

# Values and Welfare State Attitudes

The interplay between human values, attitudes  
and redistributive institutions across national  
contexts

**Joakim Kulin**



**Department of Sociology**  
PhD Thesis 2011

This work is protected by the Swedish Copyright Legislation (Act 1960:729)  
© Joakim Kulin  
ISBN: 978-91-7459-330-3  
ISSN: 1104-2508  
Printed by: Print & Media, Umeå, Sweden 2011

*To Jan, my father*



# Table of Contents

<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>List of original papers in the thesis</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Enkel sammanfattning på svenska</b>	<b>iv</b>
Bakgrund	iv
Metoder	iv
Resultat	iv
Slutsatser	v
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Values and attitudes</b>	<b>3</b>
Basic human values	4
Welfare state attitudes	7
Values and welfare state attitudes in previous research	7
Institutions and framing in previous welfare state attitudes research	9
<b>The impact of values on welfare state attitudes:</b>	
<b>The underlying mechanism and moderating contextual factors</b>	<b>12</b>
Elaborating the underlying mechanism	12
Moderating contextual factors	13
Research questions	17
<b>Data and variables</b>	<b>18</b>
Attitudes	18
Values	19
Contextual factors	20
<b>Methods</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Results: Summary of the papers</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>31</b>

# List of original papers in the thesis

## **Paper 1**

Values and attitudes towards redistribution: The impact of basic human values on support for welfare state redistribution in comparative perspective  
*Journal of European Social Policy, submitted*

## **Paper 2**

Class, values and attitudes towards redistribution: A European comparison  
*European Sociological Review, in press*

## **Paper 3**

Public support for redistributive strategies: The impact of personal values and institutional norms  
*Working Paper, to be submitted to a scientific journal*

## **Paper 4**

The values underlying public welfare state support in Europe: West and East compared  
*Working paper, to be submitted to a scientific journal*

# Abstract

**Background** While there is much research aiming to assess the determinants of welfare state attitudes, there are not many studies focussing on how human values influence attitude formation. This thesis explores the relationship between values and welfare state attitudes across national contexts. In doing so, it focuses on the moderating influence of contextual factors on the values-attitudes link.

**Methods** In order to measure values properly, and to study their effects on welfare state attitudes, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and multi-group structural equation modelling (MGSEM) is used. These methods enable testing for measurement equivalence across groups, a prerequisite for comparing the effects of human values across countries. The individual-level data used in this thesis comes from the European Social Survey (ESS) between 2002-08.

**Results** The findings show that values can play an important role in welfare state attitude formation, but that the impact of values on attitudes differs considerably across national contexts. Several country-specific contextual factors such as the generosity of redistributive institutions, their framing and their distributive outcomes moderates the values-attitudes link. In more generous welfare states and where redistributive issues are more articulated in the political debate, the impact of, for instance, egalitarian values on redistributive attitudes is comparably strong. Moreover, in countries where lower social classes are more exposed to risks and lack resources to meet these risks, class differences in the values-attitudes link are greater. Finally, the results show that the particular values that underlie welfare state attitudes in Eastern Europe are fundamentally different to those in Western Europe.

**Conclusion** The results imply that the impact of values on welfare state attitudes mainly depends on (i) whether people perceive welfare state institutions to have important consequences for the extent to which their values are attained, and (ii) the presence of competing motives. Hence, it is not necessarily the case that people who support the welfare state do so, for example, due to holding egalitarian values. In contrast to previous research, which has been quite unsuccessful in confirming direct relationships between institutions and attitudes, the results in this thesis suggest that there are indeed clear and consistent macro-micro relationships, but that these are more complex. Rather, it is in the interplay between values, attitudes and institutions that this relationship can be found.

# Enkel sammanfattning på svenska

## Bakgrund

Forskningen kring välfärdsstatsattityder och dess determinanter är omfattande, men väldigt få studier intresserar sig för hur grundläggande mänskliga värderingar påverkar dessa attityder. Den här avhandlingen syftar till att fylla denna lucka genom att fokusera på relationen mellan värderingar och attityder till välfärdsstaten. Särskilt fokus har lagts på att utforska den modererande inverkan som kontextuella faktorer har på länken mellan värderingar och attityder i olika nationella kontexter. I den bemärkelsen syftar avhandlingen även att bidra till forskningen om hur institutioner och andra kontextuella faktorer är kopplade till formeringen av attityder, där man ännu inte lyckats hitta en tydligt framträdande relation mellan den nationella kontexten formeringen av attityder på individnivån.

## Metoder

För att kunna mäta värderingar på ett adekvat sätt, och för att kunna estimeras och jämföra effekterna av värderingar på välfärdsstatsattityder i olika nationella kontexter, har konfirmatorisk faktoranalys (CFA) och strukturella ekvationsmodeller (MGSEM) använts. Dessa metoder tillåter testandet av ekvivalens med avseende på de mätinstrument som används, dvs. om måtten för värderingar har samma betydelse i olika grupper, vilket är en förutsättning för att kunna jämföra effekterna av värderingar i olika länder.

Data på individnivå beträffande värderingar och attityder har hämtats från European Social Survey (ESS) från åren 2002-08. Dessutom har kontextdata hämtats från en rad olika källor.

## Resultat

Resultaten visar att värderingar kan spela en betydande roll i att forma attityder till välfärdsstaten, men samtidigt att värderingarnas inverkan varierar kraftigt mellan olika länder. Flera faktorer i den nationella kontexten, såsom graden av generositet i välfärdsstatssystemen, samt de välfärdsstatliga institutionernas diskursiva inramning och deras socio-ekonomiska utfall, modererar länken mellan värderingar och attityder.

Exempelvis, jämlikhetsorienterade värderingar har större betydelse för attityder till välfärdsstaten i mer generösa välfärdsstater och där omfördelningpolitiska frågor i högre grad präglar den politiska debatten. Vidare finns det klasskillnader i kopplingen mellan värderingar och attityder, i bemärkelsen att de med lägre utbildning och mindre intellektuellt krävande arbeten i mindre utsträckning formar sina attityder baserat deras värderingar. Dessa klasskillnader är särskilt stora i länder där de lägre

klasserna är särskilt riskutsatta samt i högre grad saknar resurser att möta dessa risker.

Medan värderingar har en betydande påverkan på generella attityder till välfärdsstaten i många länder så är länken mellan värderingar och stödet för specifika omfördelningsstrategier svag eller icke existerande i de flesta länder som studerats. Slutligen så visar resultaten att de värderingar som ligger till grund för välfärdsstatsattityder i Östeuropeiska länder är fundamentalt annorlunda än de i Västeuropa. Jämlikhetsorienterade värderingar spelar en betydande roll i Västeuropeiska länder medan konservativa värderingar spelar en mer framträdande roll i Östeuropa.

### **Slutsatser**

Resultaten föreslår att relationen mellan värderingar och attityder till välfärdsstaten beror på (i) om människor upplever att välfärdsstatens institutioner har betydande konsekvenser för deras möjligheter att få sina värderingar realiserade, och (ii) frånvaron eller närvaron av konkurrerande motiv. Därmed är det inte nödvändigtvis så att människor som är mer jämlikhetsorienterade i sina värderingar även är mer positivt inställda till välfärdsstaten och omfördelning. Detta beror istället på kontextuella faktorer, såsom institutioner och deras utfall, och deras inverkan på länken mellan värderingar och attityder. I motsats till tidigare forskning, som haft svårt att hitta tydliga kopplingar mellan exempelvis institutioner och attityder, så visar resultaten i denna avhandling att finns tydliga kopplingar mellan makro- och mikronivån men att dessa inte är så okomplicerade och direkta som man tidigare trott. Istället verkar det vara i samspelet mellan värderingar, attityder och institutioner som denna relations kan hittas.



# Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without the guidance and support of several people, who in one way or another contributed and extended their valuable assistance in the preparation and completion of this thesis. First, I owe an immeasurable deal of gratitude to Mikael Hjerm for his inexhaustible patience and uncompromising devotion as my main supervisor. Without Mikael's sharp eye and insightful reflections, this thesis would not make much sense to anyone but myself. Second, I would like to express my greatest appreciation to my co-supervisor Stefan Svallfors for superb guidance and invaluable advice. Stefan's unparalleled proficiency and dedication has had a huge impact on me, and it has been inspiring to say the least to have him as a supervisor and collaborator. I would also like to express my gratitude to Jonas Edlund, who in many ways has acted as an informal advisor, especially during the last years. His (mostly) voluntary involvement and commitment to my research is unmatched and beyond all expectations. I also want to thank Christian Staerklé for sharing his reflections, which led me down a path where there were previously only woods. Furthermore, I am thankful to Staffan Kumlin for many useful comments on an earlier draft of this thesis, and to Peter Schmidt and Eldad Davidov for their excellent guidance and assistance.

While the individual level is important, the social context should not be ignored (according to this thesis, anyway). Therefore, I would also like to extend my appreciation to everyone at the Department of Sociology at Umeå University for contributing to, and constituting, such an exceptionally supportive, competent and warm-hearted work environment. In particular, I would like to thank all of the doctoral students at the department for their social and moral support when it was so clearly needed. I am also truly grateful for the opportunity to be part of the HumVIB project *Welfare state Attitudes in Europe* (WAE), where I have had the opportunity to receive excellent feedback, exchange ideas and collaborate with many brilliant people while making several new friends in the process. I would also like to thank the participants at the annual autumn meetings of the Swedish network for welfare state research "Nätverket för forskning om socialpolitik och välfärd" for giving me useful comments on my work. I also want to express my gratitude to the Swedish Council for Social and Working Life [FAS 207-2288], under the European Science Foundation's programme Human Values, Institutions and Behaviour (HumVIB), for funding this research.

I also want to thank all of my friends for their support during the last four years, and their patience during all of the times when I started talking about my thesis when it was not appropriate. In particular, I would like to thank

Mikael Johansson and Maria Sydh for their amazing ability to put things in perspective and for supporting me throughout the years.

I would also like to thank Jennie Björk. Not only are you considerate, bright, and beautiful Jennie, you also have the truly indispensable ability to make me laugh, even in the hardest of times (such as when finalising a PhD thesis). Finally, I would like to express my deepest and most sincere gratitude to my father, Jan Carlsson. For without you dad—and your boundless love and support throughout my life—I would never even have come close to realising my goals.

*Umeå, November 2011*

*Joakim Kulin*

# Introduction

This thesis explores the relationship between human values and welfare state attitudes across national contexts. During the post World War II era, the welfare state has become an, if not the most, influential institutional entity promoting equality and providing social security to protect people from risks due to unequal life chances, old age, sickness, unemployment, and poverty. Studying attitudes towards the welfare state and its correlates gives important insight into prevailing sentiments in society. It tells us something about its general social and moral character, the state of democracy, and prevailing views on distribution and justice. It also gives important clues to the limitations and opportunities for future welfare state development in terms of possible policy directions and what social conditions might follow. To date, there is an abundance of studies focusing on how a wide range of factors influences welfare state attitudes. However, as noted by Feldman (1988:416), “Although much can be learned from studying the determinants of specific attitudes and preferences it is of particular interest to uncover the underlying principles that lend some degree of consistency and meaningfulness to public opinion”. Despite this, not many comparative studies focus on the more fundamental value orientations and abstract principles that can be assumed to underlie welfare state attitude formation. This thesis aims to make a contribution in this regard by introducing human values into the comparative study of welfare state attitudes.

Values are fundamental human motivations that serve as guiding principles in people’s lives, in relation to which virtually all aspects of social life can be evaluated. Therefore, it should be a central task in the social sciences to assess the influence of values on attitudes towards such basic societal institutions as welfare state arrangements. Moreover, the importance of studying the values-attitudes link becomes even clearer considering the insights it brings with regard to the cognitive integration of different aspects of people’s political reasoning, and not least with regard to cross-country differences in this respect. While it is a highly plausible assumption that more fundamental and abstract orientations—such as human values—play a crucial role in attitude formation, empirical studies that systematically investigate the impact of values on welfare state attitudes are currently lacking, and as a result little is known about the role of values in attitude formation (Feldman 2003). This thesis constitutes an attempt to address this lacuna by using high quality international survey data and state-of-the-art statistical methods to systematically investigate the impact of human values on welfare state attitudes across national contexts. Not only do the results in this thesis show that values can play a very important role in shaping welfare state attitudes, they also show that there are considerable

cross-country differences in this relationship and that contextual factors such as institutions and their outcomes are important moderators of the values-attitudes link.

In this sense, this thesis contributes to the research on the determinants of welfare state attitudes because it seeks to investigate the impact of a category of beliefs that has rarely been studied in welfare state attitudes research. It also contributes to the values literature, since it offers an example of a substantive case where values play an important role. The thesis also contributes to research on the feedback effects of institutions on attitude formation in the sense that it seeks to advance the knowledge of the interaction between the contextual level and individual-level processes, thereby improve existing accounts of how these levels are connected. In this respect, it asks not only what impact human values have on welfare state attitudes but also what consequences welfare state institutions, and their respective outcomes, have on this relationship. By studying the values-attitudes link in relation to different national contexts, we hopefully gain knowledge about both of these intimately related yet different questions.

The intended outline of the introductory chapter of this thesis is as follows: In the next section (2), the concept of basic human values is introduced and elaborated. In addition, this section puts special effort in reaching a definition of values that clearly distinguishes it from other related concepts, with a special focus on the distinction between values and attitudes. In this section, the broader aim of studying the link between values and attitudes is explored in relation to some of the relevant theories and findings in welfare state attitudes research. The following section (3) gives an account of the underlying mechanism explaining the link between values and welfare state attitudes. Moreover, it elaborates possible explanations of cross-country differences in the values-attitudes link by focusing on the moderating influence of institutions and other contextual factors. In the following sections, the data (4) as well as the methods (5) used in the thesis will be presented and discussed. Then follows a section (6) containing short summaries of the papers in the thesis in terms of the main research questions, hypotheses, data and methods, and main results. Finally, in the last section (7), the conclusions of the thesis will be presented and discussed.

# Values and attitudes

Throughout this thesis, a clear distinction is made between values and attitudes. This distinction is crucial for at least two reasons: First, it identifies the unique qualities associated with each concept, making it meaningful to study the empirical relationship between them. Second, it enables the specification of the conditions under which there is a relationship between them, thereby providing an understanding of the causal logic in the values-attitudes link. Many definitions of values and attitudes can be found in the literature. The aim here is not only to reach a definition of each respective concept. It is an attempt to provide sufficient accounts of their properties, and enough distinctions between them, so that the empirical study of their interrelationship becomes possible and perhaps even reasonable.

According to Rokeach (1968:550), an attitude is an “organization of several beliefs focused on a specific object or situation, predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner”. Eagly and Chaiken (1993:1) defines an attitude as “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour”. And, according to Ajzen (2001:28), “There is general agreement that attitude represents a summary evaluation of a psychological object captured in such attribute dimensions as good-bad, harmful-beneficial, pleasant-unpleasant, and likable-dislikable”. Based on these accounts, an attitude can be defined as an individual’s tendency to evaluate a specific object—such as a behaviour, person, institution, or event—as good or bad. As a consequence, a person can have as many attitudes as there are objects in the world (see Rokeach 1973; Fishbein and Ajzen 1975).

Values can be conceptualised in several different ways, but Williams (1968) points out that the limits should never be arbitrarily set and that “there is no point in extending the term so broadly that there is no way of distinguishing between values and other determinants of human behaviour” (Williams 1968:284). Therefore, we should aim to make as clear distinctions as possible between values and other related concepts. One essential requirement of any definition of values is that they are “conceptions of the desirable” (Kluckhohn 1951). However, Williams (1968) makes a distinction between two meanings of the concept value in this regard. First, an object can be desired and thus have value. This does not, however, refer to which criteria are used to make the evaluation of the object. For example, the phrase “the government should take measures to reduce differences in incomes” indicates that the object state governed reduction of income differences is desired, but not what standards are employed in order to reach this conclusion. Instead, values can be more clearly distinguished if they are

viewed as “standards of desirability that are more nearly independent of specific situations” (Williams 1968:284). In a similar fashion, Allport (1961:454) argues that “a value is a belief upon which a man acts by preference”. Moreover, as emphasised by Williams (1968:283), the “values-as-criterion is the more important usage for purposes of social scientific analysis”, in other words values should be conceived of as “criteria for judgement, preference and choice”. Conceptualised in this way, values are not evaluations of specific psychological objects but rather standards or criteria in relation to which evaluations of specific objects are made. Hence, in contrast to attitudes that are evaluations of specific objects, values can be defined as a fixed set of desirable, abstract and motivational goals that transcend specific objects, actions or situations, and instead refer to personally or socially preferable end-states of existence and to preferable modes of conduct that function as guiding principles in a person’s life (Rokeach 1973; Schwartz 1992).

Some criticism has been made with regard to the value concept of whether values are equivalent to attitudes or whether they only reflect cultural norms. However, others suggest that values are unique, more enduring and occupy a more central position than attitudes within the personality of an individual (Hitlin 2003; Hitlin and Piliavin 2004). Furthermore, while value priorities have been shown to display cross-cultural similarities (e.g., Schwartz and Bardi 2001), responses to surveys display a high degree of intra-cultural heterogeneity across individuals and groups, which suggest that surveys reflect personal values rather than cultural norms. Hence, value priorities do not differ substantially between countries, but rather between individuals within countries.

### **Basic human values**

One theory of values that has attracted special attention is the theory of basic human values devised by Schwartz (1992). According to the theory, “Values represent, in the form of conscious goals, three universal requirements of human existence to which all individuals and societies must be responsive: needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites for coordinated social interaction, and survival and welfare needs of groups” (Schwartz 1992:4). A structure of motivations can be identified that humans develop as a response to these requirements. Schwartz identifies 10 value types—universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, security, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation and self-direction—which are distinguished through their respective emphasis on different motivational goals (see Table 1).

**Table 1** Basic human values and motivational emphasis.

Values	Motivational emphasis
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, and exploring.
UNIVERSALISM	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.
BENEVOLENCE	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.
TRADITION	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.
CONFORMITY	Restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.
SECURITY	Safety, harmony and stability of society, relationships and self.

From Schwartz et al. (2001).

The 10 value types can be classified into a circular continuum (quasi circumplex) representing their dynamic relationships (see Figure 1). Adjacent values are similar with regard to their motivational emphasis; hence, more distant values share less similarity. Diametrical values are opposites and therefore negatively linked. Schwartz also distinguishes four higher order value types along two orthogonal dimensions in the circular continuum: self-transcendence versus self-enhancement, and openness to change versus conservation.

**Figure 1** Basic human values and higher order value types.



These four higher order value types and the two dimensions simplify the structure of values into tensions between values that focus on the promotion of welfare for all people (self-transcendence) versus values that focus on the promotion of individual interests and success (self-enhancement), and

values that emphasise readiness for change and independence of thought, action and feelings (openness to change) and values that emphasise traditions, order, self-restriction, and resistance to change (conservation).

One clear advantage of the Schwartz values theory is that it is comprehensive in the sense that it gives an account of the complete structure of values. Another advantage is that it has been translated into a scale or instrument to measure values based on the theory, which has been implemented in several large-scale international surveys such as the European Social Survey (ESS). There are, of course, several competing theories of values and related scales for measurement (see for example Hofstede 1980; Rokeach 1967; 1973; Inglehart 1971:1977), and although these scales have been widely used they have several problems associated with them (for an extended discussion, see Schwartz 2003). Some of the scales measure values in specific domains rather than the complete range of universal human values (see work values in Hofstede 1980), and some scales are not theory driven and as a consequence exclude critical values (see Rokeach 1967). Others measure values only indirectly since they focus on goals for one's country rather than goals for individuals, and in addition measure only one single dimension (see Inglehart 1997). The Schwartz theory and measurement scale do not suffer from these problems and hence is a preferable choice. However, as noted by Feldman (2003:487), "More research is clearly needed to validate Schwartz' conceptualization of value structure and to determine whether this is, in fact, a universal model of values".

Schwartz (1994) points out that the two higher order dimensions—self-transcendence versus self-enhancement and openness to change versus conservation—corresponds to the two key dimensions of political ideology, namely classical liberalism and economic egalitarianism. As argued by Schwartz (1994:39-40), classical liberalism "refers to whether the government should devote more to guarding and cultivating individual freedoms and civil rights or to protecting the societal status quo by controlling deviance from within or enemies from without". Furthermore, economic egalitarianism "refers to whether the government devote itself more to promoting equality by redistributing resources or to protecting citizens' ability to retain the wealth they generate in order to foster economic growth and efficiency". Indeed, there are major differences between these ideologies in their respective emphasis on the broader values equality and freedom (see also Rokeach 1973), which makes the correspondence with the higher order dimensions clear and thus exemplifies their relevance in relation to political attitudes, for instance attitudes towards the welfare state and redistribution. Hence, focus on the higher order value types along the two dimensions is a fruitful approach since it is both parsimonious and

theoretically relevant, as it corresponds with these broad and widespread political-ideological traditions.

### **Welfare state attitudes**

In this thesis, attitudes towards the welfare state are studied from several perspectives. Welfare state attitudes can be categorised based on different levels of abstraction (see for example Kumlin 2007). At a more abstract level, one can distinguish general welfare state support for such broader concepts as “redistribution” or “government intervention”. In the capacity of being more symbolic and value-laden orientations, generalised welfare state attitudes can be assumed to serve a value-expressive function to a greater extent than more concrete attitudes (Feldman 2003:491; see also Katz 1960). Hence, such generalised attitudes should be especially susceptible to the influence of values. As a consequence, several papers in this dissertation deal with the impact of values on this type of generalised welfare state attitudes (Papers 1 and 2).

At the more concrete level, one can also distinguish attitudes towards specific programmes (Paper 4) and specific aspects within programmes such as particular redistributive strategies (Paper 3). Moreover, the welfare state can also be conceived of as having multiple objectives. On the one hand, welfare state arrangements provide social security to protect people from risks due to, for instance, old age, sickness, and unemployment. On the other hand, welfare state institutions, by means of redistribution, (to varying degrees) promote equality through transfers that equalise income differences. Although these two objectives are in some sense inseparable, since providing tax financed social provision for underprivileged groups inevitably leads to redistribution, people’s attitudes towards them might differ. More crucially, it is also not clear to what extent these two objectives have important consequences for value attainment, which calls for distinguishing and studying them separately. This motivates the approaches in Papers 1 and 2 (which focus on attitudes towards redistribution), and Paper 4 (which focuses on attitudes towards different areas of social provision).

### **Values and welfare state attitudes in previous research**

Ultimately, much of welfare state attitudes research is either explicitly or implicitly striving to assess the more fundamental determinants of welfare state attitudes, as well as the underlying mechanisms that account for the link between institutional, demographic or socio-economic factors on the one hand, and welfare state attitudes on the other. Political economy perspectives tend to emphasise the interests of various actors when explaining support for redistribution (see for example Iversen and Soskice 2001; Cusack et al. 2006). However, there is now much research suggesting

that interest-oriented perspectives have a rather limited explanatory power when it comes to predicting attitudes (see for example Sears and Funk 1990), and that more fundamental predispositions such as values and norms have greater potential. Accordingly, political sociology and political science perspectives also emphasise the importance of normative orientations such as values, reciprocity norms and justice beliefs (Svallfors 1996; 2007; Rothstein 1998; Mau 2003; Kumlin 2004; Brooks and Manza 2007). This is also in line with the findings in other fields such as experimental economics and evolutionary biology, which stress the importance of other-regarding motives such as reciprocity and justice (Bowles and Gintis 2000; Fehr and Fischbacher 2002; Gintis et al. 2004; Fong et al. 2005).

Feldman (2003:488) notes that although there is a body of studies demonstrating consistent effects of determinants labelled as “values” on political attitudes, there is “little systematic evidence of the relationships among many of the values that theorists like Rokeach and Schwartz have proposed and political attitudes”. Moreover, Feldman (2003:489) argues that theory about the link between values and political attitudes, and the conditions under which it manifests, is sparse. Previous empirical research dealing with the impact of values on political attitudes in general (see for example Feldman 1988; Zaller 1992) and welfare state attitudes in particular (see for example Feldman and Zaller 1992) have mainly been limited to single or a few countries, and, moreover, they seldom investigate a full battery of values based on an established theory (Feldman 2003). As a consequence, little is known about the role of values for attitude formation across countries.

Others study what they refer to as “values” and their influence on welfare state attitudes, yet use items that clearly ask respondents about evaluations in relation to specific objects and therefore, according to the definition of values chosen here, measure attitudes rather than values (see for example Andreß and Heien 2001; Taylor-Gooby 2004). In a recent contribution, however, Schwartz et al. (2010) studied the impact of basic human values on core political values and political choice, yet the authors do not investigate the impact of values on welfare state attitudes such as support for redistribution and social provision programmes.

In fact, the absence of studies focusing on the role of values for attitude formation seem to be a general disregard, as observed by Halman and de Moor (1994:22): “In practice, survey researchers distinguish little between values and attitudes”. Presumably, this has been the case due to the absence of an agreed-upon theory of human values, as well as the lack of a theory-based measurement instrument (Rohan 2000; Hitlin and Piliavin 2004:365; Davidov et al. 2008a:421). Considering that values research for a long time failed to produce an agreed-upon theory of values, as well as a measurement instrument to measure values based on this theory, it is not surprising that

much of earlier research to some extent has failed to distinguish values from other concepts such as attitudes, and that the relationship between values and attitudes has been relatively absent in empirical research.

### **Institutions and framing in previous welfare state attitudes research**

Institutions can be seen as “the formal rules, compliance procedures and standard operating practices that structure the relationship between individuals in various units of the polity and economy” (Hall 1986:19). As such, institutions should be seen as the “rules of the game” embodied in, for instance, social insurances and political party systems (see for example Svallfors 2003; 2007). Historically, modern welfare states have had certain characteristics in common when it comes to the general themes of reducing risks and promoting equality. At the same time, country-specific political institutions differ vastly, for instance in terms of the particular strategies employed to promote these goals, the social rights they endow their citizens with, and the respective distributional outcomes they produce (Korpi and Palme 1998).

The relationship between institutions and individual preferences can be conceived of in different ways. Theories of representative democracy usually conceive of political preferences and predispositions as effective on the input side of the democratic process, for example reflecting party systems and conflict lines or expressing individuals’ positions in the cleavage structure (Mettler and Soss 2004; Kumlin 2006; for an example see Lipset and Rokkan 1967). According to these perspectives, “Mass preferences and actions are cast [...] as system ‘inputs’, and public policies as system ‘outputs’” (Mettler and Soss 2004:55).

Increasing in number, however, are studies influenced by the new institutionalism school, focusing on the role of institutions for welfare state attitude formation. While attitudes have important consequences on the input side of politics, the institutions that follow on the output side also frame and shape expectations and preferences. One way to conceive of the influence of institutions on individual-level orientations is in terms of policy feedback effects. Pierson (1993) argues that such feedback effects play a crucial role in creating “path dependency” or “lock-in” effects, which would explain the unique and relatively consistent historical trajectories of different institutional traditions across welfare states. In this perspective, certain policies, once enacted, create incentives and interests, subjective experiences, and normative standards that further strengthen support (see for example Pierson 1993; Mettler and Soss 2004; Svallfors 2007). Especially interesting here is the “moral economy” perspective, which emphasises the impact of institutions on values, attitudes and reciprocity norms (Svallfors 1996; 2007; Rothstein 1998; Mau 2003; 2004). However, Rothstein

(1998:135) argues that feedback effects of institutions can end up in virtuous or vicious circles depending on whether a particular set of institutional arrangements elicit values that facilitate further support or not. While little is known about the mechanisms of such feedback effects, in terms of the actual relationship between institutions and individual-level orientations (such as the relationship between values and attitudes), there is at least some evidence suggesting that influences from institutions take place in people's personal encounters with welfare state programmes (Kumlin 2004; see also Mettler and Soss 2004). At this point, however, very little is known about the ability of welfare states to have important consequences for value attainment, in other words to what extent people perceive that the welfare state promotes or obstructs the motivational goals associated with the values they embrace.

Several studies that focus on the impact of institutions have investigated if and how various welfare regimes (for example the ones proposed by Esping-Andersen 1990) produce distinct attitudinal outcomes due to their institutional differences, either in terms of varying levels of support or in terms of regime-structured effects of various determinants, such as social class, on attitudes (see for example Svallfors 1993; 1997; Bean and Papadakis 1998; Evans 1998; Edlund 1999; Bonoli 2000; Gelissen 2000; Andreß and Heien 2001; Arts and Gelissen 2001; Svallfors 2003; Jæger 2006; Larsen 2008). The conclusion that can be drawn from these studies is that, while there seem to be some structuring of welfare state attitudes according to welfare states, there are no sharp clustering attitudinal patterns across Western countries corresponding to regime types. At the moment, it is not clear whether this means that institutions do not have a significant impact on attitude formation or if the proposed regime types are too rough categorisations, and thus do not accurately reflect institutional differences across countries.

Recently, a category of studies has emerged that focus on the relationship between specific contextual factors (related to institutional characteristics) and individuals' attitudes, often employing multi-level analysis (MLA). These studies show that, for instance, higher levels of unemployment are associated with stronger welfare state support (Blekesaune and Quadagno 2003), that higher levels of public social spending is positively related to support (Jæger 2006), and that higher levels of inequality is positively related to demand for redistribution (Finseraas 2009). However, due to data availability issues with regard to level-two units, that is countries, cross-national studies that employ multi-level approaches have well-known limitations. As a result, more complex analyses, which control for measurement error and equivalence across countries, are often difficult to perform (see for example Meuleman and Billiet 2009).

While institutions and their respective outcomes can matter for attitude formation, people's perceptions and interpretations of their institutional context are also susceptible to subjective influences from the political elite and the mass media. For instance, empirical evidence suggest that political articulation influences welfare state attitudes in the sense that increasing focus and emphasis on class-related issues in the rhetoric of political parties is associated with greater class differences in attitudes (Kumlin and Svallfors 2007). Studies that take interest in feedback effects of institutions often do so in terms of their ability to have important implications for the attainment of the material interests of different groups (for instance across social classes), and how the framing of political issues are used to mobilise these interests (Edlund 2007; Svallfors 2007; Kumlin and Svallfors 2007). However, in mobilising different interest groups, politics draw upon political ideologies that not only elicit interest-oriented motives. According to the theory of "symbolic politics" (Sears and Funk 1990:249), politics "evoke long-standing emotional responses rather than rational, self-interested calculations". Hence, the symbols embodied in an attitude object elicit more fundamental predispositions, which in turn influence responses to the attitude object (see also Sears 1993). In this sense, according to Sears et al. (1980:671), "the crucial variable would be the similarity of symbols posed by the policy issue to those of long-standing predispositions. Political attitudes, therefore, are formed mainly in congruence with long-standing values about society and the polity, rather than short-term instrumentalities for satisfaction of one's current private needs". In comparative welfare state attitudes research, which mainly focus on the mobilisation of interests and interest groups, far less attention has been given to the extent to which institutions have important consequences for the attainment of human values among the public, and how the framing of redistributive policy issues mobilise particular values in relation to welfare state arrangements.

# **The impact of values on welfare state attitudes: The underlying mechanism and moderating contextual factors**

## **Elaborating the underlying mechanism**

Once values and attitudes are clearly distinguished and defined, it is possible to specify the conditions under which there is a relationship between them. One explanation for why values influence attitudes is based on the relative importance of different values. According to this explanation, a value will have a greater impact on attitudes if that value is more important than other values (Schwartz 1992; Rokeach 1973). However, empirical evidence suggest that value priorities do not differ considerably across cultures (Schwartz and Bardi 2001), which raises doubts about the possibility to, by means of this reasoning, explain possible cross-country differences in the values-attitudes link.

Quite differently, Sagiv and Schwartz (1995) argue that a value will have an impact on an attitude if the attitudinal object in question has important consequences for the attainment of the motivational goal associated with that value (see also Davidov et al. 2008b). According to this line of reasoning, it is the perceived ability of an object to promote or obstruct the realisation of desirable abstract and motivational goals that elicit and motivate the attitude held towards it. Hence, this explanation takes into consideration the significance of the attitudinal object for the values-attitudes link, rather than focussing on the relative importance of values. This means that if welfare state arrangements have important consequences for the attainment of the motivational goals associated with a particular value, the link between that value and the attitudes towards these arrangements is likely to be stronger. It is argued here that, from a theoretical perspective, this is a more interesting interpretation with greater potential (for instance) when it comes to explaining cross-country differences in the values-attitudes link.

Welfare state institutions can be seen as intervening factors that modify the distributive processes in society. In doing so, they redistribute resources from the well off to the less well off, thereby promoting equality and the welfare of all people, especially the needy. Hence, welfare state institutions should have important consequences for self-transcendence values in the sense that they promote the motivational goals associated with universalism and benevolence, in other words the welfare of all people and caring for people in need. At the same time, welfare state institutions equalise the distribution of incomes and thereby potentially constitute an obstacle for personal wealth and success. Hence, welfare state arrangements should be

perceived as obstructing the attainment of motivational goals associated with the values power and achievement. In other words, people who embrace self-transcendence values should be more likely to endorse welfare state arrangements than people who do not, and people who embrace self-enhancement values should be more likely to oppose them. Thus, the more important self-transcendence values are, and the less important self-enhancement values are, the more likely that person should be to support the welfare state.

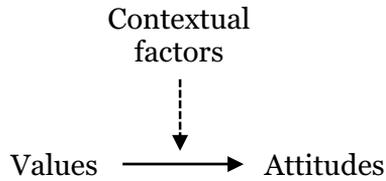
According to Tetlock (1986), however, people think in complex ways when forming their preferences and making connections to underlying values in the sense that they make trade-offs between conflicting yet equally important values when making their minds up about policy issues. Moreover, “complex trade-off forms of reasoning are most likely to emerge in policy domains that activate important, and approximately equally important, conflicting values” (Tetlock 1986:826). Barnea (2003) shows that when it comes to the distribution of economic resources—which is the one of the main instruments employed by welfare states to protect people from risks and to promote equality—the more important values are self-transcendence and self-enhancement. Moreover, according to the theory of basic human values (Schwartz 1992), these higher order value types are diametrically opposed. Hence, in the vocabulary of Tetlock, these value types constitute potentially important, and perhaps equally important, yet conflicting criteria, and therefore of high interest in relation to welfare state policy preferences. While a person can hold egalitarian and meritocratic values simultaneously in the abstract, which would imply that they correlate positively in a larger population, their manifestation in terms of their effects on attitudes might be opposed. Since this is an open question, it makes sense not only to view these values as end points on a single dimension, but also to study their relationship to welfare state attitudes individually.

### **Moderating contextual factors**

To subscribe to the idea that values influence attitudes does not imply a deterministic relationship (see for example Rokeach 1968:552). Instead, the relationship should be conceived of as more or less likely, and depending on situational factors. This is pointed out by Sagiv and Schwartz (1995:447), who emphasise that values can play an important role in attitude formation, but the extent to which they do must be understood by taking into account the moderating influence of contextual factors. It might seem like a trivial argument that people who endorse self-transcendence values are more likely to endorse welfare state redistribution and social provision compared to people who do not. Yet, while welfare state arrangements might have important consequences for the attainment of basic human values, it is not self-evident that they have similar consequences for value attainment across

countries. In other words, nation-specific welfare state arrangements are not necessarily perceived as promoting or obstructing the realisation of these values to an equal extent cross-nationally. Moreover, there might be competing motives that, under certain circumstances and in some contexts, have primacy over values in attitude formation. Several sets of contextual factors can be assumed to have a moderating influence on the values-attitudes link. A graphic representation of this argument can be found in Figure 2.

**Figure 2** The values-attitudes link and moderating contextual factors.



A first set of factors relates to the institutional structures of welfare states. The basic premise here is that the impact of values on attitudes should be stronger in countries where welfare state institutions have more important consequences for value attainment. As welfare state institutions protect people from risks and redistribute incomes to promote equality, they should have particularly important consequences for the attainment of values whose motivational goals promote helping other people and treating everyone equally, in other words self-transcendence values. Accordingly, if welfare state institutions are more effective in caring for the needy and equalising incomes, they should have greater consequences for the attainment of self-transcendence values. Hence, in welfare states that are more committed to social protection, in other words in more generous and higher spending welfare states that are more effective in achieving equality and helping people in need, people who embrace self-transcendence values should perceive that their values are attained through welfare state arrangements to a greater extent compared to people in less generous and lower spending welfare states. For instance, self-transcendence values should be more easily attained if redistribution increases.

One way in which redistributive institutions could have important consequences for value attainment is through the degree of social expenditure. The spending approach has, however, been criticised for not adequately representing a country's commitment to social protection and the degree of benefit generosity. In particular, it ignores the fact that welfare states do not need to spend in order to be generous, since granting a certain level of social rights do not imply specific spending costs. Redistributive institutions such as pensions and unemployment insurance entail several

aspects relevant to the generosity of the programmes such as coverage rates, benefit levels and duration periods. Viewed in a cumulative fashion, these aspects amount to a general degree of welfare state generosity, which can be seen as a more adequate measure of a country's social commitment to social protection (Scruggs 2006). Moreover, it can be argued that benefit generosity is also preferable to spending due to the fact that eligibility criteria and benefit levels are more clearly visible to citizens compared to overall social spending levels. As empirical evidence suggests that people take cues from their personal experiences in encounters with different aspects of specific welfare state programmes (see for example Kumlin 2004), the perceptions of the extent to which welfare state programmes promote or obstruct value attainment are likely formed. However, they are not formed in relation to aggregate social spending, but rather in relation to the degree of generosity with regard to multiple aspects across various programmes. Hence, benefit generosity appears as a more adequate measure of the extent to which welfare state redistributive institutions have important consequences for value attainment. It should be noted, however, that data availability issues prevent the study of generosity in countries beyond the OECD area, which supports the argument of utilising both depending on the research question and the preferred number of countries.

A second set of factors that can be assumed to have a moderating influence on the link between values and welfare state attitudes is political articulation. For instance, political parties may aim to influence the public opinion by "connecting and disconnecting interpretive frameworks and distributive outcomes" (Svallfors 2007:12). In this way, political articulation can either facilitate or obscure those cognitive processes that connect values to explicit political reforms and programmes, and thereby moderate the extent to which values have an impact on attitudes. Perceptions surrounding the generosity of redistributive institutions, and consequently perceptions of their effectiveness in addressing issues relevant to the attainment of motivational goals, are bound to be dependent on the extent to which redistributive issues are articulated in the political debate. This moderating influence is, however, probably more likely to occur in the presence of an institutional reality that reflects the content being articulated. Hence, the articulation and framing of redistributive issues is bound to interact with the institutional reality, and thereby produce different results for the values-attitudes link. If institutions are generous, and political articulation emphasises the importance of generosity in social provision, the link between values and redistributive attitudes can be assumed to be stronger. Thus, there should be an interaction between institutions and articulation in terms of their moderating impact on the values-attitudes link.

A third set of contextual factors that can be assumed to have an influence on the link between values and welfare state attitudes are concrete

distributive outcomes and their ability to bring about, or counteract, the emergence of competing motives underlying attitudes towards redistribution. According to this argument, members of lower social classes are more exposed to labour market risks and, as a consequence of relatively low incomes, are short on necessary resources to meet such risks. Hence, in pursuit of risk-reducing strategies one would expect a weaker relationship between values and welfare state attitudes in lower classes. However, as shown by Zaller (1992), the strength in the relationship between values and attitudes is also likely to increase with the level of political sophistication. People with higher educational attainment and more intellectually demanding work tasks may find it easier to connect their values to their attitudes towards the welfare state, which means that the link between values and attitudes should be stronger in higher social classes. Nevertheless, as a result of considerable cross-country differences with regard to such risks, one would also expect the lower classes to be more or less exposed to these risks depending on which country they live in. Such risks among lower classes should be especially high in countries with relatively high levels of inequality and poverty. Thus, class differences should be smaller in countries where inequality and poverty is low.

However, both values and institutions might also have a more direct effect on welfare state attitudes. This may especially be the case with attitudes towards how redistributive institutions distribute resources. At the individual level, people form their preferences based on their personal and more abstract value orientations (Schwartz 1992). Therefore, it is plausible to assume that people who are more egalitarian in terms of their personal values are more likely to support equality-based redistributive strategies. However, individuals' preferences are also influenced by external factors in their social context such as norms embedded in societal institutions (Svallfors 1996; Rothstein 1998; Mau 2003). One might, therefore, also expect people's preferences to reflect actual institutional arrangements. Hence, both personal values and institutional norms potentially constitute important guidelines in relation to which such redistributive preferences are formed.

Yet, another set of factors could, albeit in a more obscure fashion, be identified that moderate the impact of values on welfare state attitudes. The emergence of democracy and Europeanisation of Eastern European countries poses the question of whether values influence welfare state attitudes in a similar fashion compared to Western European countries. By now, there is evidence that Eastern European countries differ substantially with regard to welfare state support compared to Western countries (see for example Andreß and Heien 2001). At the same time, however, there is evidence of convergence in attitudes between East and West (Svallfors 2010). Moreover, as shown by Lipsmeyer and Nordstom (2003:339), "The

influences on individual attitudes tend to be generally ‘European’ rather than marked by an ‘Eastern’ or ‘Western’ influence”. However, Eastern European countries have only recently experienced the transition from communism and, as argued by Svallfors (2010:124-125), “Adaptation to new institutional conditions is a slow process, since ingrained attitudes and expectations need to be reconsidered“. An intriguing question, therefore, is whether the underlying structuring of welfare state attitudes in Eastern European countries—in terms of the impact of basic human values—is similar to that of Western Europe or not, and if contextual factors can explain possible differences.

### **Research questions**

From this discussion, at least four specific sets of research questions can be posed. These questions make up the motivation for each of the papers in the thesis.

1. Is there a link between values and (generalised) attitudes towards redistribution, and are there cross-country differences with regard to this link across Western European countries? If so, can these differences be explained by moderating contextual factors such as welfare state generosity and political articulation?
2. Do the impact of values on attitudes towards redistribution differ across classes, that is social groups that differ in terms of competing motives? Do class differences in the values-attitudes link vary across countries, and can these differences be explained by moderating contextual factors such as income inequality and poverty rates?
2. Is there a direct relationship between personal values and institutional norms on the one hand, and support for specific distributive principles in the social insurances on the other?
4. Is there a link between values and support for the role of government in social provision across European countries and are there cross-country differences, especially between Eastern and Western European countries? Can possible differences be explained by moderating contextual factors?

# Data and variables

In order to answer the research questions posed in this thesis, individual-level data from the European Social Survey (ESS) is utilised. In Paper 1, data is used from the ESS Round 3 from 2006. In Paper 2, which focuses on class-differences in the values-attitudes link, data is used from the first four rounds of the ESS (2002-08) in order to reach a sufficient number of individual-level cases for the class-specific analyses in each respective country. In Papers 3 and 4, data is used from the ESS module Welfare state Attitudes in Europe (WAE), that is Round 4 from 2008. As a consequence, the research in this dissertation is based exclusively on European individual-level data. Meanwhile, it mainly utilises macro-level data available only from 18 OECD countries. The number of European countries for which this data is available is rather limited, often ranging between 10-13 countries (see discussion in next chapter). This is of course a limitation for each of the papers that employ this strategy (Papers 1-3). Although these limitations in data availability exist due to the European individual-level data and macro-level indicators, the countries that are included cover many of the Western European nations at the very centre of contemporary welfare state research debates. While displaying considerable differences in terms of institutional characteristics and distributive outcomes, these countries are also some of the richest and most developed welfare states. Hence, if there is a relationship between values and welfare state attitudes—and if the welfare state institutional context matters for this relationship—it should be found in these countries. However, in Paper 4, the ambition is to study a larger number of countries (21) and thus data from most parts of Europe are covered, including both Eastern and Western European countries. This is an important contribution due to the absence of studies focussing (i) on the underlying structuring of Eastern European welfare state attitudes, and (ii) comparisons between Eastern and Western European countries in this respect.

## Attitudes

In Papers 1 and 2, which focus on the impact of values on attitudes towards redistribution in terms of more or less support, the dependent variable is a 5-point Likert-type scale, which asks respondents to what extent they agree with the statement The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels. It ranges from 1 to 5, where 1='disagree strongly', 2='disagree', 3='neither agree nor disagree', 4='agree', and 5='agree strongly'. In Paper 3, which focuses on support for distributive principles in the social insurances, two items are used that ask respondents about preferred distributive principles in the redistributive programmes

pensions and unemployment insurance. Here, people are asked if they want benefits to be distributed so that, for instance in the case of pensions, “Higher earners should get a larger old age pension than lower earners. (2) High and low earners should get the same amount of old age pension. (3) Lower earners should get a larger old age pension than higher earners.” In Paper 4, which deals with the impact of values on government responsibility, several items are used that ask the respondents “how much responsibility you think governments should have ...” in various areas such as labour market policies, unemployment insurance, health care, child care, and pensions. The response alternatives in each of the items range from 0 to 10, where 10=“Should be entirely governments’ responsibility”. A more detailed account of each variable can be found in each paper.

## **Values**

As indicators for values, the ESS basic human values scale items are used. As shown in Table 2, the value items are verbal portraits of persons with different goals and aspirations. It is then asked how similar the person described is to the respondent concerning a particular value. The items’ response alternatives range from 1 to 6, where 1=‘not like me at all’, 2=‘not like me’, 3=‘a little like me’, 4=‘somewhat like me’, 5=‘like me’, and 6=‘very much like me’. Throughout the analyses in the dissertation, instead of keeping each value type separate, the items for the values universalism and benevolence are collapsed to form the higher order type self-transcendence, and the items for achievement and power are collapsed to form the higher order type self-enhancement. The same strategy is used for the values belonging to the higher order value type conservation. This is motivated by the aforementioned advantages of using the higher order value types with regard to parsimony and theoretical relevance. As a result of the nature of the respective research questions in each paper, only one (Paper 4) has the ambition to analyse the full battery of values, in other words higher order types along both dimensions. Due to multicollinearity problems associated with the basic human values scale in the available rounds of the ESS datasets, it is not possible to include all four higher order value types at the present. Using only two higher order value types, one from each dimension, solves this. In Paper 4, there is a more in-depth discussion of this issue.

**Table 2** Value types and item wordings (male version).

Construct	Item	Question wording	Answer scale
Self-transcendence	G3	He thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.	1 (not like me at all) - 6 (very much like me)
	G8	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.	
	G12	It is very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being.	
	G18	It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.	
	G19	He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.	
Conservation	G5	It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.	
	G7	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.	
	G9	It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.	
	G16	It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	
	G20	Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.	
Self-enhancement	G2	It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.	
	G4	It is important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.	
	G13	Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognise his achievements.	
	G17	It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.	

From the European Social Survey (ESS) Supplementary Questionnaire

## Contextual factors

Indicators representing various contextual factors have been sought from several sources. As an indicator of redistributive institutions' commitment to social protection, the welfare state generosity index (Scruggs 2004) is used (Paper 1). The generosity index is available for 18 OECD countries and draws on the income replacement rates and programme coverage of the social insurance programmes pensions, sick pay and unemployment insurance. However, in order to study the moderating influence of welfare state arrangements on the values-attitudes link in a larger number of countries, total social expenditure as a percentage of the GDP have been used (Paper 4). As an indicator of political articulation, the Comparative Manifesto dataset (Klingemann et al. 2006) has been used (Paper 1). In the Manifesto dataset, the programme contents in election manifestos have been indexed for most Western countries and for all elections since 1945. The dataset is a classification of the smallest significant units ("quasi-sentences") of each election manifesto on a wide range of topics distributed amongst several policy areas (Klingemann et al. 2006). As an indicator for the extent to which

people in weaker market positions are more exposed to risks related to economic sustenance and support, indicators for income-inequality and poverty rates have been used (Paper 2). For this purpose, Gini coefficients and relative poverty rates (measured as the share of the population whose disposable incomes fall below 50% of the median income) is used. Both measures are from the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS), year 2000.

# Methods

All of the papers in this thesis focus on the relationship between the link between values and attitudes on the one hand, and the context in which this link appears on the other. Many studies with this particular focus utilise MLA. However, a number of problems are associated with MLA approaches. First, data availability issues often restrict the number of level-two cases, which in the case of cross-national comparative research are countries. The “small N problem” in comparative analyses is well known (see for example Lijphart 1971), and the problems for MLA (Maas and Hox 2005) and multi-level structural equation modelling (Meuleman and Billiet 2009) have been thoroughly documented. In most comparative datasets, only between 20-30 countries are available at the most. Adding contextual variables to the analyses that are often available only in a selection of these countries—such as institutional data on, for instance, welfare state generosity (Scruggs 2004)—the number of level-two cases often decreases, making formal statistical testing of the proposed multi-level relationships highly problematic.

Second, even when robust statistical testing is possible, there are often strict limits to the number of level-two variables that can be included in multi-level modelling. Hence, the possibility to control for relevant level-two variables, and on the basis of formal statistical testing provide evidence of causality, is especially difficult considering also that comparative research mostly utilise cross-sectional data. There are, however, alternative strategies for investigating relationships between, for instance, country-level characteristics and individual-level orientations and related processes. As argued by Shalev (2007:261), in the comparative study of welfare states, “low-tech forms of analysis (tabular and graphical methods) [...] constitute viable and useful alternatives”. In Papers 1, 2 and 4, a similar approach has been adopted where country-specific macro indicators are plotted against effect sizes in the values-attitudes link (Papers 1 and 4), or class-differences in this link (Paper 2).

Comparative cross-national survey researchers are increasingly becoming aware of the problems of measurement error and measurement invariance. Yet, in welfare state attitudes research, not many studies address these issues (for an exception, see for example Andreß and Heien 2001). In the more recent literature on human values, however, the issues of measurement error and measurement equivalence have received increasing attention (Davidov 2008; Davidov et al. 2008a; Knoppen and Saris 2009) and some substantive examples, where the relationship between values and attitudes are examined, are emerging (see for example Davidov et al. 2008b). The studies in this thesis aim to take these issues into consideration by applying methods

that, in the presence of multiple indicators, allow for the modelling of latent variables, especially in the application of the ESS human values scale. For this purpose, multi-group structural equation modelling (MGSEM) is used throughout the analyses in each paper. The MGSEM framework is an especially adequate tool when modelling the structural relationships between latent variables, allowing one to (i) control for measurement error and (ii) establish measurement invariance across groups, that is equivalence in meaning with regard to the measurements across groups. If measurement instruments do not possess measurement invariance group comparisons become highly problematic, as effects between constructs cannot be compared across groups (Vandenberg and Lance 2000). As a result, all analyses in the dissertation apply a two-step strategy. First, in order to test for measurement invariance, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) is used for each measurement instrument separately, that is each latent variable. Several hierarchical levels of invariance can be distinguished based on the constraints imposed on different parameters in the models. In the type of analyses performed in this dissertation, where the structural relationships between values and attitudes (effects) are to be compared across countries, metric invariance is required (Steenkamp and Baumgartner 1998). Metric invariance implies that the factor loadings between each individual items and theoretical constructs (latent variables) should be equal across groups.

In the second step, once measurement invariance is established, the structural relation between values and attitudes can be estimated and analysed across groups, for instance countries. Separate analyses are then performed in each group, in which structural effects are estimated and compared across groups. These effects can be interpreted as macro-level effect sizes indicating the average impact of each value type on a particular attitude in a given group. The effect sizes can then be plotted against the macro-level contextual factors to investigate the relationship between contextual factors and the values-attitudes link (Papers 1 and 4) or class-differences in this link (Paper 2).

Several studies have raised the issue that the ESS basic human values scale, at least in its present condition, lacks in discriminant validity (see for example Davidov 2008; Davidov et al 2008a; Knoppen and Saris 2009). In other words, it has been proven difficult to distinguish between each of the 10 individual value types. The reason for this is that the 21 items in the ESS version of the PVQ was chosen from the original PVQ (including over 40 items) based on diversity criteria rather than choosing more homogeneous items closer to the core of each value (see Knoppen and Saris 2009). Several strategies have been suggested to deal with these problems. One strategy is to remove the most problematic items and use only a smaller number of values. This strategy is not preferable as it risks excluding theoretically important values. Another strategy is to combine several values, for instance

into higher order types. As pointed out by Knoppen and Saris (2009:99), which strategy is the best choice depends on the particular application. It has been argued here that the focus on higher order dimensions makes sense, both from a theoretical perspective and parsimony ambitions. The above-mentioned method-related issues also seem to support the case for using the higher order types instead of the individual values.

Another issue that has been raised are the problems in the ESS human values scale to analyse latent means. A precondition for comparing value means is scalar invariance, which means that the intercepts of each factor loading are equal across groups (Steenkamp and Baumgartner 1998). In other words, the intercept of any given factor loading should have the same value across groups, for instance countries, when the latent variable has the value of zero. The human values scale from several rounds of the ESS has been tested, which shows that models with scalar invariance have poor model fit measures and should be rejected in most countries (see Davidov 2008). Hence, at present it is not possible to study latent means in the human values scale across countries.

In Paper 3, which deals with the impact of values on support for different redistributive strategies, latent class analysis (LCA) is used. In essence, LCA is a method to identify ideal types through identifying probabilistic (latent) clusters of individuals who share similar characteristics or profiles with regard to a specific set of variables. By doing so, LCA also identifies various profiles that display qualitatively different patterns of association among categorical variables. When it comes to estimating relationships between categorical variables, which is one of the objectives in Paper 3, LCA is superior to other methods such as factor analysis (Hagenaars and McCutcheon 2001). In LCA, it is also possible to estimate clusters with categorical or group variables as a covariate, thus enabling the possibility to identify differences in cluster probabilities (cluster sizes) across countries, which is ideal considering the present research question. Another advantage is that LCA also estimates the probabilities of single individuals to belong to each of the identified clusters, which makes it possible to use the individual-level probabilities in further analyses of linear relationships, either as dependent or independent variables depending on theoretical interest and focus. Hence, in the second part of the analysis these individual-level probabilities are used as endogenous (dependent) variables, thus enabling analysis of the relationship between values and the probability to belong to a particular cluster, in other words the probability of individuals to support a particular redistributive strategy.

## **Results: Summary of the papers**

In the first paper, it is argued that the link between institutions and individual-level orientations might not be found in a direct correspondence between institutions and particular attitudes, but rather in relation to processes involving attitudes and other individual-level orientations. One set of factors that has been unexplored in relation to attitudes towards the welfare state is basic human values. This study employs data from the ESS Round 3 from 2006, and uses MGSEM to study the impact of two higher order value types from the theory of basic human values—self-transcendence and self-enhancement values—on attitudes towards redistribution. The results show that while effects of the two value types display similar patterns across countries, their impact displays considerable cross-country differences. A clear connection is found between effect sizes with regard to the values-attitudes link and benefit generosity and political articulation. The results indicate that institutions' commitment to social protection and their framing are two contextual factors essential for value attainment in relation to redistribution. It is also argued that the results provide evidence of a close link between institutions and individual-level processes that previous research rarely found.

In Paper 2, using data from all rounds of the ESS (2002-08), we analyse the link between basic human values and attitudes towards redistribution, and how that link differs among classes and across countries. We assess whether and why the class-specific impact of self-transcendence and self-enhancement values on attitudes towards redistribution differs across a selection of European countries. The results show that the links between values and attitudes are generally weaker in unprivileged and less materially secure classes. However, the relative strength of the associations varies substantially across countries. Where inequality is smaller and poverty less prevalent, the link between values and attitudes becomes less class specific. These findings provide support for two main interpretations: (i) that welfare policies mitigate the class-specific risks that people are exposed to, which make values more effective among workers; and (ii) that the existence of visible and salient redistributive policies works to make clearer the cognitive link between abstract values and support for concrete policies.

Paper 3 focuses on whether values and institutions have direct effects on redistributive preferences. Earlier research on attitudes towards redistribution have predominately been focused on people's preferences in terms of levels of support or demand for redistribution, yet disregarded attitudes towards how redistribution is organised. The aim of the study is to assess the impact of personal values and institutional norms on different redistributive strategies in terms of public support for the distributive

principles equity, equality and need, as institutionalised in the social insurances. Utilising ESS data from 2008, these relationships are explored using LCA and MGSEM. The results show that support for different redistributive strategies differs considerably across countries. In contrast to previous research on support for distributive principles, the majority of people support the equality principle in most countries. Furthermore, the results show that values have inconsistent and weak effects on the choice of various redistributive strategies. Hence, in some countries values play only a marginal role in the formation of these preferences, and in other countries there is no relationship at all. On the other hand, there is a clear relationship between institutional regimes that share emphasis on distributive principles in the social insurances and public support for these principles. In countries that predominately employ equality principles, the support for these principles are the comparably strong and support for equity principle is comparably weak. Likewise, in countries that employ equity principles, public support for these principles are stronger compared to in other countries. It is concluded that institutional norms are especially important in shaping attitudes towards different redistributive strategies, whereas personal values do not have any considerable impact on these preferences.

In Paper 4, we use data from ESS Round 4 from 2008, WAE, to investigate the relationship between basic human values and attitudes towards welfare state arrangements across Western and Eastern Europe. More specifically, our aim is to investigate the impact of two higher order value types from the theory of basic human values—self-transcendence and conservation—on attitudes towards government responsibility in welfare state areas such as pensions, sickness benefits and unemployment insurance. We use MGSEM to estimate the effects of values on attitudes towards government responsibility across a wide range of European countries. Moreover, in an effort to explain cross-country differences in the effects, we take interest in exploring contextual factors that moderate the values-attitudes link. We hypothesise that self-transcendence values are more easily attained in more generous and higher spending welfare states, and that the impact of these values are stronger in Western European countries due to more generous and higher spending welfare state systems. We also hypothesise that conservation values are more easily attained in the Eastern European countries due to fact that expectations and preferences in these countries, to a great extent, took form during their authoritarian communist history. The results show that the impact of self-transcendence values is stronger, and the impact of conservation values is weaker, in Western European higher spending welfare states. On closer inspection, however, the relationship between spending and effect sizes in the values-attitudes link does not manifest within Western countries, which sheds some doubt over spending as an adequate indicator of the potential of welfare state

arrangements to have important consequences for self-transcendence values. However, the effects of conservation values predominately appear in Eastern European countries. Our interpretation is that this is due to fundamental differences in institutional, cultural and socio-political histories of the former communist countries and the Western countries. This is further corroborated by the fact that Germany, when split into East and West Germany, displays the same pattern, namely that conservation values are more important in the East compared to the West. Moreover, the effects of conservation are stronger in older cohorts, which have had more experience in the former authoritarian system. Hence, our hypotheses are largely confirmed, namely that there are fundamental differences in the values underlying attitude formation between Western and Eastern European countries.

# Conclusions

Initially, two overall aims of this thesis were presented. One aim was to introduce and investigate a set of determinants of welfare state attitudes that earlier comparative survey research has ignored, namely basic human values. Another aim was to increase the understanding of how institutional and other contextual factors are related to individual-level attitude formation, by providing insights into the role of institutions for the values-attitudes link. The results in this thesis have clear implications for these two aims. First, values have the potential to play an important role in welfare state attitude formation. Second, the impact of values differs across national contexts depending on country-specific contextual factors. The results support the interpretation that the impact of values on welfare state attitudes mainly depends on (i) whether people perceive welfare state institutions to have important consequences for the extent to which their values are attained, and (ii) the presence or absence of competing motives. Hence, it is not necessarily the case that people who support redistribution and government responsibility for social protection do so due to holding, for example, egalitarian values. Instead, contextual factors such as institutions and their outcomes moderate the impact of values on welfare state attitudes.

It can be argued that the most important study of values are their consequences, be they attitudinal, behavioural or other. The question of who holds what values in the abstract is not a very interesting one if these values do not influence other more concrete aspects of social life. However, if there is a link between values and attitudes towards basic societal institutions such as welfare state arrangements, which this thesis clearly demonstrates, values are indeed worth studying. As mentioned earlier, theory about the relationship between values and political attitudes has been relatively thin. Hopefully, this thesis is not only a contribution to empirical research but also to theory with regard to the relationship between values and welfare state attitudes, as it, in the words of Feldman (2003:489), specifies some of “the conditions under which values will be strongly related to attitudes”.

The results in this thesis have shown that values have the potential of exercising a major impact on attitudes, such as those towards welfare state arrangements, depending on the country of focus. This suggests that values are an integral part of people’s political thinking, but at the same time there are considerable differences across national contexts in this respect since values only play a negligible role for attitude formation in some countries. In order to explain such differences, a fruitful approach is to focus on the role of institutions and their outcomes as moderating factors. The results from this thesis should therefore be of interest to scholars from several fields such as

comparative welfare state attitudes research, values research and policy feedback.

The results might be especially interesting for scholars of policy feedback effects of institutions on welfare state attitudes in the sense that values may play a central role for path dependency. If certain values are attained through a particular welfare state system, public expectations may establish which express that such a system should have this property, in which case welfare state retrenchment or other types of institutional reorientation is counteracted. Perhaps this is part of the reason why retrenchment is less salient in more generous welfare states (see for example Huber and Stephens 2001; Korpi and Palme 2003), where the values-attitudes link is also generally stronger. Future research—if, for example, covering longer time periods, and more countries with regard to essential macro-level indicators—may provide answers to whether this is the case or not.

Rarely, however, does one find studies without limitations, and this thesis is no exception. One limitation is that the studies in this thesis only focus on the impact of the higher order value types and not individual values. In the event of improvements in data quality with regard to the basic human values measurement instrument, in which discriminant validity is improved, more specific hypotheses about the relationship between individual values and attitudes could be investigated. Another limitation is the small N problem. The extension of contextual data to include more countries, on for instance benefit generosity, would allow for stricter statistical testing of the moderating influence of relevant contextual factors. Furthermore, one could argue that causality problems might be present, especially with regard to the relationship between contextual factors and the individual level. This constitutes a serious challenge for comparative welfare state attitudes research in general and is therefore not a feature unique to the studies in this thesis. Perhaps in the not too distant future, the availability of comparative longitudinal data, and contextual data including more countries, will enable more thorough testing of the presumed causality of these relationships.

As the studies in this thesis hopefully have shown, the degree to which there is “consistency and meaningfulness to public opinion” (Feldman 1988), in the sense that attitudes are firmly rooted in more fundamental value orientations, depends to a great extent on feedback effects of contextual factors on the “output side” of democratic processes such as institutions, their framing and their concrete socio-economic outcomes. These contextual factors play an important role in facilitating value attainment, helping people to orient and make cognitive connections between welfare state arrangements and more fundamental values, as well as influencing the socio-economic conditions from which competing motives arise that potentially crowd out values. The findings also suggest that these feedback effects do not seem to appear in an instant and direct manner, but rather seem to evolve

slowly over time. Similarly, expectations involving institutions and their consequences do not seem to change very easily. What is clear considering the results in this thesis is that contextual factors such as institutions do matter for public welfare state support, but not necessarily in a straightforward fashion. It appears as if the relationship between the macro and micro level is to be found between institutions and related contextual factors on the one hand, and more complex individual-level processes on the other. Hence, values and their impact on attitudes constitute a previously missing component that, in contrast to previous research, provides evidence for a strong link between the contextual and individual level. Perhaps this is part of the explanation for why previous research, which has mainly focused on direct contextual-attitudinal relationships, has not been able to find a clear and consistent relationship between welfare state institutions and attitude formation. Rather, based on the results in this thesis, it seems to be in the interplay between values, attitudes and institutions that this relationship can be found.

# References

- Andreß, H. J. and Heien, T. (2001). Four worlds of welfare state attitudes? A Comparison of Germany, Norway, and the United States. *European Sociological Review*, 17(4): 337-356.
- Arts, W. and Gelissen, J. (2001). Welfare States, Solidarity and Justice Principles: Does the Type Really Matter? *Acta Sociologica*, 44: 283-299.
- Barnea, M. (2003). *Personal Values and Party Orientations in Different Cultures*. Israel: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Bean, C. and Papadakis, E. (1998). A comparison of mass attitudes towards the welfare state in different institutional regimes, 1985-1990. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 10: 211-36.
- Blekesaune, M. and Quadagno, J. (2003). Public Attitudes toward Welfare State Policies: A Comparative Analysis of 24 Nations. *European Sociological Review*, 19(5): 415-427.
- Bonoli, G. (2000). Public Attitudes to social protection and political economy traditions in Western Europe. *European Societies*, 2: 431-52.
- Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (2000). Reciprocity, self interest and the welfare state. *Nordic Journal of Political Economy*, 26(1): 33-53.
- Brooks, C., and Manza, J. (2007). *Why welfare states persist: The importance of public opinion in democracies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cusack, T., Iversen, T. and Rehm, P. (2006). Risks at work: The demand and supply sides of government redistribution. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 22: 365-389.
- Davidov, E. (2008). A cross-country and cross-time comparison of the human values measurement with the second round of the European Social Survey. *Survey Research Methods*, 2(1): 33-46.
- Davidov, E., Schmidt, P. and Schwartz, S. H. (2008a). Bringing values back in: The adequacy of the European Social Survey to measure values in 20 countries. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72(3): 420-445.
- Davidov, E., Meuleman, B., Billiet, J. and Schmidt, P. (2008b). Values and Support for Immigration: A Cross-Country Comparison. *European Sociological Review* 24(5): 583-599.
- Eagly, A., H. and S. Chaiken (1993). *The psychology of attitudes*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace.
- Edlund, J. (1999). Trust in Government and Welfare Regimes: Attitudes to Redistribution and Financial Cheating in the USA and Norway. *European Journal of Political Research*, 35: 341-370.

- Edlund, J. (2007). Class Conflicts and Institutional Feedback Effects in Liberal and Social Democratic Welfare Regimes. In Svallfors, S. (Ed.), *The Political Sociology of the Welfare State. Institutions, Social Cleavages, and Orientations* (pp. 30–79). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Oxford, Polity Press.
- Evans, G. (1998). Britain and Europe: Separate Worlds of Welfare? *Government and Opposition*, 33: 183-98.
- Fehr, E. and Fischbacher, U. (2002). Why social preferences matter—the impact of nonselfish motives on competition, cooperation, and incentives. *Economic Journal*, 112: 1–33.
- Feldman, S. (1988). Structure and Consistency in Public Opinion: the Role of Core Beliefs and Values. *American Journal of Political Science*, 32(2): 416-440.
- Feldman, S. (2003). Values, ideology, and the structure of political attitudes. In Sears, D. O., Huddy, L. and Jervis, R. (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of political psychology* (pp. 477–508). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Feldman, S. and Zaller, J. (1992). The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State. *American Journal of Political Science*, 36, 268–307.
- Finseerass, H. (2009). Income Inequality and Demand for Redistribution. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 32(1):94-119.
- Fishbein, M. and Ajzen, I. (1975). *Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Fong, C., Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (2005). Reciprocity and the Welfare State. In: Gintis, H., Bowles, S., Boyd, R. and Fehr, E. (Eds.), *Moral Sentiments and Material Interests. The Foundations of Cooperation in Economic Life* (pp. 277-302). Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.
- Gelissen, J. (2000). Popular support for institutionalised solidarity: a comparison between European welfare states. *International Journal of Social Welfare* 9: 285-300.
- Gintis, H., Bowles, S., Boyd, R., and Fehr, E. (Eds.) (2004). *Moral sentiments and material interests: the foundations of cooperation in economic life*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hagenaars, J. A. and McCutcheon, A. L. (Eds.) (2001) *Applied Latent Class Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, P. A. (1986). *Governing the Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Halman, L. and de Moor, R. (1994). Value Shift in Western Societies. In Ester, L., Halman, L. and de Moor, R. (Eds.) *The Individualizing Society: Value Change in Europe and North America*. Tilburg, Tilburg University Press.

- Hitlin S. (2003). Values as the core of personal identity: drawing links between two theories of the self. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 66:118-37
- Hitlin, S. and Piliavin, J. A. (2004). Values: Reviving a dormant concept. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30: 359-393.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Huber, E. and Stephens, J. D. (2001). Welfare state and production regimes in the era of retrenchment. In Pierson, P. (Ed.), *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1971). The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-industrial Societies. *American Political Science Review*, 65:991-1017.
- Inglehart, R. (1977). *The silent revolution*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization: Cultural, economic and political change in 43 countries*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Iversen, T. and Soskice, D. (2001). An asset theory of social policy preferences. *American Political Science Review*, 95: 875-893.
- Jæger, M. M. (2006). Welfare Regimes and Attitudes Towards Redistribution: The Regime Hypothesis Revisited. *European Sociological Review*, 22(2): 157-170.
- Katz, D. (1960). The functional approach to the study of attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 24:163-204.
- Klingemann, H.-D., Volkens, A., Bara, J., Budge, I. and McDonald, M. (2006). *Mapping policy preferences II: Estimates for parties, electors, and governments in Eastern Europe, European Union, and OECD 1990-2003*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Kluckhohn, C. K. M. (1951). Values and value orientations in the theory of action. In Parsons, T. and Shils, E. (Eds.), *Toward a general theory of action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Knoppen, D. and Saris, W. (2009). Do we have to combine values in the Schwartz' human values scale? A comment on the Davidov studies. *Survey Research Methods*, 3: 91-103.
- Korpi, W. and Palme, J. (1998). The Paradox of Redistribution and Strategies of Equality: Welfare State Institutions, Inequality, and Poverty in the Western Countries. *American Sociological Review*, 63(5): 661-687.
- Korpi, W. and Palme, J. (2003). New Politics and Class Politics in the Context of Austerity and Globalization: Welfare State Regress in 18 Countries, 1975-95. *American Political Science Review*, 97:425-46.

- Kumlin, S. (2004). *The Personal and the Political: How Personal Welfare State Experiences Affect Political Trust and Ideology*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kumlin, S. (2006). Learning from politics? The causal interplay between government performance and political ideology. *Journal of Public Policy*, 26: 89–114.
- Kumlin, S. (2007). The Welfare State: Values, Policy Preferences, and Performance Evaluations. In Dalton, R. J. and Klingemann, H. D. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior* (pp. 362-82). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kumlin, S., and Svallfors, S. (2007). Social stratification and political articulation: why attitudinal class differences vary across countries. In Mau, S. and Veghte, B. (Eds.), *Social justice, legitimacy and the welfare state* (pp. 19-46). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Larsen, C. A. (2008). The Institutional Logic of Welfare Attitudes: How Welfare Regimes Influence Public Support. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41: 145-68.
- Lijphart, A. (1971). Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method. *American Political Science Review* 65:682-693.
- Lipset, S. M. and Rokkan, S. (1967). Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction, In. Lipset, S. M. and Rokkan, S. (Eds.), *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. New York: Free Press.
- Lipsmeyer, C. and Nordstrom, T. (2003). East versus West: Comparing Political Attitudes and Welfare Preferences Across European Societies. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10: 339–364.
- Maas, C. J. M. and Hox, J. J. (2005). Sufficient Sample Sizes for Multilevel Modeling. *Methodology*, 1(3):86–92.
- Mau, S. (2003). *The Moral Economy of Welfare States. Britain and Germany Compared*. London, Routledge.
- Mau, S. (2004). Welfare Regimes and the Norms of Social Exchange. *Current Sociology*, 52(1): 53–74.
- Mettler, S. and Soss, J. (2004). The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics. *Perspectives on politics*, 2(1): 55-73.
- Meuleman, B. and Billiet, J. (2009). A Monte Carlo sample size study: How many countries are needed for accurate multilevel SEM? *Survey Research Methods*, 3: 45–58.
- Pierson, P. (1993). When Effect Becomes Cause: Policy Feedback and Political Change. *World Politics*, 45: 595-628.
- Rohan, M. J. (2000). A rose by any name? The values construct. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 4(3): 255-277.
- Rokeach, M. (1967). *Value survey*. Sunnyvale, CA: Halgren Tests.

- Rokeach, M. (1968). The role of values in public opinion research. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 32(4): 547-559.
- Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York, Free Press.
- Rothstein, B. (1998). *Just institutions matter. The moral and political logic of the universal welfare state*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Sagiv, L. and Schwartz, S. H. (1995). Value priorities and readiness for out-group social contact. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69: 437-448.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the Content and Structure of Values - Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in 20 Countries. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 25: 1-65.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Are there universal aspects in the structure and contents of human values? *Journal of Social Issues*, 50: 19-45.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2003). A proposal for measuring values orientations across nations. *Questionnaire development package of the European Social Survey*, Chapter 7. [www.europeansocialsurvey.org](http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org)
- Schwartz, S. H. and Bardi, A. (2001). Value hierarchies across cultures - Taking a similarities perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(3): 268-290.
- Schwartz, S. H., Melech, G., Lehmann, A. and Burgess, S. (2001). Extending the cross-cultural validity of the theory of basic human values with a different method of measurement. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(5): 519-542.
- Schwartz, S. H., Caprara, G. V. and Vecchione, M. (2010). Basic Personal Values, Core Political Values, and Voting: A Longitudinal Analysis. *Political Psychology*, 31:421-452.
- Scruggs, L. (2004). *Comparative Welfare State Entitlements Data Set: A Comparative Institutional Analysis of Eighteen Welfare States*. Version 1.2.
- Scruggs, L. (2006). The Generosity of Social Insurance, 1971-2002. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 22(3): 349-364.
- Sears, D. O. (1993). Symbolic politics: A socio-psychological theory. In Iyengar, S. and McGuire, W. J. (Eds.), *Explorations in political psychology* (pp. 113-149). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Sears, D. O. and Funk, C. L. (1990) The limited effect of economic self-interest on the political attitudes of the mass public. *Journal of Behavioral Economics*, 19(3): 247-271.
- Sears, D. O., Lau, R. R., Tyler, T. R. and Allen, H. M. Jr. (1980). Self-Interest vs. Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Presidential Voting. *The American Political Science Review*, 74: 670-684.
- Steenkamp, J.-B. E. M. and Baumgartner, H. (1998). Assessing measurement invariance in cross national consumer research. *Journal of consumer research*, 25: 78-90.

- Svallfors, S. (1993). Dimensions of inequality: A comparison of attitudes in Sweden and Britain. *European Sociological Review*, 9: 267–287.
- Svallfors, S. (1996). *Välfärdsstatens moraliska ekonomi*. Umeå, Boréa.
- Svallfors, S. (1997). Worlds of welfare and attitudes to redistribution: A comparison of eight Western nations. *European Sociological Review*, 13(3): 283-304.
- Svallfors, S. (2003). Welfare Regimes and Welfare Opinions: A Comparison of Eight Western Countries. *Social Indicators Research*, 64: 495-520.
- Svallfors, S. (2007). *The Political Sociology of the welfare State: Institutions, Social Cleavages, and Orientations*. Stanford CA, Stanford University Press.
- Svallfors, S. (2010). Policy Feedback, Generational Replacment and Attitudes to State Intervention: Eastern and Western Germany, 1990-2006. *European Political Science Review*, 2(1): 119-35.
- Taylor-Gooby, P. (2004). Open markets and welfare values: Welfare values, inequality and social change in the silver age of the welfare state. *European Societies*, 6(1): 29-48.
- Tetlock, P. E. (1986). A Value Pluralism Model of Ideological Reasoning. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50: 819-827.
- Vandenberg, R. J. and Lance, C. E. (2000). A review and synthesis of the measurement invariance literature: suggestions, practices and recommendations for organizational research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 3: 4-69.
- Williams, R. M. J. (1968). Values. In Sills D. L. (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of the social sciences* (vol. 16). New York: Macmillan.
- Zaller, J. R. (1992). *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.