

# Civic Political Apathy, Subjective Well-being and Governance Quality (in Transition Post-Socialist Countries)

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# Contradictory Puzzle

Last decade: economic recession +  
previous human empowerment =  
boost of social movements  
(demonstrations, 'colour revolutions',  
Indignados...).



“Silent Revolution” (Inglehart, 1973).

Dissatisfaction with public policy =  
increase of protests

(Barnes & Kaase et al, 1979;  
Muller 1979; Muller & Jukam 1983).

# Post-socialist transition brought quite contradictory outcomes:

democratization process had not met the expectations;  
institutions perform quite poor: anomia, distrust, doubled  
institutionalization, negative tendencies of macro-social changes  
(temporary de-industrialization),  
rise of inequality, oligarch economy;  
in politics: 'new feudalism' (nepotism, specific elites' recruitment  
process), 'democratic deficit' (non-transparent political process,  
endangered national interests and human rights)

Society strives for well-functioning democratic institutions? Political  
awareness - a "must have": it pushes the ruled & the rulers watch  
on one another.

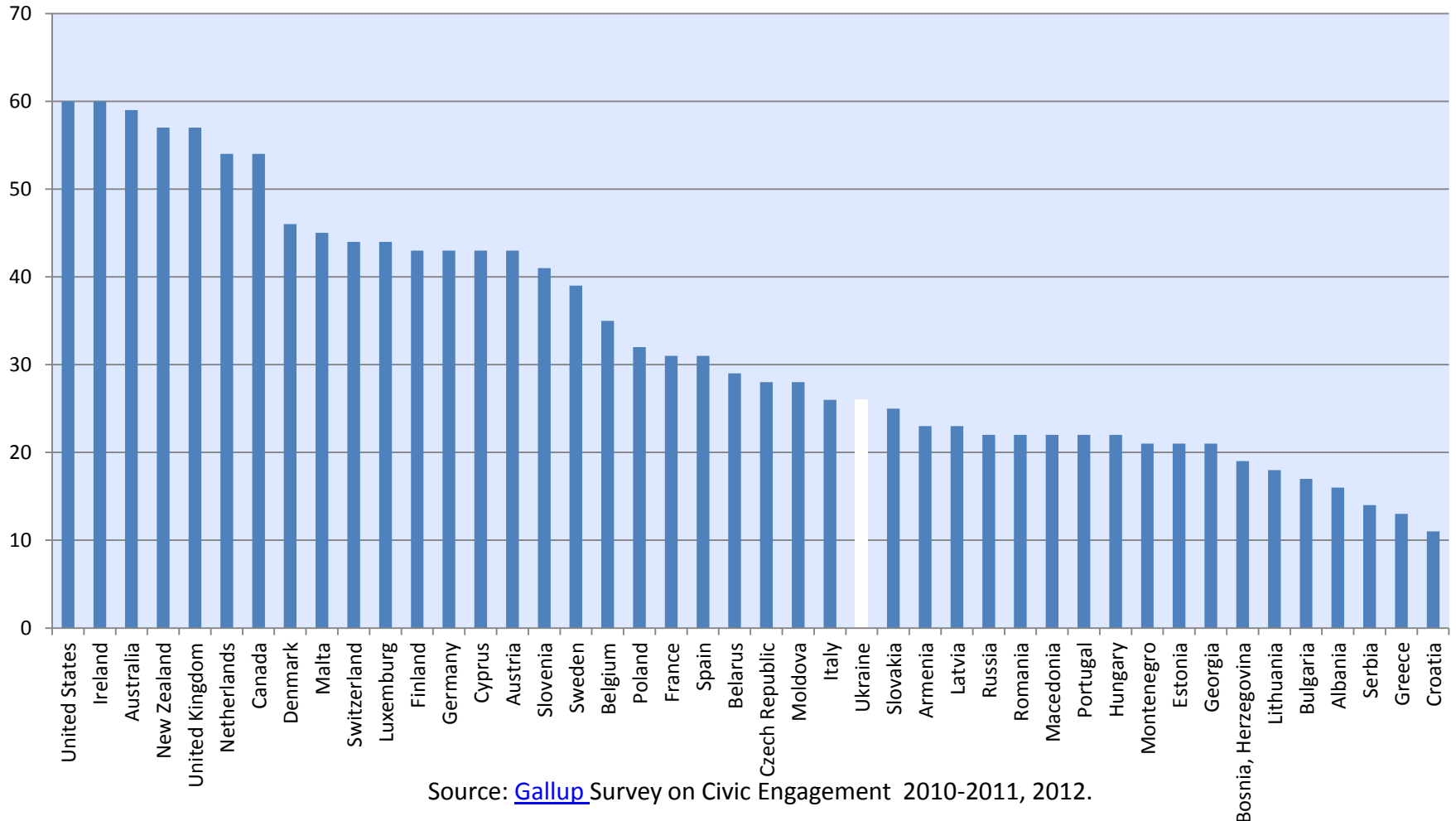
Socialist democratic experience [USSR Constitution was democratic] =  
overwhelming level of all-age associational membership before  
1989-1992, shouldn't that support civic political involvement?

BUT. Mean level of protest activity is much lower among transition countries (ESS). Civic engagement & protests are remarkably higher in post-industrial 'old democracies' (Norris 2002; Teorell, Torcal & Montero 2007; Gallup 2011). And scan through world map of protests – Africa/Asia are poor but not passive.

Why post-socialist democratization + liberal capitalism do not lead to higher human emancipation, 'national well-being accounts' and mass political participation?

# Mean level of protest activity and civic engagement is low in transition countries vs. post-industrial 'old democracies' and some non-industrialized Africa/Asia countries

## Civic Engagement Index score, Gallup, 2011

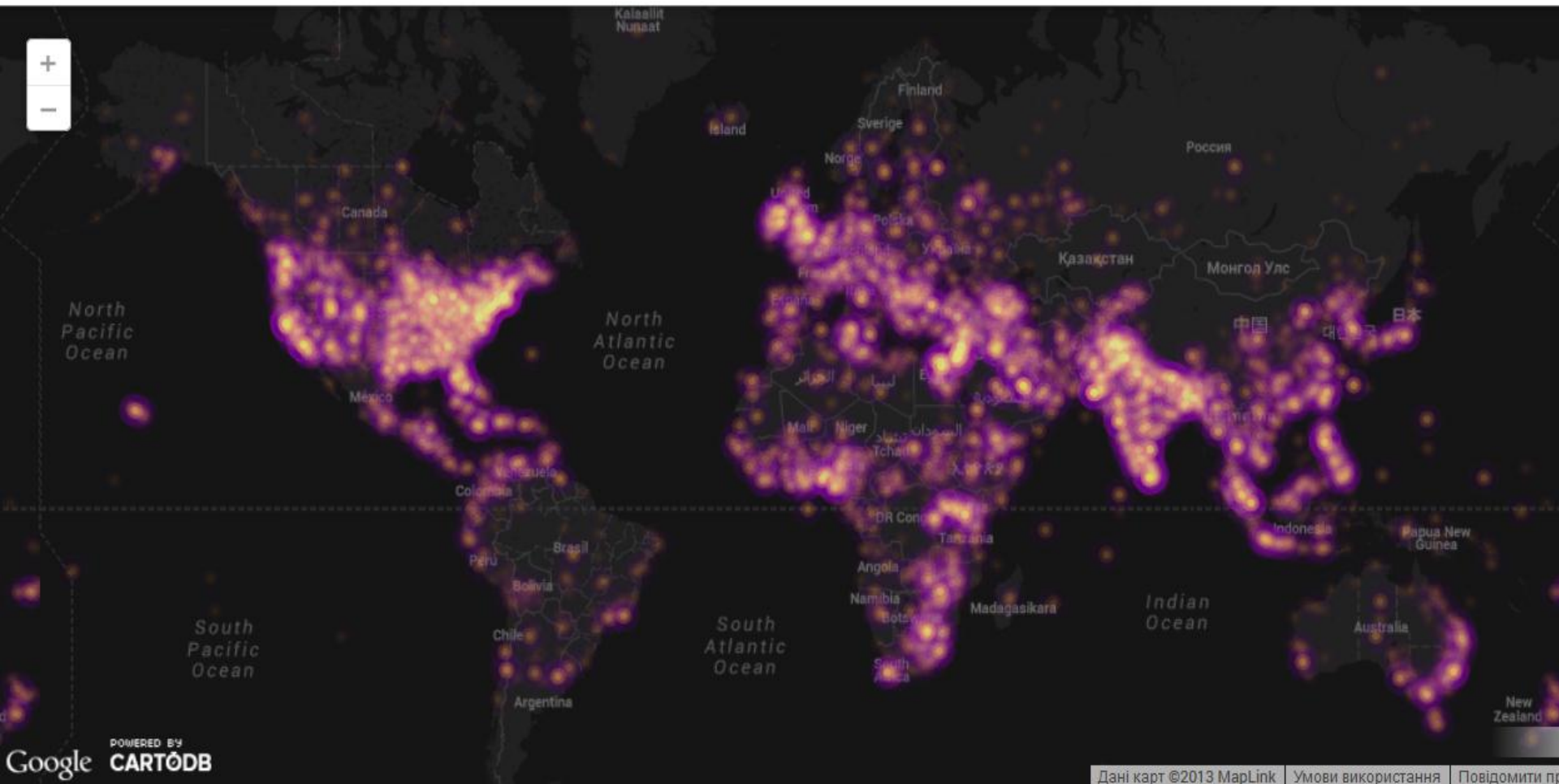


Source: [Gallup](#) Survey on Civic Engagement 2010-2011, 2012.

# World Map of Protest Activity, 2013

(GDELT protest data)

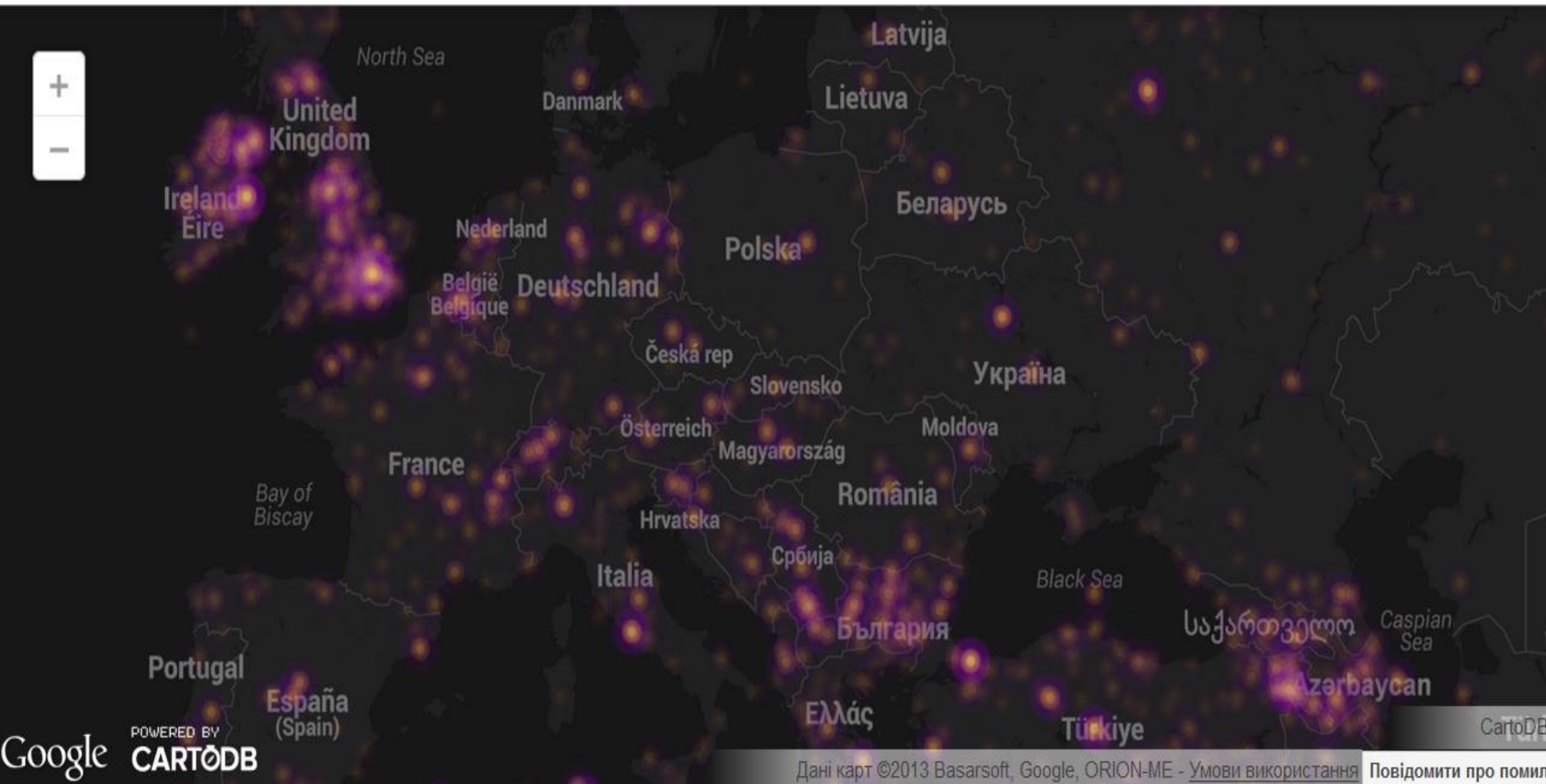
All GDELT protest data for 2013



Source: [The GDELT protest data map, 2013](#)

Inequality, deprivation, and dissatisfaction with public policy contribute to the increase of political awareness and protests. In Ukraine comparative level of protest activity is low, but increasing (doubled in 2012-2013 vs. 2010-2011)

All GDELT protest data for 2013



World Map of Protest Activity: Europe, 2013 (GDELT protest data)

# Ukraine: 2013

- The highest number of people who declared their readiness to participate in rallies and protests – among the “Svoboda” voters: 52%.
- High enough is declared protest readiness of the “Bat’kivshchyna” (41%) and “Udar” (35%) political parties.
- Significantly less protest readiness is declared by the “Communist Party” electorate (33 %) and the “Party of Regions” voters (11%).



# Research questions

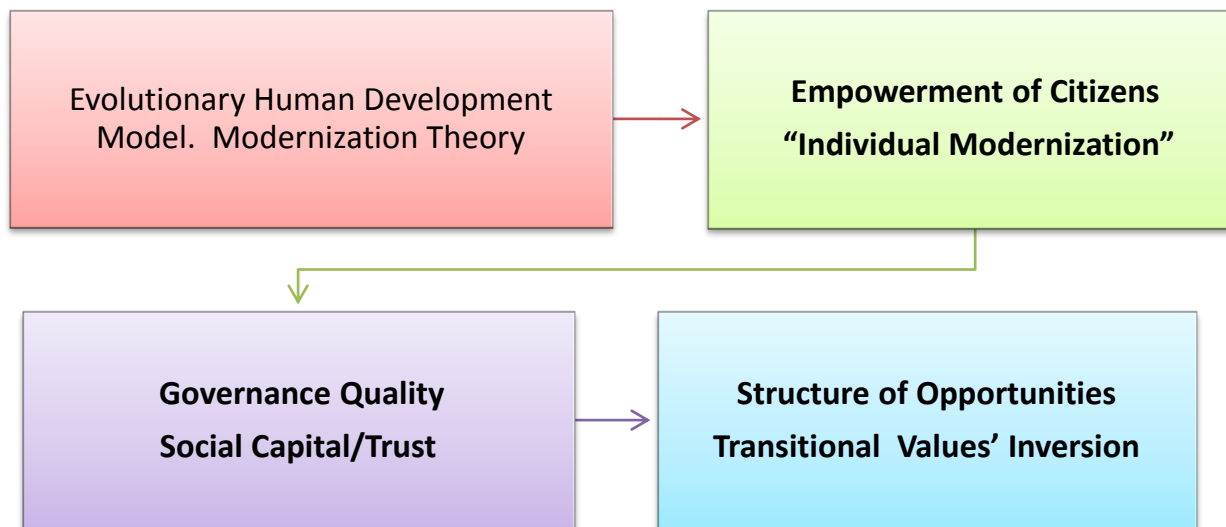
- What contribute into the protest readiness in post-socialist countries?
- How quality of life and government effectiveness along with traditional – emansipative values and nationalism contribute into the protest readiness in post-socialist countries?

# THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK and HYPOTHESES

Modernization = changes in the labor force structure and personal values: professional (middle) class increases; intergenerational shift from survival to self-expression and from traditional to secular values.

New model of claims that did not correspond to what is provided by existing state order and authorities. Post-materialists will try to effectuate their political demands by way of new political parties and in particular by organizing themselves in one issue movements, such as new social movements and political action groups (Inglehart, 1977; Thomassen & van der Kolk.2000).

Delegitimization and revolution prerequisites (by David Lane, 2006) + 'Silent Revolution' (by Ron Inglehart, 1977)



# Civic Political Involvement/Apathy

=

Political Support +

Interest in Politics/Efficacy +

Civic Participation Activity

- Political Support, Interest in Politics/Efficacy & Civic Participation Activity are conceptualized within theoretical framework offered by Norris 2002, Norris 1999; Thomassen et al.; Easton 1975, Dalton 1999, Klingemann 1999.

# Empowerment of Citizens

Evolutionary Human Development Model ('Evolutionary Model of Sequential Adaptive Mechanisms'; EHDM/EMSAM)+ Modernization theory (Inglehart,1977; Welzel, Inglehart 2010, Welzel et al. 2003, Inglehart et al. 2008), Human development perspective of sustainable well-being (Sen 1998; Pritchett, Viarengo 2010; Seaford et al. 2011):

freedom and autonomy are important for SWB; economic development, democratic institutions, human capital, action resources and emancipative self-expression values are important for human empowerment: human rights satisfaction, non-elite decisive voice in politics + quality of life, which in turn influence political and economic institutions .

H1: Higher level of civic political involvement is determined by higher level of self-expression values, SWB, conditions of sustainable well-being

# “Individual Modernization”

HDM/EMSAM (Welzel) + Self-Determination Theory (SDT):


empowerment and modernization leads to an “individual modernization” - a change in values, an increase of the human capital, cognitive mobilization. Personal values (self-expression, post-materialist) are highly related with institutional indicators (level of corruption, governing efficiency, GDP, gender equality, level of democracy) (Inglehart, Welzel 2010). But! transition and historical context differentiate countries as developed and underdeveloped.

CPI is connected to shifts in values: post-materialists will try to effectuate their political demands by way of new political parties and in particular by organizing themselves in one issue movements, such as new social movements and political action groups (Inglehart, 1977; Thomassen & van der Kolk.2000)

Gender differences in associational\organizational life (Almond, Verba, 1975; Norris, Inglehart (2002, 2011\12): Norris, Inglehart, 2002; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, Moore)


H2: CPI in transition countries is mediated by gender and is better explained by economic, structural and political differences, while in developed countries it is more a question of self-expression and post-materialist values. On cultural map post-socialist countries are placed as more rational-secular than traditional, therefore nationalism along with traditional values (especially patriotism) is less notable predictor of CPI.

# Structure of opportunities and transitional values' inversion



Socioeconomic and political development influence associational membership via increasing the number of organizations in civic society through the expansion of the professional middle classes and through expanding legal freedoms and civil liberties for associations (Inglehart, Norris 2010; Welzel and Inglehart 2008; Welzel, Inglehart & Klingemann 2003)

Transition: unstable institutions + controversial cultural context (socialist post-materialist ideology inflated after liberal economy introduction) do not support collective actions for public good vs. materialistic individualism (consumerism). Reasons of all last decade protests are mainly economic, later converted in human rights defence.



H3: Transition experience decreases correlation of civic political involvement and post-materialist values, even though the experience of high associational membership.

# Governance quality & institutional trust



Functional / dysfunctional government (Gov.) institutions contribute enormously to world's most pressing economic and social problems/achievements (Teorell, 2009; Kaufman, 2010; Kaufman, Kraay and Mastruzzi, 2011; Bauhr and Grimes, 2012). The Gov. effectiveness (via regulations, policies, law) conditions life quality.

Modernization theory (Inglehart 2009; Inglehart & Welzel 2005; Welzel 2006): societal economic and political development have an influence on the attitudes (trust) toward institutions and authorities.

Gov. quality has an effect on well-being and trust (Knack 2000): the attitude to that functioning is reflected by satisfaction and confidence in authority institutions. Functioning of governments and public institutions might be transformed via political and civic activities of citizens (Kahenemann et al 2003, Kahenemann, 2010).

# Social capital/trust theory + Individual rationality

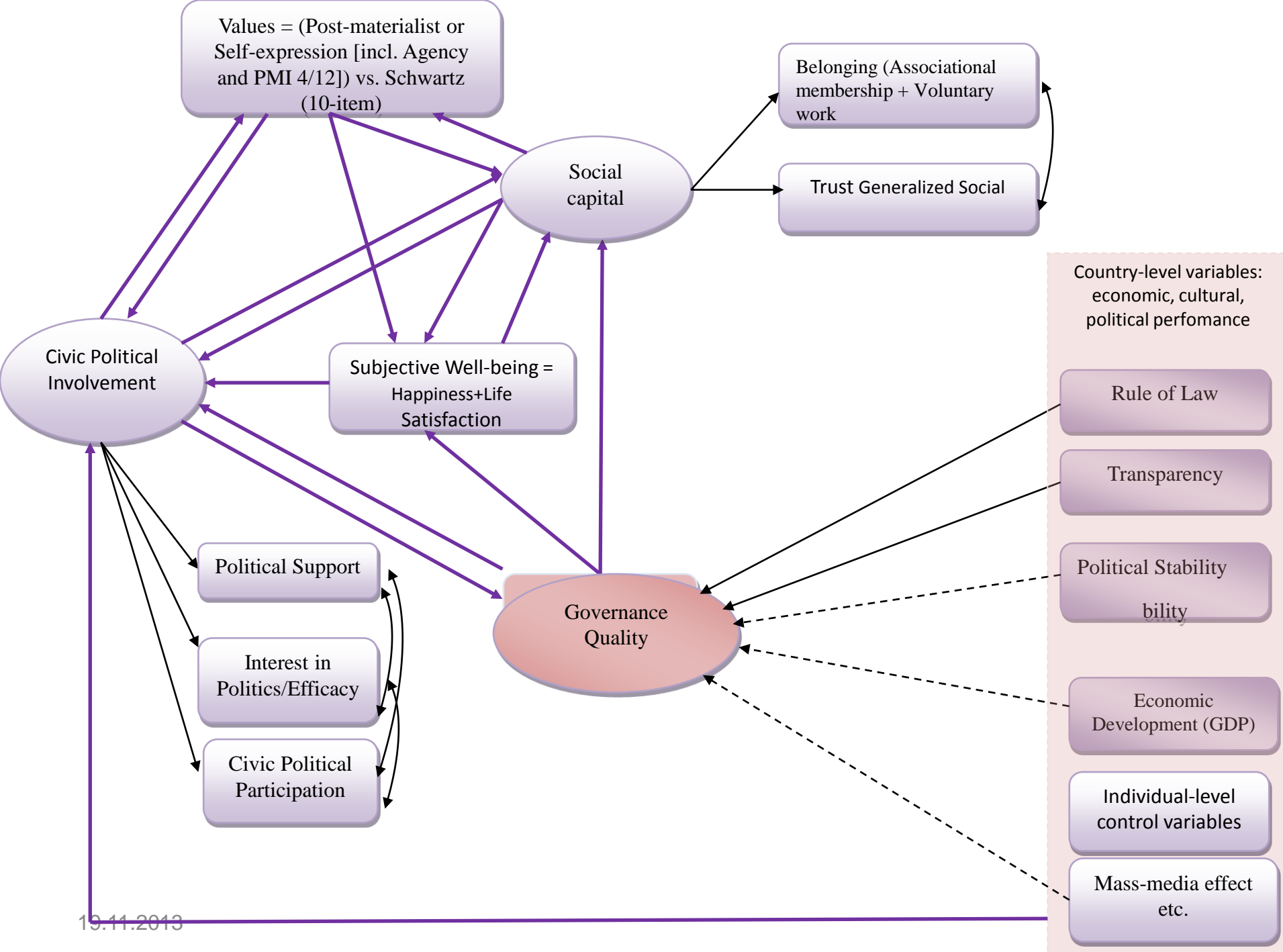
Social capital = trust + social networks (Putnam 2000). Although it is unclear whether trust is a preamble to social networks and social participation or vice versa, protest activity is higher in societies with high social capital resources (Benson & Rochon 2004).

Individual value orientations correlate with transparency of political institutions functioning (Dahl 1999; Schwartz 2004). Higher trust = greater SWB in communities, workplaces, nations; higher openness of Gov. majorities & opposition to constructive debate and agreement on ground rules (Putnam, 2000).

INDIVIDUAL RATIONALITY: costs and benefits approach

H4: Governance quality (GQ) negative effect on civic political involvement (CPI) is mediated by SWB and trust: the better governing is and more people satisfied and trust to the one – the less CPI as feedback is needed. Reciprocal negative effect of CPI on GQ is direct & indirect (via institutional trust).





# Data and Methods

Main sample: 3d and 5th waves of World Values Survey, 47 countries (list A), around 67 000 respondents.

(WORLD VALUES SURVEY 2005 OFFICIAL DATA FILE v.20090901, 2009. )

Set of post-socialist transition countries (same questionnaire on the protest activity in the same period) [WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2008 OFFICIAL AGGREGATE v.20090901, 2009]: Ukraine, Slovenia, Russia, Moldova, Poland, Georgia, Bulgaria.

Additional data sources: European Values Survey, European Social Survey, UNDP statistics, World Bank Reports, other relevant databases of country-level indices.

Methods of analyses:

EFA, CFA,

Regression analysis (OLS –GLM, with dummy),

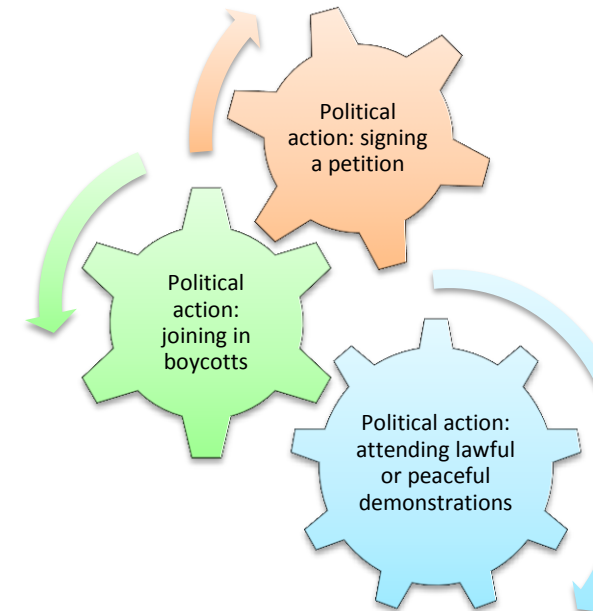
Multi-level Models

# Concepts and Measurements

Declared Civic Protest Activism Indicators (**dependent variable**) = 3 five-point scale indicators based on the following items: “Whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it, or would never, under any circumstances, do it: Signing a Petition; Joining in Boycotts; Attending lawful demonstrations?”. \*\*Configural + metric invariance of index distribution among countries = measurement instrument works well [Davidov et al. 2012].

**Table: Index of the Protest Activism:  
Factor Loadings, single factor, unrotated solution.**

	3 <sup>rd</sup> wave				5 <sup>th</sup> wave			
	Political action: signing a petition	Political action: joining in boycotts	Political action: attending lawful or peaceful demonstrations	% of variance explained	Political action: signing a petition	Political action: joining in boycotts	Political action: attending lawful or peaceful demonstrations	% of variance explained
Ukraine	,841	,785	,782	<b>64,5</b>	,822	,844	,813	<b>68,3</b>
Slovenia	,803	,858	,843	<b>70</b>	,807	,852	,845	<b>70</b>
Russia	,830	,763	,736	<b>60,4</b>	,820	,810	,777	<b>64,4</b>
Poland	,767	,841	,849	<b>67,2</b>	,825	,809	,837	<b>68</b>
Moldova	,802	,707	,737	<b>56,2</b>	,829	,795	,764	<b>63,4</b>
Georgia	,837	,812	,781	<b>66</b>	,873	,861	,776	<b>70,2</b>
Bulgaria	,869	,855	,863	<b>74,4</b>	,867	,833	,838	<b>72</b>



# Determinants (independent variables)

## Individual Level:

- Type of Nationalism: primordial (origin, 'right of the blood', cultural, civic )
- Subjective Well-being: Life Satisfaction and Subjective health (factor index)
- Patriotism: Willingness to fight for home country. Feeling of the local community belonging. Feeling of the nation/country belonging.
- Values (Inglehart, Welzel): Traditional vs. Secular-rational, Survival vs. Self-expression/ Libertarian (& postmaterialist) Values. Gender Equality.
- Political Awareness: Interest to Politics, Ideological views (self-positioning on the left-right scale).
- Socio-structural control variables: employment; (dummy: full-time, part-time, or self-employed - 1, other - 0); education "What is the highest educational level that you have ever attained?" - coded on a nine-point scale from no formal education (1) to university level with degree (9); income; age - coded by date of birth in continuous years; gender (dummy: 1=male), quantity of children (dummy: 0=no, 1=at least one), Subjective Social Class (ordinal, 5/6 categories, from low to high), Satisfaction with Financial Situation of Household (10 points, from 0 to 10), Religiosity (1=not religious person) (V187). Urbanness (1=urban)
- **Mass-media effect** = Confidence in TV (V140) + Information source: daily newspaper, news broadcasts on radio/TV, printed magazines, in depth reports on radio or TV, books, internet/e-mail, talk with friends or colleagues].

## Country level:

- Governance quality indicators (World Bank Group, Kaufmann 2012) – GDP, Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism, Government Effectiveness , Rule of Law , Control of Corruption .

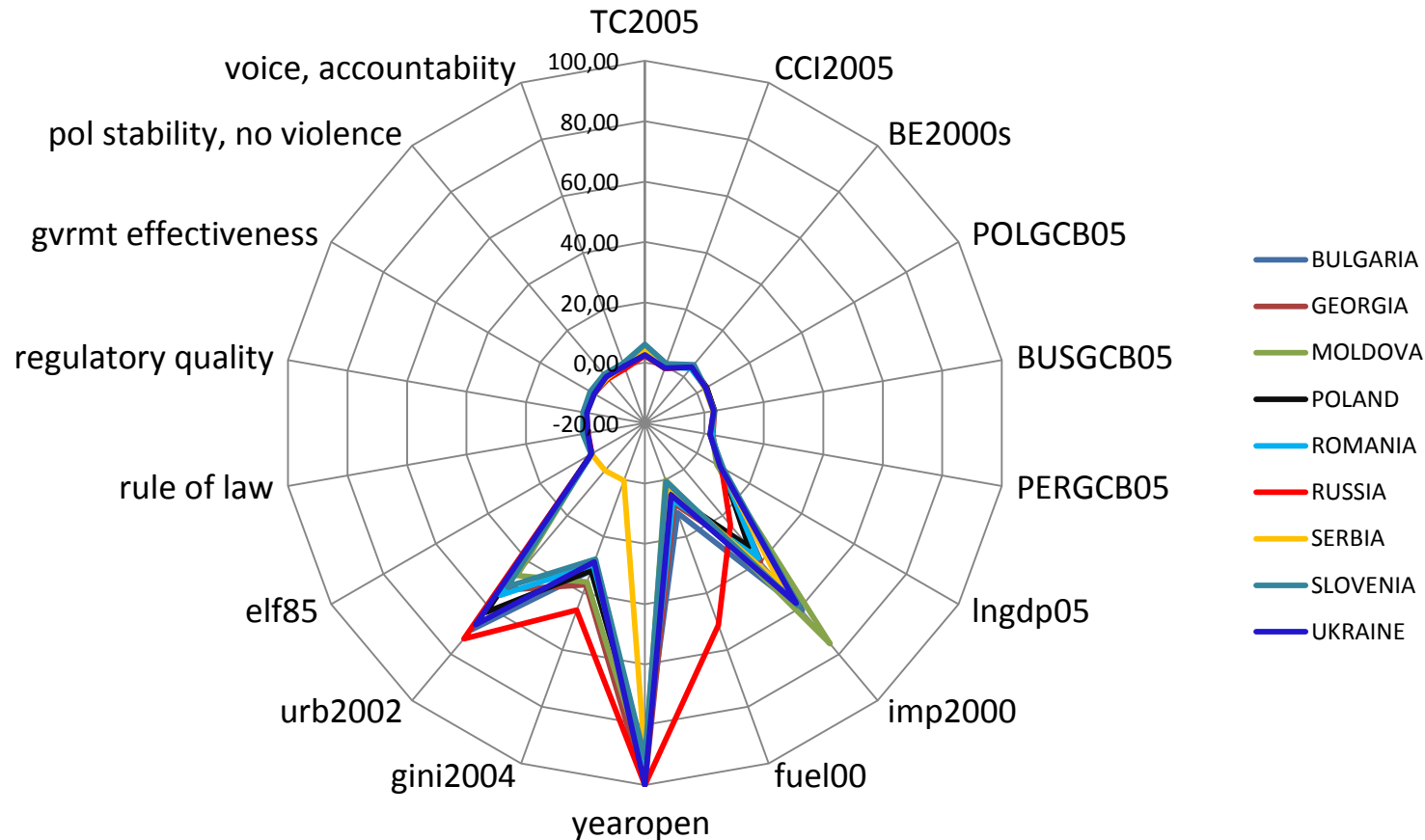
# Civic Protest Activity Readiness: Multi-level model (random intercepts, fixed slopes), WVS 5<sup>th</sup> wave, 47 countries

	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2
<b>Individual level</b>			
Subjective Well-being (=Life Satisfaction*Subj. Health)	-.026***	-.022***	-.019***
Traditional/Secular rational Values	.451***	.328***	.327***
Survival/self-expression values	-.022***	-.027***	-.029***
Nationalism_a: citizenship = ancestors from country	-.043***	.08***	.078***
Nationalism_b: citizenship = born on country's soil	-.032***	-.001	.001
Nationalism_c: citizenship = adopting country's customs	-.027***	.01	.005
Nationalism_d: citizenship = abiding by country's laws	.066***	.09***	.076***
Traditional* Secular Values		.159***	.16***
Nationalism_a * Nationalism_b		-.005	-.006
Nationalism_a * Nationalism_c		-.012***	-.011*
Nationalism_a * Nationalism_d		-.009	-.009
<b>Contextual country-level</b>			
GDP		.24*	.136***
Voice and Accountability			.07***
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism			-.098***
Government Effectiveness			-.436***
Rule of Law			.327***
Control of Corruption			-.029***
VA*GDP*GEf			.001
RL*CC*GEf			-.123
Intercept	1.97***	1.51***	1.479***

\*p<0.1, \*\*p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

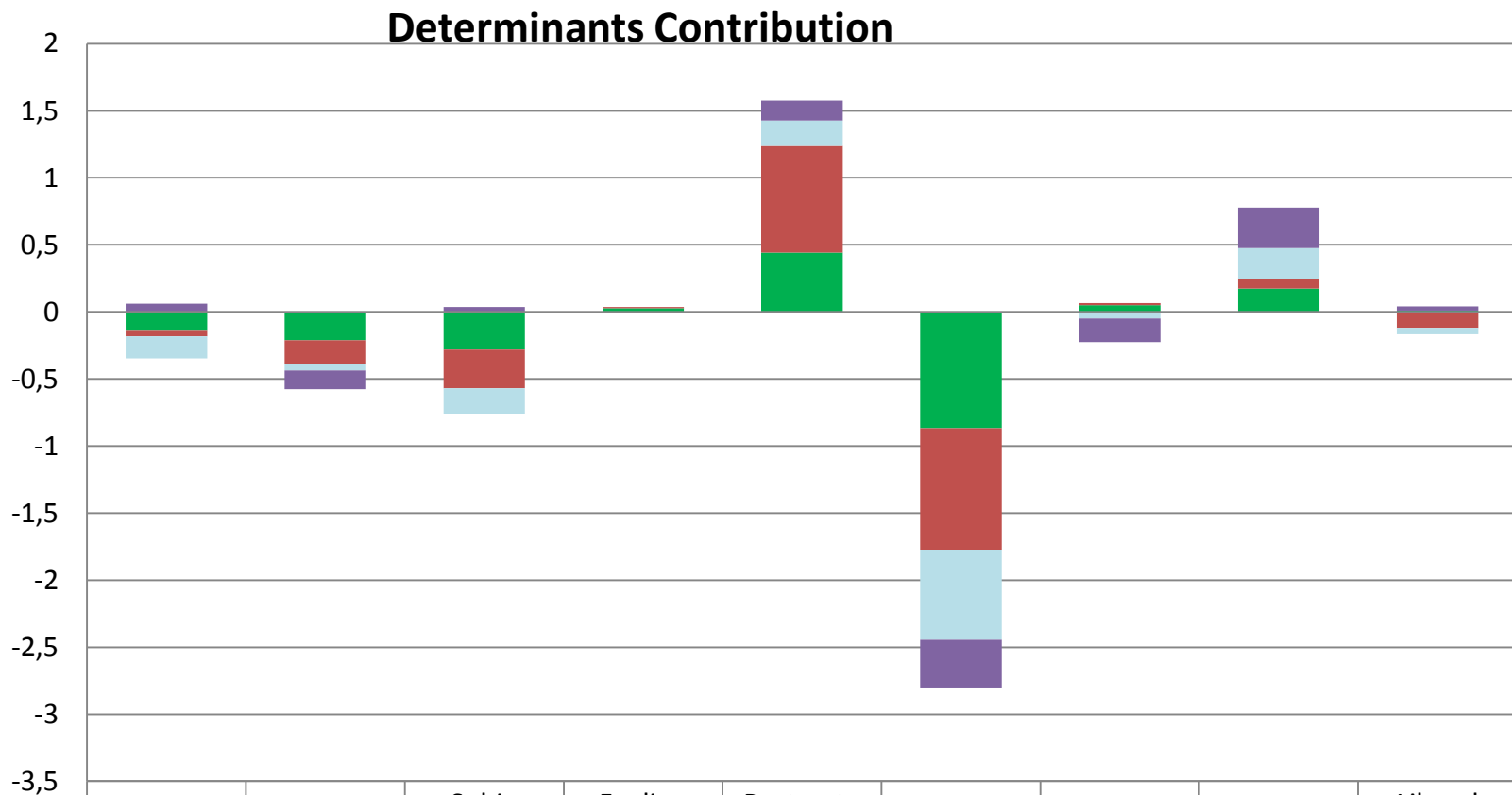
# DECLARED CIVIC PROTEST ACTIVITY READINESS – Post-Socialist Transition Countries: individual level OLS (GLM)

Set of countries choice: same questionnaire on the protest activity in the same period, close macro-social life conditions): Ukraine, Slovenia, Russia, Moldova, Poland, Georgia, Bulgaria.



**POLGCB 05** - Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer 2005: “In your view does corruption affect POLITICAL LIFE”, **BUSGCB05** - “ In your view does corruption affect: BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT”, **PERGCB05** – “In your view does corruption affect PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE”  
**imp2000** - Imports of goods and services as % GDP, 2000, from World Bank, World Development Indicators  
**TC2005** - Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index 2005. **CCI2005** - World Bank control of corruption index 2005. **BE2000s** - World Business Environment Survey 2000. **fuel00** - % of mineral fuels in manufacturing exports, 2000, World Bank, World Development Indicators . **yearopen** - year country opened to trade, according to Sachs and Warner . **urb2002** - Urban population (% of total) 2002 (UNDP, Human Development Report, 2004), downloaded from STM103 Global Indicators Shared Dataset, Updated Fall 2005)

# Declare Protest Activity in Post-socialist countries, World Values Survey, Wave 3,5: 1994-1999, 2002-2008



Ukraine, 2002-2008	0,061	-0,141	0,036	-0,002	0,149	-0,363	-0,175	0,303	0,033
All countries, 2002-2008	-0,163	-0,048	-0,195	-0,006	0,189	-0,672	-0,049	0,227	-0,047
Ukraine, 1994-1999	-0,042	-0,177	-0,288	0,01	0,795	-0,907	0,015	0,074	-0,119
All countries, 1994-1999	-0,141	-0,211	-0,281	0,027	0,442	-0,866	0,05	0,175	0,009

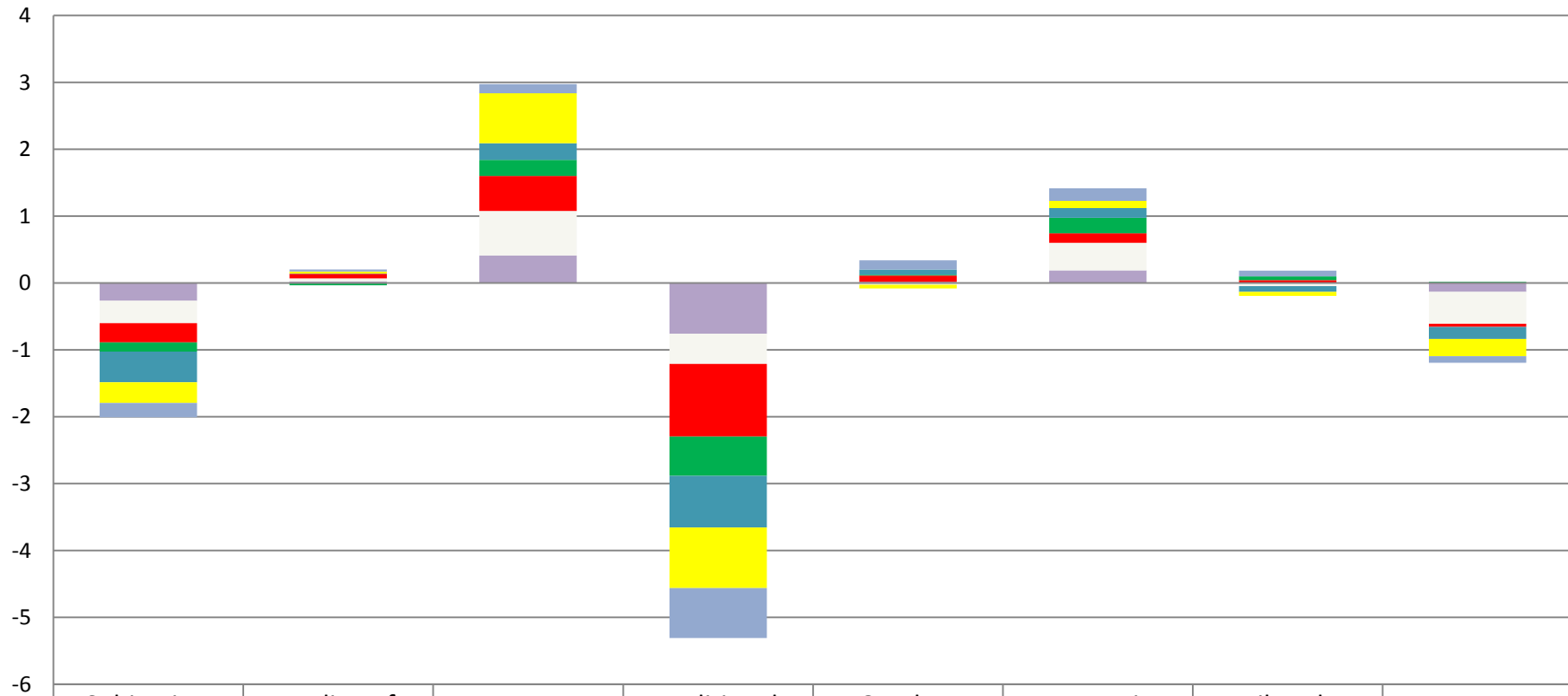
# Declared Protest Activity in Post-socialist countries, World Values Survey, Wave 3,5: 1994-1999, 2002-2008

Non-standardized regression coefficients (B), controlled by age, education, employment, income, social class (subj.)

Parameter	All countries 1994-1999	All countries 2002-2008
Intercept	-.700***	-.325*
Willingness to fight for the country	-.141**	-.163***
National Pride	-.211***	-.048
Subjective Well-being	-.281***	-.195***
Feeling of Agency	.027***	-.006
Post-Materialist Values	.442***	.189***
Traditional Values (w/o Pride)	-.866***	-.672***
Gender Equality	.050*	-.049(/*)
Interest in Politics	.175***	.227***
Liberal Orientation	.009	-.047(/*)
Gender (dummy: 1=male)	-.090*	-.175***
<i>R Sqr. (Adj. R Sqr.)</i>	.30(.27)	.26(.25)



# Civic Protest Activity in Post-socialist countries, 1994-1999: Main Determinants Contribution

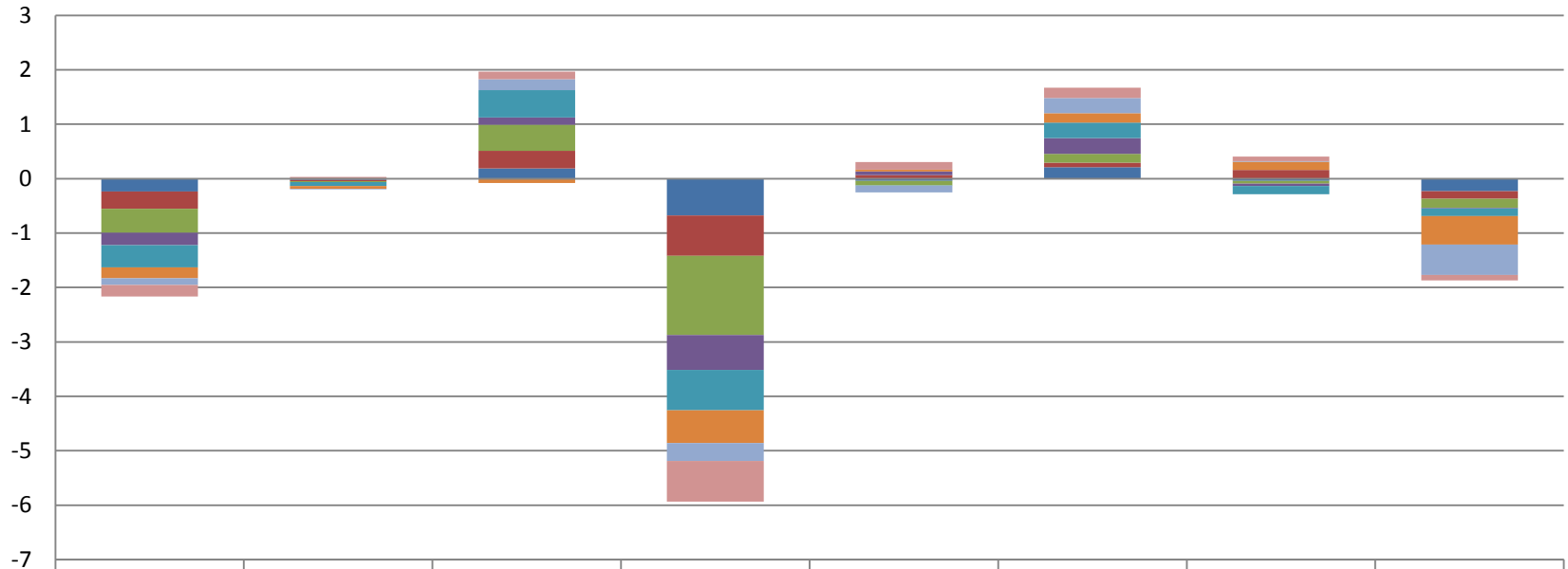


	Subjective Well-being	Feeling of Freedom	Postmat. Values	Traditional Values	Gender Equality	Interest in Politics	Liberal Orientation	Gender
■ Russia	-0,212	0,028	0,138	-0,746	0,139	0,191	0,083	-0,101
■ Ukraine	-0,31	0,03	0,749	-0,908	-0,055	0,108	-0,059	-0,258
■ Slovenia	-0,459	0,006	0,247	-0,769	0,079	0,146	-0,086	-0,178
■ Moldova	-0,138	-0,036	0,24	-0,588	0,013	0,232	0,055	0,015
■ Georgia	-0,287	0,066	0,524	-1,09	0,091	0,141	0,041	-0,05
■ Bulgaria	-0,336	0,045	0,667	-0,447	-0,027	0,411	-0,049	-0,477
■ All	-0,266	0,025	0,411	-0,762	0,018	0,188	0,003	-0,132

# Protest Activity in Post-socialist countries, WVS, w 3: 1994-1999

Source	All	Bulgaria	Georgia	Moldova	Slovenia	Ukraine	Russia
Intercept	-1.15***	-.428***	-1.455**	.108	-.429	-2.172	-1.097**
Subjective Well-being	-.266**	-.336***	-.287***	-.138(/*)	-.459***	-.310***	-.212***
Feeling of Agency	.025*	.045	.066***	-.036	.006	.030	.028
Gender Equality	.018	-.027	.091*	.013	.079	-.055	.139**
Postmaterialism Index	.411***	.667***	.524***	.240***	.247*	.749***	.138
Trad./Sec-Rat. Values	-.762***	-.447***	-1.09***	-.588***	-.769***	-.908***	-.746***
Interest in Politics	.188**	.411***	.141***	.232***	.146*	.108*	.191***
Liberal Orientation	.003	-.049	.041	.055	-.086	-.059	.083
Gender (1=female)	-.132***	-.477***	-.050	.015	-.178*	-.258***	-.101
Age	-.003	-.004	.005	-.01	.003	.004	.006
Education	-.002	-.042	-.024	-.001	-.077(/*)	.047(/*)	-.033
Employment	.025*	-.022	-.026	.028	-.007	-.004	.10***
Income	.009	-.066*	.018	-.031	.022	.032	.024
Social Class (subj.)	-.017	-.006	-.026	-.083*	-.106*	-.032	-.022
<i>R Sqr. (Adj. R Sqr.)</i>	<b>.24(.22)</b>	<b>.61(.53)</b>	<b>.25(.23)</b>	<b>.23(.20)</b>	<b>.44(.39)</b>	<b>.31(.27)</b>	<b>.29(.24)</b>
*** p< 0.001; ** p<0.01; *p<0.05; (*) p<0.1; (/*) 0.1<p<0.2							

# Civic Protest Activity in Post-socialist countries, 2002-2008: Main Determinants Contribution



	Subj. Well-being	Feeling of Freedom	Postmaterial Values	Traditional Values	Gender Equality	Interest in Politics	Liberal Orientation	Gender (dummy: 1=male)
Russia	-0,212	0,028	0,138	-0,746	0,139	0,191	0,083	-0,101
Ukraine	-0,12	-0,01	0,198	-0,329	-0,118	0,279	0,012	-0,557
Slovenia	-0,201	-0,054	-0,082	-0,604	0,034	0,173	0,15	-0,521
Poland	-0,411	-0,072	0,506	-0,743	-0,009	0,284	-0,153	-0,144
Moldova	-0,227	0,003	0,131	-0,64	0,068	0,287	-0,045	-0,008
Georgia	-0,439	-0,015	0,481	-1,458	-0,085	0,161	-0,048	-0,166
Bulgaria	-0,322	-0,026	0,32	-0,74	0,066	0,086	0,161	-0,142
All	-0,233	-0,021	0,191	-0,676	-0,038	0,211	-0,04	-0,23

# Civic Protest Activity in Post-socialist countries, WVSurvey, w 5: 2002-2008 (Non-standard. regression coefficients, B)

Source	All	Bulgaria	Georgia	Moldova	Poland	Slovenia	Ukraine	Russia
Intercept	-.460*	-.661	-1.481**	-.436	-1.054**	-.309	-.927	-1.097**
Subj. Well-being	-.233***	-.322***	-.439**	-.227***	-.411***	-.201(/*)	-.12*	-.212***
Feeling of Agency	-.021	-.026	-.015	.003	-.072**	-.054	-.010	.028
Postmaterialism Index	.191***	.320**	.481***	.131	.506***	-.082	.198*	.138
Trad./Sec-Rat. Values	-.676***	-.740***	-1.46***	-.640***	-.743***	-.604***	-.329**	-.746***
Gender Equality	-.038	.066	-.085	.068	-.009	.034	-.118(/*)	.139**
Interest in Politics	.211***	.086	.161***	.287***	.284***	.173 (/*)	.279***	.191***
Liberal Orientation	-.040	.161*	-.048	-.045	-.153**	.150 (/*)	.012	.083
Gender (1=female)	-.230***	-.142*	-.166*	-.008	-.144*	-.521***	-.557***	-.101*
Age	.001	.001	.004	.000	.002	.005	-.002	.01
Education	-.038**	-.066	-.052	-.077	-.012	-.038	-.049	-.033
Employment	.034**	.048	.020	.039	.10**	.020	.055 (/*)	.07(/*)
Income	-.025	-.054	.042	-.022	-.057	-.014	.057	.024
Social Class (subj.)	.045	.219 (*)	.017	.030	.000	.172(*)	.197(*)	-.022
<i>R Sqr. (Adj. R Sqr.)</i>	.28 (.26)	.41(.31)	.38(.35)	.25(.20)	.40(.36)	.52(.41)	.23 (.16)	.28 (.24)

\*\*\* p< 0.001; \*\* p<0.01; \*p<0.05; (\*) p<0.1; (/\*) 0.1<p<0.2

# Conclusions

- In general - even along with higher GDP and rule of law - low governance quality (GQ) has positive effect on civic political involvement (CPI) - political instability, ineffective governance, poor corruption control (oksumoron for transition countries:))) – promote the higher declared readiness to mass rallies and non-violent protests.
- CPI in transition countries is mediated by gender (but not perception of gender equality) and is better explained not by economic, structural and political differences, - it is more a question of self-expression and post-materialist values. Nevertheless, even though on cultural map post-socialist countries are placed as more rational-secular than traditional, nevertheless some type of nationalism - civic nationalism - positively contribute to CPI prediction.
- Higher level of civic political involvement in post-socialist countries is not highly determined by higher level of self-expression values, but rather by SWB and non-traditionality (secular rational values) .

# Post-Soviet “CHEcklist”



Long-run economic decline. Incongruence of the government promises and people expectations. Life satisfaction decline.



Internal problems = change in foreign policy. Foreign Policy: integration prerequisites - political rhetoric and economic policies.



Problems with loyalty, solidarity, commitment



The crisis of legitimacy. Dissatisfaction and distrust with regard to politics and the economy



Modernizational changes in the labor force structure



Technical infrastructure for communication



Shift in personal values. Individual rationality: real protests occur when the potential payoff dominates the potential loss. Potential losses: property, jobs, access to resources (= children’s future, family importance).



Changes in the structure of the elite: counter-elite = new “political force” with integrative alternatives, history of “otherness in action” vs. ideological vacuum at the ‘political market “

Thank  
you  
for your  
attention!



**KEEP  
CALM  
AND  
START  
A REVOLUTION**

- Attachment



# Traditional versus secular-rational values

- The traditional values scale is measured by support for the following items:
- God is very important in respondent's life;
- it is more important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith than independence and determination;
- autonomy index; abortion is never justifiable;
- ~~• respondent has strong sense of national pride;~~
- respondent favors respect for authority.

Support for secular-rational values is measured by the opposite position on all of the above.

# Survival versus self-expression values

- Self-expression values consist of the orientations that focus on freedom of expression and equality of opportunities. In different research we can come across several versions of these values (as well named “libertarian values” or “autonomy values) [Inglehart and Welzel 2005, Flanagan and Lee 2003, Welzel 2007]. Classic version includes [Inglehart and Welzel 2005] indicators of social capital (as it is formulated by Putnam [2002]) – generalized trust in people and collective action in the value measure.
- The survival values scale is measured by support for the following items:
- respondent gives priority to economic and physical security over self-expression and quality of life (it is Materialist/Postmaterialist Values Index: post-materialist values are measured as an index of respondents' patterns of responses to a series of questions which measure individual political priorities, so-called “Inglehart-index” – “If you had to choose among the following things, which are the *two* that seem the most desirable to you? - Maintaining order in the nation. Giving people more say in important political decisions. Fighting rising prices. Protecting freedom of speech) [Inglehart 1977];
- ~~respondent describes self as not very happy;~~
- homosexuality is never justifiable;
- you have to be very careful about trusting people.