QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS AS AN
EXPLORATORY METHOD FOR MEASURING VALUES
AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

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May, 2015
This thesis is an attempt to find alternative ways of approaching the study of values and political attitudes. The theoretical framework used for this purpose is Schwartz basic human values theory. Value profiles are elaborated for ten individual interviews and one focus group. Quantitatively, the Schwartz Value Questionnaire produced scores for each participant. Using Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) a different profile based on quotations is generated. The results suggest that both measurements inform about the priorities of the interviewee, and that numeric scores can be helpful to understand the relevance of certain political attitudes expressed in the semi-structured interviews, such as the perceived dimensions of political competition.

Additionally, data from five focus groups, conducted with participants from five different municipalities of the State of Mexico, was analyzed using QCA. The qualitative as well as the quantitative differences between the five groups suggest that this method, combined with the framework of Schwartz basic human values, produces meaningful results that can be related to the socioeconomic profiles of the municipalities.

**Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords**

VALUES, POLITICAL ATTITUDES, QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS, QUALITATIVE, PUBLIC OPINION, POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Master’s degree studies, whose final product is this thesis, were conducted under the auspices of the National Council of Science and Technology (CONACYT). Also, I owe a special thanks to the people of Finland whose State has maintained a policy of free universal access to education in the fullest sense of the concept, which allowed me as a foreigner to enjoy the same right to education as any other of its citizens.

Thanks to all the people involved in providing the information which served as the basis for this project; the students who participated in the interviews and focus, and particularly the consulting firm Analysis and Results in Communication and Public Opinion (ARCOP) for sharing the transcripts of the focus groups conducted in Mexico.

This thesis is especially dedicated to Lorena Becerra, Rafael Giménez and Vidal Romero who supported my return to academy so that I could improve my skills as a researcher and enjoy the foray into social psychology. There will never be enough words to thank the opportunity of this academic venture which has been at the same time a lifetime experience.

Thanks also to Maria Fernanda Vergara and the Office of the Presidency of the Republic for approving my candidacy for the Masters Scholarship as part of the Program for the Development of High Level Human Resources for the Federal Public Administration.

I am thankful to five friends who supported my efforts in this last stage. To Honorio Mateos whose unconditional help was critical for the completion of this research project. To Fabian Mancera, Javier Torres, Pedro Noriega and Rafita, who constantly listened and helped me cope with all kinds of personal challenges. I hope the journey of our lives will lead us to the warm waters of Salento, the place where the grass is green and the waves of its beaches appease the human spirit.
I am particularly grateful to Dr. Klaus Helkama for his wise advice, for sharing his experience at seminars and lectures, and for spreading the intellectual curiosity about the theory of basic human values.

Finally I dedicate this thesis to my parents. I do not need a reason, special occasion or day to give you this gift.
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INTRODUCTION

To study how values take part on the process of public opinion formation we first need to attack the problem of how values are defined, more specifically how values can be measured. The objective of this thesis is to show how a particular theory –Schwartz Basic Human Values- can be used to perform qualitative research in order to relate values with the evaluation of politics and social problems, through the collection and analysis of regular citizens opinions.

The main research questions will be the following:

- How can value priorities be traced from the results of structured questionnaires and numeric scores to a qualitative analysis?
- How does this methodological arrangement benefits our understanding of political attitudes?
- Does the value profiles generated under a qualitative study relate to other relevant social or political variables?

The method used for analyzing data will be Qualitative Content Analysis (Scheirer, 2012), which allows to conduct both a concept driven as well as data driven analysis; this implies that we can code guided by a predefined set of values and still be open to detect other underlying categories\(^1\) in our data.

Chapter I is focused on elucidating and justifying the choice of a theoretical framework for our research project -i.e. Schwartz value theory- through a review and discussion of the relevant literature on the topic. We consider two of the major approaches to intercultural values, which have set a paradigm in each of their fields. From political science, Ronald Inglehart has formulated the Postmodernization Theory which has related economic development with cultural change based on the World Values Survey (WVS). From

\(^1\) The word “dimension” will be used for a group of categories that measures the same aspect in the data analysis. However, it is important to differentiate this concept from what latter will be called “dimensions of political competition” which are specific categories.
Psychology, Shalom H. Schwartz has developed a theory of Basic Human Values which aims to find universal motivations for human behavior.

In Chapter II, I present the results of ten semi-structured interviews and one focus groups using Qualitative Content Analysis. The profiles derived from the qualitative analysis are paired to the results of Schwartz Value Questionnaire (SVQ) in order to assess its validity and the theoretical significance of such kind of qualitative measurement. The scores of the SVQ are also related to other political attitudes, such as political engagement and dimensions of political conflict, to determine if values permeate to the way people understand and orient themselves towards politics.

Chapter III is dedicated entirely to answer the third research question of this thesis. Using data from five focus groups conducted among participants from five different municipalities of the State of Mexico, Qualitative Content Analysis is applied to detect differences in the appreciation for tradition and the understanding of democratic values. In order to explore associations of this qualitative value profiles with external variables, the results are discussed in the light of the socioeconomic profiles of the municipalities included in the group sessions.
CHAPTER I

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of stability and change on how people evaluate political objects comprehends different factors like information flows, shifts in the elite discourse or changes in the political and economic systems, among others. But to understand the last step, where a citizen decides whether to express a favorable or a critical position, we have to clarify how the individual makes sense of political debates. In other words, we need to be able to explain not only how something becomes salient for a person but why a specific aspect of an issue comes to be determinant of her or his attitudes.

Zaller (1992) has provided one of the most influential models addressing the question on how individuals transform information into public opinion. His RAS model (Receive-Accept-Sample) comes to terms with what he considers are the key individual-level variables; political awareness and political predispositions. Citizens with high political awareness tend to have more consistent attitudes; new information flows are marginal for them and are easily accommodated in a stable set of considerations, which are better connected and constrained by their predispositions. However, this is not the case for most of the population, who are less informed, and how the elite frames issues becomes highly relevant to understand what is at stake in the political debate.

In this model, political predispositions are considered as “stable, individual-level traits that regulate the acceptance or non-acceptance of the political communications the person receives” (Zaller, 1992: p. 22), and among other types of predispositions, values are expected to have the strongest effect on mass opinion. Therefore and for the purpose of this study, it is important to define clearly what we are going to understand as values.

In political psychology, values are general standards that help to organize political attitudes and are a source for diversified evaluations. Being relatively few, they provide consistency among attitudes (Feldman, 2003). Accordingly to this idea, Zaller (1991) points out that
values work as predispositions, helping to accept or reject different types of arguments. In this way, values have a functional position in public opinion which is important to highlight: they are a filter between information flows and a person expressed attitudes.

Zaller argues that party attachments can also be considered as values. However, it is important to delimitate the concept for our own purposes. If values are not only individual priorities but are also shared goals for larger social groups, then they are essential to understand the political arena in general and specific political debates in democratic societies. These questions should be important for any researcher who wants to understand outcomes like electoral results, support for specific reforms, presidential or congress approval, and the evaluation of political figures.

Of course, how we define the concept will depend at a great extent on the available data; however, it is possible to refine the study of Public Opinion by pointing out the theoretical and practical advantages of different approaches. Thus, we will take a look at two of the dominant approaches for the concept of values; one proposed by Ronald Inglehart, whose roots are in Political Science, and the second by Shalom Shwartz, from Psychology.

1.1 Inglehart postmodernization theory

In the study of political values across nations, Ronald Inglehart has been a leading scholar due to the large amount of evidence gathered through the WVS, covering about 70 percent of the population in the 90’s and 90 percent in the last wave (2010-2014).

Through the consideration of two big societal processes, modernization and postmodernization, Inglehart (1997) argues that changes in values, economics and politics are interrelated. While deprivation and insecurity have been historically important for most people, new generations have experienced new levels of economic well-being which has derived in a shift from materialist priorities to post-materialist values.
Modernization comprehends industrialization, urbanization, bureaucratization and secularization. This means a rapid expansion of mass production, an increasing role of the state and a decreasing role of traditional authorities. Rapid economic growth in several countries and the emergence of welfare states lead new generations to feel secure about the satisfaction of basic needs. New generations go beyond economic security and emphasize self-expression and quality of life. Consequently, the shift to postmodernization implies going away from any kind of authority. The pluralism derived from prosperity and the absence of threats to social order, promotes openness to other views and propels democracy as its natural consequence.

Inglehart (1997, 2006) has consistently shown evidence about the existence of two dimensions concerning the process of modernization. The first one is secular-rational vs. traditional values and the second one is survival vs self-expression values\(^2\). Within these dimensions, economic development makes a clear distinction between countries scoring high in secular-rational and self-expression values—rich countries—and those with traditional and survival priorities—poor countries. Countries with common historical and religious heritage are located together with similar value scores. In that respect, it has been argued that the cultural impact of religion has a lasting effect which mediates changes in values produced by economic development (Inglehart and Baker, 2000).

Five items per dimension have been considered as key indicators for the factor analysis. For traditional values, the five items that are positively related are the following: 1) God is very important in respondent’s life; 2) It is more important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith than independence and determination (index); 3) Abortion is never justifiable; 4) Respondent has strong sense of national pride; and 5) Respondent favors more respect for authority. For survival values, the five items are: 1) Gives priority to economic and physical security over self-expression and quality life (index); 2) Respondent describes self as not very happy; 3) Homosexuality is never justifiable; 4) Respondent has

\(^2\) Through a factor analysis, Inglehart (1997) found the two dimensions, which accounted for more than a half of the cross-national variance in 43 countries by 1990. Once the analysis was replicated including 23 additional countries with the WVS 1995-1998 and a total of 78 societies with the 2000-2001 WVS, the two dimensions kept emerging, reaching up to 71 percent of variance explained by the two factors (Inglehart, 2006).
not and would not sign a petition; and 5) You have to be careful about trusting people. An interviewee scoring high on those items score high in traditional and survival values, and low in secular/rational and self-expression values respectively (Inglehart, 2006).

The items included in each factor are selected due to their statistical weight in the analysis. This implies that they hold key issues which help locate a person or a country closer to either traditional or secular-rational values, dimensions whose meaning is understood in terms of historical and cultural processes. The validity of these indicators is supported by the correlation between them and other items in the questionnaire. Inglehart (2006) shows, for example, that traditional vs secular-rational value dimension is positively correlated with religious beliefs such as the concept of heaven and hell or attitudes like attendance and trust in churches. Being against euthanasia, suicide or divorce is also positively correlated with the traditional side of this dimension.

The predictive power of this theory lies on how it takes into account structural changes, which are paired to a shift in social arrangements and expectations. For instance, democratization is linked with modernization because economic development increases the size of the middle class, which becomes more educated and demands political freedom. When survival is taken for granted, emphasis on social order leaves place for the universal desire for freedom and autonomy (Inglehart and Welzel, 2009).

Values, as they are conceived in this context, also help to explain the support for opposing groups in the political arena, i.e. in the traditional conception of the left and right continuum. Countries that hold more traditional values are those where people tend to place themselves on the Right side of a Left-Right scale (Inglehart, 2006). Ideological identification is not a sophisticated articulation of topics and political referents (Converse, 1964), however it works as a cognitive shortcut which helps both political parties and voters to reduce information costs (Popkin, 1991).

In sum, the historical perspective of Inglehart’s approach positions this theory as a powerful tool to study political values and political attitudes. It considers broad social changes, as
well as economic development, and traces their effects to cultural change and individual attitudes.

1.2 Shwartz basic human values theory

Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, 1990) define values through five formal characteristics, which are recurrent in literature on human values, and a typology of the content domains of values. The formal part of the definition draws the boundaries between values and other psychological concepts, where values are considered as “(a) concepts or beliefs, (b) about desirable end states or behaviors, (c) that transcend specific situations, (d) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and (e) are ordered by relative importance.” (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987: p. 551). Regarding its content, values are defined as cognitive representations of three universal human requirements, which are: 1) needs as biological organisms; 2) social requirements for coordination; and 3) needs of group welfare and survival.

![Fig. 1.1 Structural relation among the ten motivational value types (replicated from Schwartz, 1994)](image-url)
Although many specific values exist, they can be categorized through ten motivational domains or value types, which are the expression of the basic human requirements. Figure 1.1 shows the different value types and the structure among them. Between each domain there are compatibilities as well as contradictions. For example, someone who prioritizes pleasure and a life of enjoyment (hedonism), is logically opposed to restrain his/her impulses in order to respect social norms (conformity), however it is closer to find attractive a varied and exciting life (stimulation). Two dimensions summarize this structure of value types: a) Openness to change –independent thought and change- opposes Conservation – stability, self-restriction and preservation of tradition--; and b) Self-Enhancement –own success and dominance over others- opposes Self-Transcendence – acceptance of others as equals and concern for their welfare- (Schwartz, 1994).

Schwartz, Caprara and Vecchione (2010) show that basic values explain a considerable amount of variance of core political values and that these act as mediators to predict voting in 2006 national election in Italy. It is possible that single values predict better a political attitude than the overall score in a value type (Feldman, 2003); nevertheless, it is important to highlight how this theory is parsimoniously developed and that it has also been linked to political values and vote.

1.3 Suitability of Schwartz theory for the present study

After discussing the two main theories on cross-cultural values, it is time to state the reasons for choosing Schwartz basic human values theory, instead of Inglehart’s postmodernization theory, as our theoretical framework. It is worth to remember that the aim of this thesis is to show the relationship between values and political attitudes performing a qualitative content analysis. In that sense, the path chosen by each author when developing their respective theories and, in consequence, the way concepts have been operationalized become highly relevant. This implies that different research projects might benefit more from one approach than the other depending on how the objectives and the hypothesis are enunciated.
Datler, Jagodzinski and Schmidt (2013) have compared both approaches based on key differences in terms of the internal and external validities of their indicators. As we have seen, Inglehart elaborated his theory considering the economic development and the historical background of each country, and related this with cultural change and a shift in individual priorities. This allowed him to develop indexes based on political and social preferences that theoretically reflect a particular value profile. Consequently, the relation between his value constructs and external variables is strengthened and the direction of the expected effect is correct in most cases.

The predictive power of postmodernization theory is probably a decisive factor to use it for a quantitative analysis. However, it might not be the case with a qualitative methodology. In a survey, we would like to have questions where the options to answer are constrained as much as possible to the relevant categories of the construct. On the contrary, in qualitative research is preferable to let the data develop with freedom and, according to the objective of this thesis, it is a priority to find the way to measure values as directly as possible, in order to show how they are connected to political attitudes.

In that sense, Datler, Jagodzinski and Schmidt (2013) warn that Inglehart’s indicators might undergo a problem of internal validity, which means that the indirect measure of values results on confounded variables.\(^3\) In practice, a qualitative research project would be confronted with the task of coding text segments into broad categories without any assurance that this will be possible, because a sentence or even a paragraph might not contain identifiable elements that could help us to classify it on one quadrant of the two value dimensions of postmodernization theory.

Here is where Schwartz approach shows its appeal. In this case, basic human values are the cognitive expression of elemental priorities which derive in ten types whose content is defined in such generic terms that enable the classification of text segments. When a person

\(^3\) It is better to understand this problem as a trade off in a methodological decision, where the indexes are considered to be catching the effect of broader underlying values.
talks about an issue it becomes easier to detect signs of its proneness to stand for a value; his or her priorities emerge naturally without applying a questionnaire with closed options. It is however important to show if this way of measuring values is compatible with other methods which have been used before for researching basic human values, and to point out the implications of a difference in results.

In the next chapter, the results of ten semi-structured interviews will be analyzed. In particular, the profile yielded by a 67 item questionnaire will be compared with the codification of text segments into value types. Following, an analysis of two focus groups will be done in order to show if debate on specific issues can be related to a dimension represented by opposing poles in the basic human values structure.
CHAPTER II

VALUES IN QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS AND SCHWARTZ VALUE QUESTIONNAIRE

2.1 Methodology

To assess which kind political information people retrieve and how is it related to their values, the study was divided in two parts: ten individual interviews and six focus groups. Originally only the ten individual interviews were planned. The question wording of these semi-structured interviews was very open so as to assure that participants expressed their values as spontaneously as possible without contaminating their answers. However, some participants were not very informed about what was happening in their home countries and did not stated their positions on varied issues as much as would have been expected.

To counterbalance this lack of information and to allow different points of view to emerge without producing artificial responses, six focus groups were included in the study. In focus groups it is expected that participants’ interventions will remind the rest of the group about topics that are relevant for everybody but might not be remembered otherwise (Wilkinson, 2003). Also, as politics is essentially a dispute of social goals and the ways to attain them, a group dynamic is expected to produce a discussion where issues can be debated in terms of values. One of these groups was conducted completely according to the objectives of the present study; the data from the other five focus groups was provided by ARCOP – Analysis and Results in Communication and Public Opinion-, and were carried out according to the objectives of a different project in November 2013.

The 10 individual interviews were conducted among international students from the University of Helsinki from the Department of Political Science. The reason for choosing this department was to maximize the possibility of getting students holding the highest levels of political awareness concerning their own countries. The nationalities included were Finnish (3), Russian (2), Bulgarian, Chinese, Colombian, German and Hungarian.
Seven female and three male students participated in the study. One focus group was done with four German students from social sciences programs, two male and two female.

Both, the individual interviews and the focus group were divided in two parts. The first one consisted in a semi-structured interview where the main objective was to talk about the political agenda of the home country of each interviewee. (See appendix A1). The questions were formulated and ordered in such a way as to assure the spontaneous emergence of the student’s priority issues; starting with the most important problem of the country and recent events discussed with friends and relatives, followed by a short evaluation of the ruling government, and ending with the affinity to political actors and parties. The focus group had in addition a dynamic where the participants had to discuss two pieces of news that were chosen by them before the session. In the second part of the interview, the participants answered by themselves a 67 item questionnaire for measuring Schwartz’s values. This questionnaire includes the ten original human values plus protestant ethic or working values and spirituality (See appendix A2).

The five focus groups provided by the consultancy firm ARCOP had ten participants per group, each from a different municipality of the State of Mexico, with two groups carried among men and three among women. The original project had the objective of exploring local identities, trust in public institutions and support for democracy. For the purpose of this thesis, two topics were included into the analysis. Democracy was discussed explicitly in terms of values; trust in public institutions contained some evaluations that can be analyzed under the value framework as well. However, local identities were treated mainly as concrete aspects such as festivities and symbols, which in most of the cases does not imply an evaluation that can be coded under the value theory applied in this thesis; in consequence, that section of the transcriptions was not taken into consideration.

The cross-cultural existence of values is presupposed in our definition of the concept, they are expected to be expressed in different ways but be in essence the same motivational beliefs (Schwartz, 1994). For that reason, positivism is the natural epistemological standing
to study them, and the chosen method for analyzing all the data is Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA).

2.2 The method of Qualitative Content Analysis

Braun and Clarke (2006) divide qualitative methods in two ‘camps’, on one side those bound by an epistemological position, such as Conversation Analysis and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, and on another those which can be framed under different epistemological approaches. In that sense, conducting QCA does not necessarily imply taking a particular epistemological position; however, the method allows taking a positivistic approach without any additional specifications (Schierer, 2012).

Following Schierer (2012), QCA can be defined as a rigorous technique to codify and summarize data, which is organized according to a coding frame that contains all dimensions of interest. Each dimension is intended to capture a different aspect or concept of the text, which derives in the principle of exclusivity, meaning that the same unit of analysis (or segment) can only be coded with one category of the same dimension and still be coded using categories from different dimensions. In doing so, the method allows to find meaningful contingencies between dimensions. The length of the segments depends on the dimensions that are being measured, which means that it is possible to use a criteria where every single sentence or paragraph is a segment, or to decide case by case when a whole idea is completely finished and makes sense within the dimension in question. In this case, our primary interest was on measuring expressed priorities from the public agenda, which we consider as a proxy of the concept of human values. Therefore, some segments are complete sentences, others are complete paragraphs and some others are a fragment of a sentence or a paragraph.

2.3 Measuring values and attitudes with Qualitative Content Analysis

A coding frame was developed after revising all the interviews, highlighting every aspect that could be relevant dimensions for the project. Next a pilot study was performed,
dimensions were adjusted and some categories were added. The final coding frame is the following:

**Coding frame**

1. Most important problem
   1.1 Economy/Unemployment
   1.2 Politics/Corruption
   1.3 Security
   1.4 Overpopulation
   1.5 Ageing of population
   1.6 Other

2. Conjunctural information
   2.1 Middle east conflicts
   2.2 Immigration
   2.3 Euro crisis/aid to other countries
   2.4 Ukraine/Russia
   2.5 Different reforms
   2.6 Local politics
   2.7 Other

3. Expressed values (types)
   3.01 Power
   3.02 Achievement
   3.03 Hedonism
   3.04 Stimulation
   3.05 Self-direction
   3.06 Universalism
   3.07 Benevolence
   3.08 Tradition
   3.09 Conformity
   3.10 Security
   3.11 Other

4. Support for a value
   4.1 Upholding the value
   4.2 Opposed to the value
   4.3 No position

5. Political engagement
   5.1 Mention of a politician’s name
   5.2 Mention of election dates
   5.3 Mention of a conjunctural happening
   5.4 Have voted
   5.5 Other

6. Opinions about the government
   (evaluative comments)
   6.1 Positive
   6.2 Negative
   6.3 Ambiguous
Dimensions 1 and 2 were simply categorized according to the topic addressed on the segment. Regarding dimension 3, the segments were classified whenever the expression fitted with any of Schwartz’s (1994) definitions for the ten value types. It was decided that the segment would be classified into a value type even if the participant was not defending a view. The pure fact that some priority is being mentioned is sufficient to assume that the individual is aware of the value that has been chosen to support a specific stand on an issue. Therefore, it became evident the necessity of including dimension 4, *upholding* or *opposed* to the value, in order to have a better understanding of this statements. Table 2.1 shows the definitions of the ten human values and the key aspects considered to classify a segment into a value type.

The kinds of utterances codified in a value category were those where the participant showed a concern or phrased an issue in terms of priorities. If one of these priorities fitted on the definition of one of the basic human values, then it was assigned to that value type. This operationalization was done guided by Table 2.1. The following quotations are two examples of this criterion:

Universalism. “*It is also like many old people are poor, they don’t get so much money after they retire from work, and it should be focused more on this issues and not only on the economy.*” German female student.
Stimulation. “The difference between Finland and China. Finland do not have a lot of population, and it is... Helsinki is kind of a small city compared to Beijing, I live in Beijing and life is very different, quiet here and in Beijing very crowded, but here life is boring sometimes, but in Beijing you always can find some interesting things to do.” Chinese male student.

Table 2.1 Ten basic human values: Definitions and key aspects for coding. Definitions taken from Schwartz (1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Key aspects for coding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.</td>
<td>Any reference to relations of hierarchy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.</td>
<td>(No related segments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedonism</td>
<td>Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.</td>
<td>Avoiding serious matters to enjoy more rewarding tasks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulation</td>
<td>Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.</td>
<td>Looking for variety in life experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Direction</td>
<td>Independent thought and action. Choosing, creating, exploring.</td>
<td>(No related segments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalism</td>
<td>Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.</td>
<td>Open to other cultures, concerned about the situation of disadvantaged people, against racism, the interest of the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolence</td>
<td>Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.</td>
<td>Corruption as a lack of honesty, welfare of relatives or people in the same situation, prioritizing own country vs. others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas</td>
<td>(No related segments)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first quotation shows a concern about the welfare of an entire group of the population - ‘old people’- to which the participant not belong to, matching a part of the definition of universalistic values, *protection of the welfare of all people*. The second quotation is a good example of how interpretation worked while coding the data. The participant does not express a priority in an explicit manner, however while comparing the way of life in two cities, he is in fact giving clues on what he appreciates of living in one place. In his description, life in Finland is ‘boring sometimes’ while in Beijing there are ‘interesting things to do’. This matches with *excitement* and *novelty* which are key aspects of stimulation value type.

The most important feature to distinguish between universalistic values and benevolence – the most frequent values- was if the participant made explicit that his/her concern was beyond what could be considered his/her in-group. For example, one participant showed concern about domestic policy but disagreed on the aid given to Greece; therefore, that segment was codified as benevolence. When the issue of the nation’s economy was brought up, it was more difficult to distinguish if the concern was for the whole country or for the own pocket; in those cases where there was no clear indication, the segment was not classified as universalism nor benevolence.

### 2.4 Results from 10 individual interviews

Our main focus is on understanding if the political information and considerations people retrieve is related with a broader personal profile of basic human values. Table 2.2 shows the value profiles of ten participants according to Schwartz’s value questionnaire. Consistently benevolence is among the top priorities of the interviewed students while

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conformity</th>
<th>Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations</th>
<th>Obedience to central government, critics on inappropriate behavior.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
spirituality and power are at the bottom. This might occur because participants are from political science programs, which would be reflecting a special taste for criticizing power, a higher secularization and a tendency for being helpful towards others. Although it could be argued that these scores are biased due to social desirability, there has not been found evidence of a tendency to respond the questionnaire favoring the prevailing values in the social context (Schwartz, et al., 1997).

Table 2.3 shows the prevalence of expressed values in ten semi-structured interviews as they were categorized following QCA method. First of all, it is important to note what was already mentioned in the methodology section. As the interviews were focused on getting
the expression of values as spontaneous as possible, the participants did not discuss pre-selected topics. All what was discussed was what they remembered at the moment about the political agenda of their home countries. Two thirds of the participants were exchange students, in that sense, they were not exposed to typical information flows (local television, newspapers, rumors, etc.) as they would have been in their own countries. It is possible that this situation has had the effect of a lower level of information recalled about everyday politics and less positioning on issues than would have been expected.

As some of the expressions were addressed in the opposite direction to what the value prioritizes - for example, criticizing the concentration of power on few people - value utterances were classified into three categories: **upholding** the value, **opposed** to the value and **no position stated**. **No position stated** means that although the interviewee retrieved information phrased in terms of a priority or a concern, it was referring to what someone else said and it was not clear if he/she was supporting that statement. Although it was possible to leave those quotations without being classified, it was decided to code them in a value type category because they form part of the cognitive framework of the participant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(2)</td>
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<td>(1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tradition</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformity</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/1 In parenthesis mentions opposed to the value
/2 In brackets mentions without position stated on the value
2.4.1 SVQ scores vs. semi-structured interviews: general analysis.

Universalism, benevolence and power appear as the most frequent kind of expressed values. This is obviously related to the nature of the topic. When discussing social problems and social priorities people tend to express them in terms of the well-being of broader groups and, since the main topic is linked to politics, negative comments about the concentration of power arise. Nevertheless, we can still find variation from participant to participant, while interviewees 2 and 9 had four and five comments respectively in terms of universalistic values, interviewees 6 and 10 had zero. Also it is worth questioning if there is a qualitative difference in expressing values and what would be the source of that divergence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview number</th>
<th>Universalism</th>
<th>Benevolence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SVQ score</td>
<td>Quotations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Fin</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fin</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Fin</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rus</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1 [2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Col</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bul</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Rus</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1 [1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ger</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Hun</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4 Comparison between profile in Schwartz's values questionnaire and expressed values on semi-structured interview. Self-trascendence values. /1

/1 In brackets quotations with no position stated

One way of relating the information derived from the Schwartz value questionnaire and the results of the semi-structured interviews is to compare scores and amount of quotations. Only two values types have enough variation across most of the interviews. In table 2.4, it is possible to observe centered scores for universalism and benevolence paired with the respective amount of quotations resulting from each interview.
Since this instrument was not designed for inferential analysis, it would be a mistake to expect correlations from this comparison. Instead, we should point out what this kind of analysis can tell us. When the amounts of quotations are considered roughly the comparison becomes more relevant. In the case of the lowest scores in universalism, interviews 6, 7 and 10, there is practically no expression of this value type in the semi-structured interviews. Only in interview number 7 there is one quotation where the interviewee upholds the value. It seems possible that most of the people express universalistic values when talking about politics, problems and priorities of their country; at the end, the first grammatical option for people is to answer what is best for ‘everybody’ if the well-being of the country is being evaluated. Nevertheless, those endowed with a lower appreciation for universalism, hardly come to speak in those terms.

Benevolence is more difficult to analyze in a broad comparison. First of all, it has fewer mentions across the ten interviews, but most important is the fact that practically all the quotations are criticisms for the existing corruption among the political elite. As such, these expressions were considered to be a sign of appreciation for honesty—or a concern for the lack of it- and coded into this category. In that sense, these quotations only reflect benevolence in a limited way. This takes us to consider a second way for relating scores and quotations. If the presence and absence of comments stops being meaningful, then we have to look at qualitative differences in the expression of values. We would expect that people with different value scores would also verbalize values in a different form, either by intensity or by simply following particular structures.

Starting with universalism, it is possible to identify two ways of expressing these values in the semi-structured interviews; one is when they are verbalized as goals or changes needed in society and the other one is when they are used as a measuring stick to evaluate political actors or institutions. The former kind of quotations is closely related to the first part of the definition of a value in Schwartz’s theory: “(a) concepts or beliefs, (b) about desirable end states or behaviors…” (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987: p. 551). Two examples of values expressed as goals or desired changes in the state of society are the following:
“Well, I believe that Finland needs to be a more diverse society going forward. I do believe that by having a more diverse population in Finland it will give possibilities for the country to move forward in the next two three decades, because Finland is a small country and first of all linguistically we are very separate. So I think it is quite important that we already now start to become more international and more intercultural, in order to give our next generation the possibility to easier movement to other countries, from Finland away and also to make more alliances with fellow citizens of the European state or going forward with China, US and Latin America and so on.” Finnish male student (int. 1).

“We discuss sometimes (...) that it is unfair for people who have been working all their lives to not have enough money, like after they retire from work. And also, generally, that the government should focus more on the social issues, social needs for the people not just in the economy, spending so much money on things that aren’t that important.” German female student (int. 9).

In the first quotation, the openness to other cultures is clearly stated and it is projected into the future as a long term objective for ‘decades’ and considering the ‘next generation’. The second one shows a concern for a disadvantaged group and sets a priority for government spending, it should be directed to attend ‘social needs’, specially of retired people. These are in fact views of how society should be working and fit properly with the definition of universalism.

A second type of quotation can be equated to another part of the definition, where values are expected to “(d) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and (e) are ordered by relative importance.” (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987: p. 551). A couple of examples depict how these utterances are structured.

“I don’t really prefer parties like True Finns who are nationalists, and also racists to some extent. I couldn’t imagine voting for those parties even if there were a candidate that I would really like. I like value liberals, like liberal values of, for example, like equality no
matter what is your sexual orientation or your background or age or gender.” Finnish female student (int. 2).

“The fascist party, I would never vote for them (...) because they are racist, anti-immigration, anti-refugees, just like racist (...) and we have this part of our history already and it is just... I would never vote for them.” German female student (int. 9).

Both quotations show opposition to political parties that affect the principle of universalistic values which is protecting the welfare of all the people. In fact, the first participant does not stop in the criticism towards True Finns party; it goes further into stating what she believes which are liberal values and equality. The conciseness of the fragment coincides with the highest score in universalism. However, we cannot overlook that the other quotations –from interviews 1 and 9- are clear enough to set universalism as a top priority as well. Moreover, both kinds of utterances were present in interviews where the participant had a relative low universalism score as well as in those where it was high. In this case, it is difficult to asseverate an association between value scores and quality of responses.

Regarding benevolence, only five interviews can be used to find qualitative differences since they are the only ones containing quotations for this value type. The main differentiating aspect in the way benevolence is expressed in these interviews is how specific or generic comments are. If comments are specific, that can be interpreted as sign of more attention to the issue, which in turn would mean that the issue is more important for the interviewee.

“Recently we discussed about finnish politics, now that I think it’s probably been, you know, that there is this scandals about like this politicians, like (unidentified name), where there has been this question whether she’s been trying for her friends to have this position or not.” Finnish female student (int. 3).
“I mean they (the parliament) say that they can do like a lot of things and do a lot of reforms, and they know themselves that they cannot do it in this short term. That’s my main concern.” Bulgarian female student (int. 6).

“Xi Jinping. He, you know, began to be the President in 2012 and he is the new President and now he does a lot of things on corruption. He wants to get the country out of corruption and he did a lot of works and until now I think he did a lot of good things.” Chinese male student (int. 8).

The above comments have in common that they are directed to specific cases, the first one to a political scandal, the second one to the parliament’s lack of honesty and the third is an evaluation of the President in terms of his work against corruption. This can be found in interviews 3, 6 and 8, but not on interviews 5 and 7 which are generic comments on corruption, like the following one where the participant considers corruption as an ‘everyday topic’.

“It is a recurrent everyday topic, but I think that what one talks about normally is the famous topic of the moment. Then, as there are several cases of corruption, we have several political problems, but in general is against one public servant...” Colombian female student (int. 5)

In this sense, generic comments are more a description of how things are and less a remark on how things should be. They are not focalized evaluations, instead they are an overall criticism of the system and as such they are not used to differentiate among political institutions or political actors. As part of this group, the lowest score on benevolence on Schwartz’s questionnaire -interview 7- does not show a strong commitment to benevolence values, and only had one quotation coded in this category. Despite of this apparent relation between the structure of the quotations and value scores, it would be difficult to say where the qualitative difference among the rest of the participants come from; it might be due to another personal trait such as political engagement as well. For the sake of the analysis, it is important to point out this kind of differences in any case.
2.4.2 Analysis including other dimensions of the semi-structured interviews

Since no other clear associations between value scores and amount or quality of quotations have been found, besides universalism value type, the next step is to see if other coded dimensions have any relationship with value profiles. In Public Opinion studies, political engagement and awareness has been found to be a key variable in understanding levels of attitude consistency through time and the degree to which people link political options to their predispositions (Delli Carpini and Keeter, 1997; Zaller, 1992). Throughout the interviews, this variable was measured according to three elements; mention of election dates, mention of conjunctural information and whether the interviewee had voted in the last election or not. This information together with the three top priorities per participant is synthetized in table 2.5. Schwartz (2006) has shown that egalitarian values – which include benevolence and universalism- and intellectual autonomy – which include self-direction- drive societies to democratization. In this case we observe that three of the most politically engaged participants have as two top priorities a combination of benevolence with self-direction or universalism. In fact, some of the other less engaged participants have as one of their first two priorities values that are opposed to democratic attitudes such as security, achievement or hedonism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election dates</th>
<th>Conjunctural info</th>
<th>Voted</th>
<th>Totals /1</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Fin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ben/Stim</td>
<td>Hed</td>
<td>SelfDir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>Univ</td>
<td>SelfDir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Fin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>SelfDir/Spi</td>
<td>Sec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Achiv</td>
<td>SelfDir</td>
<td>Ben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Col</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SelfDir</td>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>Univ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bul</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>Achiv</td>
<td>SelfDir</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Rus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sec</td>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>Achiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Chi</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sec</td>
<td>Hed</td>
<td>Achiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>SelfDir</td>
<td>Univ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Hun</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>SelfDir</td>
<td>Hed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/1 Number of quotations
Political engagement is interesting by itself for theorists of democracy. In the analysis of political attitudes, it is of particular importance to look to other variables that speak about the societal divisions when deciding about goals and issues. The next dimension in consideration is number 7 which categorizes those expressions where the participant contrasts two opposing kinds of policies, economic systems or positions regarding particular issues. The categories concerning this way of conceiving political alternatives will be regarded as *dimensions of political competition*. They are expected to be related with value priorities in the sense that framing political disputes is in essence a form of prioritizing what is the debate about. For example, if a person holds a relatively high score on universalism and low score on achievement, he or she would possibly frame political competition in terms of welfare state vs. economic liberalism; in other words, economic egalitarianism vs. classical liberalism. The goals are not only opposite in a political sense, they are also opposite in the basic human values structure (Schwartz, 1994).

The quotations coded as dimensions of political competition do not represent a sub group of those coded as value expressions. Even when we can deduce a theoretical relation with basic values, they were not necessarily expressed as such. Thus, the analysis of this variable is not a reproduction of the one performed using expressed values. Table 2.6 presents five dimensions of political competition. For the purpose of facilitating the comparison between scores in SVQ and amount of quotations, the dimensions of political competition were grouped according to theoretically relevant values.

It is worth to note that contextual factors such as previous experience with welfare programmes can be present and that perception could be dependent on how political elites frame disputes (Kulin, 2011). Preferences and attitudes on political events are context sensitive (Kinder and Sanders, 1996); and political elites does not compete framing only

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4 Two categories were left out. It was not clearly mentioned what was at stake on taking a position in the conflict Russia-Ukraine and there was only one quotation about the position on the war against guerrillas in Colombia.

5 The term political competition in this context refers to the duality between two conflicting political positions as perceived from the participant’s perspective. It does not pretend to capture broader and complex phenomena like cleavages or ideology.
opposing values, they even compete with frames that defend the same value but have different policy outcomes (Nelson et. al., 2012).

**Table 2.6** Quotations related to dimensions of political competition in ten semi-structured interviews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension of political competition/Country</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
<th>6.</th>
<th>7.</th>
<th>8.</th>
<th>9.</th>
<th>10.</th>
<th>Tot/</th>
<th>Avg</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welfare vs. Liberalism (Economy)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro vs Anti immigration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalism (SVQ)</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td><strong>1.1</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Conservative vs. Liberal (Cultural)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition (SVQ)</td>
<td>0.3</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>0.7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-direction (SVQ)</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td><strong>1.2</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class conflict</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centralization vs. Federalism/Autonomy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power (SVQ)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td><strong>0.6</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lowest scores within universalism –interviews 6, 7 and 10- do not have any mention of the two theoretically related dimensions. This is consistent with the comparison made previously between universalism scores and expressed values in the semi-structured interviews; in political evaluations, relatively low universalistic values appear to be enough to prevent people from verbalizing considerations related to those values. Value scores which are on and above the average, coincide with quotations in at least one of two dimensions. For example, the higher score (1.4) from interview 2 matches with a very clear stating of welfare state vs. economic liberalism, not only mentioning both poles, but describing them on detail:

**Welfare state vs. liberalism.** “I prefer the social welfare state policies to liberal economic policies... of like, I don’t mind having major taxation, as long as we can keep our benefits like study, like the study support that we get monthly, (...) but also the social net of the
The student explains her support for a political party showing how the debate about public spending is framed. Two opposing views of what people deserve shape the debate. Another way of detecting an underlying dimension of political competition is suggested by looking at the topic of immigration. The participant does not describe the views held by each side of the debate; however he mentions how this theme has been a matter of discussion among his family.

Pro vs. Anti-immigration. “And some of the family members are not so inclined, as I am, towards the positive effects of immigration, so we tend to dispute because sometimes they bring out the bad and examples whereas I tend to look for the positive aspects of it.” Finnish male student (int. 1).

These opinions could be regarded only as one of many other topics that form part of any conversation at a dinner table. However the importance of the issue can be associated to the growth of the True Finns Party, with a right wing position against immigration, managing to obtain almost ten percent of the national vote in 2009 (Arter, 2010).

The dimension of political competition *conservative vs. cultural liberalism* is only associated with two interviews; however, it is worth to note that the same student who showed consistency between her score con universalism and the dimension welfare state vs. economic liberalism, once again displays what could be a possible connection between her values scores in tradition and self-direction, and her position on this dimension. It is important to remind that among the ten interviews, she was one of the most politically engaged participants. The following fragment, together with the one shown previously, could be seen as an example of how political sophisticated citizens tend to connect better their considerations about political objects with their core values (Zaller, 1992).
Conservative vs. cultural liberalism. “Well I am quite left in my political opinion, so I couldn’t vote for a party that is value conservative for example, like very traditional, christian values...like, yeah, very conservative altogether, traditional genders.” Finnish female student (int. 2).

The last two dimensions of political competition could be associated with power values. When a citizen see that the most important issue is to change or maintain the social arrangement, whether it involves dominance of one class over another or the prevalence of centralized institutions, this requires a vision of society in terms of hierarchical relations. Another possibility is that people scoring high in universalism could have the same frame of social conflict but would like society to become equal. Unfortunately, it is difficult to get an idea of possible associations considering that there are only few quotations related to these dimensions of competition. Nevertheless, qualitatively speaking, there is one possible association which is again combined with political engagement. Interview 8 falls into the category of high politically engaged and is at the same time one of the two top scores in power values. His quotation speaks clearly: first, the competing postures on the issue of autonomy vs. centralization; and second, the legitimization of central authority as a priority for the country.

“From Hong Kongese perspective, they say Hong Kong is Hong Kongese, Hong Kong is not China’s Hong Kong, so the central government cannot take control of their affairs (...) So I say Hong Kong is a part of China, so sometimes Hong Kong needs to listen to the Central Government, because we are a country and we need to focus on the whole country’s interest.” Chinese male student (int. 8).

The semi-structured interviews start with a question about the most important problem of the participant’s country. The intention was to explore value priorities, deriving in what has been already analyzed under the label of expressed values. In an attempt to focus only on what was said at the beginning of the interview, dimension number 1 emerged, but yielded only 16 quotations spread over 6 categories including other. The category which gathered more fragments (6) was economy/unemployment, which overlaps in most cases
with *expressed values*. For that reason, dimension number 1 is not considered to be suitable for the same kind of analysis, which must be estimated as a result itself since we are looking for the better ways of interrelating measurements of values and attitudes.

### 2.5 Results of focus groups

Table 2.7 shows centered scores from SVQ for the four participants in the focus group. In this case the number of quotations per person is very low, for that reason the table compares the total number of quotations expressed in terms of values with the average scores for the group. This allows the association of the results from the group as a single interview, but does not limit the possibility of indicating the individual contributions of some participants to the average total score or number of quotations.

Spontaneously, German students consider that the most important problem for their country is the ageing of the population. Most of the mentions on this problem are coded as benevolence for the way it is expressed, however the implications of the problem should implicitly affect hedonistic values, because the own enjoyment is opposed to the fulfillment of a duty towards parents when they grow old. In fact, the participant with the highest score in benevolence and the lowest in hedonism is the one that brings to the table the problem of an ageing population more frequently. On one hand participants express concern about the situation of those who are ageing, and on the other they indicate the implied costs for the general population, while questioning about who will maintain the system in the long run.

“I think it is a big problem that the society is ageing very much that the systems of insuring that people could make a living when they stop working are not... they are gonna be too poor, so this is not working anymore as it worked in the past when like two people pay for one who is too old, and now we have almost the situation which is one to one, which is also backfiring on current compliment situation with younger people.” Male student (P3).
As mentioned in the methodology, the variant in the semi-structured questionnaire in the focus group is that students sought before the meeting news that were the most relevant to them. During the session a couple of those news were read to encourage discussion. Two editorials were selected, the first had as its main theme the discussion of the operation of nuclear plants in Germany and the second was about the strike by the workers of the train company Bahn (See appendix A3).

In this exercise, the most important result is the emergence of two possible dimensions of political competition: collective vs. individual rights and protection of environment vs. energy costs. The first is mainly, but not exclusively, the contribution of a participant, who has the lowest score in conformity and has self-direction values as one of its two main priorities. This could be interpreted as a high valuation of individuality against being

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Achievement</th>
<th>Hedonism</th>
<th>Stimulation</th>
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</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<table>
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<th>Country</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Benevolence</th>
<th>Universalism</th>
<th>Conformity</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
<th>Security</th>
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<th>Spirituality</th>
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<td>-1.3</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Average</td>
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<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotations</td>
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<td>5 (2)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/1 Centered variables  
/2 In parenthesis mentions opposed to the value  
/3 In brackets mentions without position stated on the value  
n.a Not available. Not measured.
subject to the rules of the collective. As a cultural orientation, Schwartz (2006) includes this opposition under the bipolar dimension of embeddedness vs. autonomy. This dimension opposes union rights with the rights of passengers or other workers who are not affiliated with an organization.

“It also raised questions about the minister for work issues, like bigger questions, like ‘should small trade unions be possible to almost kill the whole public life in Germany through strike?’ Because some trade unions have people who take away the trash, drivers, the pilots… very few people, but very powerful if they strike, while others don’t have this opportunity, for example shop assistants, I don’t know.” Male student (P3).

The dimension of political competition protection of the environment vs. costs of energy is not mentioned by the participant with the higher score in universalism, which is the value that concerns the protection of nature, also those who mention it does not have particular high or low scores in the opposite values, power or achievement. It is better to understand what the participants explain about the topic and how it is related to people in Germany. Citizens agree on having renewable and environmentally friendly energy, however when the costs affects their pockets or represent a threat to their communities, they reconsider their support.

“I think it is twofold... because on the one side you have a very strong and very long lasting tradition in Germany about being against climate change, being against coal energy or nuclear energy, but on the other hand people want cheap electricity. This is kind of a tradeoff because on the want side people want to save the environment but on the other it might be more expensive than expected and... yeah, in this case, for example, the German Minister of economics said that people should still be aware that we need cheap energy in order to run the economy.” Male student (P2).

Being a position that has been a ‘long lasting tradition in Germany’, the protection of the environment can be regarded as a valence issue, where citizens agree on the final goal of politics (Stokes, 1963); it is in fact preferred but does not polarize people and can be
subject to social desirability. It seems that the only way for them to accept rising prices has been under events that remind the risks of nuclear plants. In fact, security is the third most recurrent value in the focus groups. This value is consistently paired to the topic of the Fukushima incident, however, this happening is not discussed as a present threat.

“And for example, about two years ago when Fukushima catastrophe, people in Germany came to resign all the nuclear energy. And it is quite irrational in a way because we even knew before that it could be dangerous (...) but there was a really strange cut off, there was no more energy, and then the price got very up.” Male student (P2).

Without a threat to security people act in a pragmatic way and the debate about principles is lost, for that reason we should not expect that this topic is strongly tied to value scores.

2.6 Summary of results

The exercise of combining two instruments in the measurement of basic human values generates results that are consistent with previous findings. The usage of Qualitative Content Analysis allows determining dimensionality and code data guided mainly by the meaning of the text rather than a fixed length of words, sentences or paragraphs. This makes possible to highlight qualitative characteristics of the data and, at the same time, perform descriptive quantitative analysis where associations in numbers help the researcher to support his or her conclusions. Specifically, a comparison of SQV scores with the amount of quotations is useful when it is done without looking at the magnitude of the numbers in detail. Comparing higher and lower scores vs. the presence and absence of quotations derives on meaningful results for the analysis. The results suggest that the absence of quotations expressed in terms of a particular value is common among those participants who score relatively low in the same variable measured by the SQV.

In individual interviews, political engagement was higher among the students that had universalism and benevolence values among their top three priorities in the SVQ. The definition of this values is linked to this personal interest in politics in the sense that people
holding them are supposed to care more about the well-being of the everybody and those who surround them. The most political engaged people were those where a clearer association of their SVQ values with the expressed priorities in the semi-structured interview happened.

Another variable that calls attention is *dimension of political competition*. By itself, this dimension holds potential information for explaining the main issues at stake in the public debate. More importantly, when we observe that there is also a connection to the values profile measured by the SVQ, it suggests that research can be narrowed down to a more specific debate of policy preferences or frames of the issues. This is, however, not the case for all the dimensions that we observed. The focus group interview gives the opportunity to observe that some apparent opposing positions like *protection of the environment vs. costs of energy* can be in fact not grounded on stable predispositions, and change according to situational considerations.

Despite the valuable information generated during the first 10 individual interviews of the project, it was clear that more incentives were needed in order to facilitate people the retrieval of information. When the interviews flow on a spontaneous way rather than introducing topics, we gain on assuring that the emerging values are closer to what people consider a priority and not what the researcher believe could be the most important issues a priori. Most of the results presented until now are based on universalism and benevolence. In order to get an insight of how controlling the topics brought to the discussion works, the following chapter presents an analysis of five focus groups among Mexican citizens, with a predefined objective studying democratic values as well as local identity.
CHAPTER III

VALUES, DEMOCRACY AND TRADITION IN FIVE MUNICIPALITIES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines five focus groups conducted by the company ARCOP in the State of Mexico in five different municipalities: Chapa de Mota, Temascalapa, Otumba, Naucalpan and Cuautitlan. The semi structured questionnaire gives these groups the opportunity to see the emergence of specific topics related to previously investigator-selected values. In particular we will focus on two topics discussed during these sessions: Democracy and local identities. The results of each group will allow us to make a comparison between them and inquire whether there are values associated with different socioeconomic contexts that are experienced in each of the districts.

The implementation of the SVQ not carried out in these focus groups because its original purpose was not to be analyzed in light of the theoretical framework of basic human values. Either way, the method of Qualitative Content Analysis remains the right to categorize the new dimensions that emerge during this study.

3.2 Socioeconomic and political context of the five municipalities.

Mexico as a country is divided into 32 states. Each has its own government, legislature and judiciary power. In turn, each of these entities is divided into municipalities, which have a government elected by the direct vote of the citizens. The five municipalities included in the focus groups belong to the State of Mexico, which is located at the north of Mexico City.

The State of Mexico has 125 municipalities and more than 15 million inhabitants (Inegi, 2010). It is the political stronghold of the current party in charge of the Presidency of the Republic, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). In fact, the current President of the
Republic is the former state governor. Since the creation of the PRI, as the National Revolutionary Party in 1929, no other party has governed the state. This is enough to stress the importance of democracy as a theme in studies related to this entity.

Since the analysis of the focus groups is based on municipalities and not in the State of Mexico as such, it is preferable to present their specific context. Table 3.1 presents the socio-economic profiles of each municipality according to the classification of the National Institute of Statistics & Geography with data from the 2010 population census. The socioeconomic index was constructed from seven factors and should be read in a positive sense, a higher number means that the measured area has more positive indicators (Inegi, 2004). The factors included in the index of socioeconomic level are:

a) Housing infrastructure  
b) Quality of housing  
c) Overcrowding  
d) Equipment in homes  
e) Health  
f) Education  
g) Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Chapa de Mota</th>
<th>Cuautitlán</th>
<th>Naucalpan</th>
<th>Otumba</th>
<th>Temascalapa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

National Institute of Statistics and Geography. 2010.  
/Municipalities are divided into Basic Geo-Statistic Areas. The whole area is categorized in a socioeconomic level. The percentage represents the sum of the population in those areas.
Chapa de Mota was founded by indigenous people in the fourteenth century (Inafed, 2010). It is notable that currently 13 percent of its population of 5 years or more is of indigenous speech (Inegi, 2010). The main economic activities of the municipality are animal raising, agriculture and forest exploitation, as more than 40 percent of its territory is dedicated to this use. Chapa de Mota is the municipality that has the lowest level of in the socio-economic index among the municipalities included in the study. Only two thirds of its homes have drainage and more than 80 percent of people 15 years and older have completed only basic education or have remained without studies. Around 27 thousand people live in its territory (Inegi, 2010).

Cuautitlán has a long history that also dates from the fourteenth century. The industrial development reached by the nineteenth century was outstanding. At the same time it has been a town of great importance to the Catholic religion as it is in this place where the veneration for the Virgin of Guadalupe -a national symbol for many Mexicans- started (Inafed, 2010). The main economic activities of the municipality are business and services, which covers more than half of the economically active population, as well as industry comprising a third of it. With over 500 thousand inhabitants, the contrast with Chapa de Mota is marked, more than 80 percent of the population of Cuautitlán is located in the two highest socioeconomic levels, among other things thanks to its educational levels and that more than half of the population has a formal job (Inegi, 2010).

Naucalpan territory has been the site of human settlement for thousands of years. Its territory was occupied since 1400 B.C. by the Olmecs. By the end of the fifteenth century it belonged to the empire of the Great Tenochtitlan. Since the early twentieth century, before the Mexican Revolution, it was one of the first municipalities to receive the installation of street lighting. By 1975, Naucalpan was recognized as one of the most industrialized cities of the country (Inafed, 2010). Naucalpan is one of the biggest

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6 Municipal Development Plan of Chapa de Mota 2009-2012  
7 Urban Development Plan of Cuautitlán 2003-2006
municipalities, inhabited by over 800 thousand people. Its economy is focused on business and services (90%) serving not only the local demand but the population of neighboring cities. Local business and industry account for at least half of the jobs in the municipality. Naucalpan has a socioeconomic profile similar to Cuautitlán, with the only difference that 3 percent of population speak indigenous languages (Inegi, 2010), which could explain the 2.1 percent of the population that is in the socioeconomic level 3.

Otumba was inhabited by the Otomi culture since the thirteenth century. The town has a rich history in its territory were battles were fought during the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. (Inafed, 2010). Despite having declined in recent years, agriculture remains one of the most important activities in the city, employing more than 40 percent of the economically active population. The economy is beginning to move to business and services, however, the level of wages is still low. In housing indicators, Otumba is similar to Naucalpan and Cuautitlán; it differs however from these municipalities in having a lower level of formal education, and also having less than half of its population in a formal job. Its population is just over 30 thousand inhabitants (Inegi, 2010).

Temascalapa settlement was inhabited by different cultures before the conquest of Mexico since the twelfth century (Inafed, 2010). This municipality has also transformed its economic activity from the agricultural sector to manufacturing and trade. However, wages remain low and businesses that predominate are small. Temascalapa socioeconomic level could be considered at an intermediate level compared to other municipalities. It does not reach the educational levels of Naucalpan or Cuautitlán, and the only difference with Otumba is to have less than half of the houses with access to piped water (Inegi, 2010).

In political terms, the municipalities have in common that all of them have experienced changes in the ruling party as a product of political competition; Cuautitlán since the early 90's and the latest Chapa de Mota and Otumba since 2000. In Cuautitlán, Naucalpan and Temascalapa PRI has returned to government after several years of having been thrown to

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8 Municipal Development Plan of Naucalpan 2006-2009
9 Urban Development Plan of Otumba 2003-2006
10 Urban Development Plan of Temascalapa 2003-2006
the opposition. This has not happened in Chapa de Mota and Otumba. The homogeneity with which these municipalities were sampled gives us the opportunity to analyze whether differences in expressed values are associated with socioeconomic characteristics or not. At the same time, it allows us to more confidently assess the usefulness of Qualitative Content Analysis to detect profiles of basic human values through focus groups.

3.3 Results of five focus groups.

3.3.1 Methodological remarks

As already mentioned above, these focus groups were planned as part of a different research project. However, the topics covered make the data suitable for the study of basic human values and political attitudes using Qualitative Content Analysis. To take this step, it is important first to make some comments on the methodology in order to understand the degree of difference between these focus groups and the previous interviews, and how to process the information derived from these groups.

The questionnaire for these focus groups covers the following topics:

- Democratic values
- Local identity
- Interest in politics
- Media
- Trust in public institutions
- Trust in church
- Attributes and image of the Electoral Institute of the State of Mexico (IEEMS)
- Expectations of rulers

As the method of Qualitative Content Analysis points out, the relevant information for the project has to be selected before carrying out data coding (Scheirer, 2012). In this sense, not all available information from the focus groups is tied to our research interest. For
example, the issue of media is not taken into consideration because participants only answer tv channel names or tv news names without making any evaluation of them. The other sections, though not analyzed individually, are included in order to have more variation in terms of values for each group and to generate more meaningful comparisons between them.

Democracy is a topic of major interest to our research project. In the session participants were asked 'What are for you the values of democracy?' Among the responses of people, some words were mentioned more repeatedly than others, this helped to identify some value types by detecting those keywords. Conformity was associated commonly to the words respect, kindness and duty; the words for universalism were equality and justice; for benevolence honesty; and for self-expression the word freedom.

The issue of identity is of no interest in itself; however, this section of the focus group serves as a trigger that encourages participants to talk about their attachment to the traditions of the municipality, if it exists at all. The aggregate differences can be compared between municipalities. In the group sessions people are just asked to answer what makes them feel proud of being a member of their municipality or what identifies them with it. In some groups, the subject invariably derived in appreciation for tradition, but this was not the case for all the groups.

Another difference to consider between these focus groups and the rest of the information gathered is the way the respondents' answers are obtained. Both individual and group interviews among students were conducted using a passive style of moderation. The intention of doing so was to get expressions of the participants as spontaneous as possible, avoiding contaminating them with the assumed priorities of the moderator. In contrast, the focus groups carried out in Mexico were conducted with an active moderation style, which is explained by the need of the moderator to obtain direct answers to specific questions. Both moderation strategies are considered valid in its own sphere; academia and market research respectively (Liamputtong, 2011). However, it is a fact that they produce different results that must be considered when analyzing the information. In this particular case,
special attention was paid to observe whether a participant continued to elaborate some idea after the intervention of the moderator or any other participant. In these cases, separate pieces of text were coded as a single segment. This prevented the creation of an artificial large number of quotations, which in the end would have been redundant or misleading.

3.3.2 Analysis of focus groups

To analyze the focus groups among Mexican citizens, only two dimensions were used from the original coding frame: Values dimension and support or opposition to value. Also a dimension of sections was created in order to organize the data, particularly to identify information discussed during the topics of identity and democracy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value/Municipality</th>
<th>Chapa de Mota (n=94)</th>
<th>Cuautitlán (Men) (n=55)</th>
<th>Naucalpan (n=44)</th>
<th>Otumba (n=93)</th>
<th>Temascalapa (Men) (n=39)</th>
<th>Total (n=325)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>7.5</td>
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<td>17.2</td>
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<td>11.8</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1/ Only quotations in support of the value
n=number of quotations
Table 3.2 shows the distribution of quotations according to basic human values. The information is presented in percentages since we have enough interview segments to compare. In this case absolute numbers might have been more difficult to read.

- Identity and tradition

Studies have shown that changes in the material conditions of the people, particularly the level of economic development, have effects on value priorities. Economic well-being tends to be associated with self-expression values or autonomy, and low levels of development with survival or embeddedness (Schwartz, 2006; Inglehart, 2006). In that respect, it immediately calls the attention that the groups from the two municipalities with better socioeconomic situation, Naucalpan and Cuautitlán, express the lower percentage of quotations related to tradition. Likewise, Cuautitlán is the group with the highest percentage of self-direction values.

Moreover, Inglehart and Baker (2000) have argued that religion has a long-term cultural impact, mediating the change produced by development on values. In this regard, participants from Naucalpan showed the most critical and distrustful attitude towards the Church. Examples of comments concerning this are:

“What happens is that many priests come, for example, to a church and they come without nothing, practically arrive walking and they leave the church with big trucks and they never fix the church...they say because there is not enough money.” Woman (P1), Naucalpan.

“I don’t trust the Church (...) The same that it was said about the priests, that they are rapers, because one priest was flirting with me.” Woman (P9), Naucalpan.

In contrast, the attitude towards Church in Chapa de Mota and Otumba was much more favorable.
“First for my religion, I feel confident in going with a priest who is a human being, just as me, and confess my sins. That is having trust, I leave the place calmed, I know that I have already confessed, that God forgave me, then I do have trust in Church” Woman (P10), Chapa de Mota.

We cannot deny that in recent decades these municipalities have enjoyed some degree of development and that their economic activities have changed into a more urban profile. However, the strong influence of the Catholic religion still present in these places, could have the effect of a slow change in the priorities of the people.

The traditions that participants value more are primarily concerned with typical food, trading of local products and festivals. Particularly, public celebrations have the distinguishing attribute of allowing and promoting people participation. They serve both as a mechanism to transmit culture and as a way to promote the conservation of traditions among the younger generations.

“To participate in the festival, not only you have to dress up your donkey, and run with it, like was said, here the people are used to cook a lot of food when the festival is coming and they invite people from other places to come and visit.” Man (P9), Otumba.

“Well, I really like the traditions from here, also because I really like dancing and they show dances, dance Aztec dances, dances that personally call my attention. In fact, we inculcate in children those dances and traditions of the town. Starting by September 15 in the evening is the shout of independence, the 16th a parade. A festival and a ceremony are made to make children aware of our culture.” Woman (P6), Chapa de Mota.

These celebrations give rise to the stability of the values shared by the community over time. The fact that not all celebrations are religious, like the donkey festival in Otumba, indicates that the appreciation of tradition is varied and is strongly rooted.
Table 3.3 presents the number of quotations per group filtered only for those moments when the subject of democracy is discussed. This includes the values that people associate directly to democracy, as well as other considerations that arise while the subject is still on the table. As can be seen, most of the indications concern self-direction, universalism and benevolence value types. In this regard, Schwartz (2006) has shown that these values, corresponding to the dimensions of autonomy and egalitarianism, are positively related to democratic values in more than 70 nations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value/Country</th>
<th>Chapa de Mota</th>
<th>Cuautitlán</th>
<th>Naucalpan</th>
<th>Otumba</th>
<th>Temascalapa</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedonism</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-direction</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalism</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolence</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, not all groups have the same distribution of quotations by the ten basic human values. The groups from the three municipalities with lower socioeconomic status tend also to associate democracy with conformity values. Within this type of values kindness and respect are the most frequently mentioned. In these groups, the preservation of order and community relations is on a par with freedom of expression. The following quotation is a clear example of how these two value types compete.
"P6- But we are not free because we do not have the freedom to express ourselves, because sometimes they shut us up when we want to express, that is not freedom nor democracy.

P3- ¿Can I? ... Here, well, the focus is a bit on the idea that the teachers have, that... yes, there is freedom and everything but sometimes some people want to vandalize and that would not be freedom anymore” Chapa de Mota.

Participants show different concerns regarding the same value. On one side participant 6 complains about the restriction of the right to express and on the other part participant 3 justify the constraint to that liberty using an extreme example where teachers go beyond the right of public demonstration and vandalize the streets.

To conclude the discussion on democratic values, Table 3.4 shows the result of an exercise where participants were asked to describe the IEEM with the first words that came into their minds.

<p>| Table 3.4 Distribution of quotations according to value types when describing the IEEM |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value/Count</th>
<th>Chapa de Mota</th>
<th>Cuautitlán</th>
<th>Naucalpan</th>
<th>Otumba</th>
<th>Temascalapa</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedonism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-direction</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universalism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolence</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 4 7 8 8 53
Most people associated the IEEM with benevolence values, specifically with *honesty*. Instead of thinking this as evidence of democratic values associated to the perception of this institution, my interpretation is that the IEEM is not being completely evaluated for its performance; rather it is equated to the rank of a player among other political institutions. The yardstick is not only how well they manage to achieve their main objectives, in a positive way, but also how they manage to stay out of acts of corruption, negatively speaking. This derives on perceptions where the IEEM is regarded as dishonest or sold to the interest of the powerful.

“*P8- Like a sold person.*

*P4- A powerful person and corrupt.*

*P5- Powerful and with bad management*”. Cuautitlán.

“*Well, the way I see it, the IEEM is a semi naked woman with all the looks of a prostitute*”

Man (P3), Temascalapa.

Consistent with what we have found regarding democracy and socioeconomic level, again some people associate the IEEM with conformity, particularly with values as *respect, kindness* and even *humility*, especially in Chapa de Mota.

### 3.4 Summary of results

The measurement of values through the use of QCA allows testing associations between the resulting value profiles and other variables such as socioeconomic status. The profiles of the municipalities included in the five focus groups were associated in a theoretically predictable pattern to the distribution of the values expressed in each of the group sessions. Better socioeconomic levels are related to the development of values such self-expression at the expense of tradition. This in turn results in the development of values that favor the flourishing of democracy (Inglehart, 2006; Schwartz, 2006). This is observed particularly in the groups with participants from Naucalpan and Cuautitlán. The remaining groups - Chapa de Mota, Temascalapa and Otumba- associate democracy also with conformity.
values, showing that in these communities the appreciation for individual freedom is still in conflict with the pursuit of stable relations and social norms.

Particularly the group conducted with citizens from Naucalpan accounts for how the better socioeconomic conditions in this municipality are paired to a lower appreciation of traditions, qualitatively and quantitatively speaking. Quantitatively, Cuatitlán showed a relatively low percentage of quotations related to tradition, however, qualitatively speaking remnants of appreciation for traditionality still exist, mainly as a product of religion.
CONCLUSION

Choosing Schwartz values theory instead of Inglehart’s post modernization theory is a methodological strategy that intends to arrange qualitative data according to the well-defined categories of the ten basic human values. Although both theories have converged in terms of meaningful dimensions to analyze cross-cultural data, Inglehart’s theory would require a higher degree of interpretation from the side of the researcher, while the structure of Schwartz values promises to cover all the possible options where a segment of data can be located.

The analysis of values through QCA method allows the development of value profiles either for groups or individuals, which in turn can be related to other instruments like SVQ scores. The higher priorities in the SVQ were generally accompanied by the presence of quotations where those values were expressed. On the contrary, the lowest scores on SVQ were commonly associated to null expressions of those values.

Moreover, where there were enough variance of quotations, it was possible to observe an association of dimensions of political competition and relevant basic values, as it was the case with welfare state vs. economic liberalism with universalism, in the individual interviews, and collective vs. individual rights with self-direction, in the focus group. Political engagement and democratic attitudes co-occurred with autonomy values in individual interviews and focus groups respectively, as should be theoretically expected (Schwartz, 2006, Inglehart, 2006). Nevertheless, the measurement of political engagement, which was derived from the answers during the semi-structured interview, should be substituted for questions answered before it.

Studying democracy and local identity with participants from five different municipalities showed the advantage of discussing specific topics in order to obtain variance of value priorities across different groups. The results helped to find the sources of different conceptions of democracy. Lower socioeconomic conditions are not only linked to a higher appreciation of tradition, it is also tied to an appraisement for respect of social norms and
stable relations in the community. This priority in turn comes to conflict with the democratic value of freedom. This perception differs from the municipalities that hold higher levels of socioeconomic well-being, where the concept of democracy is mostly based on liberties such as the freedom of speech.

The emergence of more value expressions depend on two factors, one is the group size and the other is the incentives provided by the moderator or interviewer. The group carried out among German students was too small (4) to mark a difference with respect to the individual interviews. What really mattered in that group session was the dynamic of selecting news before the session started, and that those pieces of news were chosen by the participants. The size of the groups from the State of Mexico as well as the topics brought up by the researcher improved the amount of quotations available to make a value profile of each group. In this case, however, the topics covered only some of the basic human values, which means that a complete profile of a group can only be achieved if the questionnaire is constructed in a way that fosters the expression of all ten types of values.
REFLEXIVITY

Chamberlain (2004) talks about reflexivity as an activity that entails questioning our position as researchers, in respect to our values and assumptions, as well as opening to scrutiny our decisions while conducting research, such as epistemological position and the theoretical framework chosen. He suggests engaging into reflexivity in order to inform the reader about the potential impact of our role as researchers into the final product of our inquiry. Moreover, this exercise allows to improve our practice as it becomes more transparent and we become more aware of our limitations.

Starting with my identity, it is important to note that my background has been in Political Science and Public Opinion studies oriented to decision making. In that sense, my approach to research topics tends to be guided by a more practical perspective. For example, in the second chapter I talk about dimensions of political competition and how they are related to the value profiles of respondents. The relevance of the topic is taken for granted and is largely connected to the needs that in practice political parties and their leaders have to know what are the main positions in which citizens are divided, particularly at election times.

This influenced the choice of theoretical framework as well. Having had previous contact with the posmodernization theory of Inglehart during my undergraduate studies, Schwartz’s theory of basic human values was more attractive because its ten value types offer the possibility of testing meaningful concepts that can potentially be helpful for guiding political communication strategies. The choice of theme of this thesis is strongly linked to the search for better ways to measure the dynamics of public opinion. Choosing a qualitative methodology, in particular Qualitative Content Analysis, forms part of this interest.

In turn, the decision to take a positivist epistemological position derives from both the theoretical framework chosen and the type of guidance that has been my work as a
consultant to public opinion in the previous years of my graduate studies. This does not mean that it considers this epistemological position as the only or the most valid. In fact, I believe that the results of this study need to be complemented with the discursive and rhetorical understanding of politics.
APPENDIX

A1. Questionnaire for semi-structured interview

1. From your perspective, what is the most important problem of (country) in this moment? Why?

2. Sometimes we have discussions with our friends or with our family about political matters. Can you remember a topic that you have discussed recently with your friends or your family?

3. Who is the prime minister/president in (country)? How would you describe him as a person? And how would you describe his government?

4. Do you approve (agree) the way he is ruling the country? Why?

5. Is there any national election coming soon in (country)? (If there is one coming in three months or less, then ask about the upcoming election.)

5. Did you vote in the last national election? Whom did you vote for and why?

6. Why you didn’t vote other political parties or candidates?

7. Then, after what you have said, which options did people have during the last national election?

A2. Schwartz Value Questionnaire

AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN MY LIFE, this value is:

The higher the number (0,1,2,3,4,5,6), the more important the value is as a guiding principle in YOUR life.

-1 is for rating any values opposed to the principles that guide you.

7 is for rating a value of supreme importance as a guiding principle in your life
ordinarily there are no more than two such values.

VALUES LIST I: GUIDING PRINCIPLES IN LIFE
Before you begin, read values 1 to 30 and choose the one that is most important to you and rate its importance. Next, choose the value that is most opposed to your values, or--if there is no such value--choose the value least important to you, and rate it -1, 0, or 1, according to its importance. Then rate the rest of the values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>EQUALITY (equal opportunity for all)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>INNER HARMONY (at peace with myself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>SOCIAL POWER (control over others, dominance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>PLEASURE (gratification of desires)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5</td>
<td>FREEDOM (freedom of action and thought)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6</td>
<td>A SPIRITUAL LIFE (emphasis on spiritual not material matters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S7</td>
<td>SENSE OF BELONGING (feeling that others care about me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S8</td>
<td>SOCIAL ORDER (stability of society)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S9</td>
<td>AN EXCITING LIFE (stimulating experiences)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S10</td>
<td>MEANING IN LIFE (a purpose in life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S11</td>
<td>POLITENESS (courtesy, good manners)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S12</td>
<td>WEALTH (material possessions, money)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S13</td>
<td>NATIONAL SECURITY (protection of my nation from enemies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S14</td>
<td>SELF RESPECT (belief in one's own worth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S15</td>
<td>RECIPROCATION OF FAVORS (avoidance of indebtedness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S16</td>
<td>CREATIVITY (uniqueness, imagination)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S17</td>
<td>A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S18</td>
<td>RESPECT FOR TRADITION (preservation of time-honored customs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S19</td>
<td>MATURE LOVE (deep emotional &amp; spiritual intimacy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S20</td>
<td>SELF-DISCIPLINE (self-restraint, resistance to temptation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S21</td>
<td>PRIVACY (the right to have a private sphere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S22</td>
<td>FAMILY SECURITY (safety for loved ones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S23</td>
<td>SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, approval by others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S24</td>
<td>UNITY WITH NATURE (fitting into nature)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A VARIED LIFE (filled with challenge, novelty and change)

WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)

AUTHORITY (the right to lead or command)

TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close, supportive friends)

A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)

SOCIAL JUSTICE (correcting injustice, care for the weak)

VALUES LIST II: WAYS OF ACTING

INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)

MODERATE (avoiding extremes of feeling & action)

LOYAL (faithful to my friends, group)

AMBITIOUS (aspiring)

BROADMINDED (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)

HUMBLE (modest, self-effacing)

DARING (seeking adventure, risk)

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT (preserving nature)

INFLUENTIAL (having an impact on people and events)

HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS (showing respect)

CHOOSING OWN GOALS (selecting own purposes)

HEALTHY (not being sick physically or mentally)

CAPABLE (competent, effective, efficient)

ACCEPTING MY PORTION IN LIFE (submitting to life's circumstances)

HONEST (genuine, sincere)

PRESERVING MY PUBLIC IMAGE (protecting my "face")

OBEYDIENT (dutiful, meeting obligations)

INTELLIGENT (logical, thinking)

HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)

ENJOYING LIFE (enjoying food, sex, leisure, etc.)

DEVOUT (holding to religious faith & belief)

RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)
S53__ CURIOUS (interested in everything, exploring)
S54__ FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)
S55__ SUCCESSFUL (achieving goals)
S56__ CLEAN (neat, tidy)
S57__ PERSISTENT (having perseverance, stamina)
S58__ GRACE OF GOD (trust in God) (added to Schwartz's value survey)
S59__ SALVATION (religious) (added to Schwartz's value survey)
S60__ SELF-INDULGENCE (doing pleasant things)
S61__ HARD-WORKING (industrious)
S62__ CONSCIENTIOUS
S63__ ORDERLY (being systematic)
S64__ PUNCTUAL (accurate)
S65__ LONG-TERM PLANNING (long-term orientation)
S66__ HONOUR (respectability)
S67__ THRIFTY (economical)

A3. Links to the editorials read during the focus interviews with German students
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