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ENVIRONMENTAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Introduction

During the last few decades, a large number of studies have appeared emphasizing the critical situation facing our planet(1). These studies have one conclusion in common: mankind is destroying its own living conditions. And as regularly as clockwork, the mass media inform us about complex and nearly insolvable problems affecting our environment. The ozone layer is breaking down, acid rain is harming our forests, and industries are accused of, and caught in the act of dumping chemical waste. In fact, all over the world serious calamities have happened: in Seveso, Mexico, Bhopal, Sandoz and Chernobyl, to mention a few. And not only the quality of the natural environment is at stake. People also complain about the structure of districts and cities and about the lack of recreation parks.

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Our first question relates to these problems: to what extent do the Dutch realize that environmental problems reflect on their general well-being, i.e., to what extent do they have an 'environmental consciousness'? In order to conceptualize environmental consciousness, we have drawn on a number of previous studies. In The Netherlands, there is a tradition in this field of research beginning with the study of Nelissen and Schreurs (1975). They made a distinction between the natural and the built environment. And they analytically distinguished three aspects concerning consciousness: a general attitude, offering willingness, and action willingness. The result of this conceptualization is a theoretical scheme, presented in Figure 1. In the next section we will explore and show the empirical composition of this theoretical scheme.

Our second question relates to the exploration of the cultural and structural characteristics of those who have a highly developed environmental consciousness and of those to whom this applies to a lesser extent. Our general hypothesis for the exploration of cultural characteristics is that people who have a highly developed environmental consciousness, feel attracted to so-called post-materialist values as well as to its correlates. This hypothesis was derived from Inglehart (1977; 1979). He suspected that people who had grown up in circumstances in which material well-being was taken for granted, would give priority to the fulfilment of post-materialist values. These values tend to point to a society in which there is more equality among people, in which cultural development is considered more important than economic growth, and in which civil rights and basic democracy are protected. We assumed that people who are sensitive to environmental prob-

FIGURE 1. Theoretical dimensions of environmental consciousness.

	natural environment	built environment
general attitude		
offering willingness		
action willingness		

lems would also feel attracted to the possible correlates of post-materialism. We expected these people to hold a critical view on society, to be interested in political matters, to engage in both conventional and unconventional political activities, and to be rather progressive instead of conservative. As opposed to these people, we expected those who are not so environmentally conscious to be uninterested in politics - or in fact to be alienated from politics - to dissociate themselves from political activities, to be conservative and rather traditional, and inclined to submit themselves easily to authority. In the next section we will translate these hypotheses into concrete empirical terms.

We did not have explicit expectations as to the structural characteristics of the people who have a low environmental consciousness. As a consequence, this analysis will be purely exploratory.

Data and measurement scales

Within the framework of a research project called 'Social and cultural developments in The Netherlands 1985', a two-stage random sample of Dutch citizens (N=1799) was drawn. In the first stage, The Netherlands was divided into four regional zones (North, East, South and West). Within these regions, municipalities were selected which reflected the general level of urbanization characteristic of those regions. In the second stage, respondents, aged from 18 upto 69, were randomly selected from the population registers of the selected municipalities. About 56% of those selected were willing to be interviewed for one and a half hours about their opinions on several themes. The sample turned out to be representative of the whole Dutch population in terms of sex, age and marital status, and also regarding the combination of these characteristics (Felling et al., 1987).

The concept of **environmental consciousness** was operationalized according to the theoretical scheme of Figure 1. For each of the cells, at least two Likert-type items were selected from a more extensive measurement scale as developed by Nelissen and Schreurs (1975). We performed principal factor analysis (FACTOR, PA2 in SPSSx) (Nie, 1983) on these items in order to try and identify the empirical structure of environmental consciousness. The results are presented in Appendix 1. We discovered four empirical dimensions. One, a general attitude towards the natural environment. Two, a general attitude towards the built environment. Three, an offering willingness pertaining to both the natural and built environments. Four, an action willingness also referring to both the natural and built environments. In Figure 2, we present the empirical structure of environmental consciousness.

We found a relatively strong association between offering willingness and action willingness (Pearson's r=.35). These dimensions appeared to be associated moderately with the general attitude towards the natural environment (Pearson's r=.26 and .31 respectively), whereas the association with the general attitude towards the built environment was considerably weaker (Pearson's r=.17 and .19 respectively).

Next, we will introduce measurement scales that are assumed to be associated with people who have a developed environmental consciousness, followed by scales that are assumed to apply to people with a lowly developed environmental consciousness. Nearly all scales were constructed by means of principal factor analysis (PA2 in SPSSx), (Nie, 1983), unless some other procedure is mentioned. Conventional statistical criteria were applied (Kim and Mueller, 1978; 1984).

FIGURE 2. Empirical dimensions of environmental consciousness.

	natural environment	built environment
general attitude		
offering willingness		
action willingness		

Post-materialism was measured according to a procedure introduced by Inglehart (1977; 1979). Questions relating to both materialism and post-materialism were submitted to the refers to law and order, economic growth, a strong army and the fight against crime. And post-materialism refers for instance to the striving for a society in which ideas are more important than money, in which people have a say in decisions of the government, and in which the freedom of speech is protected. These items were split up into two sets: one set of four items and one set of eight items. The respondents were requested to rank order both sets of items. Eventually a scale was constructed, ranging from 1 up to 10. A low score indicates that the respondent is more infavour of materialist values whereas a high score indicates that the respondent is more in favour of post-materialist values.

Social criticism was operationalized using four items that refer to the striving for social equality (Felling et al., 1987). The survey asked, for instance, to what extent respondents considered it important in their daily lives to contribute to a reduction in income differentials and to break through relations of power. Reliability of this scale amounts to .75 (Cronbach's alpha).

We discerned two types of political behaviour, as introduced by Barns et al. (1979). Conventional political behaviour refers to active participation in political affairs. It was asked for instance whether the respondent had visited political meetings, had discussed politics or had tried to convince friends to vote for his or her favoured political party. Unconventional political behaviour refers to endeavours to influence political decisions by means of non-parliamentary action. It was asked whether the respondent had participated in boycotts, strikes or whether he or she had occupied buildings in order to achieve political goals. Both scales were constructed by means of probabilistic scalogram analysis (Mokken, 1970). The reliability (rho) of the first scale is .77, of the latter scale .81.

Political interest refers to an active involvement in political affairs. As opposed to the previous scales, it does not pertain to actual behaviour. It was asked for instance whether the respondent had explicit views, ideas and knowledge about politics (cf. Felling et al., 1987). The scale reliability is .85 (Cronbach's alpha).

The following scales are assumed to be associated with people who have a low environmental consciousness.

Political alienation refers to a general scepticism towards and distrust of politics. It was asked for instance whether the respondent trusts in Members of Parliament and whether they felt that their interests were being served by public officials (Felling et al., 1987). The reliability of the scale (Cronbach's alpha) amounts to .82.

Anomie was defined by Srole (1956) as a general lack of identification with the social surroundings. It refers to feelings of powerlessness and normlessness. It was asked for instance whether the respondent felt that he could rely upon his friends and family (Felling et al., 1986; 1987). This scale's reliability is .76 (Cronbach's alpha).

Several scales were utilized to indicate traditionalism. Firstly we operationalized traditional bourgeois values. We discerned traditional family values in which the subjective importance of getting married, having a family and raising children are emphasized, and traditional achievement values in which getting on in life and being in a good financial situation are considered important. Both scales are closely related, according to Felling et al. (1983a, 1983b). Their reliability amount to .82 and .69 respectively (Cronbach's alphas). Second we utilized localism as an indicator of traditionalism.

This concept and its operationalization was derived from Roof (1972). Although Roof did not provide us with a definition, one can state that localism refers to the importance one attaches to one's local community. It was asked for instance whether one prefers to live in a small community to living in big cities. The reliability of this scale is .72 (Cronbach's alpha). And as a third indicator of traditionalism, we utilized conformism. This refers to one's inclination to conform to the norms of primary networks. It was asked directly whether the respondent was in the habit of conforming to norms of his friends and neighbors (cf. Felling et al., 1986; 1987). Its reliability is .72 (Cronbach's alpha).

The assumed submittance to authorities by the people who have a low environmental consciousness was indicated by authoritarianism. This concept was introduced and operationalized by Adorno et al. (1950/1982). It was asked for instance whether the respondent considered it necessary to submit to strong and devoted leaders. The reliability of this well-tested scale is .78 (Cronbach's alpha).

We discerned two kinds of conservatism, following Felling and Peters (1984). Economic conservatism is expressed by people who consider intervention in economic affairs unacceptable. It was asked for instance whether one wished to restrict the policies of the government to a minimum or to curtail the influence of the trade unions. Cultural conservatism refers to ethical matters like euthanasia and abortion, but also to the question of civil rights. People who adhere to cultural conservatism generally oppose the fundamental freedom of self-determination. The reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the former scale is .71 and of the latter .57.

Finally, we introduce the **Christian world-view** as an outlook that is also assumed to be typical for people who have a low environmental consciousness. This world view is explicitly Christian regarding themes like the existence of a suprahuman reality, the meaning of life, the meaning of suffering and death, and matters of good and evil. People who hold this world view, often express it in the following terms: 'there is a God who occupies Himself with every human being personally' and 'life is meaningful only because there exists a God' (Felling et al., 1987). The reliability of this scale amounts to .92.

As mentioned before, we did not make explicit assumptions concerning the structural characteristics of the people who have a highly or lowly developed environmental consciousness. Therefore, we set out to explore the following characteristics: sex, age, highest completed level of education, political vote(2), social class(3) and church involvement(4).

Methods

In order to distinguish people who have a highly developed and consistent environmental consciousness from those who have not, we will constructed an empirical typology. We define 'those who have a highly developed environmental consciousness' very strictly: only the people who have a favourable attitude towards both the natural and the built environment and simultaneously show both their offering and action willingness, will be categorized as such. On the other hand, people who do not have a favourable attitude towards the natural and the built environments and who refrain from offering and action willingness, will be categorized as 'those who have a low level of environmental consciousness'. To trace these categories, we utilized homogeneity analysis by means of which respondents can be detected who are relatively homogeneous amongst themselves but who are very different when compared with others (Gifi, 1981a; 1981b). In the analysis, response patterns

FIGURE 3. Category quantifications of homogeneity analysis.

LEGEND

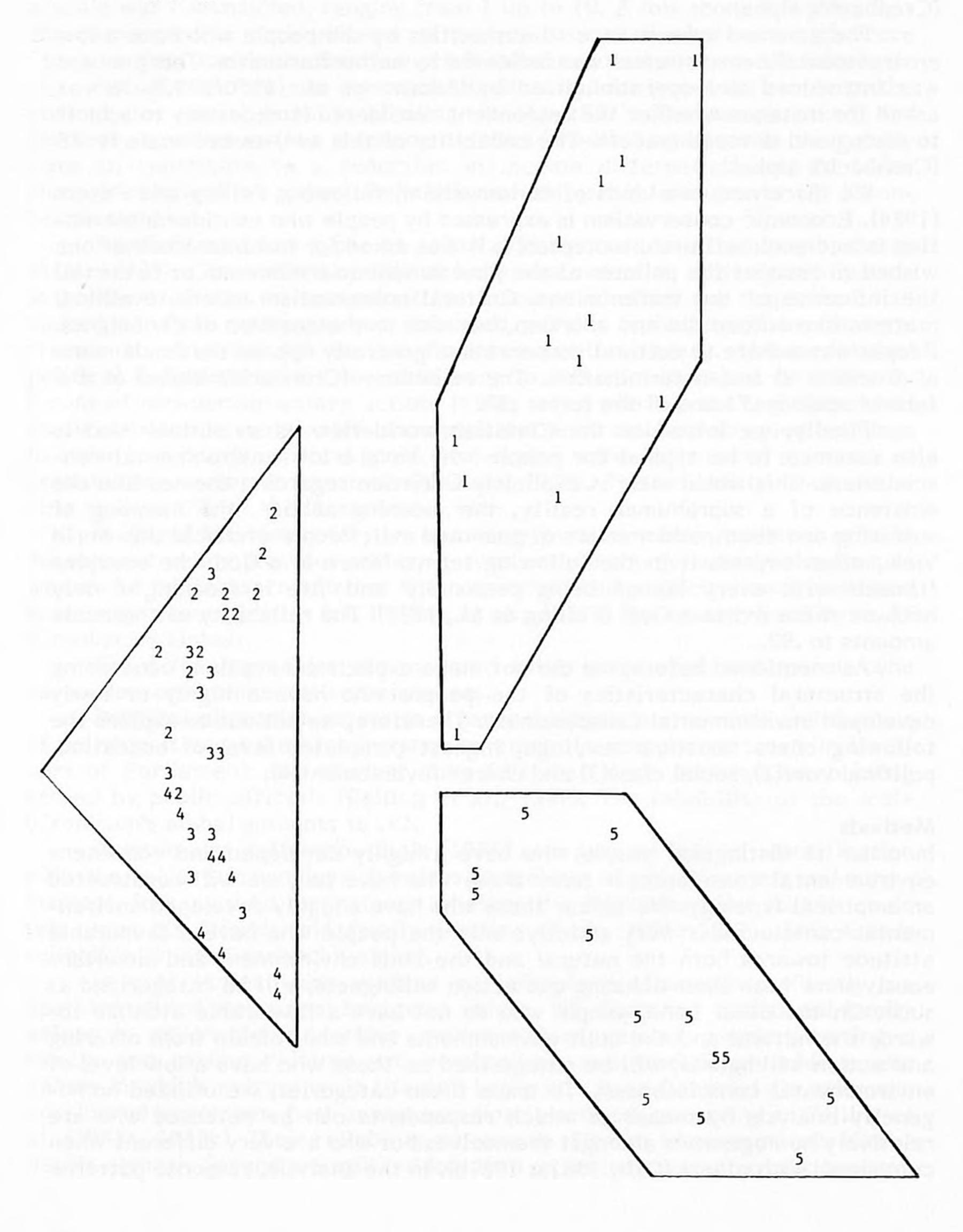
1 = strongly disagree

2 = disagree

3 = neutral

4 = agree

5 = strongly agree



of respondents are re-ordered such that respondents with relatively homogeneous response patterns end up with so-called object scores that are highly similar. These object scores can be interpreted as the extent to which a respondent differs from the mean respondent. The object scores can be presented graphically, but the result is fairly unsurveyable. What is surveyable though, are the so-called category quantifications of the object scores. They represent the centroids (i.e., the graphical category-means) of respondents' object scores, as related to their original answers to items. We present these category quantifications in Figure 3.

If we take a look at Figure 3, we can ascertain some clusters of respondents that are relatively homogeneous with respect to their response pattern. In the upper-right corner we locate respondents who predominantly disagreed with nearly all items of environmental consciousness, whereas we locate in the lower-right corner respondents who predominantly agreed with all items (viz. the legend of Figure 3). Because of this response pattern of the latter category, we will label them as sensitives: they showed themselves to be sensitive to their environment by expressing a favourable attitude towards the natural and the built environment and by expressing consistently both their offering willingness and their action willingness. And we will label the former category with the opposite response pattern, as indifferents: they register little concern about the quality of the environment. Located in between these two categories, we find a third category of respondents whose responses varied strongly. For instance, they showed a positive attitude towards the natural environment but they refused to sacrifice some of their material wealth for the environment. That is why we will label them as ambivalents. Unfortunately, we could not discover relatively homogeneous sub-categories within this relatively large category of ambivalents.

Next, we turn to our second question concerning the cultural and structural characteristics of sensitives and indifferents. In order to answer this question, we crosstabulated the typological categories with all the cultural and structural characteristics identified in the previous section(5). These crosstabulations are presented in Appendix 2. But again, the results were rather unsurveyable. That is why we decided to use analysis of correspondence to show the typical characteristics of the sensitives and the indifferents. Analysis of correspondence is basically a graphical technique to illustrate empirical findings or to give an overview of characteristics that were ascertained to be typical for certain categories. Both the typological categories (i.e., of environmental consciousness) and the characteristics (as previously identified) are mapped in a two-dimensional space. Distances between typological categories indicate their mutual differences. Distances between on the one hand typological categories and on the other hand characteristics can be interpreted as the extent to which a characteristic is typical for the typological categories. We refer to Lammers and Pelzer (1987) and Lammers and Peters (1988) for an extensive amplification of this analysis. The crosstabulations of Appendix 2 are the input of the analysis of correspondence. We would like to emphasize that this analysis does not in any way reduce information: it only presents the available information graphically.

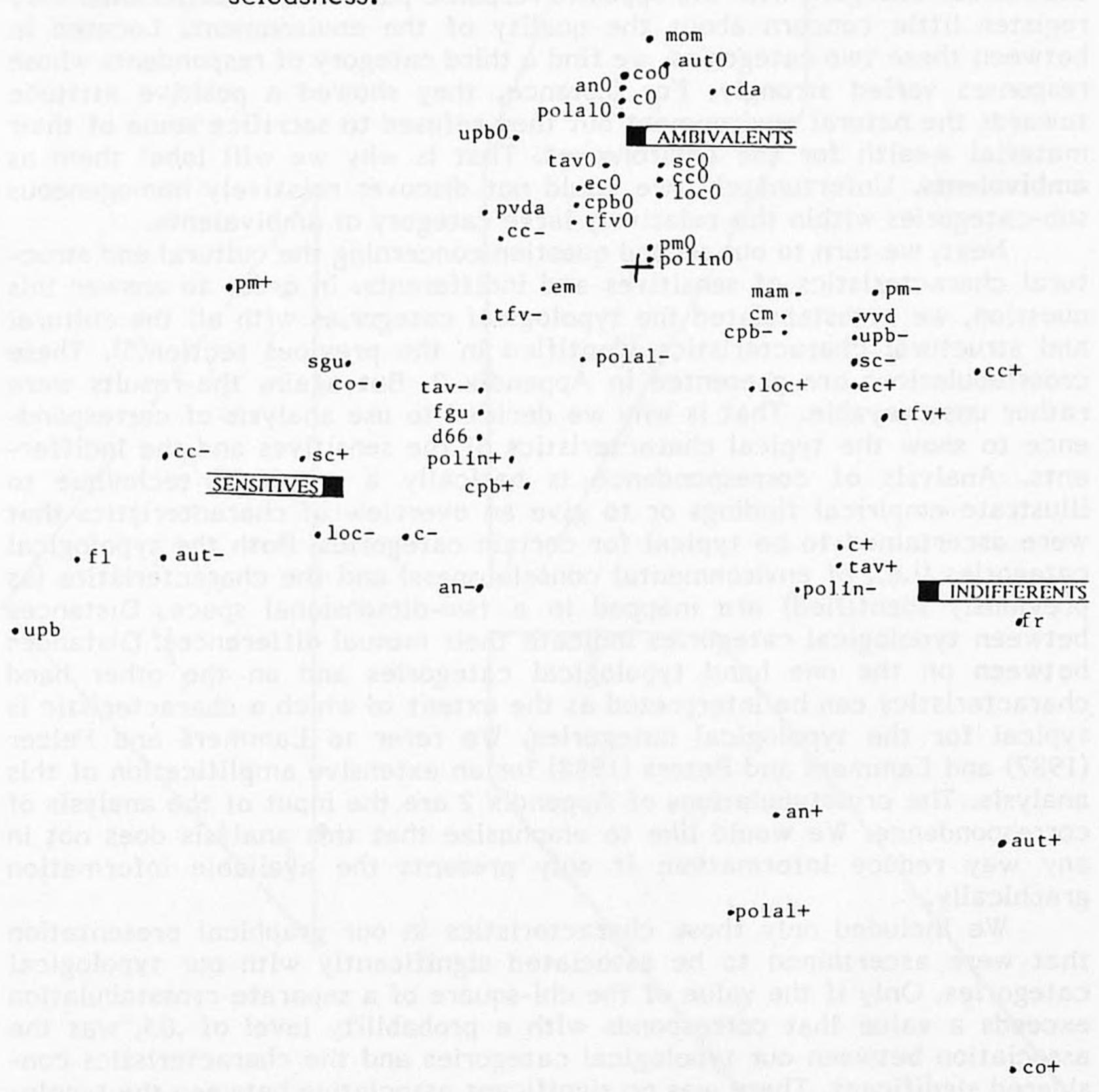
We included only those characteristics in our graphical presentation that were ascertained to be associated significantly with our typological categories. Only if the value of the chi-square of a separate crosstabulation exceeds a value that corresponds with a probability level of .05, was the association between our typological categories and the characteristics considered significant. There was no significant association between the typolo-

gical categories and on the other hand sex, age, highest completed level of education and social class.

Results

Our first question was: to what extent do the Dutch have a highly developed environmental consciousness, i.e., to what extent are they aware of the problems facing our environment? In order to answer this question, we ascertained the percentage of respondents who were considered sensitive. This category contained 18.5% of our respondents, whereas the category of indifferents contained 15.2% of our respondents. About 66.3% of our respondents were considered to be ambivalent. Although these percentages can not be interpreted too strictly, we consider them to be realistic, because of their resemblance to other empirical distributions(6). This implies that there is only a minority of the Dutch population who are aware of the problems in our environment to such an extent that they are indeed willing to offer some of their material wealth in exchange for environmental policies or self-involvement.

FIGURE 4. Social and cultural characteristics of environmental consciousness.



Legend with Figure 4

```
= rejection of topic
                                                                 = localism -
                                                     loc-
                                                                 = localism o
           = neutral
                                                     loco
           = agreement with topic
                                                                 = localism +
                                                     loc+
                                                                 = conformism -
           = post-materialism -
pm-
                                                     CO-
           = post-materialism o
                                                                 = conformism o
pmo
                                                     COO
           = post-materialism +
                                                                 = conformism +
pm+
                                                     CO+
                                                                 = authoritarianism -
           = social criticism -
SC-
                                                     aut-
           = social criticism o
                                                                 = authoritarianism o
                                                     auto
SCO
                                                                 = authoritarianism +
           = social criticism +
                                                     aut+
SC+
                                                                 = economic conservatism -
cpb-
           = conventional political behavior -
                                                     ec-
           = conventional political behavior o
                                                                 = economic conservatism o
cpbo
                                                      eco
           = conventional political behavior +
                                                                 = economic conservatism +
cpb+
                                                     ec+
                                                                 = cultural conservatism -
           = unconventional political behavior -
upb-
                                                     CC-
           = unconventional political behavior o
                                                                 = cultural conservatism o
upbo
                                                     CCO
           = unconventional political behavior +
                                                                 = cultural conservatism +
upb+
                                                      CC+
           = political interest -
                                                                 = christian world view -
polin-
                                                      C-
                                                                 = christian world view o
           = political interest o
polino
                                                      CO
                                                                 = christian world view +
           = political interest +
polin+
                                                      C+
                                                                 = second generation unchurched
polal-
           = political alienation -
                                                      sgu
                                                                 = first generation unchurched
polalo
           = political alienation o
                                                      fgu
                                                                 = ex-members
polal+
           = political alienation +
                                                      em
                                                                 = marginal members
                                                      mam
                                                                 = modal members
           = anomie -
an-
                                                      mon
           = anomie o
                                                                 = core members
                                                      cm
ano
           = anomie +
an+
                                                      fl
                                                                 = vote for far left
                                                                 = vote for social democrates (P.v.d.A.)
tfv-
           = traditional family values -
                                                      pvda
           = traditional family values o
                                                                 = vote for progressive liberals (D'66)
tfvo
                                                      d66
           = traditional family values +
                                                                 = vote for christian democrates (C.D.A.)
tfv+
                                                      cda
                                                                 = vote for classic liberals (V.V.D.)
                                                      vvd
           = traditional achievement values -
                                                                 = vote for far right
                                                      fr
tav-
           = traditional achievement values o
tavo
           = traditional achievement values +
tav+
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Our second question was: what are the characteristics of those Dutch who have a highly developed environmental consciousness as opposed to those who have a low level of consciousness? We will have a closer look at Figure 4 in order to answer this question.

The sensitives appear to be attracted to post-materialism indeed, as was expected. They are very critical of society and highly interested in politics. They participate in conventional political activities and try to influence political decisions by non-parlementary activities. They are not alienated from politics and they are not characterized by anomic feelings: they are convinced that they can effect some changes in society by political means. They vote for the Progressive Liberals (D'66) and the political parties to the far left. Amongst them we find disproportionately many unchurched people (second- and first-generation unchurched). It is hardly surprising that they dissociate themselves from the Christian world view. They also dissociate themselves from traditional patterns; this is suggested by the low extent to which they subscribe to traditional achievement values and to localism, as well as by their resistance to conformism. And they are not inclined to submit themselves to authority. And lastly, they are typical nonconservatives when it comes to cultural matters, which means, among other things, that they are strongly in favour of freedom of speech.

The indifferents are the ideological antipodes of the sensitives in many aspects. They are hardly interested in politics, they feel alienated from politics, think that they can not effect changes in society, and they have a high degree of anomie. Whereas the sensitives vote for political parties to the far left, the indifferents vote for the political parties to the far right. And whereas the sensitives are non-traditionalists, the indifferents feel strongly attracted to traditions, as suggested by their adherence to traditional bourgeois values, their inclination to conformism and their submission to authority. And lastly, they strongly subscribe to the Christian world view.

The ambivalents are only conspicuous by their generally moderate points of view. They can be characterized as 'the silent majority'.

Discussion

We discovered that only a minority of the Dutch have a highly developed and consistent environmental consciousness. This minority subscribes, as we expected, to values like post-materialism and social criticism. It is strongly involved in political matters and participates frequently in political activities. This minority votes for political parties on the far left of the political spectrum. Its antipode is another minority that apparently cares little about our environment. Their points of view are rather traditionalist. And they prefer the political parties to the far right. The silent majority in between these two minorities are characterized by moderate points of view. They have a favourable attitude towards the environment indeed but they refrain from offering willingness or action willingness.

This implies that academics and policy makers who propose far-reaching measures to reduce our (inter)national environmental problems, will probably not attract a lot of favourable attention from the public in general. In spite of the fact that the mass media bring the complexity of environmental problems so frequently to the notice of the public, only a minority is convinced of the necessity to change our national environmental-policies drastically. Our advice to policy makers is to seek ways to convince the public, especially the ambivalents and the indifferents, that immediate and drastic measures are necessary to avoid a future situation in which the solution to environmental problems will be unaffordable.

Footnotes

- (1) See for instance Carson (1962), Meadows (1972), Blueprint for survival (1973), Mesarovic and Pestel (1974), Global 2000 (1980), and United Nations (1987).
- (2) Along the the major political parties like the D'66 (Progressive Liberals), PvdA (Social Democrats), CDA (Christian Democrats), and the VVD (Liberals), a number of smaller political parties on the far left (PPR, PSP, CPN and EVP) and on the far right (GPV, SGP, RPF and CP) featured in our analysis.
- (3) We used the nominal classification of Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero (1983) that was applied to profession codes of The Netherlands (as coded by the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek) by Ganzeboom et al. (1987). This classification has ten categories. We simplified it into five categories: white-collar workers, self-employed people, agricultural workers, skilled manual-labourers and unskilled manual-labourers.
- (4) We used a classification designed by Felling et al. (1983a). They differentiated in terms of the following: second-generation unchurched, first generation unchurched, ex-members, marginal members, modal members and core members.
- (5) Prior to this crosstabulation, we divided the scores on each of the measurement scales into three categories. The respondents who had a score within the region of one standard deviation above or below the mean of the scale, were considered to have a relatively neutral opinion concerning this topic. Respondents with a score further than one standard deviation from the mean, are considered to strongly agree (if their score is above the mean) and considered to strongly disagree (if their score is below the mean) with the topic.
- (6) When we summed up the original Likert-scores of the four dimensions of environmental consciousness and divided the range of scores into three categories with equal intervals, we found 17.2% of the respondents to be sensitive.

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Appendix

APPENDIX 1.Principal factor analysis, environmental consciousness.

		h ²	fa	ctor l	oading	s
I	ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATURAL ENVIRO	NMENT				
	Protecting rare plants and animals is an unnecessary luxury.	.18	•			.56
	I don't find it necessary to protect unspoiled nature at any cost.	.18				.50
II	ATTITUDE TOWARDS BUILT ENVIRONMI	ENT				
	As far as I am concerned, they may knock old neighbourhoods down.	.27		.49		
	Houses in old neighbourhoods should not be demolished but improved.	.26	•	92		
III	OFFERING WILLINGNESS					
	I am prepared to give up something for a cleaner environment.	.31			56	
	I would be prepared to pay higher prices if that were to result in less industrial pollution.	.34	•	•	75	
	It is good that the govern- ment wants to combat water pollution, but I am not willing to pay more for that.	.29	•		.58	•
IV	ACTION WILLINGNESS					
	I would take part in a demonstration against more and more industriali- zation.	.32	.69			
	I am prepared publicly to support strict controls on cars and lorries.	.34	.62			
	I would not join a demonstration against felling trees.	.27	55			
	I would not dream of writing a letter to the papers to protest against an ugly block of flats.	.25	44			
	If there was a protest meeting opposing the construction of a factory in the neighbourhood because this factory would be polluting the environment, you could expect to find me there.	.38	.68	•		
	I shall join in with a protest which tries to do something about acid rain.	.41	.64			

explained variance: 58.9% Correlations between dimensions:

I	1.00			
II	.17	1.00		
III	.35	.14	1.00	
IV	.26	.22	.31	1.00

APPENDIX 2. Environmental consciousness and socio-cultural characteristics.

In the first column, the social and cultural characteristics with their categories are given. In the second, third and fourth column are the indifferents (N=105), the ambivalents (N=547) and the sensitives (N=154). In the fifth column we present the percentage of the concerned social category in the research population. All presented characteristics are associated significantly with the typological categories of environmental consciousness (p <.05). We present Cramer's V as an indication of the degree of association.

				STR HIRVE
	indif- ferents	ambi- valents	sensi- tives	totals
POST-MATERIALISM			THE A SEC	MOUTEN IS
low	39.0	24.7	12.4	24.2
moderate	58.1	57.2	52.9	56.5
high	2.9	18.1	34.7	19.3
Cramer's V	.18			
SOCIAL CRITICISM				
low	25.7	15.5	9.2	15.7
moderate	62.9	66.6	53.6	63.6
high	11.4	17.9	37.2	20.7
Cramer's V	.16			V 2 morning
CONVENTIONAL POLITICAL E	BEHAVIOUR			
low	25.7	17.4	11.8	17.4
moderate	61.0	71.6	71.2	70.2
high	13.3	11.0	17.0	12.4
Cramer's V	.09			
UNCONVENTIONAL POLITICA	L BEHAVIO	UR		
low	66.6	39.7	22.2	39.9
moderate	32.4	54.3	57.5	52.0
high	1.0	6.0	20.3	8.1
Cramer's V	.22			

	indif- ferents	ambi- valents	sensi- tives	totals
DOLITICAL INTEDEST				
POLITICAL INTEREST low	18.1	8.8	9.2	10.1
moderate	57.1	69.3	57.5	65.4
high	24.8	21.9	33.3	24.5
		21.7	,,,,	21.5
Cramer's V	.11			
POLITICAL ALIENATION				
low	21.0	20.5	24.8	21.4
moderate	54.2	70.7	59.5	66.4
high	24.8	8.8	15.7	12.2
Cramer's V	.13			
ANOMIE				
low	20.0	15.5	28.7	18.6
moderate	56.2	75.4	58.2	69.6
high	23.8	9.1	13.1	11.8
Cramer's V	.14			
TRADITIONAL FAMILY VALUE	:S			
low	12.4	15.5	21.5	16.3
moderate	54.3	66.4	68.0	65.1
high	33.3	18.1	10.5	18.6
Cramer's V	.12			
TRADITIONAL ACHIEVEMENT	VALUES			
low	12.4	13.3	20.3	14.5
moderate	58.1	72.4	67.3	69.6
high	29.5	14.3	12.4	15.9
Cramer's V	.12			
LOCALISM				
low	12.4	15.9	34.6	19.0
moderate	69.5	72.2	54.9	68.6
high	18.1	11.9	10.5	12.4
Cramer's V	.15			
CONFORMISM				
low	14.3	21.9	37.9	24.0
moderate	56.2	70.9	53.6	65.7
high	29.5	7.2	8.5	10.3

	indif- ferents	ambi- valents	sensi- tives	totals
ALITHODITADIANICIA				
AUTHORITARIANISM	6.7	15.4	40.5	100
low moderate	57.1	73.4	49.7	19.0
high	36.2	11.2	9.8	14.2
Cramer's V	.25			
ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM				
low	32.4	47.3	58.2	47.4
moderate	18.1	22.9	23.5	22.4
high	49.5	29.8	18.3	30.2
Cramer's V	.14			
CULTURAL CONSERVATISM		Microsoft Charles		
low	4.8	17.2	41.8	20.2
moderate	70.5	70.0	53.6	67.0
high	24.7	12.8	4.6	12.8
Cramer's V	.21			
CHRISTIAN WORLD-VIEW				
low	16.2	15.7	30.7	18.6
moderate	50.5	68.2	55.6	63.5
high	33.3	16.1	13.7	17.9
Cramer's V	.15			
CHURCH INVOLVEMENT				
second-generation				
unchurched	6.7	11.5	20.8	12.6
first-generation	0.7		20.0	12.0
unchurched	7.5	8.2	13.0	9.1
ex-members	20.0	22.9	27.0	23.4
marginal members	28.6	20.3	13.1	20.0
modal members	16.2	22.5	15.6	20.4
core members	21.0	14.6	10.5	14.5
Cramer's V	.14	or eleganisms		
POLITICAL VOTE				
far left	1.0	6.0	17.6	7.6
Social Democrates	21.0	32.7	40.5	32.7
Progressive Liberals	5.7	5.9	9.2	6.5
Christian Democrats	27.6	29.8	18.3	27.3
Liberals	35.2	21.9	12.4	21.8
farright	9.5	3.7	2.0	4.1
Cramer's V	.21			