

# Time trends in the influence of human values on political attitudes across Europe

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# Background

- Focus on attitudes towards two core political issues, namely redistribution and immigration
- Both are highly relevant in the context of the financial crisis and their consequences
- Previous studies indicate the importance of values for the formation of attitudes towards these issues (Kulin & Svallfors 2013, Davidov et al. 2008)
- What is the impact of the crisis on the link between values and those attitudes?

# Previous studies

## **Values and attitudes towards redistribution**

- Most relevant: Self-transcendence values
- Positive effect of self-transcendence values on attitudes towards redistribution, weaker in lower (more risk-exposed) classes (Kulin & Svallfors 2013)
- However, the positive effect of self-transcendence values is generally stronger in more generous welfare states (Kulin 2011)

# Previous studies

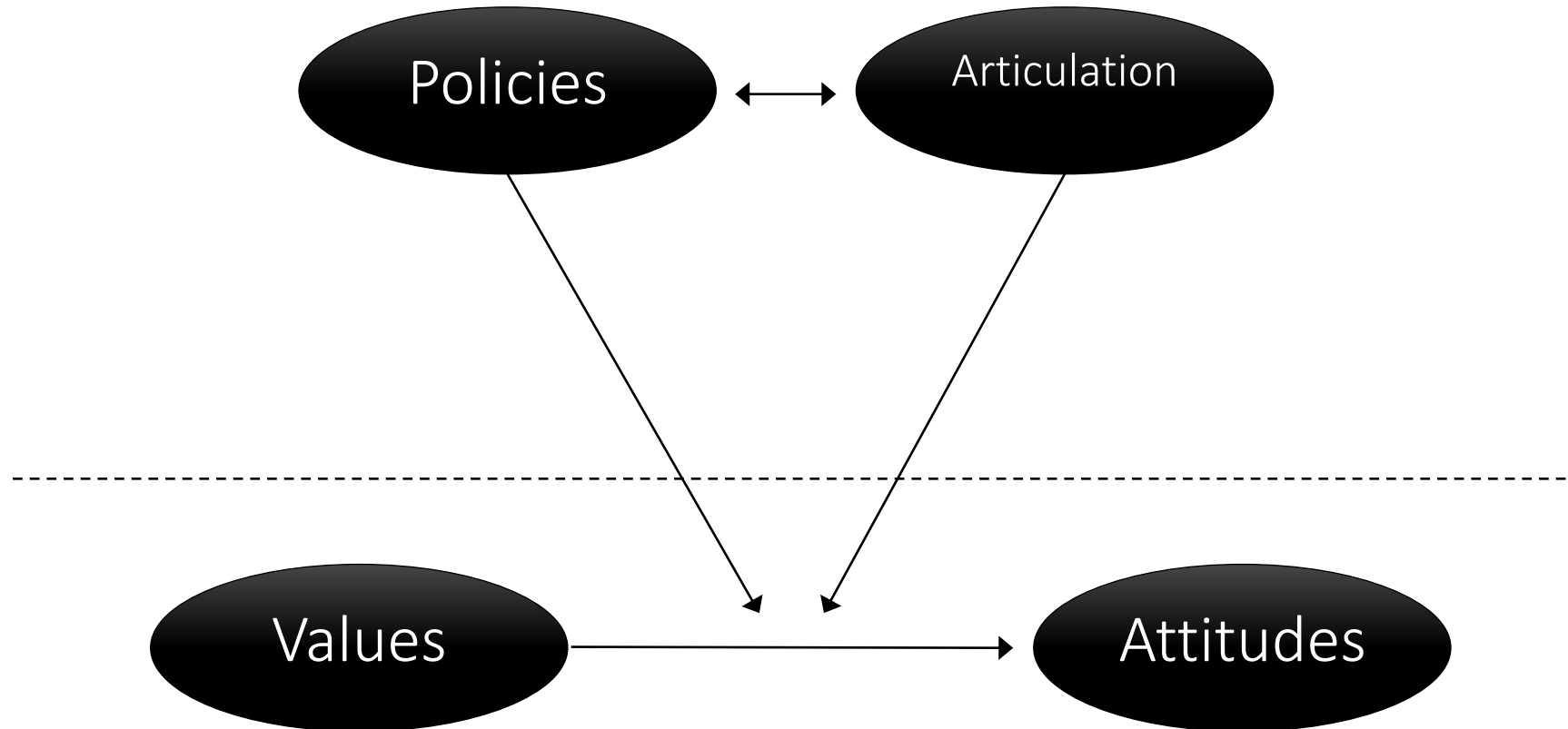
## **Values and attitudes towards immigration**

- Most relevant: Conservation and self-transcendence values
- Positive effect of conservation values on anti-immigration attitudes, stronger in low GDP countries (e.g., Davidov et al. 2008)
- Negative effect of self-transcendence values on anti-immigrant attitudes, stronger in high GDP countries

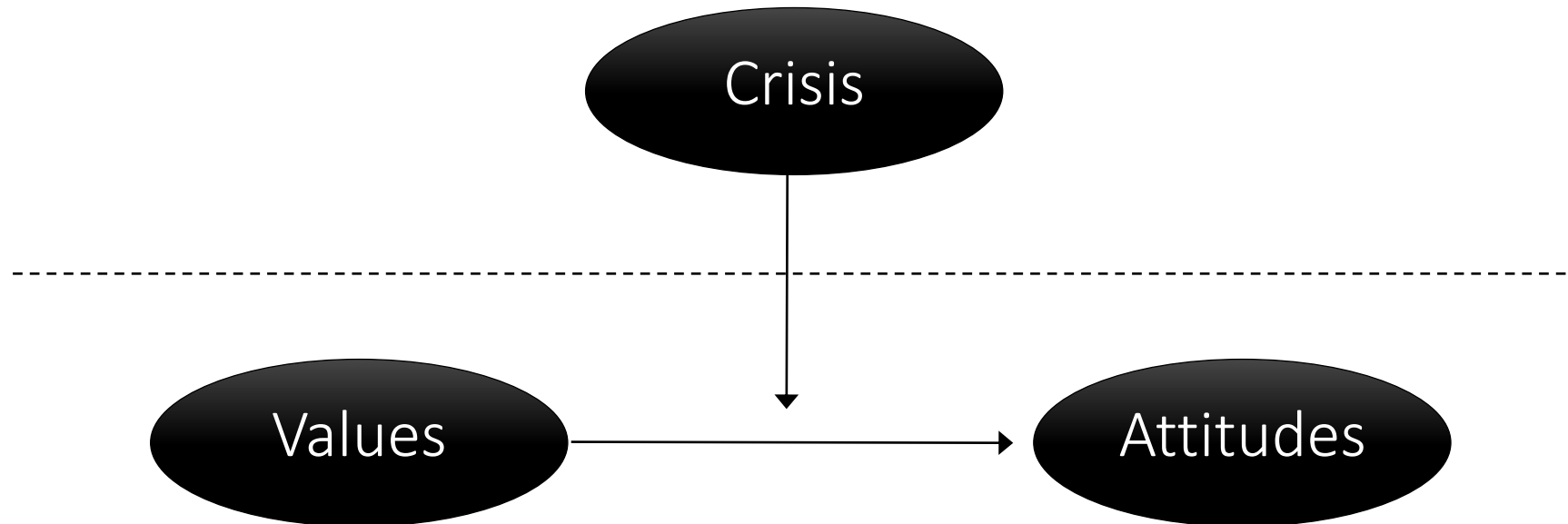
# Theoretical Hypotheses

- a. Self-transcendence (ST) values have a positive effect on redistribution attitudes:
  - What changes can we expect throughout the crisis?
    - H1: increased risk perception (competing motives) weaken the link
    - H2: response for further need of redistribution would strengthen the link
- b. Conservation (CONS) is positively and ST negatively related to anti-immigration attitudes:
  - What changes can we expect throughout the crisis?
    - H3: increased perceived threat increases the effect of conservation values
    - H4: declining economic conditions will weaken the effect of self-transcendence

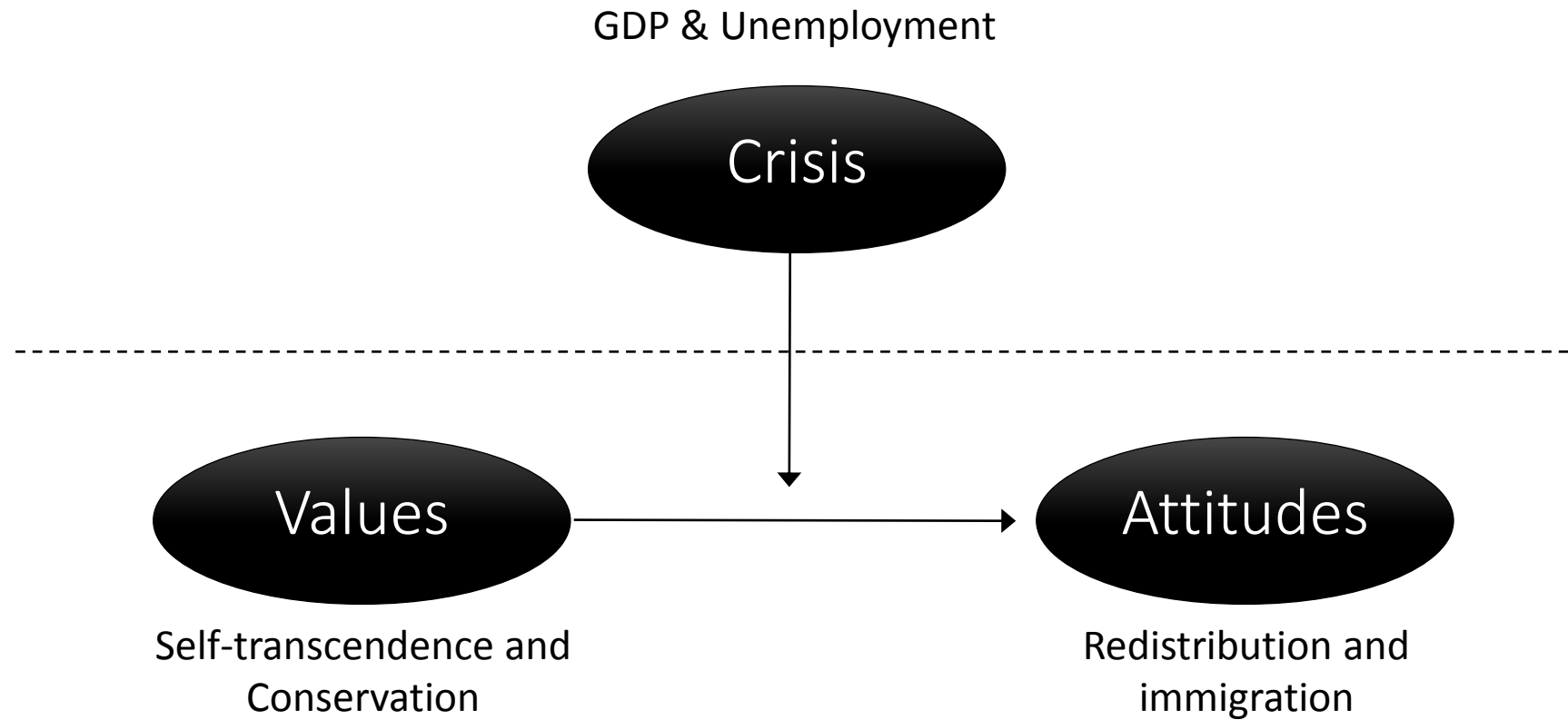
# Model



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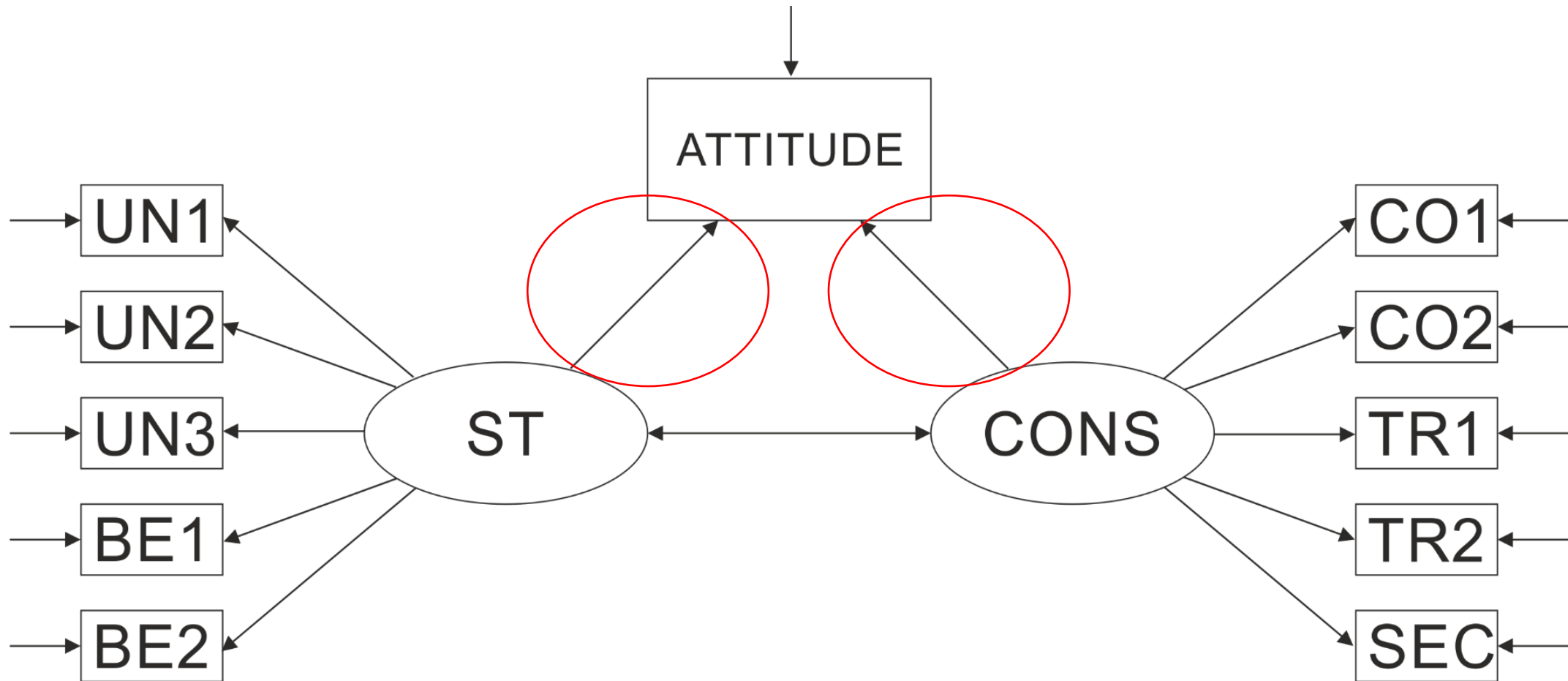




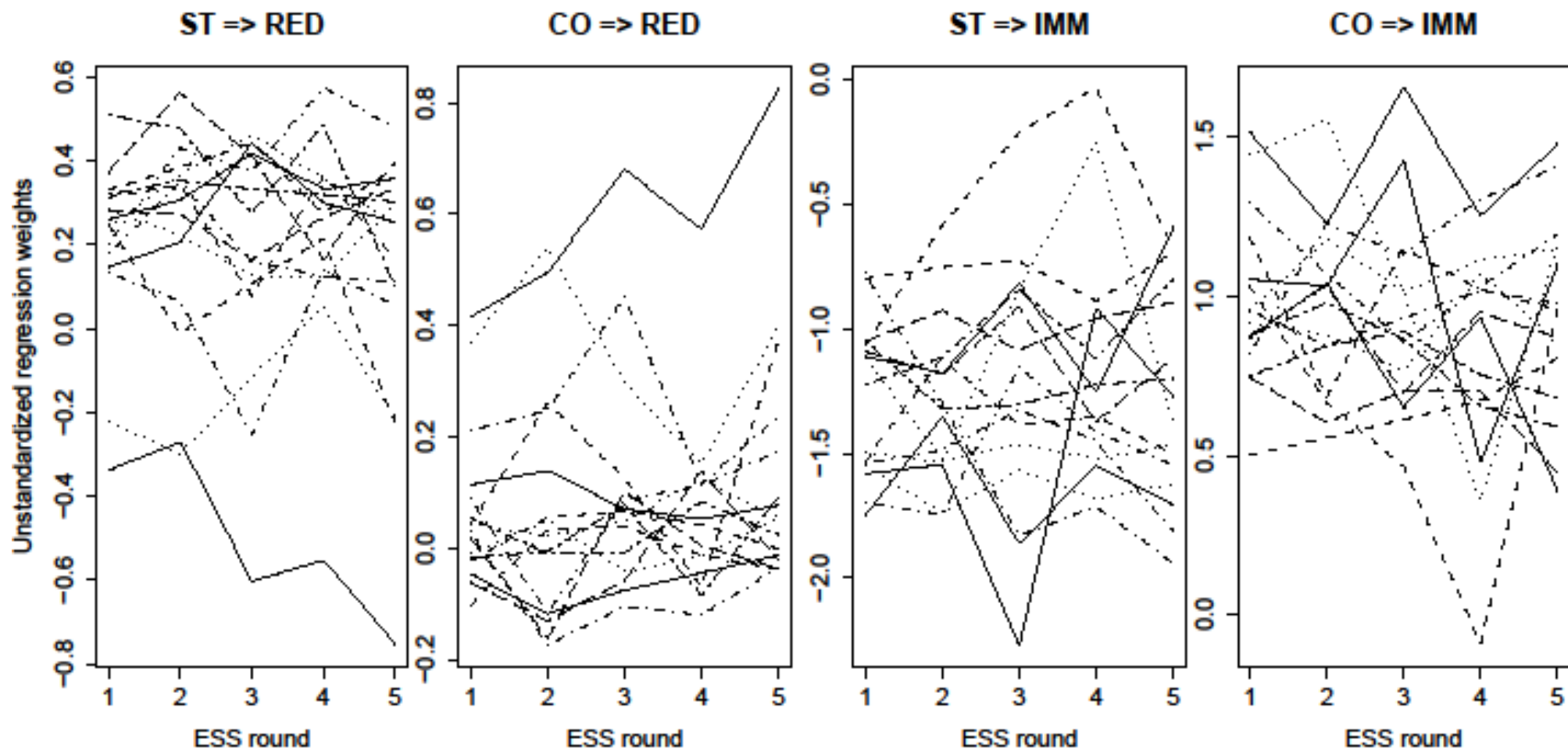
# Data

- ESS Round 1 (2002) to 5 (2010)
- Countries included:
  - BE, CH, DE, DK, ES, FI, FR, GB, HU, IE, NL, NO, PL, PT, SE, SI.
- Higher order value structures as latent variables:
  - 5 value items for conservation (2 TR + 2 CO + 1 SEC)
  - 5 value items for self-transcendence (3 UN + 2 BE)
- Single item attitude measures as manifest variables:
  - Redistribution: Government should reduce income differences.
  - Immigration: Immigrants make country a worse/better place to live.
- Estimation of MGSEMs with all countries but for each round separately

# MGSEMs



# First Results



# Finding a trend

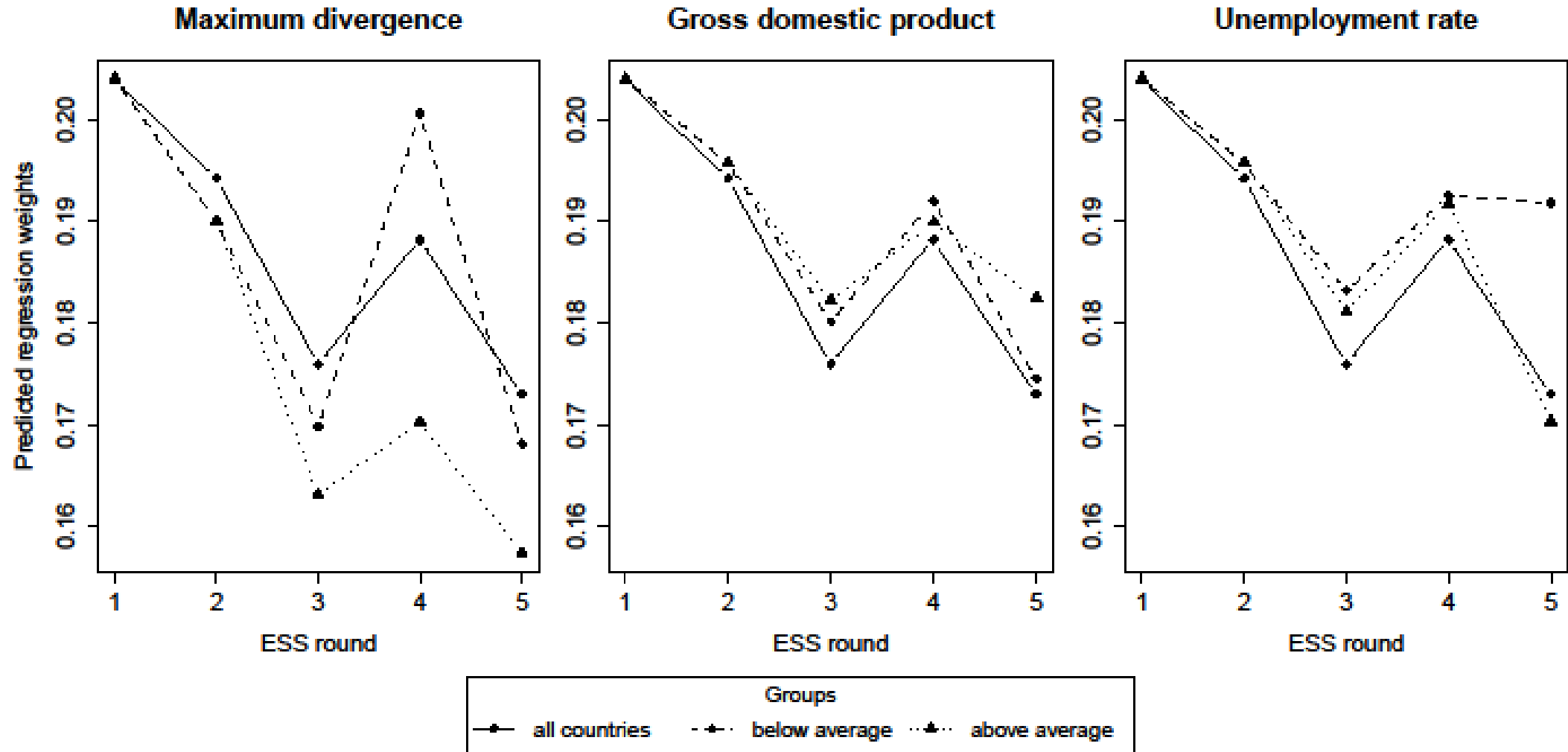
- Fitting a regression line across all time trends?
  - Problem: we expect a non-linear development
  - Solution: Growth Curve Model
- Beyond the trend, we explore contextual factors (by groupings):
  - Calculus for grouping: Mean across time
    1. Strength of the value-attitude link (Maximum divergence)
    2. Economic performance (GDP)
    3. Labour market situation (Unemployment)

# Country Grouping

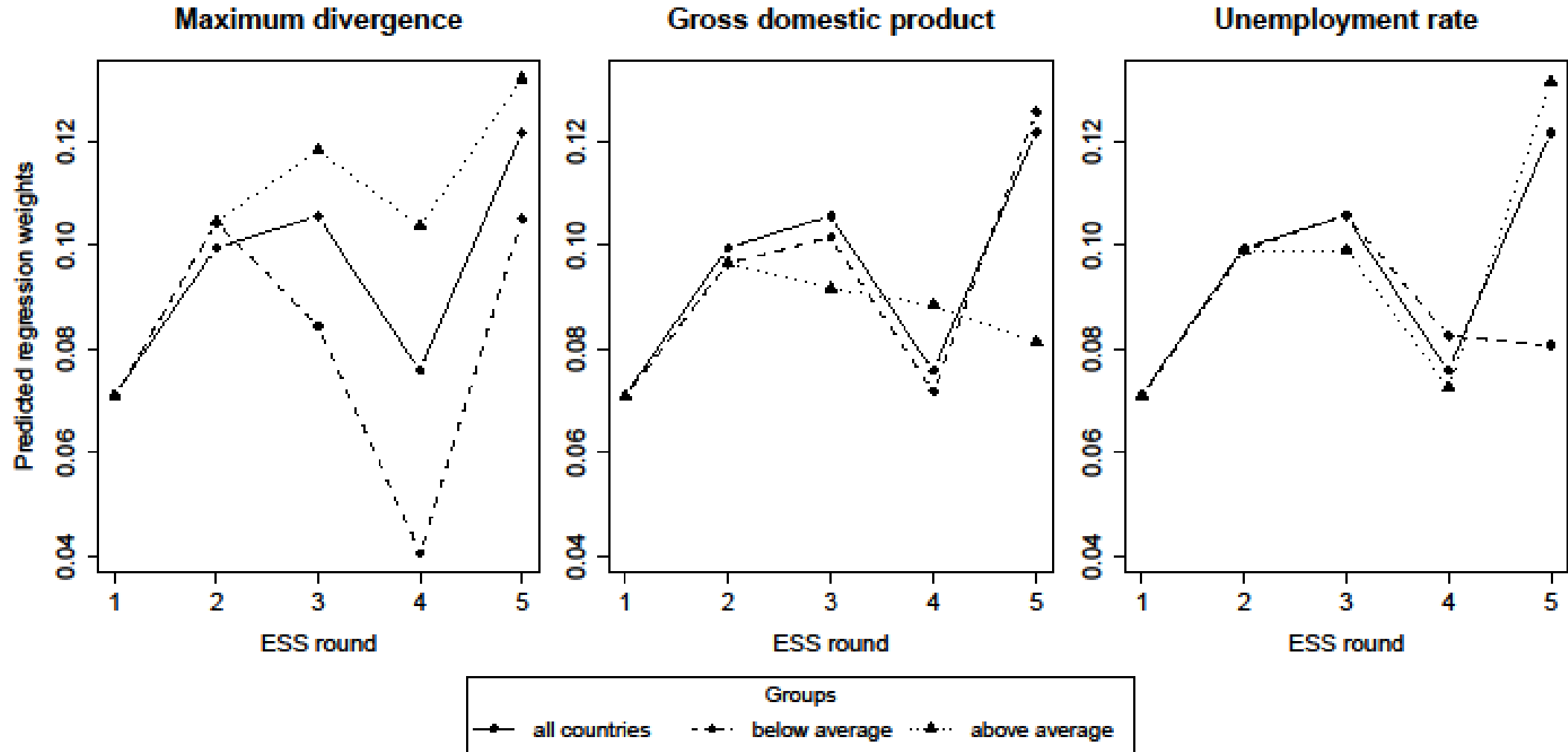
Group	BE	CH	DE	DK	ES	FI	FR	GB	HU	IE	NL	NO	PL	PT	SE	SI
<b>ST =&gt; RED</b>	Hi	Hi	Hi	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Lo	Lo	Lo	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo
<b>CO =&gt; RED</b>	Hi	Hi	Hi	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Lo	Lo	Lo	Hi	Hi	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo
<b>ST =&gt; IMM</b>	Hi	Hi	Lo	Lo	Hi	Hi	Lo	Lo	Hi	Lo	Hi	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Lo
<b>CO =&gt; IMM</b>	Hi	Hi	Hi	Hi	Hi	Hi	Lo	Lo	Lo	Lo	Hi	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Lo
<b>GDP</b>	Hi	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Hi	Hi	Hi	Lo	Lo	Hi	Lo
<b>Unempl.</b>	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Hi	Hi	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Lo	Lo	Hi	Hi	Lo	Lo

**ST: Self-transcendence; CO: Conservation; RED: Redistribution attitude; IMM: Immigration attitude; Hi: above average across time period; Lo: below average across time period; Unemployment: Unemployment rate**

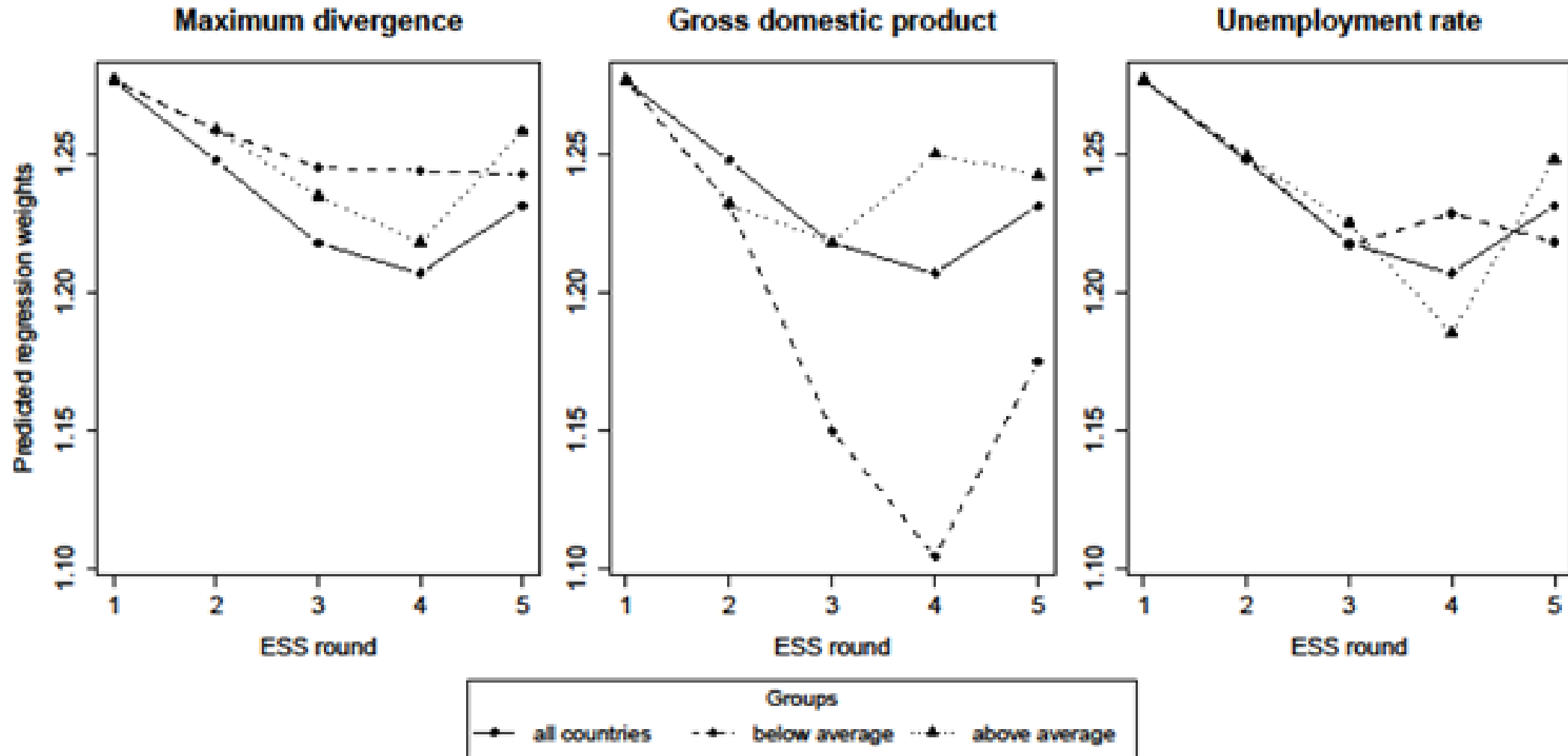
# ST => Redistribution attitude



# CONS => Redistribution attitude

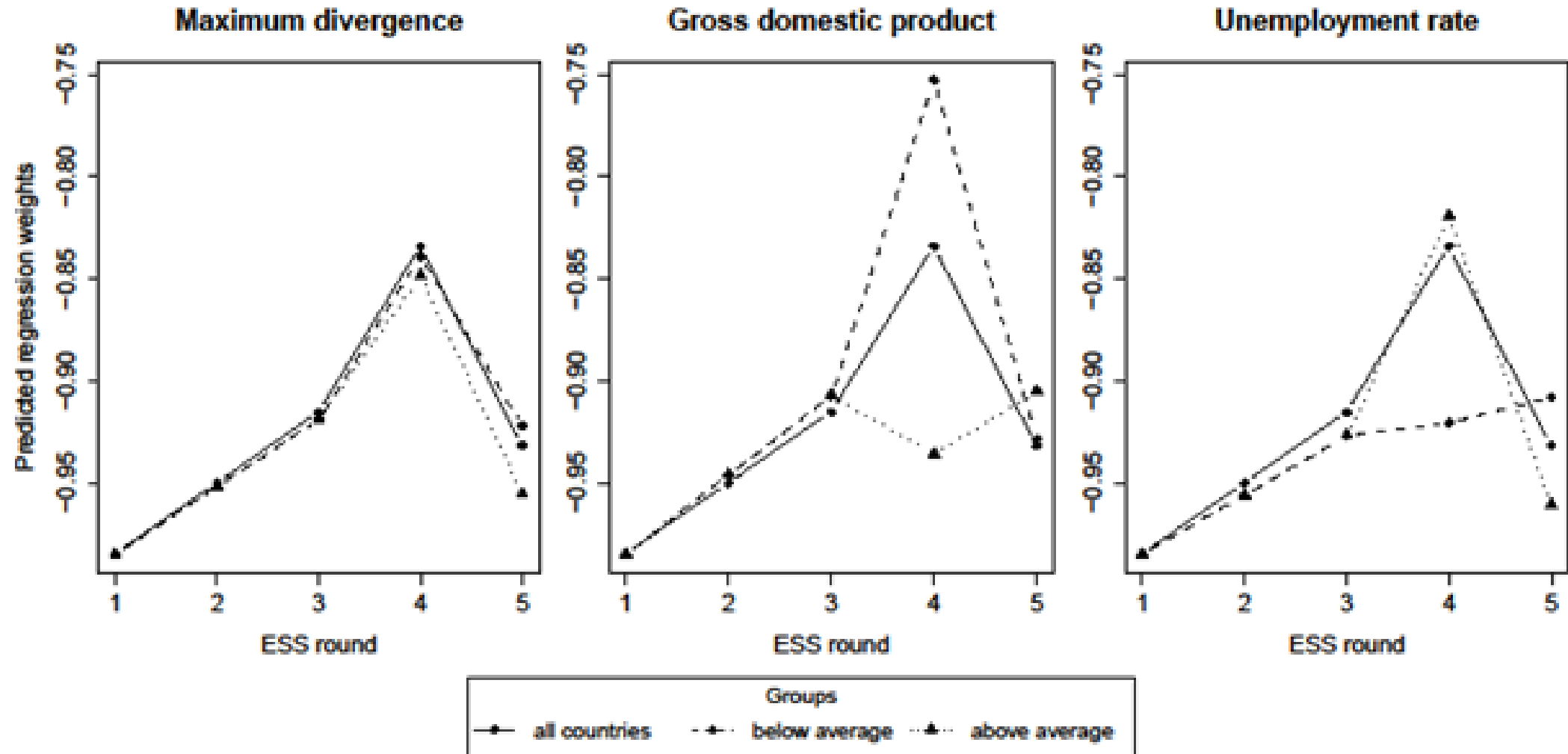


# ST => Immigration attitude





# CONS => Immigration attitude



# Conclusions

- Evidence of a crisis effect along both attitudes
- Redistribution:
  - Immediate response, we interpret as elite framing
  - The strength of the value-attitude link distinguishes the groups clearer while GDP and unemployment rate are less important
- Immigration:
  - Delayed effect
  - Value-attitude levels make little difference
  - GDP and unemployment provide better insights
- Long term post-crisis effect or business as usual?

Thank you for your attention