WELFARE ATTITUDES AND FACTORS AFFECTING THEM IN EUROPE
Key Question

Which factors affect personal decision making about a proper way of social policy in Russia and other countries: interest-factors, ideas-factors, values?

WHY IS IT ACTUAL?

1. State social support deals not only with public provision of goods and services but also with attitudes of population to amount and way of redistribution and values guided social practices.

2. Russia as other European countries faced the problem of aging, family and gender roles changes. And necessity of reforms in social policy is obvious and declared by politicians as in all European countries.

3. We need to know public welfare priority in Russia, in
2. Specific Contribution

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT WORKS

“The three worlds of welfare capitalism” (G. Esping-Andersen, 1990)

“The personal and the political: how personal welfare state experiences affect political trust and ideology” (S. Kumlin, 2004)

“The institutional logic of welfare attitudes: how welfare regimes influence public support” (C.A. Larsen, 2006)

“Restructuring the Welfare State: Political Institutions and Policy Change” (B. Rothstein, S. Steinmo (Eds), 2002)

“Welfare Regimes and Welfare Opinions: a Comparison of Eight Western Countries” (St. Svallfors, 2003)

IFOCUS ON

1. Welfare attitudes peculiarities in Russia in comparison with other countries.
Theoretical Framework

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

Request for proper welfare state

Decision making

Interest-factors

Ideational-factors

Values

see: Kangas, 1997; Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003; Svallfors, 2004; van Oorschot, 2002
Core Variables

Request for proper welfare state

- 2 DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Government intervention index ("tax free" demand)
(Cronbach’s Alpha = 0.845)

- People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments’ responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments’ responsibility. Firstly to:
  - D15 ...ensure a job for everyone who wants one?
  - D16 ...ensure adequate health care for the sick?
  - D17 ...ensure a reasonable standard of living for the old?
  - And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to...
  - D18 ...ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed?
  - D19 ...ensure sufficient child care services for working parents?
  - D20 ...provide paid leave from work for people who temporarily have to care for sick family members?

“Tax loaded” demand

- D34 Many social benefits and services are paid for by taxes. If the government had to choose between increasing taxes and spending more on social benefits and services, OR decreasing taxes and spending less on social benefits and services, which should they do?
Core Variables

**INDEPENDENT VARIABLES**

- **Sex**
  - F2 code sex

- **Age**
  - F3 And in what year were you born? Recoded in 5 groups

- **Education**
  - F6 What is the highest level of education you have achieved? Recoded in 4 groups

- **Employment status**
  - F8a Using this card, which of these descriptions applies to what you have been doing for the last 7 days? Select all that apply. F8c And which of these descriptions best describes your situation (in the last seven days)?

- **Previously been unemployed**
  - F27 Have you ever been unemployed and seeking work for a period of more than three months?

- **Financial situation**
  - F33 Which of the descriptions on this card comes closest to how you feel about your household’s income nowadays?

- **Receiving benefits**
  - F31 Please consider the income of all household members and any income which may be received by the household as a whole. What is the main source of income in your household?
Core Variables

Ideational-factors (subjective variables)

Assessment of welfare policy
- Consequences of the welfare state (D21-D26)
- Attitude to claimants (D40, D42, D44)
- Evaluation of perspective of the welfare state (D45, D46)
- Wellbeing of beneficiaries (D11-D14)

Notions about social problems and personal risks
- Perceived welfare burden (D7-D10)
- Personal vulnerability (D47-D50)

Perceived state efficiency
- Satisfaction with the national economy (B25)
- Satisfaction with the government (B26)
- Satisfaction with the democracy, education and medical system (B27, B29, D30-D33)
- Political trust (B4, B7, B8)

Ideational-factors are considered as estimation of social environment
Values and attitudes (subjective variables)

4. Core Variables

Basic human values (Schwartz, GS1/GS2)
- Activist values (Openness to change)
- Passive values (Conservation)
- Egoistic values (Self-enhancement)
- Altruistic values (Self-transcendence)

Authoritarianism (ind)
- Schools must teach children to obey authority (D2)
- Harsher sentences for offenders (D5)

Principle of equality (ind)
- Large differences in people’s incomes are unacceptable (D1)
- Differences in people’s standard of living should be small (D4)

Religious values
- Religious denomination (C17, C18)

Values regarded as desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives (Davidov, Schmidt, Schwartz, 2008, p. 423)
4. Hypotheses

1. Government intervention index ("tax free" demand) significantly and positive correlate with "Tax loaded" demand.

2. All three groups of predictors have an influence on decision making about proper way of state welfare policy.

3. Ideational-factors and values have stronger influence than interest-factors.

4. Basic human values still have an influence on decision making when controlled main social-demographical and ideological variables.

5. Demands for the proper way of state welfare policy varies in different countries and depends on the type of
5. Analyses and modeling

Four regression models for Government Intervention Index and the same for Liberal-Social Scale:

1. Interest-factors as predictors
2. Interest-factors + Ideas-factors
3. Interest-factors + Ideas-factors + Values and attitudes
4. Interest-factors + Ideas-factors + Values and attitudes + Welfare regimes/Countries
6. Targeted Data Base

The fourth wave of the European Social Survey

Year – 2008

Countries – 29 (Belgium, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Germany, Denmark, Estonia, Spain, Finland, France, United Kingdom, Greece, Croatia, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Sweden, Slovenia, Slovakia, Turkey, Ukraine)

Sample – N=56752
Government Intervention Index (“tax free” demand for state social policy)

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<th>StDev</th>
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- No statistical difference with Russia (Tamhein)
“Tax loaded” demand for state social policy (TLD)

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Total: 56751

- No statistical difference with Russia (Tamhen criterion, p < 0.05)
Post socialist and Mediterranean countries demonstrate the biggest gap between “tax free” and “tax loaded” demands for state social policy.

- No statistical difference with Russia (Tamhen criterion, $p < 0.05$)
People in some countries seem to be more consistent in their statements decision making about social policy than in others (Rational?)

The difference in consistency reproduced in correlation coefficients between “tax free” and “tax loaded” demands for state social support.
Correlations of GII and TLD

The lowest correlations between GII and TLD are typical for post socialist and Mediterranean countries.
Impact of GDP on the welfare demands split

R² Линейная регрессия = 0,434
Impact of HDI on the welfare demands split

R² Линейная регрессия = 0.29
## Predictable power of six regression models

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<th>predictors</th>
<th>R-Square</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>TLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Interest-factors</td>
<td>0,052</td>
<td>0,01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Interest-factors + Ideas-factors</td>
<td>0,145</td>
<td>0,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Interest-factors + Ideas-factors + Values (without Basic Human Values)</td>
<td>0,193</td>
<td>0,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Interest-factors + Ideas-factors + Values</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>0,117</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Interest-factors + Ideas-factors + Values + Basic Human Values + Welfare regimes</td>
<td>0,226</td>
<td>0,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Interest-factors + Ideas-factors + Values + Basic Human Values + Country</td>
<td>0,26</td>
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### Impact of interest-factors (unstandardized coefficients)

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<th>Factor</th>
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<th>LSS</th>
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<tr>
<td>women - reference group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>-0.016</td>
<td>-0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 years and less - reference group</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>from 26 to 35 years</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>0.062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from 36 to 45</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from 46 to 55</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.132**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 +</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
<td>0.208**</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>incomplete secondary</td>
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<td>-0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general secondary, secondary special</td>
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<td>-0.07</td>
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<td>uncompleated</td>
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<td>-0.037</td>
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<tr>
<td>unemployed - reference group</td>
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<tr>
<td>working</td>
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<td>0.122**</td>
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<td>experience of unemployment - reference group</td>
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<tr>
<td>experience of unemployment</td>
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<td>0.066</td>
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<tr>
<td>very bad financial situation - reference group</td>
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<tr>
<td>bad financial situation</td>
<td>0.103**</td>
<td>0.031</td>
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<td>satisfactory financial position</td>
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<td>good financial position</td>
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<td>no benefits - reference group</td>
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<tr>
<td>receiving social benefits</td>
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**. significant at the 0.001 level
*. significant at 0.05 level
## Impact of ideas-factors

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<tr>
<td>welfare support has negative moral consequences</td>
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<td>-0.224**</td>
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<tr>
<td>optimistic estimation of welfare state in future</td>
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<td>0.084**</td>
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<td>progress of welfare policy</td>
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<td>negative to claimants</td>
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<td>perceived welfare burden</td>
<td>0.081**</td>
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<td>personal vulnerability</td>
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<td>personal wellbeing</td>
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**. significant at the 0.001
*. significant at 0.05 level
## Impact of values

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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>-0.197**</td>
<td>-0.271**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>right</td>
<td>-0.196**</td>
<td>-0.453**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no answerer</td>
<td>-0.079*</td>
<td>-0.242**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation</td>
<td>0.084*</td>
<td>0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness to change</td>
<td>-0.066</td>
<td>-0.072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-enhancement</td>
<td>-0.041</td>
<td>-0.059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-transcendence</td>
<td>0.151**</td>
<td>0.119*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. significant at the 0.001 level
*. significant at the 0.05 level
Request for state intervention

Russia = Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, Spain

Latvia 0,548**
Norway 0,453**
Greece 0,397**
Cyprus 0,279**
Israel 0,235*
Denmark 0,231**
Ukraine 0,145*
Sweden 0,132**

Bulgaria -0,282**
Poland -0,283**
Portugal -0,32**
Germany -0,386**
Czech Republic -0,446**
England -0,51**
Romania -0,513**
Turkey -0,567**
Ireland -0,653**
Belgium -0,71**
Netherlands -0,712**
Slovakia -0,779**
France -0,879**
Switzerland -1,119**

Controls for main interest-factors, ideas-factors and values

**. significant at the 0.001
*. significant at 0.05 level
### "Tax loaded" demand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>0.54**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>0.424**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>0.41**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>0.224*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>0.211*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>-0.193*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>-0.249*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>-0.281*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>-0.339**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>-0.345**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>-0.352**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>-0.353**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>-0.496**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>-0.541**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>-0.57**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>-0.624**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>-1.235**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>-1.355**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Netherlands, England, Norway, Turkey, Sweden, Spain, Czech Republic, Ireland, Slovakia, Greece (= Russia)

Controls for main interest-factors, ideas-factors and values

**. significant at the 0.001
*. significant at 0.05 level
# Next step

## COUNTRY-LEVEL FACTORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDICATORS</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welfare regime</td>
<td>ESS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita growth (annual %)</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GINI</td>
<td>Human Development Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population below income poverty line</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment (% of total labor force)</td>
<td>International Labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State revenue from taxes on income, profits, &amp; capital gains (% of GDP)</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social expenditure (% of GDP)</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Classification of welfare regimes

Welfare regime is a particular constellation of social, political and economic arrangements which tend to nurture a particular welfare system, which in turn supports a particular pattern of stratification, and thus feeds back into its own stability. (Esping-Andersen (The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. Cambridge: Polity Press. 1990. P. )

1. social-democratic: Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden
2. conservative: Belgium, Germany, France and Switzerland
3. liberal: United Kingdom
4. + familiaristic: Cyprus, Greece, Portugal and Spain (Oorschot)
Thank you for your attention!
## Correlations of values with the GII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Passiv</th>
<th>Activist</th>
<th>Egoistic</th>
<th>Altruistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive correlation</strong></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No correlation</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=29 countries  
* Sig. at level 0.05.
Correlations of values with GII within donors and beneficiaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Donors</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Beneficiaries</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passiv</td>
<td>Activis</td>
<td>Egoisti</td>
<td>Altruistic</td>
<td>Passiv</td>
<td>Activis</td>
<td>Egoisti</td>
<td>Altruistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+*</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=29 countries
* Sig. at level 0.05.

H2 - ?
4 regression models

CONTROLS FOR:

SOCDEM
sex
social status
education level
financial status
type of settlement

COUNTRY

Passive 16%
Activist 16%
Egoistic 16%
Altruistic 16%

GII
The unstandardized regression coefficients (Bs). Dependent variable is the index GII. Multiple linear regressions for the entire sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>R²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>0.159</td>
<td>0.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opersation</td>
<td>8.656**</td>
<td>8.593**</td>
<td>8.715**</td>
<td>8.637**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Enhancement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.213**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcendence</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.346**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Controls for main socio-demographic characteristics: gender, social status, education level, financial status, type of settlement and country of residence. Age was not included in the model because of correlation with social status.
CONCLUSIONS

1. Value categories significantly correlate with the index Notions about Welfare State Activity in most European countries including Russia. The passive and altruistic values have a positive direction of the interaction, and egoistic and activist values have a negative one.
CONCLUSIONS

2. Regression analysis confirmed the main conclusions made on the basis of correlation analysis: the more significant the passive and altruistic values, the more people desire for the state social guarantees; and the more explicit egoistic and activist values, the less people want to extend welfare state scope.
CONCLUSIONS

3. The level of demands for the state welfare guaranties varies in different countries. In most of the countries it is lower than in Russia.
A country of residence compared to the most of socio-demographic characteristics and values turned to be the factor having the most significant impact to the request for state social guaranties.
Conservation

• E It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.
• N It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.
• G He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.
• P It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.
• I It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.
• T Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.
Openness to change

• Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.

• K It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.

• F He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.

• O He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.

• J Having a good time is important to him. He likes to “spoil” himself.

• U He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is
Self-Enhancement

• D It's important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.
• M Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognize his achievements.
• B It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.
• Q It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.
Self-Transcendence

• L It's very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being.
• R It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.
• C He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.
• H It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them.
• S He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.