

# Congrès AFSP 2009

## Section thématique 42

### Des valeurs politiques en mutation: analyse quantitative comparée

Axe 2

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#### **Conceptualisation du changement de valeurs – Différentes approches testées pour la Suisse**

*Conceptualizing value change –*

*Different approaches tested in Switzerland*

L'espace politique en Europe de l'Ouest en général, et en Suisse en particulier, est conçu au mieux comme un espace à deux dimensions, avec un axe culturel et un axe économique, comme l'avaient suggéré Lipset et Rokkan. Mais depuis la fin des années 1960 ce modèle a été remis en question par un changement de valeurs et l'émergence de nouveaux enjeux politiques tels que l'égalité des sexes, la protection de l'environnement, le pacifisme, ou les droits civiques. Inglehart, Flanagan, Kitschelt et Kriesi tentent d'expliquer le même phénomène de changement de valeurs, mais ils diffèrent substantiellement en termes de concepts de valeurs utilisés. Cette contribution suggère que les concepts de valeurs du 'nouveau mouvement sociale' se réfèrent effectivement au même changement latent. Cependant, la contribution va aussi montrer que la mesure dans laquelle les concepts de valeurs saisissent le même type de changement, dépend du niveau individuel d'intérêt politique, du changement du temps et de la culture régionale dans laquelle les individus sont intégrés.

*The political space in Western Europe in general, and in Switzerland in particular, is said to be best reflected by a two-dimensional space with a cultural and an economic dimension as proposed by Lipset and Rokkan. However, since the end of 1960 it has been challenged by a value change when new issues of gender equality, environmental protection, pacifism and liberal civil rights appeared on the political agenda. Inglehart, Flanagan, Kitschelt and Kriesi try to explain the same phenomenon of value change, but they differ substantially in terms of the value concepts they use. This paper argues that the value concepts of the 'new social movement' values refer indeed to the same underlying change. However, the paper will also show that the extent to which the value concepts consistently capture the same type of change depends on individual political knowledge, change over time, and on the regional culture into which individuals are embedded.*

## ***Introduction***

The political space in Western Europe in general, and in Switzerland in particular, is said to be best reflected by a two-dimensional space with a cultural and an economic dimension as Lipset and Rokkan (1967) propose. However, this space has been challenged by new issues on gender equality, environment protection, pacifism and liberal citizen rights, which came on the political agenda in the end of the 1960s. Inglehart (1977), Flanagan (1979), Kitschelt (1994) and Kriesi (1998) try all to explain the same phenomenon of value change, though their approaches differ substantially in terms of the value concepts they use. The question arises therefore whether the different value concepts can indeed be reduced to the same common dimension.

Values are according to Rokeach “enduring beliefs that a specific mode of conduct is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence” (Rokeach 1973:5). This ‘endurance’ of values imposes a difficulty to the measurement of it and demands to turn to (less stable) attitudes instead<sup>1</sup>. The presumption of this approach is that the values of individuals are reflected in their attitudes, and that it requires a value concept, which specifies the attitudes that have to be considered for the measurement of the latent value variable. From a political scientist view it makes sense to consider attitudes, which refer to a politically relevant value. ‘Politically relevant’ means that these values are articulated on the political level, which happens, when there is a value conflict between social groups. Therefore, value concepts can in this sense be described as an attempt to conceptualize social value conflicts.

Values can change from generation to generation, regardless of the assumption of their stability for individuals. Several studies show that developed societies have experienced a fundamental value change during modernization, which has led to a transformation from values of compliance towards values of self-determination and equality of rights (Flanagan and Lee 2003, Hug and Sciarini 2002, Inglehart 1977, Inglehart and Welzel 2005, Kitschelt 1994, Kriesi 1993, Welzel 2002). In spite of a failure of an empirical test for their common dimensionality, the diverse value concepts are often regarded as synonymous.

If one studies these value concepts more carefully, it has to be doubted whether one can actually speak of a value theory (Feldman 2003:489). Inglehart argues that the ‘new values’ and values of self-expression are caused by experiences during adolescence. Kitschelt (1994) uses the same value concept as Inglehart, but he sees the reason for change in the new work situation of people. Flanagan and Lee (2003) postulate that we experience a trend toward values of moral liberation, which is linked to secularization. Recent studies of Kitschelt (1994) and Kriesi et al. (2008) detect a reverse trend toward more traditional and nationalistic values in connection with globalization.

The question rises, whether these different value concepts actually refer to the same dimension. This paper will show that these value concepts refer indeed to the same underlying change. However, the paper will also show that the extent to which the value concepts consistently capture the same type of change depends on individual political knowledge, change over time, and on the regional culture into which individuals are embedded.

## ***Change of the Political Space***

If we speak of a political space we generally refer to the location of value conflicts among actors (Hix 1999:71). This paper assumes that within a society contradicting value conflicts exist, and it further presumes that we can indeed detect a dimensionality within this space. Lipset and Rokkan postulate (1967) that the evolvement of party systems in Western democracies are ascribed to diverse social conflicts, which evolved from diverging interests in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Two of these conflicts

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<sup>1</sup> Some studies try to work with abstract terms instead of concrete attitudes (Converse 1964, Dalton 2002). These studies face the difficulty that the respondents bear different things in mind, when they are confronted with abstract terms like „freedom“ or „equality“ (Feldmann 2003:493).

evolved in the process of nation building between church and state, and between rural and urban regions, and two of these conflicts evolved in the process of industrialization between agriculture and industry, and between labour and capital. The authors assume that the conflicts, which evolved during the nation building process, are debates on cultural identity, while the conflicts, which evolved during industrialization are mainly of economic nature and refer to the role of the state in economy (Lipset and Rokkan 1967:18f). The political space in Western Europe is therefore often conceptualized into a 'cultural' and an 'economic' dimension (Kriesi 1994:230-4).

The 'economic' dimension refers to the traditional class conflict, in which the ideologies of capitalism and socialism oppose each other. Central elements of capitalism are freedom of trade, economic competition and the integrity of private property. Politically, capitalism demands a relatively weak state, and it opposes state regulation mechanisms, as well as social and economic equality. Socialism, in turn, favors the active role of the state in terms of economic security, solidarity and equality of income between social classes. The two conflicting poles of this conflict may thus be called 'state' and 'market'. The 'cultural' dimension refers in Switzerland mainly to the conflict between Catholics and Protestants, and between religious and secular groups.

The naming of these dimensions appears to be arbitrary if we consider that a social class identity may also be part of a cultural identity, or that economic incentives may be a reason for belonging to a 'cultural' conflict group. However, regardless how we call these dimensions, we have to admit that some political ideologies of actors seem to be more affiliated to each other than others, and that we observe a dimensionality within the political space.

We further have to agree that the dimensionality as Lipset and Rokkan propose has fundamentally changed in the course of modernization. At the end of the 1960s political unrest arose in many Western societies, which can be subsumed under the term of 'new social movements'<sup>2</sup>. These protest movements claimed among others gender equality, environmental protection, pacifism, and civil liberty rights. The new social movements have found most support among the established left parties, the new left, and the greens for their claim for cultural liberalism and social justice.

Kriesi (Kriesi 1998, Kriesi et al. 2008:12) observes an anti-pole to the cultural liberalism of the new social movement, which is since the 1980s expressed in a growing opposition towards the European integration process in specific and the globalization process in general. The losers of the globalization process ask for more national demarcation. They are against immigration, cultural diversity and national interdependence in political and economic terms. This group has found most support among the new right.

The rises of the above mentioned conflicts are generally ascribed to a value change, which is assumed to have caused two things: First, the 'cultural' dimension of religious conflict has been replaced by these new conflicts. Kriesi et al. (2008:12), for example, show that the religious conflict has lost much of its restructuring capacity since the Second World War, while the significance of new conflicts for voting behaviour has increased consistently. Second, this new 'cultural' dimension has gained so much in importance that it competed the restructuring capacity of the traditional class conflict (Kitschelt 1994, 2004, Dalton 2002).

Regarding the dimensionality of the political space, I therefore assume that the new conflicts refer to the same dimension and that this dimension challenges the traditional state-marked conflict. It is not the concern of this paper to find out, what the reasons for this dimensionality are. The paper only focuses on the question whether the observed rise of the new conflicts can be ascribed to the same phenomenon of value change, and whether we observe different dimensionalities within diverse groups.

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<sup>2</sup> Some critics (Jasper 1997, Pichardo 1997) remark that the term has not been well chosen, since non-material movements already existed during industrial times and traditional material movements are still today significant. Other researchers (Inglehart 1977, Offe 1985) underline, however, that a central element of the new social movement is its social element, which justifies the term.

## *Theories of Value Change*

### *Postmaterialisms-Materialisms*

According to Inglehart (1977) the formation of value priorities and the political space are tightly linked to social experiences during adolescence. The main reasons for value change are a general increase in welfare among Western countries as well as the absence of war. Inglehart assumes that individuals who are socialized in times of war and economic deprivation tend towards materialistic values, while individuals who are socialized in times of welfare tend towards values of self-expression. He proposes a conflict between materialists and postmaterialists, or between those who emphasize values of material well-being and physical security, and those who emphasize 'quality of life' values (Inglehart 1977:28f).

### *Environment-Production*

This conflict emerges in the 1970s from the argument that economic production and environmental protection are linked: More production would lead to more environmental pollution, and more environmental protection would impede production (Nas 1995:299). Inglehart assumes that this conflict is part of the materialism-postmaterialism conflict. He and Rabier (1986:456) count the approval of environmental protection to the values of 'quality of life'. However, Hermann and Leuthold (2001) identify the value conflict among attitudes towards environment policy in their inductive-hermeneutic analysis of Swiss voting tablings from 1981 to 1999 as an independent conflict. In addition to this, it has been showed that measuring environmental concerns via the postmaterialist-index leads to disputed results (Inglehart 1977:45). I will therefore measure the environment-production conflict separately via attitudes towards environmental protection.

### *Libertarian-Authoritarian*

Flanagan (1979, 2003) assumes that the change of authoritarian to libertarian values is mainly caused by secularization. He understands value change as a linear process from mediaeval theism to modernism and finally to postmodernism, in which an erosion of authority and the consolidation of autonomy is observed. The relationship of the inner and outer world changes with growing scientific knowledge: While theists regard God as the absolute authority, modernists perceive rationality as the external power of control. The postmodernist is fully autonomous and does not accept any external authority at all (Flanagan und Lee 2003:237). On the authoritarian pole of this value concept we find values of obedience and respect for authority. On the libertarian pole, we find values of self-determination, egalitarianism, freedom, and the right of offence towards social norms. It is this last value that I will emphasize in my analysis in order to be able to distinguish between the two concepts of libertarian-authoritarian and postmaterialism-materialism.

### *Integration-Demarcation*

Next to a value change in connection with industrialization and tertiarization, scholars also assume a change in connection with globalization (Antonio 2000, Beck 2004, Kriesi 2006). Kriesi (1998:180) speaks of a value conflict between supporters and opponents of an integration process, growing stronger as the political, economic, and socio-cultural interdependence rises. The losers, on the one hand, are blue-collar workers who fear that their work is dislocated into low-wage countries, and also farmers and the traditional bourgeoisie, whose jobs are protected by national borders. The winners, on the other hand, are those who have capital, which they can easily invest in a delimited world. The losers demand a stronger national demarcation: they are against immigration, cultural diversity, and integration. Hence, with this request they directly oppose the cultural liberalism of the new social movement (Kriesi 2008).

## *The Structure of the Political Space*

I presume that value concepts are actually an attempt to describe social value conflicts. I further presume in the tradition of Rokeach (1973) and Parsons (1951) that values are part of a belief system. Converse (1964:207) refers to a belief system as „a configuration of ideas and attitudes in which the elements are bound together by some form of constraint or functional interdependence.” By ‘constraint’ he means the interdependency among single value elements within this system. The wording seems to relate to the micro-level of an individual. However, if we apply this theoretical framework to the macro-level of a society, we discover that it refers to the structure of a political space, in which the value conflicts are functionally interdependent. Thus, such as a belief system is a set of values, which is determined by the mutual dependency of its elements, so is the political space.

On the macro-level, we have to distinguish between two forms of constraint: one *within* and one *between* values (Converse 1964:229). If we speak of a strong constraint within a value, we mean that the attitudes of a person or issues within a society are strongly determined by a value conflicts. If we speak of a strong constraint between values, we mean that some value conflicts in a society are more affiliated to each other than others, referring to a common dimension. It will not be possible for me to prove whether the constraint within values effectively affects the constraint between values, since the two concepts of attitudes and values are not distinguishable with the data and the design as I have chosen in this paper<sup>3</sup>. The two forms of a constraint within and between values seem to be linked. We could for example think of a person who has no idea of the conflict on environment-production, and will therefore show no constraint among this conflict and others. This implies that we have to be aware of the fact that constraints within values will also affect constraints between values. In other words: the dimensionality of the political space depends not only, but also on the constraint within a value conflict.

The first question is *how* the value elements of postmaterialist-materialist, environment-production, libertarian-authoritarian, and integration-demarcation are constrained within the political space. A two-dimensional space, as discussed in the literature above, would indicate a model, in which the four value conflicts are closely affiliated to each other, referring to a common dimension, while the traditional class conflict of state-market refers to a separate dimension. However, one could also think of alternative models: a one-dimensional model would imply a model, in which all conflicts are constrained by a single dimension. A three-dimensional (or more-dimensional model) could be any model in which one (or more) value conflict is not identified as part of the new ‘cultural’ dimension but refers, like the state-market concept, to a separate dimension. If the value conflicts of postmaterialism-materialism, environment-production, libertarian-authoritarian and integration-demarcation indeed refer to the same underlying phenomenon, we would expect them to be stronger constrained. This would be observable in a high correlation among the value concepts.

The second question is *what* constrains the political space. Converse, who analyzed the belief system of the political elites compared to the masses, assumes that there exist important and predictable differences in the structure of political values, which are determined by the degree of the diverse levels of political knowledge, understood here as the stock of political information that an individual has (Converse 1964:207). A low degree of political knowledge leads to a fragmented belief system. Similar argues Zaller (1992). He studied the influence of political knowledge on the relation of values and attitudes. He concludes that individuals with a high degree of political knowledge are able to link the information, which is entailed in political messages, directly to their value priorities and to enable a connection between value priorities and attitudes. Individuals with a low degree of political knowledge are not able to create this direct link. In this respect I expect a stronger constraint within the value conflicts of a politically interested group.

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<sup>3</sup> This would only be possible in a design in which the values are operationalized by abstract terms in order to distinguish them from concrete attitudes such as in studies as that of Converse or Dalton (Converse 1964, Dalton 2002).

In the field of value research we are often confronted with the thesis that not only political knowledge, but also the cultural region plays a crucial role in determining the structure of the space. International studies such as that of Inglehart and Baker (2000) and Schwartz et al. (2001) ascribe the differences in value priorities to cultural-historical causes. The Swiss case provides here a unique opportunity to analyze the value differences between the cultural regions. The federal structure of this state has preserved the particularity of each region. We further have access to a broad set of data, which has accounted for the possibility to compare the cultural regions. We therefore find not few studies that are concerned with the ideological differences among the regions. Hofstede (1976, 2001:63), who studied the value priorities of managers of the same company, shows that value differences are not ascribed to socio-structural differences, but are explained by the cultural background of the respondent. Freitag and Stadelmann-Steffen (2008) show in their contribution on voluntary work in Switzerland that the Swiss language regions resemble in their culture of readiness for voluntary work more their neighboring country of the same language than each other. The value structure of each cultural region in Switzerland does obviously not stop at the national borders, but builds with the neighboring country a conglomerate of common values. Language serves thereby as bearer of values by enabling the cultivation of the diverse identities.

Hermann and Leuthold (2003:48f) show that the German-speaking part of Switzerland votes much more against an integration of the country to the European Union than the French-speaking part. The authors explain the approval of the integration process in the French-speaking part with the diverse perception of the political system in the two regions. Direct democracy is much more emphasized in the German-speaking part, which is due to the lower barriers of direct-democratic participation (Wernli 2001:107), as well as the frequent use of the direct-democratic instruments in these cantons (Kriesi und Baglioni 2003:6). The French-speaking part, on the other hand, experiences a much more representative form of democracy, inspired by the French political system. The supra-national organization of the EU runs against the direct-democratic perception of the political system in the German-speaking part, which explains the refusal of a political integration in this region. The higher sensitivity for this issue in the German-speaking part leads me to the assumption of a stronger constraint within the integration-demarcation conflict in this region.

Hermann and Leuthold (2003:49) furthermore note that the French-speaking Swiss vote more in favor of socialistic issues than the German-speaking Swiss. The authors explain the approval of the active role of the state in the French-speaking region by its former economic dependency of the German-speaking region. This leads according to the authors to a higher socio-political sensitivity in this region for this political issue. I would therefore assume that compared to other regions, there is a significantly stronger constraint within the state-market value conflict in the French-speaking part of Switzerland.

We also observe differences concerning ecological issues between the language regions: at the ballot boxes the environmental protection proves regularly to be more approved in the German-speaking than in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Herman and Leuthold (2003:49) argue that the cause for the differences in the value priorities towards environmental issues is to be found in the diverse regional conceptions of nature. The authors draw their argument on a text analysis of Brechbühl and Rey (1998), who find evidence for diverse perceptions of nature in the cultural regions. According to the authors, each regional specific conception of nature conforms to that of the neighboring country of the same language, and can be ascribed to the shared use of media. A majority of Swiss follows only the television program of the own language region and builds a common market with the neighboring country of the same language. In 2007 foreign television programs constituted 60 percent of the Swiss market in the German-speaking region. In the French- and Italian-speaking region it constituted even 68, respectively 64 percent (Bundesamt für Statistik). A similar picture is found in the print media and radio programs. They also strongly orient themselves towards the journalistic tradition of their neighboring country, as Hungerbühler (2005:163) writes. In the end of 1960, when it became free to produce own news in each language region of Switzerland, the Swiss broadcast started to drift culturally apart and conformed to the foreign country of the same language. The higher sensitivity for environmental issues in the German-speaking part leads me to the assumption of a stronger constraint within the environment-production conflict in this region.

Next to political knowledge and cultural region we also meet the argument that the change over time affects the political space. According to Kitschelt and Dalton the new ‘cultural’ dimension gained so much in importance that it challenged the structural capacity of the traditional class conflict (Kitschelt 1994, Dalton 2002, Kitschelt 2004:6). I assume therefore that, on the one hand, a decrease in importance of the class conflict will be observable in a decrease of the constraint within the state-market conflict, and that we will, on the other hand, observe a stronger constraint within and between the new ‘cultural’ value conflicts because of its rising importance.

### *Empirical approach*

I will use Swiss data from the third and fifth wave of the World Values Survey, which were collected in the years 1996 and 2007. Table 1 lists the indicators in an alphabetic form. In the choice of the indicators for the latent variable constructs, I have tried to be as close as possible to the value concepts, I refer to. In terms of the libertarian-authoritarian concept for example, I have focused on indicators which apply to questions of moral issues as Flanagan and Lee (2001) do. However, contrary to Flanagan and Lee, I distinguish between the postmaterialism-materialism and the libertarian-authoritarian value concept by treating them separately. The postmaterialism-materialism value concept is measured by the 12-item index of Inglehart (1977). In line with Inglehart (1977: 52) the index was constructed by giving each respondent a score for a postmaterialistic item (set in italics on table 1) and by dropping the item ‘more beautiful cities’ because of its ambiguous position on the dimension. This resulted in an index with a scale ranking from 0 (Materialist) to 5 (Postmaterialist).

In terms of the environment-production conflict I chose several questions, which apply to the degree of support for environmental protection. The last question, which asks whether one would agree to buy things 20% more expensive, if the extra money were used to prevent environmental pollution, has only been asked in 1996. I therefore used a multiple imputation<sup>4</sup> in order to estimate a proxy for 2007. For this multiple imputation I used all other variables that were included in my model, including age and gender, as the approach of King et al. (2001: 57) suggests.

The integration-demarcation concept is built on questions which refer to attitudes towards immigrants and the openness of the country, as Kriesi et al. (2008) do. The state-market conflict was operationalized by questions concerning the active role of the state in terms of economic security, solidarity and equality of income between social classes, as also Knutsen (1995) does. All indicators were recoded in order to show high values on the prior-ordered pole of the value conflict. High values on environment-production for example indicate engagement in favor for the environment.

Due to a lack of adequate indicators for a proper operationalization of the construct of political knowledge, I had to refer to political interest instead. Although political interest covers only one dimension of the political knowledge construct, it nonetheless motivates to collect political information and broadens thereby political knowledge. It therefore serves as an adequate proxy. The variables that are also assumed to affect the political space are the cultural region, which was operationalized by the language region, and the change over time, which was operationalized by the year of survey.

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<sup>4</sup> Multiple imputation is a method in order to create predictions for the distribution of each of the missing values (King et al. 2001: 53). The method of multiple imputation is suggested by methodologists such as King (2001) or Raghunathan (2004) as the best approach to handle missing data, and is preferred to other methods, since it is more useful to use data from which we have at least a realistic prediction than no prediction at all.

Table 1: Overview of the indicators

Construct	Indicator
Change over time	Year of survey: 1996, 2007.
Cultural region	Language region where the interview was conducted: Swiss-German, Swiss-French, Swiss-Italian.
Environment-Production	„Can you tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements? - „I would give part of my income, if I were certain that the money would be used to prevent environmental pollution.“
	... -, „I would agree to an increase in taxes, if the extra money were used to prevent environmental pollution.“
	... -, „I would agree to buy things 20% more expensive, if the extra money were used to prevent environmental pollution.“
Integration-Demarcation	„Do you agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements? - „When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to Swiss people over immigrants.“
	„Which one of the following do you think the government should do? - „Let anyone come who wants to”, „Let people come as long as there are jobs available.”, „Place strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come here.”, „Prohibit people coming here from other countries?“
	„How would you wish Switzerland to be? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 6 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.“ - „Switzerland should have equal chances for immigrant and Swiss.” vs. „Switzerland should have better chances for Swiss.”
	... „Switzerland should open up towards other countries.“ vs. „Switzerland should preserve its traditions.“
Libertarian-Authoritarian	„Please tell me for each of the following actions whether you think it can never be justified (1), always be justified (10), or something in between? - „Homosexuality.“
	... -, „Prostitution.“
	... -, „Abortion.“
	... -, „Divorce.“
	... -, „Euthanasia.“
Political Knowledge	„How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you very interested/somewhat interested, or not very interested/not at all interested?“
Postmaterialist-Materialist	„If you had to choose, which one of the things would you say is most important? - „Maintaining order in the nation, giving people more say in important government decisions, fighting rising prices, protecting freedom of speech.“
	„And which would be the next most important? - „Maintaining order in the nation, giving people more say in important government decisions, fighting rising prices, protecting freedom of speech.“
	„Would you please say which one of these you consider the most important? - „A high level of economic growth, making sure this country has strong defence forces, seeing that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities, trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful.“
	„And which would be the next most important? - „A high level of economic growth, making sure this country has strong defence forces, seeing that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities, trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful.“
	„In your opinion, which one of these is most important? - „A stable economy, progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society, progress toward a society in which ideas count more than money, the fight against crime.“
	„And what would be the next most important? - „A stable economy, progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society, progress toward a society in which ideas count more than money, the fight against crime.“
State-Market	„How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.“ - „Private ownership of business and industry should be increased“ vs. „Government ownership of business and industry should be increased.“
	... -, „The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for“ vs. „People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves.“
	... -, „Competition is good.“ vs. „Competition is harmful.“
	... -, „In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life.“ vs. „Hard work does not generally bring success.“

In order to answer the first question of *how* the value elements of postmaterialist-materialist, environment-production, libertarian-authoritarian and integration-demarcation are constrained within the political space, I will develop in a first analytical step a confirmatory factor model, in which all the latent variables of the value concepts are free to correlate to each other. This approach is a direct way to analyze whether some value concepts are more or less constrained *between* each other. At the same time it will be possible to look at the factor loadings in order to analyze the constraint *within* each value concept. Manifest attitudes serve thereby as indicators of the value concepts. This method allows accounting for measurement errors, and avoiding treating these attitudes as perfect indicators of the value construct.

Since the postmaterialism-materialism index is based on questions, which are collected in a ranking manner, it is not possible to use its single items as indicators of a value concept within a confirmatory factor analysis (Dunlap and Cornwell 1994). This index has therefore been built in a prior step and introduced into the confirmatory factor analysis model as a manifest variable.

In order to answer the second question of *what* constrains the political space, I will compare the same confirmatory factor model of the first analytical step, in further steps for each group of politically interested and uninterested individuals, the language regions, and the years of survey. In this part I will compare, on the one hand, whether there are significant differences in the model fit between the diverse groups, and compare, on the other hand, whether there are significant differences in the constraint between and within the value concepts. In order to test for significant differences between the groups, I first estimated a model in which all the factor loadings and correlations were set equal. I then compared the chi-square difference of this model with a similar model in which only one factor loading or correlation of interest was allowed to load freely. By this means it was possible to detect any significant differences for this specific factor loading or correlation between the two groups that were compared. I therefore compared first the two groups of politically interested and uninterested individuals. I then compared the German-speaking language region once with the French-speaking region and once with the Italian-speaking region. I finally compared also the two groups of the 1996 and 2007 survey.

## **Results**

Graph 1 shows the confirmatory factor model, in which all the latent variables of the value concepts are free to correlate to each other. The correlations of graph 1 were displayed in table 1 in order to provide a better overview. A first look on the factor loadings in graph 1 reveals no differences between in the strength of the factor loadings of the latent variables, which is reflected in a good model fit. The error terms of the indicators are all assumed to be uncorrelated, with exception of the two first indicators of the latent variable state-market. The model accounts for this measurement error between the two by imposing a correlation, which appears to be significant, yet not high.

We see in table 1 relatively high correlations between the value concepts of integration-demarcation, environment-production, and postmaterialism-materialism, indicating toward a common dimension. However, we also detect a relatively low correlation between the libertarian-authoritarian concept and the other latent variables. Only the correlation between this latent variable and the integration-demarcation concept supports the assumption that this concept has more in common with a new 'cultural' dimension than with the old 'economic' dimension. Though, how can the relatively low correlation of this latent variable be explained? I assume that the libertarian-authoritarian concept of Flanagan is a 'proxy' or a 'relict' of the old secular-religious conflict, which lies indeed, as the author writes, within a linear process from theism to postmodernism but has nonetheless been replaced by new conflicts.

A further finding strikes: the correlation between the state-market and the environment-production concept seems small but is nevertheless considerable. One might argue that this correlation is only a result of the choice of the indicators, which predetermine the economic aspect of this concept. This argument is not convincing, especially if we account for the fact that also the integration-demarcation concept entails many indicators that also emphasize economic aspects of the conflict, and which shows no correlation to the state-market concept. Apparently attitudes towards environmental protection seem in Switzerland to be linked with attitudes towards market regulation; a statement that we can not claim from attitudes towards the integration process of the country. This finding goes in line with that of Kriesi et al. (2008:144), who find environmental issues to be part of the 'economic' dimension. Though, it contradicts the idea of a conflict that is only determined by the phenomenon of value change and should therefore be part of a new 'cultural' dimension.

Graph 1: Confirmatory factor analysis for the complete Swiss data set<sup>5</sup>

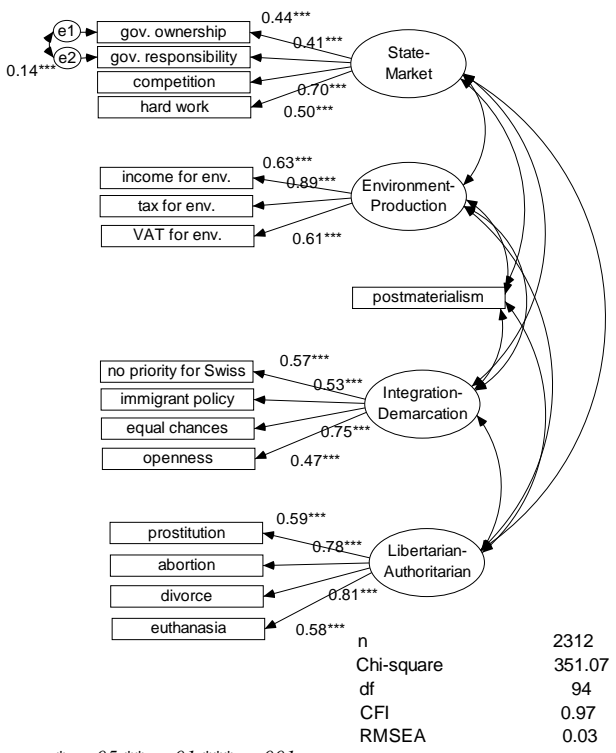


Table 1: Correlations of a confirmatory factor analysis for the complete data set. Standardized estimates.

	State-Market			Environment-Production			Postmaterialism-Materialism			Integration-Demarcation			Modelfit	
<b>Complete data set</b>	Corr.	S.E.	P	Corr.	S.E.	P	Corr.	S.E.	P	Corr.	S.E.	P	n	2312.00
Environment-Production	<b>0.13</b>	0.03	***										Chi <sup>2</sup>	351.07
Postmat.-Materialism	<b>0.20</b>	0.03	***	<b>0.28</b>	0.02	***							df	94.00
Integration-Demarcation	0.04	0.03	ns.	<b>0.38</b>	0.03	***	<b>0.37</b>	0.02	***				CFI	0.97
Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.01	0.03	ns.	0.07	0.03	**	<b>0.14</b>	0.02	***	<b>0.25</b>	0.03	***	RMSEA	0.03

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001  
Corr. > 1 in bold.

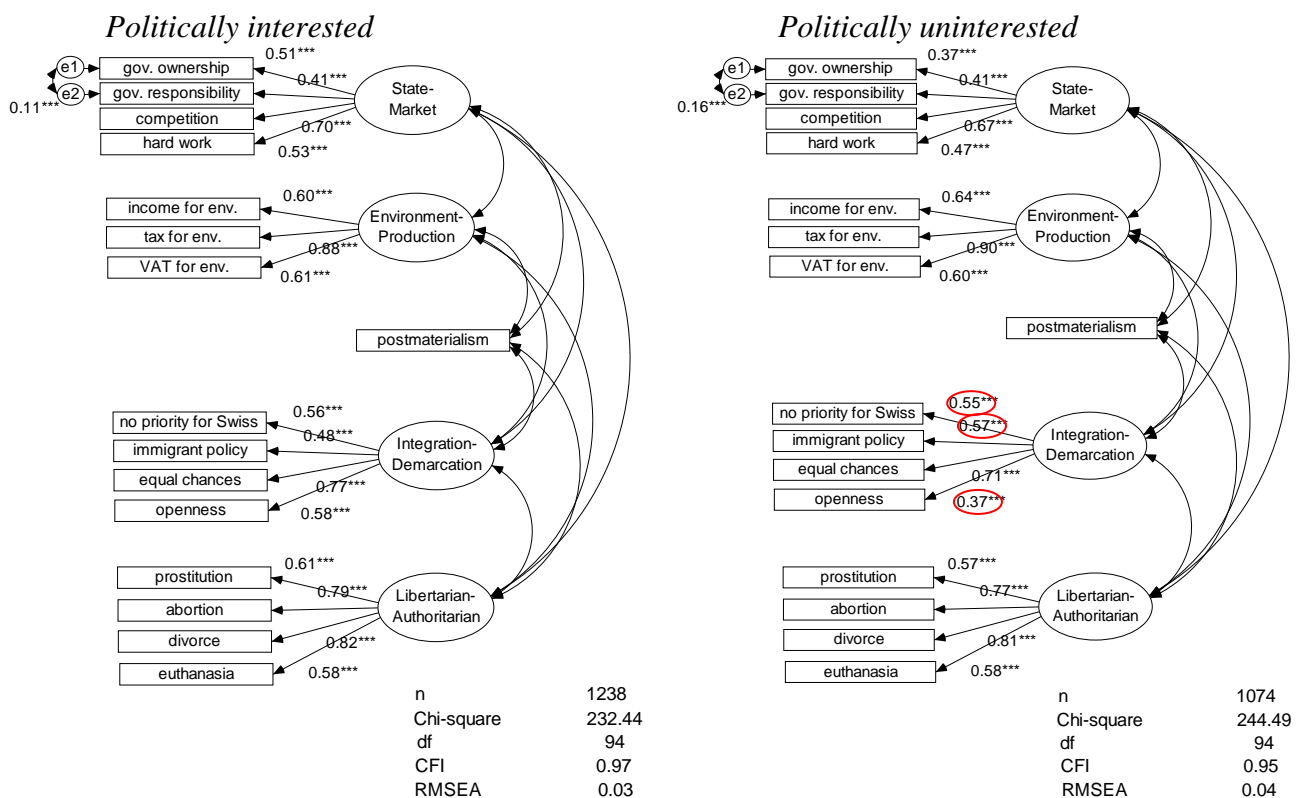
A further noteworthy finding concerns the postmaterialism-materialism concept, which shows high correlations towards all latent variables. This finding clearly contradicts Inglehart’s claim of unidimensionality of the postmaterialism-materialism index. However, it is in line with other findings proposing that postmaterialism and materialism are not poles of one dimension, but part of two dimension, which are not mutually exclusive (Braithwaite et al. 1996, Klages und Gensicke 2006). According to Hellevik (2002:288), the inconsistency of Inglehart’s Index derives from the intermixture of economic and moral issues within his question battery. One could in this sense also claim that it is an intermixture of ‘old’ and ‘new’ issues. It is therefore not possible to say whether the concept of postmaterialism-materialism indeed refers to the same phenomenon of value change.

We might conclude the findings of the first model as following: There is indeed an indication for a two-dimensional model of the political space. Caution is nonetheless demanded if we interpret the role of the libertarian-authoritarian concept. The low correlation might be a sign for a third ‘old cultural’ dimension. This thesis is though not verifiable at this point of research. What we clearly can reject is a three-dimensional model with a separate conflict on environment-production as Herman and Leuthold propose (2001).

<sup>5</sup> See table A in the appendix for the non-standardized coefficients.

The model in graph 1 has been estimated, in a further step of the analysis, for the two separate groups of the politically interested and uninterested individuals. In line with Converse's findings (1964:228) we see in graph 2 and 3, and in table 2, stronger constraints within, as well as between the latent variables for the group of politically interested individuals. We find, as expected, generally higher factor loadings, but also higher correlations between the latent variables for this group. The model fit underlines this argument by showing significantly better fit values for this group than for the group of the politically uninterested individuals.

*Graph 2 and 3: Confirmatory factor analysis, distinguished between political interest. Standardized coefficients.*<sup>6</sup>



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

\**p*<.05 \*\**p*<.01 \*\*\**p*<.001,  
 significant differences between the groups encircled.

*Table 2: Correlations of a confirmatory factor analysis, distinguished between political interest. Standardized estimates.*

	State-Market	Environment-Production	Postmaterialism-Materialism	Integration-Demarcation	Modelfit
<b>Politically interested</b>					<i>n</i> 1238.00
Environment-Production	<b>0.20</b> 0.04 ***				<i>Chi</i> <sup>2</sup> 232.44
Postmat.-Materialism	<b>0.27</b> 0.03 ***	<b>0.30</b> 0.03 ***			<i>df</i> 94.00
Integration-Demarcation	0.06 0.04 ns.	<b>0.36</b> 0.04 ***	<b>0.38</b> 0.03 ***		<i>CFI</i> 0.97
Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.04 0.04 ns.	<b>0.10</b> 0.04 **	<b>0.12</b> 0.03 ***	<b>0.29</b> 0.04 ***	<i>RMSEA</i> 0.03
<b>Politically uninterested</b>					<i>n</i> 1074.00
Environment-Production	0.07 0.04 ns.				<i>Chi</i> <sup>2</sup> 244.49
Postmat.-Materialism	<b>0.13</b> 0.04 **	<b>0.23</b> 0.03 ***			<i>df</i> 94.00
Integration-Demarcation	0.03 0.05 ns.	<b>0.37</b> 0.04 ***	<b>0.33</b> 0.04 ***		<i>CFI</i> 0.95
Libertarian-Authoritarian	-0.01 0.05 ns.	0.01 0.04 ns.	<b>0.16</b> 0.03 ***	<b>0.18</b> 0.04 ***	<i>RMSEA</i> 0.04

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

*Corr.* > 1 in bold, significant differences between the groups encircled.

<sup>6</sup> See table B in the appendix for the non-standardized coefficients, and table C for the test of significant differences between the two groups.

Instead of a simple comparison of the two models, I also tested for the significance of the difference in the factor loadings and the correlations. Here, contrary than expected, we find that most of the differences in the factor loadings are not significant<sup>7</sup>. Only a significant difference within the latent variable concept of integration-demarcation exists, which does not clearly indicate a lower or higher constraint within this value concept for either group. Surprising is also the finding in table 2, which shows a significant difference in the correlation of state-market and environment-production between the two groups. Apparently the economic aspect of the conflict between environment and production only concerns the group of politically interested people. The result shows that individuals who are politically interested have a significantly more coherent belief system in the sense of a constraint between the values and not also within the values. This implies that the higher the level of political interests of a person, the more constraint is her belief system. We may conclude that there is some support for the findings of Converse regarding the constraint between the value concepts, but that the results show no significant difference of constraint within the value concepts.

The next three graphs compare the cultural regions. A first look on the model fit reveals that the model fits the German-speaking and Italian-speaking regions significantly better than the French-speaking region. As was expected, we detect a significantly higher factor loading within the state-market concept in the French-speaking region compared to the German-speaking region. This finding supports the thesis of a higher sensitivity for this value conflict in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Although there are isolated significant differences between the factor loadings also for the other value concepts, none of them shows a clear direction of constraint. There is no support for the thesis of a significantly higher sensitivity for the environment-production conflict and for the integration-demarcation conflict within the German-speaking region, since we find apart from the difference in the factor loadings for the state-market concept, no other general pattern of significant difference in factor loadings between the groups.

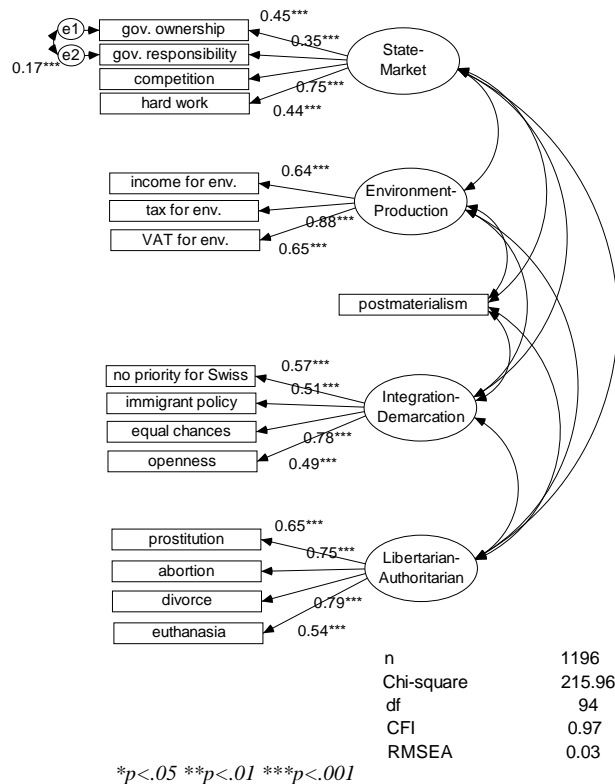
When we now turn to the comparison of the correlations in the cultural regions, it strikes that there is a high correlation between the state-market and the environment-production concept in the German-speaking region, while we see no such correlation in the other regions. The environmental issue seems not only to be perceived differently depending on the political interest but also depending on the cultural region of the respondent. While we observe that an 'economic' dimension is much more determined by the environment-production conflict in the German-speaking region, there is no difference in the new 'cultural' dimension among the cultural regions. This finding is also affected by the fact that the postmaterialism concept loads again as well on an 'economic' as on a 'cultural' dimension in all the regions. However, we also see that the difference in correlation between the German- and the French-speaking region is not significant. The only significant difference is found between the two regions for the state-market and libertarian-authoritarian concept, though the correlation itself is for both regions non-significant. Although not all hypotheses could be confirmed, the result shows that there apparently exist diverse structures of political values in the cultural regions. It can be concluded that a significant difference within the state-market concept for the French-speaking region exists, but that there is no significant difference between the value concepts for the cultural regions in Switzerland.

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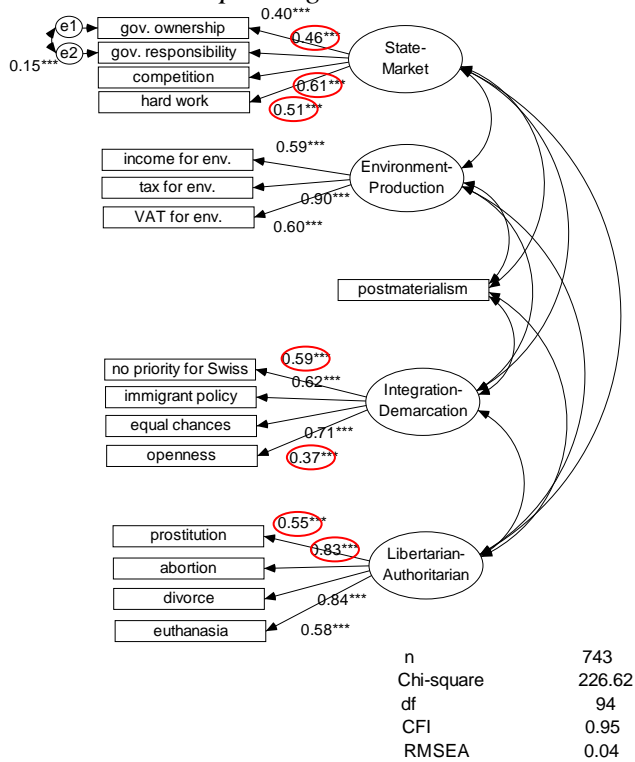
<sup>7</sup> Significant differences in factor loadings between the groups are encircled in the graph.

Graph 4, 5 and 6: Confirmatory factor analysis of a two-dimensional model, distinguished between cultural region. Standardized coefficients.<sup>8</sup>

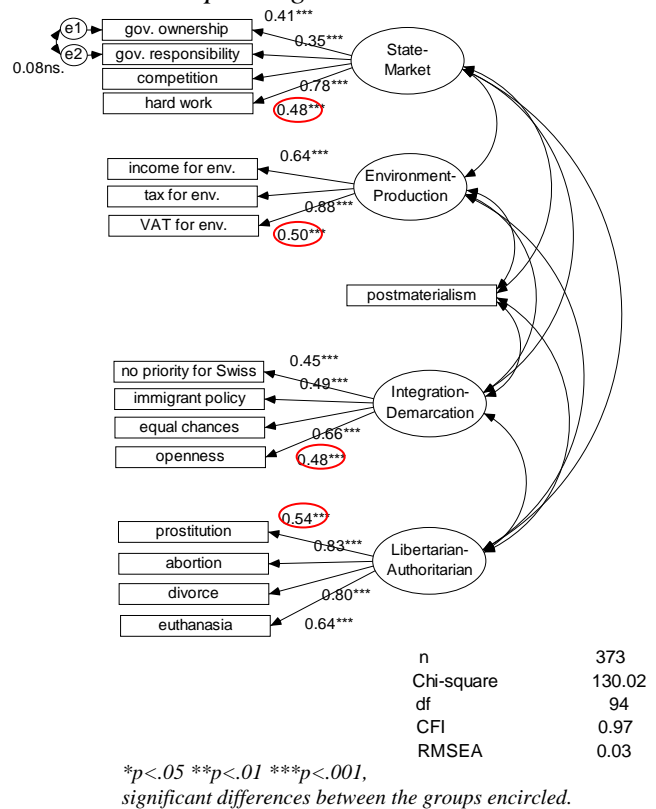
*German-speaking*



*French-speaking*



*Italian-speaking*



<sup>8</sup> See table D in the appendix for the non-standardized coefficients, and table E and F for the test for significant differences between the groups.

*Table 3: Correlations of a confirmatory factor analysis, distinguished between cultural region. Standardized estimates.*

	State-Market	Environment-Production	Postmaterialism-Materialism	Integration-Demarcation	Modelfit
<b>German-speaking</b>					n 1196.00
Environment-Production	<b>0.22</b> 0.04 ***				Chi <sup>2</sup> 215.96
Postmat.-Materialism	<b>0.23</b> 0.04 ***	<b>0.27</b> 0.03 ***			df 94.00
Integration-Demarcation	<b>0.10</b> 0.04 *	<b>0.39</b> 0.03 ***	<b>0.33</b> 0.03 ***		CFI 0.97
Libertarian-Authoritarian	-0.07 0.04 ns.	0.08 0.04 *	<b>0.11</b> 0.03 ***	<b>0.24</b> 0.04 ***	RMSEA 0.03
<b>French-speaking</b>					n 743.00
Environment-Production	0.08 0.05 ns.				Chi <sup>2</sup> 226.62
Postmat.-Materialism	<b>0.23</b> 0.05 ***	<b>0.32</b> 0.04 ***			df 94.00
Integration-Demarcation	0.03 0.06 ns.	<b>0.40</b> 0.05 ***	<b>0.42</b> 0.04 ***		CFI 0.95
Libertarian-Authoritarian	<b>0.11</b> 0.06 ns.	0.08 0.04 ns.	<b>0.20</b> 0.04 ***	<b>0.29</b> 0.05 ***	RMSEA 0.04
<b>Italian-speaking</b>					n 373.00
Environment-Production	0.01 0.07 ns.				Chi <sup>2</sup> 130.02
Postmat.-Materialism	<b>0.13</b> 0.07 *	<b>0.20</b> 0.06 ***			df 94.00
Integration-Demarcation	-0.03 0.08 ns.	<b>0.41</b> 0.07 ***	<b>0.44</b> 0.06 ***		CFI 0.97
Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.07 0.07 ns.	0.07 0.06 ns.	<b>0.12</b> 0.07 *	<b>0.18</b> 0.07 **	RMSEA 0.03

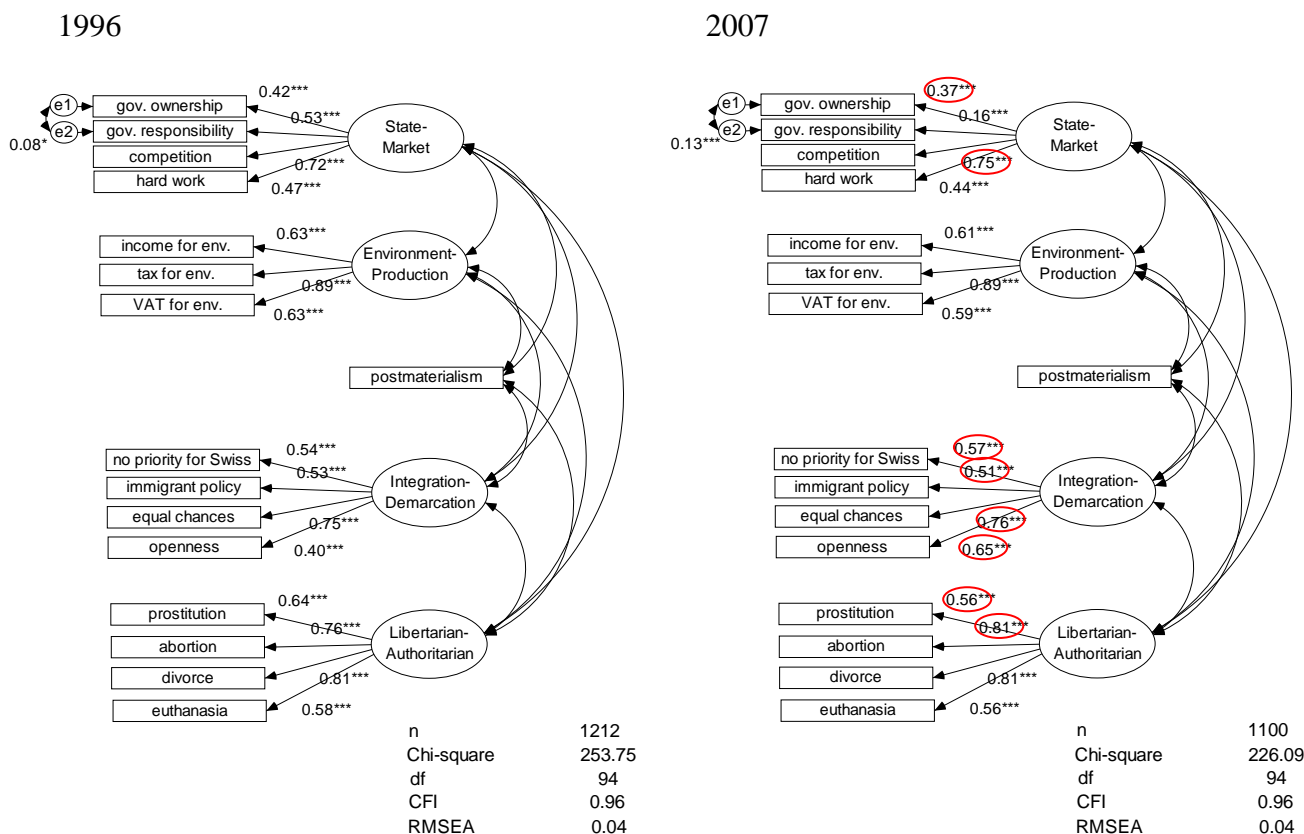
\* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$  \*\*\* $p < .001$

Corr. > 1 in bold, significant differences between the groups encircled.

In a last step of the analysis, the paper analyzes the model differences for the two year of 1996 and 2007. It was assumed that the space of the political values changes over time, and that we will observe on the one hand a decrease in the constraint within the state-market conflict, and on the other hand a stronger constraint within and between the new ‘cultural’ value conflicts because of its rising importance. The models for each year are displayed in the following graphs. Comparing first the model fit values for the two years we see that the model fits both years well, but that there is slight model improvement for the year 2007. This finding is linked with the fact that we observe significantly higher factor loadings in 2007 compared to 1996, especially in the case of the integration-demarcation concept. This result supports the idea of a rise in importance for this value conflict. However, we do not find any indication for a stronger constraint within the environment-production or libertarian-authoritarian concept, nor a weaker constraint within the state-market concept.

A look on the following table 4 reveals significant higher correlations among almost all the latent variables. This is, on the one hand, due to the significant rise of the factor loading for the integration-demarcation concept, but also due to a consistently higher correlation of the postmaterialism-materialism concept for this year. The result supports the thesis that we do in fact observe a rise in the coherence of the belief system of the today population. It is surprising to see that there is no decline in correlation towards the state-market concept, but on the contrary higher correlations of this latent variable towards the postmaterialism-materialism and environment-production concept. The finding is clearly rejecting the idea of a replacement of the old ‘economic’ dimension by the new ‘cultural’ dimension. We also see that the environment-production concept shows a rising correlation towards the libertarian-authoritarian concept. Do we observe the beginning of a future model of the political space in which the conflict on environmental issues is playing a leading role? We do not know, because the change in correlation is not yet significant. We can conclude that we observe in fact a rising constraint between the new value concepts, but that there is no sign of a decline in their constraint towards the state-market concept.

Graph 7, and 8: Confirmatory factor analysis of a two-dimensional model, distinguished between year. Standardized coefficients.<sup>9</sup>



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

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01 \*\*\*p<.001, significant differences between the groups encircled.

Table 4: Correlations of a confirmatory factor analysis, distinguished between year. Standardized estimates.

	State-Market	Environment-Production	Postmaterialism-Materialism	Integration-Demarcation	Modelfit
<b>1996</b>					n 1212.00
Environment-Production	0.06 0.04 ns.				Chi <sup>2</sup> 253.75
Postmat.-Materialism	<b>0.12</b> 0.04 ***	<b>0.24</b> 0.03 ***			df 94.00
Integration-Demarcation	0.01 0.04 ns.	<b>0.37</b> 0.04 ***	<b>0.32</b> 0.03 ***		CFI 0.96
Libertarian-Authoritarian	-0.03 0.04 ns.	0.00 0.04 ns.	<b>0.12</b> 0.03 ***	<b>0.15</b> 0.04 ***	RMSEA 0.04
<b>2007</b>					n 1100.00
Environment-Production	<b>0.11</b> 0.04 *				Chi <sup>2</sup> 226.09
Postmat.-Materialism	<b>0.24</b> 0.04 ***	<b>0.30</b> 0.03 ***			df 94.00
Integration-Demarcation	-0.04 0.05 ns.	<b>0.37</b> 0.04 ***	<b>0.40</b> 0.03 ***		CFI 0.96
Libertarian-Authoritarian	-0.01 0.04 ns.	<b>0.12</b> 0.04 **	<b>0.16</b> 0.03 ***	<b>0.33</b> 0.04 ***	RMSEA 0.04

Corr. > 1 in bold, significant differences between the groups encircled.

<sup>9</sup> See table G in the appendix for the non-standardized coefficients, and table H for the test for significant differences between the two groups.

## *Summary*

The initial question of this paper was whether the different value concepts of value change can indeed be reduced to the same common dimension. The two-dimensional space, as proposed by Lipset and Rokkan (1967) is said to have been challenged by new value conflicts. The value concepts of Inglehart (1977), Flanagan (1979), Kitschelt (1994) and Kriesi (1998) try all to capture these value conflicts, but can they all be referred to the same phenomenon? This paper has shown that the value concepts are indeed affiliated to each other. However, it has also shown that the degree of constraint between and within a belief system depends on the individual cognitive mobilization, the change over time, and on the regional culture into which individuals are embedded.

In my analysis I have first focused on the level of the overall Swiss population. Here, the data shows indeed an affinity between the value concepts of integration-demarkation, postmaterialism-materialism, environment-production and libertarian-authoritarian. However, the correlation of the libertarian-authoritarian concept towards the other latent variables remains low; a fact that could not convincingly be explained by the present analysis. Furthermore, the postmaterialist-materialist index has found to show correlations towards the new 'cultural' dimension and the 'economic' dimension, which might be due to an intermixture of 'old' and 'new' issues. The data has also shown some considerable correlation between the state-market and the environment-production concept, showing that both concepts are part of the same dimension. This is a finding that contradicts the assumption of the environmental issue as part of only a new 'cultural' dimension.

In a further step of the analysis I have subdivided the data into the groups of politically interested and uninterested individuals. The differences in the constraint of the belief system that we found between the groups, was underlined by the better model fit for the politically interested group. These differences in the factor loading and the correlation have however turned out to be not significant in all the cases. Only the correlation between the state-market and the environment-production concept was significant, indicating that politically interested individuals are more aware of the economic aspect of the environmental issue than individuals without political interest. It also implies that the higher the level of political interest of a person, the more constraint is his belief system. In this sense not all the findings of Converse were supported, finding only proof for a significant difference in constraint between and not within the value concepts.

In a next step of the analysis I compared the three cultural regions. As expected, I found empirical support for the hypothesis of a stronger constraint within the state-market concept in the French-speaking region, supporting the idea of a higher sensitivity of this issue in this region. The data revealed however no significant differences of the factor loadings for the concept of environment-production and integration-demarkation. I found no significant difference in correlation between the cultural regions. The only significant difference between the regions was found for the concepts of state-market and libertarian-authoritarian, referring to a non-significant correlation in both cases. The data has shown that the French-speaking region significantly differs within the value concept of state-market, but that we have no significant differences between the value concepts in the cultural regions of Switzerland.

In a last step of the analysis I compared the two years of 1996 and 2007. Contrary than expected, I have not found any indices for a decline in the constraint within the state-market concept. The data has revealed significantly higher factor loadings in 2007 for the integration-demarkation concept, supporting the idea of a rise in importance for this value conflict. Regarding the correlations I have found for almost all correlations significantly higher values in 2007 but no decline in correlation towards the state-market concept. The data indicates a stronger constraint of the belief system among the today population than nearly ten year before, and has clearly rejected the thesis of a replacement of the old 'economic' dimension by a new 'cultural' dimension.

## Appendix

*Table A: Confirmatory factor analysis for the complete Swiss data set. Unstandardized coefficients.*

<b>State-Market by</b>	<b>Estimate</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>P</b>
1 Government ownership should be increased	---	---	---
2 The government should take more responsibility	1.08	0.09	***
3 Competition is harmful	1.52	0.13	***
4 Hard work does not generally bring success	1.34	0.11	***
<b>Environment-Production by</b>			
5 I would give part of my income to prevent environmental pollution	---	---	---
6 I would agree to increase in taxes to prevent environmental pollution	1.46	0.06	***
7 I would agree to buy things 20% more expensive to prevent pollution	0.95	0.04	***
<b>Integration-Demarcation by</b>			
8 When jobs are scarce, employer should not give priority to Swiss	---	---	---
9 Let anyone enter the country	0.69	0.04	***
10 Immigrants and Swiss should have equal chances	2.76	0.13	***
11 Switzerland should open up towards other countries	1.66	0.10	***
<b>Libertarian-Authoritarian by</b>			
12 Prostitution can always be justified	---	---	---
13 Abortion can always be justified	1.32	0.05	***
14 Divorce can always be justified	1.25	0.05	***
15 Euthanasia can always be justified	1.01	0.05	***
<b>Correlations</b>			
State-Market and Environment-Production	0.07	0.02	***
State-Market and Postmat.-Materialism	0.25	0.04	***
State-Market and Integration-Demarcation	0.02	0.02	ns.
State-Market and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.02	0.06	ns.
Environment-Production and Postmat.-Materialism	0.18	0.02	***
Environment-Production and Integration-Demarcation	0.10	0.01	***
Environment-Production and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.07	0.03	**
Postmat.-Materialism and Integration-Demarcation	0.21	0.02	***
Postmat.-Materialism and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.30	0.05	***
Integration-Demarcation and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.21	0.03	***
1 with 2	0.73	0.14	***
<b>n</b>	2312		
<b>Chi-square</b>	351.07		
<b>Degrees of freedom</b>	94		
<b>CFI</b>	0.97		
<b>RMSEA</b>	0.03		

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

*Table B: Confirmatory factor analysis, distinguished between political interest.  
Unstandardized coefficients.*

State-Market by	Politically interested			Politically uninterested		
	Estimate	S.E.	P	Estimate	S.E.	P
1 Government ownership should be increased	---	---	---	---	---	---
2 The government should take more responsibility	0.93	0.09	***	1.29	0.17	***
3 Competition is harmful	1.30	0.12	***	1.79	0.27	***
4 Hard work does not generally bring success	1.24	0.12	***	1.49	0.22	***
<b>Environment-Production by</b>						
5 I would give part of my income to prevent environmental pollution	---	---	---	---	---	---
6 I would agree to increase in taxes to prevent environmental pollution	1.51	0.09	***	1.40	0.08	***
7 I would agree to buy things 20% more expensive to prevent pollution	0.98	0.06	***	0.89	0.05	***
<b>Integration-Demarcation by</b>						
8 When jobs are scarce, employer should not give priority to Swiss	---	---	---	---	---	---
9 Let anyone enter the country	0.56	0.05	***	0.92	0.08	***
10 Immigrants and Swiss should have equal chances	2.76	0.17	***	2.95	0.23	***
11 Switzerland should open up towards other countries	2.02	0.15	***	1.47	0.17	***
<b>Libertarian-Authoritarian by</b>						
12 Prostitution can always be justified	---	---	---	---	---	---
13 Abortion can always be justified	1.32	0.07	***	1.32	0.08	***
14 Divorce can always be justified	1.20	0.06	***	1.31	0.08	***
15 Euthanasia can always be justified	1.01	0.06	***	1.03	0.07	***
<b>Correlations</b>						
State-Market and Environment-Production	0.12	0.03	***	0.03	0.02	ns.
State-Market and Postmat.-Materialism	0.39	0.06	***	0.13	0.05	**
State-Market and Integration-Demarcation	0.04	0.02	ns.	0.01	0.02	ns.
State-Market and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.09	0.09	ns.	-0.01	0.07	ns.
Environment-Production and Postmat.-Materialism	0.19	0.02	***	0.15	0.02	***
Environment-Production and Integration-Demarcation	0.09	0.01	***	0.09	0.01	***
Environment-Production and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.10	0.03	**	0.01	0.04	ns.
Postmat.-Materialism and Integration-Demarcation	0.23	0.02	***	0.16	0.02	***
Postmat.-Materialism and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.26	0.07	***	0.33	0.07	***
Integration-Demarcation and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.25	0.04	***	0.13	0.03	***
1 with 2	0.53	0.17	**	0.96	0.24	***
<b>n</b>	1238			1074		
<b>Chi-square</b>	232.44			244.49		
<b>Degrees of freedom</b>	94			94		
<b>CFI</b>	0.97			0.95		
<b>RMSEA</b>	0.03			0.04		

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

*Table C: Test for significant differences between the two groups of political interest. Baselinemodel is the model in which both groups are constrained to equality.*

		$\chi^2$	df	$\Delta\chi^2/df$	CFI	RMSEA
	Model in which both groups are constrained to equality	572.89	195		0.95	0.04
	Model in which both groups are free to load	569.37	199	0.88	0.95	0.04
<i>Factor loading set free for State-Market by</i>	Government ownership should be increased	569.98	194	2.91	0.95	0.04
	The government should take more responsibility	570.12	194	2.77	0.95	0.04
	Competition is harmful	572.88	194	0.01	0.95	0.04
	Hard work does not generally bring success	572.68	194	0.21	0.95	0.04
<i>Factor loading set free for Environment-Production by</i>	I would give part of my income to prevent environmental pollution	570.95	194	1.93	0.95	0.04
	I would agree to increase in taxes to prevent environmental pollution	572.52	194	0.37	0.95	0.04
	I would agree to buy things 20% more expensive to prevent pollution	571.44	194	1.45	0.95	0.04
<i>Factor loading set free for Integration-Demarcation by</i>	When jobs are scarce, employer should not give priority to Swiss	566.77	194	<b>6.12</b>	0.95	0.04
	Let anyone enter the country	547.89	194	<b>25.00</b>	0.95	0.04
	Immigrants and Swiss should have equal chances	572.74	194	0.14	0.95	0.04
	Switzerland should open up towards other countries	560.86	194	<b>12.03</b>	0.95	0.04
<i>Factor loading set free for Libertarian-Authoritarian by</i>	Prostitution can always be justified	572.37	194	0.52	0.95	0.04
	Abortion can always be justified	571.80	194	1.09	0.95	0.04
	Divorce can always be justified	571.47	194	1.42	0.95	0.04
	Euthanasia can always be justified	572.86	194	0.03	0.95	0.04
<i>Correlation set free for</i>	State-Market and Environment-Production	568.23	194	<b>4.66</b>	0.95	0.04
	State-Market and Postmat.-Materialism	633.12	220	2.41	0.94	0.04
	State-Market and Integration-Demarcation	572.86	194	0.03	0.95	0.04
	State-Market and Libertarian-Authoritarian	572.57	194	0.32	0.95	0.04
	Environment-Production and Postmat.-Materialism	637.76	220	2.60	0.94	0.04
	Environment-Production and Integration-Demarcation	572.88	194	0.01	0.95	0.04
	Environment-Production and Libertarian-Authoritarian	571.34	194	1.55	0.95	0.04
	Postmat.-Materialism and Integration-Demarcation	636.67	220	2.55	0.94	0.04
	Postmat.-Materialism and Libertarian-Authoritarian	633.38	220	2.42	0.94	0.04
	Integration-Demarcation and Libertarian-Authoritarian	569.64	194	3.25	0.95	0.04

*Table D: Confirmatory factor analysis of a three-dimensional model, distinguished between cultural region. Unstandardized coefficients.*

State-Market by	German-speaking			French-speaking			Italian-speaking		
	Estimate	S.E.	P	Estimate	S.E.	P	Estimate	S.E.	P
1 Government ownership should be increased	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
2 The government should take more responsibility	0.88	0.10	***	1.27	0.19	***	1.05	0.23	***
3 Competition is harmful	1.51	0.18	***	1.43	0.23	***	2.16	0.50	***
4 Hard work does not generally bring success	1.19	0.13	***	1.45	0.25	***	1.29	0.25	***
<b>Environment-Production by</b>									
5 I would give part of my income to prevent environmental pollution	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
6 I would agree to increase in taxes to prevent environmental pollution	1.44	0.08	***	1.50	0.12	***	1.39	0.17	***
7 I would agree to buy things 20% more expensive to prevent pollution	1.01	0.06	***	0.92	0.07	***	0.75	0.10	***
<b>Integration-Demarcation by</b>									
8 When jobs are scarce, employer should not give priority to Swiss	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
9 Let anyone enter the country	0.64	0.05	***	0.79	0.07	***	0.88	0.15	***
10 Immigrants and Swiss should have equal chances	2.79	0.19	***	2.58	0.21	***	3.31	0.49	***
11 Switzerland should open up towards other countries	1.66	0.14	***	1.20	0.16	***	3.38	0.56	***
<b>Libertarian-Authoritarian by</b>									
12 Prostitution can always be justified	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
13 Abortion can always be justified	1.11	0.06	***	1.55	0.11	***	1.67	0.17	***
14 Divorce can always be justified	1.10	0.06	***	1.41	0.10	***	1.47	0.16	***
15 Euthanasia can always be justified	0.85	0.06	***	1.14	0.10	***	1.36	0.17	***
<b>Correlations</b>									
State-Market and Environment-Production	0.12	0.03	***	0.04	0.03	ns.	0.01	0.04	ns.
State-Market and Postmat.-Materialism	0.27	0.05	***	0.28	0.07	***	0.16	0.09	ns.
State-Market and Integration-Demarcation	0.05	0.02	*	0.02	0.03	ns.	-0.01	0.03	ns.
State-Market and Libertarian-Authoritarian	-0.15	0.08	ns.	0.17	0.09	ns.	0.11	0.11	ns.
Environment-Production and Postmat.-Materialism	0.19	0.02	***	0.20	0.03	***	0.13	0.04	**
Environment-Production and Integration-Demarcation	0.11	0.01	***	0.10	0.02	***	0.07	0.02	***
Environment-Production and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.09	0.04	*	0.07	0.04	ns.	0.06	0.05	ns.
Postmat.-Materialism and Integration-Demarcation	0.19	0.02	***	0.24	0.03	***	0.19	0.04	***
Postmat.-Materialism and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.27	0.08	***	0.37	0.08	***	0.22	0.11	ns.
Integration-Demarcation and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.23	0.04	***	0.22	0.04	***	0.09	0.04	*
1 with 2	0.75	0.16	***	0.92	0.30	**	0.52	0.39	ns.
<b>n</b>	1196			743			373		
<b>Chi-square</b>	215.96			226.62			130.02		
<b>Degrees of freedom</b>	94			94			94		
<b>CFI</b>	0.97			0.95			0.97		
<b>RMSEA</b>	0.03			0.04			0.03		

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

*Table E: Test for significant differences between the groups of French-speaking and German-speaking. Baselinemodel is the model in which both groups are constrained to equality.*

	$\chi^2$	df	$\Delta\chi^2/df$	CFI	RMSEA	
	Model in which both groups are constrained to equality	661.48	195		0.92	0.05
	Model in which both groups are free to load	626.64	199	<b>8.71</b>	0.91	0.05
<i>Factor loading set free for State-Market by</i>	Government ownership should be increased	655.34	194	<b>6.14</b>	0.92	0.05
	The government should take more responsibility	645.61	194	<b>15.87</b>	0.92	0.05
	Competition is harmful	644.17	194	<b>17.31</b>	0.92	0.05
	Hard work does not generally bring success	657.18	194	<b>4.30</b>	0.92	0.05
<i>Factor loading set free for Environment-Production by</i>	I would give part of my income to prevent environmental pollution					
	I would agree to increase in taxes to prevent environmental pollution	661.46	194	0.01	0.92	0.05
<i>Factor loading set free for Integration-Demarcation by</i>	I would agree to buy things 20% more expensive to prevent pollution	661.30	194	0.18	0.92	0.05
	When jobs are scarce, employer should not give priority to Swiss	660.33	194	1.15	0.92	0.05
	Let anyone enter the country					
<i>Factor loading set free for Libertarian-Authoritarian by</i>	Immigrants and Swiss should have equal chances	661.40	194	0.08	0.92	0.05
	Switzerland should open up towards other countries	655.57	194	<b>5.91</b>	0.92	0.05
	Prostitution can always be justified	661.39	194	0.08	0.92	0.05
<i>Factor loading set free for State-Market by</i>	Abortion can always be justified	652.94	194	<b>8.53</b>	0.92	0.05
	Divorce can always be justified					
	Euthanasia can always be justified	639.26	194	<b>22.22</b>	0.92	0.05
<i>Factor loading set free for</i>	Government ownership should be increased	650.45	194	<b>11.02</b>	0.92	0.05
	The government should take more responsibility	661.46	194	0.02	0.92	0.05
	Competition is harmful	660.92	194	0.55	0.92	0.05
<i>Correlation set free for</i>	State-Market and Environment-Production	658.50	194	2.98	0.92	0.05
	State-Market and Postmat.-Materialism	724.33	220	2.51	0.92	0.05
	State-Market and Integration-Demarcation	660.80	194	0.68	0.92	0.05
	State-Market and Libertarian-Authoritarian	655.46	194	<b>6.01</b>	0.92	0.05
	Environment-Production and Postmat.-Materialism	724.17	220	2.51	0.92	0.05
	Environment-Production and Integration-Demarcation	661.45	194	0.03	0.92	0.05
	Environment-Production and Libertarian-Authoritarian	661.38	194	0.10	0.92	0.05
	Postmat.-Materialism and Integration-Demarcation	724.12	220	2.51	0.92	0.05
	Postmat.-Materialism and Libertarian-Authoritarian	723.60	220	2.49	0.92	0.05
	Integration-Demarcation and Libertarian-Authoritarian	661.32	194	0.16	0.92	0.05

*Table F: Test for significant differences between the groups of Italian-speaking and German-speaking. Baselinemodel is the model in which both groups are constrained to equality.*

	Model in which both groups are constrained to equality	443.50	195		0.92	0.05
	Model in which both groups are free to load	448.15	199	1.16	0.95	0.04
<i>Factor loading set free for State-Market by</i>	Government ownership should be increased	439.41	194	<b>4.09</b>	0.95	0.04
	The government should take more responsibility	443.17	194	0.33	0.95	0.04
	Competition is harmful	442.02	194	1.49	0.95	0.04
	Hard work does not generally bring success	439.08	194	<b>4.42</b>	0.95	0.04
<i>Factor loading set free for Environment-Production by</i>	I would give part of my income to prevent environmental pollution	441.11	194	2.40	0.95	0.04
	I would agree to increase in taxes to prevent environmental pollution	443.44	194	0.06	0.95	0.04
	I would agree to buy things 20% more expensive to prevent pollution	436.56	194	<b>6.94</b>	0.95	0.04
<i>Factor loading set free for Integration-Demarcation by</i>	When jobs are scarce, employer should not give priority to Swiss	439.88	194	3.63	0.95	0.04
	Let anyone enter the country	441.99	194	1.51	0.95	0.04
	Immigrants and Swiss should have equal chances	443.20	194	0.31	0.95	0.04
	Switzerland should open up towards other countries	433.13	194	<b>10.37</b>	0.95	0.04
<i>Factor loading set free for Libertarian-Authoritarian by</i>	Prostitution can always be justified	437.18	194	<b>6.33</b>	0.95	0.04
	Abortion can always be justified	440.99	194	2.51	0.95	0.04
	Divorce can always be justified	442.89	194	0.62	0.95	0.04
	Euthanasia can always be justified	441.70	194	1.80	0.95	0.04
<i>Correlation set free for</i>	State-Market and Environment-Production	440.04	194	3.47	0.95	0.04
	State-Market and Postmat.-Materialism	501.31	220	2.31	0.94	0.04
	State-Market and Integration-Demarcation	443.42	194	0.09	0.95	0.04
	State-Market and Libertarian-Authoritarian	440.63	194	2.87	0.95	0.04
	Environment-Production and Postmat.-Materialism	498.78	220	2.21	0.94	0.04
	Environment-Production and Integration-Demarcation	443.10	194	0.41	0.95	0.04
	Environment-Production and Libertarian-Authoritarian	443.50	194	0.00	0.95	0.04
	Postmat.-Materialism and Integration-Demarcation	497.98	220	2.18	0.94	0.04
	Postmat.-Materialism and Libertarian-Authoritarian	501.27	220	2.31	0.94	0.04
Integration-Demarcation and Libertarian-Authoritarian	442.44	194	1.07	0.95	0.04	

Table G: Confirmatory factor analysis, distinguished between year. Unstandardized coefficients.

State-Market by	1996			2007		
	Estimate	SE.	P	Estimate	SE.	P
1 Government ownership should be increased	---	---	---	---	---	---
2 The government should take more responsibility	1.43	0.14	***	0.51	0.13	***
3 Competition is harmful	1.68	0.20	***	2.01	0.30	***
4 Hard work does not generally bring success	1.30	0.15	***	1.48	0.19	***
<b>Environment-Production by</b>						
5 I would give part of my income to prevent environmental pollution						
6 I would agree to increase in taxes to prevent environmental pollution	1.42	0.08	***	1.51	0.10	***
7 I would agree to buy things 20% more expensive to prevent pollution	0.98	0.06	***	0.94	0.06	***
<b>Integration-Demarcation by</b>						
8 When jobs are scarce, employer should not give priority to Swiss						
9 Let anyone enter the country	0.84	0.07	***	0.56	0.05	***
10 Immigrants and Swiss should have equal chances	3.37	0.24	***	2.48	0.16	***
11 Switzerland should open up towards other countries	1.59	0.16	***	2.14	0.15	***
<b>Libertarian-Authoritarian by</b>						
12 Prostitution can always be justified						
13 Abortion can always be justified	1.16	0.06	***	1.49	0.09	***
14 Divorce can always be justified	1.15	0.06	***	1.32	0.08	***
15 Euthanasia can always be justified	0.93	0.06	***	1.08	0.08	***
<b>Correlations</b>						
State-Market and Environment-Production	0.03	0.02	ns.	0.04	0.02	*
State-Market and Postmat.-Materialism	0.14	0.05	**	0.23	0.05	***
State-Market and Integration-Demarcation	0.00	0.02	ns.	-0.02	0.02	ns.
State-Market and Libertarian-Authoritarian	-0.06	0.08	ns.			
Environment-Production and Postmat.-Materialism	0.16	0.02	***	0.19	0.03	***
Environment-Production and Integration-Demarcation	0.08	0.01	***	-0.01	0.05	ns.
Environment-Production and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.00	0.04	ns.	0.10	0.03	**
Postmat.-Materialism and Integration-Demarcation	0.16	0.02	***	0.24	0.03	***
Postmat.-Materialism and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.28	0.08	***	0.31	0.07	***
Integration-Demarcation and Libertarian-Authoritarian	0.12	0.03	***	0.27	0.04	***
1 with 2	0.40	0.21	ns.	0.66	0.16	***
<b>n</b>	1212			1100		
<b>Chi-square</b>	253.75			226.09		
<b>Degrees of freedom</b>	94			94		
<b>CFI</b>	0.96			0.96		
<b>RMSEA</b>	0.04			0.04		

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

*Table H: Test for significant differences between the two groups of 1996 and 2007. Baselinemodel is the model in which both groups are constrained to equality.*

	$\chi^2$	df	$\Delta\chi^2/df$	CFI	RMSEA	
	Model in which both groups are constrained to equality	861.43	195		0.90	0.05
	Model in which both groups are free to load	860.81	199	0.16	0.91	0.05
<i>Factor loading set free for State-Market by</i>	Government ownership should be increased	840.12	194	<b>21.31</b>	0.91	0.06
	The government should take more responsibility	861.05	194	0.38	0.90	0.06
	Competition is harmful	835.02	194	<b>26.41</b>	0.91	0.06
	Hard work does not generally bring success	860.03	194	1.40	0.90	0.05
<i>Factor loading set free for Environment-Production by</i>	I would give part of my income to prevent environmental pollution	861.43	194	0.00	0.90	0.06
	I would agree to increase in taxes to prevent environmental pollution	860.22	194	1.21	0.90	0.06
	I would agree to buy things 20% more expensive to prevent pollution	860.19	194	1.24	0.90	0.06
<i>Factor loading set free for Integration-Demarcation by</i>	When jobs are scare, employer should not give priority to Swiss	852.33	194	<b>9.10</b>	0.90	0.05
	Let anyone enter the country	853.04	194	<b>8.39</b>	0.90	0.05
<i>Factor loading set free for Libertarian-Authoritarian by</i>	Immigrants and Swiss should have equal chances	853.81	194	<b>7.62</b>	0.90	0.05
	Switzerland should open up towards other countries	838.74	194	<b>22.69</b>	0.91	0.05
	Prostitution can always be justified	851.79	194	<b>9.64</b>	0.90	0.05
<i>Correlation set free for</i>	Abortion can always be justified	853.27	194	<b>8.16</b>	0.90	0.05
	Divorce can always be justified	861.40	194	0.03	0.90	0.06
	Euthanasia can always be justified	861.42	194	0.01	0.90	0.06
	State-Market and Environment-Production	860.85	194	0.58	0.90	0.06
	State-Market and Postmat.-Materialism	960.10	220	<b>3.95</b>	0.90	0.05
	State-Market and Integration-Demarcation	861.42	194	0.01	0.90	0.06
	State-Market and Libertarian-Authoritarian	861.34	194	0.09	0.90	0.06
	Environment-Production and Postmat.-Materialism	962.38	220	<b>4.04</b>	0.90	0.05
	Environment-Production and Integration-Demarcation	861.34	194	0.09	0.90	0.06
	Environment-Production and Libertarian-Authoritarian	859.51	194	1.92	0.90	0.05
	Postmat.-Materialism and Integration-Demarcation	961.04	220	<b>3.99</b>	0.90	0.05
	Postmat.-Materialism and Libertarian-Authoritarian	962.12	220	<b>4.03</b>	0.90	0.05
	Integration-Demarcation and Libertarian-Authoritarian	855.53	194	<b>5.90</b>	0.90	0.05

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