



## TRENDS IN VALUE PRIORITIES ACROSS WESTERN EUROPE – A LATENT GROWTH CURVE MODELING

### Trendovi vrednosnih prioriteta u Zapadnoj Evropi – Modelovanje krivama latentnog rasta

**ABSTRACT:** *In this paper, we explore trends in value priorities on a country-level across Western Europe using the Schwartz typology of personal values. We analyze the significance of the time effect as well as country-level differences in time effects on individual value priorities. We use latent growth curve modeling and data from the European Social Survey, including 12 countries (with more than 240,000 respondents) and ten time-points between 2002 and 2020. Results indicate insignificant time effects on tradition and stimulation, weak positive time effects on benevolence, universalism, self-direction, and hedonism, and weak negative effects on security, conformity, achievement, and power. Finally, the analysis of country-level differences indicates that the observed pattern is particularly pronounced in the Nordic countries. Generally, our evidence suggests relative stability of values and a slow cultural shift across Western Europe.*

**KEY WORDS:** *values, European Social Survey, latent growth curve modeling.*

**APSTRAKT:** *U ovom radu ispituujemo trendove vrednosnih prioriteta na nivou zemalja u Zapadnoj Evropi koristeći Švarcovu tipologiju individualnih vrednosti. Analiziramo značajnost efekta vremena kao i razlike između zemalja u efektima vremena na individualne vrednosne prioritete. Koristimo modelovanje krivama latentnog rasta, i podatke iz Evropskog društvenog istraživanja, uključujući 12 zemalja (sa više od 240.000 ispitanika) i deset vremenskih tačaka između 2002. i 2020 godine. Rezultati ukazuju na odsustvo značajnog efekta vremena na tradiciju i stimulaciju, slabe pozitivne efekte na benevolentnost, univerzalizam, samousmeravanje i hedonizam, kao i na slabe negativne efekte na bezbednost, konformizam, postignuće i moć. Konačno, analiza razilka između zemalja ukazuje da je indikovani obrazac posebno naglašen u Nordijskim zemljama. Generalno,*

*naši nalazi ukazuju na relativnu stabilnost vrednosti i postepene kulturne promene u Zapadnoj Evropi.*

KLJUČNE REČI: *vrednosti, Evropsko društveno istraživanje, modelovanje krivama latentnog rasta.*

## Introduction

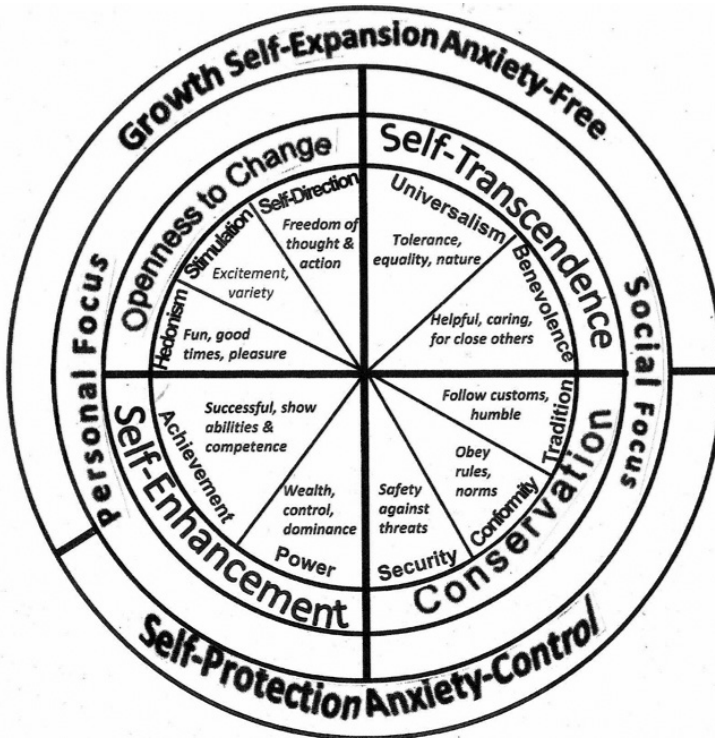
Human values may be defined as relatively stable, desirable, transsituational motivational goals, which vary in their relative importance and serve as individuals' guiding principles in life (Tormos et al. 2017: 2). There are at least six characteristics of values: they are inextricably linked to affect; they refer to desirable goals that motivate action; they transcend specific actions and situations; they serve as standards or criteria, guiding the selection or evaluation of actions, policies, people, and events; they are ordered by relative importance; and finally, the relative importance of multiple values guides action (Schwartz, 2012: 3–4). Individual attitudes, emotions, preferences, and behaviors have all been explained using values (Steg et al., 2014, Bouman et al., 2020, Sagiv and Roccas, 2021, Kácha et al., 2022). Although research about value changes has important theoretical and practical implications, the focus of prior research has been on value stability, especially in psychology.

Also, although by definition values are relatively stable personal attributes, and some of the prior research indicates only minimal change in individual values (Schwartz, 2005a, Moghaddam and Crystal, 1997, Rokeach, 1973, Schwartz, 1992), plenty of evidence on the other side, shows that values are changing over the course of an individual's lifetime and in response to substantial changes in personal and social circumstances (Kohn and Schooler, 1982, Rokeach, 1973, Schwartz and Sagiv, 1995, Sheldon, 2005). For instance, some research (see: Moghaddam and Crystal, 1997) indicated that culture change is a very slow process even in the face of major institutional transformations, as shown in cases of norms that governed authority relations in Iran, China, and Japan for many centuries, despite profound political and economic changes. Contrary, as evidenced in cases of post-socialist societies (see: Miszlevitz, 1997, Zubek, 1997), prevailing values may shift within a generation as people adapt their values to changing living circumstances and institutions.

One of the most important and notable works on values is Schwartz's (2012) theory of basic values. According to this theory, there are ten basic and universal individual values, which are motivationally distinct and related, as shown on a circular continuum in Figure 1. Values in opposing wedges in the circle conflict, while values in adjacent wedges are motivationally compatible. There are two bi-polar, higher-order dimensions: self-transcendence versus self-enhancement, which represents a conflict between values that reflect concern for the welfare and interests of others versus values that express concern for one's own interests above the welfare and interests of others (Schwartz and Sortheix, 2018). On the other hand, openness to change versus conservation represents a conflict between

values that prioritize the independence of action, thought, and sensations and readiness for change versus security, predictability, and resistance to change. This model's internal reliability, circular structure, and measurement invariance are confirmed across 49 different cultural groups (Schwartz and Cieciuch, 2017).<sup>2</sup>

**Figure 1.** The circular structure of ten basic values (Schwartz and Sortheix, 2018).



In this paper we analyze the trends in these ten basic and universal individual values across 12 Western European countries. We follow the trends for the 2002–2020 period, characterized by many great challenges for these societies. For instance, in the midst of that period, most European populations were affected by the economic downturn, rising unemployment, and the sovereign debt crisis caused by the global financial crisis (Glatz and Eder, 2020), which might have led to drastic value changes. In that respect, this paper addresses the two following research questions: what are the general trends in ten-value priorities across Western Europe, and are there any differences between countries in time effects on these priorities. For that purpose, we use a latent growth curve modeling (LGCM). Specifically, the main advantage of LGCM compared to traditional

2 Later on, Schwartz et al. (2012) proposed a new division on the continuum of values, where the ten values were decomposed into nineteen, with two new values added — face and humility. Additionally, an important function of values – as to affect everyday decisions in a rarely conscious way – is later also recognized (Schwartz, 2015).

models for exploring trends is that first-order latent variables are involved (Zhang 2022). Additionally, as this technique uses structural equation modeling, models are adjusted for measurement error. Finally, LGCM is more flexible with missing data and unequal time intervals (Burant, 2016).

## Prior research

In prior literature, many possible mechanisms of value changes are identified (Inglehart, 1997, Harris, 1999, Inglehart and Baker, 2000, Schwartz and Sagie, 2000, Erez and Gati, 2004). For instance, according to widely accepted Inglehart's scarcity hypothesis (i.e., Inglehart 2018b), existential insecurity leads to giving top priorities to materialistic goals, while under secure conditions, people become more likely to emphasize postmaterialist goals such as belonging, esteem, and free choice. The idea that material conditions determine changes in values has a very long tradition. For instance, Ogburn (1922) also emphasizes that changes in material culture generate changes in non-material culture (although the opposite causal direction is also possible), and adds that there is a tendency for material culture to evolve and change more rapidly and extensively while non-material culture is more resistant to change and remains fixed longer. In this way, a cultural lag is generated, potentially triggering maladjustment and social adversities. Hofstede (1980) makes a distinction between four mechanisms of value change: maturation effects (as people get older), generation effects (impact by a life-changing event in formative years), zeitgeist effects (values shift due to external shocks), and seniority effects (accepting values based on someone's seniority). On the other side, Rokeach (1968) argues that there are two main mechanisms of value changes: inconsistencies in one's values hierarchy or inconsistencies between one values and behavior – caused by new information from a relevant other.

Research on values stability and changes using Schwartz's typology has been conducted over many groups, different time frames, and various factors as potential drivers of change. For instance, Van Herk and Poortinga (2012), in a study across 195 Regions in Europe, found that at the regional level, GDP per capita is negatively associated with the prevalence of conservation and self-enhancement. Additionally, the shifts in various regions across age cohorts reflect recent historical factors that explain value disparities, such as the socialist past. Authors conclude that the direct links of the value dimensions with the current economic context, rapid changes during the post-socialist transformation, and the absence of notable effects from earlier times suggest that cultural values reflect current circumstances rather than the cultural context, a more or less distant past.

Other crises potential effects on values are also well-studied. Sortheix et al. (2017) examined changes in the personal values of youth and young adults from sixteen European countries following the global financial crisis. They found the importance of security, tradition, benevolence, and, to a lesser extent, conformity values increased, while, on the other side, hedonism, self-direction,

and stimulation values decreased. Furthermore, power and, to a lesser extent, achievement increased in countries with low welfare expenditures but dropped in countries with large welfare expenditures. Finally, gains in tradition and benevolence values were more intense in high-welfare countries. Verkasalo et al. (2006) analyzed high school and university student samples in Finland before and after the World Trade Center and related attacks to see how their values changed. The data showed that following the attacks, security values increased and stimulation values decreased, with stimulation levels fell back toward pre-attack levels subsequently.

A longitudinal panel design with Ingrian–Finnish migrants from Russia to Finland before and nineteen months after migration found that the importance of both universalism and security values increased (Lönnqvist et al., 2011), whereas the importance of power and achievement values fell. Two years after migration, a follow-up study (Lönnqvist et al., 2013) found that universalism and security values were declining while achievement values were rising, indicating that personal values react to changing societal conditions but then return close to their baseline levels (rebound effect). Analyzing changes in values in 26 countries from five historical cohorts, Dobewall et al. (2017) found that throughout the transition from late adolescence to young adulthood, most cohorts increasingly prioritized self-transcendence above self-enhancement, but the latter age effects were relatively small. Furthermore, the positive relationship between normative aging and self-transcendence endorsement was stronger in more wealthy nations. Similarly, Vecchione et al. (2016) followed the same group of young adults in Italy at three-time points, separated by 4 years. They discovered that the average relevance of conservation, self-transcendence, and power increased over time, while the importance of achievement values fell and openness to change values stayed consistent. The time effect, however, was not large. Some other studies also indicated weak effects of time on value changes (e.g. Hofmann-Towfigh, 2007).

Recent studies examined the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on values. Daniel et al. (2021) examined longitudinal data from Australians three years before the pandemic, at pandemic onset, and seven months afterward. During the pandemic, conservation values became more significant, while openness to change values became less so, which was reversed in late 2020. More importantly, the authors concluded that results support the view of values as usually stable and an adaptive system that responds to significant changes in environmental conditions. Similarly, Bonetto et al. (2021), on a heterogeneous sample of French citizens, also found that conservation values were greater than typical during the pandemic. During the pandemic outbreak, both self-enhancement and openness to change were lower than usual. Bojanowska (2021) found an increase in self-direction, achievement, security, conformity, humility, benevolence, and universalism nine months before the lockdown in Poland and a decrease in hedonism two weeks and four weeks after the lockdown. The conclusion was once again that values are adaptable and flexible systems that react to external circumstances such as global calamitous events. Other large traumatic events, such as war, may also have an impact on rapid value shifts (Daniel et al., 2013).

From the review of relevant previous literature, it can be concluded that major triggering events, such as wars, economic crises, or pandemics, generally indicate a clear pattern of effect on values. In general, these events tend to have a positive impact on self-protection values and a negative impact on growth-based values. Furthermore, in the absence of such events, the effects of time on value changes are typically weak.

### This study

During the period covered by this research, numerous economic, social, political, and cultural factors might impact values across Europe. Apart from the mentioned financial crisis and the resulting economic downturn, rising unemployment, and the sovereign debt crisis, there are also increasing inequalities and insecurities, the refugee crisis, and the rise of far-right and populist movements in the first place (Piketty, 2015, Inglehart and Norris, 2017, Vlandas and Halikiopoulou, 2018, Jay et al., 2019). Although overall economic growth in Western countries has occurred over the last few decades, the real income of the less educated and also of college graduates and professionals has stagnated (Jay et al., 2019). Because of altered patterns of income and insecurity, economic inequality has risen in high-income countries in the last decades (Piketty, 2015). Consequently, we are witnessing “the silent revolution in reverse” – the insecurity associated with rising inequality across Western countries brings the vote for populist authoritarian movements and the support for such groups (Inglehart and Norris, 2017).

The mentioned rise in unemployment, which was particularly characteristic for some countries after the outbreak of the economic crisis, also leads to insecurities, not only for those who lose their jobs but also for those in permanent employment, as it increases their fears of job loss (Vlandas and Halikiopoulou, 2018, Zafirović, 2024), and poorer prospects of career mobility (Mai, 2017). Today, around 95.3 million people, or about 21.6 % of the total population in the EU, is at risk of poverty and/or social exclusion, and/or face severe material and social deprivation, and/or live in a household with very low work intensity (Eurostat, 2023).

Based on the presented theoretical and empirical framework, it could be expected that in the period following the economic crisis, as well as the subsequent rise in inequalities and uncertainties, there would be an increase in self-protection-based values (conservation and self-enhancement) and a decline in growth-based values (self-transcendence and openness to change). Additionally, such a pattern could be particularly expected in countries more affected by these crises, primarily in Southern European countries such as Spain or Portugal (Heidenreich, 2022).

The current research addresses several limitations in the literature on values trends across Western Europe. A comprehensive study of trends on whole nationally representative samples of entire populations using Schwartz's typology

of individual value priorities is non-existent. Previous studies, as shown, have been largely based on specific population segments only. Additionally, so far, the time series have had a shorter timeframe or contained only a small number of waves. To avoid the shortcomings of earlier studies, it is necessary to study value priorities trends over as many time points as possible and to confine the analysis to European countries with a common history and culture (Glatz and Eder 2020). Additionally, latent growth curve modeling may reveal what are country-level differences in time effects on personal value priorities.

## Data and Method

We use data from the European Social Survey (ESS). Within the ESS, data representing the entire residential population aged 15 and over in each country have been collected every two years since 2002 in most European countries. Thus, data from ten rounds is now available, which we use as quasi-panel data on a country-level. We include in the analysis Western European countries that took part in all ten previous ESS rounds from 2002 to 2020 (except Germany, Spain and Sweden, for which data on value priorities lack within the tenth round), totaling 12 countries and 117 observations ( $n = 240,526$  respondents, 51.1% of females,  $M_{age} = 46.3$ ,  $SD_{age} = 18.7$ ). We analyze countries with at least nine time-points as including fewer would likely distort the trends.

Within the ESS, personal value priorities are measured using the 21-item version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire, which assesses ten broad values intended to include the entire range of more specific values held by individuals of all cultures. All items and subscales are listed in Table 3 in the appendix. Each item represents a different person in terms of what matters to them. Respondents are asked: "How much is this person like you?" and answers are given on a 6-point scale (1 – very much like me, 6 – not like me at all). We recoded responses in analysis so that high scores represent greater similarity with the portrait. Internal consistency of the averaged values' indexes was .55, ranging from .32 for tradition to .69 for achievement. Low internal consistencies may be explained by the small number of items indexing each value (two or three) and because values encompass different sub-constructs (Schwartz 2003). However, multidimensional scaling and multi-group confirmatory factor analyses indicate the equivalence of the meaning of the values across Europe (Davidov, 2010, Bilsky et al., 2011, Sortheix et al., 2017). To correct for differences in scales uses, we centered the scores of each of the individual's ten values around that individual's mean.

Finally, we employ latent growth curve modeling in order to analyze general trends as well as differences between counties in time effects on value priorities. Latent growth curve modeling consists of two phases. In the initial phase, a regression curve, which may not be linear, is fit to the repeated measures of each country within the sample. Subsequently, the analysis

shifts its focus to the parameters of a country's curve rather than the initial measurements (Duncan and Duncan, 2009). Both linear and quadratic terms in time were employed in our analysis. For the latter, we use the orthogonal rather than the natural quadratic term to avoid correlation between the linear and quadratic time effect (Glatz and Eder, 2020). Following a comparison of various models using different goodness-of-fit indices, we incorporate linear random slopes along with random intercepts. By employing orthogonal quadratic effects, the intercepts can be interpreted as a mean across all time points (Glatz and Eder, 2020).<sup>3</sup>

We utilize maximum likelihood estimation and goodness of fit indicators (AIC, BIC) to compare different models, which include different random effects since omitting random effects could lead to biased results, but including all parameters may lead to over-fitting (Glatz and Eder, 2020: 424). We rely on marginal  $R^2$  (explained variance by fixed factors) and conditional  $R^2$  (explained variance by the entire model) to estimate the explained variance in the models. We use SPSS (version 27) software to manage and analyze the data.

## Results

Our analysis initiates with a descriptive overview of the trends in value priorities across Western Europe (Appendix, Figures 2–11). As Table 1 shows, benevolence and universalism are the values rated as most important across countries. Benevolence also exhibits the most consistently positive trend from 2002 to 2020. Specifically, in 2002, 20% of Western Europeans reported that helping people and caring for others' well-being was very important to them, whereas by 2020, this figure had increased to 28%. Conversely, power is consistently rated as the least important among the examined populations. In 2020, for instance, less than 9% of respondents indicated that gaining respect from others was very important to them. Self-direction follows universalism, while conservation values (security, conformity, and tradition) are rated less important than self-transcendence values (benevolence and universalism), but more important than self-enhancement values (power and achievement). Among the self-transcendence values, self-direction is rated as more important than the other two (stimulation and hedonism).

We proceed with latent growth curve models to investigate the developmental trajectories of value priorities in Western Europe from 2002 to 2020. As Table 1 shows, benevolence exhibits a positive linear trend, while power shows a negative linear trend, and to a much lesser extent, security. The estimates, however, are relatively small: for every one unit of time (equivalent to a 2-year period), there is a mean increase of 0.027 units for benevolence (on a six-point scale), and approximately equal decrease for power. Other values have even lower estimates,

---

3 Regarding LGCM equations, see: Duncan and Duncan, 2009.



both in linear and quadratic terms. There is significant but very weak U-shaped time effect for universalism (0.005), hedonism (0.005), and self-direction (0.004). Conversely, achievement (-0.009) and conformity (-0.005) display an inverse U-shaped trend over time, while security is linearly and negatively associated with time, also with small effects (-0.005). Tradition and stimulation indicate no significant linear or quadratic component.

**Table 1.** Trends in ten value priorities from 2002 to 2020 across 12 Western European countries (latent growth curve models).

|   | Security       |      | Conformity   |      | Tradition    |      | Benevolence  |      | Universalism |      |
|---|----------------|------|--------------|------|--------------|------|--------------|------|--------------|------|
|   | Estimate       | SE   | Estimate     | SE   | Estimate     | SE   | Estimate     | SE   | Estimate     | SE   |
| Intercept   | .312***        | .054 | -.122        | .062 | -.021        | .040 | .682***      | .026 | .590***      | .036 |
| Linear  | -.005*         | .002 | -.022**      | .005 | .004         | .003 | .027***      | .003 | .011*        | .004 |
| Quadratic   | .001           | .001 | -.005**      | .003 | -.000        | .001 | .001         | .001 | .005***      | .001 |
| Obs.  | 117            |      | 117          |      | 117          |      | 117          |      | 117          |      |
| $\sigma^2$  | .003           |      | .004         |      | .002         |      | .003         |      | .002         |      |
| Random intercepts                                       | .033           |      | .044         |      | .019         |      | .007         |      | .015         |      |
| Random slopes-linear                                    | 0.000          |      | .0002        |      | 0.0001       |      | 0.0001       |      | .0002        |      |
| AIC   | -246.0         |      | -213.5       |      | -312.3       |      | -264.3       |      | -274.4       |      |
| BIC   | -235.1         |      | -202.6       |      | -301.3       |      | -253.4       |      | -263.5       |      |
| Df  | 9              |      | 9            |      | 9            |      | 9            |      | 9            |      |
| Marginal R <sup>2</sup> /<br>conditional R <sup>2</sup> | 0.49%/ 90.7%   |      | 2.4%/ 87.7%  |      | 3.5%/ 95.5%  |      | 25.5%/ 87.6% |      | 8.3%/ 87.7%  |      |
|   | Self-direction |      | Stimulation  |      | Hedonism     |      | Achievement  |      | Power        |      |
|   | Estimate       | SE   | Estimate     | SE   | Estimate     | SE   | Estimate     | SE   | Estimate     | SE   |
| Intercept   | .409***        | .040 | -.611***     | .040 | -.157        | .072 | -.467***     | .052 | -.914***     | .046 |
| Linear  | .007           | .004 | -.001        | .002 | .017**       | .005 | -.016**      | .005 | -.028**      | .007 |
| Quadratic   | .004**         | .001 | .000         | .001 | .005**       | .002 | -.008***     | .002 | -.005        | .002 |
| Obs.  | 117            |      | 117          |      | 117          |      | 117          |      | 117          |      |
| $\sigma^2$  | .002           |      | .002         |      | .004         |      | .003         |      | .007         |      |
| Random intercepts                                       | .019           |      | .019         |      | .062         |      | .032         |      | .022         |      |
| Random slopes-linear                                    | .0001          |      | 0.0002       |      | .0002        |      | .0002        |      | .0005        |      |
| AIC   | -284.3         |      | -310.8       |      | -210.9       |      | -231.9       |      | -157.6       |      |
| BIC   | -273.4         |      | -299.9       |      | -199.9       |      | -221.0       |      | -146.7       |      |
| Df  | 9              |      | 9            |      | 9            |      | 9            |      | 9            |      |
| Marginal R <sup>2</sup> /<br>conditional R <sup>2</sup> | 4.39%/ 86.2%   |      | 4.39%/ 86.2% |      | 2.94%/ 85.0% |      | 6.4%/ 93.1%  |      | 6.2%/ 84.5%  |      |

Note: Post-stratification weight applied; \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

The differences in trends across countries regarding values are presented in Table 2. In our models, the United Kingdom is left out to serve as the reference category. The analysis indicates the following:

**Table 2.** *Country-specific slope coefficients (2002–2020).*

|                       | SE             | CO             | TR             | BE             | UN             | SD             | ST             | HE             | AC             | PO             |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Time                  | .003           | .021**         | -.009          | -.027***       | -.028***       | -.005          | .006           | .005           | .020**         | .029**         |
| Belgium × Time        | .010           | -.001          | .002           | .016           | .030***        | -.000          | -.016*         | -.003          | -.033**        | -.019          |
| Finland × Time        | .016           | .006           | .012           | -.013          | .015           | .005           | -.003          | -.054***       | .008           | .001           |
| France × Time         | -.004          | -.005          | -.006          | -.003          | .027**         | .008           | .004           | -.016          | -.007          | -.011          |
| Germany × Time        | -.001          | .012           | -.001          | -.011          | .008           | -.003          | -.006          | -.018          | .000           | .014           |
| Ireland × Time        | -.007          | .003           | .015*          | .016           | .030***        | .007           | -.009          | -.025*         | -.012          | -.033*         |
| Netherlands × Time    | .012           | .026*          | -.006          | -.002          | .019*          | -.002          | -.004          | -.020          | -.018          | -.013          |
| Norway × Time         | .004           | -.017          | .020**         | -.003          | .024**         | .007           | -.007          | -.035**        | -.001          | -.005          |
| Portugal × Time       | .004           | .020           | .018**         | -.005          | .006           | -.037***       | .007           | -.040***       | -.014          | .037**         |
| Spain × Time          | -.007          | -.003          | -.011          | -.004          | .004           | -.014          | -.008          | -.014          | .009           | .048**         |
| Sweden × Time         | .004           | -.006          | .014*          | -.005          | .003           | .002           | -.010          | -.018          | .020           | -.005          |
| Switzerland × Time    | .000           | -.033**        | .003           | .018*          | .047***        | .010           | -.011          | -.006          | -.020          | -.031*         |
| United Kingdom × Time | 0 <sup>a</sup> | 0 <sup>a</sup> | 0 <sup>a</sup> | 0 <sup>a</sup> | 0 <sup>a</sup> | 0 <sup>a</sup> | 0 <sup>a</sup> | 0 <sup>a</sup> | 0 <sup>a</sup> | 0 <sup>a</sup> |

Note. <sup>a</sup> refers to reference country; post-stratification weight applied; \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.

**Security:** The variation in slopes between countries is not substantial – none of the examined countries shows significant variation over the overall observed period. However, a relatively sharp decline is noticeable in the cases of Finland and the Netherlands.

**Conformity:** The variation in slopes is relatively large compared to other values. While the Netherlands and Portugal exhibit the steepest decline, followed by Germany and Finland, Switzerland is the only country showing an increase in conformity. All other countries demonstrate a decline in conformity during the observed period, although not statistically significant compared to the reference category.

**Tradition:** Similar to the overall time effect, variation between countries is relatively small. The exception is Spain, which experiences a relatively large increase, while Nordic countries show decreases, especially Norway.

**Benevolence:** All countries exhibited a positive trend in benevolence over the observed period, with no significant differences in slopes between countries. The most notable increases in benevolence were observed among the populations of Finland, Germany, and Sweden. It is also worth noting that the change in benevolence in Finland represents the second most intense positive change observed across all countries and values. Specifically, the average growth score for this value equaled 0.04 on a six-point scale.

**Universalism:** Differences in slopes for universalism across countries are relatively small. The most positive growth is observed in the United Kingdom and Sweden. Conversely, only Switzerland, and to a much lesser extent, Ireland and Belgium, exhibit a negative trend.

**Self-direction:** Regarding self-direction, variation in slopes is also not large. Portugal stands out as the only exception with a relatively sharp increase, while other countries mainly experience constant trends in self-direction during the observed period.

**Stimulation:** There is even less variation between countries in the case of stimulation. The absence of a significant time effect in general still holds true when observing the effects across countries. Belgium somewhat deviates with only a slight positive linear increase, equating to 0.1 on a six-point scale.

**Hedonism:** A constant trend is noticeable in only three countries (Belgium, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom). All other countries indicated growth from 2002 to 2020, especially Finland, while other Scandinavian countries also encountered notable increases. The long-term growth in the importance of hedonism in Finland represents the highest increase compared to all observed countries and values (0.05).

**Achievement:** There is relatively small variation in achievement trends across countries, with most countries exhibiting either a decline or a constant trend. However, Sweden and Finland stand out among the countries with the most prominent decline.

**Power:** The second self-enhancement value shows the largest differences in slopes among countries. The decrease in the importance of this value is noticeable in most countries, while others show a relatively constant trend. This pattern explains why power exhibits the most pronounced decline in values. Portugal and Spain exhibit the most significant decline in this value, followed by Germany and Finland. Considering the reference category effect, during the observed period, the average importance given to power decreased by 0.08 in Spain and by 0.07 in Portugal (the most significant indicated changes among all values and countries).

It is indicative that the positive effect of time on growth-based values, and the greater decrease of self-protection-based values are relatively more pronounced in Nordic countries. This is exemplified by the relatively stronger decline in tradition or growth of hedonism observed in each of the examined Nordic countries. Changes in other countries, therefore, explain these significant effects to a relatively lesser extent. The increase in the priority of universalism is also relatively more explained by the rise in Finland and Sweden. Conversely, values whose importance has declined – specifically self-protection values – have also experienced more intense declines in Nordic countries compared to others, particularly in the cases of achievement and tradition.

## Discussion

In this paper, we investigated trends in value priorities across Western Europe between 2002 and 2020, using the Schwartz individual values typology. We derived our expectations for value changes based on the challenges that marked this period for these countries, particularly the economic crisis and the increase in inequalities and uncertainties. Specifically, we expected these triggers to manifest in the growth of self-protection values, alongside a decline in growth-based values. We also expected these tendencies to be most evident in countries more profoundly affected by these adversities, such as Southern European countries. The analysis only partially confirmed our expectations. Time effect for all values

were relatively weak, and changes in security and stimulation were insignificant. Notably, benevolence stood out for the intensity of its positive effect over time, followed by hedonism – despite being growth-based values, for which we initially expected adversities might have an opposite effect. Additionally, the increase in these values appeared consistent regardless of potential adverse events. Conversely, for power, achievement, and conformity, the opposite trend was observed. There are several possible explanations for our results.

Individuals may recognize and perceive the challenges faced by people around them as important, leading them to provide support and care (Gilbert, 2021). Additionally, while social adversities may lead to isolation and disruption of connections, benevolence may strengthen social bonds, a sense of belonging, and meaning and fulfilment (Stevens, 2016). This applies primarily to those who are close ones, those with whom one frequently interacts and/or identifies and especially those in need, of which there are increasingly more in an insecure environment. Similarly, universalism may be increasingly prioritized in the context of broadened social and economic inequalities and insecurities due to recognizing the importance of equality, social justice, broadmindedness and urging individuals to address disparities and solidarity for the vulnerable (Schwartz, 2007, Kislyakov and Shmeleva, 2021, Schröder et al., 2022). However, while benevolence focuses primarily on the welfare of close others, universalism values express concern for the welfare of the out-group. The time effect was higher for benevolence, indicating that the adverse conditions have turned people more towards the in-group rather than out-group, which aligns with many previous findings (Voci, 2006, Ben-Ner et al. 2009, Fu et al., 2012).

As crises often require collective action and cooperation to effectively address challenges, that may also explain indicated decline in the importance placed to self-enhancement (achievement and power) values. In adverse circumstances, values prioritizing influence, control over others, self-interest or the pursuit of personal gain and materialistic values, may thus be perceived as less compatible with the pro-social values (Kasser 2016). Similarly, unfavorable conditions may affect individual priorities to shift away from pursuing personal success, status or material wealth, towards addressing more immediate and practical concerns (Kashdan and Breen 2007). Economic downturns and financial instability in particular may undermine individuals' confidence in their ability to achieve their aspirations (Anderson et al., 2002). Additionally, challenging conditions may leave detrimental psychological effects, and, contrary to our expectations, individuals consequently may actually prioritize values that promote emotional well-being over achievement and power (Bradford and Keller, 2016).

Further, the observed decline in conformity values can be explained by the adjustment processes that require individuals to adapt quickly to new and dynamic environments (Ritz et al., 2018). On the other side, adherence to prevailing norms and social expectations may become less relevant (Brown et al. 2017). Additionally, crises often undermine public confidence in institutions and authorities (Roth, 2009, Foster and Frieden, 2017). When institutions fail to adequately respond to the crisis or are perceived as ineffective or untrustworthy, individuals may be giving even less importance to conforming to their directives or to following established norms (Rubin et al. 2009, Verger et al. 2018).

On the other side, the increase in prioritizing hedonism may also be explained by coping mechanisms, whereas individuals seek immediate gratification as temporary relief and distraction due to the hardship they face (Parrott, 1993). Through enhancing mood and affective experience, hedonism may be a way to maintain individual well-being (Joshani et al., 2021). Furthermore, adverse conditions may leave individuals feeling helpless and out of control, and self-direction may gain importance through empowering oneself to make independent decisions (Schwartz, 2005b), which may explain indicated increase in self-direction, although very slight.

The simultaneous increase in the importance of hedonism and benevolence, that are nearly on the opposite ends of the continuum, is also an interesting finding. Examining country-level differences in slopes dismisses the possibility of different growth patterns across countries in that regard. Another possibility is that within specific segments of the populations, the importance given to hedonism has decreased while benevolence has increased, and vice versa. Such inconsistencies have already been found in previous studies (Vecchione et al., 2016, Vecchione et al., 2020). This scenario could be a reasonable effect of the growth of social inequalities throughout Western Europe and a potential trigger for further deepening social crises and conflicts (Schwartz and Sagie, 2000). However, such a hypothesis would be worthwhile to test in future research.

Although it was not generally shown that economic and social adversities have the assumed effect on values overall, the analysis of country-level differences has indicated that the increase in growth-based values, and the decline in self-protection-based values are relatively more pronounced in Nordic countries. Apart from a relatively stronger decline in tradition or growth of hedonism in each of the examined Nordic countries, a similar pattern is observed in cases of all other significantly altered values. It seems that societies less affected by stated hardships have experienced a greater increase in growth-based values and a greater decrease in self-protection-based values. One of the explanations may lay in higher welfare expenditures, which have already been shown to be a significant moderator of the outcome of financial crises on value priorities (Sorthéix et al., 2017). That does not apply only to economic downturns. For instance, it was evidenced that Nordic countries have coped more successfully with the negative consequences of the recent pandemic crisis, precisely because of universal and relatively generous benefits such as for those who become unemployed or have reduced income because of the crisis (Greve et al., 2021). Finally, the absence of indications of sudden and short-term fluctuations may also suggest the lack of significance of the stated adversities as factors of indicated long-term changes.

Generally, the relative stability of values and a slow cultural shift in Western Europe, as evidenced in our study, are also consistent with much previous research (e.g. Inglehart, 2018a). Our results support findings that the time effect on values is generally weak (e.g. Hofmann-Towfigh, 2007), which is evident even in the face of sudden crises or disasters, where the strong adaptive nature of values is found to function (Verkasalo et al., 2006). The adaptive nature of values, even after sudden significant changes, has also been demonstrated in recent studies on the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic (Hannes et al., 2024).

Finally, our results showed that social-focused growth-oriented values, benevolence and universalism, are given the most importance, while power is rated as the least important. This is also consistent with a large body of research (Schwartz, 2012). There are several explanations for such findings proposed by Schwartz and Bardi (2001: 281–282). First, one of the key psychological demands that are naturally rewarding is relatedness. Even in the absence of actual or threatened consequences, benevolence qualities such as helpfulness, honesty, forgiveness, loyalty, and accountability are crucial to ensuring required actions. They offer the internalized motivational framework for cooperative and supportive social relations; therefore, they are modelled and reinforced early and often and are of paramount importance across cultures. Universalism values such as social justice, equality, and open-mindedness, on the other hand, also contribute to positive social relations. However, the focus is on all others, particularly those outside the in-group, especially when group members must relate to non-primary group members with whom they do not readily identify. Despite its high position in the pan-cultural hierarchy, universalism is less important than benevolence. On the other hand, power stresses supremacy over people and resources, and its pursuit frequently means injuring or exploiting others, causing disruption of social relations. The high importance of self-transcendence values and low importance of self-enhancement values also confirm the sinusoidal fit of Schwartz's model (Schwartz, 1996).

In our analysis, we used nationally representative samples, which are highly heterogeneous. However, in future studies, it would be important to analyze the same trends across different sub-groups, such as gender, age, or income levels, and also over a longer period. Additionally, it would be important to explore aggregate-level controls and moderators of the relationship between time and values, considering that a significant limitation of our study is the inclusion of only time as the dependent variable while omitting the effects of different adversity triggers as potential predictors. Finally, future studies should also test the effect of the recent pandemic crisis on values using nationally representative samples.

## References

- Anderson, M., Bechhofer, F., Jamieson, L., McCrone, D., Li, Y., and Stewart, R. (2002). Confidence amid uncertainty: Ambitions and plans in a sample of young adults. *Sociological Research Online*, 6(4): 1–17.
- Bardi, A. and Goodwin, R. (2011). The Dual Route to Value Change: Individual Processes and Cultural Moderators. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 42(2): 271–287.
- Ben-Ner, A., McCall, B. P., Stephane, M., and Wang, H. (2009). Identity and in-group/out-group differentiation in work and giving behaviors: Experimental evidence. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 72(1): 153–170.
- Bilsky, W., Janik, M., and Schwartz, S. H. (2011). The Structural Organization of Human Values—Evidence from Three Rounds of the European Social Survey (ESS). *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42(5): 759–776.

- Bojanowska, A., Kaczmarek, L., Koscielniak, M., and Urbanska, B. (2021). Changes in values and well-being amidst the COVID-19 pandemic in Poland. *PLoS One*, 16:e0255491.
- Bonetto, E., Dezechache, G., Nugier, A., Inigo, M., Mathias, J-D., Huet, S. et al. (2021). Basic human values during the COVID-19 outbreak, perceived threat and their relationships with compliance with movement restrictions and social distancing. *Plos One*, 16:e0253430.
- Bouman, T., Verschoor, M., Albers, C. J., Böhm, G., Fisher, S. D., Poortinga, W., Whitmarsh, L., and Steg, L. (2020). When worry about climate change leads to climate action: How values, worry, and personal responsibility relate to various climate actions. *Global Environmental Change*, 62, 102061.
- Bradford, G., and Keller, S. T. (2016). Achievement and well-being. In: G. Fletcher (ed.), *The Routledge handbook of philosophy of well-being*. New York, NY: Routledge (271–280).
- Brown, M., Schmitz, J., and Zehnder, C. (2017). Social norms and strategic default. University of St. Gallen, School of Finance Research Paper No. 2016/08. SSRN.
- Burant, C. J. (2016). Latent Growth Curve Models: Tracking Changes Over Time. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 82(4): 336–350.
- Daniel, E., Bardi, A., Fischer, R., Benish-Weisman, M., and Lee, J. A. (2021). Changes in Personal Values in Pandemic Times. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 13(2): 1–11.
- Davidov, E. (2010). Testing for comparability of human values across countries and time with the third round of the European Social Survey. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 51(3): 171–191.
- Deus, B. A., Pace, C., and Anttonen, A. (2016). Facing the Challenges in the Development of Long-Term Care for Older People in Europe in the Context of an Economic Crisis. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 42(2): 144–150.
- Dobewall, H., Tormos, R. and Vauclair, C. M. (2017). Normative Value Change Across the Human Life Cycle: Similarities and Differences Across Europe. *Journal of Adult Development*, 24(2): 263–276.
- Duncan, S. and Duncan, T. (2009). The ABC's of LGM: An introductory guide to latent variable growth curve modeling. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 3(6): 979–991.
- Erez, M., and Gati, E. (2004). A Dynamic, multi-level model of culture: From the micro level of the individual to the macro level of a global culture. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 53(4): 583–598.
- Eurostat (2023). Living conditions in Europe – poverty and social exclusion. Available at: [ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Living\\_conditions\\_in\\_Europe\\_-\\_poverty\\_and\\_social\\_exclusion](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Living_conditions_in_Europe_-_poverty_and_social_exclusion). Accessed 10 June 2023.
- Foster, C., and Frieden, J. (2017). Crisis of trust: Socio-economic determinants of Europeans' confidence in government. *European Union Politics*, 18(4): 511–535.
- Foster, L. and Walker, A. (2015). Active and Successful Aging: A European Policy Perspective. *The Gerontologist*, 55(1): 83–90.

- Fu, F., Tarnita, C. E., Christakis, N.A., Wang, L., Rand, D. G., and Nowak, M. A. (2012). The evolution of ingroup favoritism. *Scientific Reports*, 2, 460.
- Gilbert, P. (2021). Creating a Compassionate World: Addressing the Conflicts Between Sharing and Caring Versus Controlling and Holding Evolved Strategies. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11, 582090.
- Glatz, C. and Eder, A. (2020). Patterns of Trust and Subjective Well-Being Across Europe: New Insights from Repeated Cross-Sectional Analyses Based on the European Social Survey 2002–2016. *Social Indicators Research*, 148(2): 417–439.
- Hannes, C., Schiffer, S., and von Nitzsch, R. (2024). Changes in value priorities due to the COVID-19 pandemic-A 4-year cross-sectional study with German students. *PLOS ONE*, 19(1), e0297236.
- Harris, M. (1999). *Theories of Culture in Postmodern Times*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Heidenreich, M. (2022). *Territorial and social inequalities in Europe: Challenges of European integration*. Cham: Springer.
- Hofmann-Towfigh, N. (2007). Do students' values change in different types of schools? *Journal of Moral Education*, 36(4): 453–473.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and Postmodernization*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (2016). Modernization, existential security and cultural change: Reshaping human motivations and society. In M. Gelfand, C.Y. Chiu, and Y. Y. Hong (eds.), *Advances in Culture and Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (2018a). *Cultural Evolution: People's Motivations are Changing, and Reshaping the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (2018b). Modernization, Existential Security and Cultural Change: Reshaping Human Motivations and Society, in: Michele J. Gelfand, Chi-yue Chiu and Ying-yi Hong (eds.), *Handbook of Advances in Culture and Psychology*, Vol. 7, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1–59.
- Inglehart, R. and Baker, W. E. (2000). Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values. *American Sociological Review*, 65(1): 19–51.
- Jay, S., Batruch, A., Jetten, J., McGarty, C. M., and Orla, T. (2019). Economic inequality and the rise of far-right populism: A social psychological analysis. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 29(5): 418–428.
- Joshanloo, M., Van de Vliert, E., and Jose, P.E. (2021). Four Fundamental Distinctions in Conceptions of Wellbeing Across Cultures. In Kern, M.L., and Wehmeyer, M.L. (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Positive Education*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kácha, O., Vintr, J., and Brick, C. (2022). Four Europes: Climate change beliefs and attitudes predict behavior and policy preferences using a latent class analysis on 23 countries. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 81, 101815.
- Kashdan, T. B., and Breen, W. E. (2007). Materialism and diminished well-being: Experiential avoidance as a mediating mechanism. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 26(5): 521–539.



- Kislyakov, P. A., and Shmeleva, E. A. (2021). Prosocial orientation of Russians during the COVID-19 pandemic: Caring for others and yourself. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12, 629467.
- Kohn, M. L., and Schooler, C. (1982). Job conditions and personality: A longitudinal assessment of their reciprocal effects. *American Journal of Sociology*, 87(6): 1257–1286.
- Lönnqvist, J.-E., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., and Verkasalo, M. (2011). Personal Values Before and After Migration. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 2(6): 584–591.
- Mai, Quan. (2017) Precarious work in Europe: Assessing cross-national differences and institutional determinants of work precarity in 32 European countries. In: A. L. Kalleberg and S. P. Vallas (eds.), *Precarious work*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited (273– 306).
- Miszlevitz, F. (1997). Participation and Transition: Can the Civil Society Project Survive in Hungary? *Journal of Communist Studies and Transitional Politics*, 13(1): 27–40.
- Moghaddam, F. M., and Crystal, D. S. (1997). Revolutions, Samurai, and Reductons: The Paradoxes of Change and Continuity in Iran and Japan. *Political Psychology*, 18(2): 355–384.
- Ogburn, W. F. (1922). *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature*. New York: Huebsch.
- Parrott, G. W. (1993). Beyond hedonism: Motives for inhibiting goodmoods and for maintaining bad moods. In: D. M. Wegner and J. W. Pennebaker (eds.), *Handbook of mental control*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall (278–305).
- Ritz, H., Nassar, M. R., Frank, M. J., and Shenhav, A. (2018). A control theoretic model of adaptive learning in dynamic environments. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 30(10): 1405–1421.
- Rokeach, M. (1968). *Beliefs, attitudes, and values*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York: Free Press.
- Roth, F. (2009). The effect of the financial crisis on systemic trust. *Intereconomics*, 44(4): 203–208.
- Rubin, G. J., Amlôt, R., Page, L., and Wessely, S. (2009). Public perceptions, anxiety, and behaviour change in relation to the swine flu outbreak: Cross-sectional telephone survey. *BMJ*, 339, b2651.
- Sagiv, L., and Roccas, S. (2021). How do values affect behavior? Let me count the ways. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 25(4), 295–316.
- Schröder, T., Speer, A., Sachweh, P., and Groh-Samberg, O. (2022). Trust and compliance: Milieu-specific differences in social cohesion during the COVID-19 pandemic in Germany. *Frontiers in Sociology*, 7, 989831.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the Content and Structure of Values: Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in 20 Countries. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 25(1): 1–65.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1996). Value priorities and behavior: Applying a theory of integrated value systems. In: C. Seligman, J. M. Olson, and M. P. Zanna (eds.), *The psychology of values: The Ontario symposium*, 8, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. (1–24).

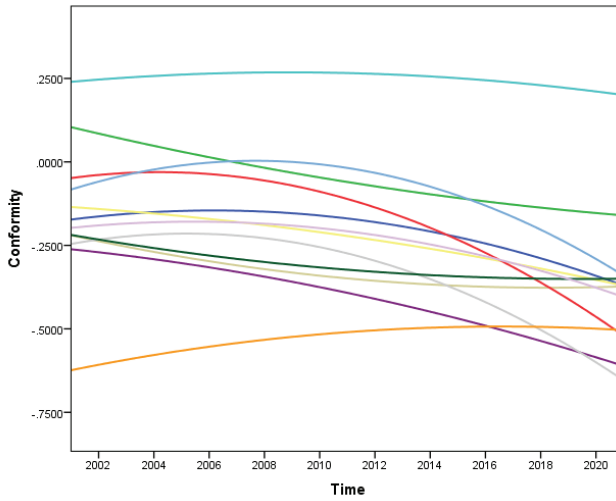
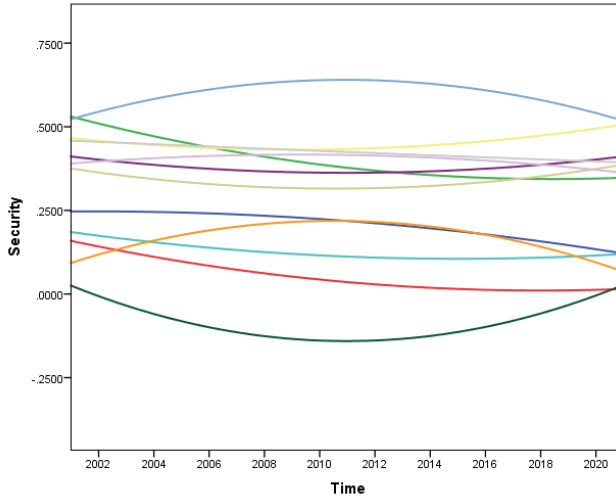
- Schwartz, S. H. (1997). Values and culture. In: D. Munro, S. Carr and J. Schumaker (eds.), *Motivation and Culture*. New York: Routledge (69–84).
- Schwartz, S. H. (2003). A Proposal for Measuring Value Orientations across Nations. Chapter 7 in the Questionnaire Development Package of the European Social Survey [http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_view&gid=126&Itemid=80](http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=126&Itemid=80).
- Schwartz, S. H. (2005a). Basic Human Values: An Overview. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237364051>
- Schwartz, S. H. (2005b). Robustness and fruitfulness of a theory of universals in individual human values. In: A. Tamayo and J. Porto (eds.), *Values and work*. Brasilia: Editora Universidade de Brasilia (63–84).
- Schwartz, S. H. (2007). Universalism Values and the Inclusiveness of Our Moral Universe. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 38(6), 711–728.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2012). An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2(1). <https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1116>
- Schwartz, S. H. (2015). Basic individual values: Sources and consequences. In: D. Sander and T. Brosch (eds.), *Handbook of value*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (63–84).
- Schwartz, S. H., and Bardi, A. (1997). Influences of adaptation to communist rule on value priorities in Eastern Europe. *Political Psychology*, 18(2): 385–410.
- Schwartz, S. H., and Bardi, A. (2001). Value Hierarchies Across Cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(3): 268–290.
- Schwartz, S. H., and Rubel, T. (2005). Sex differences in value priorities: Cross-cultural and multimethod studies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(6): 1010–1028.
- Schwartz, S. H., and Sagie, G. (2000). *Value consensus and importance: A cross-national study*. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31(4): 465–497.
- Schwartz, S. H., and Sagiv, L. (1995). *Identifying Culture-Specifics in the Content and Structure of Values*, 26(1), 92–116.
- Schwartz, S. H., and Sortheix, F. M. (2018). Values and subjective well-being. In E. Diener, S. Oishi, and L. Tay (eds.), *Handbook of well-being*. Salt Lake City, UT: DEF Publishers (833–947).
- Schwartz, S. H., Bardi, A., and Bianchi, G. (2000). Value adaptation to the imposition and collapse of communist regimes in East-Central Europe. In J. Duckitt and S. A. Renshon (eds.), *Political psychology: Cultural and cross-cultural foundations*. London: Macmillan (217–237).
- Schwartz, S. H., Breyer, B., and Danner, D. (2015). Human Values Scale (ESS). Zusammenstellung sozialwissenschaftlicher Items und Skalen (ZIS). [https://zis.gesis.org/skala/Schwartz-Breyer-Danner-Human-Values-Scale-\(ESS\)](https://zis.gesis.org/skala/Schwartz-Breyer-Danner-Human-Values-Scale-(ESS)). Accessed 3 May 2023.
- Schwartz, S. H., Cieciuch, J., Vecchione, M., Davidov, E., Fischer, R., Beierlein, C., Ramos, A., Verkasalo, M., Lönnqvist, J.-E., Demirutku, K., Dirilen-Gumus, O., and Konty, M. (2012). Refining the theory of basic individual values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 103(4): 663–688.

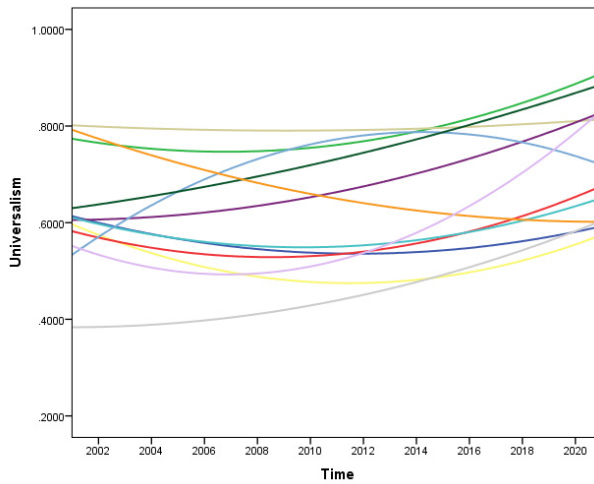
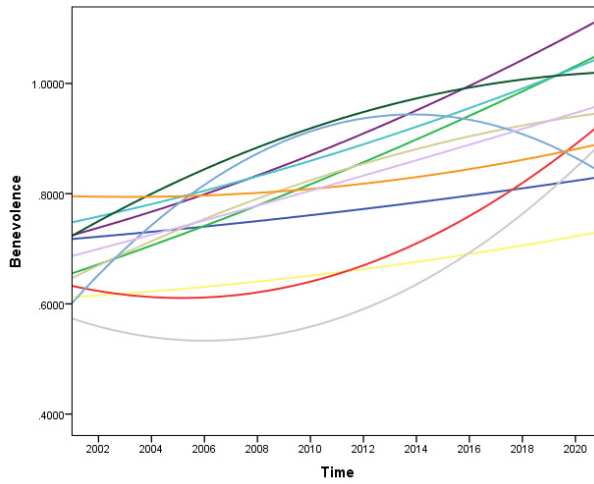
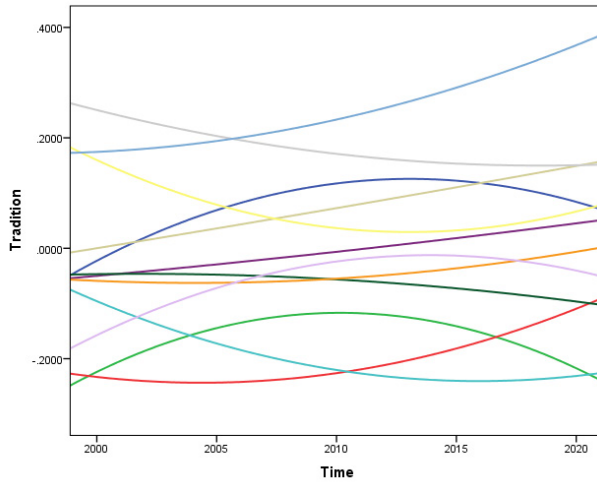
- Sheldon, K. M. (2005). Positive value change during college: Normative trends and individual differences. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 39(2): 209–223.
- Sortheix, F., Parker, P., Lechner, C., and Schwartz, S. (2017). Changes in Young Europeans' Values During the Global Financial Crisis. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 10(1): 15–25.
- Steg, L., Perlaviciute, G., van der Werff, E., and Lurvink, J. (2014). The significance of hedonic values for environmentally relevant attitudes, preferences, and actions. *Environment and Behavior*, 46(2): 163–192.
- Stevens, M. R. (2016). The collapse of social networks among Syrian refugees in urban Jordan, *Contemporary Levant*, 1(1), 51–63.
- Tormos, R., Vauclair, C. M., and Dobewall, H. (2017). Does Contextual Change Affect Basic Human Values? A Dynamic Comparative Multilevel Analysis Across 32 European Countries. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 48(4): 490–510.
- Van Herk, H., and Poortinga, Y. H. (2011). Current and Historical Antecedents of Individual Value Differences Across 195 Regions in Europe. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 43(8): 1229–1248.
- Vecchione, M., Schwartz, S. H., Alessandri, G., Döring, A. K., Castellani, V., and Caprara, M. G. (2016). Stability and change of basic personal values in early adulthood: An 8-year longitudinal study. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 63, 111–122.
- Vecchione, M., Schwartz, S. H., Davidov, E., Cieciuch, J., Alessandri, G., and Marsicano, G. (2020). Stability and change of basic personal values in early adolescence: A 2-year longitudinal study. *Journal of Personality*, 88(3), 447–463.
- Verger, P., Bocquier, A., Vergélys, C., Ward, J., and Peretti-Watel, P. (2018). Flu vaccination among patients with diabetes: Motives, perceptions, trust, and risk culture – A qualitative survey. *BMC Public Health*, 18, 1–10.
- Verkasalo, M., Goodwin, R. and Bezmenova, I. (2006). Value change following a major terrorist incident: Finnish adolescent and student values before and after 11th September 2001. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 36(1): 144–160.
- Vlandas, T. and Halikiopoulou, D. (2018). Does unemployment matter? Economic insecurity, labour market policies and the far-right vote in Europe. *European Political Science*, 17(1): 1–18.
- Voci, A. (2006). The link between identification and in-group favouritism: Effects of threat to social identity and trust-related emotions. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 45(2): 265–284.
- Zafirović, J. (2024). Trends in the youth transitions to the labour market in Serbia. *Stanovništvo*. <https://doi.org/10.59954/stnv.538>
- Zhang, F. (2022). Latent growth curve modeling for the investigation of emotional factors in L2 in longitudinal studies: A conceptual review. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13, 1005223.
- Zubek, V. (1997). The End of Liberalism? Economic Liberalization and the Transformation of Post-Communist Poland, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 30(2): 181–204.

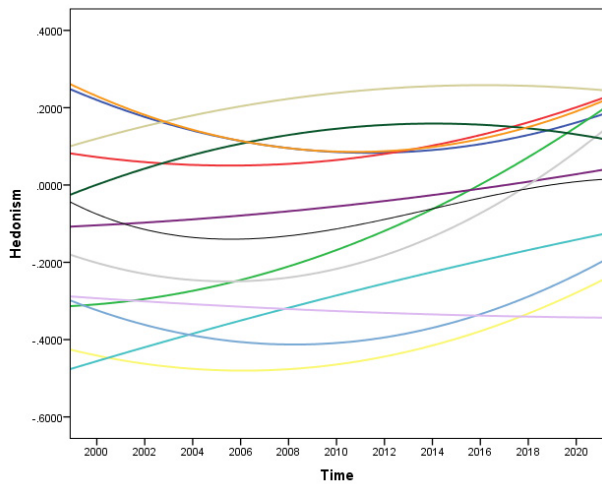
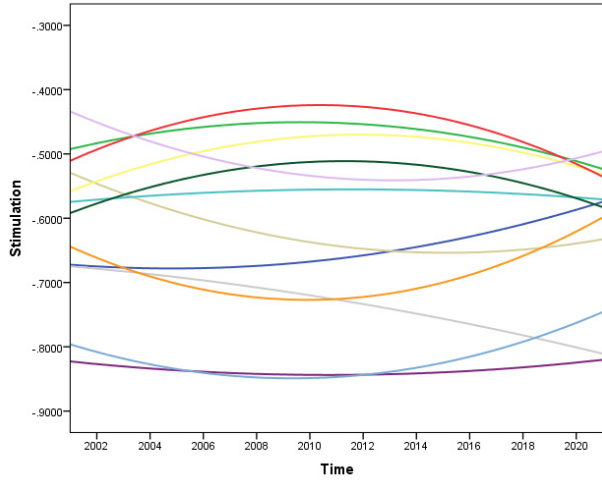
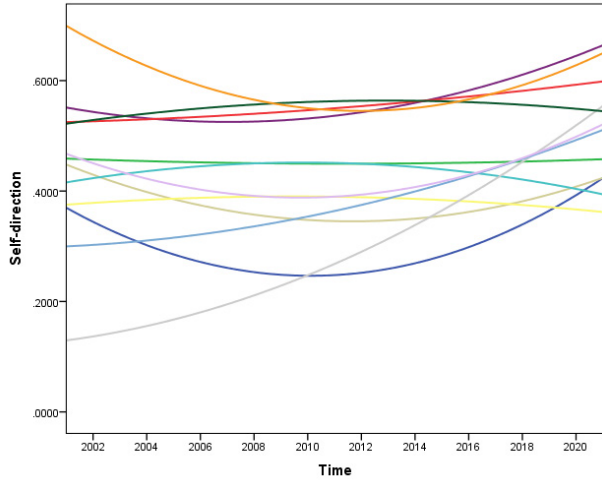
### Appendix

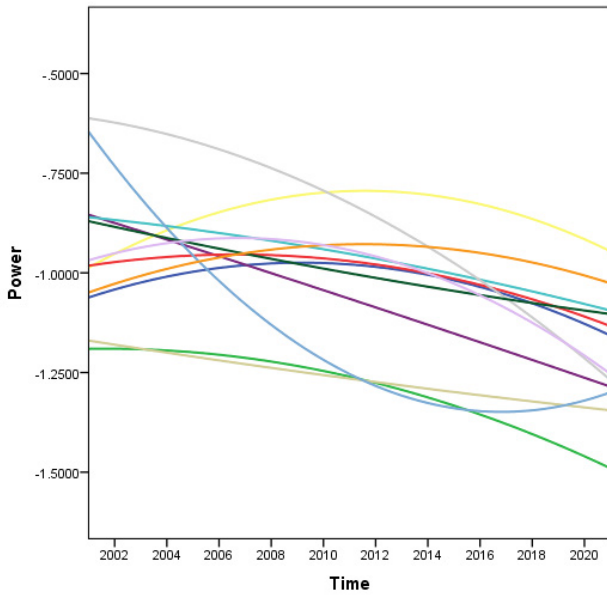
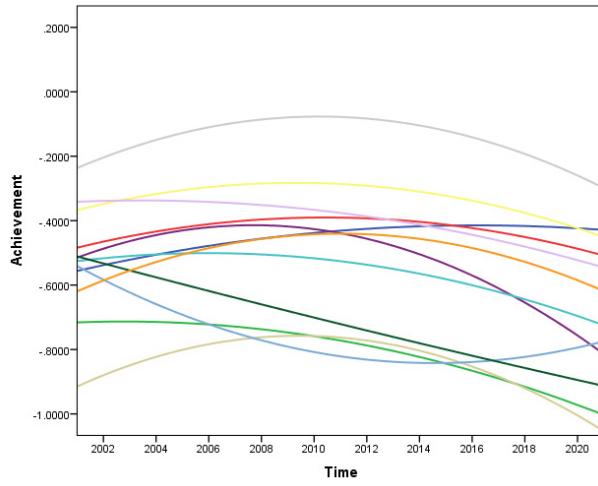
Figures 2–11. Trends in value priorities across 12 countries (2002–2020).

- Belgium
- France
- Ireland
- Norway
- Spain
- Switzerland
- Finland
- Germany
- Netherlands
- Portugal
- Sweden
- United Kingdom









**Table 3.** *The items of the Human Values Scale*  
(Schwartz et al., 2015).

| No. | Item  | Subscale       |
|-----|---|----------------|
| 1   | Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him/her. He/she likes to do things in his/her own original way.                                      | Self-Direction |
| 2   | It is important to him/her to be rich. He/she wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.  | Power          |
| 3   | He/she thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He/she believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.     | Universalism   |
| 4   | It's important to him/her to show his/her abilities. He/she wants people to admire what he/she does.  | Achievement    |
| 5   | It is important to him/her to live in secure surroundings. He/she avoids anything that might endanger his/her safety.   | Security       |
| 6   | He/she likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He/she thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.                      | Stimulation    |
| 7   | He/she believes that people should do what they're told. He/she thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.                 | Conformity     |
| 8   | It is important to him/her to listen to people who are different from him/her. Even when he/she disagrees with them, he/she still wants to understand them.   | Universalism   |
| 9   | It is important to him/her to be humble and modest. He/she tries not to draw attention to himself/herself.  | Tradition      |
| 10  | Having a good time is important to him/her. He/she likes to "spoil" himself/herself.  | Hedonism       |
| 11  | It is important to him/her to make his/her own decisions about what he/she does. He/she likes to be free and not depend on others.                            | Self-Direction |
| 12  | It's very important to him/her to help the people around him/her. He/she wants to care for their well-being.  | Benevolence    |
| 13  | Being very successful is important to him/her. He/she hopes people will recognise his/her achievements.   | Achievement    |
| 14  | It is important to him/her that the government ensures his/her safety against all threats. He/she wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens. | Security       |
| 15  | He/she looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He/she wants to have an exciting life.   | Stimulation    |
| 16  | It is important to him/her always to behave properly. He/she wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.   | Conformity     |
| 17  | It is important to him/her to get respect from others. He/she wants people to do what he/she says.  | Power          |
| 18  | It is important to him/her to be loyal to his/her friends. He/she wants to devote himself/herself to people close to him/her.                                 | Benevolence    |
| 19  | He/she strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him/her.   | Universalism   |
| 20  | Tradition is important to him/her. He/she tries to follow the customs handed down by his/her religion or his/her family.                                      | Tradition      |
| 21  | He/she seeks every chance he/she can to have fun. It is important to him/her to do things that give him/her pleasure.   | Hedonism       |