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# How Selfish Are Self-Expression Values? A Civicness Test

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## Abstract

Various analyses of World Values Survey data find a syndrome of emancipative orientations, mostly known as “self-expression values,” on the rise throughout all countries with longitudinal evidence. But, as much as scholarship agrees on the rise of self-expression values, there is disagreement on whether these values are civic or uncivic in character. Some declare self-expression values uncivic because they see them as indicative of egoism and weak social capital. Others consider self-expression values as civic for the opposite reasons. They interpret them as a sign of altruism and strong social capital. Cross-cultural evidence from the World Values Surveys supports the civic view on both accounts. First, in a Schwartz value space, self-expression values are associated with altruism, especially at high levels of self-expression values. Second, in a social capital space, self-expression values go together with trust in people and peaceful collective action. The findings qualify self-expression values as a civic form of modern individualism.

## Keywords

altruism, civicness, individualism, self-expression, social capital

Using different terminology and methodology, various analyses of World Values Survey data find emancipative orientations on the rise throughout all countries for which longitudinal data are available (Flanagan & Lee, 2003; Hageaars, Halman, & Moors, 2003; Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Emancipative orientations emphasize freedom of expression and equality of opportunities and have become most widely known as “self-expression values” (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Scholars agree that these values are individualistic in character, but there is disagreement on whether this gives self-expression values a civic or uncivic impulse.

Flanagan and Lee (2003) equate individualism with egoism. They see value change as a process that makes people “at base, more self-serving,” eroding “their willingness to make sacrifices for other individuals,” which results in a “trend toward a growing politics of narrow self-interests” (pp. 263, 267). This interpretation resonates with Putnam’s (2000) thesis of an individualism-driven decline of social capital. According to this view, self-expression values are uncivic because they are associated with egoism and weak social capital.<sup>1</sup>

Inglehart and Welzel (2005) interpret self-expression values in the opposite way. In their eyes, the individualistic nature of these values implies a basic sense of human equality, which makes

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possible a universal form of altruism. The sense of equality also allows for a generalized form of trust in people that cuts through group boundaries. Furthermore, it is in the logic of self-expression values that people express their concerns and join forces when these concerns are shared, engaging in collective actions (Welzel, Inglehart & Klingemann, 2003; Welzel, Inglehart & Deutsch, 2005). Hence, self-expression values are civic because they are associated with altruism and strong social capital.

This contradiction parallels the debate in social psychology about the true character of individualism. A widely shared view gives individualism a selfish reading. Specifically, Triandis (1995) includes self-interest in his definition of individualism, following Hofstede (1980), who declares selfishness an inherent facet of individualism. Kagitcibasi (1997, 2005) and Schwartz (2004), by contrast, delimit the notion of individualism to autonomy and criticize the merging of autonomy and selfishness into individualism. In fact, both authors argue that individual autonomy can be altruistic, going together with social relatedness and concern for others. This understanding mirrors the notion of a “communitarian spirit” in social philosophy, which defines as communitarian a socially responsible form of individualism: the combined emphasis on individual autonomy and solidarity with others (Etzioni, 1993). Empirically, Schwartz (2007) finds self-direction and stimulation to be close individual-level correlates of participation in collective actions among European countries. He also finds that country-level scores of self-direction and stimulation correlate closely with Inglehart and Welzel’s self-expression values index (Schwartz, 2006).

These findings suggest (a) that self-expression values are an individualistic phenomenon resembling stimulation/self-direction values à la Schwartz, (b) that because of this, self-expression values are not necessarily selfish, and (c) that self-expression values are associated with social capital in terms of trust in people and participation in collective action. However, these suggestions are informed propositions at best, none of which has been tested directly. For instance, the link between self-expression values and stimulation/self-direction values at the country level does not tell us how strongly these two sets of values are associated at the individual level. Because of this we also do not know how similarly self-expression values and stimulation/self-direction values relate to other individual-level characteristics. We might expect that self-expression values relate in the same way to altruism and social capital as stimulation/self-direction values do, but as long as this has not been demonstrated, it remains speculation. Thus, the “true” nature of self-expression values remains in question. And, this question is important because one cannot understand cultural change if one does not understand the values that come along with it.

This article fills this gap, testing whether self-expression values are civic or uncivic in character. The civicness question is examined in two closely intertwined facets: the egoistic versus altruistic nature and the unsocial versus prosocial nature of self-expression values. The hypothesis of uncivic self-expression values suggests that self-expression values are associated with egoism and weak social capital. The hypothesis of civic self-expression values implies the opposite on both accounts.

To come to conclusive results, the civicness question is examined in a broadly cross-cultural setting with evidence from all over the world. Specifically, data from the fifth and most recent round of the World Values Surveys (WVS), conducted in 2005 to 2007, are used. The WVS includes nationally representative data from a wider cross-cultural scope than other international surveys, covering countries from all inhabited continents.<sup>2</sup> Round five of the WVS provides for the first time the possibility to examine at both the individual level and the country level the various links between self-expression values, a version of the Schwartz values, and social capital on a broadly cross-cultural basis.

Self-expression values represent an emancipative set of orientations that emphasize freedom of expression and equality of opportunities. Slightly different versions of these values, sometimes under another name like “libertarian values” or “autonomy values,” have been presented based on

WVS data by Inglehart and Welzel (2005), Hagenaars et al. (2003), and Flanagan and Lee (2003).<sup>3</sup> None of the previous versions is suitable for the civiness test in this study, however. The version provided by Flanagan and Lee (2003) includes items that state, "indulging oneself at the expense of others" and "self-interest over common good" (pp. 239-240). This makes egoism/altruism an integral part of the value measure, for which reason it becomes tautological to establish an association with egoism/altruism. Thus, for our test to be conclusive, anything directly related to egoism/altruism must be excluded from the measurement of self-expression values. Inglehart and Welzel (2005), for their part, include measures of trust in people and collective action in the value measure. Because these are manifestations of social capital, including them into the value measure makes it impossible to test the association between values and social capital. Hence, anything directly indicative of social capital cannot be included into the measure of self-expression values either. Finally, Hagenaars et al. (2003) include items referring to work ethos and other issues that have been asked in this form only in Europe. For the purpose of a global cross-cultural perspective, items asked only in specific regions must be excluded, too.

These exclusions require a new measure of self-expression values but one that shares the emancipative impetus of previous versions and uses some of the same core items. Following these requirements, I propose the index of self-expression values described in the Instruments section below.

Over many years, Schwartz (1992, 2007) developed an instrument to measure the most basic human values. Values are defined as "transsituational goals" that people pursue in their lives. Schwartz identifies 10 quasi-universal values, referring to the goals of power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security. In previous studies, 8 of the 10 Schwartz values have been shown to reflect two overarching polarities (Fontaine, Poortinga, Delbeke, & Schwartz, 2008; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004; Spini, 2003). One polarity aligns the values of power and achievement against benevolence and universalism. Schwartz characterizes this polarity as a conflict between self-enhancement (power, achievement) and self-transcendence (benevolence, universalism). This characterization is plausible because power and achievement are goals that aim at improving one's own standing, whereas the goals of benevolence and universalism indicate wider concerns that transcend one's own fate. Accordingly, it is not far fetched to describe this polarity as one between egoism (self-enhancement) and altruism (self-transcendence). Because this is a more simple terminology, I use it henceforth.

The second polarity aligns deference and security against self-direction and stimulation. Schwartz describes this polarity as reflecting the conflict between conservation (conformity, security) and openness to change (self-direction, stimulation). This is an adequate description, but one can understand this polarity also in terms of collectivism versus individualism. The goals of self-direction and stimulation emphasize the actualization of the potentials of the individual, whereas conformity and security imply deference to the norms and authority of the community. Because collectivism/individualism is a widely known concept in cross-cultural psychology, I prefer this terminology.

Schwartz and Boehnke (2004) find the two-dimensional arrangement of Schwartz values to be robust across cultures. Fontaine et al. (2008) confirm this result and find the same values to be in opposition to each other even when one isolates the within-country component of variation among the Schwartz values. Nevertheless, they report significant between-country variability in the exact strength of the polarity of the egoism/altruism dimension. Systematically, stronger polarities are found in economically developed countries. To identify differences in the dimensional structure under both the elimination and the inclusion of the between-country variation, I examine the structure under both conditions. Identifying such differences is important because they provide hints at how country-level characteristics shape the association between values.

Social capital is another important ground on which to test whether self-expression values are civic or uncivic in character. Two aspects of social capital have raised particular attention: trust in people and joining collective actions (Hardin, 2002; Uslaner, 2002). In theories of social capital, trust in people is considered a facilitator of peaceful and voluntary collective action. And, when it comes to action that bridges group boundaries, trust in people in general, as opposed to trust in particular people, is considered of key importance (Delhey, Newton, & Welzel, forthcoming). Collective action itself is relevant to social capital as its target product. Frequent and widespread collective action is considered as a sign of thriving civic communities, provided these actions are voluntary and peaceful. Hence, I will examine how self-expression values are associated with social capital using measures of generalized trust in people and voluntary and peaceful collective action. The following sections describe the methods, measurements, and results of my analyses. I finish with a discussion of the findings.

## Method

The association of self-expression values with altruism and social capital is examined using data of the fifth round of the WVS, which covers some 56,000 individuals from 48 countries. No country selection criterion has been applied other than availability of data for the variables of interest in this study. An overview of included countries, their sample sizes, and country-level means of the variables under study is provided in Table 1.

The civiness question is examined by spatial and statistical analyses. Spatial analysis provides intuitive visual impressions of how self-expression values relate to altruism and social capital. Statistical analyses add numerical precision to the visual impressions. Both types of analyses employ two test settings each.

The first setting uses a map of human values on which the horizontal dimension spans a polarity between collectivistic and individualistic orientations, whereas the vertical dimension spans a polarity between egoistic and altruistic orientations. To see how self-expression values relate to altruism, I plot the sequence from weaker to stronger self-expression values into this map. Based on prior research, it is to be expected that the sequence from weaker to stronger self-expression values is associated with a sequence from collectivistic to individualistic orientations. The more open question is how self-expression values relate to egoistic versus altruistic orientations. If self-expression values are an uncivic phenomenon, the sequence from weaker to stronger self-expression values aligns with stronger egoism. If self-expression values are a civic phenomenon, the sequence aligns with stronger altruism.

The second setting works with a social capital space in which the horizontal dimension spans a polarity between weak and strong trust in people, whereas the vertical dimension spans a polarity between weak and strong collective action tendencies. Plotting the sequence from weaker to stronger self-expression values into this space will reveal how these values relate to social capital. If self-expression values are an uncivic phenomenon, the sequence from weaker to stronger self-expression values is associated with a sequence from strong to weak generalized trust in people and from strong to weak collective action tendencies. If self-expression values are a civic phenomenon, the sequence from weaker to stronger self-expression values is associated with trust and action in the opposite way.

Considered over the two test scenarios, the uncivic interpretation expects self-expression values to reflect egoistic and antisocial expressionism. By contrast, the civic interpretation expects self-expression values to represent altruistic and prosocial expressionism.

When one has data with many individuals nested within a sizeable number of countries, one can take advantage of multilevel analyses (Bryk & Raudenbusch, 2002). A multilevel perspective

**Table 1.** Descriptive Statistics for Countries in the World Values Surveys, Fifth Round (WVSV; ordered by self-expression values)

Country	Mean Score					Sample Size
	Self-Expression Values	Collectivism/ Individualism	Egoism/ Altruism	Generalized Trust	Collective Action Tendency	
Countries with mean self-expression values below .40:						
Jordan	0.19	-0.03	-0.42	0.33	0.06	1,198
Ghana	0.25	-0.02	-0.60	0.39	0.16	1,510
Burkina	0.27	0.00	-0.30	0.44	0.33	1,480
Egypt	0.28	-0.94	-0.09	0.34	0.06	3,041
<i>Iran</i>	0.29	-0.21	-0.18			2,662
Indonesia	0.29	0.09	0.19	0.39	0.16	1,988
Rwanda	0.32	-0.24	-0.37	0.46	0.14	1,505
Mali	0.33	-0.12	-0.37	0.53	0.29	1,401
Morocco	0.33	-0.03	-0.56	0.30	0.22	1,191
Turkey	0.34	0.00	-0.09	0.31	0.17	1,341
Trinidad	0.36	-0.16	0.15	0.43	0.30	1,002
India	0.38	0.43	-0.31	0.41	0.30	1,753
Malaysia	0.38	0.00	-0.55	0.32	0.11	1,201
Zambia	0.38	0.26	-0.55	0.33	0.28	1,479
Countries with mean self-expression values from .40 to .50:						
Thailand	0.40	0.25	-0.42	0.34	0.07	1,532
Vietnam	0.40	-0.22	-0.25	0.36	0.08	1,482
China	0.41	-0.25	0.04	0.29	0.18	1,865
S. Africa	0.41	-0.04	-0.62	0.46	0.24	2,955
Romania	0.41	-0.25	-0.14	0.32	0.12	1,697
Poland	0.43	-0.01	0.03	0.42	0.22	964
<i>Colombia</i>	0.43			0.31	0.21	3,022
Moldova	0.44	0.00	-0.06	0.31	0.20	1,033
Brazil	0.45	-0.20	0.75	0.32	0.36	1,493
Ukraine	0.45	-0.23	-0.31	0.39	0.16	955
Russia	0.46	0.00	-0.02	0.34	0.16	1,971
Cyprus	0.47	0.05	0.18	0.32	0.32	1,047
Ethiopia	0.48	0.31	-0.62	0.40	0.32	1,497
Mexico	0.48	0.01	0.44	0.28	0.23	1,496
S. Korea	0.49	0.01	-0.57	0.37	0.32	1,200
Taiwan	0.49	-0.52	0.37	0.40	0.13	1,224
<i>Italy</i>	0.50			0.39	0.48	999
Chile	0.50	-0.02	0.12	0.33	0.19	985
Countries with mean self-expression values from .50 to .60:						
U.S.	0.54	0.16	0.21	0.55	0.50	1,184
Serbia	0.54	0.07	-0.31	0.43	0.34	1,127
Bulgaria	0.55	-0.01	-0.02	0.41	0.17	973
Argentina	0.55	0.28	0.53	0.48	0.27	967
Slovenia	0.58	0.03	0.32	0.33	0.30	988
<i>Japan</i>	0.58	0.14	0.08		0.37	1,050
U.K.	0.59	-0.01	0.37	0.56	0.44	1,018
Canada	0.59	0.22	0.59	0.55	0.49	2,117
Uruguay	0.60	0.12	0.55	0.46	0.23	988

(continued)

**Table 1. (continued)**

Country	Mean Score					Sample Size
	Self-Expression Values	Collectivism/ Individualism	Egoism/ Altruism	Generalized Trust	Collective Action Tendency	
Countries with mean self-expression values above .60:						
Australia	0.61	0.13	0.31	0.54	0.51	1,394
Spain	0.63	0.08	0.22	0.43	0.34	1,175
France	0.64	-0.10	0.36	0.59	0.49	999
Finland	0.65	0.30	0.47	0.56	0.37	1,011
Germ. (E.)	0.65	-0.02	0.06	0.38	0.39	1,052
Germ. (W.)	0.65	0.10	-0.25	0.42	0.40	965
Netherlands	0.65	0.48	0.45	0.42	0.37	1,034
Switzerland	0.67	0.53	0.67	0.54	0.52	1,218
Andorra	0.73	0.39	0.65	0.49	0.47	1,002
Norway	0.75	0.67	0.63	0.61	0.52	1,013
Sweden	0.79	0.59	0.62	0.64	0.57	998

Note: Countries in italics not included in the multilevel models in Tables 2-4 because of missing data.

allows one to partition given associations into their within-country and between-country components, which is important to understand the nature of a given association.

Applying a multilevel perspective, each of the two test settings is presented in two versions. One version is presented under elimination, and another under inclusion of between-country variation. Because variation between countries is real and meaningful, including it at one point is necessary to obtain a complete picture of what is going on. Discovering differences in association patterns under elimination and inclusion of between-country differences provides important hints at how country-level characteristics shape associations among relevant psychological variables. Thus, I will not limit myself to patterns appearing under elimination of between-country differences but rather compare them to patterns under inclusion of these differences. The statistical analyses will mirror this logic, using multilevel models that separate within-country associations, between-country associations, and interactions between the two.

## Instruments

### *Self-Expression Values*

Screening the questionnaire of the WVS for items that (a) represent the spirit of self-expression values in emphasizing freedom of expression and equality of opportunities, (b) do not meet the exclusion criteria mentioned above, and (c) have been used in previous rounds of the WVS, one ends up with 11 items.

The first three items relate to the theme of sexual freedom. They are introduced as follows: "Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card." The card shows a scale from 1 to 10 on which 1 means *never justifiable* and 10 means *always justifiable*. The items V202, V204, and V205 read, respectively, "homosexuality," "abortion," and "divorce." Leaning to the justifiable side on these three issues represents a pro-choice position that emphasizes self-determination in reproductive and sexual matters.

The second group of items addresses the equal opportunity component of self-expression values in the area of gender equality. The first aspect of this theme is introduced by asking, "Do you agree, disagree, or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements?" Statement V44 then reads, "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women." This item addresses women's equality in terms of labor participation. Response options are coded 1 for *agree*, 2 for *neither agree nor disagree*, and 3 for *disagree*. Another question (V59) asks, "If a woman wants to have a child as a single parent but she doesn't want to have a stable relationship with a man, do you approve or disapprove?" This item addresses women's equality as concerns their freedom of lifestyle choice. Response options (*approve*, *disapprove*, and *depends*) are coded 1, 2, and 3, respectively. Yet another question asks, "For each of the following statements I read out, can you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each? Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?" Statement V61 reads, "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do." And statement V62 reads, "A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl." These items address women's equality in the fields of politics and education. Response options are coded 1 for *strongly agree*, 2 for *agree*, 3 for *disagree*, and 4 for *strongly disagree*.

The third group of items indicates an emphasis on personal autonomy in educating children. This should be a component of self-expression values because an emphasis on freedom of expression almost by necessity involves a notion of personal autonomy. The question reads, "Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? Please choose up to five!" It follows a list of 10 items. If an item is chosen, it is coded 1, and 0 otherwise. I interpret the items "independence" (V11) and "imagination" (V15) as positive indications of an emphasis on personal autonomy and the items "faith" (V19) and "obedience" (V21) as inverse indications.

Because these 11 items address three distinct subthemes of self-expression values, they should merge into three distinct dimensions in the first step. However, because the three dimensions are still subthemes of a common overarching theme, self-expression, they should merge into a higher order dimension in the second step. This is precisely the result of a hierarchical factor analysis over the pooled individual-level data set ( $N = 59,132$  valid cases under listwise deletion). Applying the Kaiser criterion, the first step generates three factors. The items related to sexual freedom load mainly on the first factor (.85 for accepting abortion, .84 for accepting divorce, and .83 for accepting homosexuality). The items related to gender equality load on the second factor (.81 for gender equality in politics, .79 for gender equality in education, .72 for gender equality in labor participation, and .55 for gender equality in lifestyle choice). Finally, the items related to personal autonomy load on the third factor (.69 for independence, .47 for imagination, -.70 for obedience, and -.47 for faith). These factors are oblique-rotated to allow them to be correlated (otherwise, a second-order factor analysis is meaningless). In the second step, the three oblique factors merge indeed into one common second-order factor, with loadings of .79 for the sexual liberty factor, .72 for the gender equality factor, and .60 for the personal autonomy factor. Mimicking this hierarchical structure, the index of self-expression values is built in a two-step procedure.

Before doing so, each item is standardized to minimum 0 and maximum 1.0, with 0 always indicating the weakest and 1.0 the strongest emphasis on the respective aspect of self-expression values. In case of dichotomous variables, this coding scheme produces a dummy variable with 0 for no emphasis and 1.0 for emphasis on self-expression. For example, when independence is asked for as a goal in education, it is coded 1.0 when it is chosen and 0 when it is not chosen. By contrast, obedience is coded 1.0 when it is not chosen and 0 when it is chosen. To give another example, the 4-point scale for the item that states men to be better political leaders is coded 0 for strongly agree, .33 for agree, .66 for disagree, and 1.0 for strongly disagree. And, the 10-point scales for the acceptance of homosexuality, abortion, and divorce are recoded, with the initial

code of 1 becoming 0 and the initial code of 10 becoming 1.0 (so the initial codes from 2 to 9 become fractions of 1.0). In any averaged combination of these standardized scales, index scores are easily interpretable in both direction and intensity. Scores above .5 indicate a rather supportive position, and scores below .5 a rather dismissive position to self-expression values. The closer a score is to 0, the more intense is the dismissal; the closer it is to 1.0, the more intense is the support.

In the first step of summarization, the 11 items are merged into three subindices, creating indices for sexual liberty, gender equality, and personal autonomy. This is done by adding the item scores and dividing the sum by the number of items, yielding for each subindex a multipoint scale from 0 to 1.0. In the second step, the three subindices are summarized into the overall index of self-expression values by adding the subindex scores and dividing the sum by 3. This produces an even more fine-grained scale in the range from 0 for the strongest possible dismissal and 1.0 for the strongest possible support of self-expression values. This procedure follows what is called a “formative index” logic, which combines components for reasons of their complementarity rather than their interchangeability (Coltman, Devinney, Midgley, & Venaik, 2008). Formative combination gives each component a weight of 1.0. Doing so varies a component’s effect on the combined index in proportion to how complementary the component’s contribution is relative to the contribution of all other components.

Using this index, findings with previous measures of self-expression values are confirmed. For countries with a time series going back to 1981, these values are on the rise. Self-expression values increased from an average of .48 ( $SD = .04$ ) in 1981 to an average of .63 ( $SD = .09$ ) in 2006 across the 12 countries for which this time series is available. These values increased in each of these countries, and this is true for each of the three subindices. The average per country increase is .15 ( $SD = .06$ ), which covers a sixth of the possible scale range.<sup>4</sup> Among the 52 countries for which a time series of at least three rounds of the WVS is available, 41 countries exhibit a significant increase in self-expression values and not a single country shows a significant decrease. The undeniable growth of self-expression values underlines their importance as an object of study.

For reasons of graphical depiction, I collapse the 0-to-1.0 interval scale of self-expression values into 10 ascending categories of equal interval size. Category “SEV 01” covers self-expression values from 0 to .10, “SEV 02” covers self-expression values from .11 to .20, “SEV 03” from .21 to .30, and so on, until “SEV 10” covers the interval from .91 to 1.0. Respondents in the WVS are normally distributed over these categories, as can be seen from the case numbers per category displayed in the right-hand diagram of Figure 2.

### The Schwartz Value Space

Schwartz values are measured with 56 and 57 items in the most widely used version, 40 items in the second most widely used version, and 21 items in a version designed for nationally representative samples after the “personal values questionnaire” method (Schwartz, 2007; Spini, 2003). The WVS uses a 10-item version that is adapted from the European Social Survey, fielding 1 item for each of the 10 basic values. The respective statements are introduced as follows: “Now I will briefly describe some people. Using this card, would you please indicate for each description whether that person is very much like you, like you, somewhat like you, not like you, or not at all like you?” The response options are coded 1 to 5 from *very much like me* to *not at all like me*. The items read as follows (value concept in brackets behind the item):

V80. [Self-Direction] It is important to this person to think up new ideas and be creative; to do things one’s own way.

V81. [Power] It is important to this person to be rich; to have a lot of money and expensive things.

- V82. [Security] Living in secure surroundings is important to this person; to avoid anything that might be dangerous.
- V83. [Hedonism] It is important to this person to have a good time; to “spoil” oneself.
- V84. [Benevolence] It is important to this person to help the people nearby; to care for their well-being.
- V85. [Achievement] Being very successful is important to this person; to have people recognize one’s achievements.
- V86. [Stimulation] Adventure and taking risks are important to this person; to have an exciting life.
- V87. [Conformity] It is important to this person to always behave properly; to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.
- V88. [Universalism] Looking after the environment is important to this person; to care for nature.
- V89. [Tradition] Tradition is important to this person; to follow the customs handed down by one’s religion or family.

It has become standard to transform the Schwartz value items before the application of data reduction methods. The reason is that people have different base levels on which they differentiate their value priorities. Some differentiate on a high, others on a low, and yet others on a medium base level. If one wants to isolate a respondent’s priority on a particular value relative to this respondent’s priority on other values, one has to standardize differences in the base levels on which these priorities take shape. To do this, one subtracts from each value rating the respondent’s mean rating over all values. This yields mean deviation scores, indicating for each respondent how strongly negatively or positively she or he rates a value relative to her or his base rating level. Even though this “ipsatization” can produce its own problems, these have been found to be less severe in the case of the Schwartz values (Fischer, 2004). Thus, I follow the convention and use ipsatized scores.

Schwartz uses multidimensional scaling as the method of data reduction. However, his idea of a two-dimensional polarization of values can also be applied to the principal component approach. In the context of this study, the latter is the preferable data reduction method because it allows one to assign each respondent, and after aggregation each country, a score on the two value polarities of egoism/altruism and collectivism/individualism.

The right-hand diagram in Figure 1 shows how the eight Schwartz values group themselves when one applies a varimax-rotated two-factor solution to the ipsatized items, using the pooled individual-level data set ( $N = 52,404$  individuals from 48 countries after listwise deletion of missing values).<sup>5</sup> As expected, the eight values group themselves in a way that manifests the two polarities between collectivism/individualism and egoism/altruism.<sup>6</sup> Scores on the collectivism/individualism factor and the egoism/altruism factor are saved as two separate variables for each respondent. By definition, these factor scores have a global mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1.0.

To isolate the within-country variation in the Schwartz values, one subtracts from a given respondent’s rating the mean rating of this particular value in the respondent’s country. This additional standardization yields country-mean deviation scores, indicating for each respondent’s value rating how much it falls below or exceeds the mean rating of the respondent’s country. As the left-hand diagram in Figure 1 illustrates, the eight Schwartz values group themselves in the two-factorial space in practically the same way as before, even though only the within-country variation is considered. Scores on the within-country collectivism/individualism factor and the within-country egoism/altruism factor, too, are saved as two separate variables for each respondent.

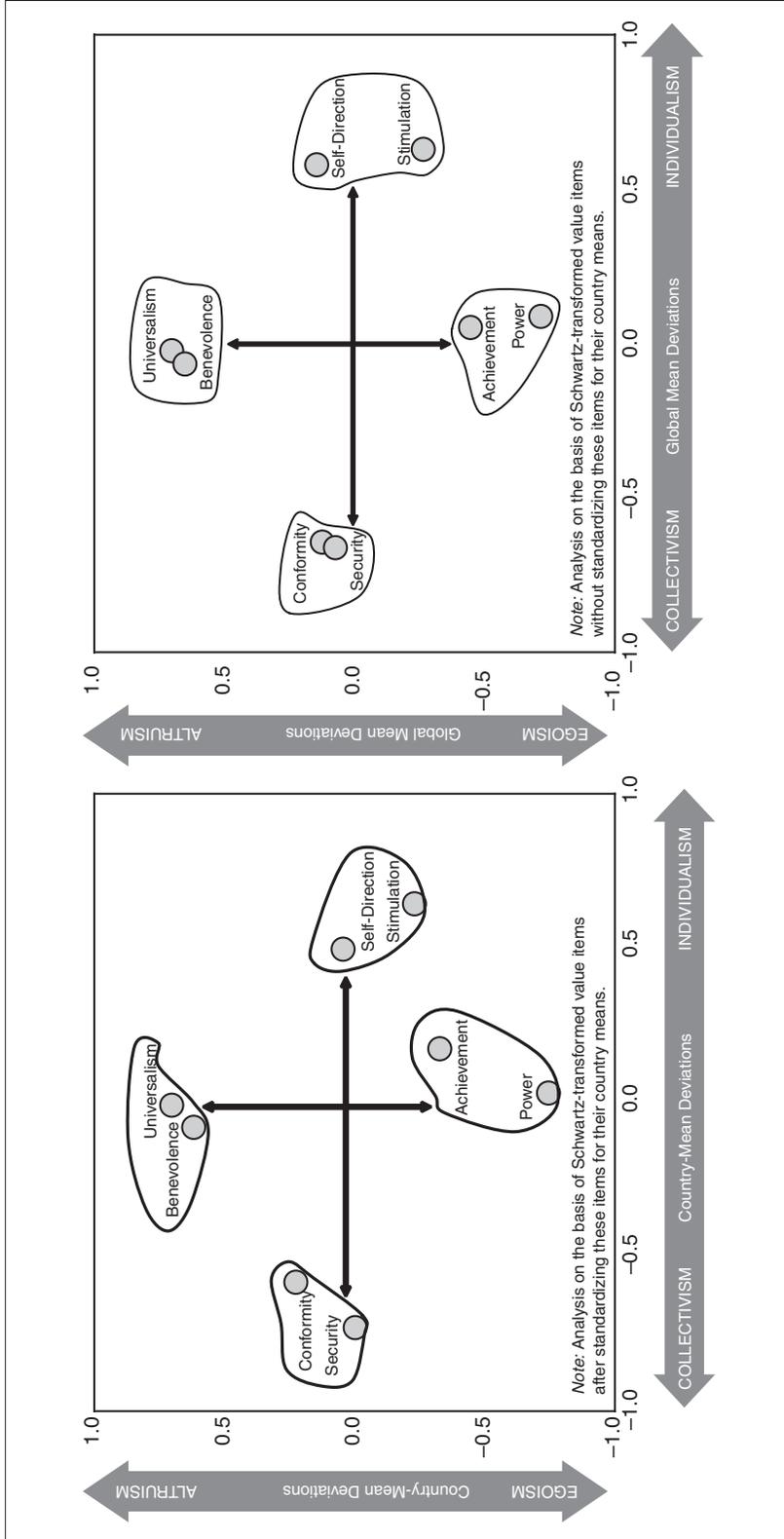


Figure 1. Reconstructing the Schwartz value space

### Social Capital: Generalized Trust and Collective Action

For the first time, round five of the WVS includes a question designed by C. Welzel to distinguish particularized trust and generalized trust. The question reads,

I'd like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much, or not at all?

The first three groups refer to people to whom one is more familiar than to others, namely, "your family" (V125), "your neighbors" (V126), and "people you know personally" (V127). Trusting people of these groups indicates particularized trust. The next three groups emphasize "otherness" in referring to people who are unfamiliar or dissimilar in belief and origin: "people you meet for the first time" (V128), "people of another religion" (V129), and "people of another nationality" (V130). Including people from those groups into one's trust circle indicates generalized trust. For each of these variables, I recode the trust levels of *not at all* into 0, *not very much* into .33, *somewhat* into .66, and *completely* into 1.0. Applying a formative index logic, I build two trust indices: one for particularized trust (adding the recoded scores for the first three groups and dividing the sum by 3) and another for generalized trust (doing the same for the next three groups). This yields 12-point indices for both particularized and generalized trust, with scale ranges from 0 for *no trust at all* in people of any mentioned group to 1.0 for *complete trust* in people of each mentioned group. Country-level means on this index can be any fraction of 1.0. Table 1 displays the country-level means on the generalized trust index. This is the trust index of interest here: Generalized rather than particularized trust is supposed to nurture collective actions that connect people across group boundaries, thus strengthening intergroup cooperation in a society.

Also, a version of the generalized trust index is calculated that reduces variation in trust to the within-country component. To do this, one subtracts from each respondent's trust score the respective country's mean trust score. This yields country-mean deviation scores whose theoretical range is from -1.0 to +1.0.

Peaceful and voluntary collective action is another key aspect of social capital, representing the concept's target product. Participation in peaceful and voluntary collective action is measured by the following question:

Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never under any circumstances do it (*read out and code one answer for each action*).

The question addresses three types of action, which read "signing a petition" (V96), "joining in boycotts" (V97), and "attending peaceful demonstrations" (V98). For each of these three forms of activity, *would never do* is recoded into 0, *a might do* into .30, and *have done* into 1.0. The coding scheme follows two rationales. On one hand, readiness to participate should be positively indexed because readiness constitutes a mental predisposition that facilitates the mobilization of people into collective action. On the other hand, readiness to action is not the same as real action, and for this reason, even three intended actions should not add up to one real action. Under these premises, again, a formative combination logic is followed and each respondent's scores over the three action types are added up and then divided by 3 to keep the overall index in a range from 0, for no readiness to action in any of the three forms of activity, to 1.0, for actual participation in each of the three forms of activity. This yields a

9-point 0-to-1.0 index. Country-mean scores on this index can be any fraction of 1.0 as shown in Table 1. I call the index collective action *tendency* rather than just collective action because it measures readiness to action *and* actual action, even though the emphasis is on actual action.

As with generalized trust, a second index version is created by subtracting from each respondent's collective action tendency the mean collective action tendency of the respective country. This way, each respondent obtains a country-mean deviation score in a theoretical range from -1.0 to +1.0. This procedure measures for each respondent how much her or his collective action tendency is above or below the respective country's collective action tendency.

Factor analyzing the six items included in the indices for generalized interpersonal trust and collective action tendencies yields a two-dimensional solution, with the trust items constituting one dimension and the action items constituting another dimension. The same two-dimensional solution is obtained when using the country-mean deviation scores of the included items. Thus, it is empirically justified to treat generalized trust and collective action as separate components of a two-dimensional social capital space.<sup>7</sup>

### Control Variables

Sociodemographic controls for age, sex, and education are routinely included in multivariate models. In the context of this study, these controls are not by themselves of interest. They are relevant only as a robustness check. Additional controls will be used in models related to trust in people and collective action, including some standard explanatory variables. In case of trust, these controls include group involvement, whereas in case of collective action, they include political interest and level of state repression.

The WVS asks for a respondent's age in questions V236 and V237. V236 reads, "Can you tell me your year of birth, please? 19\_\_\_\_ [interviewer advice: write in last two digits]." Question V237 then asks, "This means you are \_\_\_\_ years old [interviewer advice: write in age in two digits]." I use the data from V237 as the measure of a respondent's age. Sex is measured by observation of the interviewer in V235 (interviewer advice: "code respondent's sex by observation: 1 = male, 2 = female"). I recoded sex into 0 for male and 1 for female. Education is measured in question V238, asking, "What is the highest educational level that you have attained? [interviewer advice: if respondent indicates being a student, code highest level she or he expects to complete]." The interviewer uses the following list to code the respondent's answer:

- 1 = no formal education
- 2 = incomplete primary school
- 3 = complete primary school
- 4 = incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type
- 5 = complete secondary school: technical/vocational type
- 6 = incomplete secondary school: university-preparatory type
- 7 = complete secondary school: university-preparatory type
- 8 = some university-level education, without degree
- 9 = university-level education, with degree

I recoded this list into a scale with minimum 0 for no formal education and maximum 1.0 for university-level education.

Group involvement is the sum of a respondent's activity-weighted memberships in groups that act for the provision and preservation of public goods, such as the health of consumers, the intactness of nature, and the rights of people. These groups are introduced with the question,

“Now I am going to read off a list of voluntary organizations. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an active member, an inactive member, or not a member of that type of organization?” The groups coded here include “art, music or recreational organizations” (V26), “environmental organizations” (V29), “humanitarian or charitable organizations” (V31), and “consumer organizations” (V32). For each group, I coded nonmembership 0, inactive membership .50, and active membership 1.0 and added these codes up for the four types of organizations, dividing the sum by 4. This yields another multipoint index with minimum 0 for no membership in any of the four groups to 1.0 for active membership in all four types.

Political interest is measured using two questions. V7 asks if people find politics *very important, rather important, not very important, or not at all important*. V95 asks people if they are *very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not at all interested* in politics. I coded both variables 0 for the weakest, .25 for the second weakest, .75 for the second strongest, and 1.0 for the strongest emphasis on politics. Then, I added the scores of both variables and divided the sum by 2, yielding an 8-point 0-to-1.0 index of political interest.

State repression is a country-level variable. Like many other political scientists, I measure repression using the Cingranelli and Richards (1999) human rights data, which are based on yearly reports by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch (see <http://ciri.binghamton.edu>). I use the 8-point index for “empowerment rights” and the 10-point index for “personal integrity rights,” invert both scales so as to indicate repression of these rights rather than guaranteeing them, bring both in a scale range of 0 for no repression and 1.0 for full repression, add the two scales, and divide the sum by 2. Data are for 2005.

## Results

### *Self-Expression Values in the Schwartz Value Space*

The left-hand diagram in Figure 2 plots the sequence from weaker to stronger self-expression values in a Schwartz value space that is reduced to the within-country variation in both collectivism/individualism and egoism/altruism.<sup>8</sup> To do this, I group all respondents into 1 of the 10 categories of self-expression values described before. For each of these categories, I calculate its respondents' mean score in collectivism/individualism and egoism/altruism. In the left-hand diagram, this is done using the country-mean deviation scores on these two polarities; in the right-hand diagram, this is done using the global-mean deviation scores.

The left-hand diagram of Figure 2 shows for people in each category of self-expression values how much they fall below or exceed the levels of collectivism/individualism and egoism/altruism in their respective countries. The fact that the country levels in collectivism/individualism and egoism/altruism differ greatly between people in the 10 categories of self-expression values is blinded out in this perspective. As is evident, the sequence from weaker to stronger self-expression values is associated with a sequence from collectivism to individualism, as expected. But with regard to egoism/altruism, the association is U shaped: In the lower categories of self-expression values, from SEV 01 to SEV 06, stronger self-expression values are associated with stronger egoism, whereas in the upper categories, from SEV 07 to SEV 10, stronger self-expression values are associated with stronger altruism.

This pattern confirms neither the civic nor the uncivic interpretation of self-expression values. It is, however, more clearly in contradiction to the uncivic interpretation. The advocates of this interpretation claim that it is too strong an emphasis on self-expression values that advances egoism, which suggests that stronger self-expression values are associated with stronger egoism, especially at high levels of self-expression values. In contradiction to this expectation, stronger

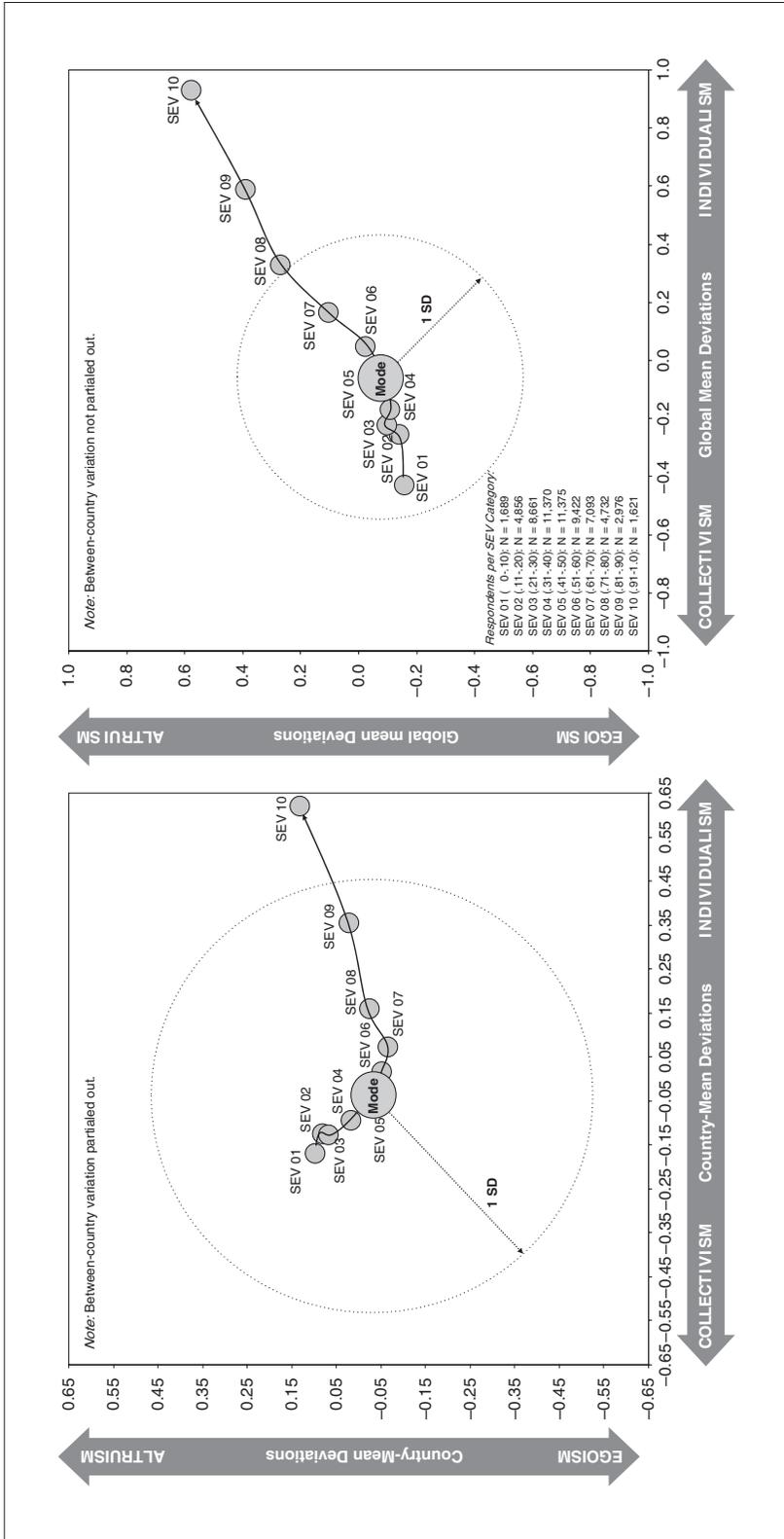
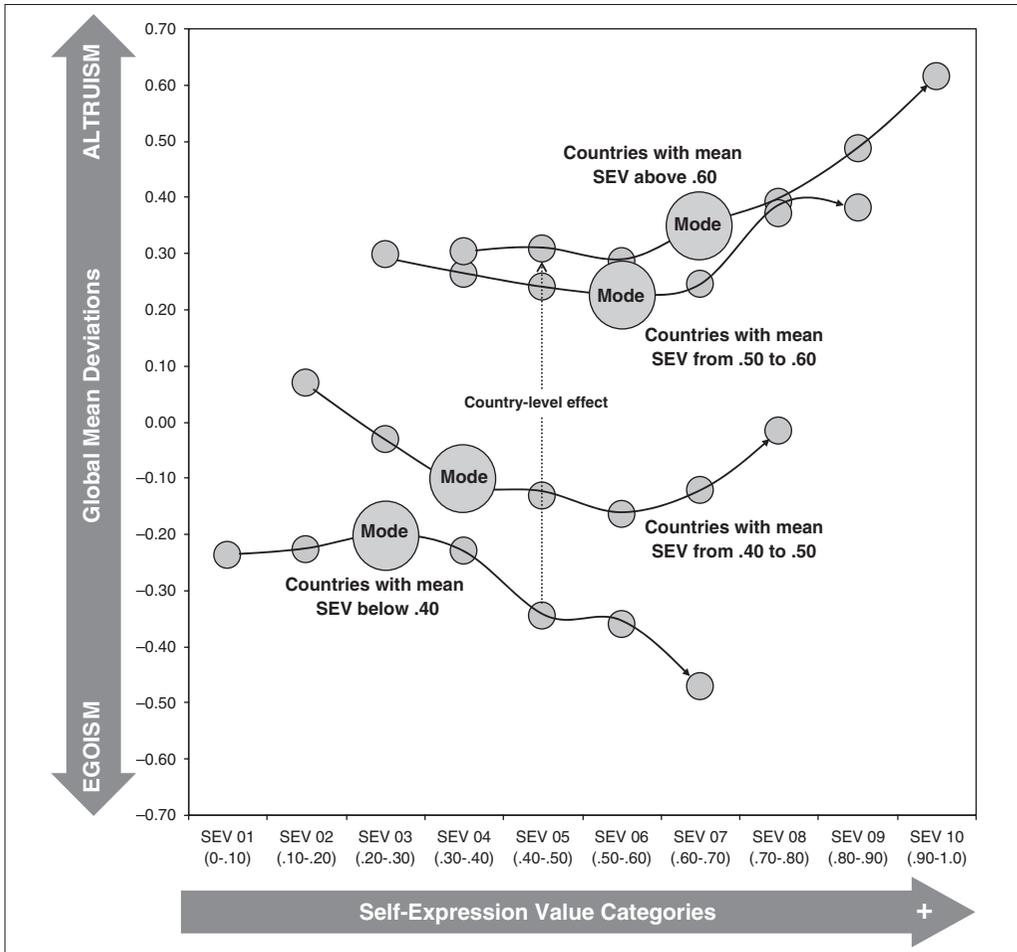


Figure 2. The trace of self-expression values in the Schwartz value space



**Figure 3.** Moderation of the within-country altruism effect of self-expression values by these values' country-level strength

self-expression values are associated with stronger altruism, not egoism, especially at high levels of these values.

The right-hand diagram in Figure 2 takes into account country-level differences in collectivism/individualism and egoism/altruism, using the overall mean in these two dimensions as the reference standard for all respondents. This makes levels of egoism/altruism and collectivism/individualism directly comparable over the 10 categories of self-expression values. The pattern provides a more clear-cut confirmation of the civic hypothesis for two reasons: (a) At high levels of self-expression values, stronger self-expression values are associated more closely with stronger altruism than under the elimination of between-country differences; (b) at low levels of self-expression values, stronger self-expression values are not associated with stronger egoism as under the elimination of between-country differences.

The fact that the association patterns differ under the elimination and the inclusion of country-level differences provides a hint that country-level characteristics shape the association between self-expression values and egoism/altruism. Figure 3 examines this possibility further, showing how the individual-level association between self-expression values and egoism/altruism varies

**Table 2.** Multilevel Models Examining the Effect of Self-Expression Values on Altruism Versus Egoism

	Dependent Variable: Egoism/Altruism, Factor Scores (altruism positive pole)
Intercept	-0.06 (-1.59), n.s.
Country-level effects:	
SEV	2.51 (8.41)***
Fixed individual-level effects:	
Female	0.18 (10.38)***
Age	0.01 (13.67)***
Formal education	0.13 (4.29)***
Random individual-level effects:	
SEV	-0.11 (-1.33), n.s.
* SEV (country level)	3.09 (4.83)***
Explained variances:	
Within-country variation of DV	4.7%
Between-country variation of DV	44.5%
Between-country variation in slope of SEV	31.5%
Number of units:	
Level 1	52,404 individuals
Level 2	48 countries

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients (*bs*) with *T*-ratios in parentheses. Individual-level variables (except sex) are group-mean centered. Country-level variables are global-mean centered. Hierarchical linear models calculated with HLM 6.01. Explained variances calculated from change in random variance components related to models with no explanatory variables specified. Data source is World Values Surveys, fifth round (2005-2007). 82.1% of the total variance in egoism/altruism is within-country variance; 17.9% is between-country variation. n.s. = not significant; SEV = self-expression values; DV = dependent variable.

\*\*\**p* < .001.

on different country levels of these values. Comparing the four horizontal lines, it is obvious that stronger self-expression values are associated with stronger altruism only in the upper categories of these values. Yet, this generalization needs qualification: It holds true only when the country level of self-expression values is high. Thus, the country level of self-expression values moderates these values' association with altruism within countries, making the association stronger at high country levels of self-expression values. The country level of self-expression values is relevant in another aspect, too: We find people in every category of self-expression values to be pronouncedly more altruistic when the country level of self-expression values is higher. Thus, when self-expression values are more widespread, almost everyone is more altruistic, irrespective of one's own level of self-expression values.

Table 2 uses a multilevel model to test the statistical robustness of the spatial analysis. Here, as in the following, I specify a random-intercepts/random-slopes model, which brings in country-level self-expression values to explain between-country variation in the dependent variable (random intercepts). In addition, slopes of individual-level self-expression values are allowed to vary by country (random slopes) and the country level of self-expression values is modeled as a moderator to explain this variation. As is usual in such models, individual-level variables (except for dummies) are centered on country means (to represent only within-country variation), whereas country-level variables are centered on the global mean.

The model in Table 2 confirms the findings of the spatial analyses. First, the within-country association of self-expression values with altruism is, on average, insignificant because the negative association in the lower scale zone and the positive association in the higher scale zone

cancel each other out. Second, there is a highly significant and strongly positive country-level association of self-expression values with altruism: People in countries with higher mean levels of self-expression values are on average more altruistic, regardless of how strongly they themselves emphasize self-expression values. This is obvious from the fact that self-expression shows a significant country-level association with altruism. Third, the within-country association between self-expression and altruism is highly contingent on the country level of self-expression values, turning significantly positive on high country levels of these values. This is evident from the significance and positive direction of the interaction term between individual-level and country-level self-expression values. Even though the pattern is complex, overall these findings are clear in one point: When self-expression values rise, people are more rather than less altruistic. This finding confirms the first part of the civic interpretation of self-expression values.

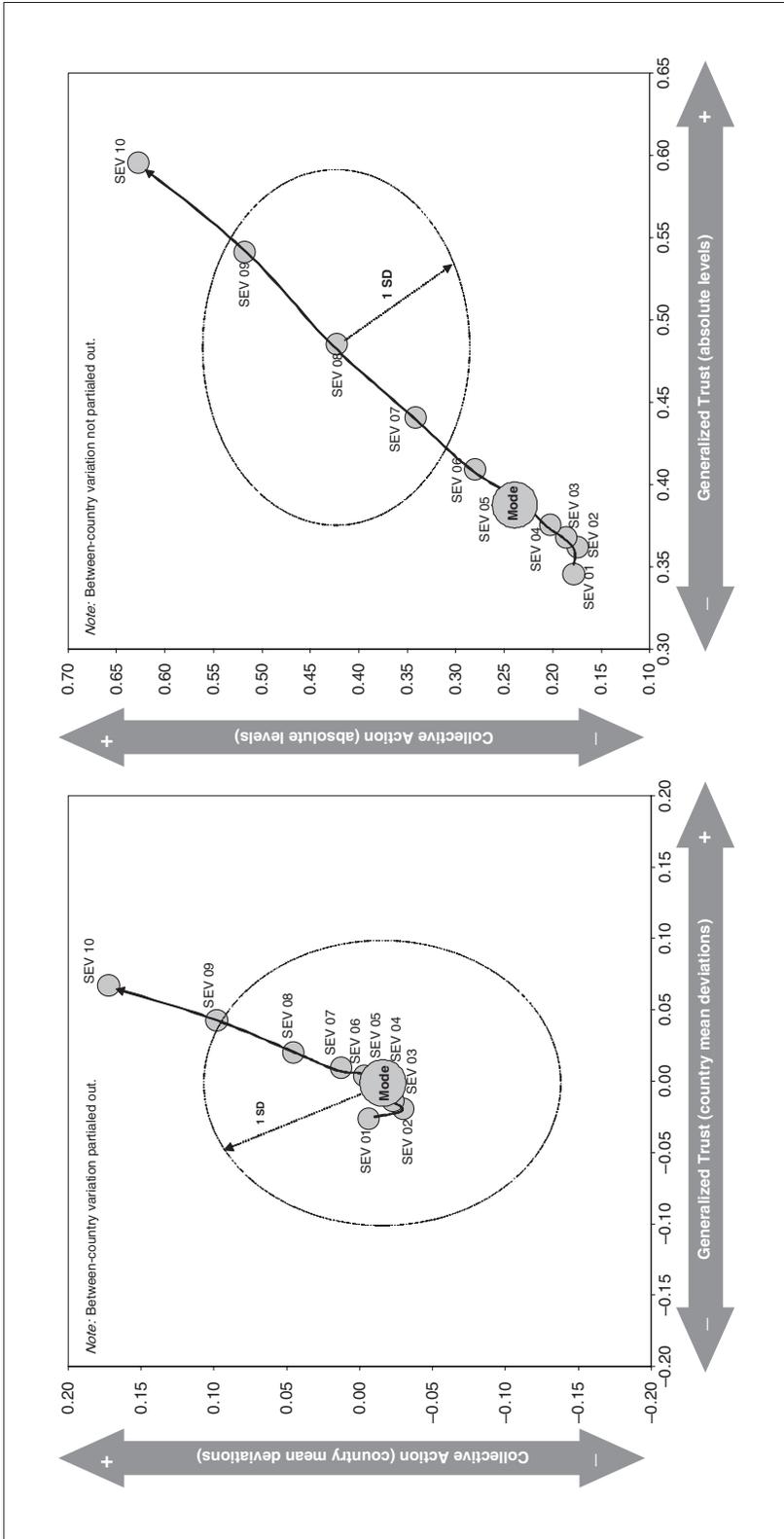
### *Self-Expression Values in a Social Capital Space*

The two diagrams in Figure 4 plot self-expression values into a social capital space, consisting of generalized trust in people and collective action tendencies. The left-hand diagram isolates within-country variations. It shows how much people in each category of self-expression values fall below or exceed their countries' mean levels of generalized trust and collective action. As is obvious, people in categories SEV 01 to SEV 05 cluster in one clump. There is no association between self-expression values and social capital in this scale zone. But from SEV 06 to SEV 10, people increasingly exceed their countries' mean levels of trust and action with stronger self-expression values. This association is more pronounced in the action dimension than in the trust dimension.

The right-hand diagram in Figure 4 shows how people in the various categories of self-expression values differ in their absolute levels of trust and activity. It is obvious that from categories SEV 05 to SEV 10, stronger self-expression values are closely associated with stronger generalized trust and stronger collective action tendencies. The fact that these associations are now more pronounced than in the left-hand diagram points once more to the importance of country-level characteristics. People in the different categories of self-expression values are mostly living in different countries, and these countries' mean levels of trust and action are higher in the higher categories of self-expression values.

The multilevel models in Tables 3 and 4 confirm the findings of the spatial analyses. This is true even though I control for a number of variables that have been identified as important in explaining trust, action, or both. Apart from standard sociodemographic controls for sex, age, and education, further controls in the case of generalized trust include particularized trust and group involvement. Particularized trust is included because it is said to be a necessary, although not sufficient, condition of generalized trust. Group involvement is included because numerous scholars see involvement in voluntary groups as a major trust-generating factor.

Despite the inclusion of these variables, self-expression values remain significantly and positively associated with generalized trust. People in countries with higher mean levels of self-expression exhibit more generalized trust, irrespective of how strongly they themselves emphasize self-expression values. This is obvious from the fact that self-expression values show a significant country-level association with trust. But, it is also true that when people themselves emphasize self-expression values more strongly, they tend to be more trustful, regardless of whether they live in a country with weak or strong self-expression values. This is evident from the fact that, within countries, self-expression values show a significant association with trust. The within-country association of self-expression values with trust is generally positive and unconditional in the sense that country-level characteristics do not vary it in strength or in direction. This is clear from the insignificance of the interaction terms.



**Figure 4.** The trace of self-expression values in a social capital space

**Table 3.** Multilevel Model Examining the Effect of Self-Expression Values on Generalized Trust

Dependent Variable: Generalized Trust (12-point scale)	
Intercept	.42 (52.90)***
Country-level effects:	
Group involvement	.32 (3.32)**
Particularized trust	.59 (5.03)***
SEV	.36 (4.69)***
Fixed individual-level effects:	
Female	-.01 (-1.97)*
Age	.08 (6.78)***
Formal education	.05 (6.84)***
Group involvement	.05 (5.69)***
Particularized trust	.43 (33.12)***
Random individual-level effects:	
SEV	.19 (11.21)***
* Group involvement (country level)	-.23 (-0.98), n.s.
* Particularized trust (country level)	.16 (0.67), n.s.
* SEV (country level)	.14 (0.75), n.s.
Explained variances:	
Within-country variation of DV	17.7%
Between-country variation of DV	61.5%
Between-country variation in slope of SEV	0%
Number of units:	
Level 1	52,404 individuals
Level 2	48 countries

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients (*bs*) with *T*-ratios in parentheses. Individual-level variables (except sex) are group-mean centered. Country-level variables are global-mean centered. Hierarchical linear models calculated with HLM 6.01. Explained variances calculated from change in random variance components related to models with no explanatory variables specified. Data source is World Values Surveys, fifth round (2005-2007). 75.5% of the total variance in generalized trust is within-country variation; 24.5% is between-country variation. n.s. = not significant; SEV = self-expression values; DV = dependent variable.

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

In Table 4, generalized trust is an independent variable in explaining people's collective action tendency, next to the control variables mentioned. In addition, resonating with the literature on political participation, I include political interest as an individual-level explanation of people's collective action tendencies. At the country level, I include state repression as a control factor because it has been claimed that repression of civil and political rights lowers people's inclination to collective action. From this point of view, it is well conceivable that self-expression values no longer show a positive association with people's collective action tendency once state repression is controlled for. However, despite all these controls, self-expression values remain significantly and positively associated with collective action tendencies. Again, this holds true for both the country level and the individual level. People in countries with higher mean levels of self-expression values tend more strongly to participate in collective actions, regardless of how strongly they themselves emphasize self-expression values. Vice versa, it also holds true that people who themselves emphasize self-expression values more strongly tend to participate in collective actions more strongly, regardless of country-level characteristics. However, the strength of self-expression values' within-country association with collective action is moderated by the country level of these values. This is obvious from the significantly positive interaction between individual-level and country-level self-expression values. Substantively, this finding means that

**Table 4.** Multilevel Models Examining the Effect of Self-Expression Values on Collective Action

	Dependent Variable: Collective Action, Intended and Done (15-point scale)
Intercept	0.30 (28.49)***
Country-level effects:	
Generalized trust	0.43 (2.71)*
Group involvement	0.36 (3.36)**
State repression	−0.05 (−1.81), n.s.
SEV	0.60 (4.60)***
Fixed individual-level effects:	
Female	−0.02 (−5.88)***
Age	0.00 (0.29), n.s.
Formal education	0.11 (9.16)***
Political interest	0.18 (14.46)***
Generalized trust	0.04 (3.64)**
Group involvement	0.14 (10.82)***
Random individual-level effects:	
SEV	0.22 (11.14)***
* Generalized trust (country level)	0.27 (0.78), n.s.
* Group involvement (country level)	−0.17 (−0.77), n.s.
* State repression (country level)	0.10 (1.07), n.s.
* SEV (country level)	1.15 (4.62)***
Explained variances:	
Within-country variation of DV	14.7%
Between-country variation of DV	73.5%
Between-country variation in slope of SEV	59.4%
Number of units:	
Level 1	52,404 individuals
Level 2	48 countries

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients (*bs*) with *T*-ratios in parentheses. Individual-level variables (except sex) are group-mean centered. Country-level variables are global-mean centered. Hierarchical linear models calculated with HLM 6.01. Explained variances calculated from change in random variance components related to models with no explanatory variables specified. Data source is World Values Surveys, fifth round (2005-2007). 75.5% of the total variance in collective action is within-country variation; 24.5% is between-country variation. n.s. = not significant; SEV = self-expression values; DV = dependent variable.

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

self-expression values motivate collective action the stronger, the more people in a country share these values.

Summarizing these findings, stronger self-expression values are associated both within and between countries with stronger trust in people and stronger action tendencies. The second part of the civic interpretation of self-expression values seems to be confirmed, too.

## Discussion

Most of the evidence confirms the civic rather than uncivic interpretation of self-expression values. This is most obvious for the association of self-expression values with social capital and here especially with collective action. The finding that self-expression values remain strongly associated with collective action even in the face of repressive threats is remarkable. It suggests that when self-expression values are strong, they are so deeply internalized that acting for them is intrinsically valuable, even in the face of repression.

The association of self-expression values with altruism is more complicated. For one, higher country levels of self-expression values are strongly associated with higher levels of altruism. Within countries, however, the association of self-expression values with altruism changes by the scale zone in which one considers self-expression values. In the lower half of the scale, stronger self-expression values are modestly associated with stronger egoism; in the upper half, they are associated with stronger altruism, but this association becomes very pronounced only when the country level of self-expression values is high. The relationship between self-expression values and collective action, too, is positively moderated by the country level of these values: Self-expression values are associated more strongly with a tendency to join collective actions in countries whose base level of self-expression values is high.

Now, it could be that the country-level effects of self-expression values have no meaning of their own but are simply artifacts of economic affluence. Indeed, this suspicion is not far fetched because we know from the work of Inglehart and Welzel (2005) that high levels of self-expression values are prevalent in high-income countries. It is possible, then, that it is all about affluence, and so we can simply replace self-expression values with per capita GDP and find the same results. But this is not what we find. Even though self-expression values are strongly associated with per capita GDP, these values retain an independent association with the civic phenomena in question here. To be precise, the country-level associations between self-expression values, on one hand, and altruism, generalized trust, and collective actions, on the other hand, drop from  $r = .71, .62, \text{ and } .74$  ( $N = 43$ ) to  $r = .37, .45, \text{ and } .51$ , respectively, when one controls a country's per capita GDP (using a logged measure in purchasing power parities from the year 2002). But, even the diminished associations are statistically highly significant and strongly positive. Vice versa, the country-level associations between per capita GDP, on one hand, and altruism, generalized trust, and collective actions, on the other hand, drop just as much or much more, from  $r = .72, .48, \text{ and } .64$  to  $r = .39, .03, \text{ and } .19$ , respectively, when controlling self-expression values. Only the first of these associations is statistically significant. Thus, a country's income level is associated with altruism and social capital mostly insofar as it is linked with self-expression values. Vice versa, self-expression values are associated with altruism and social capital even in disjunction from income.

In one point, the findings are weak, however. The items selected into the WVS to represent the benevolence and universalism components of altruism are not optimally chosen. The benevolence item, for example, addresses concern with "people nearby." This focus touches on close-circle solidarity and blinds out wide-circle solidarity, which is problematic because, as a manifestation of individualism, self-expression values might be associated with wide-circle rather than close-circle solidarity. The fact that self-expression values are more closely associated with generalized trust than with particularized trust (within countries: .23 to .07; between countries: .51 to .22) points strongly in this direction. Thus, looking at the association of self-expression values with close-circle solidarity is a pretty conservative test of these values' linkage with altruism. The positive association with altruism that we find despite this conservatism might turn out to be even more pronounced when we look at wide-circle solidarity. But, further research is needed to specify in more detail how self-expression values relate to different types and aspects of altruism.

In the Schwartz framework, collectivism/individualism and egoism/altruism constitute mutually independent dimensions. This is an important property of this framework because it defies the widely popular tendency to equate individualism with egoism. In this context, self-expression values might be a particularly interesting object of study for psychologists because these values merge altruism and individualism, manifesting a socially responsible version of individualism. In that sense, self-expression values represent an alternative operationalization of what Fontaine et al. (2008) designate as "growth values" in the Schwartz value circle. At any rate, self-expression values do not seem to be as selfish as some influential interpretations suggest.

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## Notes

1. Putnam (1993) defines social capital as "trust, norms, and networks that facilitate collective action" (p. 167). In this context, *civicness* denotes a prosocial orientation that includes altruism, trust in people, and a tendency to join collective actions. *Uncivicness* denotes the opposite attributes.
2. Information on question wording, fieldwork, samples, and available data sets is available at [www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org).
3. Inglehart and his collaborators measure values implicitly, inferring what people value from what they agree and disagree with in basic matters of life, including religion, gender roles, work, child rearing, social engagement, human rights, and so on.
4. From 1981 to 2006, self-expression values increased from .47 to .61 in Australia, .45 to .59 in Canada, .52 to .64 in France, .51 to .65 in West Germany, .45 to .50 in Italy, .47 to .58 in Japan, .51 to .65 in the Netherlands, .51 to .75 in Norway, .53 to .79 in Sweden, .41 to .54 in the United States, and .46 to .59 in the United Kingdom.
5. More detailed results are available on request from the author.
6. In line with previous findings, I find the values of tradition and hedonism to load on opposite poles of the collectivism/individualism dimension: Tradition loads on the collectivism pole and hedonism on the individualism pole. However, tradition and hedonism do not load as strongly and as exclusively on the collectivism/individualism dimension as the other four values.
7. Detailed results are available on request.
8. The one-standard-deviation circle in the diagrams depicts the average size of the area within which one finds two thirds of the respondents of a given category of self-expression values.

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