

BASIC VALUES AFFECT POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: COMPARING SIX BEHAVIORS

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ABSTRACT

Individuals face decisions not only regarding whether to participate in politics and how much to do so, but also in what ways to engage. Much of the variation in those individuals' participatory choices is accounted for in established models that rely on well known variables: available individual resources including time, money, and education; civic resources via participation in social groups, which lead to more opportunities to participate and improve civic skills; social norms that lead to feelings of responsibility; and general interest in politics. However, these alone are unable to fully explain what motivates choices between different types of political behaviors. I have developed a model that incorporates the values that underlie individuals' behavioral motivations to improve traditional models of political participation. I provide evidence that the ways individuals prioritize basic values helps explain their likelihood of participating in six different types of political behavior including voting, campaign volunteering, contacting elected officials, attending demonstrations, boycotting products, and signing petitions.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Political participation and the opportunity for citizens to freely engage with their government are fundamental to functional democratic process (Dahl, 1971). Electoral participation, for example via voting or volunteering for campaigns helps determine who represents citizens' interests in government. Non-electoral participation including contacting elected officials, participating in demonstrations, signing petitions, and volunteering with issue groups provide important information to elected agents regarding citizens' preferences and can help lead to major policy change (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). More contemporary definitions of participation continue an expansive trend regarding what actions are considered political, including behaviors that never interact with the political system directly. In light of such trends, an understanding of what motivates citizens' to engage with politics in different becomes continually more important.

Much research in political science is dedicated to explaining the factors that cause individuals to participate in politics. This means that political scientists know a good deal about how likely a person is to participate in politics based on their household income, education, or the social groups they are members of, among others. Less, however, is dedicated to understanding political participation with the knowledge that individuals "must not only choose to act politically, but also choose how to act" (Leighley, 1995: 198). A full accounting of how to differentiate motivations for performing these various political behaviors provides the opportunity to understand how and why citizens act the ways they do. It also may offer campaigns and organizations looking to motivate both greater overall political activism and specific actions at relevant moments in pursuit of policy goals tools to do so.

To develop a model that identifies those individual factors that make citizens more inclined toward specific participatory options across a wide variety of different political behaviors, I turn to basic individual values. Basic values are a useful way to explain participatory decisions for two primary reasons: they are universally held but prioritized differently for each person (Schwartz, 1977, 1990), meaning that they can be effectively measured for anyone; and they explain individual-level motivation rather than access to resources or opportunities, which in turn leads to specific behavioral choices (Feather, 1995; Schwartz, 2010). In addition, basic values transcend specific attitudes or contexts, which makes them particularly useful in evaluating an individual's inclination toward political behavior independent of the specific candidate or policy that the action is targeting. The study uses basic values to explain political behavior in two ways: first, it incorporates measures of the entire range of Schwartz's basic human values alongside variables commonly used to explain politi-

cal participation, in order to understand how the motivations defined by these values can contribute to understanding individuals' political participation overall. Second, I analyze the effect of basic values on each of a number of different types of political participation, in order to understand how individual motivations explain participatory choices. Analysis of the effects of basic values on political participation is performed using two samples, one from the United States and a second from Europe. By including variables that account for a sizable amount of the variation in overall political participation among individuals, the analysis done in this study is better able to isolate the effects of basic values in explaining variation in different types of political behaviors.

2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND INDIVIDUAL VALUES

2.1 Explaining Political Participation

What causes citizens to participate in politics, particularly in large democracies in which their actions make up only a very small fraction of the whole, is a source of extensive research and disagreement. The simplest answer – that citizens only or should only choose to participate in politics if and when they can expect to benefit from doing so, professed most prominently by the rational voter theorem and the logic of collective action (Downs, 1957; Tullock, 1967; Olson, 1970) – is widely discredited by empirical data (Finkel, Muller, and Opp, 1989). Several other factors, reviewed in detail below, each contribute some explanation regarding why certain individuals to be more likely than others to participate in politics, and ultimately why a person might be motivated to perform one political behavior but not another.

The Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995) suggests that political participation by individuals is related to three primary factors: individual resources, social networks, and psychological engagement. Resources including time, money, education, and civic skills all increase the likelihood of participating in politics. Money and time are "expended most directly) in political participation, because certain political acts like making donations require access to disposable income, while time is a prerequisite for most other forms of participation including voting, volunteering, participating in a demonstration, and many others (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). Better educated citizens may also feel less intimidated by the possibility of making their voice heard (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995; Burns, Schlozman, and Verba, 2001).

Social ties, which are developed via participation in social or civic organizations, also increase the likelihood of participating. Strong

civic and social connections lead to "networks of recruitment" by which citizens are asked to participate in various ways (Putnam, 1995; Putnam, 2001; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). Thus, the personal networks developed in non-political settings play a major role in citizens' opportunities to be politically active or not. Many requests to be politically active come from coworkers, neighbors, or members of shared organizations, like churches (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). In addition to increasing the opportunities to participate, civic engagement also allows individuals to develop the kinds of skills (e.g. public speaking) that are required of many forms of political participation (Putnam, 1995; Putnam, 2001; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995).

Finally, measurement of psychological engagement and its use in explaining political participation varies across models. The CVM describes psychological engagement as interest in politics and efficacy surrounding participation. However, this "political orientation" does not distinguish between what motivates individuals to participate, because it leads to stronger personal connections to politics (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995: 33). As a result, measures of political interest - frequently measured by a question such as "In general, how interested would you say you are in politics?" - do not offer sufficient specificity to explain why an individual may perform one overtly political behavior but not another. In order to do so, the relationship between psychological engagement and political participation must involve measurement of how different ways of being psychologically engaged is defined by how politics relates to individual's personal motivations throughout their lives. People are interested in politics precisely because they see political engagement as an opportunity to pursue their goals.

Most research suggests that individuals may be psychologically engaged in politics for a wide range of reasons. Material and social resources do not themselves define individual behavioral motivation, though they may nonetheless play a role. For example, perceived self-interest frequently motivates political participation (Bartels, 2005, 2006; Chong, Citrin, and Conley, 2001) This in turn may lead the wealthy to participate more not only because they have more opportunities to do so, but also because they may feel that they have a greater stake in the outcome of elections (Chong, Citrin, and Conley, 2001). Better educated citizens may be more motivated to participate because they are more aware of the myriad political issues and how they might affect their personal lives. Alternatively, cooperating in political and other collective endeavors may allow people to maintain a reputation within their community as unselfish and valuable to the community, which in turn provides significant benefits to the individual (Chong, 1991, 1996). People may also choose to participate because they find it fun or exciting. People who accept or seek out risk

in their life experiences are more likely to participate in politics, because doing so offers opportunities for novel or exciting experiences (Kam, 2012).

Other motivations are broadly defined by individuals' concerns for others. The responsibility to participate, either as a member of a specific group or a member of a democratic society (Riker and Odeshook, 1968; Blais, 2000), also influences political participation. Norms of responsible citizenship are closely associated with the strength of an individual's social ties, which help establish norms of participation and social trust (Putnam, 1995), and can help foster "emotional attachment grounded in enduring group loyalties" (Abramowitz and Saunders, 2006: 175). Individuals whose identities are closely tied to membership with specific social groups are also more likely to participate because of a feeling of both responsibility and empowerment (Han, 2009; Chong and Rodgers, 2005; Leigley and Vedlitz, 1999; Verba and Nie, 1972; Olsen, 1970). The importance of social norms in political participation has been corroborated by experimental evidence that pressure from friends, relatives, or a much broader community can have significant impacts on participation, in particular voter turnout (Gerber, Green, and Larimer, 2008; Gerber and Rogers, 2009; Panagopoulos, Larimer, and Condon, 2013; Panagopoulos, 2013). Other people may participate in politics because they feel a more general desire to benefit others (Edlin, Gelman, and Kaplan, 2006). The altruistic voter hypothesis suggests that both altruism - the desire to help people - and social identity - the desire to help specific groups of people - both increase participation in the event that the person believes that their participation matters (Fowler, 2006; Fowler and Kam, 2007).

Each of these models of political participation, which are only very briefly described here, provide some important explanation of how individuals are motivated to participate in politics. However, because they each describe a single (or in some cases, a few) important motivational factor that helps explain participation, none of them effectively incorporates all motivational factors that might lead a person to engage politically. Basic values, I describe in detail in the next section, describe all of our goals and thus behavioral motivations. Incorporating these values into a model of political participation may therefore allow for an examination of how multiple motivations explain the amount of types of political participation we choose.

2.2 Basic Human Values

Social psychologists define basic values as motivations that help to "guide, justify, or explain attitudes, norms, opinions, and actions" (Schwartz, 2012; see also Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1977, 1992). The Schwartz Values Survey (SVS; Schwartz, 1992, 2012) is a means of

measuring and categorizing individuals' behavioral motivations that is widely used in the study of values within social psychology. Over 200 samples from 67 countries have employed the SVS, providing support for the basic distinction into ten unique values and four value dimensions (Schwartz, 2012). The SVS is highly relevant to political issues because it is notable because it is cross-culturally applicable, is relatively easy to measure, and offers a wide range of values (Schwartz suggests that it is comprehensive) that can be used to explain individual political behaviors and attitudes.

There are six main features that define basic values as follows (Schwartz, 2012). First, values are beliefs, and when those values are activated people's feelings are aroused. Second, values underpin goals that in turn motivate behavior. Third, values are not dependent on context; that is, unlike norms or attitudes, values do not refer to specific actions. Fourth, values guide all of our evaluations or judgments. Fifth, values exist on a hierarchy of priorities. And finally, it is this prioritization of values relative to other values that guides both attitudes and behavior (Schwartz, 1992, 1996). Thus, values act to guide individuals' feelings, goals, and motivations. While they can be used to explain individual actions, values transcend the context in which individual actions take place (Schwartz, 2010). This is particularly relevant in the context of political attitudes and their relationship to actions. Values are an ever-present force dictating how and why we decide to act the way that we do, in our personal lives but also in our capacity as citizens.

Because prioritization of values influences our goals and actions, it is essential to consider the structure of these values. Rather than "have" certain values or others, basic values are maintained by everyone, with beliefs, goals, and behavior dictated by how individuals interpret the relative importance of values deemed relevant to a given situation. Schwartz identifies ten unique values organized into four distinct dimensions, which together "encompass the range of motivationally distinct values recognized across cultures" (Schwartz, 1992, 1994). Different values are more or less compatible or contradictory, each with "psychological, practical, and social consequences that may conflict or may be congruent with the pursuit of other values," which in turn leads to their organization into four dimensions. These four values dimensions are organized as follows:

- Self-enhancement 1) power, defined by status, prestige, and social dominance; 2) achievement, defined by personal success through demonstration of competence and in turn obtaining social approval.
- Self-transcendence: 1) universalism, defined by understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of everyone and for nature; 2) benevolence, defined by enhancing the welfare of the in-group, particularly family and close friends.

- Openness to change: 1) Hedonism, defined by sensuous gratification and self-indulgence; 2) Stimulation, defined by willingness to take risks in pursuit of excitement; 3) Self-direction, defined by a need for control, autonomy, and independence.
- Conservatism: 1) Tradition, defined by respect for and commitment to group customs; 2) Conformity, defined by restraint in actions and impulses that might violate social norms; 3) Security, derived from basic individual and group needs for safety and harmony.

These four dimensions also consist of two primary conflicts that make up “two orthogonal dimensions” (Schwartz, 2012). The first is between self-enhancement and self-transcendence, which reflects a natural tension between pursuit of personal welfare and concern for the welfare of other people. The second conflict is between openness to change and conservatism, which reflects the tension between the desire for individual, unconstrained thoughts, feelings, and actions as compared to an emphasis on resistance to change and belief in the importance of order and self-restraint (Schwartz, 2012). The expected relationships between these values and political participation are described in further detail below.

SELF-ENHANCEMENT Self-enhancement values describe the extent to which an individual is motivated by personal gain. Though self-interest is relevant to some types of political participation, the prospect of personal gain does not play a major role in motivating political participation as compared to other factors (Andreoni and Miller, 2002; Edlin, Gelman, and Kaplan, 2006). Political action involves paying private costs to produce public goods (Olson, 1970). Even so, there are scenarios in which individuals might perceive, correctly or not, the opportunity to personally benefit from political participation. For example, contacting one’s political representative is more likely to be motivated by expected material benefits than other types of participation (VSB, 1995). Individuals are also more likely to participate in elections in which they feel a personal stake or in which they have a higher probability of influencing the outcome (Blais, 2000; Campbell, 1980; Kam and Utych, 2011). Given such patterns, it seems likely that certain behaviors perceived to offer an opportunity for selective material benefits, like getting help from an elected official or even positioning oneself for a future job in government, may be more likely to be motivated by self-enhancement values.

SELF-TRANSCENDENCE Self-transcendence values, which describe the extent to which an individual is motivated by improving the welfare of others, are much more commonly associated with political participation than self-enhancement. In past studies of the connection between values and pro-social behaviors, self-transcendence is con-

sistently related to interpersonal cooperation, engagement with community and activist organizations, displaying a political symbol, and other social and political actions (Schwartz, 2010; Schwartz Caprara, and Vecchione, 2010). Altruism, closely associated with Schwartz's measure of self-transcendence, is positively correlated with many forms of political behavior (Fowler, 2006; Fowler and Kam, 2007). These findings suggest that self-transcendence should be positively correlated with political behaviors.

OPENNESS TO CHANGE Openness to change describes the importance that an individual places on personal enjoyment and excitement in life, and indicates a willingness to take risks in order to achieve those things. Political behaviors offer differing degrees of risk or excitement. Voting, for example, is so commonplace and seemingly benign that existing research finds no meaningful relationship between risk acceptance and voting. However, behaviors like protest or group membership, which offer opportunities for meeting new people and having novel experiences, are generally found to positively correlate with riskiness. The relationship between openness to change and political behavior is closely related to findings that individuals may choose to participate in politics precisely because it requires that they face some "financial, temporal, and psychological risk" and in turn offers novel or exciting experiences, while other people may avoid participation for the same reason (Kam, 2012). Openness to experience, one of the so-called Big Five personality traits, is closely related to openness to change. Openness to experience consistently and positively correlates with political participation and civic engagement (Gerber et al., 2009; Mondak et al., 2010). Extraversion, also closely related to openness to change, is associated with certain highly social political behaviors, such as joining political groups or attending meetings. While certainly not identical, the similarity between the value dimension of openness to change and these personality traits suggest that they may be subject to similar patterns.

CONSERVATISM Conservatism measures the importance that an individual places on tradition and following existing norms. Measuring the importance of tradition and maintenance of social norms provides an opportunity to determine whether an individual's feelings regarding his responsibility as a dutiful citizen more strongly influence certain types of political behaviors than others. Once norms of participation have been established, it becomes costly for individuals not to continue to participate. This may be one reason that research has shown voting to be habit-forming (Gerber, Green, and Shachar, 2003). More established political behaviors should have strong existing social norms developed around them, which could thus lead individuals who are more motivated by conservatism to perform

those traditional forms of political behavior. Behaviors that subvert common citizenship norms, such as participation in demonstrations, might be negatively associated with conservatism. This possibility is supported by previous findings that protest behavior is related to political distrust and feelings of social discontent (Newman and Bartels, 2011).

2.3 Distinguishing Between Types of Political Participation

Different types of political participation serve different purposes. Not only are they motivated by different goals, but they also serve to provide different information to public officials (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). Several existing models distinguish between forms of participation in various ways. One way of distinguishing these different types of behaviors from one another is by identifying the policies they are directed at changing. For example, political protest is much more likely targeted at abortion issues than economic ones, while participation in local community activity is much more likely to address education than abortion (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). These patterns are useful, because they might provide some information regarding which types of participation a person may be most inclined toward if a researcher already has knowledge of their policy positions. However, there are clearly a number of types of participation that are relevant to a large number of policy issues. Moreover, most individuals do not hold strong policy positions on a large range of issues (Zaller, 1992). Given these issues, using policy concerns as a primary means of explaining different types of political participation may be unsuccessful, or at least incomplete.

Another model, broader in scope, identifies participation along three dimensions: institutional/non-institutional, high-initiative/low-initiative, and individual/group (Verba and Nie, 1972; Newman and Bartels, 2011). This model is an immensely useful starting point in trying to differentiate political behaviors. For example, voting tends to be institutional, requires fairly low initiative, and is performed by oneself. As a result, we might expect an individual who trusts in the government to be quite likely to vote, while someone else who does not trust the government but has strong social connections to be less likely to vote. A model like this could effectively explain participatory choices, though it would require establishing how any individual behavior ranks on all three dimensions.

An alternative means of distinguishing different types of political behavior and their associated motivations is via distinguishing between so-called traditional or non-traditional participation. Traditional citizenship involves electing representatives or influencing their actions, primarily through voting, working for parties or campaigns, or contacting politicians directly. Less traditional forms of

participation that may not attempt to influence the makeup or actions of government directly instead promote an assertive, engaged, and less centralized form of participation. These newer citizenship norms promote actions that address social problems directly rather than through government intervention and thus offer alternative avenues for participation to traditional ones. Common non-traditional behaviors include consumer choices based on political considerations (i.e. boycotting or buycotting; Stolle, Hooghe, and Micheletti, 2005; Dalton, 2008; Newman and Bartels, 2010); engagement in decentralized, global activist organizations (Bennett, 2004), which may ultimately influence policy or influence corporate decisions but does not primarily lobby politicians; or active involvement with local civic groups (Putnam, 1995; 2000).

All three of the above ways of distinguishing between different types of political participation are useful in different circumstances. However, they are most effective at categorizing different types of behavior without subsequently being able to use those categories as a means of understanding why a person might be most inclined toward acting in that way. The model used in analysis and explained below attempts to do just that, to categorize behaviors by the motivations that lead people to act.

3 DATA AND METHODS

The European Social Survey (ESS) has been through seven rounds of large-scale sampling over more than a decade (2014, 2012, 2010, 2008, 2006, 2004, 2002). Thirty two European countries participated in the numerous rounds of the ESS (N=230,000). All of these rounds involved measures of the Schwartz Values Survey. However, not all included measures of political variables that I use to build the models presented below, resulting in a sample size for analysis of approximately 73,000. The Measuring Morality Survey (MMS) was collected in 2012 of a representative sample of the United States adult population (N=1519 total, although approximately 200 were excluded from this analysis due to missing data) gathered by GfK/Knowledge Networks. The MMS asked a large variety of questions related to morality, individual attitudes, and behavior. It is important to note the very large discrepancy in sample size between the US and European samples. As a result, I do not attempt to draw any conclusions regarding the relative importance of different values on political participation in these two populations. Instead, I focus on the effects of values in each population independently while considering patterns that emerge across both samples as strengthening the arguments that can be made by looking only to one sample.

Next, analysis of the effects of values on behavior is first performed via linear regression of the sum of an individual's political actions on measures of her values as well as a number of control variables. A second analysis is performed via linear probability models (LPM) for each political behavior. This allows testing of the relative importance of each value in explaining various political behaviors. To cross-check the validity of using the LPMs, standard logistic regressions were also specified. Results from the logistic models indicated consistent effects with the LPMs, in terms of both significant and direction of effect, though these results are not reported.

3.1 Dependent Variables

Four measures of political behavior are included in both the ESS and the MMS. Respondents are asked whether, in the previous twelve months (or most recent election) they have voted, participated in a political demonstration, volunteered for a political campaign or candidate, or contacted one of their political representatives. The ESS also asked respondents whether they had boycotted a product for a political reason and whether they had signed a political petition during the previous 12 months. These two additional behaviors are excluded from initial analysis of total political participation, but included in the separate analysis of each behavior.

The specific questions to measure political behaviors differed slightly across the two surveys. To measure voting rates in the ESS, respondents were asked, "Some people don't vote nowadays for one reason or another. Did you vote in the last [country] national election in [month/year]?" To measure the five other political behaviors, respondents were asked "There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following?" The US sample asked these questions slightly differently. To measure voter rates, respondents were asked, "Did you happen to vote in the 2008 presidential election?" For the other three behaviors respondents were simply asked, "In the past 12 months, have you [insert political behavior]?" Self-reported participation rates for these six behaviors in each sample are provided in Table 1.

A comparison of mean voting behaviors reveals several things. First, self-reported voting rates are substantially higher than measured rates, which in the US were just under 64 percent of the population in 2012 as compared to 84 percent reported in the same year in the MMS (US Census, 2012). Still, US voters participate at a higher rate than their counterparts in Europe across all behaviors with the notable exception of participating in demonstrations. Independent samples t-tests for the four shared political behaviors revealed that the rates of voting, contacting politicians, and participating in demonstrations

Table 1: Mean Political Behaviors

	US	Europe
Voter Rates	0.84	0.78
Volunteering	0.05	0.04
Contact Politician	0.18	0.13
Demonstration	0.04	0.06
Boycott	-	0.14
Sign Petition	-	0.2

were all significantly different across the US and European samples ($p < .01$). The rate of political volunteering was not statistically different between the two samples.

In initial analysis of overall political participation, measures of the four shared behaviors are combined into a single, continuous variable with a maximum score of 4. For the US, the mean score for this sum was 1.14. In total, approximately 1.5 percent of Americans sampled performed all four behaviors, while approximately 20 percent performed at least two behaviors. In Europe, the mean total score for the four behaviors was just 1.04. Less than 0.75 percent of the sample performed all four behaviors measured, while approximately 16 percent performed at least two. For later analysis, these measures are analyzed independently, each as a binary dependent variable via linear probability models.

3.2 Independent Variables

The independent variables of interest are four value dimensions. Values are measured via the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ, Schwartz, 2003; Schwartz, Lehman and Roccas, 1999). The PVQ consists of a battery twenty one descriptions, and asks them to indicate “how much each person is or is not like you.” The four value dimensions are as follows: self-enhancement, which describe the importance an individual places on power and achievement; self-transcendence values, describing the importance of universalism and benevolence; openness to experience, describing the importance placed on hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction; and conservatism, describing the importance placed on security, conformity, and tradition.

Table 2 shows descriptive statistics for these four value dimensions for both the US and Europe. Independent samples t-tests for each value revealed that the US and European samples are statistically distinguishable ($p < .01$) for all four value dimensions.

Table 2: Mean Values Among Four Value Dimensions

	US	Europe
Self-Enhancement	3.33 ($\alpha = 0.78$)	3.65 ($\alpha = 0.73$)
Self-Transcendence	4.59 ($\alpha = 0.70$)	4.86 ($\alpha = 0.72$)
Openness to Change	3.84 ($\alpha = 0.74$)	4.04 ($\alpha = 0.73$)
Conservatism	4.17 ($\alpha = 0.76$)	4.39 ($\alpha = 0.71$)

3.3 Additional Covariates

A number of variables commonly used to explain political participation are also measured by the ESS and MMS and are included in the models specified below. By including these variables, all of which have been commonly used to predict overall political participation in past research, I isolate the effects of the four value dimensions on each form of behavior. These control variables include the following: age, education, gender, household income, political ideology measured on a left-right scale, and political interest. Race/ethnicity was excluded as it is not consistently measured in the ESS. In addition, both country and ESS round (i.e. Round 1, 2002) fixed effects are included for each model specified using ESS data.

Questions used to measure age, gender, and political interest were all consistent across both surveys. Political interest is measured on a four-point Likert scale from 1 (“Not at all interested in politics”) to 4 (“Very interested in politics”). Age was measured in years, gender is measured as binary (male=1, female=0). Education in Europe is measured on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 indicating non-completion of primary education and 5 indicating completion of university or advanced degree. In the US, education is measured on a four-point scale from 1 (primary education) through 4 (college education). Household income in the US was measured on a scale from “Less than 5,000” (1) to “More than 175,000” (19). Meanwhile, the only measure of household income that was consistent across all rounds of the ESS was total household income, thus for the European sample the variable used for income is continuous. Political ideology is measured on a simple left-right scale for both surveys, though the two scales were measured on a 1 to 7 Likert scale for the US sample and a 1 to 10 Likert scale for the European sample. In order to compare results of political ideology for both together, I re-scaled the European survey, such that both now measure political ideology from “Extremely liberal” (1) to “Extremely conservative” (7).

4 RESULTS

4.1 Effect of Values on Overall Political Participation

The initial analysis of the effects of values on overall political participation offers support for a number of previous findings regarding factors influencing total political participation. Table 3 shows the results from the two linear regressions, one for each sample. First, as anticipated self-transcendence has a significant effect on individuals' overall participation across both samples. In both models, this effect is large enough that a movement from lowest self-transcendence scores to the very top of the scale would increase the number of political actions an individual took over the past 12 months by more than 1/3 of an action. This is impressive when it is noted that mean total participation in the sample is just over one behavior per person. Another large, albeit negative, effect on overall participation by conservatism is also indicated in the European sample. The direction and size of the effect in the US sample is comparable, though because of the much smaller sample it is not significant.

The two models also indicate that a number of control variables, in particular political interest and education, have a significant and sizable effect on overall political participation in the two samples. Political participation remains the single most important variable included in the model for both samples. In both cases, a movement along the entire scale from "Not at all interested in politics" to "Very interested in politics" would increase the total participation for an individual by nearly one full behavior. Education also has a significant and large effect on overall participation in both samples. For reasons that are not explored further in this research, education appears to have a much larger effect on participation in the US than in Europe. Ideology, income, age, and gender all have either non-significant or fairly small effects on levels of participation.

4.2 Effect of Values on Different Types of Participation

Next, measures of political participation are analyzed independently to determine how basic values have differing degrees of importance in terms of predicting the likelihood of participating in a variety of political behaviors. To visualize the effect of each value on different types of political behaviors, I start with point-biserial correlations between all four values and the political behaviors analyzed. These relationships are shown in Figures 1 and 2. These correlations suggest that the four value dimensions have consistent effects on the different forms of political participation across both the US and European samples.

Table 3: Effect of Values on Total Participation in Europe and the US

	<i>Dependent variable: Sum of Four Political Behaviors</i>	
	Overall Participation: Europe	Overall Participation: US
	(1)	(2)
Self Enhancement	-0.009* (0.003)	0.006 (0.023)
Self Transcendence	0.081* (0.005)	0.078* (0.031)
Openness to Change	-0.010* (0.004)	0.012 (0.029)
Conservatism	-0.039* (0.004)	-0.046 (0.027)
Political Interest	0.247* (0.003)	0.250* (0.021)
Ideology	0.017* (0.002)	-0.009 (0.014)
Age	0.0002* (0.00005)	0.007* (0.001)
Gender	0.035* (0.005)	-0.004 (0.039)
Education	0.042* (0.002)	0.171* (0.022)
Income	0.016* (0.001)	0.009 (0.008)
Observations	68,966	1,189
R ²	0.149	0.261
Residual Std. Error	0.678 (df = 68926)	0.647 (df = 1178)

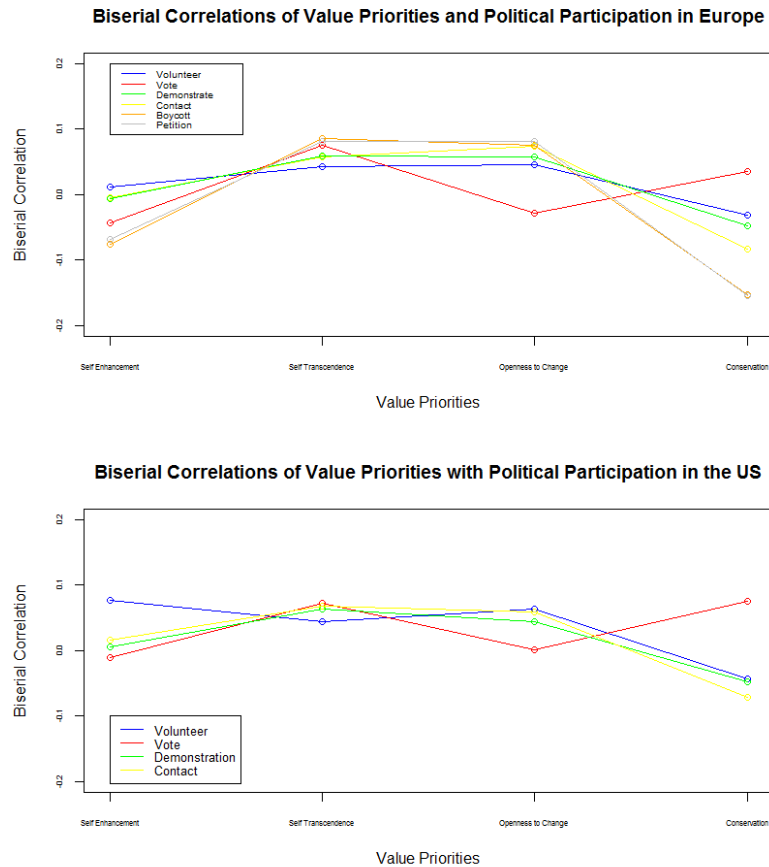


Figure 1: Simple Correlations Between Basic Values and Different Political Behaviors in Europe and the US.

The least consistent value in terms of its effect on political behaviors is conservatism on behavior, indicated by the dispersed correlation coefficients (y-axis) on the right. Particularly notable is the much more positive effect of conservatism on voting as compared to all other behaviors. Self-transcendence has the most consistent effects on behavior, as indicated by the tight clustering in both figures. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) revealed that the relationship between value dimensions and political behavior were significant ($p < .01$) for all four value dimensions in both samples.

To analyze these relationships further, I turn to a series of linear probability models in which the four values are added to a basic model of political participation in the vein of the Civic Voluntarism Model. Results from these models are shown in Table 4. This table only provides results for the four value dimensions and political interest, although control variables including age, education, gender, household income, and political ideology, as well as both country and ESS round fixed effects for the European sample were also specified in the models. They are not listed in the tables for the sake of simplicity of presentation.

Table 4: Effect of Values on Six Types of Participation in Europe

	<i>Dependent variables: Political Behaviors in Previous 12 Months</i>					
	Vote (1)	Volunteer (2)	Contact (3)	Demonstrate (4)	Boycott (5)	Sign Petition (6)
Self Enhancement	-0.010*	0.001	0.003	-0.003*	-0.011*	-0.006*
Self Transcendence	0.015*	0.013*	0.031*	0.021*	0.062*	0.059*
Openness to Change	-0.035*	0.004*	0.006*	0.015*	0.014*	0.019*
Conservatism	0.023*	-0.008*	-0.021*	-0.031*	-0.063*	-0.060*
Political Interest	0.091*	0.049*	0.072*	0.034*	0.058*	0.060*
Observations	69,201	73,300	73,283	73,264	73,428	73,428
R ²	0.101	0.053	0.069	0.083	0.136	0.138
Residual Std. Error	0.360 (df = 69161)	0.216 (df = 73260)	0.358 (df = 73243)	0.246 (df = 73224)	0.360 (df = 73388)	0.411 (df = 73388)

Note: Analysis performed via linear probability model *p<0.05

Table 5: Effect of Values on Four Types of Participation in the US

	<i>Dependent variables: Political Behavior in Previous 12 Months</i>			
	Vote (1)	Volunteer (2)	Contact (3)	Demonstrate (4)
Self Enhancement	-0.014	0.020*	0.003	-0.001
Self Transcendence	-0.001	0.006	0.041*	0.019*
Openness to Change	-0.008	0.005	0.013	0.005
Conservatism	0.045*	-0.022*	-0.049*	-0.015
Political Interest	0.078*	0.035*	0.102*	0.028*
Observations	1,204	1,321	1,321	1,321
R ²	0.170	0.072	0.148	0.057
Residual Std. Error	0.327 (df = 1193)	0.211 (df = 1310)	0.357 (df = 1310)	0.193 (df = 1310)

Note: Analysis performed via linear probability model *p<0.05

Self-transcendent values again offer the most consistent significant, large, and positive effects on all forms of political participation. Only voting and volunteering in the US sample are not affected by self-transcendent values. Across both samples, self-transcendence appears to have the largest effect on contacting a politician and participating in a demonstration. For both samples, moving from low self-transcendent scores to the highest scores would increase the likelihood that the individual contacted a politician in the past year by over 10 percent, while the likelihood of participating in a demonstration would increase with the same shift by approximately 8 percent across both samples. This is also consistent with past findings, described in detail earlier, regarding altruistic voting and the connection between altruism and other forms of political behavior. Self-transcendence has an even larger effect on boycotting and signing petitions, as shown in Table 4. This suggests that these two behaviors, frequently considered non-traditionalist (along with political protest) because they do not involve direct interaction with the government, may be more strongly associated with altruism. One possible explanation is that non-traditional behaviors are not motivated by strong social norms of citizenship, like the dutiful feelings people associate with voting, and as such participating in those ways requires other motivators like concern for others.

Conservatism also has a consistently significant and large effect on different political behaviors. For nearly all behaviors measured this effect is negative. However, this relationship is positive and quite large for voting in both samples. In the US sample, the effect of conservatism is such that an increase from low conservatism to high conservatism would mean a 20 percent increase in the likelihood of voting. This finding suggests that voting may be particularly motivated by habit or feelings of conformity. Non-traditional types of political participation, in particular boycotting, signing petitions, and demonstrating are the most negatively affected by conservatism of all six behaviors measured in the European sample. Further strengthening the distinction between voting and all other types of participation is the finding that openness to change is negatively correlated with voting in Europe. The effect in the US is of the same direction, but not significant. Meanwhile, all of the rest of the behaviors in the European sample are positively associated with openness to change, while the three non-traditional behaviors have the largest positive correlation with openness to change. The traditionalist model of what makes a good citizen, then, may be as follows: someone who performs their responsibilities as a voter but does not step outside of that primary citizenship role.

Finally, the effects of self-enhancement on participation are mostly small or non-significant. However, in the US sample self-enhancement is positively correlated with volunteer behavior. As noted previously, sometimes political participation may be motivated by self-interest: a desire for help from the government, the possibility of a future job. Volunteering provides the most direct means of connecting with a politician or her associates, and may be perceived as a means of acquiring a government job in the future. Contacting a politician's office would also plausibly fall into the category of participation that could be motivated by self-interest. Findings from the two models analyzed indicated that self-enhancement did not have a significant effect on contacting a politician, though in both cases the direction of the effect was positive.

The tables also include political interest in order to compare effect sizes, as it is so often the standard measure of psychological engagement. Political interest has a positive and significant effect on all types of participation, and in most cases the size of the effect is larger than any of the values. The instances in which this is not the case are for boycotting and signing petitions, which again had very large positive relationships with self-transcendence and very large negative relationships with conservatism. This provides additional evidence in support of the divide between traditional and non-traditional types of participation.

A summary of findings from both models are shown in Table 5.

Table 6: Summary of Effect of Values on Participation in Europe / US

	Vote	Volunteer	Contact	Demonstrate	Petition	Boycott
Self Enhancement	Less Likely / None	None / More Likely	None / None	Less Likely / None	Less Likely	None
Self Transcendence	More Likely / None	More Likely / None	More Likely / More Likely	More Likely / More Likely	More Likely	More Likely
Openness to Change	Less Likely / None	More Likely / None	More Likely / None	More Likely / None	More Likely	More Likely
Conservatism	More Likely / More Likely	Less Likely / Less Likely	Less Likely / Less Likely	Less Likely / None	Less Likely	Less Likely

5 DISCUSSION

Results from this analysis show that basic human values should play an important role in our understanding of motivations for political behavior. Even while accounting for measures of political interest, which has in the past been used as a catch-all for individual motivation to participate in politics, all four dimensions of basic values had some significant effect on many of the six behaviors analyzed. Findings from existing research on the connections between values and political participation were largely supported and expanded upon in this analysis.

The altruistic-voter hypothesis, which suggests that altruists are more likely to vote and participate in other political behaviors, was partially supported (Fowler, 2006). All six political behaviors measured in the European sample, including voting, showed a positive correlation with self-transcendence, which is theoretically equivalent to altruism. However, in the US sample only boycotting and participating in political demonstrations were positively correlated with self-transcendence, while the relationship with voting and volunteering was not significant. This may be a result of two additional factors. First, voting requires only a small amount of individual initiative as compared to other political behaviors, and thus choosing to vote may be less dependent on strong feelings of obligations to others. Second, volunteering may not be significantly influenced by self-transcendent values because it is positively correlated with self-enhancement, which frequently contradict self-transcendent values. This indicates that individuals who are more inclined to act based potential individual benefits may volunteer because they see doing so as a means to material benefits. These findings both strengthen and provide additional depth to the altruistic-voter hypothesis.

Values should play an important role in future work to clarify how motivations differ across political behaviors and how those motivations might be used to explain participation in some behaviors rather than others. If self-enhancement values have a positive relationship with political volunteering, for example, then we may conclude that people at least partially choose to volunteer based on the idea that they may materially benefit from doing so. Analysis also offers support for the idea that some individuals participate in politics because they find it risky or exciting, and that such people will be drawn

to specific types of behavior that offer the most excitement, like participating in demonstrations. Openness to change values increased participation in all types of political behavior in the European sample except voting, which was negatively correlated with the value. Adding this finding to results regarding the relationship between voting and conservatism paints a picture of voting as motivated by very different goals from other political behaviors.

In addition to potential benefits to oneself (volunteering) or others (all others), this analysis suggests that non-voting political behaviors are much more likely to be motivated by the potential for excitement or intrigue than by tradition or feelings of responsibility. In the European sample, the likelihood that an individual would engage in volunteering, contacting a politician, demonstrating, boycotting, or signing petitions were all increased by openness to experience values and decreased by conservatism. The direction of effects in the US sample are identical, though only the negative effects of conservatism on volunteering and contacting politicians reached statistical significance. Individuals who value tradition and responsibility to social norms were much less likely to engage in these forms of behavior than others. In addition, these three non-traditional behaviors are most strongly motivated by the intrigue or excitement associated with doing something new or different.

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