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ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ ЦЕННОСТЕЙ: УНИКАЛЬНЫЙ МЕЖНАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ СРАВНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ И ЛОНГИТУДНЫЙ ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКИЙ ПРОЕКТ ОБ ОБЩЕЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКИХ ЦЕННОСТЯХ В ЕВРОПЕ

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Описываются основные этапы развития межнационального сравнительного и лонгитюдного исследовательского проекта по общечеловеческим ценностям в Европе. Отмечается, что актуальность изучения ценностей заключается в том, что они функционируют в качестве основных руководящих принципов в жизни людей и отражают многие социальные изменения, которые произошли в Европе. Ключевым выводом Европейского исследования ценностей является то, что в Европе существует единство в многообразии. Подчеркивается, что новый сбор данных предоставляет исследователям информацию о текущих ценностях и позволяет выяснить, трансформируются ли (и в какой степени) ценности в быстро меняющемся европейском обществе.

Ключевые слова: Европейское исследование ценностей; модернизация; секуляризация; Европейское сообщество.

EUROPEAN VALUES STUDY: A UNIQUE CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARATIVE AND LONGITUDINAL SURVEY RESEARCH PROJECT ON BASIC HUMAN VALUES IN EUROPE

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The article describes the main stages of the development of a cross-national comparative and longitudinal survey research project on basic human values in Europe. It is noted that the relevance of focusing on values is that they function as prime guidelines in people's life and they also reflect many of the social changes that have taken place in Europe. A key

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result of the European Values Study project is that there is unity in diversity in Europe. In conclusion, it is emphasized that the new data collection provides researchers with information about current values and enables to find out if and to what extent and in which direction values are changing in a rapidly changing European society.

Key words: European Values Study; modernization; secularization; European Community.

Introduction

The founding fathers of the European Values Study (EVS) could not have imagined that the project they started at the end of the 1970s would develop in such a unique large scale international comparative and longitudinal survey research project, covering all European countries and even beyond, and lasting for, now, almost 40 years! Their initial idea was far more limited as one becomes aware if one reads the preface to one of the first publications on the European Values Study. In Jean Stoetzel's work [1], the two founding fathers admit that it was their desire to better understand the system of values in contemporary Europe and where possible, to look for the changes that are occurring [1, p. 10]. They aimed at collecting survey data in four European Community member states only, but soon the study evolved into a nine countries study including the United Kingdom, West Germany, France, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Ireland and Denmark. In later years, researchers in many more countries, not limited to Western Europe, adopted the same questionnaire and organized similar surveys in their countries using the same (translated) questionnaire. As a result, soon after its genesis, the project expanded to include several non-European Community member states: Finland, Norway, Sweden, Malta, Iceland, United States, Canada, Mexico, Japan, South Korea and South Africa, Argentina, Chili, Kuwait, Lebanon, Korean Republic, Australia and New Zealand. Even in parts of the Soviet Union, the survey was conducted and in Hungary a somewhat adapted questionnaire was applied [2; 3].

Not only were the initiators rather modest in their wish to focus on four European countries only, originally they also aimed at only one publication for which they invited Jean Stoetzel, at that moment director of the French survey agency Faits et Opinions. In his book, he presented the findings of the nine European Community members in a readable fashion even for those who are not familiar with the vocabulary and statistical tools of sociological research. The book revealed that Europe is far from homogenous when it comes to basic human values. Instead, «each country or group of countries has its own peculiar characteristics» [1, p. 282]. That conclusion is substantiated in numerous publications since then. Hence, the motto of the European Union «United in Diversity» is well chosen as it signifies that the continent has many different cultures and traditions.

The data appeared so rich that publications were prepared on each of the nations, and international comparative studies were initiated, not only by those involved in the project, but also from outside the project. The data proved to be a goldmine for social science researchers and political scientists. For example, Ronald Inglehart relied on the European Values Study data to further substantiate his theory of the Silent Revolution [4; 5]. Under his inspiring leadership, later on the World Values Survey was established resulting in regular data collections in countries all over the world [6].

The originators of the project not only asked themselves if there was a homogenous Europe when it comes to values, they also wanted to address the question if and how values are changing. For example, whether they are converging as a result of the progressing European unification or whether they remained distinctive. Already in those days, Europe was changing very fast, economically, socially, and politically and the question was whether these changes would go with cultural changes.

In order to provide answers to such questions, repeat surveys are required since only repeated surveys over longer periods of time could reveal if changes are taking place in values and for that reason the EVS organized a new wave of surveys in 1990. It was an exciting period in history with the fall of the wall and the end of communist area in Eastern Europe as one of the highlights. The 1990 EVS project was lucky to be able to collect data in several Central and Eastern European countries that belonged to the communist block in Europe. For the first time, data on values was collected in that part of Europe, enabling unique comparisons between the East and the West. The collected data appeared again a goldmine for those who are interested in European culture in a fast transforming Europe and numerous studies appeared on the basis of the newly collected survey data.

In order to measure further changes in basic human value orientations, repeat surveys were organized with time intervals of nine years in as many European countries as possible. In 1999, the third wave was launched in 33 countries, followed by a fourth wave of surveys in 2008 in all 47 European countries from Iceland to Azerbaijan and from Finland to Malta. Currently a fifth wave of data collection is on its way.

Why values?

Values play an important role in human behavior and they are at the core of interpretations of societies and changes that are taking place within societies

(see e.g. [7, p. 2; 8–10]). This was recognized in the seventies by Jan Kerkhofs (Catholic University Leuven, Belgium) and Ruud de Moor (Tilburg University,

The Netherlands) who launched the European Values Study project to investigate the value patterns of the Europeans.

According to the EVS-initiators, the relevance of focusing on values is that they function as prime guidelines in people's life. In so doing, they followed the ideas of the founding fathers of sociology. Weber [11] convincingly demonstrated in his famous study on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, that protestant values in general and work ethos in particular, were a favorable substratum for the rise of industrial capitalism. Durkheim [12] argued that without consensus or agreement on certain fundamental values, social solidarity is threatened and society disintegrated and vulnerable to anomie. Earlier, Comte and Tocqueville already emphasized the importance of consensus about core ideas and beliefs for democracy and it was also one of the main conclusions from the pioneering study by Almond and Verba on the Civic culture in which they found that a particular pattern of orientations to political actions had major implications for the «way the political system operates – to its stability, effectiveness and so forth» [13, p. 74].

Although values are not the only determinant of actual human behavior, there is widespread agreement that values are important guidelines for human behavior. Values define people's goals and their priorities and as such they shape a society's economic, political, and social performance. Therefore they are considered crucial for the direction in which societies are moving [8]. Values are generally assumed «to play a crucial role in motivating and guiding human action and to be constitutive elements in the construction of personal and collective identities; they serve as a potent source of social integration but also of conflict and division» [14, p. 47].

Individually-held values are also likely to reflect many of the social changes that have taken place in Europe over the recent decades, such as the declining involvement in organized religion and growing levels of secularization; increased permissiveness in moral standards and behaviors; alternative family patterns, and shifting attitudes towards marriage and divorce; greater acceptance of sex before marriage, homosexuality, one-parent families and abortion; women's emancipation; alterations in work patterns and work expectations, shifting from heavy manufacturing industrial work towards white-collar work and the service sector, increasing employment of women; political realignments, with new parties eroding the old class based loyalties, new political concerns like environmentalism and sustainability.

One of the most profound changes in society and thus an important feature of modernization, is individualization which is assumed to have made people

less dependent on traditional institutions, like the churches, and more dependent on themselves. Increasingly people decide for themselves what is desirable and undesirable, good and bad or right and wrong. They are supposed to be no longer guided in their personal decisions by traditions, societal norms or rules by the churches. People's decisions are increasingly based on personal considerations. Behaviors, attitudes and values are not anymore a «one possibility thing» but are recognized as a «one out of many possibilities thing» [15]. According to some social observers, such developments are a severe threat to the functioning and living in modern society. Following Durkheim, they forecast all kinds of negative consequences of these developments towards increasing individual freedom and personal autonomy: hedonism, moral decay, narcissism, egoism, etc. There is a growing concern about the vanishing of certain traditional values and the waning of civic virtuous and community life that are at the core of the «good» society. Many people fear that a growing number of citizens is indifferent about society, and will become too narrowly focused on pure self-interest, being selfish, egoistic, irresponsible, political apathetic and morally obtrusive. For some it is therefore about time that the old «good» virtues and values are restored so that people become 'decent' and behave responsible again, and that institutions and the sense of community are revitalized [6–19]. A project like the EVS could reveal if and to what extent such developments are indeed taking place in contemporary fast changing Europe.

An additional, though highly important reason for surveying values in Europe was that diverging or even contrasting values in the various European countries could have serious consequences for the unification process of Europe. Although European countries may share a common set of values that distinguishes them not only from other great cultures such as the Chinese or Islamic, Europe is a richly varied part of the world, not only by its many languages but by old, regional subcultures, religious and ideological traditions, political and educational systems. The motto of the European Union clearly acknowledges this diversity. According to the initiators of the EVS project, disentangling that which is common in the collective conscience of the Europeans and which Europeans share to a lesser extent or not at all, could contribute to a better mutual understanding. Therefore, EVS could be of interest to (European) policy makers, political and religious leaders as well as to major companies, marketing leaders, labor unions, employers. In short, the EVS-initiators aimed at studying whether the emerging concept of one common European cultural identity has an empirical basis.

More specific research questions

Initiated by Jan Kerkhofs and Ruud de Moor, a small team of social sciences researchers organized themselves in what they called the European Value Systems Study Group (EVSSG). Later the name was abbreviated into EVS because no real system could be revealed in the values of the Europeans [1; 20; 21]. They were concerned about the sustainability of an expanding European Community gradually losing its Christian identity. A unified Europe would need shared values to underpin it and in secularizing Europe, Christianity is no longer self-evidently the common ground for such a shared European identity. Therefore, searching for European values could reveal whether there exist a common identity and a coherent set of fundamental values as a solid foundation

for European political, economic and social unity. If that is not the case, to what extent is it likely that such a lack of a common identity and the presence of cultural diversity in Europe impede progress towards European unity? The initial goal of EVS was to provide valid and reliable information how Europeans feel and think about European identity and to discover the underlying value systems. It was decided to explore the values of the Europeans through a large scale survey research project addressing the following research questions (see [22]):

1. Do Europeans share common values?
2. Are values changing in Europe and, if so, in what directions?
3. What are the implications for European unity?

Project design

Apart from a Steering Committee, a Technical Group was established which was made responsible for the questionnaire design as well as for the organization of the fieldwork. Three research institutes played an important role in the technical group: Gallup London, Faits et Opinions in Paris, and Institut für Demoskopie in Allensbach (West-Germany). A main task of the technical group was to undertake a series of explorative pilot studies on the nature, number, and salience of values in the lives of ordinary people. However, it was concluded that is difficult to decide what exactly values are, how many values there are, and how important they are in human life, since there seems to be no agreement on these issues in the existing literature on values.

Therefore a rather pragmatic course was followed in designing a questionnaire on values. They organized series of in-depth interviews with people who could be expected to have deeper insight in what is going on in society: journalists, architects, teachers and so on. Further, a series of group discussions was organized with individuals of socially deprived groups such as the unemployed, members of minority groups and so on. Thirdly, both the survey agencies Gallup London, and Faits et Opinions in Paris, conducted an archive search of different data bases with respect to questions and items referring to values. This archive search resulted in a database of more than 900 «interesting» items for a questionnaire. From this large data base, a questionnaire was produced, covering the domains of work and leisure time, family and sexuality, religion, politics, and ethics and a draft questionnaire was produced and piloted in Great Britain, France, West Germany and Spain among about 200 respondents in each country.

The final survey was fielded in 1981 in all European Community member states excluding Greece, but

including Spain, at that time not yet a member of the European Community. In each participating country, a national research institute was approached to do the fieldwork and to interview at least 1000 adults (aged 18 years and older) and additional a group of around 200 young people aged 18–24.

Gallup London coordinated the project, gathered all national datasets and produced a combined data set. This dataset has been deposited with the Economic and Social Research Council Data Archive at the University of Essex. Nowadays, the 1981 data are also publicly available via the ZACAT website of the GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences in Cologne, Germany¹.

Researchers from all over the world showed their interest in EVS and have fielded the questionnaire in their country and the originally European project expanded to become a worldwide survey research project on basic human values.

As argued, since one of the basic questions of the project was whether values in Europe were changing and, if so, in what directions, a repeat survey was necessary in order to address appropriately the question if and to what extent value changes are occurring.

In 1986, the preparations for a second wave of surveys started. It was attempted to draft a more theoretical based questionnaire. After all, the 1981 project was not theory driven and the items and questions were mainly selected on face validity: it was felt that they could reveal values, but these ideas were not firmly tested prior to the first fieldwork. An important hindrance for the construction of a new questionnaire was, of course, that in order to preserve comparability, questions should not be changed.

In 1989 the slightly adapted questionnaire was piloted in five countries: France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and United States. The results of these pilot surveys

¹See: <http://zacat.gesis.org/webview/>.

were discussed and the questionnaire was finalized. In the middle of 1990 and beginning of 1991 the main second survey was carried out covering the same themes as in 1981: work and leisure, family and sexuality, religion, politics and ethics. The survey was repeated in all EC countries (except for Greece), and also in Scandinavia, United States, and Canada. The 1990 fieldwork was coordinated by the Institut für Demoskopie in Allensbach (Germany). Moreover, the 1990 survey was conducted for the first time in Switzerland, Austria, and several Eastern European countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, parts of the Russian Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the former German Democratic Republic, Romania. Further, repeat surveys were also carried out in Mexico, South Africa and Japan.

This follow-up study enabled the exploration of the occurrence of shifts in value orientations, although the time interval is of course confined to one decade. Furthermore, the inclusion of countries in Eastern Europe have enriched the project significantly. EVS is one of the scarce opportunities, if not the only one, to dig deeper into the values held by people in Eastern European countries and to compare the values from Eastern Europeans with the value patterns of the people in Western Europe other Western countries such as the United States and Canada.

Building on the knowledge of the two previous waves, a new wave of surveys was organized in 1999. The 1999 questionnaire included several new issues which had emerged in the various life spheres. Four substantive groups and a methodological group developed the questionnaire and guidelines for the data collection. The four substantive research groups covered

the main domains in the questionnaire: religion and morality, society and politics, primary relations, and work and leisure. Each research group consisted of several experts on the domain at issue. The main tasks of the methodology group were to reach consensus on the themes and items in the questionnaire, identify problems of comparability, plan the survey, make recommendations on socio-demographic background variables, take care of the quality of the data, advice and provide assistance on analyses, etc. The 1999/2000 EVS was coordinated from Tilburg University, where the survey data were gathered and checked in close collaboration with the Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung in Cologne and the Netherlands Institute for Scientific Information Services in Amsterdam.

In 2008 a fourth wave of surveys was conducted in all countries in Europe with a population of more than 100 000. In Northern Cyprus and, again, Northern Ireland separate surveys were fielded among samples of 500 respondents. As in previous waves, the master questionnaire was produced in English, and translated into the various national languages. The questionnaire was developed by a Theory Group which critically evaluated the existing questions and items and which prepared proposals for new items to be included in the survey to tap new topics and issues, e.g., about gender roles, migration, and the environment. A Methodology Group was made responsible for the quality of data collection, cleaning and handling, and data analyses and drafted rigorous rules and methodological guidelines for carrying out the survey. Figure 1 displays the participating countries in the different waves.

At this very moment data collection is taking place within the framework of the 5th wave of the EVS.

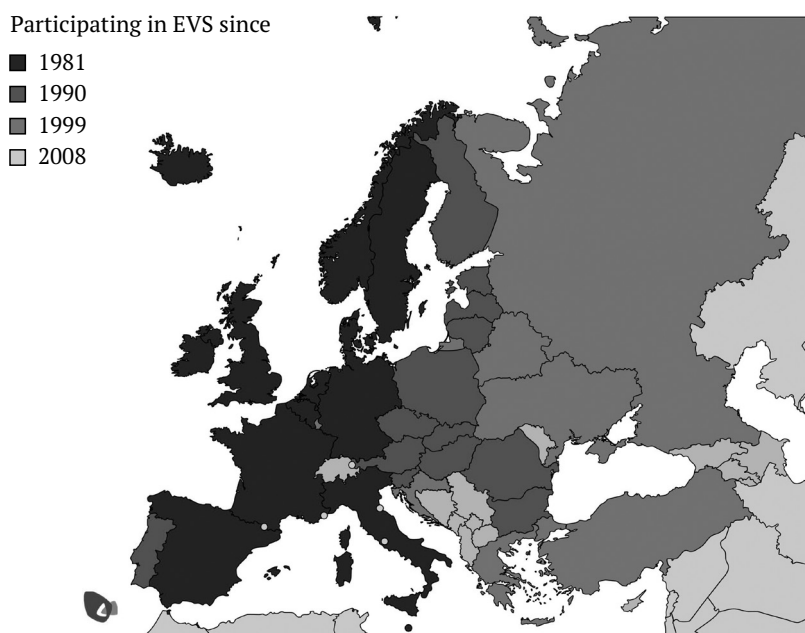


Fig. 1. The gradual increase in numbers of countries included in the European Values Study.

Source: [3]

Dissemination

All data and documentation are stored in the Data Archive for the Social Sciences of Gesis, Leibniz Institute in Cologne, Germany². All materials are freely accessible. The user friendly and intuitive layout guides the user step by step through the Gesis platform, and enables performing some basic statistical analysis even without having specific knowledge in statistics or specific statistical software. Data files and documentations for each country, such as questionnaires, sampling procedures, codebooks, are available free of charge. The availability is widely advertised through the websites of Gesis, the EVS, and other conventional and new social media. In the period 2008–2016, 32 921 downloads of EVS data files were counted, and 396 055 documentation downloads (questionnaires, guidelines, method and variable reports, source books). In 2016, so eight years after the last data collection, the EVS data appears still very relevant to scholars: 6096 downloads of EVS data files, and 76 230 documentation downloads have been recorded.

The values covered by the European Values Study appear of interest to scholars from a wide range of disciplines: Sociology (25 %), Political Science (23 %), and Economics (21 %), but also Psychology, Demography, Social Policy, Philosophy, Ethics, and Religion.

The relevance of the EVS data goes beyond the European area: 15 % of the downloads are made by researchers who live in other continents, mainly United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Korea, China, and Japan.

To reach both scholars and the wider publics, EVS uses several communication channels. For example, in addition to the official website, the EVS employs social medias such as Facebook and Twitter for spreading updates on the project, providing original maps and graphs, informing about recent publications based on EVS data, and call for papers and other opportunities related to the study of values. On Twitter, more than 1300 users (as 20.05.2018) among researchers, academic journals, research institutes, research projects and infrastructures follow the EVS account³. The EVS Facebook page has about 950 fans (as 20.05.2018). The audience is global, covering 45 different countries, even outside Europe there are EVS fans in Australia, Morocco, Nigeria, Lebanon, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Egypt, Mongolia, Hong Kong, Brazil, and US.

The EVS has brought forth a countless number of social-scientific publications which have enriched the knowledge on the causes and consequences of value differences that exist between European citizens and nations, and on the methodological-statistical procedures for measuring and analyzing values differences in a cross-cultural research design. In addition, popu-

larized publications have made the findings of the European Values Study accessible to a broader audience. An EVS bibliography with over 1700 publications known to the EVS, is available at the website of the European Values Study Group. One publication stands out: The Atlas of European Values [23]. This publication shows in attractive and informative maps and graphs what life-goals and societal conditions citizens of 47 European nations deem important in their private and social life. It presents a selection of the results of the latest values survey and also highlights some important trends in values since the 1980s.

Based on survey data from the 1999/2000 EVS surveys, a first version of the Atlas of European Values appeared in 2005 [24] and included a foreword by the (former) Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende, who strongly advocated the importance of values in Europe. The Atlas was named by Choice Magazine as outstanding academic title in 2006. It was sent to the government leaders of all EU countries and the Atlas inspired the Bulgarian Prime Minister Sergei Stanishev to conclude that the way of thinking and perceptions of Bulgarians are quite European and hence that EU membership will be a natural step forward for Bulgaria.

The new edition of the Atlas of European Values which was released in 2011, had a laudatory foreword by Mr. Herman Van Rompuy, at that time the President of the European Council. Many prominent people have received a copy of this atlas, among them King Willem-Alexander and Queen Maxima of the Netherlands, and Frans Timmermans, commissioner and first vice president of the European Commission. In addition, a paperback version was published, mainly for use in education.

The first copy of the new version of «Atlas of European Values» was presented to Mr. Luuk van Middelaar, member of the Cabinet of Mr. Herman van Rompuy, President of the European Council on 23–25 November, 2011 during the general program (open for the general public) of the international conference on the Values of Europe at Tilburg University, the Netherlands.

In numerous countries, national reports were prepared based on the survey data provided by the EVS. Many publications are meant to inform the broader audience. The broader public is also informed about European values in the visitor's center of the European Parliament in Brussels. The EVS data are displayed in the United in Diversity exhibition in the Parlementarium and informs the ordinary people about European's diversity in values but also about the similarities in basic value orientations. The European Values Study is one of the main data sources in the exhibition space on

²See: <http://zacat.gesis.org/webview/>.

³See: https://twitter.com/evs_values.

«United in Diversity» of Visitors' Centre of the European Parliament, in Brussels. This exhibition area is based on the idea that the European Union, despite the cultural differences and multitudinous interests, works together and develops concepts for a future European civil society. On the ceiling of this room hangs a shifting 3D map of Europe showing the results from the European Values Study with light displays. The Parliamentarium in October 2011 opened its doors and attracts about 350 000 visitors annually. In January 2015, the millionth visitor was welcomed. It is the largest parliamentary visitors' center in Europe. All information in the centre is offered in the 24 official languages of Europe.

EVS data is also used extensively as teaching materials for tertiary education (social sciences, teachers colleges), in secondary education (social sciences, geography, history) and even in primary education to inform the new generations of Europeans about the cultural differences and similarities that exist in Europe. Different tools have been proposed for educational purposes. Here we mention two examples which were developed in the Netherlands but which have global access. In close collaboration with Fontys University of Applied Sciences in Tilburg, the Tilburg EVS team designed a special website⁴ where students, teachers and other users can find materials about values in Europe and make their own maps. The website is available now in seven languages: English, German, Dutch, Slovak, Turkish, French and Spanish. On the

basis of the interactive maps, visitors can see how the people of European countries at different times (1981, 1990, 1999 and 2008), thought and act. They can but also compare groups in Europe, e.g., young and old, higher and lower educated people, men and women. Additionally, the website contains extensive teaching materials for teachers in secondary education: lesson plans, teaching methods and specially recorded videos of young people across Europe. The use of the teaching material is kept online and counts more than 2000 sessions per year.

In close collaboration with «Wetenschapsknooppunt Brabant» (Science Centre Brabant), a teaching module about European Norms and Values has been developed. Based on the data collection of the European Values Study, primary school pupils (11/12 years old) get information about how adults and children think about education and parenting. Children get insight about their own values and can discuss these with other pupils, teachers, and parents. In an instruction video, Dr. Inge Sieben (Department of Sociology, Tilburg University) explains why Europeans think so differently. The module can be used at home and in the classroom. The module is available on www.kinderkennisbank.nl, a Dutch language platform where children, parents, and teachers also can find information about the scientific background. Since its launch the module has attracted more than 45 000 unique visitors (between March 2015 and January 2016).

What the data reveal so far

A key conclusion from the EVS project is that there is unity in diversity in Europe. Although almost all Europeans share a belief in the importance of democracy, freedom, equality, human dignity and solidarity, Europeans are quite diverse when it comes to values.

Following Inglehart, Hagenaars, et al. [4; 25] distinguished two basic value orientations that reflect two fundamental dimensions of social change: the traditional/secular-rational dimension refers to the contrast between on the one end, religious and traditional values that generally prevail in premodern agrarian societies, and on the other end, secular, bureaucratic, and rational values that prevail in urbanized, industrialized societies. In traditional societies the importance of religion is emphasized, authorities are respected, parent-child ties are strong, two-parent families the norm, and moral standards are absolute. In such societies divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide, are rejected and citizens tend to be patriotic and nationalistic. In contrast to the people in these traditional societies, people in secular-rational societies display the opposite preferences on all of these topics.

The other main dimension, survival/self-expression, refers to the distinction between an emphasis on economic and physical security versus emphasis on concerns of self-expression, subjective well-being, and quality of life issues. People in societies that emphasize survival values tend to be in favor materialist orientations and traditional gender roles, they appear intolerant of foreigners, gays and lesbians and other marginalized groups, and have low levels of subjective well-being and interpersonal trust. They emphasize hard work, rather than imagination or tolerance, as important values to teach children. People in societies that emphasize self-expression display the opposite preferences on all of these topics.

These two dimensions appear enable to locate any European society on a two-dimensional map that reflects the societies' relative positions (fig. 2). Although major changes are occurring along these dimensions, the relative positions of the countries appear rather stable.

Economic development appears a strong predictor of a country's specific position on the cultural map.

⁴See: www.atlasofeuropeanvalues.eu.

The wealthier a country is, the more personal autonomy is emphasized by its people. Although there are exceptions to this rule, economic prosperity and the corresponding level of social security appear to push a country's values in certain predictable direction [4; 26; 27]. The strong link between personal autonomy and economic prosperity and security concurs with existing sociological theories on individualization and post-modernization. Because of economic and physical security people can prioritize quality of life issues, such as self-development, environmentalism and so-

cial concerns about minority rights, fair trade, gender equality and the like.

However, not only levels of economic and physical security can explain the value differences between Europe's societies. A country's position on the cultural map can also be understood from varieties in social-cultural heritages, languages, religious and ideological traditions and differences in political and educational systems. These may persist for centuries and people's value orientations appear strongly influenced by their nation's specific historical development.

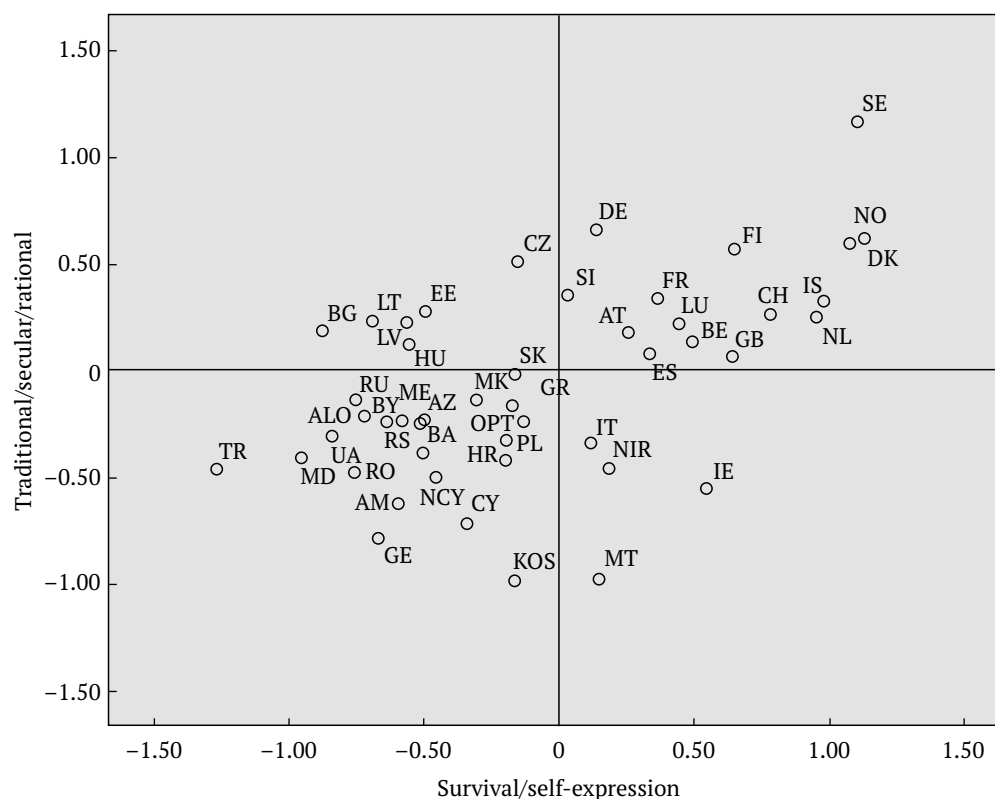


Fig. 2. The cultural map of Europe

A society's religious heritage has left an enduring imprint on a country's contemporary value system. As a result, the historically Roman Catholic societies of Western Europe, such as Italy, Portugal, Spain, France, Belgium and Austria, appear relatively traditional compared to the ex-communist societies while the historically Protestant societies such as Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland rank relatively high on both the traditional-secular rational dimension and the survival/self-expression dimension compared to the historically Roman Catholic societies.

However, a society's position on the cultural map seems to reflect its entire historical heritage. A central historical event of the twentieth century was, of course, the rise and fall of communism. Communism left a clear imprint on the value systems of those who lived under it. Despite differences in cultural tradi-

tions, all ex-communist Central and Eastern Europe societies rank high on the traditional/secular-rational dimension (toward the secular pole), and low on the survival/self-expression dimension. The collapse of communism in the Central and Eastern European countries resulted not only in a pervasive sense of insecurity but also as a consequence of this, low levels of subjective well-being. People who have experienced the collapse of their political, economic and social systems feel a sense of unpredictability and insecurity that leads them to stress survival values. Apart from this emphasis on survival values, ex-communist countries also score high on the secular-rational dimensions. Apparently, the secular ideology of communist rule has been conducive to the emergence of a relatively secular-rational culture. All ex-communist countries, but those that were part of the Soviet Union

in particular, rank higher on secular-rational values than non-communist countries. Thus, a history of communist rule continues to account for a significant share of the cross-cultural differences in basic value orientations.

The fall of the iron curtain and the EU membership of some former communist countries have apparently not resulted in a vanishing of the «value-divide» between East and West. Even now that democracy and capitalism have set ground in the post-communistic countries, the East-West divide remains intact. There may be some indications that the transformation towards a market economy have affected some values towards more Western norms, but important value differences remain. The former communist countries appear more conservative than the Western and Northern countries in Europe. These nations also favor a much stronger role of the state in directing the economy and ensuring the social safety net than their counterparts in Western Europe. They are less prone to do voluntary work, while interpersonal confidence is rather low, as is their overall life satisfaction. Furthermore, the citizens in the East feel less European compared to people in the West of Europe.

However, speaking about the East does not do justice to the sometimes wide cultural differences that also exist within this region. In terms of history or cultural heritage, Belarus and Georgia, for example, can hardly be compared with the more Nordic oriented Estonia or western-oriented Slovenia. The differences among the former communistic countries are and remain large.

Nine former Communist states have fully converted to a market economy and have joined the European Union: Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria

and Croatia. Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia and Turkey want to integrate while Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo have applied for membership. Economic development seems to have pushed the Eastern countries in the direction of the West, but also the country's geographic and cultural proximity to the West seems to result in more «western» values. The values of people in Czech Republic and Poland appear far more similar to the values of people in Austria or France, than to people in Latvia or Russia.

These two dimensions appear robust aspects of cross-cultural variation, and a society's position on the two-dimensional map reflects the relative positions of that country at given point in time. Gradual shifts are occurring along these dimensions and one of the most important of these changes is the increasing emphasis on self-expression values resulting in the emerging and flourishing of democratic political institutions [13; 28].

The robustness of the two dimensions and the relative position of countries along them appears from the strong correlation between the positions of given countries on the two dimensions. This particularly the case with the survival/self-expression dimension. Although major changes are occurring along these dimensions, the relative positions of given countries appear not affected. Comparing the map based on the 1990 surveys with the map based on the 1999/2000 surveys or the 2008 surveys, at first glance they seem to be the same.

When it comes to survival-self-expression dimension (fig. 4), there seems to be an ongoing trend towards more wellbeing in all European countries. There is a shift away from survival values towards self-expression or well-being values. Though there are a few exceptions in the last decade, this is as expected (below 0 indicates a downward trend).

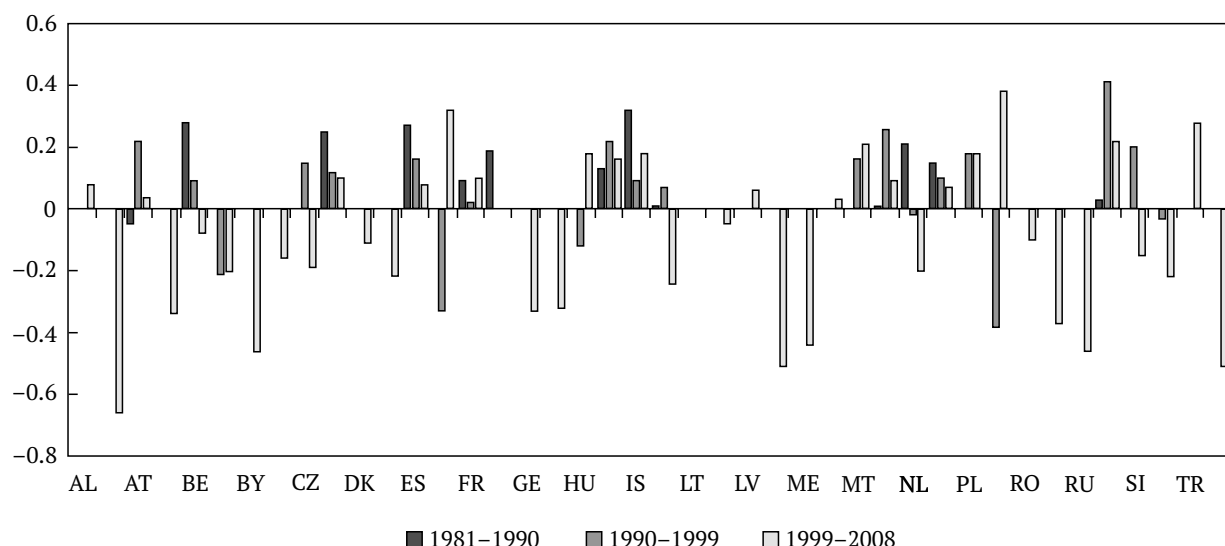


Fig. 3. Trends on the religious traditional versus secular rational dimension

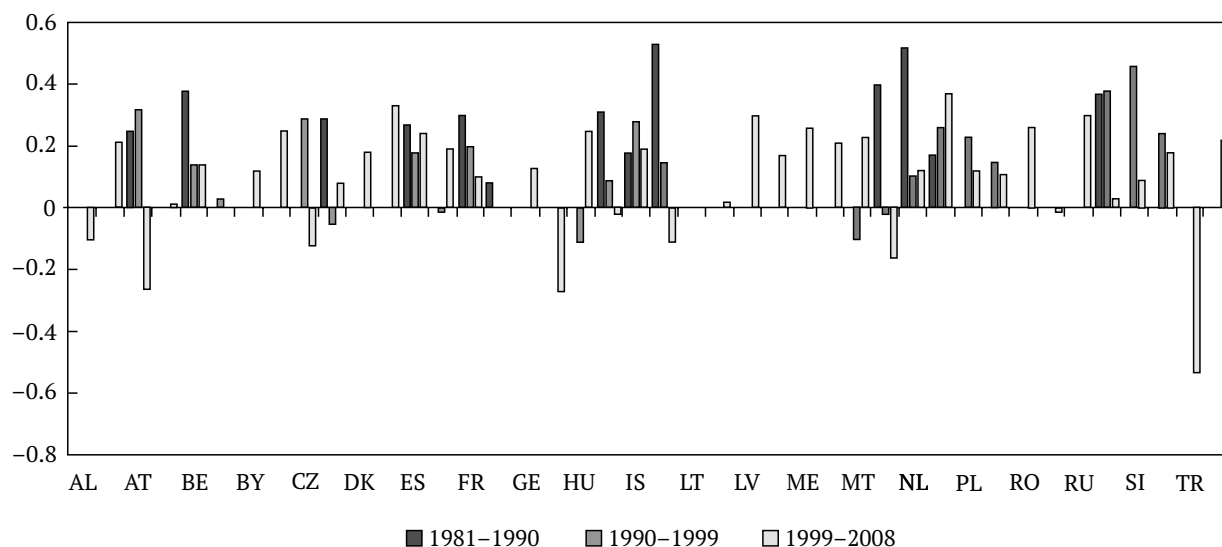


Fig. 4. Trends on the survival versus self expression (well being) dimension

The values map of Europe indicates that the Scandinavian people and perhaps also the Dutch are on the cutting edge of cultural change. They have advanced the furthest in the direction of modernization and

post-materialism. When sociological theories are correct, and their trajectories will be followed by others, Europeans do not have to look over the ocean, but to the North to see their future.

And now...

The EVS project started at the end of the seventies to explore for the first time in history the values of the Europeans. Surveys were organized in 1981 in the member states of the European Community. In subsequent years, the project expanded and transformed into a worldwide investigation on basic human values. As a project, the European Values Study focused on values research in European countries with time intervals of nine years. The latest wave took place in 2008 and it was about time to organize a new wave of surveys in 2017. In 2013, EVS started the preparations of the fifth wave and in order to organize that wave of surveys, a theory group and methodology group were established. The main tasks of theory group were to critically evaluate the existing questionnaire for measuring values and to propose questions and items to tap values about more contemporary issues and themes. As previously, it was decided that about 80 % of the old items should be kept, leaving about 20 % room for new items to cover new issues and contemporary themes. The review of the questionnaire was also aiming at improving the compatibility with the questionnaire used in the World Values Survey (WVS).

The main tasks of the Methodology Group were to develop the methodology and tools for the new wave of surveys so that rigorous state-of-the-art methodology would be applied for the 2017 data collection and reliable high-quality data would be collected.

The preparation of the fifth wave benefited from the cooperation with other survey programs. The agreement with the WVS, which resulted in a questionnaire that is compatible for about 70 % and the application of the EVS methodological guidelines to the European data collections, enables globally comparative studies by adopting methodologically harmonized procedures. In the meantime, the EVS became partner in a European Commission funded project, the SERISS⁵ project, together with other international comparative survey programmes. The project, led by the European Social Survey ERIC, involves the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE ERIC), the Consortium of European Social Science Data Archives (CESSDA ERIC), the Generations and Gender Programme (GGP), the EVS and the Wage Indicator Survey. SERISS aims at dealing with many of the cross-national surveys' challenges through a cooperative approach that capitalizes the resources of each participant to the benefit of the broader research community. As the other partners, the EVS benefited by the know-how shared in SERISS which was useful for improving the methodological standards and developing innovative procedures for realizing the new fieldwork in 2017–2018, as, for example, the experimental introduction of the mixed-mode that can become in the future a valid alternative to the face-to-face interview to efficiently collecting data on values.

⁵Synergies for Europe's Research Infrastructures in the Social Sciences. See: <https://seriss.eu>.

As in previous waves, there was no central budget, and the data collections in the various countries were the responsibility of the national program directors in each country. In a majority of the countries in Europe, these national program directors have been able to secure sufficient financial resources to cover the costs for the data collection in their country. The 2017 survey is again a very successful enterprise with about in between 40–45 countries being involved in the fifth wave of surveys. As such the European Values Study was, is

and hopefully will remain a unique project on investigating the values of the Europeans.

Also the new collected data will also be archived at GESIS in Cologne and will be made available free of charge to all who are interested in values and value change in Europe. The new data collection provides researchers with information about current values and enables to find out if and to what extent and in which direction values are changing in a rapidly changing European society.

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