

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ADHERENCE IN RELATION TO THE INDIVIDUAL VALUES: TOWARD A VALUE-BASED TYPOLOGY OF POLITICAL ORIENTATION

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Abstract

Since the beginning of the organised religious and political life, the value orientations have been an integral part of the programs of the religious and political movements or leaders. The differences in value orientations have been traditionally reported for religious people and atheists, conservatives and liberals (radicals), rightists and leftists, democratic and authoritarian political movements. Thus, a question might be raised whether the political and religious preferences are substantially related to the value orientations of the individuals.

According to the classical model (Eysenck, 1954) based on the attitudinal research, the adherents of the traditional political parties on the left - right continuum could be classified across two dimensions, radicalism - conservatism and democratism (tender-mindedness) - authoritarianism (tough-mindedness, stringency). Both dimensions of political attitudes should be further explained on the basis of more general value dimensions. A new model could be proposed, suggesting the political classification across the dimensions hedonism - moralism and potency - fulfilment.

The results of our studies confirmed the significant connections between political and religious adherence and value orientation of Slovenian subjects. The groups of subjects with different political orientation clearly differed in the rated importance of single values and common value categories. Thus, the leftist political orientation and non-religiosity correlated with the higher importance of dionysian values (dealing with hedonism, materialism, success and social power orientation), while the rightist political orientation and religiosity correlated with the higher importance of apollonian values (moral, prosocial, cultural and personal fulfilment orientation). The results have been discussed also in the context of the ongoing ideological and sociopolitical changes and developments in Slovenia and in other post-communist ("transitional") societies in Europe.

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Introduction

Since the beginning of the organised religious and political life, the value orientations have been an integral part of the programs of the religious and political movements or leaders. The differences in value orientations have been traditionally reported for religious people and atheists, conservatives and liberals (radicals), rightists and leftists, democratic and authoritarian political movements. Thus, a question might be raised whether the political and religious preferences of the individuals are substantially related to their value orientations.

According to our theoretical model based on different multivariate analyses of values (Musek, 1993a, 1993b, 1995, 1998) the universe of human values is clearly hierarchically organized. As we can see from Figure 1, this hierarchical structure of values encompasses at least four different levels: the level of macrodimensions, the level of value types, the level of middle-range categories and the level of specific values.

Insert Figure 1.

In the psychological literature we can find an abundance of research concentrating on relationship between attitudes and political orientation or attitudes and religious commitment (for reviews see Eysenck, 1954; Pečjak, 1995; Toš, 1994). Despite the growing interest in the study of values, from the pioneering work of Spranger (1930), Allport, Vernon & Lindzey (1951), Murray & Kluckhohn (1953) and Rokeach (1973), to the more recent cross-cultural (Bond, 1988; Hofstede, 1980;

Hui & Triandis, 1986; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990) and developmental research of values (Musek, 1993a, 1993b) no great attention in psychological research has been devoted to the individual values in relation to the political and religious orientation. Thus, as an extension of my research of the values in the transition processes in post-communist countries (Musek, 1995; Musek, 1997a, 1997b) I also planned to investigate the relationship between the values and political as well as religious adherence more thoroughly. In this presentation, I will briefly report the main result of the research on that topic.

According to the – almost classical by now - theoretical model of Eysenck (1954), based on the attitudinal research, the adherents of the traditional political parties on the left - right continuum could be classified across two dimensions, radicalism - conservatism and democratism (tender-mindedness) - authoritarianism (tough-mindedness, stringency). Nevertheless, both dimensions of political attitudes should be further explained on the basis of more general value dimensions. A new theoretical model could be proposed therefore, suggesting the political classification across the dimensions hedonism - moralism and potency – fulfilment (Table 1).

Table 1.

Proposed typological model of political orientation based on the value system of individual adherents.

	<i>HEDONISM</i> <i>radicalism</i>	<i>MORALISM</i> <i>conservatism</i>
<i>POTENCY</i> <i>authoritarianism</i>	LEFT	RIGHT
<i>FULFILLMENT</i> <i>democratism</i>	CENTRAL (UNDECLARED)	

Method

Sources of data, subjects, instruments, rationale and design of research

The data I'll try to analyse in this presentation were collected from three different studies. The essentials of all three studies are listed in the Table 2. As we can see from the table, the values in the first study were rated by means of Schwartz Value Survey, while the data of the second and third study have been gathered from the Musek Scale of Values. Both measures of values are not identical at all; nevertheless, they contain a great number of similar values and the factorial structures of both instruments are very close. Thus, the composite categories of values (the macrocategories of values and value types) based on the factor structure of both instruments are comparable to the reasonable extent.

In the present study, the data from value surveys (or value scales) have been arranged in the way that they represent the scores for all four levels of value structure:

1. For macrocategories of values (dionysian and apollonian values),
2. For value types (hedonic, potency, moral, fulfilment values),
3. For middle-range categories of values (sensual, health, status, patriotic, societal, traditional, social/familial, cultural, cognitive values),
4. For single values.

In my further report I will mainly concentrate upon results concerning the most general levels of value categorisation, that means the level of macrocategories (dionysian and apollonian) and value types (hedonistic, potency, moral, fulfilment).

Table 2.

Overall classification of studies, subjects, measuring instruments and variables used in investigations.

Source	Subjects	Measures for value orientation	Variables defining political orientation	Variables defining religiousness
1. study 1991	N = 421	Schwartz Value Survey (56 values) single values middle-range categories value types macrocategories	preferences for political parties (left - right – undecided/undeclared)	rating scale (non-moderately-very religious)
2. study 1995	N = 1001	MSV (Musek Scale of Values) (54 values) single values middle-range categories value types	no data for political orientation	rating scale (non-moderately-very religious)

		macrocategories		
3. study 1995/96	N = 388	MSV (Musek Scale of Values) (54 values) single values middle-range categories value types macrocategories	preferences for political parties (left - right – undecided/undeclared)	rating scale (non-moderately-very religious)

Political orientation was analysed in the first and in the third study. In both studies, the subjects declared their preferences for political parties from the Slovenian political scene. Their preferences were the classified into three categories: left, right and undeclared or undecided. This classification corresponds to the Slovenian political space, which is dominated by two great political agglomerations, first represented by left-to-centrist parties like Liberal Democratic Party and United List of Democrats (left in our classification), and second represented by right-to-centrist so-called “springtime parties” like Slovenian People’s Party, Social Democratic Party and Slovenian Christian Democracy (right in our classification). There are neither important representatives of extreme left nor extreme right political orientation in Slovenia, and not even remarkable representatives of pure political centrism. There are, however, many politically irresolute persons with no preference for existing political parties (classified as undecided in our studies).

The degree of religiousness was measured by means of rating scale continuum, which was slightly different in all three studies. For this reason, the rating scales of all three studies have been modified. Different levels of rating scales have been reduced to only three levels in order to obtain mutually comparable continua (non-religious, moderately religious, and very religious).

Procedure

In all three studies the participants separately fulfilled the value survey (Schwartz Value Survey in the first study and Musek Scale of Values in the second and third study) and the questionnaire containing the questions related to the political orientation (first and third study) and religiousness (all three studies). The data were then collected and prepared for statistical analyses.

Results and discussion

Values and political affiliation (adherence)

The results of both studies concerning the relationship between political preferences and value orientations are very congruent in regard of the main categories of values. We can see from the Figures 2 and 3 that the importance of dionysian values increases with the left and decreases with the right political preference. On the other side, the importance of apollonian values increases with the right and decreases with the left political preference.

Insert Figure 2.

Insert Figure 3.

These most general relationships can be further decomposed at more specified level, namely at the level of four value types. The sympathisers of the left have the highest scores on hedonic (or hedonistic) and potency values, while the right sympathisers exceeded the others on moral values (Figure 4). Interestingly, the undecided subjects have the highest scores on fulfilment values.

A very similar picture could be obtained from the data in the 1991 study, gathered by Schwartz Value Survey. The left oriented subjects scored higher on a composite scale of hedonistic and potency values, while the right oriented subjects scored higher on the scale of spiritual values. And again, the undecided subjects reached the highest scores on fulfilment values.

Insert Figure 4.

At still more specific level of middle-range value categories, the left political orientation correlates with sensual, cultural, status, and security values, while the right political orientation correlates with religious, traditional and social (family) values. Table 3 shows the respective loadings of canonical discriminant functions on different middle-range value categories. The first function could be interpreted as moralism versus hedonism dimension with the highest values for right and lowest for left orientation (undeclared in between). The second function could be interpreted as fulfilment versus potency dimension with the highest values for politically undeclared and lower values for both left and right orientation. Very similar dimensions were obtained for different value types (Table 4).

Table 3.
Discriminant function loadings (discriminant functions 1 and 2) of middle-range value categories for three political orientations (left, undecided, right).

	Func 1	Func 2
RELIGIOUS	,79207	,18113
TRADITIONAL	,42870	,27889
SOCIAL	,30903	,29311
SENSUAL	-,28049	,15499
SECURITY	-,22112	,17306
ACTUALISATION	-,10657	,00892
CULTURAL	-,23219	,50737
PATRIOTIC	,19721	-,46033
SOCIETAL	,24162	,43820
COGNITIVE	,16559	,42746
STATUS	-,22558	-,28593

Table 4.
Discriminant function loadings (discriminant functions 1 and 2) of value types for three political orientations (left, undecided, right).

	Func 1	Func 2
MORAL	-,62917	,45831

HEDONIC	,41658	,16857
FULFILMENT	,08383	,64770
POTENCY	,11469	-,40615

Values and religiousness

The connections between religiousness and value orientations are almost analogous with the relationship between political adherence and values. As we can see from the Figures 5 and 6, the importance of dionysian values decreases with the degree of religiousness (for the data of study 3 and study 1), while the importance of apollonian values increases or remains constant. Similar data were obtained also in the study 2.

Insert Figure 5.

Insert Figure 6.

Concerning four value types, we can also observe very significant differences. The difference is especially expressed in the ratings of hedonic values, with the highest scores for non-religious group and a rather low score with the very religious subjects. The corresponding results using Anovas and discriminant analyses have been obtained for middle-range categories and for single values (the presentation of those results should be omitted here for the sake of the time limit).

Insert Figure 7.

General discussion and conclusions

The results of our studies confirmed the significant connections between political and religious adherence and value orientation of Slovenian subjects. The groups of subjects with different political orientation clearly differed in the rated importance of single values and common value categories. Thus, the leftist political orientation and non-religiosity correlated with the higher importance of dionysian values (dealing with hedonism, materialism, success and social power orientation), while the rightist political orientation and religiosity correlated with the higher importance of apollonian values (moral, prosocial, cultural and personal fulfilment orientation).

However, it seems that our results justify us to propose an additional aspect to the classical attitudinal typology of political orientation or adherence. The results are in clear accord with the extended theoretical model showed previously (Table 1). The model is based on four value types, which constitute two dimensional continua: hedonism – moralism dimension and potency – fulfilment dimension. This theoretical model encompasses thus the classical Eysenck's attitudinal dimensions (radicalism - conservatism and democratism /tender-mindedness/ - authoritarianism /tough-mindedness, stringency/) as well as the underlying value orientations. As we can see from this extended typology, the political parties could be basically classified across the value dimensions hedonism - moralism and potency - fulfilment.

Another conclusion is that - at least in the case of the Slovenian population - the political affiliation is substantially connected with the religiosity. The correlation between political and religious orientation is 0.307; moreover, if we exclude the politically undecided persons, this correlation increases to 0.502. Beyond this obvious correlation, the nature of the relationship between the religious and political orientation should be clarified a bit further. In the case of Slovenia, as well in the other post-communist countries, where in the previous times the religious population was suppressed on the political scene, it seems more probable that the religious component much more influence the political orientation than vice versa. Otherwise to say, it seems that the religiosity is the crucial factor for the political orientation while the political orientation is a less decisive factor for religious orientation. Indeed,

our results are in concordance with this hypothesis. As we can see from the Table 6, the significant differences between political groups for different value types reduce drastically, when we control them for the factor of religious orientation. On the other side, the reduction of the influence of the religious orientation is much less expressed after the partialisation (controlling for) the political effects. More specifically, the effect of political orientation on the moral and fulfilment type of the values becomes insignificant if we exclude the influence of religious component. On the other hand, if we exclude the influence of political component upon the ratings of the subjects, the effects of religious orientation remain strong, maybe even a bit stronger.

Table 6.

The change in the significance of differences between groups as the result of the controlling effects.

VALUE TYPES AND CATEGORIES	Significance of differences between political groups		Significance of differences between religiousness groups	
	without control	with controlled influence of religiousness	without control	with controlled influence of political orientation
HEDONIC	,013	,015	,002	0,058
POTENCY	,123	,555	,829	0,266
MORAL	,000	,866	,112	0,000
FULLFILLMENT	,009	,065	,066	0,900
SENSUAL	,027	,182	,061	,066
SECURITY	,087	,001	,001	,221
STATUS	,042	,088	,029	,070
PATRIOTIC	,014	,083	,061	,902
SOCIETAL	,008	,216	,930	,014
SOCIAL	,006	,951	,412	,007
TRADITIONAL	,000	,917	,132	,001
CULTURAL	,004	,003	,000	,291
COGNITIVE	,033	,844	,210	,030
ACTUALISATION	,615	,005	,005	,703
RELIGIOUS	,000	,000	,000	,000

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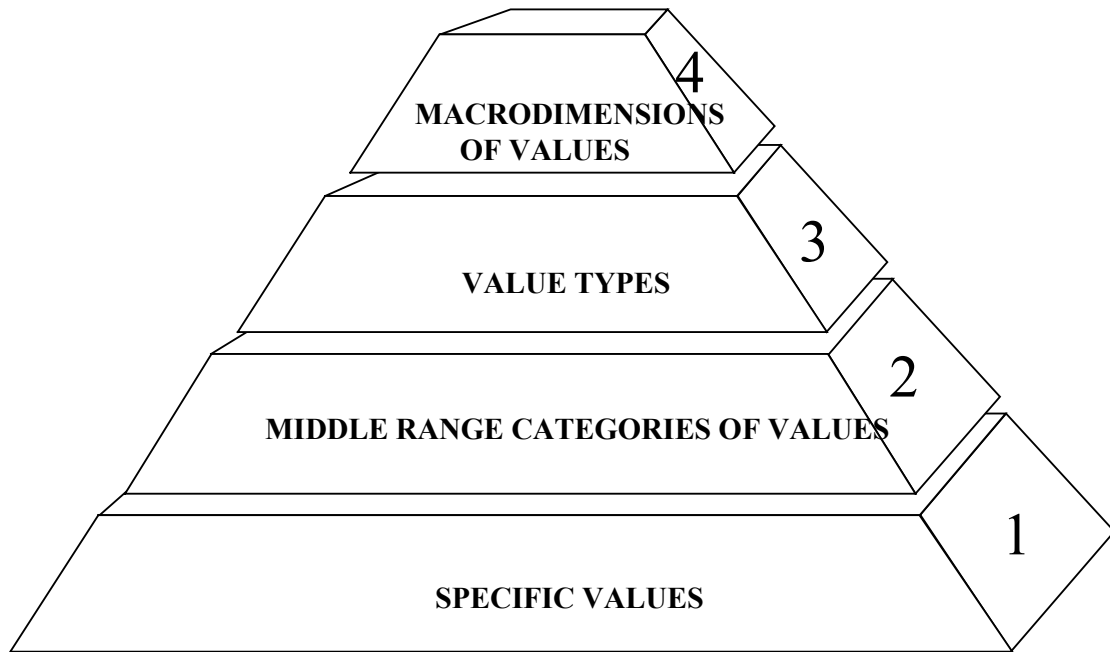


Figure 1. The four-level hierarchy of values. It includes the level of macrodimensions, the level of value types, the level of middle-range value categories and the level of specific values.

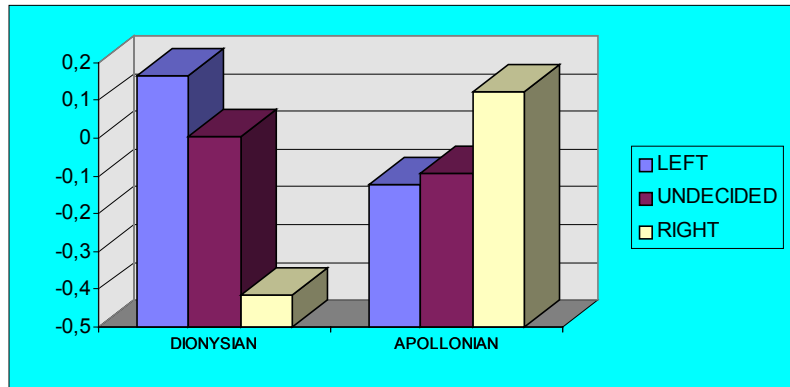


Figure 2. Mean factor scores of two value macrocategories (dionysian and apollonian) for three groups of political orientations (left, undecided, right). (Results from study 1)

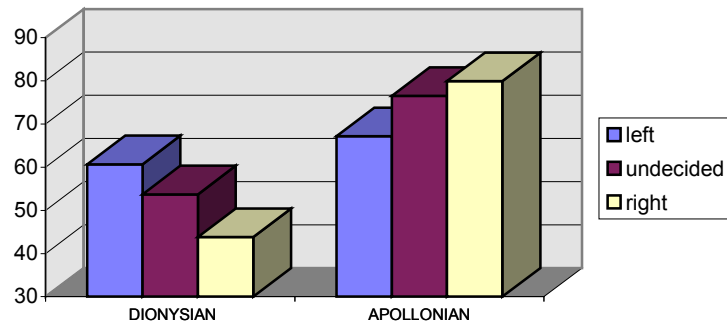


Figure 3. Mean scores of two value macrocategories (dionysian and apollonian) for three groups of political orientations (left, undecided, right). (Results from study 3)

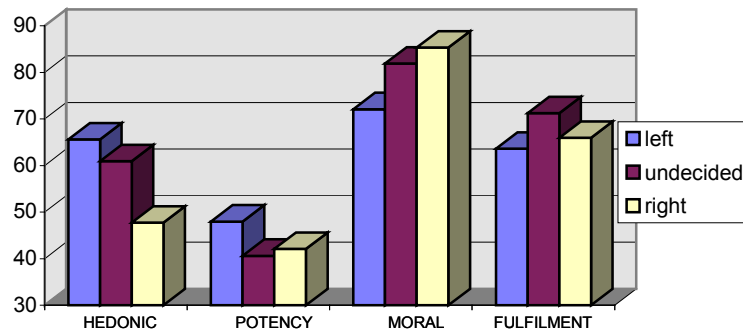
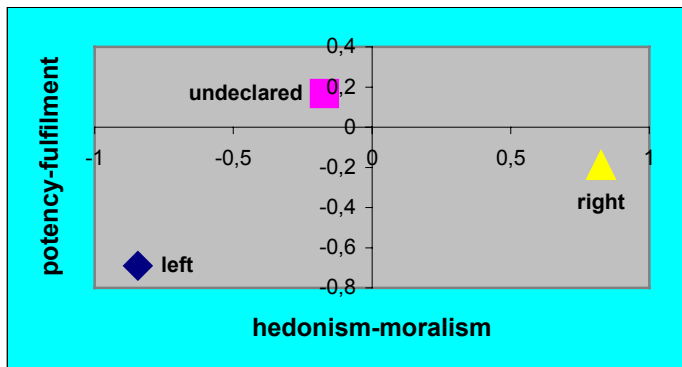


Figure 4. Mean scores of different value types (hedonic, potency, moral and fulfillment) for three groups of political orientation (left, undecided, right). (Results from study 3)



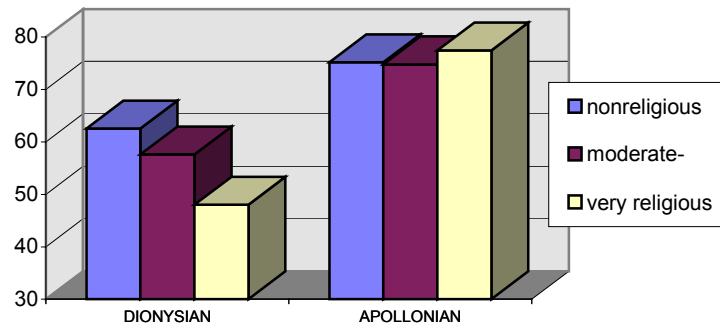


Figure 5. Mean scores of two value macrocategories (dionysian and apollonian) for three religiosity groups (nonreligious, moderately religious, very religious). (Study 3)

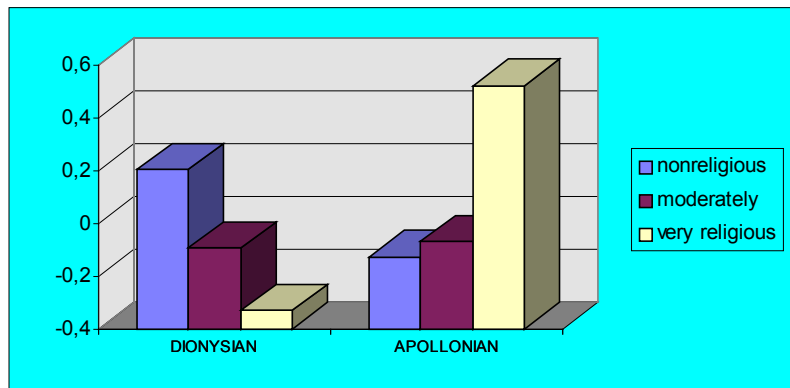


Figure 6. Mean factor scores of two value macrocategories (dionysian and apollonian) for three religiosity groups (nonreligious, moderately religious, very religious). (Study 1)

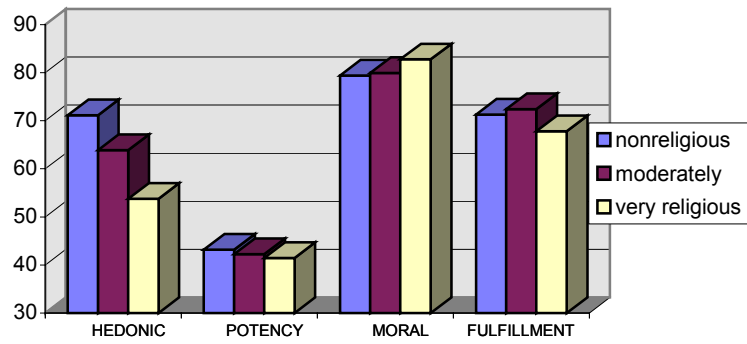


Figure 7. Mean scores of different value types (hedonic, potency, moral and fulfillment) for three religiosity groups (nonreligious, moderately religious, very religious). (Study 2)

Table 1.

Proposed typological model of political orientation based on the value system of individual adherents.

	<i>HEDONISM</i> <i>radicalism</i>	<i>MORALISM</i> <i>conservativism</i>
<i>POTENCY</i> <i>autoritharianism</i>	LEFT	RIGHT
<i>FULFILLMENT</i> <i>democratism</i>	CENTRAL (UNDECLARED)	

Table 2.
Sources and classifications of data variables.

	Subjects	Value orientation	Political orientation	Religiousness
1. study 1991	N = 421	Schwartz Value Survey (56 values) single values middle-range categories value types macrocategories	preferences for political parties (left - right - undecided)	rating scale (non- moderately- very religious)
2. study 1995	N = 1001	MSV (Musek Scale of Values) (54 values) single values middle-range categories value types macrocategories	no data for political orientation	rating scale (non- moderately- very religious)
3. study 1995/96	N = 388	MSV (Musek Scale of Values) (54 values) single values middle-range categories value types macrocategories	preferences for political parties (left - right - undecided)	rating scale (non- moderately- very religious)

Table 3.

Discriminant function loadings (discriminant functions 1 and 2) of middle-range value categories for three political orientations (left, undecided, right).

	Func 1	Func 2
RELIGIOUS	,79207	,18113
TRADITIONAL	,42870	,27889
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Discriminant function loadings (discriminant functions 1 and 2) of value types for three political orientations (left, undecided, right).

	Func 1	Func 2
MORAL	-,62917	,45831
HEDONIC	,41658	,16857
FULFILMENT	,08383	,64770
POTENCY	,11469	-,40615

Table 5.

Highest discriminant function loadings (function 1, top table and function 2, bottom table) of single values for three political orientations (left, undecided, right).

	Func1	
FAITH IN GOD	,55206	right
FREE MOVEMENT	-,34569	left
JOY/ENTERTAINMENT	-,34085	
COMFORTABLE LIFE	-,33964	
LEISURE TIME	-,33575	
GOOD EATING/DRINKING	-,28313	
CREATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS	-,27959	
MONEY/WEALTH	-,27832	
MORAL PRINCIPLES	,26544	
SPORTS/RECREATION	-,25660	
GOOD SEXUAL RELATIONS	-,23883	
REST AND PEACE	-,23752	
POWER/INFLUENCE	-,23567	
RESPECTING LAWS	,22964	
LOVE FOR HOMELAND	,21931	
ENJOYING IN FINE ARTS	-,21857	
HEALTH	-,21208	
ORDER/DISCIPLINE	,20789	

	Func 2	
HONESTY	,35934	undecided
FAITH IN GOD	,33175	/right/
CONCORDANCE/HARMONY	,30537	
SOLIDARITY/COMPANIONSHIP	,26785	
MONEY/WEALTH	-,26893	left
EXCEEDING OTHER PEOPLE	-,26259	
FIDELITY/LOYALTY	,25608	
GOOD EATING/DRINKING	-,24540	
POLITICAL SUCCESS	-,23378	
GENEROSITY/UNSELFISHNESS	,22911	
COMFORTABLE LIFE	-,22760	
LOVE FOR CHILDREN	,21749	
EQUALITY	,21002	
LOVE	,20605	
WISDOM	,20410	
PEACE ON THE WORLD	,19886	
DISCOVERING TRUTH	,19461	
NATIONAL PRIDE	-,18518	
FRIENDSHIP	,17978	
KNOWLEDGE	-,17928	
REPUTATION IN SOCIETY	-,17206	

Table 6.

The change in the significance of differences between groups as the result of the controlling effects.

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TRADITIONAL	,000	,917	,132	,001
CULTURAL	,004	,003	,000	,291
COGNITIVE	,033	,844	,210	,030
ACTUALISATION	,615	,005	,005	,703
RELIGIOUS	,000	,000	,000	,000