p. 637.
[110] Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, p. 45.
[111] European Social Study Education Net, http://essedunet.nsd.uib.no/cms/topics/1/5/all.html. Visited on 2012/04/29.
[112] C. S. Johnston (1995). "The Rokeach Value Survey: Underlying Structure and Multidimensional Scaling." In *Journal of Psychology*, vol. 129:5, p. 589.

best understood by using multidimensional scaling (MDS).[113] Therefore I also conducted an individual PROXSCAL multidimensional scaling analysis for all rounds of the ESS. Proximities were created by SPSS using Euclidean distance and between variables. Since the human values are all measured using the same six-point scale, no transformation was needed. Furthermore, since theory predicts two dimensions when it comes to the higher order value types (Conservation – Openness to Change and Self-Enhancement – Self-Transcendence) PROXSCAL was limited to two dimensions. The MDS measures the similarity/ dissimilarity between data and creates, based on this, distances relative to each other.[114] The results can be found in FIGURE 3.[115] The produced MDS resembles the theory of Schwartz with respect to the position of the higher order value types relative to each other. Conservation opposes Openness to Change and Self-Enhancement opposes Self-Transcendence. The position of the lines used to separate the higher order value types is obviously arbitrary, but are predominantly there to make interpreting the human value structure more comprehensive. The structure is fairly stable over time, with 2010 as a deviant case with respect to the values promoting Conservation. Compared to earlier rounds their position relative to other values changed, but also relative to each other. I have no explanation at hand to clarify this phenomenon.

---

[113] I. Borg and P.J.F. Groenen (2005). *Modern Multidimensional Scaling – Theory and Applications*. New York: Springer, p. 13.

[114] A.M. Goodwill, L.J. Alison and M. Humann (2009). "Multidimensional Scaling and the Analyses of Sexual Offence Behaviour – A Reply to Sturidsson et al." In *Psychology, Crime & Law*, vol. 15:6, p. 518.

[115] SES 2002: Normalized Raw Stress: 0,038, Stress-I: 0,196, Stress-II: 0,539, S-Stress: 0,078, D.A.F.: 0,961, Tuckers Congruence Coefficient: 0,981. SES 2004: Normalized Raw Stress: 0,037, Stress-I: 0,192, Stress-II: 0,526, S-Stress: 0,074, D.A.F.: 0,963, Tuckers Congruence Coefficient: 0,981. SES 2006: Normalized Raw Stress: 0,037, Stress-I: 0,192, Stress-II: 0,538, S-Stress: 0,076, D.A.F.: 0,963, Tuckers Congruence Coefficient: 0,981. ESS 2008: Normalized Raw Stress: 0,038, Stress-I: 0,194, Stress-II: 0,544, S-Stress: 0,079, D.A.F.: 0,962, Tuckers Congruence Coefficient: 0,981. ESS 2010: Normalized Raw Stress: 0,039, Stress-I: 0,198, Stress-II: 0,554, S-Stress: 0,080, D.A.F.: 0,960, Tuckers Congruence Coefficient: 0,980.
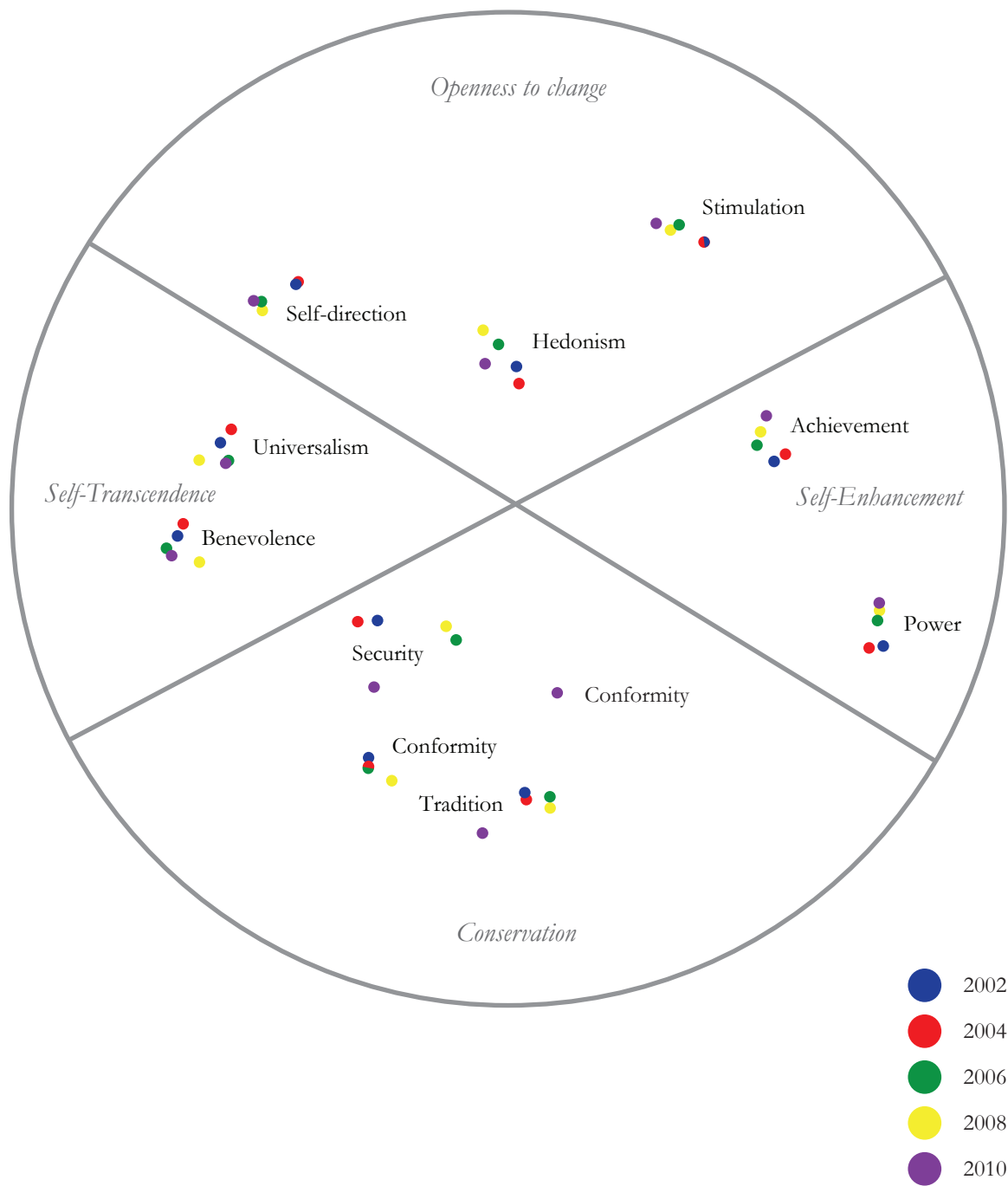
FIGURE 3. Representing the position of Schwartz' human values relative to each other within Dutch society for different rounds of the ESS. *The model is created using Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) Proxscal in SPSS.*
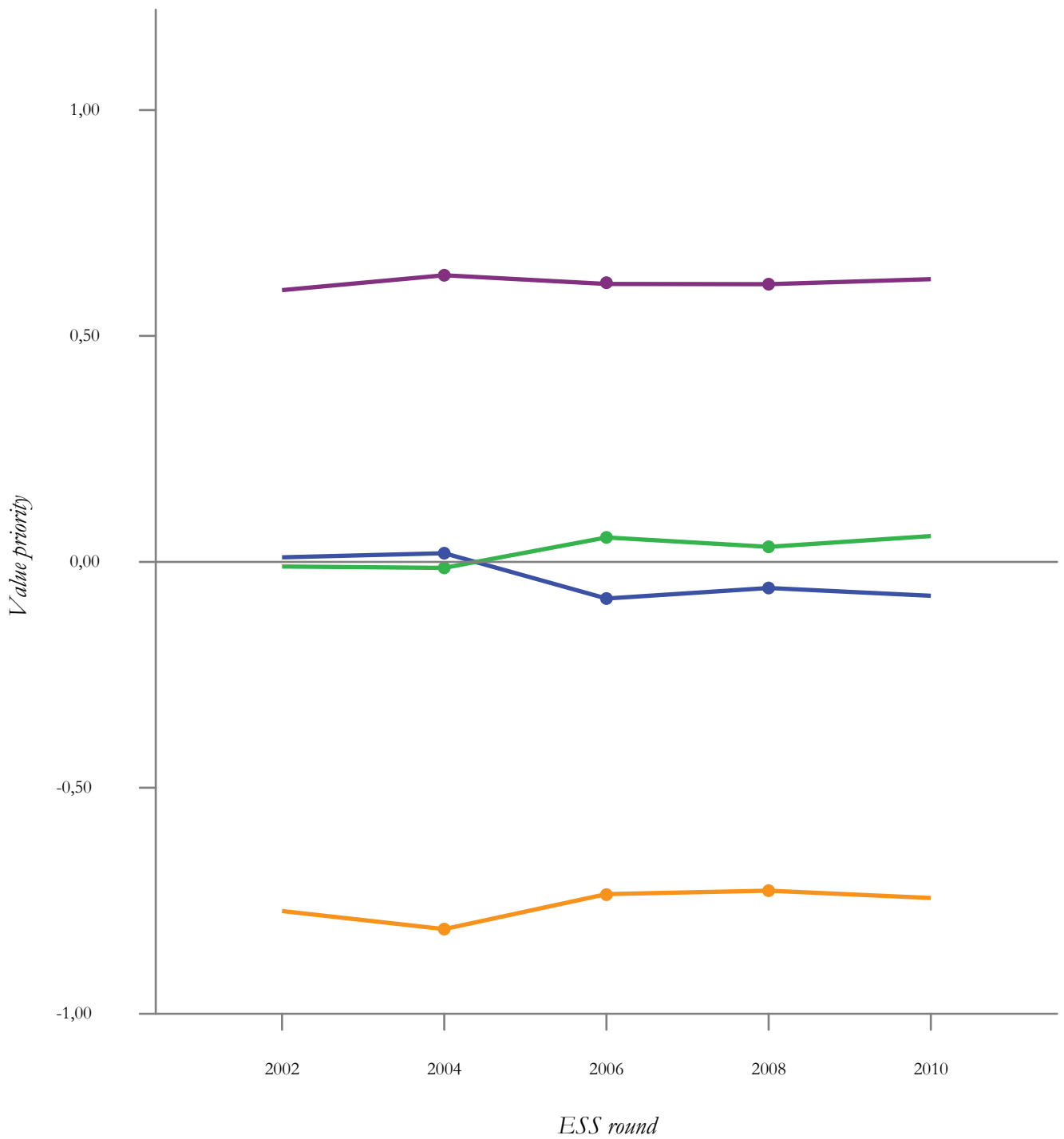
FIGURE 4. The development of the priority for the higher order value types in the Netherlands between 2002 and 2010. The value priority for the four higher order value types is placed around the mean (0) of the average value rating.

The development of the higher order value types is shown in FIGURE 4. As expected, it follows the structure of Schwartz' model: Conservation opposes Openness to change, whereas Self-Enhancement opposes Self-Transcendence. Although the presentation of Schwartz' universal human values as four higher order value types does result in losing some of the fine-tuned relations among the individual values, it makes assessing the development of the value priority over time more comprehensive.[116] The lack of insight into the fine tuned relations among the ten human values will be only apparent when using the human values as independent variables. Since the aim of this part of the thesis is to do an explorative study to the development of the value priority within Dutch society over time and for the sake of overview, I will use these higher order value types instead of the ten individual human values.

To assess whether the change in value priority for the higher order value types is significant over time, a Multivariate Analyses of Variance, a MANOVA is conducted to test the significance of the differences between the means of the five rounds of the ESS. The differences between the means of the priority for the higher order value types between 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2010 higher order value priorities are significant (Pillai's Trace (F = 3,607, p < .001), Wilk's Lambda (F = 3,612, p < .001), Hotelling's Trace (F = 3,615, p < .001) and Roy's largest root (F = 12,076, p < .001)). When assessing the differences for the individual higher order value types it becomes clear that the differences between all value types compared to 2002 are significant (at p < .001), except for the development of the Self-Transcendence higher order value type (p < .232). The development of Self-Transcendence over time is, as is already apparent in FIGURE 4, fairly stable over time and hence there is no significant difference between the means of this higher order value type in the different rounds of the ESS.

---

[116] European Social Study Education Net, http://essedunet.nsd.uib.no/cms/topics/1/5/all.html. Visited on 2012/04/29.

When exploring the development of the value priorities, the decline of the priority for the security value type and the Conservation higher order value type is somewhat remarkable in light of the salience of security and immigration issues in the Netherlands, issues that are usually associated with these value types. There is one plausible reason for this apparent decline in priority. The first round of the ESS was administered in 2002, relatively shortly after the 9/11 terrorist' attacks in the United States that fueled the debate on terrorism and national security around the world. Furthermore, the Netherlands experienced a rather turbulent political period during the spring of 2002. Pim Fortuyn and his new political party entered the stage. Fortuyn was known for criticizing the incumbent government for being too soft on crime and warned for the negative effects of the immigration of people from Islamic and non-western countries for Dutch culture and the quality of life. During the campaign, only days before the general elections, Fortuyn was killed, the first political assassination in recent Dutch history. Even after his passing, the orphaned party won, out of nothing, 24 seats in parliament but would soon collapse due to internal power struggles, conflicts and an apparent lack of discipline. The period between September 2001 and May 2002 was, in this respect, both national and globally a turbulent episode in recent history. This is a possible fruitful basis for an update of value priorities. After all, as said, values can be activated through cues, for example from political elite discourse or personal experiences, and hence get reprioritized. It is therefore possible that the priority of the security and adjacent value types in 2002 temporarily slightly increased due to the events both abroad and at home. In the period after 2002 we could witness the priority for the security and adjacent value types return to its "normal" level or, in case of an already longer trend downwards of this value type, its normal rate of decline in relative priority. Unfortunately there is no data from the ESS available from before 2002 since it was first administered that year. Moreover, samples based on Schwartz value theory (c.f. Schwartz, 1992) are failing to represent the data from the ESS for

two reasons. First of all, these samples are drawn from a population of teachers or other very small and rather non-representative groups and do not use the Portrait Value Questions (PVQ) that are used in the ESS. Using this information is therefore statistically useless. It is therefore impossible to falsify this. Future studies with access to more rounds of the ESS could probably answer this question more substantive, since the long-term development of the Conservation higher order value type could shed some light on this.

Another, more statistical reason for this decline might be that the priority given to the Conservation higher order value type got more polarized from 2002 onwards. As said, the saliency of issues concerning these value types may forces individuals to actively rethink their position on these issues and the human values associated with them. It is possible that people who were already tend to evaluate these values more important compared to their average value rating, increased their priority for Conservation values due to the saliency of the issues related to it. On the other hand, individuals who already maintained a value priority for values opposing the Conservation higher order value type, those who prioritize Openness to change, might have been encouraged to rate these more important than their average value evaluation. In other words: A polarization between conflicting value types may occur and hence, the average priority of this two conflicting value types can end up being nil. If this is a process that gradually took place between 2002 and 2010, looking solely at the average value priority could be misleading. An examination of the variance within the data over time does however not support this thesis since the variance within the data proves to be fairly stable between 2002 and 2010.

The apparent decline of the priority of the Conservation higher order value type also presents another implication of the human value system. It demonstrates the relative independence and stability of value priorities within a polity. Human values are, after all, broad goals and not specifically and

certainly not solely focused on politics or political phenomena. If we focus for example on immigration, an issue that is theoretically linked to the security value type and the Conservation higher order value type, it becomes apparent that the value priority declined in spite of the increased saliency and the negative framing of the issue (cf. Vliegenthart, 2007). One reasons for this could be that the personal experience of the individual in society did not match the message of the political elite and hence there was no reason to adept ones own value priority coherently. Another reason could be that the political cues were not properly translated into a priority change within the value system. The human values that are studied in this thesis are, as said, broad and basic personal values and not the core political values people may hold dear.[117] It could be that the core political values of individuals were indeed updated, but that their link to specific values has been broadened or changed otherwise. Whatever the path may be, taken into account the undisputed saliency of the issue, the results of *RQ1* underline the continuity and stability of human values within a society.

5.1 The development of value priority for specific antecedents of values

Gender

The position of the priority for the higher order value types relative to each other resembles the theoretical expectations I already outlined. The results can be found in FIGURE 5. As expected male respondents give a higher priority to Self-Enhancement and Openness to Change, consisting of values associated with promoting power, achievement –even at the expense of others[118]- and stimulation, whereas female respondents render the higher order value types of

[117] See S. Schwartz, G. Vittorio Caprara and M. vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses" in *Political Psychology*, Vol 31:3.
[118] H. Whitt Kilburn (2009). "Personal Values and Public Opinion" in *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 90:4, p. 872.

Conservation and Self-Transcendence more important, comprising values promoting family security, stability, equality, and the welfare of others. The trend in the development of the value priority between 2002 and 2010 is for both groups more or less similar and the difference in priority between male and female respondents is fairly stable over time. Two developments attract however attention: The development of the Self-Enhancement versus Self-Transcendence higher order value type and Conservation versus Openness to Change higher order value type within the female group. During the 2002 – 2010 period female respondents have gradually changed from prioritizing Conservation values over Openness to Change, to the contrary. This could be a result of the return of the value priorities to a 'pre 9/11 level', as I proposed earlier regarding the decline in value priority for conservation values in the Dutch society as a whole. Another possibility is that this change signals a trend towards a different role perception and socialization of females. This explanation is further strengthened by the change in priority for female respondents regarding Self-Enhancement values. The difference between male and female respondents in this respect declines gradually, even though the gap is still significant. If there is a trend where the difference between male and female value priority for the Self-Enhancement value type declines over time this should be visible in a more detailed study of the development of the value priority of female respondents over time and between age cohorts. Since the antecedents of value priority for gender are based both on evolutionary psychology and socialization, this possible effect is expected to be stronger for younger age cohorts. If female respondents are less socialized to fit within the 'normal' female gender role, then this effect should be stronger among younger women after all. The development of the value priority of female respondents per age cohort is shown in FIGURE APP-I in the appendix. In all three groups, women up to 30 years, 31 to 55 years and 56 years and older, there is a increase in the value priority of the Self-Enhancement values between 2002 and 2010. But, unlike I would expect based on the explanation I put forth above, the

increase appears not to be any stronger for the younger age cohorts. On the contrary: the increase over time in priority for Self-Enhancement values is stronger for both the 31 to 55 years old female respondents and the respondents of 56 years and older.
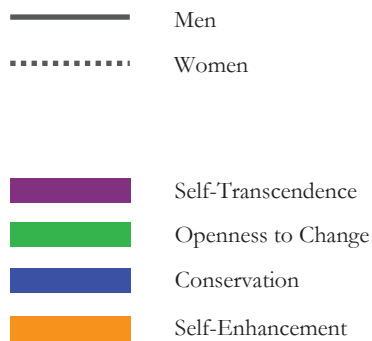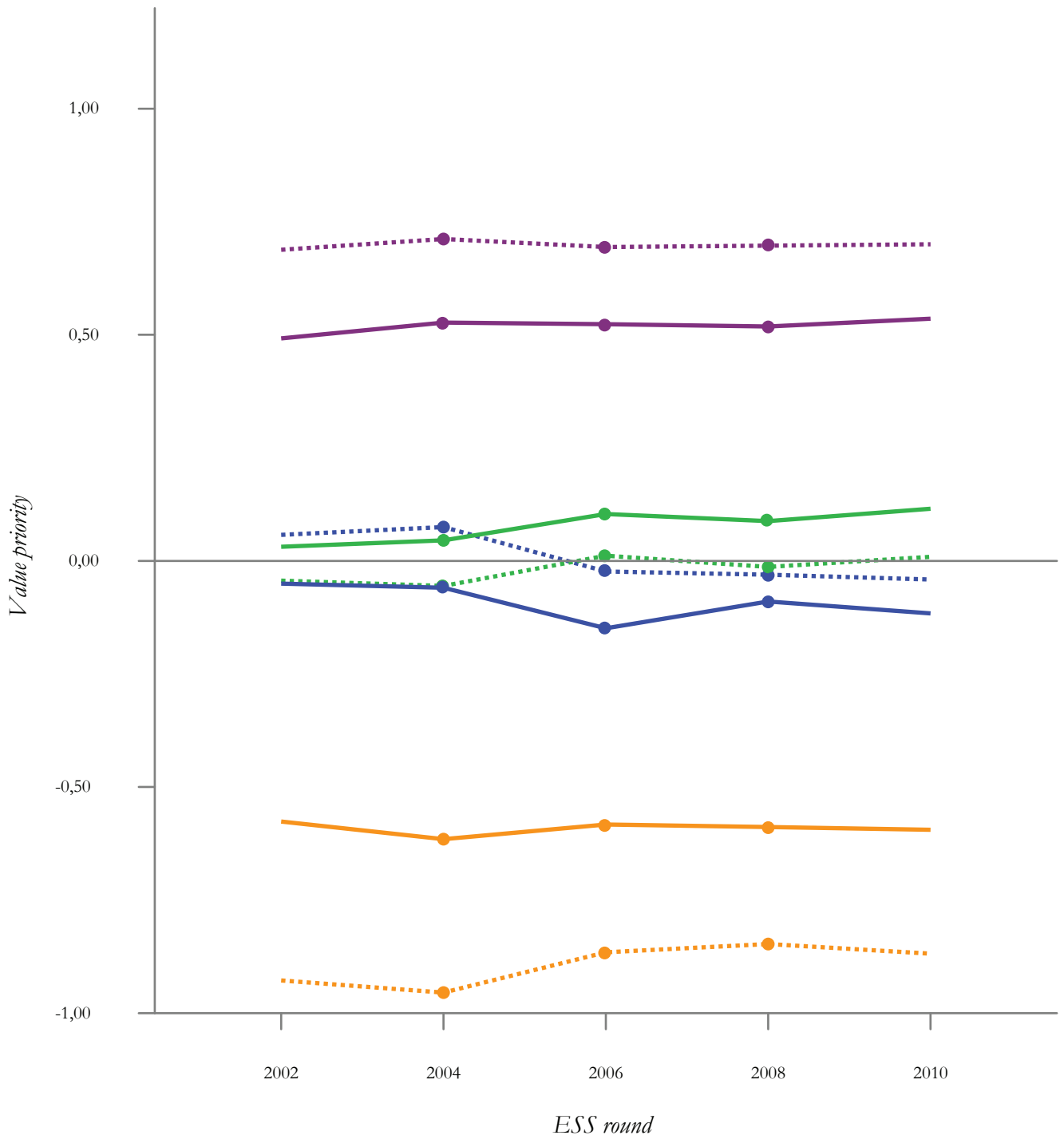
FIGURE 5. The development of the value priority for men and women between 2002 and 2010. The value priority for the four higher order value types is placed around the mean (0) of the average value rating.
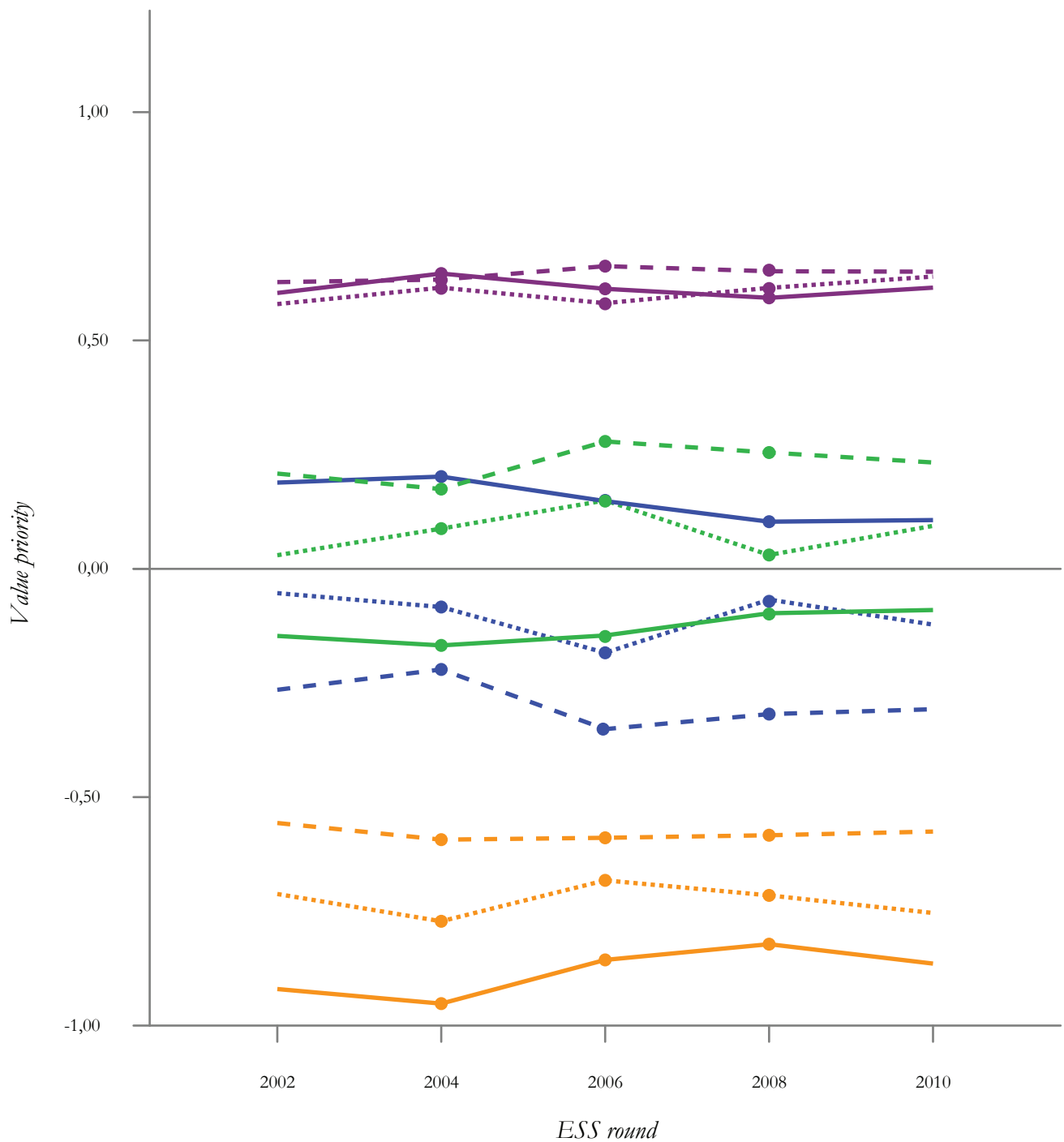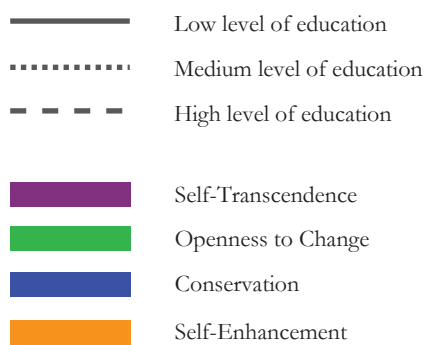
FIGURE 6. The development of the value priority for different levels of education between 2002 and 2010. The value priority for the four higher order value types is placed around the mean (0) of the average value rating.

Education

Education is expected to be an important antecedent of value priority. The results, displayed in FIGURE 6, support the theoretical expectations. Lower educated people give lower priority to the higher order value types Self-Enhancement and Openness to Change, comprising values such as power, achievement, self-direction, and stimulation, whereas the medium and higher educated respondents value these more important. The latter, as expected, value the Conservation higher order value type less important. Somewhat remarkable is the lack of difference between the education cohorts when it comes to the Self-Transcendence higher order value type, even though the differences on the opposing Self-Enhancement are fairly apparent. Education, it seems, has little effect on a priority for Self-Transcendence values, especially when compared to value antecedents such as age, gender and so forth.

Age

The result of the development of the value priority with the coming of age is shown in FIGURE 7. In this figure, representing the mean value priorities of the pooled data for the Dutch sample between 2002 and 2010, the respondents are grouped per ten years at the x-axis. The priority for Self-Enhancement, promoting values such as power and achievement, decreases linear with the coming of age. The change in trade-off between values promoting Conservation and Openness to Change is also apparent. Priority for Conservation gradually increases and accelerates from about 50 years old and becomes more important than Openness to Change for people older than about 60 years of age. Self-Transcendence finally, gradually increases in importance to about 50 years of age and after that more or less stabilizes. The development of the value priority is strikingly linear with the coming of age and this supports the theoretical psychological underpinnings of the human value system. There are, as said, two reasons to expect a change in value priority when one becomes older. First of all, there is the decline in cognitive

ability and willingness to cope with change. This is apparent in a gradual change in the trade-off between the higher order value types Conservation and Openness to Change. The other reason for changing value priority is the change in actual needs when growing older. When one becomes older the need for achievement and power decreases because of several reasons. The competition between males, following the evolutionary psychology, becomes less present and the need to perform for example career perspectives also declines. This is also visible in FIGURE 7, where the priority for the Self-Enhancement higher order value type decreases linear.

The development of the value priority for different age cohorts over time is shown in FIGURE APP-II in the appendix. To present the development more comprehensive respondents are grouped in cohorts of 30 years. The priority of the three age cohorts for the higher order value types resembles the overall development of the value priority in the Netherlands. There is one notable difference: The decline of the priority for the Conservation value within the 0-30 age cohort is rather small or even stabilizing compared to the two older age cohorts. A reason for this could be that respondents from this cohort are partially socialized during the past decade and hence have another value structure from the beginning on. As stated earlier, it is not unthinkable that after 2002 the priority for values promoting Conservation returned to its more or less "normal" position within the Dutch human value system. Obviously, this is only possible if a respondent already had a fully developed value priority structure before 2002 to return to, as will not be the case for young respondents that are partially socialized during a turbulent period.[119] Again, the relative short period under investigation renders it impossible to answer this

---

[119] It is important to note that there is some controversy among scholars on socialization. See for a discussion on this topic T.E. Cook (1985). "The Bear Market in Political Socialization and the Costs of Misunderstood Psychological Theories" in *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 79:4, pp. 1079 – 1093 or D.O. Sears (1989). "Whither Political Socialization Research? The Question of Persistence." In *Political Socialization, Citizenship Education, and Democracy,* ed. O. Ichilov. New York: Teachers College Press.

question. Further research, especially when future rounds of the ESS are available, is needed.

Religiosity

In FIGURE 8 the development of the value priority for not or little religious respondents versus religious or very religious respondents is shown. The trend matches the overall development: The priority for Conservation values is in decline, whereas the priority for Openness to Change values increases. Notable is the small difference and even convergence over time between the priority for the higher order value type Self-Transcendence, promoting values such as universalism and benevolence, for not or little religious respondents and religious or very religious respondents. This result resembles the findings of Rokeach (1973) who finds, contrary to his expectations, that "despite the fact that Christianity teaches love and charity (…) [the data does] not support the proposition that Christians place a greater value than non-Christians on being loving or helpful."[120]

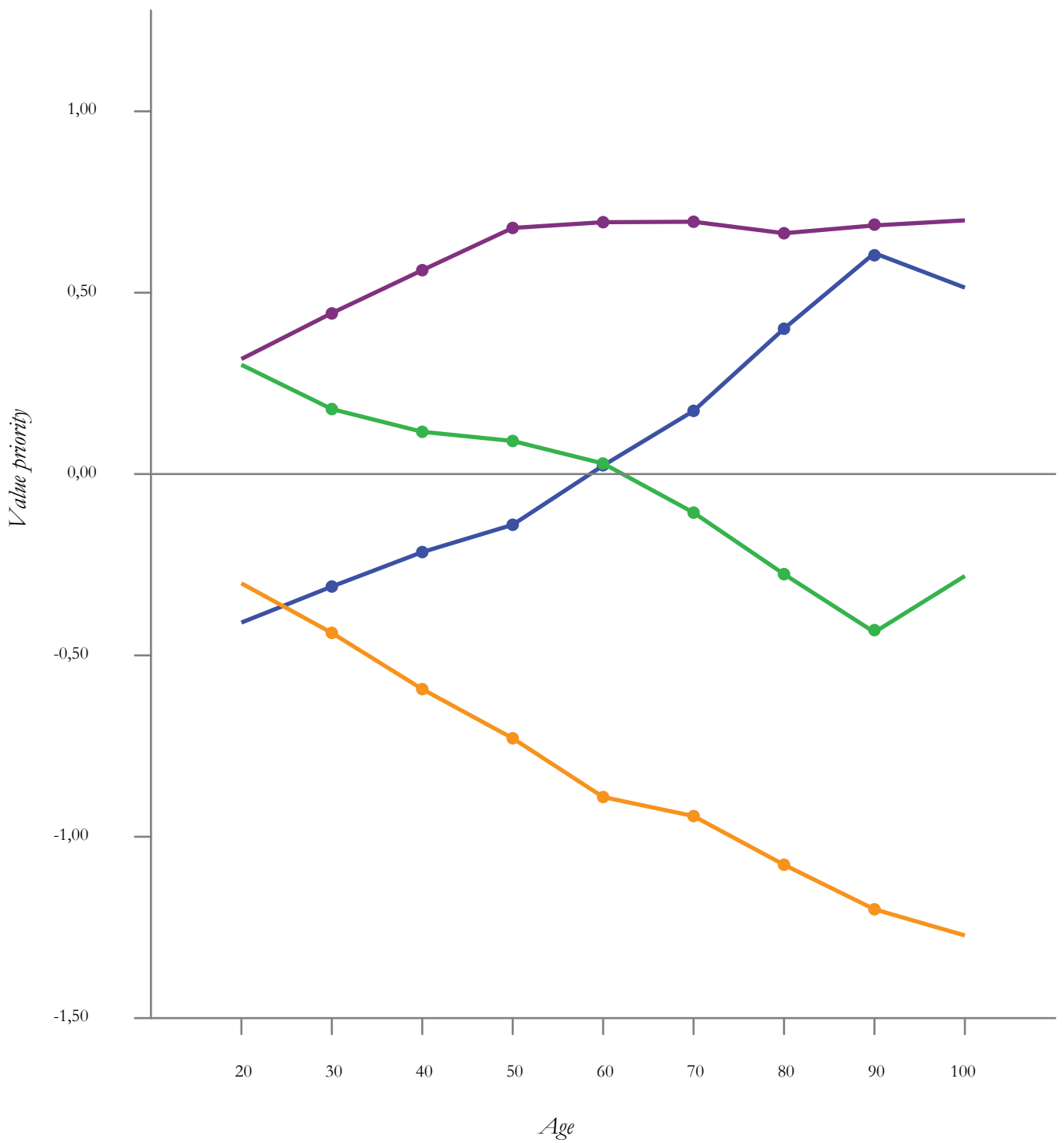[120] Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press, p. 83.

FIGURE 7. The development of the priority for the higher order value types with the coming of age. The value priority for the four higher order value types is placed around the mean (0) of the average value rating.
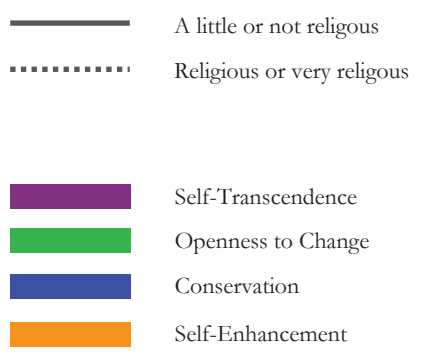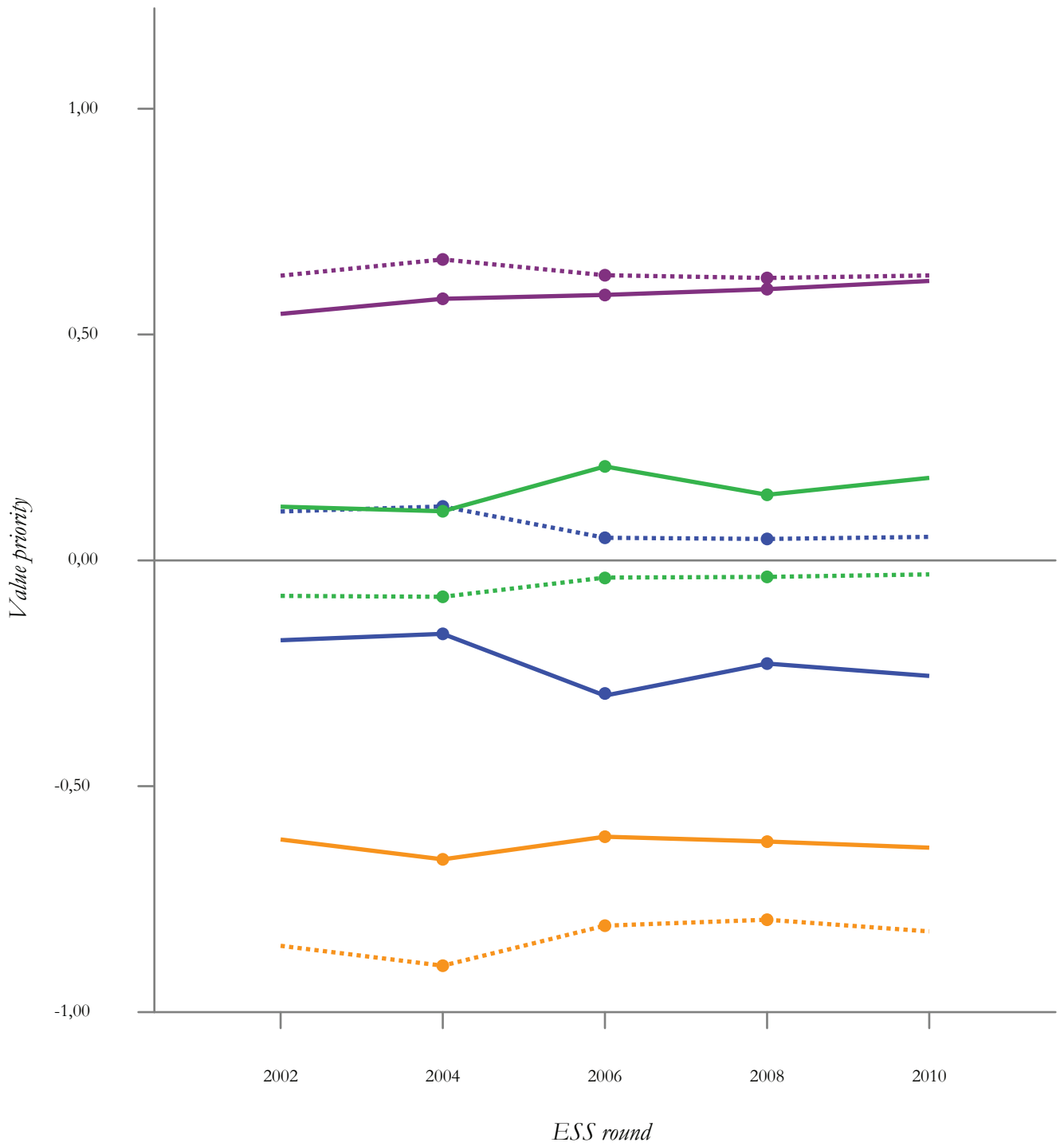
FIGURE 8. The development of the value priority for religiosity between 2002 and 2010. The value priority for the four higher order value types is placed around the mean (0) of the average value rating.

Legend:
- A little or not religous
- Religious or very religous
- Self-Transcendence
- Openness to Change
- Conservation
- Self-Enhancement

Ideology

As with age, it is first interesting to assess whether the value priorities for self-placement on a left-right scale changes gradually when one goes from left to right on the ideology continuum. This development is shown in FIGURE 9. The change in priority for the higher order value types does indeed change more or less gradually, except for outliers both on the extreme left and right side of the continuum. When one moves from the left to the right, the priority for Self-Enhancement, promoting the value types power and achievement, and Conservation, promoting the value types security, tradition and conformity, increases. The priority for the latter quickly rises between 2 and the centre position (5) and then slightly increases further. The priority for Self-Transcendence, promoting the value types benevolence and universalism, and Openness to Change, representing the value types self-direction and stimulation, on the other hand, declines when moving from left to right on the ideology continuum. An interesting, but also expected finding is that people placing themselves in the centre of the left-right continuum (5 – 6) do also find themselves in the middle of the Conservation – Openness to Change dimension.

To assess the development of the value priority for the different ideology groups over time, FIGURE APP-III is created. This figure can be found in the appendix. The respondents are grouped into three groups, left (0 – 3), center (4 – 6) and right (7 – 10). Again, the development of the value priorities matches the overall development of value priority within Dutch society between 2002 and 2010.
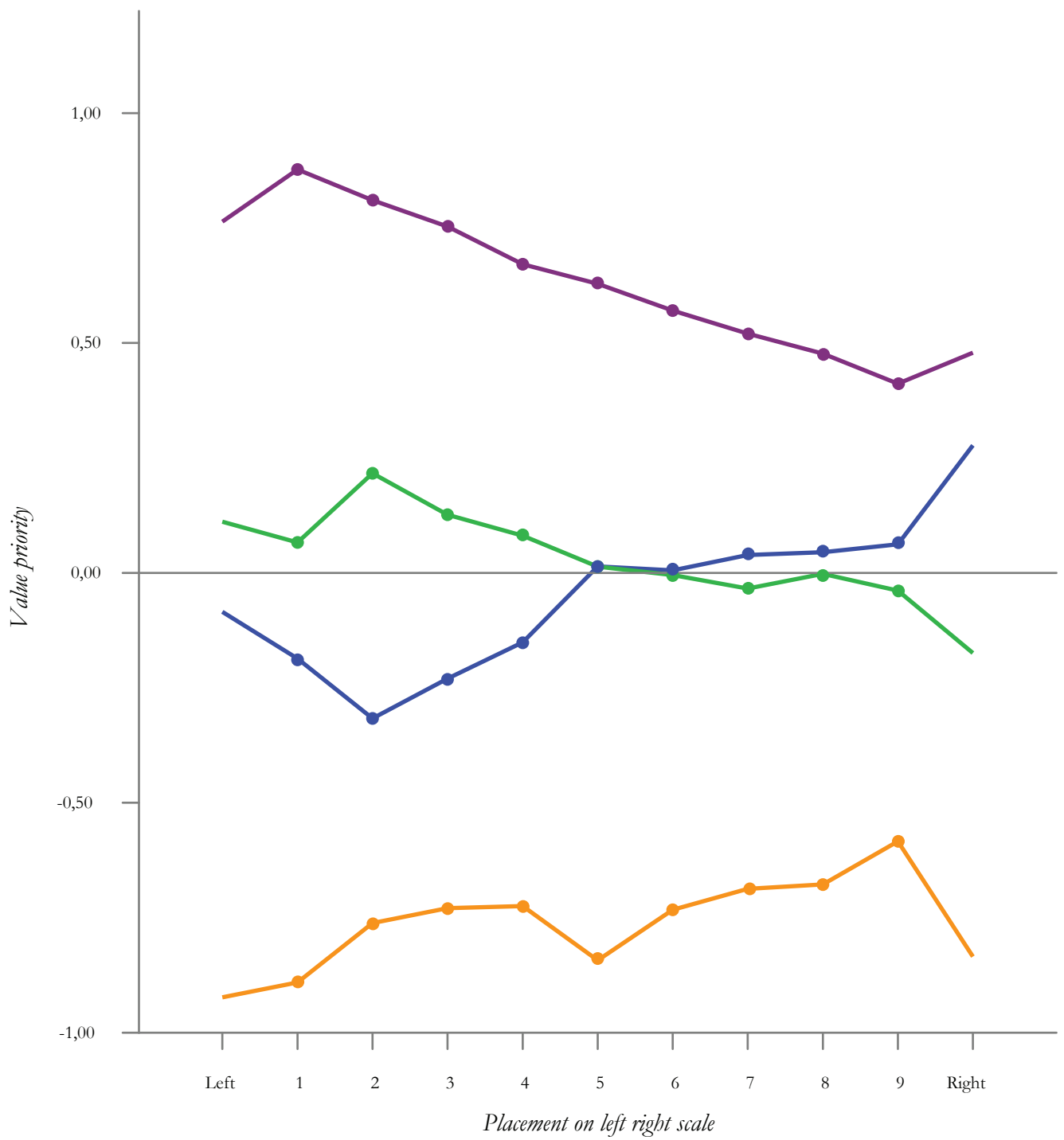
FIGURE 9. The lines present the development of the value priority for self-placement on the left-right ideology continuum. The value priority for the four higher order value types is placed around the mean (0) of the average value rating.

5.2 Value priority and the attitude towards immigration

Higher order value type trade-off and the attitude towards immigration

The aim of hypotheses *H1* and *H2* is to test the relation between the trade-off of higher order value types and the attitude towards immigration. The attitude towards immigration is measured using the immigration attitude scale, consisting of three questions that are part of all ESS-rounds thus far. As independent variables the trade-off between the two higher order value type dimensions is used, Openness to Change – Conservation (OCCO) and Self-Transcendence – Self-Enhancement (STSE). For the latter an interaction effect was expected with the respondents' the level of education. The results of the regression analyses can be found in TABLE 5. For every round of the ESS the unstandardized regression coefficients are displayed (*B*) and the corresponding standard error (*SE*). The trade-off between the Conservation and Openness to Change higher order type proves to be a strong predictor of the attitude towards immigration. A priority for values constituting the Openness to Change higher order type over values promoting the Conservation higher order type does significantly predict a positive attitude towards immigration as was stated in hypothesis *H1*. The effect was in all rounds significant and varied between 0,458 (2010) and 0,753 (2006). The trade-off on the other dimension, STSE, was expected to interact with the level of education. For the STSE-dimension an interaction effect was expected with the level of education. The results of this interaction effect can be found in FIGURE 10. Here, the unstandardized coefficient (*B*) for the STSE trade-off is conditioned for the level of education. In all rounds the effect of the STSE trade-off contributed to a positive attitude towards immigration, regardless of the level of education. In all rounds, except for 2006, the interaction with a higher level of education makes a positive contribution to the strength of the predictor. The explorations of the value priority of different groups within Dutch society showed that higher educated people value Self-Enhancement values, such as

achievement and power, significantly higher than lower educated respondents. The effect of the interaction for higher educated respondents indicates therefore that however the STSE trade-off may render for this group a lower priority of Self-Transcendence over Self-Enhancement, the strength of the predictor increases. This supports hypothesis *H2*, which states that the level of education mitigates the negative effect of a priority for Self-Enhancement values, notably the power value type, on the attitude towards immigration. A priority for values promoting Self-Transcendence over Self-Enhancement thus predicts a positive attitude towards immigration, albeit not significant and with varying strength. A possible explanation is twofold. First of all, the Self-Transcendence higher order value type comprises the benevolence and universalism value types. Both value types are associated with pro-social goals, but are directed towards two different groups. Whereas universalism is directed towards all people, benevolence is solely directed towards the in-group. When it comes to immigration these two values might work in another direction. Universalism can be positively correlated with a positive attitude towards immigration, whereas benevolence can have a negative correlation with a positive attitude towards immigration. The same holds for the other end of the dimension, the Self-Enhancement higher order value type. Self-Enhancement is also composed of two values that might have different outcomes for the attitude towards immigration. Achievement is, as theorized for hypothesis *H3a*, expected to correlate positively with the attitude towards immigration, whereas power is theorized to have a negative correlation with the attitude towards immigration.

Of all control variables that were included in the model, education and left-right self-placement made the most solid contribution and were both significant in all rounds of the ESS. As expected higher educated people are more likely to have a positive attitude towards immigration. The effect of the left-right self-placement was also as expected: the more people place

themselves to the right of the left-right continuum, the more negative their attitude towards immigration. The contribution of religiosity, gender and age varies between the five rounds of the ESS just as their significance.

TABLE 5   *Immigration Attitude Scale and Higher Order Value Types trade-off 2002 - 2010*

	2002		2004		2006		2008		2010	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Openness to Change – Conservation (OCCO)	0,505**	0,097	0,466**	0,110	0,753**	0,107	0,704**	0,116	0,458**	0,108
Self-Transcendence – Self-Enhancement (STSE)	0,216	0,231	0,092	0,272	0,656*	0,259	-0,200	0,266	0,110	0,250
STSE * Level of Education	0,122	0,120	0,144	0,136	-0,158	0,129	0,256	0,138	0,219	0,122
Level of education	0,960**	0,219	1,260**	0,236	1,403**	0,217	0,615**	0,225	0,935**	0,203
Self-placement left-right scale	-0,433**	0,051	-0,403**	0,060	-0,453**	0,053	-0,416**	0,058	-0,501**	0,057
Religiosity	0,115**	0,036	0,120*	0,042	0,171**	0,037	0,079*	0,039	0,038	0,037
Gender	-0,605*	0,209	-0,639*	0,274	-0,038	0,220	-0,217	0,231	-0,202	0,228
Age	-0,027**	0,007	-0,009	0,008	0,003	0,007	-0,015*	0,007	0,002	0,007
Respondents average value rating	-0,356	0,219	0,344	0,245	0,225	0,237	-0,138	0,227	-0,146	0,243
Constant	18,661**	1,111	14,047**	1,315	13,778*	1,242	18,580**	1,208	17,468**	1,257
Adjusted R²	0,125		0,122		0,149		0,125		0,159	
F	34,048**		26,609**		33,176**		25,910**		31,868**	
N	2080		1661		1656		1575		1473	

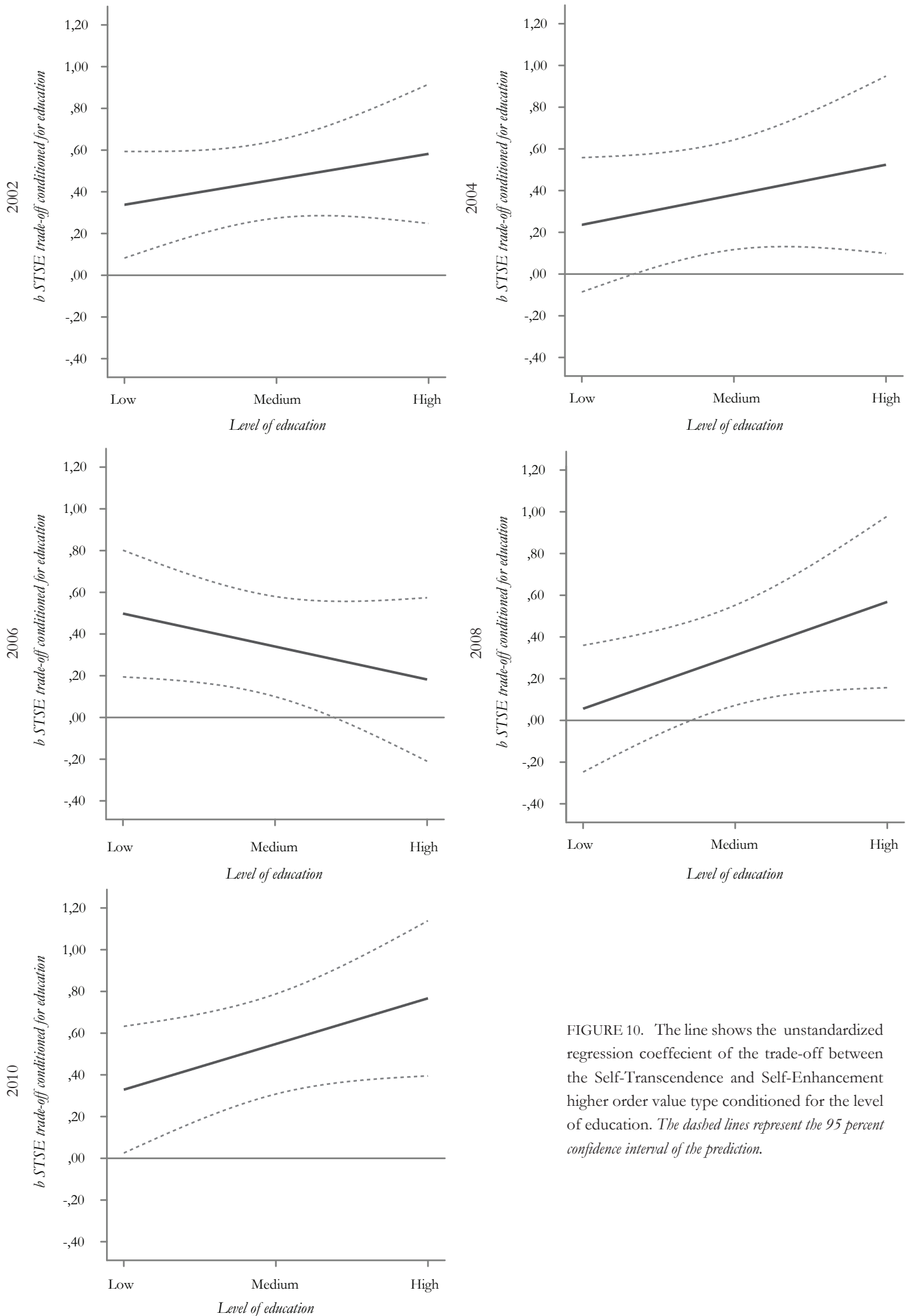* Significant at $p < 0,05$ ** Significant at $p < 0,001$

FIGURE 10. The line shows the unstandardized regression coeffecient of the trade-off between the Self-Transcendence and Self-Enhancement higher order value type conditioned for the level of education. *The dashed lines represent the 95 percent confidence interval of the prediction.*

Individual value type trade-off and the attitude towards immigration

To test hypothesis *H3*, the relation between the attitude on the influence of immigration on the Dutch economy and the conflicting pairs of value types, a series of regression analyses were conducted, for each round of the ESS one. The results can be found in TABLE 6. Again, the unstandardized coefficients (*B*) are displayed with their respective standard error (*SE*) for each variable included in the model. The results of the trade-off between the pairs of conflicting values were as hypothesized: a priority for universalism over power (UNPO) and self-direction over security (SDSE) does positively contribute to the attitude towards immigration and economy. Furthermore, with respect to the achievement – benevolence trade-off, the ACBE-dimension an interaction effect was expected with the level of education, the results of this interaction are shown in FIGURE 11. This graph shows the effect on the unstandardized regression coefficient (*B*) for the ACBE trade-off when conditioned for the level of education. The effect of the interaction between the ACBE trade-off and the level of education is rather small, but does in all rounds support the direction as hypothesized. For the 2010 ESS-round this interaction appears to make a significant contribution. The strength of the unstandardized coefficient (*B*) for the ACBE trade-off decreases with higher levels of education. Hence, a priority for the achievement value type over the benevolence value type is a stronger predictor for lower levels of education than for people with a higher level of education. This contributes to the strength of values as predictors of behavior: For people who are, because of multiple antecedents, expected to have a more negative attitude towards immigration, a priority for achievement does contribute more than for people who were a priori expected to have a more positive contribution. Overall, the ACBE trade-off proves to contribute to a positive attitude towards immigration and economy. The strength of the UNPO dimension varies between 0,076 (2010) and 0,141 (2008) and is significant in three rounds of the ESS. The strongest predictor is the SDSE-dimension, which

is significant for all rounds of the ESS and varies between 0,128 (2002) and 0,219 (2008).

Of all control variables included in the model, the level of education, the self-placement on the left-right continuum, age, and gender rendered the strongest effect and were, except for age, significant in all rounds of the ESS.

Overall, the analyses of the relation between these specific conflicting value trade-offs sketch a fairly stable pattern of this relation over time. The trade-off of all pairs of conflicting value types contribute to the attitude towards immigration and economy. If we look at the spatial model of the value structure in the Netherlands (FIGURE 3) the regression analyses would suggest a conflict line for this issue in the middle of the circular model. The higher order value type of Conservation opposing Openness to Change and dividing the both higher order value types in the middle of the model. Benevolence and power are in this case part of the Conservation-group of values, whereas achievement and universalism are added to the Openness to Change-group of values. This would also meet the assumption of Schwartz that any correlations with an outside variable tend to decrease monotonically around the model.

TABLE 6 *Attitude immigration on economy with value trade-off 2002 - 2010*

	2002		2004		2006		2008		2010	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Achievement – Benevolence (ACBE)	0,116	0,084	0,112	0,091	0,178	0,094	0,156	0,098	0,177	0,92
Universalism – Power (UNPO)	0,138**	0,041	0,127*	0,046	0,121	0,046	0,141*	0,047	0,076	0,047
Self-direction – Security (SDSE)	0,128**	0,036	0,157**	0,040	0,191**	0,042	0,219**	0,039	0,167**	0,041
ACBE * level of education	-0,026	0,042	-0,029	0,046	-0,021	0,046	-0,025	0,049	-0,109*	0,045
Level of education	0,363**	0,070	0,519**	0,078	0,407**	0,075	0,299**	0,077	0,312**	0,074
Self-placement left-right scale	-0,135**	0,021	-0,126**	0,024	-0,128**	0,023	-0,090**	0,016	-0,144**	0,025
Religiosity	0,049**	0,015	0,026	0,016	0,061**	0,015	0,009	0,016	0,003	0,016
Gender	-0,415**	0,086	-0,315**	0,099	-0,246*	0,093	-0,330**	0,094	-0,317**	0,098
Age	-0,002	0,003	0,008*	0,003	0,006*	0,003	0,002	0,003	0,007*	0,003
Respondents average value rating	-0,248*	0,090	0,052	0,097	0,061	0,100	-0,004	0,093	-0,034	0,104
Constant	6,276**	0,449	3,884**	0,511	4,512**	0,512	5,472**	0,490	5,449**	0,538
Adjusted R²	0,087		0,100		0,099		0,083		0,107	
F	21,266**		19,785**		19,455**		15,469**		18,964**	
N	2131		1689		1684		1600		1504	

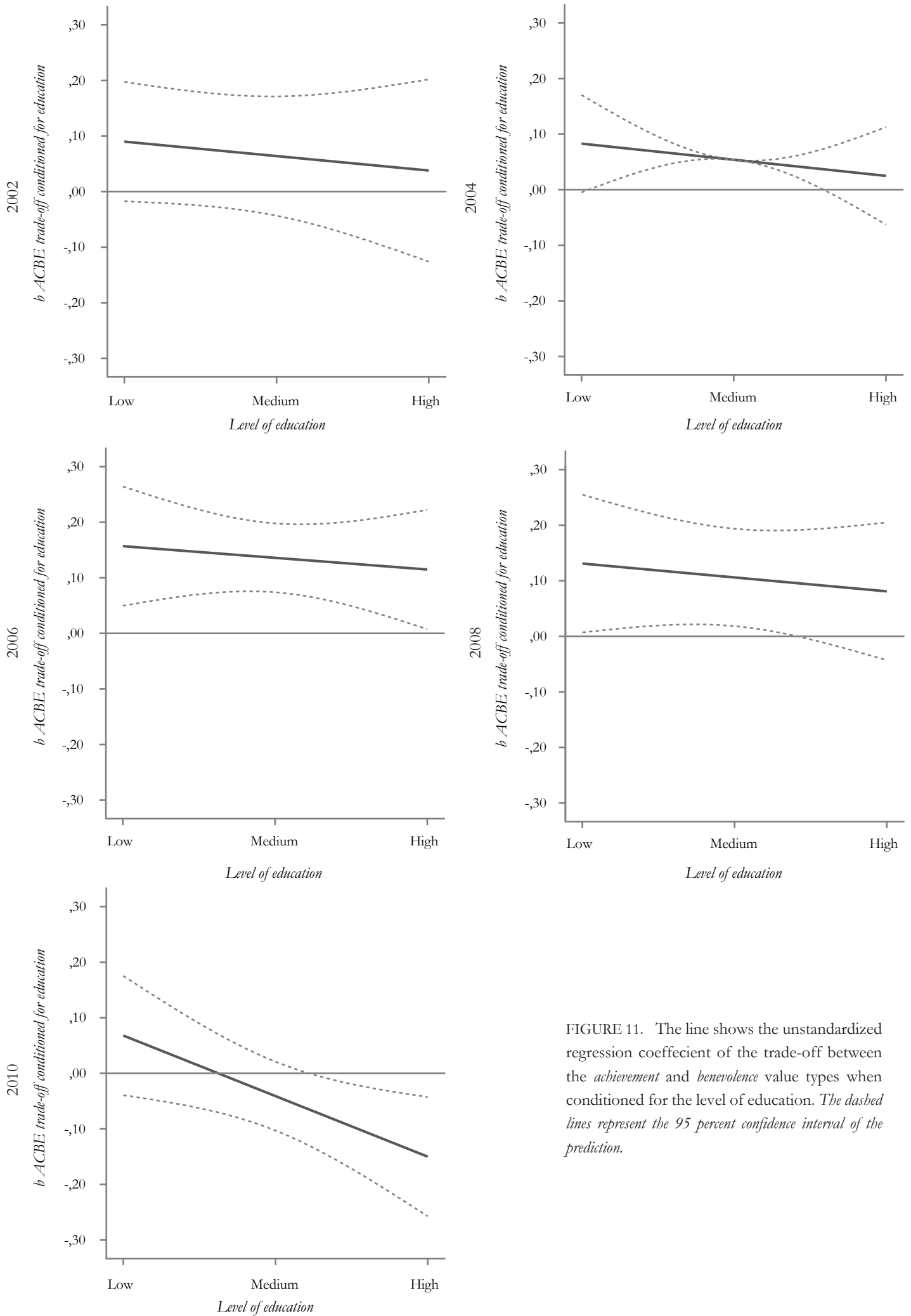* Significant at p < 0,05   ** Significant at p < 0,001

FIGURE 11. The line shows the unstandardized regression coeffecient of the trade-off between the *achievement* and *benevolence* value types when conditioned for the level of education. *The dashed lines represent the 95 percent confidence interval of the prediction.*

The results for the linear regression analyses that were conducted to test hypothesis *H4* can be found in TABLE 7. To test the relation between value types trade-off and the attitude towards immigration and culture, three pairs of conflicting value types were included in the model. These are self-direction – conformity (SDCO), stimulation – tradition (STTR), and universalism – security (UNSE). Of these, the strongest effect of the trade-off is within the UNSE-dimension. In all rounds of the ESS the contribution of this trade-off to the attitude on immigration and culture is positive and significant. Also in the analyses performed for hypothesis *H3*, a trade-off with the security value type proved to be significant predictor for the attitude towards immigration and economy. This is not surprising since it is expected that the overall attitude towards immigration and hence the specific immigration attitudes are closely related. The STTR-dimension proved also to have a positive contribution to the attitude on immigration and culture. A higher priority for stimulation when traded-off against tradition attributes positively to the attitude an individual holds. The SDCO-dimension renders for four rounds of the ESS a positive contribution to the attitude towards immigration and culture. In two of these rounds (2006 and 2008) the effect was also significant. However, compared to the other two conflicting pairs of value types, the contribution is rather small and unstable over time.

The control variables level of education and the self-placement on the left-right scale made also an important contribution to the attitude towards immigration and culture. Contrary to the outcome of the analyses for hypothesis *H3*, gender played no meaningful role in the analyses conducted for hypothesis *H4*. The reason for this notable difference is expected to be a result of the inclusion of Self-Enhancement values in the model to test hypothesis *H3*. The exploration of the differences in value priority for several antecedents of value priority presented that woman value Self-Enhancement strongly lower

than men (see FIGURE 5). Apparently, this influence of gender on value priority and hence on the attitude became also apparent in the analyses.

The analyses for the five rounds of the ESS provide a fairly stable pattern of the relation of the trade-off of the conflicting value types and the attitude towards immigration and culture. Again, all hypothesized pairs of conflicting value types contribute to the attitude on immigration, albeit not all significant. Again the strongest effect is noticeable with the trade-off of the security value type. The results of the analyses conducted for hypothesis *H4* do fit with the proposed conflict line with respect to this attitude within the circular Dutch value structure.

TABLE 7   *Attitude immigration on cultural life with value trade-off 2002 - 2010*

	2002		2004		2006		2008		2010	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Self-Direction – Conformity (SDCO)	-0,017	0,039	0,051	0,044	0,147**	0,043	0,093*	0,042	0,043	0,040
Stimulation – Tradition (STTR)	0,168**	0,033	0,106*	0,037	0,098*	0,036	0,082*	0,035	0,125**	0,035
Universalism – Security (UNSE)	0,310**	0,043	0,295**	0,049	0,222**	0,046	0,251**	0,048	0,262**	0,045
Level of education	0,372**	0,055	0,517**	0,059	0,405**	0,057	0,354**	0,056	0,403**	0,051
Self-placement left-right scale	-0,138**	0,022	-0,172**	0,024	-0,181**	0,022	-0,166**	0,023	-0,190**	0,023
Religiosity	0,034*	0,015	0,051*	0,012	0,055**	0,015	0,026	0,016	0,033*	0,015
Gender	0,054	0,086	0,020	0,097	0,186**	0,088	0,165**	0,091	0,117	0,089
Age	-0,013**	0,003	-0,007*	0,003	0,000	0,003	-0,009*	0,003	-0,003	0,003
Respondents' average value rating	0,061	0,093	0,286*	0,098	0,118	0,098	0,102	0,094	-0,018	0,098
Constant	6,277**	0,464	4,675**	0,511	5,177**	0,497	5,916**	0,484	6,223**	0,504
Adjusted R²	0,128		0,144		0,148		0,130		0,161	
F	36,233**		32,692**		33,550**		27,691**		33,248**	
N	2155		1703		1690		1614		1510	

* Significant at p < 0,05   ** Significant at p < 0,001

6

Conclusion

In this study the development of the value priority within Dutch society between 2002 and 2010 was explored and the relation between value priority and the attitude towards immigration was tested. The aim was to study the strength of the value theory and its assumptions in the Dutch sample and to test the relation between value priority and the attitude towards immigration. The longitudinal character of the study made it possible to follow the Dutch value priority throughout a political and social moving decade in the Netherlands and abroad. Furthermore, it enables me to draw more substantial conclusions on the relation between value priority and the attitude towards immigration because every relation could be tested for five consecutive rounds of the ESS.

The exploration to the development of the value priority within the Dutch presented evidence that supports the assumptions of Schwartz' value structure. The spatial relation between the value types through multiple MDS-analyses, as can be seen in FIGURE 3, proved to be highly stable and mirrors the structure found by Schwartz in other samples around the world. The notable difference between the results of the spatial model in this study and others is the position of some values within their respective higher order value type, for example the position of the security, tradition, and conformity value types. This can however be attributed to the fact that in this study the model is spontaneous created instead of using pre-proposed positions of the value types in the model as is done by other authors. The latter increases the stress of the model, but can still render significant results. The structure of the value system is again confirmed in the graphs created to explore the development of the ten universal human value types over time. Changes in priority for one value type is accompanied by a change in the priority for the conflicting value type, see

for example FIGURE 4. Furthermore, the stability of the value priority is notable stable over time. The changes between 2002 and 2010, all significant except for the Self-Transcendence higher order value type, all followed a stable trend. The decrease in priority for the Conservation higher order value type is somewhat remarkable. Although no hypotheses were stated concerning the development of the priority, one would logically expect that, taken into account the saliency of the issues related to this value type, such as immigration, crime and national identity, this value type would increase in priority or at least stabilizes. The data from the ESS present the contrary: Priority for values constituting the Conservation higher order type declines over time. An explanation for this apparent decline is also provided. It is not unthinkable that due to the impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the political turbulent period in the Netherlands during 2002 the priority for Conservation values temporarily increased and steadily returned to its normal level or, which can also not be excluded, normal level of decline of relative importance. As said, there is no data available to state anything empirically meaningful with respect to this explanation because of a lack of useable data from before the first round of the ESS in 2002. Future rounds of the ESS however, should be able to shed more light on this somewhat unexpected development. Shifts in value priority happen however very slowly over time, as theory already assumes, so the eight years currently studied are expected to be too short to make any sound statements on the future of Dutch value priority. If we try to do so, we might conclude that, when looking at the development of the higher order value types, a trend where Openness to Change will get more prioritized over Conservation is visible. This is also apparent if we examine the development of the individual value types in FIGURE 2. If, as assumed by Rockeach, the expected long term trends in value priority holds up, then we might expect a continuation of this trend in the years to come. But, again, since there are reasons to understand the drop of priority for values promoted by the Conservation higher order value type not as a trend, but as a correction on a

temporarily increase of this priority, future rounds of the ESS are necessary to make any sound statements. Moreover, the apparent development of the priority for the higher order value type underlines the stability, continuity and relative independence of the value system and value structure. This relative stability and independence of the human value priority is expected by value theory and is confirmed by the results of the research questions in this thesis.

When we explore the development of the value priority in the Netherlands for different important antecedents of the value priority, such as the level of education, age, gender, religiosity and political ideology, the results from the exploration confirm the expectations of the value theory for the average value priority for each of the antecedents. Furthermore, there are no meaningful deviations in the development of value priority between the antecedents of value priority. All groups follow more or less the same pattern visible for the whole Dutch sample: a decrease in priority for Conservation values and an increase in priority for values promoting Openness to Change. A notable exception is the apparent stabilization of Conservation values within the youngest age cohort (see figure AP-II in the appendix). Contrary to other age cohorts the value priority does not follow the trend downwards. It is suggested that this is related to their partial, but profound socialization during the last decade. Future research with access to more rounds of the ESS is necessary to further study this phenomenon. The other dimensions developed between 2002 and 2010 for every antecedent of value priority in a stable way: Self-Transcendence was more or less stable throughout the years, whereas the priority for Self-Enhancement values steadily increased. The development of these two higher order value types, independent of each other, is again an indication that they may not constitute one dimension as expected by theory. In other words: the relation between some values within these higher order value types dimension may not be conflicting or be conflicting within its own

higher order value type. The results of the analyses for hypotheses *H3* and *H4* do also indicate this thesis.

The analyses of the relation between priorities for values and the attitude towards immigration, as stated in hypotheses *H1*, *H2*, *H3,* and *H4*, have rendered a clear image of the relation. First, the relation between an overall attitude towards immigration and a priority for the higher order value type was tested. The analyses made clear that not all of these higher dimensions make sense with respect to specific attitudes. Conservation and Openness to Change proved to be a consequent predictor of the attitude, but the other dimension, Self-Transcendence and Self-Enhancement, did not render a satisfying result. This can be explained twofold. First of all, Conservation versus Openness to Change is the most strongly associated dimension with this specific attitude and hence, following the logic of Schwartz' monotonically decrease of association, the associations with values positioned in the middle of this dimension will be lower. But more important, for this specific issue, immigration, there appears to be only one dimension within the value structure apparent. This line of conflict separates the values within the Self-Transcendence and Self-Enhancement higher order value types and creates a new dimension with the Conservation higher order value type including power and benevolence, opposing the Openness to Change higher order value type including universalism and achievement. This is also supported by the analyses to test hypotheses *H3* and *H4*. This result, which is apparent in every analysis, differs from other studies that only tested one round of the ESS or only included simple correlations. When it comes to explaining specific political behavior, such as attitudes, the value structure as proposed by Schwartz, and notably the higher order value types, should be operationalized and handled with care. However, when choosing the right trade-off between conflicting pairs of values, the value priority of the individual does prove to be an important predictor of attitudes. This conclusion is strengthened by the

stability of the tested relations over time. Furthermore, the results prove that despite the saliency of the immigration issue the relations between the value type trade-off and the attitude remained stable and predictable.

The Schwartz' value system in the ESS, measured by the Portrait Value Questionnaire, proved to supply a good tool to study developments within society when it comes to value priority and the relation between value priority and the attitude towards immigration. There are however some drawbacks of the use of Schwartz' PVQ as deployed in the ESS. Since the space for the PVQ module in the ESS was limited, Schwartz' ten human values had to be measured using a 21-item PVQ. Schwartz' already acknowledges, in his proposal for the ESS (2003), that limiting the number of questions would lead to a less reliable instrument. His solution to combine adjacent value types as to come to a more reliable scale may work for simple correlations, but is more problematic when it comes to studying attitudes that are the result of a more complex value types trade-off. Furthermore, if one examines the operationalization of the items that are meant to measure the value system (see APPENDIX-I) it is questionable whether all aspects of certain value types are measured. The items used to measure the tradition value type for example are directed towards being humble and respecting ones own religious beliefs, but do thereby not measure the importance of non-religious cultural beliefs to the self. Seemingly, some combinations of items in the ESS PVQ do not measure the total broadness of the value items. Unfortunately, the ESS is the only major survey in Europe or the Netherlands that measure values using the comprehensive value structure of Schwartz and are repeated consequently. Other surveys that aim to include a tool to measure values are either conducted within small samples (e.g. student populations) or measure political core values instead of human values.

Even though one might question the reliability of the Schwartz' PVQ when employed in the ESS, the results fit the theory on human values and do render a

comprehensive image on the values within Dutch society. By carefully selecting pairs of conflicting values with respect to specific attitudes, it also capable of explaining variance within attitudes of individuals. The results differ from other studies with respect to the conflict line on the issue of immigration. And, more important, the analyses conducted in this thesis proved that the result was stable over time for the 2002 – 2010 period. The stability and the strength of the relation between value priority and the attitude towards immigration are even more striking since there is no specific path of translation included in the models to test the hypotheses. The magnitude of the relation might increase if specific cognitive paths were incorporated into the model. Scholars however disagree strongly on the shape and operationalization of this path.

The last interesting observation is the existence of the Dutch conflict line with respect to the immigration issue. It does raise the question whether this conflict line is only connected to this specific issue, or is a more fundamental political or attitudinal trade-off within the Dutch value system. This might pose an interesting question for future research and including more objects for attitude formation. For now, the results of these analyses do add to the strength of value priorities in predicting human endeavor and provide evidence that supports the current theory on human values. The results show a stable relation between a priority for specific values and the attitude towards immigration and render a clear conflict line within the value structure with respect to this attitude. This study also confirms the assumptions of Schwartz' value theory and presents the value priority and development for both the Dutch society as a whole and specific antecedents of value priority.

7

Literature

Alford, J.R., C.L. Funk and J.R. Hibbing (2005). "Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted". *The American Political Science Review,* 99 (2), pp. 153 - 167.

Alwin, D.F. and J.A. Krosnick (1985). "The Measurement of Values in Surveys: A Comparison of Ratings and Rankings". *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 49 (4), pp. 535 - 552.

Bardi, A. and S.H. Schwartz (2003). "Values and Behavior: Strength and Structure of Relations". *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin,* 29 (10), pp. 1207 - 1220.

Barnea, M.F. and S.H. Schwartz (1998). "Values and Voting". *Political Psychology*, 19 (1), pp. 17 - 38.

Borg, I. and P.J.F. Groenen (2005). *Modern Multidimensional Scaling – Theory and Applications.* New York: Springer.

Bilsky et al. (2011). "The Structural Organization of Human Values –Evidence from Three Rounds of the European Social Survey (ESS)". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42 (5), pp. 759 - 776.

Brambor, T., W.R. Clark and M. Golder (2005). "Understanding Interaction Models: Improving Empirical Analyses". *Political Analyses*, 14 (1), pp. 63 - 82.

Breckler, S.J. and E.C. Wiggins (1989). "On Defining Attitude and Attitude Theory" in *Attitude, Structure and Function*, eds. A.R. Pratkanis, S.J. Breckler and A.G. Greenwald. Hillsdale, NJ, Hove: Erlbaum.

Cook, T.E. (1985). "The Bear Market in Political Socialization and the Costs of Misunderstood Psychological Theories". *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 79 (4), pp. 1079 - 1093.

Davidov, E., P. Schmidt and S.H. Schwartz (2008). "Bringing Value Back in – The Adequacy of the European Social Survey To Measure Values in 20 Countries". *Public Opinion Quaterly*, vol. 72 (3), pp. 420 - 445.

European Social Survey
    (http://ess.nsd.uib.no/ess/doc/ess1_human_values_scale.pdf, visited on 2012/03/07.)

European Social Study Education Net
    (http://essedunet.nsd.uib.no/cms/topics/1/5/all.html. Visited on 2012/04/29.)

Feather, N.T. (1988). "Values, valences, and course enrolment: Testing the role of personal values within an expectancy value framework". *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 80 (3), pp. 381 - 391.

Feldman, S. (1988). "Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: the Role of Core Beliefs and Values". *American Journal of Political Science*, 32 (2), pp. 416 - 440.

Feldman, S. (2003). "Values, Ideology, and the Structure of Political Attitudes" in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, D.O. Sears, L. Huddy and R. Jervis (eds.). New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 477 - 508.

Field, A. (2005). Discovering Statistics Using SPSS. London: Sage Publications ltd.

Germine, L. T., et al. (2010) "Where cognitive development and aging meet: Face learning ability peaks after age 30". *Cognition,* 118, pp. 201 – 210.

Goodwill, A.M., L.J. Alison and M. Humann (2009). "Multidimensional Scaling and the Analyses of Sexual Offence Behaviour – A Reply to Sturidsson et al". *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 15 (6), pp. 517 - 524.

Grunert, S.C. and H.J. Juhl (1995). "Values, environmental attitudes, and buying organic foods". *Journal of Economic Psychology*, vol. 16 (1), pp. 39 - 62.

Johnston, C.S. (1995). "The Rokeach Value Survey: Underlying Structure and Multidimensional Scaling". *Journal of Psychology*, 129 (5), pp. 583 - 597.

Manevska, K. and P. Achterberg (2011). "Immigration and Perceived Ethnic Threat: Cultural Capital and Economic Explanations". *European Sociological Review*. (published online December 2, 2011 doi:10.1093/esr/jcr085)

OECD, International Migration Outlook 2011.
    (http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/44/29/48356273.pdf, visited on

2012/05/04.)

Rohan, M.J. (2000). "A Rose by Any Name? The Values Construct". *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 4 (3), pp. 255 - 277.

Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: The Free Press.

Sidanius, J. and R. Kurzban (2003). "Evolutionary Approaches to Political Psychology" in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, D.O. Sears, L. Huddy and R. Jervis (eds.). Oxford University Press: New York, pp. 164 – 165.

Sides, J. and J. Citrin (2007). "European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." In *British Journal of Political Science,* vol. 37, pp. 477 - 504.

Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25). New York: Academic Press, pp. 1 - 65.

Schwartz, S.H. (1996). "Value Priorities and Behavior: Applying a Theory of Integrated Value Systems". In *The Psychology of Values*, Seligman, J.M. Olsen and M.P. Zanna (eds.). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, pp. 1-24.

Schwartz, S.H. (2003). A Proposal for Measuring Value Orientations across Nations. Chapter 7 in the *ESS Questionnaire Development Report.* http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org, pp. 259-319.

Schwartz, S.H., G.V. Caprara and M. Vecchione (2010). "Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analyses". *Political Psychology*, 31 (3), pp. 421 - 452.

Tetlock, P.E. (1986). "A Value Pluralism Model of Ideological Reasoning". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 50 (4), pp. 819 – 827.

Torelli, C.J. and A. M. Kaikati (2009). "Values as Predictors of Judgments and Behaviors: The Role of Abstract and Concrete Mindsets". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96 (1), pp. 231 - 247.

Verplanken, B. and R.W. Holland (2002). "Motivated Decision Making: Effects of Activation and Self-Centrality of Values on Choices and Behavior". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82 (3), pp. 434 - 447.

Vliegenthart, R. (2007). Framing Immigration and Integration. Facts, Parliament, Media and Anti-Immigrant Party Support in the Netherlands. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit.

Whitt Kilburn, H. (2009). "Personal Values and Public Opinion". *Social Science Quarterly*, 90 (4), pp. 868 - 885.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF 21 PORTRAIT VALUES QUESTIONNAIRE (PVQ) ITEMS IN ESS[121]

Note: For female respondents "he" is changed into "she". The number in front of the PVQ refers to the order of the questions in the ESS.

Benevolence

12. It's very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for other people.

18. It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.

Universalism

3. He thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. He wants justice for everybody, even for people he doesn't know.

8. 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.

19. He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.

Self-direction

1. Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.

11. It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free to plan and to choose his activities for himself.

---

[121] Source: Schwartz, S.H. (2003). A Proposal for Measuring Value Orientations across Nations. Chapter 7 in the *ESS Questionnaire Development Report*. http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org, pp. 284 - 286.

Stimulation

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

15. He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.

Hedonism

10. Having a good time is important to him. He likes to "spoil" himself.

21. He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure.

Achievement

4. It is very important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.

13. Being very successful is important to him. He likes to impress other people.

Power

2. It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.

17. It is important to him to be in charge and tell others what to do. He wants people to do what he says.

Security

5. It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.

14. It is very important to him that his country be safe from threats from within and without. He is concerned that social order be protected.

Conformity

7. He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.

16. It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.

Tradition

9. He thinks it's important not to ask for more than what you have. He believes that people should be satisfied with what they have.

20. Religious belief is important to him. He tries hard to do what his religion requires.
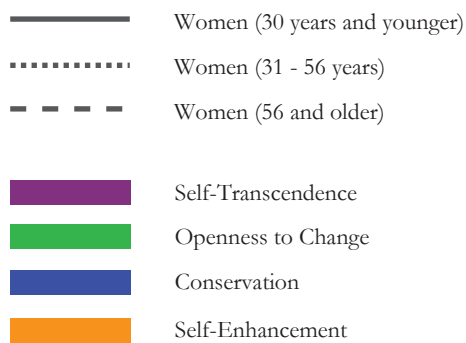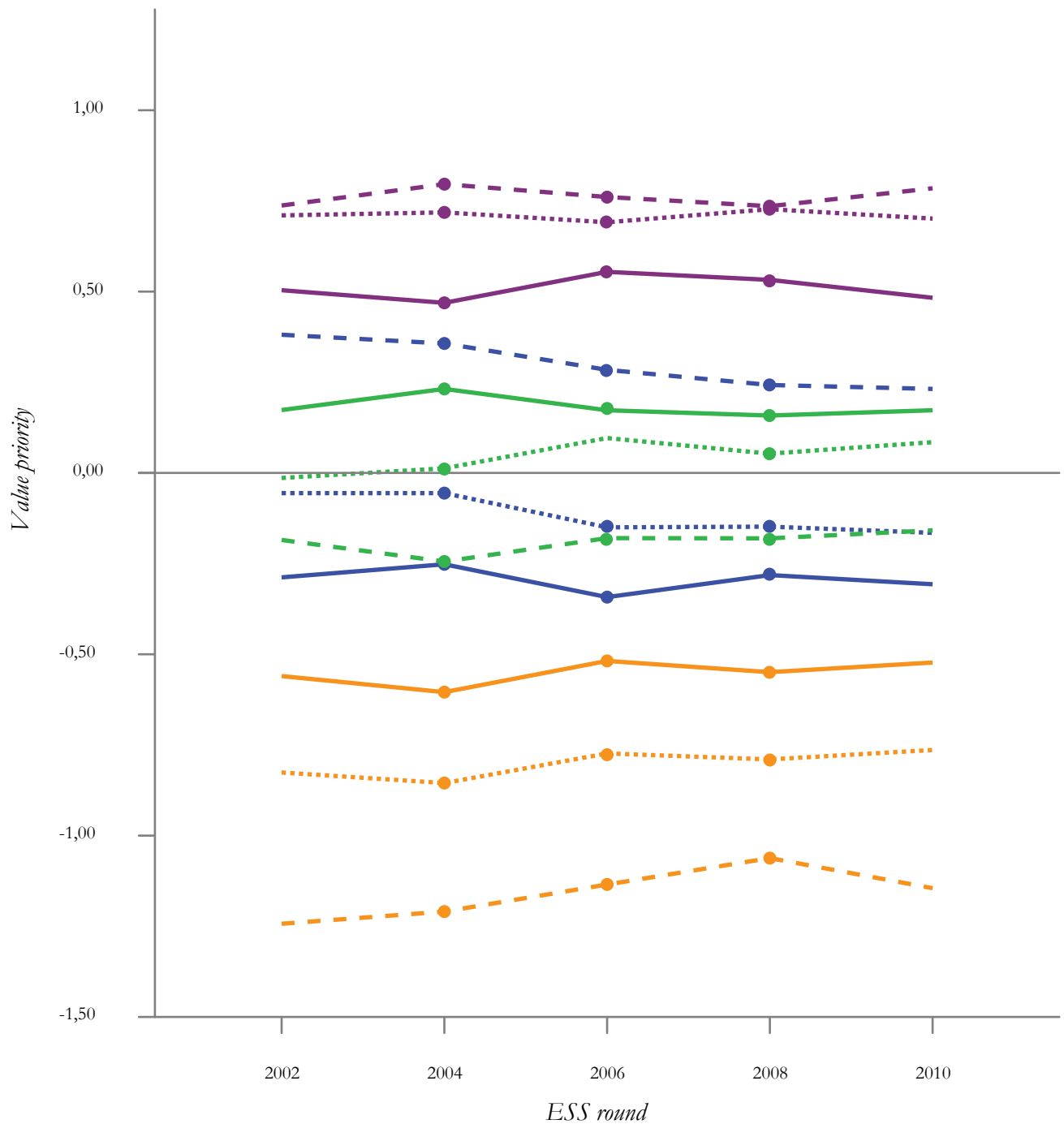
FIGURE APP-1. The development of the value priority for women of different age cohorts between 2002 and 2010. The value priority for the four higher order value types is placed around the mean (0) of the average value rating.
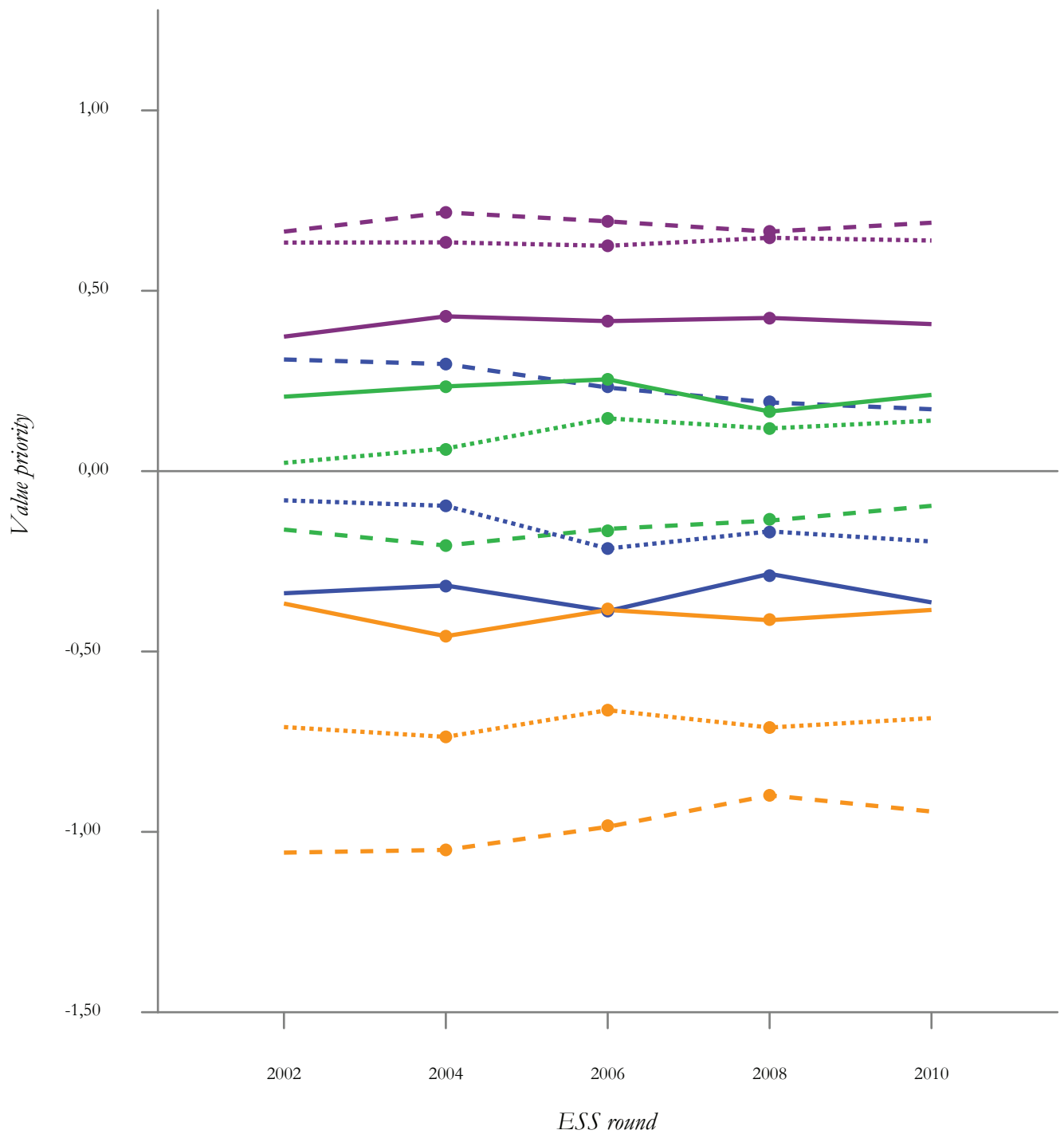
Legend:

———	Women (30 years and younger)
·········	Women (31 - 56 years)
– – –	Women (56 and older)

- Self-Transcendence
- Openness to Change
- Conservation
- Self-Enhancement

FIGURE APP-II. The development of the value priority for different age coherts between 2002 and 2010. The value priority for the four higher order value types is placed around the mean (0) of the average value rating.

30 years and younger
31 - 55 years old
56 and older

Self-Transcendence
Openness to Change
Conservation
Self-Enhancement

Legend:

Left self-placement (0 - 3)
Centre self-placement (4 - 6)
Right self-placement (7 - 10)

Self-Transcendence
Openness to Change
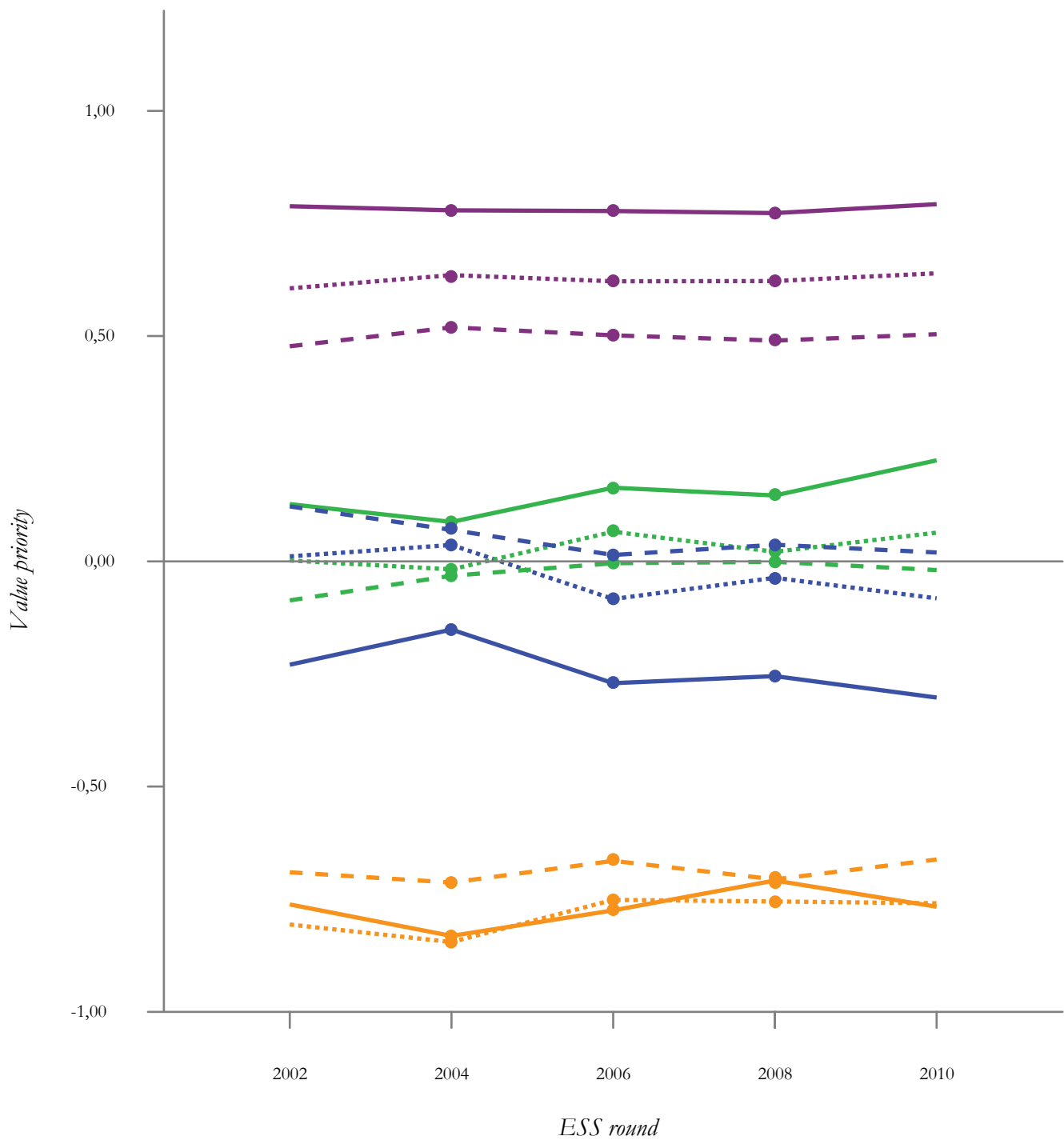Conservation
Self-Enhancement

FIGURE APP-III. The development of the value priority for ideological self-placement between 2002 and 2010. The value priority for the four higher order value types is placed around the mean (0) of the average value rating.