

CLASS, VALUES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS REDISTRIBUTION

Joakim Kulin¹ and Stefan Svallfors²

¹ Department of Sociology, Umeå University
SE-901 87 Umeå, Sweden
phone: +46 90 786 59 84 or +46 70 461 92 82
e-mail: joakim.kulin@soc.umu.se

² Department of Sociology, Umeå University

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we investigate class differences in the motivational basis of support for redistribution in a comparative perspective. More precisely, we focus on analyzing the link between basic human values and attitudes towards redistribution, and how that link differs among classes and across countries.

Frequently in the literature, a major account of the link between social class and attitudes towards redistribution is that attitudes are driven by the material self-interests in different classes. Members of the working class tend to have relatively low wages and tend to be more exposed to risks of unemployment and income losses compared to members of the higher classes, and are therefore more supportive of redistribution. [Self-interest and cross-country differences] However, the self-interest thesis has been widely contested in many fields of social research and there is now plenty of evidence suggesting that there are other more altruistically oriented motives behind human attitudes and behaviour. We argue that self-interest and basic human values can function as competing motives behind attitudes towards redistribution. In lower classes, attempts to minimize risks and maximize resources might be prioritized and thereby crowd out other motives behind attitudes towards redistribution such as basic human values. Hence, the link between values and welfare attitudes should be stronger in more advantaged classes. However, we also expect cross-country differences in the values-attitudes link among classes: the priority of self-interest in lower classes may be mitigated in countries where inequality is smaller and risks reduced by universal and generous redistributive programs. Furthermore, we expect political articulation to modify the way members of different classes make connections between values on the one hand, and redistribution on the other. In countries where redistributive welfare issues are at the fore, we expect values to be a more important motive among lower classes and, subsequently, smaller differences in the values-attitudes link between classes.

In order to test these claims, we employ a two-step analysis. First, we use Multi-Group Structural Equation Modelling (MGSEM) and data from the European Social Survey (ESS Round 4 from 2008) to analyze the class-specific links between values and attitudes towards redistribution in a number of West European countries. Then, we analyze the relationship between the values-attitudes link and country measures on welfare state generosity and political articulation.

Introduction

It might seem like a trivial proposition that persons who embrace abstract goals such as universalistic or benevolent values also favour welfare state redistribution. Under closer scrutiny, however, this argument is perhaps a conditional hypothesis at best. Recent work shows that the impact of values related to the socio-economic dimension (equality and altruism vs. equity and achievement) on attitudes towards redistribution is greater in countries where redistributive programs are generous and universal (Kulin, 2009) potentially as a result of cross national variation in how people perceive the ability of redistributive institutions to promote generally important values. However, effects sizes on the national level may conceal great variation within countries and to some extent the explanation of why people support redistribution might be concealed. We believe that the dynamics tied to the determinants of support for redistribution must be sought partly on a more disaggregated level than the country-level, and we propose that class is a key concept when trying to assess the determinants of support, and in particular basic human values.

In this paper we study the impact of self-transcendence and self-enhancement values on attitudes towards redistribution. Previous research has failed to provide theoretically and analytically satisfying accounts of the impact of abstract motivations such as basic human values on attitudes towards redistribution. Basic human values are abstract and motivational goals such as equality, altruism and equity (effort/achievement–reward) and it is imperative to assess their individual importance for redistributive attitude formation, as well as potential differences in these relationships across groups and societies.

Our central argument is that the extent to which basic human values function as important motives driving attitudes towards redistribution (extent of support or no support) depend on (1) the perception a person has of their risks and resources, and (2) the tendency of a person to cognitively make connections between abstract goals (basic human values) and redistributive practices.

While many studies in the field of welfare state attitude research have focused on explaining aggregate differences across countries regarding attitudes towards redistribution (e.g. Svallfors, 1997; Gelissen, 2000; Andreß and Heien, 2001; Blekesaune and Quadagno, 2003; Linos and West, 2003) very few studies have focused on the personal and abstract motives that drive attitude formation. Perhaps partly as a consequence, the determinants of support for redistribution have been difficult to assess (see e.g. Jæger, 2006). Rather than focusing on how to explain country differences in attitudes towards redistribution, we attempt to contribute to the knowledge about the motives that drive attitude formation partly through shifting focus to a more disaggregated level.

A reoccurring result in the welfare state attitudes literature is that there are class differences in attitudes towards redistribution, and that there are cross-country differences in the way attitudes are structured by class (e.g., Svallfors, 1997). While members of the working class generally are more in favour of redistribution than members of higher social classes, the magnitude of these differences displays considerable variation across countries. Although several theoretical accounts of the personal motives that underpin attitudinal patterns in different classes can be found in the literature, these determinants have seldom been investigated empirically.

Frequently in the literature, a major account of the link between social class and attitudes towards redistribution is that attitudes are driven by the material self-interest associated with particular

positions in the social structure or a particular social class. One relatively explicit assumption of self-interest is found in the political-economical approach, where demands for insurance and redistribution are seen as driven exclusively by individuals' relative incomes and their risk exposure in the labour market (Cusack et al., 2006; Iversen and Soskice, 2001). However, the self-interest thesis has been widely contested in many fields of social research and by now there are plenty of evidence suggesting that there are different other-regarding concerns such as altruistically oriented motives driving human attitudes and behaviour (see e.g., Fehr and Fischbacher, 2002). In the field of welfare state attitudes there are clear indications that support for welfare state policies are not determined by material self-interest alone but also depend on orientations such as considerations of justice, reciprocity and socio-tropic concern (e.g., Svallfors, 1996; 2003; 2007; Rothstein, 1998; Mau, 2003; 2004).

We propose that normative motives such as basic human values might not necessarily differ across countries, but rather that the extent to which values are translated into particular attitudes towards specific objects differ cross-nationally. This supposition is supported by results from survey research showing that value priorities display cross-cultural homogeneity (Schwartz and Bardi, 2001). At the same time, however, responses to surveys display a high degree of intra-cultural heterogeneity across individuals and groups which can be seen as an indication that survey answers reflect personal values rather than for instance cultural norms (Schwartz, 1992; 2001). Moreover, as emphasized by Sagiv and Schwartz (1995:447), personal values can play an important role for attitude formation but the extent to which they do so, must be understood by considering the moderating effect of contextual factors. Thus, it is interesting to focus, not on cross-country differences in value priorities but rather, on how this intra-cultural variation in value priorities affects attitudes differently depending on the national context.

We argue that self-interest and basic human values function as competing motives behind attitudes towards redistribution (see Rueda and Pontusson, 2010 for a similar argument). In lower classes, however, risks are relatively immanent and attempts to minimize risks and maximize resources might therefore be prioritized and thereby crowd out other motives behind attitudes towards redistribution such as basic human values. Hence, the link between values and attitudes should be stronger in more advantaged classes. Our main point, however, is that we also expect cross-country differences in the values-attitudes link among classes. First, the priority of self-interest in lower classes may be mitigated in countries where risks are reduced by universal and generous redistributive programs. Second, we expect political articulation to modify the way members of different classes make connections between interests and values on the one hand, and redistribution on the other. In countries where redistributive welfare issues are at the fore we expect values to be a more important motive among lower classes and, subsequently, similar or in some cases even stronger impact of values on attitudes compared to higher classes.

Class

There are several competing theories treating social class. The most notable approach to class theory and class analysis is the EGP class model (Ericsson and Goldthorpe, 1992). The main distinction lies between two major groups of employees – the *working class* and the *service class (the salariat)* – that differ with regards to their employment relations in the labour market or production units

(Goldthorpe, 2007). The working class consists of wage earners in mainly manual occupations and the service class consists of managers and professionals. Class positions can be distinguished based on whether employment is regulated through a labour contract or a service relationship. The fundamental difference between the two depends on (1) asset specificity, i.e., whether the job requires specific skills or not and (2) whether occupational tasks are easy or difficult to monitor. This refers to the problems employers face when trying to ensure that employees are retained and act in the best interest of the firm. For occupations with a labour contract the supply of labour is relatively good since these jobs do not require specific skills, and the tasks are often easy to monitor. The service relationship, on the other hand, is found in occupations that require specific skills which only a few people on the labour market hold. In addition, occupational tasks in the service class are often difficult to monitor which means that while employees know if they are acting in the best interest of the firm, the employer does not. This calls for measures to align the interests of the employee with that of the employer by creating incentives that ensure the cooperation of the employee. These incentives range from insurances of incremental pay increases and career opportunities to pension rights and other insurances. Although classes cannot be distinguished along one single dimension, different classes can still be conceived of as more or less advantaged, with the service class having advantages over the working class in terms of lower labour market risks and more resources, e.g., in terms of relatively high incomes. There are several levels of aggregation of the EGP class model. In its most disaggregated version the class schema incorporate 11 classes (see e.g., Breen 2004). Here we use a version of the class schema that collapses the original classes into 6 categories: service class I and II, routine non-manuals, skilled manual worker, unskilled manual worker and self-employed (see e.g., Svallfors 2006).

Class and attitudes

In the literature, a frequent explanation for class differences in attitudes towards redistribution is self-interest (e.g., Iversen and Soskice, 2001). According to this perspective social classes are exposed to different risks and varying resources to meet these risks which result in diverging interests in relation to redistribution. According to this perspective, members of the working class tend to have relatively low wages and tend to be more exposed to risks of unemployment and income losses compared to members of the higher classes and are therefore, as a result of striving to minimize risks and maximize resources, more supportive of redistribution. A prominent explanation for cross-country differences in class-attitudes patterns is that welfare state institutions affect the risks and resources associated with being a member of a particular social class, and as welfare state redistributive institutions such as pensions and sickness insurance differ across countries, so do the attitudinal responses of members of different classes due to their material self-interest in relation to a particular set of redistributive programs.

A more complete account is the moral economy perspective which emphasize the coexistence of motives behind welfare state attitudes where self-interest and values and norms all influence attitudes according to beliefs about duties, obligations and principles of reciprocity (e.g., Svallfors, 2006:170; Mau, 2003). Support for redistribution emerges not only because of its appeal to economic self-interest but because it conforms to deeply held norms of reciprocity and values related to fairness and justice (Bowles and Gintis, 2000; Ullrich, 2002; Mau, 2003; Svallfors, 1996;

2007). Moreover, attitudes, perceptions and other orientations related to redistribution may be affected by the political articulation from political parties, unions and mass media (Svallfors, 2006:24) which may strengthen or weaken original relationships between such abstract orientations and specific attitudes.

Values and attitudes

In this study we make a clear distinction between values and attitudes. We define an attitude as an “organization of several beliefs focused on a specific object or situation, predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner” (Rokeach, 1968:550). Attitudes are thus individual dispositions to act in a preferential manner towards a specific object, behaviour, person, institution, or event (Ajzen, 1993; Rokeach, 1968). Eagly and Chaiken (1998) 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 “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” (2001:28). Based on these accounts, an attitude can be described as an individual’s tendency to evaluate a specific object – such as a behaviour, person, institution, or event – as good or bad. In this study, attitudes towards a particular object will be investigated, namely, state-regulated income redistribution and the attitude in question concerns individual support for state-regulated reduction of income differences.

While attitudes refer to specific objects, values, on the other hand, can be defined as a fixed set of enduring beliefs that refer to desirable abstract and motivational goals that serve as guiding principles in a person’s life (Schwartz, 1994). Values transcend specific objects, actions or situations and instead, refer to personally or socially preferable end-states of existence and to preferable modes of conduct (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Values function as standards or criteria in the evaluation of specific objects, and it is the perceived ability of an object to promote or obstruct the realization of abstract and motivational goals that elicit and motivate the attitude held towards it (Schwartz, 1992; Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995).

Schwartz (1992) identifies 10 basic human values – universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, security, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation and self-direction – that can be distinguished through their respective emphasis on different motivational goals. The 10 values can be classified into a circular continuum (quasi circumplex) representing their dynamic relationships, where: adjacent values are related; more distant values less related; and, diametrical values are each other’s opposites and therefore directly negatively linked. Schwartz also distinguishes four higher order value types along two orthogonal dimensions in the circular continuum: self-transcendence vs. self-enhancement, and openness to change vs. conservatism.¹

In this study the impact of self-transcendence and self-enhancement values on support for redistribution are examined across classes in different countries. Self-transcendence values involve benevolence and universalism which focuses on the transcendence of selfish interests in favour of equality, social justice and the caring for others. Self-enhancement values, on the other hand, involve

¹ For a full description see Appendix 1.

achievement, power and hedonism which focus on the enhancement of personal success, status and pleasure (Schwartz, 1994). The relevance of these two value dimensions in relation to attitudes towards redistribution receives support from earlier studies. In a study of values and political preferences in 14 countries, Barnea (2003) found that when political competition revolves around the distribution of material resources, as in the case of redistribution of income, the key values were universalism and benevolence vs. power and achievement – the main components of the self-transcendence and self-enhancement higher order value types.

Class and cross-country differences in the values-attitudes link

In general one would expect values that are theoretically related to some of the common goals of all welfare states – equality, social justice and the general welfare of citizens – to be more strongly linked to pro-welfare state attitudes. In this study, therefore, it is hypothesized that self-transcendence values, which focus on the promotion of equality and caring for others, is positively related support for redistribution. Consequentially, the opposing higher order value dimension self-enhancement values, which focus on promoting personal success and power, should be negatively related to support. Previous work supports these claims: the impact of values on attitudes towards redistribution is greater in countries where redistributive institutions are more generous and universal (Kulin, 2009).

This study sets out to examine class differences in the link between values and attitudes in Europe where redistributive programs display considerable cross-country differences. For instance, in Sweden redistributive programs are comparably generous and universal whereas in United Kingdom redistributive programs are considerably less generous and often aimed at helping only those worst off thus displaying a very low degree of universalism (see e.g., Esping-Andersen, 1990; Korpi and Palme, 1998). Consequentially, there are substantial differences between countries such as Sweden and United Kingdom, especially in the lower classes, in terms of the risks people face and the resources that they have at their disposal. In United Kingdom, the risks associated with unemployment, old age and sickness can be comparably severe, whereas in Sweden, as a result of redistributive programs being more generous and universal, people are not as exposed such risks.

While the perceived ability of redistributive institutions to promote the realization of cherished values of individuals may reinforce the link between values and attitudes towards redistribution, class position may have the opposite effect. Belonging to less advantaged classes increase exposure to risk (particularly on the labour market) and influence available resources negatively. Less advantaged classes have more to gain from redistribution which makes it reasonable to assume that in general other motives are less important (see e.g., Rueda and Pontusson, 2010). Such arguments about a 'hierarchy of preferences' lends support from previous work in laboratory experiments on self-interested and other-regarding motives which show that individuals make trade-offs between material and moral concerns, and that as the stakes get higher the relative importance of material concerns increase (Levitt and List, 2007:157). These arguments also receive support from research on welfare state legitimacy. In their study of tax financing of public goods Mau and Liebig show that the extent to which people are willing to contribute require that a certain level of saturation is reached with regard to their own prosperity and welfare (Mau and Liebig, 2007:116). From our perspective, attempts to minimize risks and maximize resources might simply be prioritized in lower classes if and

when risks become particularly high and resources to meet these risks scarce. Consequently, in pursue of risk reduction, material self-interest might crowd out other motives behind attitudes towards redistribution such as basic human values.

We propose at least two reasons to expect cross-country differences in the values-attitudes link. The first reason is the considerable cross-national institutional variation in terms of risk reducing policies and the impact such institutions have on the risk profiles of particular social groups. For instance, members of less advantaged classes in countries where the risks during unemployment, sickness and old age are high, material self-interest might have priority over values. Consequently, attitudes towards redistribution among people in lower classes in countries like United Kingdom will be driven less by values compared to people in lower classes in countries like Sweden.

The second reason to expect cross-national variation in the values-attitudes link is political articulation. To articulate something is to link it to something else, and in this particular case to link abstract goals, i.e., basic human values, to politics and redistribution. Kumlin and Svallfors (2007) show that the political articulation of socio-economic issues is related to the link between class and attitudes towards redistribution – class differences in attitudes is greater in countries where socio-economic issues are more prominent. However, it remains an unresolved issue of whether the class-specific motivational basis of attitudes is structured by political articulation. We expect a comparably high impact of values on support for redistribution even among people in lower classes in Sweden, and other similar countries in this respect, as a result of the salient political articulation of socio-economic issues and the comparably prominent emphasis on equality and solidarity. We expect a comparably low impact of values on support in countries like the United Kingdom where political articulation is weaker.

To sum up, generally we expect people in lower classes to be more exposed to labour market risks and as a consequence of relatively low incomes thus short on necessary resources to meet these risks. As a result of prioritizing risk averse strategies or because they generally have more to gain from redistribution, people in lower classes will to a greater extent than the salariat seek to maximize their material gains in relation to redistribution rather than forming their attitudes based on other-regarding concerns such as basic human values. According to our institutional hypothesis, however, we expect these risks to be mitigated in countries where people to a greater extent are protected from them through universal and generous redistributive programs, thus leaving more room for alternative motives. We also expect the political articulation of socio-economic issues to have an impact on the values-attitudes link. Political articulation of socio-economic issues that stress principles of equality and other justice motives might further strengthen the impact of self-transcendence and self-enhancement values on attitudes towards redistribution through providing cognitive guidelines in relation to which abstract goals can be linked to substantial redistributive issues.

Data and method

To test the hypothesized class differences in the relationship between values and attitudes towards redistribution this study use data from the European Social Survey (ESS) Round 3 from the year 2006.

We investigate class differences in 9 European countries: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, United Kingdom, Germany, France, The Netherlands and Belgium².

As indicators for values, the ESS basic human values scale items are used³. To measure values this study uses two higher order value types reflected by values particularly relevant to distribution of material resources (Barnea, 2003): achievement and power (self-enhancement) and universalism and benevolence (self-transcendence). Each value is measured by two or three items as indicators, which 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. For instance, as an indicator of the value universalism: “she/he thinks that every person in the world should be treated equally and that everyone should have equal opportunities in life”. The items indicating different values all range from 1 to 6 where: 1=“not like me at all” and 2=“not like me”, 3=“a little like me”, 4=“somewhat like me”, 5=“like me”, 6=“very much like me”. Instead of keeping each value separate we collapse the values achievement and power to form the higher order type self-enhancement, and collapse universalism and benevolence to form the higher order type self-transcendence.

The ESS item that will be used to indicate support for welfare state redistribution is a 5 point Likert type scale “The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels” (gincdif), which range from 1 to 5 where 1=“disagree strongly”, 2=“disagree”, 3=“neither agree nor disagree”, 4=“agree”, and 5=“agree strongly”.

In this study, the Goldthorpe or EGP class schema is used to distinguish classes. We use a version that collapses the original classes into 6 categories: service class I and II, routine non-manual, skilled and unskilled manual workers and self-employed (see e.g., Svallfors 2006).

We use Multi Group Structural Equation Modelling (MGSEM) to estimate and compare the effects of values on attitudes towards redistribution across classes and countries. In MGSEM it is possible to model latent variables for the two higher order value types self-transcendence and self enhancement, and thus control for measurement error and establish measurement invariance (meaning equivalence) across groups. The structural relation between these two latent constructs and attitudes towards redistribution can then be estimated and compared across classes and countries. Each class is modelled as an individual group for each country thus yielding 54 individual groups and 108 effects.

As macro indicators we use the welfare state generosity index from the Welfare state entitlements dataset (Scruggs 2004). The generosity index is a measure based on several indicators regarding the features of the redistributive programs pensions, sick-pay and unemployment insurance. The indicators draw on two aspects of social insurances – income replacement rates and programme coverage. As an indicator of political articulation we use the Comparative Manifestos data set (Klingemann et al., 2006). This data set indexes the program contents in election manifestos for a number of Western countries for all elections from 1945. The dataset is based on a classification of the smallest significant units (“quasi-sentences”) of each election manifesto on a number of themes (56 categories distributed amongst 7 policy areas) (Klingemann et al., 2006). The item that we use

² See Appendix 3 table 4

³ See Appendix 2 table 3

indicate the share of program contents among all political parties that deal with socio-economic (i.e., redistributive) issues.

Results

The analysis in this paper is presented in two steps. First, we analyse the individual-level impact of the two higher order value types self-transcendence and self-enhancement on attitudes towards redistribution. In the second step we analyse the relationship between the values-attitudes link on the country level on the one hand, and macro level indicators on the other.

In Table 1 the unstandardized effects of self-transcendence values (s-t values) and self-enhancement values (s-e values) on attitudes towards redistribution (gincdif) are presented. In addition we present standard errors (s.e.) and p-values (p) for coefficients that have a p-value equal or higher than 0.05. We also present the squared multiple correlations (SMC) which is equivalent to R^2 in OLS regression, i.e., the variance explained in the item indicating support for redistribution (gincdif).

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

In virtually all cases, when an effect is significant its impact is in the expected direction across all classes and in all countries – self-transcendence values have a positive effect on support for redistribution and self-enhancement values have a negative effect. In other words, persons who think equality and benevolence are important abstract goals generally tend to be more in favour of redistribution than those who do not. Inversely, persons who think achievement and power are important tend to be more negative towards redistribution. This is, however, only the case among some classes in some countries. We observe considerable cross-country variation in terms of the strength of the effects across classes and countries as well as in which countries class-specific effects are significant or not. This is reflected in the explained variance of the item indicating support for redistribution where cross-country variation is considerable.

In Sweden, for example, where redistributive programs are universal and generous, the effect of self-enhancement values and self-transcendence values on attitudes towards redistribution is both statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) and substantial in service class I and II, routine non-manual, and unskilled manual. The strongest effect of self-transcendence values is found among unskilled manuals (0.69) and routine non-manuals (0.69), and the weakest effect in service class I (0.55). The strongest effect of self-enhancement values in Sweden is found among service class I (-0.34) and routine non-manuals (-0.35) and the weakest effect among self-employed (-0.27). However, besides the skilled manuals and the self-employed there is an overall strong effect of self-transcendence and self-enhancement values on attitudes towards redistribution in most classes in Sweden. A very different case compared to Sweden is United Kingdom where the effects of both self-transcendence and self-enhancement values on attitudes towards redistribution is significant only in service class I (0.61 and -0.25 respectively), and in service class II only self-enhancement values has an effect (-0.026). Among routine non-manuals, skilled manuals, unskilled manuals and self-employed in the United Kingdom there are no significant effects of the two value types on attitudes towards redistribution.

The two cases Sweden and United Kingdom illustrates striking country differences within classes regarding the values-attitudes link. In United Kingdom only the service class, and especially service class I, the connection between values and attitudes is strong. With the exception of the self-employed and the highly deviant case of skilled manuals, the patterns seem virtually reversed in Sweden where the connection between values and attitudes is strong in most classes and stronger in the lowest classes routine non-manual and unskilled manual compared to service class I and II. This confirms our hypothesis that attitudes towards redistribution will be less driven by basic human values among members of lower classes if they are living in countries where redistributive programs are not generous and universal and thus increasing risk exposure, e.g., to labour market risks.

We now proceed to test more directly the hypothesized relationship between the values-attitudes link in different classes on the one hand, and the degree of generosity and universalism in redistributive programs as well as the political articulation of socio-economic issues on the other. To analyse the relationship between the values-attitudes link across classes and our macro indicators we use the squared multiple correlations (SMC) as an overall measure of the strength of the link between values and attitudes in different classes. Consequently, we get a measure for each class and each country. In order to assess the relative importance of basic human values for attitudes towards redistribution in different classes we use the difference in SMC between unskilled workers and service class I where the SMC of SC1 is subtracted from the SMC of USW. This measure then tells us whether self-transcendence and self-enhancement values are more, less or equally important for unskilled workers compared to service class I when forming their attitudes towards redistribution. A positive value means that the two basic human value types are more important for unskilled workers than for service class I, and a negative value indicate the reversed.

First we focus on our institutional hypothesis that redistributive programs that are generosity and universal reduce risks among lower classes and thereby give room for other-regarding motives such as basic human values among these groups. In Diagram 1 the relationship between welfare state generosity and class differences in the values-attitudes link is presented.

[DIAGRAM 1 ABOUT HERE]

The results show an overwhelmingly strong relationship between the two measures which supports the hypothesis that welfare state generosity in a country affect the degree to which values influence attitudes towards redistribution across classes. The more generous redistributive policies are the more influential values are on attitudes towards redistribution among unskilled manuals compared to service class I. For example, in countries such as Sweden – where redistributive policies are comparably generous and thus more effective in minimizing risks among lower classes – the values-attitudes link is particularly and comparatively strong among unskilled workers compared to service class I. In countries like the United Kingdom, on the other hand, where redistributive programs are comparatively less generous, the relative strength in the values-attitudes among unskilled workers is weak. The only deviant case here is the Netherlands where values matter conspicuously less for the attitudes among unskilled workers compared to service class I, despite an intermediate degree of welfare generosity.

Second we examine the relation between political articulation and class differences in the values-attitudes link. The results provide powerful support for our hypothesis that the degree of political

articulation in a country affects the extent to which people in different classes make connections between abstract goals (values) on the one hand, and redistribution on the other.

[DIAGRAM 2 ABOUT HERE]

In Sweden, for instance, where political articulation of socio-economic issues is at the fore, the relationship between values and attitudes is particularly strong among the unskilled manuals, even stronger than in service class I. In the United Kingdom where political articulation is comparably modest the relationship is substantially weaker. In the Netherlands both political articulation and the values-attitudes link are the weakest, which might add to some of the explanation of why the Netherlands constituted such an outlier in the previous diagram.

Conclusion

In this paper we have investigated the impact of basic human values on attitudes towards redistribution across social classes in a comparative perspective. Two main hypotheses were tested to assess whether and why the class-specific impact of self-enhancement and self-transcendence values on attitudes towards redistribution differs across a selection of European countries.

The results support the hypothesis that increased risks among members of the lower classes in countries like United Kingdom might enhance the role of self-interest, as a way of avoiding potentially severe risks, and thereby crowd out other motives such as basic human values. Moreover, the results highlights the influence of welfare state institutional features – such as the degree of universalism and generosity in redistributive programs – on individual level processes such as the values-attitudes link. Furthermore, the results point to the potentially influential role of political articulation in relation to the motives underlying attitudes towards redistribution.

We started out by emphasizing the normative role of redistributive institutions in terms of reinforcing the link between values and attitudes towards redistribution in countries where these institutions are comparably generous and universal. In this paper we believe that yet another part of the puzzle regarding cross-country differences in the motivational basis of support has been uncovered. The fact that values has a significant influence on attitudes across most classes in countries like Sweden, we argue, further contribute to the explanation of why the overall values-attitudes link is stronger in these countries compared to countries like United Kingdom.

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Tables

Table 1 Unstandardized estimates, s.e., p and SMC for s-t & s-e values on support for redistribution (gincdif)

	s-t values	s.e.	p (if p≥.05)	s-e values	s.e.	p (if p≥.05)	SMC (R ²) gincdif
Sweden							
SC1	0,55	0,21		-0,34	0,11		0,09
SC2	0,65	0,15		-0,30	0,08		0,11
RNM	0,69	0,14		-0,35	0,08		0,13
SW	0,18	0,25	0,47	-0,02	0,15	0,87	0,01
USW	0,69	0,13		-0,30	0,07		0,16
SE	0,52	0,28	0,07	-0,27	0,14		0,07
Norway							
SC1	0,47	0,29	0,10	-0,14	0,20	0,50	0,03
SC2	0,59	0,22		-0,48	0,14		0,08
RNM	0,40	0,16		-0,26	0,09		0,04
SW	0,96	0,26		-0,59	0,14		0,18
USW	0,37	0,16		-0,23	0,08		0,05
SE	1,09	0,31		-0,69	0,17		0,19
Denmark							
SC1	0,51	0,32	0,12	-0,29	0,15	0,05	0,03
SC2	0,48	0,26	0,07	-0,27	0,14		0,03
RNM	0,41	0,20		-0,15	0,11	0,18	0,03
SW	0,67	0,42	0,11	-0,07	0,18	0,69	0,03
USW	0,35	0,26	0,18	-0,24	0,13	0,59	0,02
SE	-0,19	0,40	0,63	-0,05	0,19	0,81	0,01
Finland							
SC1	0,60	0,22		-0,38	0,11		0,10
SC2	0,36	0,14		-0,31	0,08		0,09
RNM	0,36	0,18		-0,11	0,06	0,09	0,03
SW	0,36	0,15		-0,07	0,09	0,40	0,04
USW	0,41	0,13		-0,31	0,07		0,09
SE	0,49	0,19		-0,08	0,09	0,36	0,05
United Kingdom							
SC1	0,61	0,17		-0,25	0,10		0,07
SC2	0,34	0,22	0,12	-0,26	0,11		0,03
RNM	0,14	0,14	0,33	-0,08	0,07	0,26	0,00
SW	0,31	0,22	0,15	0,00	0,15	0,99	0,02
USW	0,17	0,14	0,21	-0,08	0,08	0,30	0,01
SE	-0,09	0,29	0,76	0,10	0,13	0,45	0,00
Germany							
SC1	0,61	0,36	0,10	-0,19	0,13	0,14	0,03
SC2	0,10	0,16	0,51	-0,24	0,09		0,02
RNM	0,35	0,14		0,04	0,07	0,62	0,02
SW	0,04	0,14		0,03	0,10	0,79	0,04
USW	-0,04	0,10	0,70	-0,01	0,07	0,84	0,00
SE	0,76	0,23		-0,28	0,12		0,08
France							
SC1	0,76	0,26		-0,50	0,20		0,09
SC2	0,41	0,15		-0,18	0,14	0,20	0,03
RNM	0,40	0,13		-0,07	0,10	0,50	0,04
SW	0,46	0,22		0,02	0,14	0,87	0,04
USW	0,34	0,10		-0,17	0,09	0,06	0,04
SE	0,52	0,28	0,07	-0,15	0,18	0,41	0,04
Netherlands							
SC1	0,95	0,31		-0,38	0,14		0,13
SC2	0,34	0,18	0,06	-0,26	0,08		0,03
RNM	0,52	0,18		0,07	0,10	0,46	0,04
SW	0,65	0,38	0,09	-0,39	0,14		0,09
USW	0,25	0,15	0,08	-0,07	0,10	0,48	0,01
SE	0,41	0,25	0,10	-0,29	0,16	0,07	0,03
Belgium							
SC1	0,37	0,32	0,25	-0,45	0,20		0,06
SC2	0,87	0,21		-0,06	0,13	0,65	0,07
RNM	0,29	0,22	0,18	-0,18	0,15	0,23	0,02
SW	0,01	0,30	0,97	0,63	0,30		0,09
USW	0,58	0,15		-0,14	0,11	0,21	0,06
SE	0,91	0,25		-0,06	0,16	0,72	0,09

Model fit measures: CFI=0,916; RMSEA=0,008; PCLOSE=1,0 / Effects in bold = p<0.05

Diagrams

Diagram 1 Welfare state generosity (x-axis) and USW-SC1 diff (y-axis)

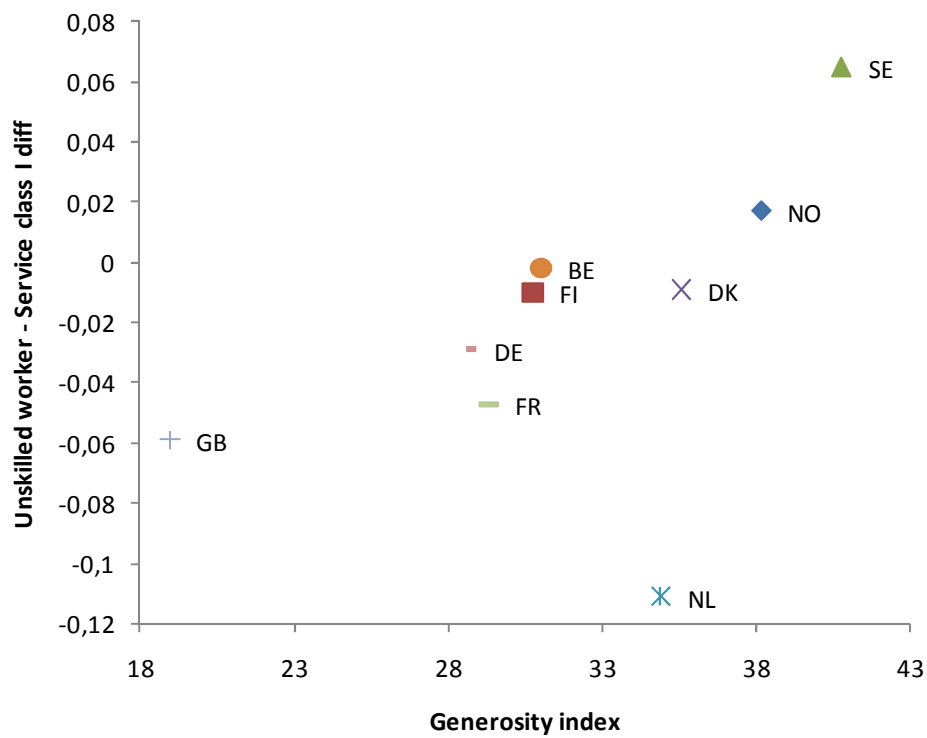
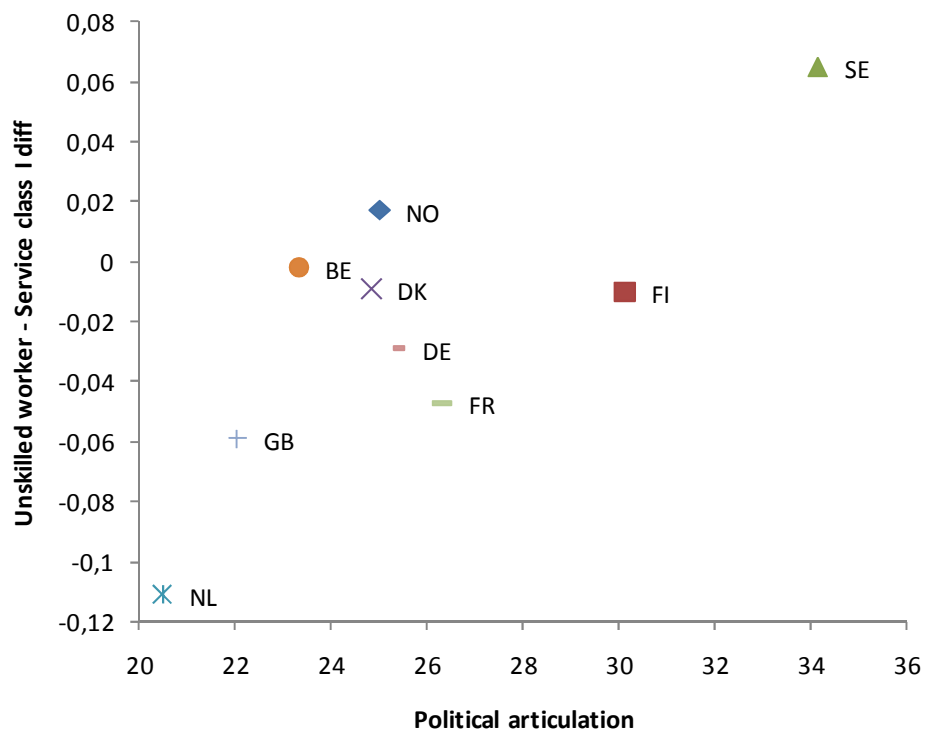


Diagram 2 Political articulation (x-axis) and USW-SC1 diff (y-axis)



Appendix 1

Figure 1 Human values and value dimensions

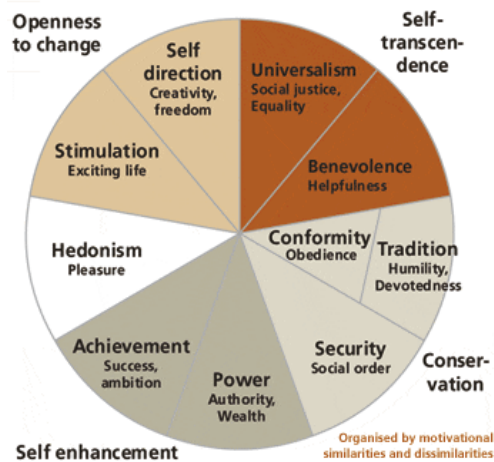


Image from the European Social Survey (ESS) EduNet (<http://essedunet.nsd.uib.no/cms/topics/1/1/2.html>)

Table 2 Human values and motivational emphasis

Values	Motivational emphasis
POWER	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources. (He/she likes to be in charge and tell others what to do. He/she wants people to do what he says.)
ACHIEVEMENT	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards. (Being very successful is important to him/her. He/she likes to stand out and to impress other people.)
HEDONISM	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself. (He/she really wants to enjoy life. Having a good time is very important to him/her.)
STIMULATION	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life. (He/she looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He/she wants to have an exciting life.)
SELF-DIRECTION	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring. (He/she thinks it's important to be interested in things. He/she is curious and tries to understand everything.)
UNIVERSALISM	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. (He/she thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He/she wants justice for everybody, even for people he doesn't know.)
BENEVOLENCE	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact. (He/she always wants to help the people who are close to him/her. It's very important to him/her to care for the people he/she knows and likes.)
TRADITION	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self. (He/she thinks it is important to do things the way he/she learned from his family. He/she wants to follow their customs and traditions.)
CONFORMITY	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms. (He/she believes that people should do what they're told. He/she thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no one is watching.)
SECURITY	Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self. (The safety of his/her country is very important to him. He/she wants his/her country to be safe from its enemies.)

From Schwartz et al. (2001).

Appendix 2

Table 3 *Basic human values, higher order value types and their respective items*

Main question:

Now I will briefly describe some people. Please listen to each description and tell me how much each person is or is not like you.

Self-enhancement value dimension items

POWER #1 [p1]: It is important to her/him to be rich. She/he wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.

Variable name and label: IMPRICH Important to be rich, have money and expensive things

POWER #2 [p2]: It is important to her/him to get respect from others. She/he wants people to do what she/he says.

Variable name and label: IPRSPOT Important to get respect from others

ACHIEVEMENT #1 [a1]: It's important to her/him to show her/his abilities. She/he wants people to admire what she/he does.

Variable name and label: IPSHABT Important to show abilities and be admired

ACHIEVEMENT #2 [a2]: It is important to her/him to be successful and that people recognize her/his achievements.

Variable name and label: IPSUCES Important to be successful and that people recognize achievements

Self transcendence value dimension

UNIVERSALISM #1 [u1]: She/he thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. She/he believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.

Variable name and label: IPEQOPT Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities

UNIVERSALISM #2 [u2]: It is important to her/him to listen to people who are different from her/him. Even when she/he disagrees with them, she/he still wants to understand them.

Variable name and label: IPUDRST Important to understand different people

UNIVERSALISM #3 [u3]: She/he strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to her/him.

Variable name and label: IMPENV Important to care for nature and environment

BENEVOLISM #1 [b1]: It's very important to her/him to help the people around her/him. She/he wants to care for their well-being.

Variable name and label: IPHLPLP Important to help people and care for others well-being

BENEVOLENCE #2 [b2]: It is important to her/him to be loyal to her/his friends. She/he wants to devote herself/himself to people close to her/him.

Variable name and label: IPLYLFR Important to be loyal to friends and devote to people close

VALUES AND LABELS

1 Very much like me

2 Like me

3 Somewhat like me

4 A little like me

5 Not like me

6 Not like me at all

7 Refusal

8 Don't know

9 No answer

Respondents answering 7-9 on any of the questions has been removed from the analysis.

Appendix 3

Table 4 *Countries and abbreviations in the plot diagrams*

SE	Sweden
NO	Norway
FI	Finland
DK	Denmark
NL	Netherlands
BE	Belgium
GB	United Kingdom
DE	Germany
FR	France