Basic Human Values: An Overview
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Basic Human Values: Theory, Methods, and Applications

"The value concept… [is] able to unify the apparently diverse interests of all the sciences concerned with human behavior." [Rokeach, 1973]

A psychologist wrote these words that proclaim the centrality of the value concept. Sociologists [e.g., Williams, 1968] and anthropologists [e.g., Kluckhohn, 1951] have echoed similar opinions. These theorists view values as the criteria people use to evaluate actions, people, and events.

This paper presents a theory within this tradition. The theory[1] identifies ten motivationally distinct value orientations that people in all cultures recognize, and it specifies the dynamics of conflict and congruence among these values. It aims to be a unifying theory for the field of human motivation, a way of organizing the different needs, motives, and goals proposed by other theories.

Introduction to the Values Theory

When we think of our values, we think of what is important to us in our lives (e.g., security, independence, wisdom, success, kindness, pleasure). Each of us holds numerous values with varying degrees of importance. A particular value may be very important to one person, but unimportant to another. Consensus regarding the most useful way to conceptualize basic values has emerged gradually since the 1950's. We can summarize the main features of the conception of basic values implicit in the writings of many theorists and researchers[2] as follows:

- Values are beliefs. But they are beliefs tied inextricably to emotion, not objective, cold ideas.
- Values are a motivational construct. They refer to the desirable goals people strive to attain.
- Values transcend specific actions and situations. They are abstract goals. The abstract nature of values distinguishes them from concepts like norms and attitudes, which usually refer to specific actions, objects, or situations.
- Values guide the selection or evaluation of actions, policies, people, and events. That is, values serve as standards or criteria.
- Values are ordered by importance relative to one another. People's values form an ordered system of value priorities that characterize them as individuals. This hierarchical feature of values also distinguishes them from norms and attitudes.

The Values Theory defines values as desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serves as guiding principles in people's lives. The five features above are common to all values. The crucial content aspect that distinguishes among values is the type of motivational

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[1] This paper gives only a very brief presentation of the theory and it's basics. For a more detailed elaboration, you can go to the following references: Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 2005a, 2006.

[2] E.g., Allport 1961; Feather, 1995; Inglehart, 1997; Kohn, 1969; Kluckhohn, 1951; Morris, 1956; Rokeach, 1973.

goal they express. In order to coordinate with others in the pursuit of the goals that are important to them, groups and individuals represent these requirements cognitively (linguistically) as specific values about which they communicate. Ten motivationally distinct, broad and basic values are derived from three universal requirements of the human condition: needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and survival and welfare needs of groups.

The ten basic values are intended to include all the core values recognized in cultures around the world. These ten values cover the distinct content categories found in earlier value theories, in value questionnaires from different cultures, and in religious and philosophical discussions of values. It is possible to classify virtually all the items found in lists of specific values from different cultures, into one of these ten motivationally distinct basic values.

Schwartz [Schwartz, 1992, 2005a] details the derivations of the ten basic values. For example, a conformity value was derived from the prerequisites of interaction and of group survival. For interaction to proceed smoothly and for groups to maintain themselves, individuals must restrain impulses and inhibit actions that might hurt others. A self-direction value was derived from organismic needs for mastery and from the interaction requirements of autonomy and independence.

Each of the ten basic values can be characterized by describing its central motivational goal:

1. **Self-Direction.** Independent thought and action; choosing, creating, exploring.
2. **Stimulation.** Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.
3. **Hedonism.** Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.
4. **Achievement.** Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.
5. **Power.** Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.[3]
6. **Security.** Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.
7. **Conformity.** Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.
8. **Tradition.** Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.[4]
9. **Benevolence.** Preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the 'in-group').[5]

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[3] Both power and achievement values focus on social esteem. However, achievement values emphasize actively demonstrating successful performance in concrete interaction, whereas power values emphasize attaining or preserving a dominant position within the more general social system.

[4] Tradition and conformity values are especially close motivationally because they share the goal of subordinating the self in favour of socially imposed expectations. They differ primarily in the objects to which one subordinates the self. Conformity entails subordination to persons with whom one is in frequent interaction – parents, teachers or bosses. Tradition entails subordination to more abstract objects – religious and cultural customs and ideas. As a corollary, conformity values exhort responsiveness to current, possibly changing expectations. Tradition values demand responsiveness to immutable expectations set down in the past. The theory retains the distinction between these two values based on empirical findings.

[5] Benevolence and conformity values both promote cooperative and supportive social relations. However, benevolence values provide an internalised motivational base for such behavior. In contrast, conformity values promote cooperation in order to avoid negative outcomes for self.

10. **Universalism.** Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.[6]

The comprehensiveness of any set of value orientations in covering the full range of motivational goals cannot be tested definitively. However, some evidence is consistent with the comprehensiveness of the ten basic values. Local researchers in 18 countries added to the survey value items of significance in their culture that they thought might be missing. These were assigned a priori to the existing basic values whose motivational goals they were expected to express. Analyses including the added value items revealed that these items correlated as expected with the core, marker items from the basic values to which they were assigned. They identified no additional basic values.

The Structure of Value Relations

In addition to identifying ten motivationally distinct basic values, the Values Theory explicates a structural aspect of values, namely, the dynamic relations among them. Actions in pursuit of any value have psychological, practical, and social consequences that may conflict or may be congruent with the pursuit of other values. For example, the pursuit of achievement values may conflict with the pursuit of benevolence values - seeking success for self is likely to obstruct actions aimed at enhancing the welfare of others who need one's help. However, the pursuit of achievement values may be compatible with the pursuit of power values - seeking personal success for oneself is likely to strengthen and to be strengthened by actions aimed at enhancing one's own social position and authority over others. Another example: The pursuit of novelty and change (stimulation values) is likely to undermine preservation of time-honoured customs (tradition values). In contrast, the pursuit of tradition values is congruent with the pursuit of conformity values: Both motivate actions of submission to external expectations.

The circular structure in Figure 1 portrays the total pattern of relations of conflict and congruity among values postulated by the theory. The circular arrangement of the values represents a motivational continuum. The closer any two values in either direction around the circle, the more similar their underlying motivations. The more distant any two values, the more antagonistic their underlying motivations.

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[6] This contrasts with the in-group focus of benevolence values.

Figure 1. Theoretical model of relations among ten motivational types of values
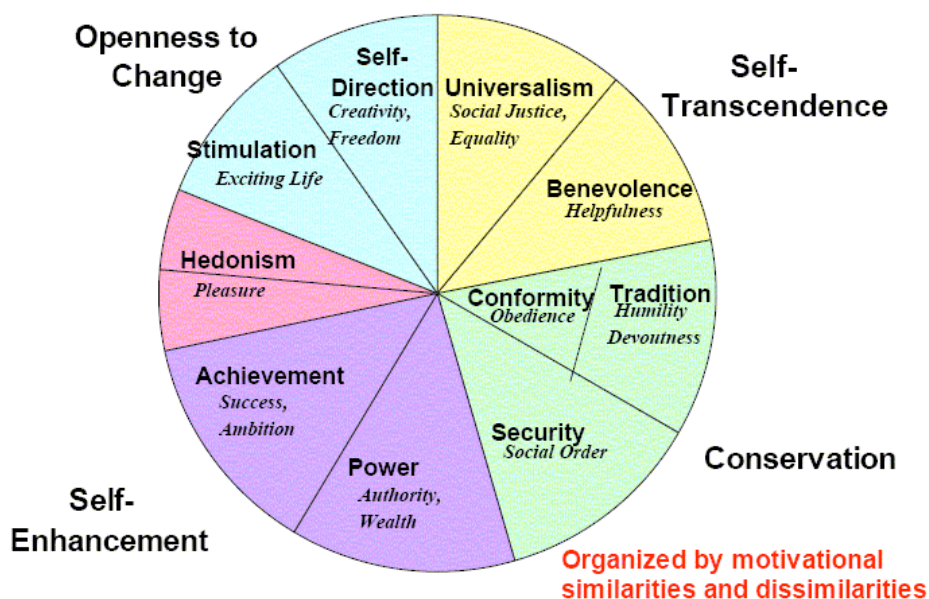
The conflicts and congruities among all ten basic values yield an integrated structure of values. This structure can be summarized with two orthogonal dimensions. **Self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence:** On this dimension, power and achievement values oppose universalism and benevolence values. Both of the former emphasize pursuit of self-interests, whereas both of the latter involve concern for the welfare and interests of others. **Openness to change vs. conservation:** On this dimension, self-direction and stimulation values oppose security, conformity and tradition values. Both of the former emphasize independent action, thought and feeling and readiness for new experience, whereas all of the latter emphasize self-restriction, order and resistance to change. Hedonism shares elements of both openness and self-enhancement.

Evidence for this theoretical structure has been found in samples from 67 nations [Schwartz, 1992, 2005b]. It points to the broad underlying motivations that may constitute a universal principle that organizes value systems. People may differ substantially in the importance they attribute to values that comprise the ten basic values, but the same structure of motivational oppositions and compatibilities apparently organizes their values. This integrated motivational structure of relations among values makes it possible to study how whole systems of values, rather than single values, relate to other variables.

Below I go into detail about how values are shaped, and how values influence attitudes and behavior. But, let's start first by looking at a concrete example of how values relate to a controversial social attitude, attitudes toward gay people.

More than 35,000 respondents to the European Social Survey in 2002-3 survey (ESS), who completed a values scale, were asked the extent to which they agreed with the following statement: "Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish." There is widespread interest in people's sexual behavior around the world. This statement is the subject of heated debate in most countries. Some argue that homosexuality is unnatural and wrong, others see no difference in principle between homosexual and heterosexual love.

Given the emphasis of conformity and tradition values on following conforming to widespread rules and expectations and to traditional norms and avoiding change, it is reasonable to expect these values to predict most strongly an attitude of opposition to gay peoples' rights to live their life as they wish. Heterosexual family life has been the foundation of virtually all societies, and any deviation from this pattern would therefore appear threatening for people who stress tradition and conformity values.

Figure 2 presents the Pearson correlations between "gays should be free to live as they like" and the ten values. The correlations reported in figure 2 support the hypothesis. Conformity and tradition values are negatively related to personal freedom for gay people. Further, hedonism and universalism values are positively related to freedom for gays. This is also a plausible result. Those with hedonistic preferences are concerned about personal pleasures, and universalism values express tolerance and protection of the welfare of all people.

Figure 2. Correlations between value priorities and favorable attitude toward life-style freedom for gays
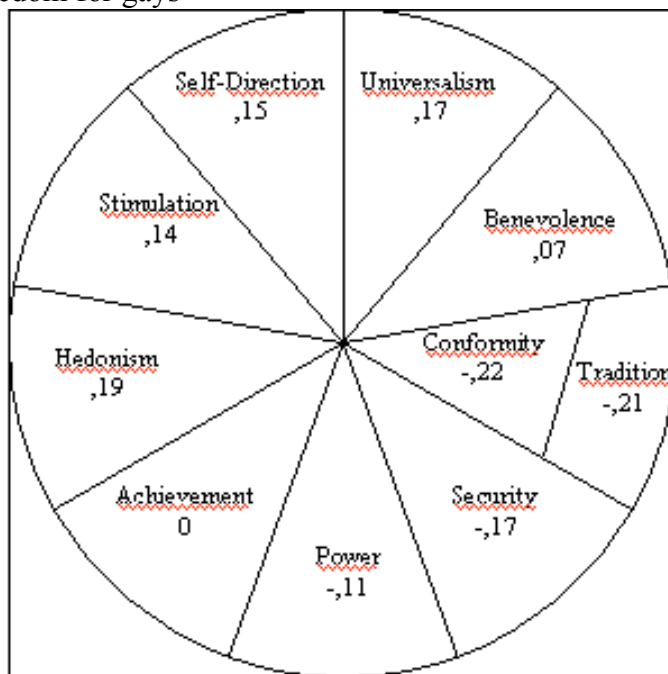
Sources of Value Priorities

People's life circumstances provide opportunities to pursue or express some values more easily than others: For example, wealthy persons can pursue power values more easily, and people who work in the free professions can express self-direction values more easily. Life circumstances also impose constraints against pursuing or expressing values. Having dependent children constrains parents to limit their pursuit of stimulation values by avoiding risky activities. And people with strongly ethnocentric peers find it hard to express universalism values. In other words, life circumstances make the pursuit or expression of different values more or less rewarding or costly. For example, a woman who lives in a society where common gender stereotypes prevail is likely to be rewarded for pursuing benevolence values and sanctioned for pursuing power.

This section discusses how background variables influence value priorities. In other words, we treat values as dependent variables. The first section of the chapter discusses how the whole set of ten values relates with other variables. Then we investigate how age, gender, and education influence value priorities. Although we treat values as dependent variables in this chapter, it is important to note that values do not merely depend on our life circumstances. Our value-based choices also influence many of our life circumstances. We return to the reciprocal influence of values and life circumstances on one another at the end of this section.

Life Circumstances: How Background Variables Influence Value Priorities

Typically, people adapt their values to their life circumstances. They upgrade the importance they attribute to values they can readily attain and downgrade the importance of values whose pursuit is blocked [Schwartz & Bardi, 97]. For example, people in jobs that afford freedom of choice increase the importance of self-direction values at the expense of conformity values [Kohn & Schooler, 1983]. Upgrading attainable values and downgrading thwarted values applies to most, but not to all values. The reverse occurs with values that concern material well-being (power) and security. When such values are blocked, their importance increases; when they are easily attained their importance drops. For example, people who suffer economic hardship and social upheaval attribute more importance to power and security values than those who live in relative comfort and safety [Inglehart, 1997].[7]

People's age, education, gender, and other characteristics largely determine the life circumstances to which they are exposed. These include their socialization and learning experiences, the social roles they play, the expectations and sanctions they encounter, and the abilities they develop. Thus, differences in background characteristics represent differences in the life circumstances that affect value priorities.

The Pattern of Value Relations with Other Variables: An Integrated System

Most research on the antecedents or consequences of values has examined empirical relations between a few target values and a particular attitude, behavior, or background variable (e..g., obedience and social class; equality and civil rights). The value theory enables us to treat peoples' value systems as coherent structures. The critical idea is that the ten values form a circular structure of motivationally opposed and compatible values. The structure derives from the conflicts people experience when they act on their values. Drawing on this structure, we can relate the full set of values to other variables in an organized, integrated manner (see Figure 1).

The structure of values has two implications for value relations:
1. Values that are adjacent in the structure (e.g., power and achievement) should have similar associations with other variables.
2. Associations of values with other variables should decrease monotonically in both directions around the circle from the most positively to the most negatively associated value.

For example, say voting for a party with a left orientation correlates most positively with universalism values and most negatively with security values. Then, going from universalism round the circle to the right (benevolence, tradition, conformity, security), correlations are

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[7] Maslow's (1959) distinction between growth needs and deficit needs can explain the existence of two different adaptation processes for the two types of values.

likely to become less positive and more negative. This is also likely going from universalism round the circle to the left. Thus, the order of associations for the whole set of ten values follows a predictable pattern. Specifically, if a trait, attitude, or behavior correlates most positively with one value and most negatively with another, the expected pattern of associations with all other values follows from the circular value structure. This view of value systems as integrated structures makes it easier to generate systematic, coherent hypotheses that relate the full set of value priorities to any other variable. It also makes it easier to interpret the observed relations of sets of values to other variables.

The integrated structure of values facilitates theorizing about relations of value priorities to other variables. Theorizing begins with reasoning about the particular values that are most and least positively related to a variable. The circular motivational structure of values then implies a specific pattern of positive, negative, and zero associations for the remaining values. The next step is to develop theoretical explanations for why or why not to expect these implied associations. The integrated structure serves as a template that can reveal "deviations" from the expected pattern. Deviations are especially interesting because they direct us to search for special conditions that enhance or weaken relations of a variable with values [Schwartz, 1996].[8]

How age influences values

It is common to speak of three systematic sources of value change in adulthood: historical events that impact on specific age cohorts (e.g., war, depression), physical ageing (e.g., loss of strength or memory), and life stage (e.g., child rearing, widowhood). Each of these sources affects value-relevant experiences. They determine the opportunities and constraints people confront and their resources for coping.

Cohorts
Inglehart [1997] demonstrated that older persons in much of the world give higher priority to materialist vs. post-materialist values than younger people.[9] He interpreted this as a cohort effect. People form values in adolescence that change little thereafter. The more economic and physical insecurity the adolescents experience, the more important materialist values are to them throughout their lives. The lower priority on materialist values in younger cohorts is due to the increasing prosperity and security many nations have enjoyed during most of the past 50 years.

What hypotheses does the cohort approach suggest for age differences in basic values? Most of the ESS-participants, but especially in West-Europe and the northern periphery, have enjoyed an increase in security and prosperity over the past 50 years. These increases have reduced existential threats and dependence on extended primary groups for subsistence. They have increased individuals' opportunities to indulge themselves, to be more adventuresome, and to choose their own way. These changes imply that younger groups will give greater priority to hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, and, possibly, to universalism values, but less priority to security, tradition, and conformity values.

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[8] For example, Sagiv and Schwartz (1995) show how unique aspects of relations among Jews, Muslims and Christians in Israel modify associations of value priorities with readiness for contact with out-groups.
[9] Materialist values emphasise economic and physical security; post-materialist values emphasise self-expression and quality of life.

Physical ageing

Strength, energy, cognitive speed, memory, and sharpness of the senses decline with age. Although the onset and speed of decline vary greatly, the decline rarely reverses. This suggests several hypotheses. With age, security values may be more important because a safe, predictable environment is more critical as capacities to cope with change wane. Stimulation values may be less important because novelty and risk are more threatening. Conformity and tradition values may also be more important with age because accepted ways of doing things are less demanding and threatening. In contrast, hedonism values may be less important because dulling of the senses reduces the capacity to enjoy sensual pleasure. Achievement and, perhaps, power values may also be less important for older people who are less able to perform demanding tasks successfully and to obtain social approval.

Life stage

Opportunities, demands, and constraints associated with life stages may cause age differences in values. Gender influences the experience of life stages, but we focus here on the main effects of age. In early adulthood, establishing oneself in the worlds of work and family is the primary concern. Demands for achievement are great, both on the job and in starting a family. Challenges are many, opportunities are abundant, and young adults are expected to prove their mettle. These life circumstances encourage pursuit of achievement and stimulation values at the expense of security, conformity, and tradition values.

In middle adulthood, people are invested in established family, work, and social relations that they are committed to preserve. Most are approaching the level of achievement they will attain. Work and family responsibilities constrain risk-taking and opportunities for change narrow. Such life circumstances are conducive to more emphasis on security, conformity, and tradition values and less on stimulation and achievement values. The constraints and opportunities of the pre-retirement life stage reinforce these trends. With retirement and widowhood, opportunities to express achievement, power, stimulation, and hedonism values decrease further. In contrast, the importance of security and the investment in traditional ways of doing things make security and tradition values more important.

Together, the analyses based on cohort experience, physical ageing, and life stages imply positive correlations of age with security, tradition, and conformity values. The analyses also imply that stimulation, hedonism, and achievement values correlate most negatively with age, and that power values correlate negatively too.

We can investigate these assumptions using the ESS data. Column 1 of Table 1 (below) presents the correlations between age and the different value priorities. The pattern of correlations for age fits the order expected according to the structure of values quite well. Age correlates most positively with tradition values, and the correlations decrease in both directions around the motivational circle to stimulation, with only a small reversal for benevolence and universalism.

How gender and education influence values

Gender[10]

Psychoanalytic theorists contend that women are more related and more affiliated with others than men, whereas men are more autonomous and more individuated [e.g., Chodorov, 1990].

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[10] For a full treatment of this topic, see Schwartz & Rubel (2005).

"Cultural feminist" theories posit women's "self-in-relation," in contrast to men's greater autonomy [e.g., Scott, 1988]. They claim that women show more concern for an ethic of care and responsibility, while men focus more on an ethic of rights based on justice and fairness [Gilligan, 1982]. Evolutionary psychologists postulate that women probably gained evolutionary advantage by caring for the welfare of in-group members. Men probably gained evolutionary advantage by attaining and exploiting status and power.

Social role theorists attribute gender differences to the culturally distinctive roles of men and women. Parsons and Bales [1985] hold that the allocation of women to nurturing roles reduces competition and preserves family harmony. Women assume more "expressive," person-oriented roles; men engage in and learn more "instrumental," task-oriented roles. Similarly, Bakan proposes "agency" and "communion" to distinguish men's and women's modes of social and emotional functioning [Bakan, 1966]. Socialization also contributes: societies typically socialize boys and girls to occupy different social roles and to affirm different life goals and sanction them for failing to do so.

Table 1: *Correlations of the ten values with age, and education in 20 countries*

Value	Age (N=35,030)	Gender (Female) (N=35,165)	Education (N=34,760)
Security	.26 (20)	.11 (20)	-.20 (20)
Conformity	.32 (20)	.02 (13)†	-.22 (20)
Tradition	.33 (20)	.08 (20)	-.22 (20)
Benevolence	.13 (20)	.18 (20)	-.04 (11)†
Universalism	.15 (19)	.12 (20)	.06 (16)
Self-Direction	-.08 (15)	-.06 (19)	.19 (20)
Stimulation	-.37 (20)	-.09 (20)	.16 (19)
Hedonism	-.33 (20)	-.06 (18)	.08 (15)
Achievement	-.26 (20)	-.12 (20)	.14 (20)
Power	-.09 (18)	-.14 (19)	.02 (13)†

†Correlation does not differ significantly from zero.

In parentheses is the number of countries with correlations in the indicated direction.

Due to missing data, the number of respondents varies slightly around the indicates Ns.

These theories share a view of women as more relational, expressive, and communal, and of men as more autonomous, instrumental, and agentic. These dissimilarities in men's and women's motives and orientations are likely to find expression as different value priorities. Specifically, they lead to the hypotheses that men more than women attribute importance to power values in particular and also to achievement, hedonism, stimulation and self-direction values. Women attribute more importance than men especially to benevolence values and also to universalism, conformity, and security values.

Column 2 of Table 1 presents correlations that support these hypotheses with the exception of conformity. Note, however, that the correlations are much smaller than for age. This corresponds to the usual finding that sex differences in psychological variables are small. Cross-cultural studies [Schwartz & Rubel, 2005] reveal that the pattern of gender differences in value priorities holds across 70 countries on average. However, there is much variation

across countries in the size of these differences, and men and women do not differ consistently on conformity and tradition values. Explaining these cultural variations is a challenge.

Education
Educational experiences presumably promote the intellectual openness, flexibility, and breadth of perspective essential for self-direction values (Kohn & Schooler 1983). These same experiences increase the openness to non-routine ideas and activity central to stimulation values. In contrast, these experiences challenge unquestioning acceptance of prevailing norms, expectations, and traditions, thereby undermining conformity and tradition values. The increasing competencies to cope with life that people acquire through education may also reduce the importance of security values. Column 3 of Table 1 reveals the expected positive correlations of years of formal education with self-direction and stimulation values and negative correlations with conformity, tradition, and security values.

In addition, education correlates positively with achievement values. The constant grading and comparing of performance in schools, emphasizing meeting external standards, could account for this. The associations of education with values are largely linear, with the exception of universalism values. Universalism values begin to rise only in the last years of secondary school. They are substantially higher among those who attend university. This may reflect both the broadening of horizons that university education provides and a tendency for those who give high priority to universalism values to seek higher education.

Table 1 lists the values in an order corresponding to their order around the circular structure of value relations (cf. Figure 1). The patterns of correlation in Table 1 illustrate both features of the relations of values to other variables derived from the circular motivational structure: (1) The background variables tend to have similar associations with values that are adjacent in the value circle. (2) Associations with the background variables decrease monotonically around the circle in both directions, from the most positively associated to the least positively associated value.

Final remarks
This section discussed three of many probable influences on value priorities. Others include the parenting we each receive, our temperaments and abilities, our current friends and those with whom we grew up, the cultural environment, and the political and economic systems in which we live. More broadly, whatever affects the life circumstances to which we must adapt can influence value priorities.

Our values are not merely passive recipients of influence. Value priorities cannot turn back the clock on age and they rarely lead to changes in gender.[11] But people's values do affect the level of education they attain; priorities for self-direction and achievement vs. conformity and tradition values promote persistence through higher education. Thus, some of the correlation between values and education reflects reciprocal influence. Reciprocal influence also holds for many of the other life circumstances that affect values. Our value priorities influence whether we develop particular abilities, choose particular friends, mates, jobs, and travel opportunities, and even whether we move to settings with different political, economic, or

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[11] Still, self-direction vs. conformity values probably do play a role in deciding on a sex-change operation, and achievement, power, hedonism, or stimulation values may motivate cosmetic surgery to battle the effects of aging.

religious systems. These value-based choices, in turn, create life circumstances to which we then adapt our values.

Measuring Value Priorities

The Schwartz Value Survey

The first instrument developed to measure values based on the theory is now known as the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS; Schwartz, 1992, 2005a). The SVS presents two lists of value items. The first contains 30 items that describe potentially desirable end-states in noun form; the second contains 26 or 27 items that describe potentially desirable ways of acting in adjective form.[12] Each item expresses an aspect of the motivational goal of one value. An explanatory phrase in parentheses following the item further specifies its meaning. For example, 'EQUALITY (equal opportunity for all)' is a universalism item; 'PLEASURE (gratification of desires)' is a hedonism item.

Respondents rate the importance of each value item "as a guiding principle in MY life" on a 9-point scale labeled 7 (of supreme importance), 6 (very important), 5,4 (unlabeled), 3 (important), 2,1 (unlabeled), 0 (not important), -1 (opposed to my values).[13] People view most values as varying from mildly to very important. This nonsymmetrical scale is stretched at the upper end and condensed at the bottom in order to map the way people think about values, as revealed in pre-tests. The SVS has been translated into 47 languages.

The score for the importance of each value is the average rating given to items designated a priori as markers of that value. The number of items to measure each value ranges from three (hedonism) to eight (universalism), reflecting the conceptual breadth of the values. Only value items that have demonstrated near-equivalence of meaning across cultures in analyses using multi-dimensional scaling (SSA; Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 2005a) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004) are included in the indexes.

The Portrait Values Questionnaire

The Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) is an alternative to the SVS developed in order to measure the ten basic values in samples of children from age 11, of the elderly, and of persons not educated in Western schools that emphasize abstract, context-free thinking. Equally important, to assess whether the values theory is valid independent of the SVS method required an alternative instrument.

The PVQ includes short verbal portraits of 40 different people, gender-matched with the respondent (Schwartz, 2005b; Schwartz, et al., 2001). Each portrait describes a person's goals, aspirations, or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of a value. For example: "Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way" describes a person for whom self-direction values are important. "It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things" describes a person who cherishes power values.

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[12] This followed Rokeach's (1973) idea that ends values and means values function differently. My research suggests that this distinction has no substantive importance (Schwartz, 1992). One item in the 56-item SVS was dropped and two others added in the revised 57-item version.

[13] Schwartz (1994) explains the rational for preferring rating of value importance to ranking.

For each portrait, respondents answer: "How much like you is this person? Responses are: very much like me, like me, somewhat like me, a little like me, not like me, and not like me at all. We infer respondents' own values from their self-reported similarity to people described implicitly in terms of particular values. The verbal portraits describe each person in terms of what is important to him or her. Thus, they capture the person's values without explicitly identifying values as the topic of investigation.

The PVQ asks about similarity to someone with particular goals and aspirations (values) rather than similarity to someone with particular traits. The same term can refer both to a value and a trait (e.g., ambition, wisdom, obedience). However, people who value a goal (e.g., creativity) do not necessarily exhibit the corresponding trait (creative); nor do those who exhibit a trait (conforming) necessarily value the corresponding goal (conformity).

The number of portraits for each value ranges from three (stimulation, hedonism, and power) to six (universalism), reflecting the conceptual breadth of the values. The score for the importance of each value is the average rating given to these items, all of which were designated a priori as markers of a value. All the value items have demonstrated near-equivalence of meaning across cultures in analyses using multi-dimensional scaling (SSA; Schwartz, 2005b).

The designers of the European Social Survey chose the PVQ as the basis for developing a human values scale to include in the survey. The ESS version includes 21 PVQ items, a few revised in order better to cover the content of the ten different values.

Predicting Behavior with Basic Values

Do people's value priorities influence their behavior in systematic, predictable ways? First consider processes through which values can influence behavior. Then we examine a few studies of value-behavior relations.

Linking Processes

Value activation. Values affect behavior only if they are activated (Verplanken & Holland, 2002). Activation may or may not entail conscious thought about a value. Much information-processing occurs outside of awareness. The more accessible a value, i.e., the more easily it comes to mind, the more likely it will be activated. Because more important values are more accessible (Bardi, 2000), they relate more to behavior.

Value-relevant aspects of situations activate values. A job offer may activate achievement values and a car accident may activate security values. Even coincidental increases in the accessibility of a value, say by coming across value-relevant words in a puzzle, increase chances it will be activated. If it is a high-priority value, it may then lead to behavior. Focusing attention on the self may also increase value-behavior relations because it activates values that are central to the self-concept, values of high importance. Verplanken and Holland (2002) demonstrated these effects in experiments where they manipulated the accessibility of values in one study and self-focus in another. Activation experiments are particularly important because they show that activating values <u>causes</u> behavior. The studies of value-behavior relations discussed below cannot demonstrate causality. Although the reasoning is causal, they are all correlational.

Values as a source of motivation. People's values, like their needs, induce valences on possible actions (Feather, 1995). That is, actions become more attractive, more valued subjectively, to the extent that they promote attainment of valued goals. People who value stimulation would likely be attracted to a challenging job offer whereas those who value security might find the same offer threatening and unattractive. High-priority values are central to the self-concept. Sensing an opportunity to attain them sets off an automatic, positive, affective response to actions that will serve them. Sensing a threat to value attainment sets off a negative affective response. This often occurs without our consciously weighing alternative actions and their consequences.

Influence of values on attention, perception, and interpretation in situations. High priority values are chronic goals that guide people to seek out and attend to value-relevant aspects of a situation (Schwartz, Sagiv & Boehnke, 2000). One woman may attend to the opportunities a job offers for self-direction, another to the constraints it imposes on her social life. Each defines the situation in light of her own important values. Each interpretation suggests that a different line of action is desirable. Value priorities also influence the weight people give to each value issue. Even if both women recognize the same value-relevant opportunities and constraints, the weight they give them will differ depending on their value priorities.

Influence of values on the planning of action. More important goals induce a stronger motivation to plan thoroughly (Gollwitzer, 1996). The higher the priority given to a value, the more likely people will form action plans that can lead to its expression in behavior. Planning focuses people on the pros of desired actions rather than the cons. It enhances their belief in their ability to reach the valued goal and increases persistence in the face of obstacles and distractions. By promoting planning, value importance increases value-consistent behavior.

Exemplary Studies

The following three studies each used a different instrument to measure values. A study of *cooperative behavior* in the laboratory (Schwartz, 1996) illustrates the crucial idea of trade-offs between competing values in guiding behavioral choice. Typically, the consequences of a behavior promote the expression or attainment of one set of values at the expense of the opposing values in the circle. To predict a behavior successfully, we must consider the importance of the values the behavior will harm as well as those it will promote. The probability of a behavior depends on the relative priority a person gives to the relevant, competing values.

Participants who completed the SVS were paired with another student to play a game. They were to choose one of three alternatives for allocating money between self and a member of their group whose identity was not revealed. Each would receive the amount of money they allocated to self plus the amount their partner allocated to them. The cooperative choice entailed taking the equivalent of 1€ for self and giving .8€ to the other. Compared to the other choices, this meant sacrificing a little of what one could gain (.2€) and giving the maximum to the other. The other two choices were both not cooperative, maximizing either one's absolute (individualism) or relative gain (competing).

Analyses of the consequences of cooperative and noncooperative behavior for the goals of the ten values suggested that benevolence and power values, opposed in the circle, are most relevant. Cooperation is more a matter of conventional decency and thoughtfulness in this setting than of basic commitment to social justice. Hence, benevolence values should relate

to cooperation most strongly. Power values should relate most strongly to noncooperation. They emphasize competitive advantage and legitimize maximizing own gain even at the expense of others. The correlations in column 1 of Table 2 (below) confirm the hypothesis. Benevolence correlates most positively, power most negatively. Moreover, as expected, based on the motivational structure of value relations, the order of the correlations follows the order around the value circle from benevolence to power.

Analyzing the data in another way demonstrates clearly that trade-offs among competing values guided behavior. Splitting the sample at the median on benevolence and on power values and crossing these sub-samples yielded four groups. In the group that valued benevolence highly and gave low importance to power values, 87% cooperated. This was twice the rate in any other group (35%-43%). Thus, to elicit a high level of cooperation required *both* high priority for values that promote cooperation (benevolence) and low priority for values that oppose it (power).

Voting. The next example of how value systems relate, as integrated wholes, to behavior takes us outside the laboratory. There were two main coalitions in the Italian elections of 2001, center-right and center-left. Both coalitions championed liberal democracy. But there were also policy differences. To the extent that citizens recognize these differences, the values whose attainment is most affected by them should influence their voting patterns.

The center-right emphasized entrepreneurship and the market economy, security, and family and national values. The intended consequences of such a policy are compatible with power, security, and achievement values. But they may harm the opposing values in the value circle, universalism and, perhaps, benevolence. The latter values call for promoting the welfare of others even at cost to the self. And universalism values express concern for the weak, those most likely to suffer from market-driven policies. In contrast, the center-left advocated social welfare, social justice, equality, and tolerance even of groups that might disturb the conventional social order. The intended consequences of such a policy are compatible with universalism and benevolence values. They conflict, however, with pursuing individual power and achievement values and with security values that emphasize preserving the social order.

Thus, political choice in these elections consisted of a trade-off between power, security, and achievement values on the right and universalism and benevolence values on the left. On that basis, Caprara, et al. (2005) hypothesized: Supporting the center-right vs. center-left correlates most positively with the priority given to power and security values and most negatively with the priority given to universalism values. Correlations with the priority of achievement values should also be positive, and those with benevolence values negative.

Stated as an integrated hypothesis for the whole value circle: Correlations should decline from most positive for power and security values to most negative for universalism values in both directions around the circle (cf. Figure 1).

Adults from the Rome region completed the PVQ and reported the coalition they had voted for in the 2001 election. We coded vote as (0) for center-left and (1) for center-right. We computed point-biserial correlations of voting with the 10 values, controlling gender, age, income, and education. Column 2 of Table 2 presents correlations between value priorities

Table 2. Correlations of Value Priorities with Behavior[A]

Values	Cooperation in a Game (SVS) Israel N=90	Vote for Center-Right vs. Center-Left (PVQ) Italy N=2849[B]	Political Activism (PVQ21) France N=1244[B]
Power	-.37***	.14**	-.14*** (-.14***)[C]
Achievement	-.19*	.08**	-.07* (-.10**)
Hedonism	-.18*	.01	.11*** (.09**)
Stimulation	-.08	-.03	.21*** (.15***)
Self-direction	.06	-.08**	.17*** (.12***)
Universalism	.32**	-.28**	.28*** (.26***)
Benevolence	.38***	-.18**	.10*** (.12***)
Tradition	.12	.07**	-.16*** (-.13***)
Conformity	.01	.10**	-.19*** (-.14***)
Security	-.08	.20**	-.31*** (-.22***)

[A]Values are corrected for scale use (Schwartz, 1992).

[B]Ns vary slightly due to missing data.

[C]In parentheses are partial correlations controlling age, gender, education, income, and marital status

***p < .001, **p < .01, *p < .05, 1-tailed.

and voting for the center-right. As hypothesized, the correlation of universalism was the most negative, and the correlation of benevolence was negative too. The positive correlations with security, power, and achievement were also significant. To put the strength of these correlations in perspective, note that correlations of individuals' income, occupation, education, gender, marital status, and age with vote were all less than .08. Moreover, values explained almost three times as much variance in voting as did the Big 5 personality traits.

For a final illustration of the effects of basic values on behavior, we turn to *political activism.* Data are from 1244 French citizens in the 2003 national representative sample of the ESS. The 21-item PVQ measured value priorities. Political activism was measured as the number of politically relevant, legal acts out of nine that respondents reported performing in the past year (e.g., contacting a politician, participating in a public demonstration, boycotting a product). Because universalism values promote social justice and environmental preservation—goals of much activism—they should correlate most strongly with activism. Because activism is risky and oriented to change, security and conformity should show the most negative correlations. Both reasoning about the motivations underlying activism and the order of the integrated motivational circle of values suggested weaker positive correlations for benevolence and self-direction values and weaker negative correlations for power and tradition values.

Column 3 of Table 2 (above) presents both the zero-order correlations of value priorities with political activism and the correlations controlling five socio-demographic variables. These correlations fully confirm expectations. The pattern of correlations, reveals the expected order that reflects the motivational continuum of values with one exception. Stimulation values show a higher than expected positive correlation. This deviation from the order around the motivational circel points to the fact that political activism is motivated not only by ideological considerations such as those that express universalism or security values. The simple pursuit of excitement also plays a role.

Summary and Conclusion

The values theory identifies ten basic, motivationally distinct values that people in virtually all cultures implicitly recognize. The validity of this claim does not depend on the way we measure values or the type of population studied. We still do not know whether the theory applies in more isolated tribal groups with minimal exposure to urbanization, mass media, and the market economy.

Especially striking is the emergence of the same circular structure of relations among values across countries and measurement instruments. People everywhere experience conflict between pursuing openness to change values or conservation values. They also experience conflict between pursuing self-transcendence or self-enhancement values. Conflicts between specific values (e.g., power vs. universalism, tradition vs. hedonism) are also near-universal. Here, I presented one dynamic process that may account for the observed circular structure. Other processes elaborated elsewhere (Schwartz, 2006) may underlie this structure as well. The circular motivational structure may lead to a unifying theory of human motivation.

Individual value priorities arise out of adaptation to life experiences. Adaptation may take the form of upgrading attainable values and downgrading thwarted values. But the reverse occurs with values that concern material well-being and security. Socio-demographic characteristics

contribute to explaining individual differences in value priorities because they represent different sets of life experiences. In keeping with the structure of values identified by the theory, antecedents affect priorities in a systematic manner. They tend to enhance the importance of values that are adjacent in the value circle (e.g., conformity and security) but to undermine the importance of the competing values (e.g., self-direction and stimulation). We have drawn only the simplest picture of the separate, linear effects of a few background variables. Future research must address possible interactions among background variables.

Values influence most if not all motivated behavior. The values theory provides a framework for relating the system of ten values to behavior that enriches analysis, prediction, and explanation of value-behavior relations. It makes clear that behavior entails a trade-off between competing values. Almost any behavior has positive implications for expressing, upholding, or attaining some values, but negative implications for the values across the structural circle in opposing positions. People tend to behave in ways that balance their opposing values. They choose alternatives that promote higher as against lower priority values. As a result, the order of positive and negative associations between any specific behavior and the ten values tends to follow the order of the value circle.

Here I presented three examples of how value priorities relate to behavior. Researchers in more than 30 countries have used the system of ten basic values to understand and sometimes to predict other individual differences. Among the behaviors studied are use of alcohol, condoms and drugs, delinquency, shoplifting, competition, hunting, various environmental and consumer behaviors, moral, religious and sexual behavior, autocratic, independent and dependent behavior, choice of university major, occupation and medical specialty, participation in sports, social contact with out-groups, and numerous voting studies.

Among attitudinal variables that have been related to value priorities are job satisfaction, organizational commitment, trust in institutions, attitudes toward ethical dilemmas, toward the environment, sexism, religiosity, and identification with one's nation or group. Among personality variables studied are social desirability, social dominance, authoritarianism, interpersonal problems, subjective well-being, worries, and the Big 5 personality traits. This proliferation of behavior, attitude, and personality studies testifies to the fruitfulness of the values theory and its promise for future research.

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