Equality is a human right

Equality is profitable

Equality is the law

Equality empowers people

Equality increases trust & loyalty

Equality is respect for other people

Equality lets people live their own lives

Valuing Equality

How equality bodies can use values to create a more equal & accepting Europe

Equality leads to more successful societies

Equality strengthens the economy

Equality makes business sense

Equality is a the right thing to do

Equality increases social order

Equality leads to social justice

Equality helps people achieve more

Equality is taken seriously by others

Equality is everyone's responsiblity

Equality increases foreign investment

Equality makes societies safer

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European network
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CONTENTS

Valuing Equality

How equality bodies can use values to create
a more equal & accepting Europe

Elena Blackmore, Bec Sanderson & Richard Hawkins

CONTEXT

This report explores how an understanding of values can provide a new perspective on the work of equality bodies in Europe.

In 2012, Equinet – the European Network of Equality Bodies organised a training event called *Tackling Under-Reporting of Discrimination Through Better Communications* that included a workshop facilitated by the Public Interest Research Centre (PIRC). This sought to explore an innovative perspective on communication work for equality bodies seeking to contribute to a culture of acceptance and respect. The workshop drew attention to the crucial role of values in such work: understanding how communications could engage particular values and be both more effective and aligned with the principles of the organisation.

This report was commissioned by Equinet to further explore how values might inform the work of equality bodies.

Values are important.

When people value community, social justice and freedom, they tend to be less discriminatory.

Across Europe we see a positive picture: people view these values as most important.

So why are people still not treated equally?

As this report shows, patterns of prejudice and inequality in Europe are linked to the weight people place on these values compared with others. From attitudes towards minorities in leadership positions to the rate at which people report discrimination, the influence of values is clear and consistent.

These values are not static; they can be engaged and strengthened. European equality bodies and other organisations can actively work to bring to the fore the sense of respect and care for others that every person already holds within them.

Communicating these values is therefore an important consideration for these organisations. We explore the values these organisations may express in their work, and how these could be better aligned with the values that will ensure that people across Europe are motivated to live in acceptance of one another, free from discrimination, and in peace.

VALUES MATTER

Behind the all-important social indicators – from public attitudes towards immigration to incidence of hate crimes – is the question of why. Why do people hold such attitudes, or behave in such ways?

Research has revealed a consistent and often overlooked factor in answering this question: our values. Values play a key role in our concern about issues such as equality, diversity and human rights; they also influence our political, civic, and social behaviours.

Researchers, working in over 80 countries, have found a set of values that recur across cultures.[1] Almost everyone values each of these, but to varying degrees.[2] These values constitute more than just an interesting list. Researchers have found that there are consistent statistical relationships between the different values, as mapped in the figure below.

Figure 1. Values map
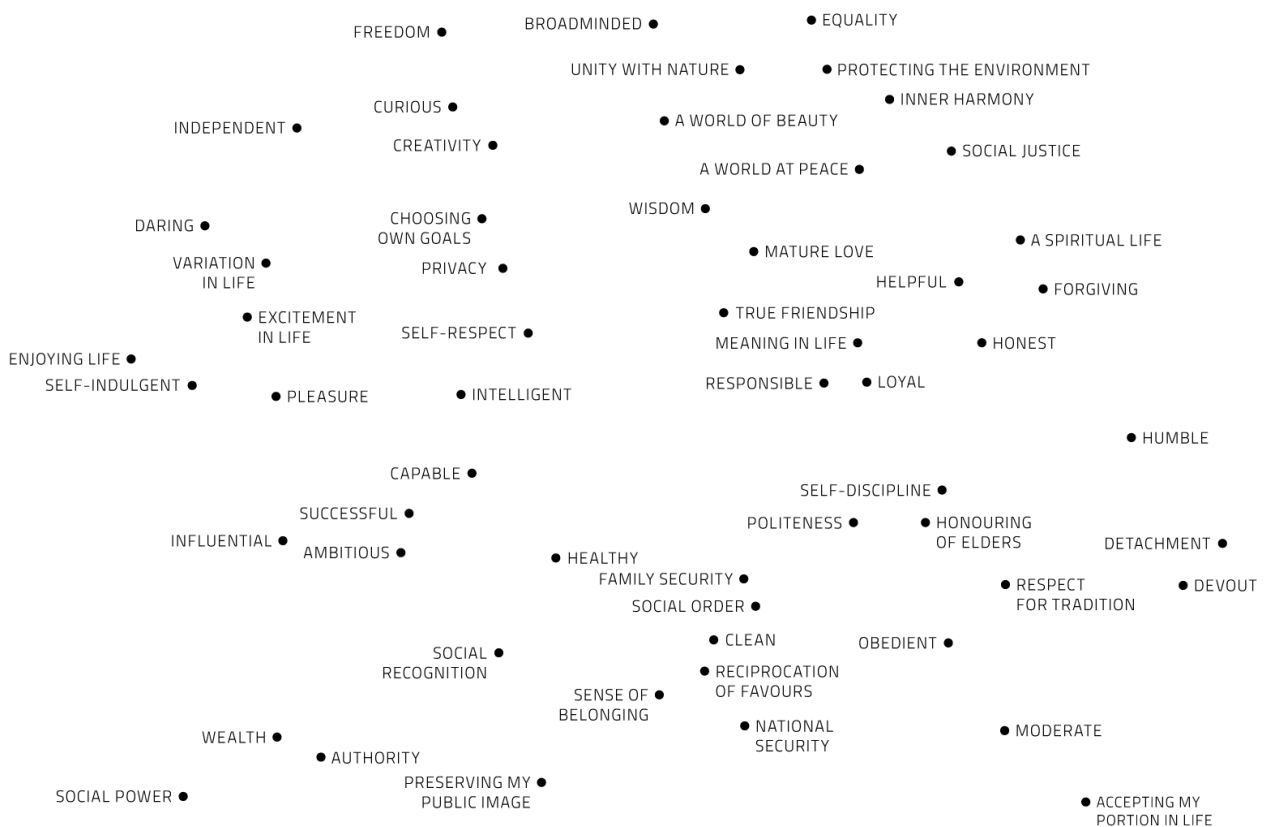
The closer one value is to another the more likely they will be held strongly at the same time (a person who prioritises *protecting the environment* is also likely to prioritise *equality*, for instance).

By contrast, the further apart any two values lie, the less likely people are to strongly hold both of them at the same time (we are unlikely to value both *authority* and *equality* simultaneously).

Researchers have also organised these individual values into ten groups, according to these relationships.[3] These are presented and defined in the figure and table below.

Figure 2. Values map including value groups

Figure 2. Values map including value groups
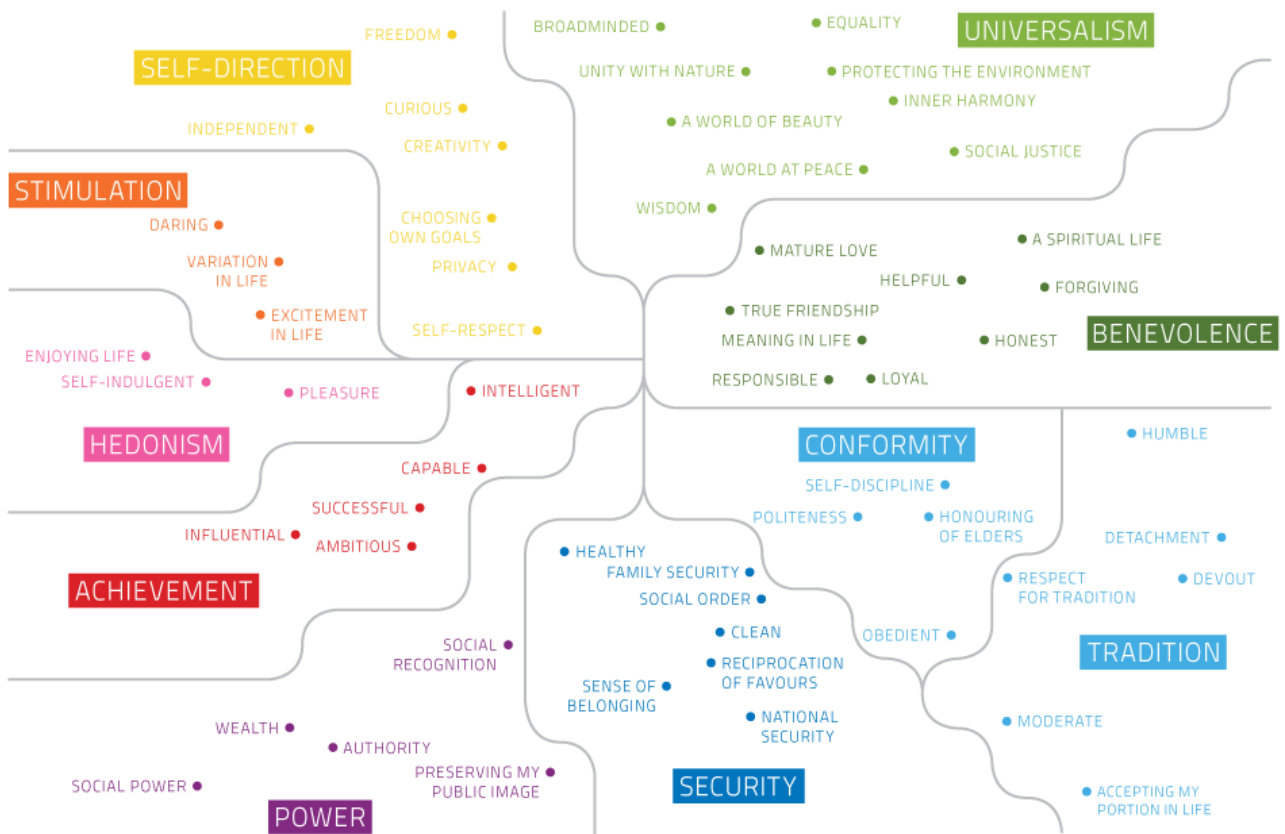
Table 1. Value groups and definitions

UNIVERSALISM
UNDERSTANDING, APPRECIATION, TOLERANCE AND PROTECTION FOR THE WELFARE OF ALL PEOPLE AND FOR NATURE.

BENEVOLENCE
PRESERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THE WELFARE OF PEOPLE WITH WHOM ONE IS IN FREQUENT PERSONAL CONTACT.

TRADITION
RESPECT, COMMITMENT AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE CUSTOMS AND IDEAS THAT TRADITIONAL CULTURE OR RELIGION PROVIDE THE SELF.

CONFORMITY
RESTRAINT OF ACTIONS, INCLINATIONS AND IMPULSES LIKELY TO UPSET OR HARM OTHERS AND VIOLATE SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS OR NORMS.

SECURITY
SAFETY, HARMONY, AND STABILITY OF SOCIETY, OF RELATIONSHIPS, AND OF SELF.

POWER
SOCIAL STATUS AND PRESTIGE, CONTROL OR DOMINANCE OVER PEOPLE AND RESOURCES.

ACHIEVEMENT
PERSONAL SUCCESS THROUGH DEMONSTRATING COMPETENCE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL STANDARDS.

HEDONISM
PLEASURE AND SENSUOUS GRATIFICATION FOR ONESELF.

STIMULATION
EXCITEMENT, NOVELTY AND CHALLENGE IN LIFE.

SELF-DIRECTION
INDEPENDENT THOUGHT AND ACTION – CHOOSING, CREATING, EXPLORING.

The ten groups are in turn organised along two axes, detailed below.

Table 2. Value groups and value axes

<table>
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Openness to change

Self-direction

Stimulation

Hedonism

Associated with a desire for independence, novelty, and comfort with change.[4]

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Self-transcendence

Universalism

Benevolence

Associated with concern for and action on social and environmental issues, at both an individual and societal level.

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Self-enhancement

Power

Achievement

Associated with lower concern for other people and the planet, and heightened concern for self, wealth, and control over others.

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Conservation

Conformity

Tradition

Security

Associated with concern for maintenance of the status quo and the stability of society.

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Every two years, the European Social Survey is carried out. It asks large, representative samples of inhabitants of European nations about their attitudes and experience, and also their values. It consistently validates the model described above.[5]

So what does this research mean for organisations working for a more equal and accepting Europe?

VALUES AND EQUALITY

Values have a clear influence on how we think and act. These effects reflect the patterns we see in the relationships between values.

In this section, we review some of the existing research on how values affect equality and discrimination before we move on to our original research on values and equality in Europe.

Self-transcendence

Universalism & Benevolence

Self-transcendence values are associated with positive attitudes towards diversity and stronger concern for equality and rights.

People who prioritise self-transcendence values have more positive diversity attitudes in general;[6] as well as more understanding of difference, more comfort around difference, and more contact with different groups.[7] This means that people are more likely to agree with the statements '*I like to go to dances where music from other cultures is played*' and '*Persons with disabilities can teach me things I could not learn elsewhere*' if they score highly on self-transcendence values.[8]

Universalism has been associated with high 'moral inclusiveness': the extent to which you extend moral concern to different and distant 'other' groups; benevolence is more closely associated with concern for close others and community.[9] Universalism is also highly associated with egalitarianism, which means that people tend to see one another as moral equals and equally deserving of the same rights.[10] In addition, universalism predicts taking action to support human rights causes.[11]

Self-transcendence values correlate negatively with what are known as 'system justifying beliefs'.[12] This means that the more importance someone places on these values, the less likely they are to make justifications for inequalities in society: for instance, by believing that certain groups are naturally less superior to others. Universalism values are also associated with positive attitudes towards gender equality.[13]

Self-transcendence values are also associated with support for immigration: people who score more highly on universalism and benevolence values are more likely to agree that immigrants enhance society, and less likely to agree that immigration levels should be capped.[14]

Openness-to-change

Self-direction, Stimulation & Hedonism

Openness-to-change values are associated with positive attitudes towards equality and civic action.

People who prioritise openness-to-change values (self-direction in particular) also have more positive diversity attitudes,[15] more understanding of difference, more comfort around difference, and more contact with 'other' groups.[16]

Self-direction values have also been shown to have a positive relationship with attitudes towards gender equality [17] and immigration. [18] Openness-to-change values are strongly associated with civic and political action. [19]

Self-enhancement

Power & Achievement

Self-enhancement values are associated with higher levels of prejudice and discrimination.

Self-enhancement values are associated with negative attitudes towards diversity in general and higher levels of prejudice.[20] For example, the higher a person scores on self-enhancement values, the more likely they are to agree with the statement '*I am only at ease with people of my race*'. [21]

Sexism is strongly related to both power and tradition values.[22] Power values are particularly related to 'hostile' sexism: an antagonistic belief that women are evil or controlling.[23] People who hold hostile sexist attitudes are likely to agree with statements such as '*Women seek to gain power by getting control over men*.'

Self-enhancement values, and power in particular, are related to what is known as Social Dominance Orientation. This revolves around a belief that there are natural hierarchies and inequalities apparent in the world that should be maintained. In such a view, men are superior to women, one ethnic group is superior to another, and so on.[24] Self-enhancement values are also closely linked to holding and believing in negative stereotypes of homosexuals.[25]

Power and achievement values also predict support for restrictions on human rights and military interventionism when human rights are violated.[26]

Conservation

Conformity, Tradition & Security

Conservation values are associated with higher discomfort with difference, change and diversity.

Conservation values are associated both with a lower desire to have contact with other groups[27] and higher levels of prejudice.[28]

Tradition values are associated with 'benevolent sexism': the paternalistic belief that women are subordinate to men, best suited to low-status roles in society, who need to be protected and cherished.[29] People scoring highly on tradition would be more likely to agree with the statement '*Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess*.'

Self-enhancement and conservation values are also closely linked to holding and believing in negative stereotypes of gay and lesbian people.[30]

Conservation values are particularly associated with anti-immigration sentiment. People who prioritise these values are much less likely to agree that immigrants enhance society, and more

likely to agree that immigration should be capped.[31] They are also more likely to support the restriction of human rights. [32]

The table following summarises some of these and other key findings.

Table 3. Attitudes & behaviours associated with values

Openness to change

Self-direction, Stimulation & Hedonism

Associated with:

- Political activism
- Acceptance of 'other' groups
- Lower levels of anxiety
- Self-directed vocations
- Creativity & art
- Belief in the empowerment of peoples
- Support for rehabilitative over retributive justice
- Altruism, volunteering & co-operative behaviours

Self-transcendence

Universalism & Benevolence

Associated with:

- Endorsement of human rights
- Political activism & environmentalism
- Concern for the welfare of close and distant others, and of all nature
- Egalitarian & peaceful attitudes
- Acceptance of 'other' groups; high levels of contact with other groups
- Concern about global issues
- Support for rehabilitative over retributive justice
- Altruism, volunteering & co-operation

Self-enhancement

Power & Achievement

Associated with:

- Materialism & concern about personal wealth
- Economic concern
- Racism, sexism, homophobia & general prejudice
- Social Dominance Orientation
- Belief in human superiority over nature
- Machiavellianism & authoritarianism
- Competitive (and destructive) behaviours

Conservation

Conformity, Tradition & Security

Associated with:

- Nationalism
- Strong belief in retributive justice
- Trust in institutions
- Traditional, institution-focused religion
- Belief in the necessity of restrictions to human rights (and particularly civil liberties)
- Concern for national security
- 'Benevolent' sexism & negative stereotyping of gay people
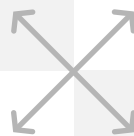
What people value

Research finds that the average person tends to value self-transcendence values more highly than self-enhancement values.

Benevolence was shown to be the highest priority value in 63 countries, across all inhabited continents, usually closely followed by self-direction and universalism values in second and third places.[33] To ensure that this is not just a survey bias, researchers have verified this finding using studies of behaviours as well as getting friends and family to score respondents.[34]

However, almost everyone holds all values to be of some importance: we are all a bundle of different, sometimes contradictory motivations. Our differences lie in the relative importance we place on each value, and how we interpret that value in our own lives. This means that although people may place more importance on self-transcendence values, the fact that one person values power a little more than another means they are more likely to behave in ways related to power values than the other. Differences in self-enhancement values are often a better predictor of differences in attitudes and behaviours, towards such issues as equality and discrimination.

What Europe values

If an understanding of values is to contribute to the work of European equality bodies, we should look first at what different European countries value.

We can do this using the European Social Survey (ESS) data. The ESS is carried out every two years, and measures the values of a representative sample of around 2000 citizens in over 30 countries. The table below shows the average values scores of a number of these countries from 2012 (or 2008 where asterisked: these countries were not included in the 2012 survey).[a]

A low score indicates that this value is of low priority to the average citizen; a high score means that the average citizen places a high importance to this value (scoring is 1-6 where 1 is low and 6 is high). We compared each country against each other on all of the ten values, to see whether the scores were meaningfully different to each other. To do this we ran 1530 comparisons, and found that 74% showed measurable differences. So most of the numbers in the table below show value scores that are *significantly* higher or lower than other countries. This means that there is a less than 1% probability that the value differences are due to random accident: we can say that Belgium valued security less than Bulgaria in 2012, for instance, and the UK valued achievement more than Sweden.

However, not all of the differences between country values were significant. People in Estonia and Finland were very similar in how much they valued conformity, for instance. In Appendix 2, we detail which particular countries were *not* different to each other on each value.

---

[a] The countries included are those that took part in Rounds 4 and 6 of the European Social Survey: this does not, unfortunately, include all of the Equinet member states.

In the table below, the darker the colour, the more important the value is in comparison to the other countries.

Table 4. Average values held by people in Europe

	Security	Confor'y	Tradition	Benev'e	Univrs'm	Self-Dr'n	Stimul'n	Hedon'm	Achiev't	Power
Belgium	4.6	4.2	4.5	5.1	4.9	4.6	3.7	4.4	3.9	3.4
Bulgaria	5.2	4.6	4.7	5.1	4.9	4.3	3.6	3.7	4.7	3.8
Croatia*	4.9	4.1	4.3	4.9	4.7	4.5	3.2	3.8	4	3.5
Cyprus	5.6	4.1	4.9	5.4	5.1	5	3.8	4.2	4.3	3.7
Czech Rep'c	4.8	4.3	4.2	4.5	4.5	4.6	3.5	3.9	3.9	3.9
Denmark	4.2	4.3	4	5.2	4.8	4.8	3.8	4.4	3.8	3.3
Estonia	4.7	4.1	4.1	4.8	4.7	4.4	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.1
Finland	4.6	4.1	4.1	5	5	4.6	3.7	4	3.4	2.8
France*	4.2	3.7	4	4.9	4.9	4.4	3.4	4.3	3.3	2.8
Germany	4.7	3.8	4.3	5.2	5	4.8	3.5	4.3	3.9	3.2
Greece*	5.2	4.6	4.7	5.2	5.1	4.9	4	4.5	4.5	4.4
Ireland	4.9	4.1	4.3	5.1	4.9	4.8	3.8	3.8	4.1	3.6
Latvia*	5.2	4	4.4	4.8	4.6	4.7	3.9	4.1	4.4	4.2
Netherlands	4.3	4.1	4	4.9	4.8	4.8	3.8	4.3	3.9	3.2
Norway	4.2	4.4	3.9	5	4.7	4.6	3.6	3.9	3.6	3.1
Poland	5	4.7	4.6	5	5	4.6	3.6	3.4	4.1	3.8
Portugal	4.6	4	4.3	4.6	4.5	4.4	3.4	3.8	4.1	3.5
Romania*	4.7	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.6	4.3	3.6	3.7	4.3	4.1
Slovakia	5.1	4.7	4.7	4.8	4.8	4.8	3.7	3.7	4.3	4
Slovenia	5.2	4.4	4.9	5.1	5.2	4.9	3.9	4.4	4.5	3.7
Spain	5	4.3	4.7	5.3	5.2	4.8	3.5	4	3.7	3
Sweden	4.1	3.9	4.1	5.1	4.9	4.7	3.6	4.3	3.5	3.2
UK	4.8	4.2	4.3	5.1	4.9	4.7	3.7	3.9	3.9	3.3

The relative differences between countries' scores may seem small, but they can have a significant impact on attitudes and behaviours. A difference in values scores of 0.1 may result in several percentage points' difference in a behavioural outcome, for instance.

These results also show the pattern we expect to see in self-transcendence versus self-enhancement values, as displayed in the table below: where universalism is scored relatively higher, power is scored relatively lower, and vice versa. The more green the number, the higher the score in universalism; the more purple the number, the higher the score in power.

Table 5. Relationship between universalism & power

	Universalism	Power
France	0.85	-1.27
Finland	0.80	-1.33
Spain	0.78	-1.33
Sweden	0.72	-0.97
Germany	0.66	-1.13
Estonia	0.63	-1.03
Poland	0.57	-0.66
Netherlands	0.57	-1.03
UK	0.57	-1.00
Denmark	0.55	-0.96
Norway	0.54	-1.00
Slovenia	0.53	-0.95
Ireland	0.53	-0.73
Cyprus	0.52	-0.94
Belgium	0.52	-0.99
Croatia	0.47	-0.68
Slovakia	0.44	-0.54
Bulgaria	0.41	-0.71
Portugal	0.41	-0.69
Greece	0.35	-0.37
Romania	0.31	-0.17
Czech Republic	0.29	-0.38
Latvia	0.15	-0.28

The numbers in this table are centred scores; they represent the distance each score was from the average importance given to all ten values in that country. A negative score therefore represents a score below average (relatively less important); a positive score is higher than the average (relatively more important).

What we can see from these tables is that there is interesting variation in values between the countries in Europe, and that we can explore the links between the values held and the equality outcomes in different countries. For instance, it is interesting to note that there are some countries (such as Greece) that score relatively highly on all ten value-groups.

The graph below shows the average scores of respondents across the whole of Europe.

Figure 3. Values in Europe: Average scores
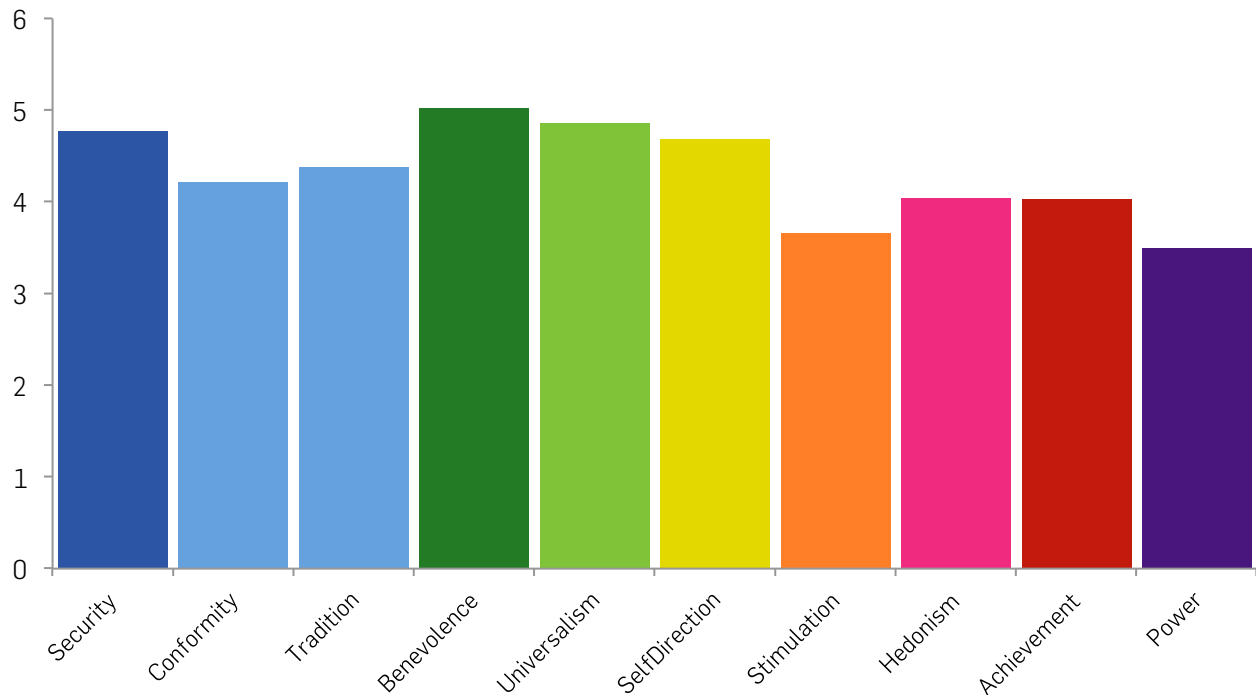
We can see, as the research suggests, that self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence) values are held most strongly by inhabitants of Europe (on average). However, security (a conservation value) is close behind in prioritisation. This is an interesting finding, as research suggests that security values, which do not usually score so highly,[35] respond quickly to feelings of insecurity. Have the financial crises of the past six years taken their toll on the values of Europe? Could this be a reflection of the post-9/11 world in which fear of terrorism has come to be seen to outweigh civil liberties?

VALUES AND EQUALITY IN EUROPE

Self-transcendence values are scored most highly across Europe. Why, if these values are related to acceptance and non-discrimination, do we still see such high levels of discriminatory behaviours and attitudes?

The answer lies in the 'values mix': the fact that no person (or country) values only one thing or another, but all of the values to differing degrees. This mix of values is reflected in the mix of experiences and attitudes. So although people may value self-transcendence most highly, they will also value self-enhancement and conservation. The *extent* to which these are valued is reflected in the discrimination and inequality still seen in Europe.

In other words, the fact that most people value self-transcendence most highly is reflected in the average person's low levels of experienced (or acknowledged) discrimination as they go about their daily life, and the general concern that they will show for their friends, family and colleagues.

However, structural inequalities do still form the backdrop of life in European societies. These, and the levels of discriminatory attitudes towards particular marginalised groups, reflect the power and tradition (self-enhancement and conservation) values that are also held in Europe.

That there is mix of experiences and attitudes is unsurprising. What we ascertain in our research is whether relative differences in values can tell us anything about the relative differences in discriminatory attitudes and behaviours.

We know that universalism, benevolence and self-direction are most associated with non-discrimination and equality in the research literature. In the following sections we explore whether we can find these same trends across Europe; we examine the relationship between values, equality and discrimination using pan-European data sets.

The data used in this section was taken from a number of samples of Eurobarometer, the European Social Survey, and the Fundamental Rights Agency.

Interpreting the research

In the results tables, green always signifies more positive attitudes (lower discrimination) and yellow more negative attitudes (higher discrimination). The strength of the colour indicates the strength of the level of in/tolerance.

All the comparisons and interactions we show are significant, except those in grey text within the tables.

A more detailed methodology can be found in the appendices document.

General discrimination

We looked first at experienced discrimination.[b] In the following table we can see the relationship between values and the number of people who said they had experienced discrimination over the past 12 months.

The yellow colour (higher numbers) indicates that the value in the left-hand column predicts higher incidence of discrimination on the grounds listed in the header row. The green colour (and lower numbers) indicates that the value predicts lower levels of discrimination.

So, for instance, the more a country values security, the more likely it is that people within that country will say they have experienced discrimination based on disability and gender. Tradition values strongly predict discrimination based on ethnicity. Power and achievement predict discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Table 6. Relationship between values and experience of discrimination

	Experience of discrimination based on…					
	Disability	**Gender**	**Gender identity**	**Sexual orientation**	**Ethnic origin**	**Religion**
Power	1.04	1.24	1.33	1.57	0.93	0.53
Achievement	1.14	1.29	1.61	1.68	1.08	0.58
Hedonism	0.91	1.21	1.27	1.11	0.91	1.29
Stimulation	0.87	0.82	0.75	0.70	0.85	1.38
Self-direction	0.70	0.71	0.41	0.52	0.92	1.18
Universalism	0.82	0.76	0.34	0.69	0.76	1.19
Benevolence	0.74	0.80	0.64	0.58	1.06	1.67
Conformity	1.01	0.99	0.69	0.94	0.82	0.67
Tradition	1.11	0.92	0.85	1.02	1.24	1.00
Security	1.24	1.49	1.16	1.32	1.03	0.66

2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at 0.01. Grey means result is insignificant.

In general, people from countries higher in self-enhancement and conservation values have greater odds of experiencing discrimination.

The opposite is true of self-transcendence and openness-to-change values: people in countries that score highly on these values are *less* likely to experience discrimination.

Religious discrimination is an interesting anomaly, with self-transcendence and openness-to-change values predicting *more* intolerance. This may be because religion itself is more associated with traditional values. Low conservation scores in a country might therefore reflect higher secularism and therefore increased chances of religious people being discriminated against.

We also looked at the levels of witnessing discrimination.[c]

[b] Eurobarometer, 2012. Question wording: '*Over the past 12 months have you felt personally discriminated against or harassed on the basis of one or more of the following grounds?*'

Table 8. Relationship between values and witnessing discrimination

	Witness of discrimination based on…					
	Disability	**Gender**	**Gender identity**	**Sexual orientation**	**Ethnic origin**	**Religion**
Power	0.80	0.77	0.41	0.44	0.63	0.42
Achievement	0.80	0.79	0.31	0.33	0.58	0.27
Hedonism	1.22	1.24	1.82	1.82	1.56	2.38
Stimulation	1.29	1.16	1.89	2.02	1.56	2.18
Self-direction	1.15	1.31	3.18	2.74	2.07	2.93
Universalism	1.23	1.35	2.98	2.40	1.40	2.59
Benevolence	1.03	1.27	2.91	2.20	1.85	2.67
Conformity	1.23	1.11	0.89	1.00	0.96	0.71
Tradition	0.81	0.85	0.72	0.71	0.66	0.62
Security	1.00	1.14	0.46	0.44	0.70	0.34

2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at 0.01. Grey means result is insignificant.

Yellow (and lower numbers) indicates that the value predicts that people are less likely to say they have witnessed the discrimination of others. Green indicates that people are *more* likely to say they have witnessed discrimination.

Self-enhancement and conservation values are associated with lower incidence of witnessing discrimination than self-transcendence and openness-to-change values.

We can hypothesise something interesting from these two findings together: whilst the odds of *experiencing* discrimination may be lower in countries that score highly on self-transcendence and openness-to-change values, people in these countries appear to be more attuned to discrimination and so report having seen more occurrences of it. This is an important issue because whether or not incidents are acknowledged as discriminatory is likely to have an impact on whether or not it is reported or dealt with in some way.

Given these two findings, it would also be interesting to look at how discrimination is defined by people in different countries and how this relates to values. If people are less likely to see discrimination in countries that value self-enhancement more highly, those who experience it may also be less likely to class it as discriminatory. In essence, the relationship may be even stronger than is visible in these results.

Next, we explored how values interacted with attitudes towards marginalised groups in positions of power, shown in the table following.[d] Green signals acceptance, yellow signals intolerance. We can say from this, for instance, that in countries that score highly on tradition, people are more likely to be uncomfortable with the idea of a transsexual person as a political leader.

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[c] Eurobarometer, 2012. Question: *'Over the past 12 months have you witnessed or heard of someone being discriminated against or harassed on the basis of one or more of the following grounds?'*

[d] Eurobarometer, 2012. Question: *'Please tell me how you would feel having someone from the following categories in the highest elected political position in your country?'*

Table 9. Relationship between values and levels of comfort with marginalised groups in positions of power

	Level of comfort with the idea of a political leader from the following groups…				
	Woman	**Homosexual**	**Different ethnic origin**	**Disabled**	**Transsexual**
Power	-0.04	-0.08	-0.02	-0.10	-0.11
Achievement	-0.07	-0.18	-0.12	-0.16	-0.21
Hedonism	0.03	0.07	-0.03	-0.02	0.05
Stimulation	0.08	0.16	0.08	0.11	0.17
Self-direction	0.10	0.19	0.13	0.23	0.21
Universalism	0.06	0.14	0.17	0.18	0.18
Benevolence	0.08	0.18	0.09	0.22	0.20
Tradition	-0.03	-0.03	0.03	0.00	-0.02
Conformity	-0.01	-0.09	-0.04	-0.10	-0.09
Security	-0.07	-0.22	0.02	-0.23	-0.23

2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at 0.01. Grey means result is insignificant.

Three of the categories in this question showed more interesting results, as seen in the table below. Religious discrimination again bucked the trend, possibly for the reasons we described above. Ageism was interesting because the pattern between values and positive attitudes were opposite, depending on whether the leader was old or young. We return to this in a later section. However, aside from religion and age, the pattern is fairly clear again: self-transcendence and openness-to-change values predict more positive attitudes.

Table 10. Relationship between values and levels of comfort with marginalised groups in positions of power

	Level of comfort with the idea of a political leader from the following groups…		
	Religious	**Over 75-year old**	**Under 30-year old**
Power	0.1	-0.03	0.14
Achievement	0.04	-0.07	0.08
Hedonism	-0.1	-0.07	-0.94
Stimulation	0	0.08	0.03
Self-direction	0.02	0.08	-0.05
Universalism	0.06	0.07	-0.06
Benevolence	-0.03	0.1	-0.04
Tradition	0.03	0.02	0.08
Conformity	0	-0.11	0.03
Security	0	-0.13	0.05

2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at 0.01. Grey means result is insignificant.

Reporting behaviours

The Fundamental Rights Agency surveyed LGBT people across Europe on their lives and experienced discrimination. A number of questions looked at whether LGBT people said that they had reported discrimination that they had experienced.

The table below presents the percentage of people who said they had reported discrimination they had experienced to an authority (higher percentages are greener) alongside the importance the country places on power values (high values indicated by redness).

Table 11: Power values and reporting discrimination

	Power value	Percentages of respondents who reported to an authority…			
		Their most serious incident of harassment	Their most serious physical or sexual attack	Their most recent physical or sexual attack	Their most recent incident of discrimination
Finland	-1.33	4	23	18	7
Spain	-1.33	6	22	18	10
France	-1.27	8	32	26	13
Germany	-1.13	5	22	18	7
Netherlands	-1.03	9	34	23	16
UK	-1	9	33	27	13
Belgium	-0.99	7	31	26	12
Sweden	-0.97	8	27	20	6
Denmark	-0.96	6	25	19	6
Slovenia	-0.95	8	27	19	3
Cyprus	-0.94	3	14	23	5
Ireland	-0.73	5	25	18	10
Bulgaria	-0.71	5	15	14	9
Portugal	-0.69	6	26	20	12
Croatia	-0.68	7	18	20	7
Poland	-0.66	4	17	13	4
Slovakia	-0.54	5	13	14	6
Czech Republic	-0.38	5	19	13	4
Greece	-0.37	3	17	14	6
Latvia	-0.28	4	20	9	3
Romania	-0.17	5	15	9	9

The more importance a country places on power values, the less people are likely to report discrimination because of their sexuality or gender identity to an authority.

This is probably unsurprising given that higher power values are associated with higher levels of discrimination; people may therefore feel that prejudices are institutionalised and feel less like they will get fair treatment from the authorities.

Attitudes to minorities

The table below shows the degree to which people agreed that minority rights and equal treatment were both *important* and *observed* in their country.[e] Green indicates stronger belief.

Table 12. Relationship between values and attitudes towards the rights of minorities and treatment by courts

	Belief that the rights of minorities…		Belief that equal treatment by the courts…	
	Are important	**Are protected**	**Is important**	**Is given**
Power	-0.18	-0.16	-0.16	-0.11
Achievement	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.01
Hedonism	-0.01	0.08	-0.06	0.13
Stimulation	-0.06	0.02	-0.17	0.08
Self-direction	0.09	0.05	0.09	0.70
Universalism	0.19	0.07	0.19	0.08
Benevolence	0.17	0.11	0.16	0.02
Conformity	-0.07	0.00	-0.04	-0.04
Tradition	0.00	-0.04	-0.00	-0.08
Security	-0.05	-0.06	-0.08	-0.14

2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at 0.01. Bold means significant at 0.05. Grey is insignificant.

Unsurprisingly, the highest levels of concern for minority rights and equal treatment were likely to be given by the people who scored the highest on self-transcendence and self-direction values.

What is more surprising is that this is also largely reflected in whether people think that minority rights are protected and equal treatment is given in courts in reality. So someone who values universalism highly is likely to think that protecting minority rights is important and also that minority rights are protected in their country. This perhaps reflects that individuals who hold self-transcendence values more highly also hold a more positive view of society. This is an interesting finding, given that countries higher on these values are also more likely to identify incidences of discrimination: a topic that needs further investigation.

On the subject of gay rights, ESS respondents were also asked how far they agreed that gay and lesbian people should be free to live as they wish.[f] Lower scores (green) indicated higher agreement. We looked at how these responses related to the values of the respondents.

[e] ESS, 2012. Question wording: '*Thinking generally, how important do you think it is for democracy in general that… The rights of minority groups are protected? … The courts treat everyone the same?*'

'*To what extent do you think this applies in your country: … The rights of minority groups are protected? … The courts treat everyone the same?*'

[f] ESS, 2012. Statement: '*Gays and lesbians should be free to live life as they wish.*'

Table 13. Relationship between values and attitudes to gay and lesbian people

	Belief that gay people should be free to live as they wish
Power	0.26
Achievement	0.06
Hedonism	-0.19
Stimulation	-0.11
Self-direction	-0.18
Universalism	-0.18
Benevolence	-0.19
Tradition	0.17
Conformity	0.17
Security	0.13

2-tailed Pearson correlations, all results significant at 0.01 level.

Self-transcendence and openness-to-change values are associated with more positive attitudes towards homosexuality.

Attitudes to employment

The table below shows the relationship between values and attitudes towards gender roles in the labour market.[9] Green signifies positive gender equality attitudes.

Table 14. Relationship between values and attitudes towards women's role in the labour market

	Belief that men have no more right to jobs than women	Belief that women should not be required to sacrifice job for family
Power	-0.16	-0.09
Achievement	-0.04	0.01
Hedonism	0.10	0.16
Stimulation	0.08	0.13
Self-direction	0.18	0.16
Universalism	0.15	0.08
Benevolence	0.16	0.09
Conformity	-0.14	-0.15
Tradition	-0.16	-0.19
Security	-0.12	-0.18

2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at 0.01. Grey means result is insignificant.

[9] ESS, 2008. Question wording: *'How far do you agree with the following statements: When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women. … A woman should be prepared to cut down on her paid work for the sake of her family.'* Lower scores indicate higher agreement.

Across Europe, people who score highly on self-transcendence and openness-to-change values have more equitable attitudes towards women in work.

The higher people score on self-enhancement and conservation, however, the less favourably they view gender equality in the labour market.

The table below also shows how attitudes to unemployed people relate to values. High scores (green) indicate more positive attitudes.[h]

Table 15. Relationship between values and attitudes towards unemployed people

	Belief that unemployed people try to find employment
Power	-0.04
Achievement	-0.04
Hedonism	-0.03
Stimulation	-0.04
Self-direction	0.03
Universalism	0.13
Benevolence	0.09
Conformity	-0.03
Tradition	-0.02
Security	-0.02

All results are 2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at the 0.01 level.

Only universalism, benevolence and self-direction values are not associated with negative stereotypes of unemployed people.

[h] ESS, 2012. Question wording: *'How far do you agree with this statement: Most unemployed people do not try and find a job.'* High scores indicate disagreement with this statement.

Attitudes to Roma people

We also explored whether there was a relationship between values and attitudes towards the Roma.[i] Green represents more positive attitudes.

Table 16. Relationship between values and attitudes towards Roma integration

	Level of comfort with own children playing with Roma schoolmates	Belief that society does not benefit from integration of Roma people
Power	-0.10	0.10
Achievement	-0.09	0.16
Hedonism	-0.04	-0.10
Stimulation	0.08	-0.11
Self-direction	0.09	-0.13
Universalism	0.16	-0.15
Benevolence	0.07	-0.09
Conformity	-0.02	-0.02
Tradition	0.02	0.09
Security	-0.06	0.11

Results are 2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at the 0.01 level. Grey is insignificant.

Self-transcendence and openness-to-change values are associated with more positive attitudes towards Roma. The opposite is true for self-enhancement and conservation values.

The pattern displayed also reflects another phenomenon – the difference between tolerance in the abstract ('society benefits from integration') and acceptance closer to home ('with your children'). Whilst the abstract acceptance is associated with a wider spectrum of values, acceptance of the idea of Roma children playing with their own children returned to the usual pattern of association with benevolence, universalism and self-direction values.

[i] Eurobarometer, 2012. Question wording: *'How comfortable would you be with your children playing with Roma schoolmates?'*; *'How far do you agree with this statement: Society benefits from better integration of the Roma?'* In the second column, negative scores reflect higher acceptance.

Attitudes to immigration

What about the relationship between values and attitudes about immigration? In the table of average attitudes below,[j] countries are ordered by the priority they place on security values (blueness indicates higher priority). Green indicates more positive attitudes; yellow indicates more negative attitudes.

Table 17. Relationship between security values and attitudes towards immigration

	Security priority	Belief that country should cap immigration	Belief that immigrants enrich country's culture	Belief that immigrants make country better
Denmark	-0.12	2.47	6.24	6.06
Sweden	-0.06	1.85	6.97	6.41
Norway	0.1	2.19	6.06	5.7
Netherlands	0.1	2.46	6.24	5.43
Iceland	0.11	1.94	6.83	6.48
Belgium	0.24	2.48	5.76	4.74
Finland	0.39	2.65	7.13	5.62
Germany	0.39	2.16	6.28	5.48
Israel	0.49	3.07	5.16	5.01
Portugal	0.51	2.94	5.12	4.04
UK	0.51	2.71	5.12	4.74
Czech Republic	0.55	2.84	4.32	4.25
Ireland	0.58	2.47	5.52	5.48
Spain	0.6	2.32	6.28	5.4
Slovenia	0.6	2.44	5.59	4.96
Kosovo	0.61	2.83	4.49	4.8
Estonia	0.62	2.87	5.59	4.81
Slovakia	0.69	2.74	4.73	4.04
Bulgaria	0.72	2.43	5.56	5.36
Cyprus	0.96	3.37	3.1	3.17

A pattern emerges that we would predict from previous research: people who score lower in security values are more open to immigration and think it is more positive to society than those who score highly on security values.

The table following expresses the relationship between all of the values and responses to these questions.[k] Green represents higher comfort with immigration.

[j] ESS, 2012. Questions: 'Please tell us how far you agree with the following statements…' *'Our country allows in too many / too few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe.' 'Our country's cultural life is undermined / enriched by immigrants.' 'Immigrants make [country] a better / worse place to live.'*

[k] In the first column, negative scores reflect positive attitudes; in the other two columns, positive scores reflect positive attitudes.

Table 18. Relationship between values and attitudes towards immigration

	Belief that country should cap immigration	Belief that immigrants enrich country's culture	Belief that immigrants make country better
Power	0.15	-0.20	-0.17
Achievement	0.02	-0.06	-0.04
Hedonism	-0.05	0.06	0.06
Stimulation	-0.08	0.07	0.08
Self-direction	-0.09	0.13	0.09
Universalism	-0.17	0.20	0.17
Benevolence	-0.12	0.14	0.12
Tradition	0.07	-0.07	-0.06
Conformity	0.11	-0.10	-0.08
Security	0.15	-0.14	-0.16

All results are 2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at the 0.01 level.

In Europe, people who value conservation and self-enhancement more tend to think that fewer non-European immigrants should be allowed in their country.

They are also more likely to believe that immigrants undermine their country's cultural life and make their country a worse place to live.

On the other hand, stronger self-transcendence and openness to change values are associated with more openness to immigration, and greater support for the views that immigrants both enrich culture and make their country a better place to be.

We also looked into the relationship between values and beliefs about the economics of immigration and rights of immigrants.[l] Green indicates more positive attitudes.

[l] ESS, 2008. Questions: *'Thinking of people coming to live in [country] from other countries, when do you think they should obtain the same rights to social benefits and services as citizens already living here?'*, *'A lot of people who come to live in [country] from other countries pay taxes and make use of social benefits and services. On balance, do you think people who come to live in [country] receive more than they contribute or contribute more than they receive?'*

Table 19. Relationship between values and attitudes towards immigration

	Belief that immigrants should not have rights to welfare	Belief that immigrants contribute financially
Power	0.09	0.05
Achievement	0.03	0.06
Hedonism	-0.05	0.03
Stimulation	-0.04	0.06
Self-direction	-0.06	-0.01
Universalism	-0.10	0.01
Benevolence	-0.08	-0.06
Conformity	0.07	-0.04
Tradition	0.04	-0.02
Security	0.11	-0.12

All results are 2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at the 0.01 level

The first column follows a familiar pattern: the more people value self-enhancement and conservation values, the less they think that immigrants should have rights to welfare (or the longer they feel they should have to wait to receive them). The opposite is true for self-transcendence and openness-to-change.

The second column shows a different pattern: power, achievement and stimulation values appear most associated with the positive attitude that immigrants contribute to society economically.

It is unclear why this would be the case: perhaps there is a stronger driver of this attitude than the values, such as the reality of the situation within the country. Or perhaps it relates to power values' strong association with economic concern.

Attitudes to age

From the initial look at general discriminatory attitudes, ageism proved an anomaly.

	Level of comfort with the idea of a political leader aged…	
	Over 75	**Under 30**
Power	-0.03	0.14
Achievement	-0.07	0.08
Hedonism	-0.07	-0.94
Stimulation	0.08	0.03
Self-direction	0.08	-0.05
Universalism	0.07	-0.06
Benevolence	0.10	-0.04
Tradition	0.02	0.08
Conformity	-0.11	0.03
Security	-0.13	0.05

Results are 2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at the 0.01 level. Grey is insignificant.

For the over-75 category the usual pattern emerged, with self-transcendence and openness-to-change most strongly associated with positive attitudes. However, on the question of feeling comfortable with a young person as a political leader, the pattern reversed: those same values were associated with more negative attitudes. We think this might be because one of the universalism values is 'wisdom': a quality that is not so strongly related to youth.

We also looked at general attitudes towards ageism and attitudes towards the young and the old.[m]

	Importance placed on being unprejudiced to other age groups	Positive attitudes towards people…	
		In their 20s	**Over 70**
Power	-0.14	0.04	-0.07
Achievement	-0.05	0.04	-0.06
Hedonism	-0.01	0.02	-0.12
Stimulation	-0.04	**0.01**	-0.12
Self-direction	0.05	0.01	-0.03
Universalism	0.16	0.02	0.11
Benevolence	0.15	0.01	0.11
Conformity	-0.04	-0.07	0.05
Tradition	0.02	-0.06	0.09
Security	-0.05	-0.01	0.10

2-tailed Pearson correlations, significant at 0.01. Bold means significant at 0.05. Grey is insignificant.

[m] ESS, 2004. Questions: '*How important is it to be unprejudiced against other age groups?*'; '*Overall how negative or positive do you feel towards people in their 20s / over 70?*'

Again, a partially reversed pattern emerged (though this time, universalism values predicted positive attitudes for both age groups). Power and achievement values predicted positive feeling towards those in their 20s and negative ones towards those over 70. Taking these findings into account, it appears there are strong differences in how values interact with different types of ageism. Self-transcendence is consistently associated with more positive unprejudiced attitudes, except when it comes to young leaders. Self-enhancement, on the other hand, is consistently associated with negative prejudice towards old age, but more positive feelings towards young people, both in general and as leaders.

Summary

In this section we looked at whether the values held by the population of a country could be used to predict discriminatory attitudes and equality outcomes. We found a fairly clear-cut trend and some interesting anomalies.

In general, self-enhancement and conservation values tended to predict more discriminatory attitudes towards women, other ethnic groups, older people, LGBT persons and people with disabilities. People were more likely to experience discrimination in countries that had higher than average self-enhancement values and they were simultaneously less likely to report any discrimination to any authorities. People in these countries were also less likely to report having witnessed discrimination.

Individuals who valued self-enhancement and conservation values were less likely to think it was important to protect the rights of minorities, and they were also less likely to think that the rights of minorities were well protected.

People in countries with higher conservation and self-enhancement values were less accepting of immigration and Roma populations. There was one interesting anomaly: higher power values were a predictor of the belief that immigrants contributed financially.

Self-transcendence and self-direction values generally predicted higher acceptance (though the other openness-to-change values were less clear-cut in their association with more positive attitudes and equal outcomes). There were two main anomalies: self-transcendence values were associated with a negative attitude towards young people (under 30) being in positions of power; and people were also more likely to report being discriminated against on the grounds of religion in countries that were higher in self-transcendence values.

VALUES & EQUALITY BODIES

Values can be temporarily 'engaged' – made temporarily more important – making people more likely to think and act in line with them.

It is not only the values that people hold most strongly overall (dispositionally) that have an impact on how they think or behave. Values can be engaged by things we see, read or hear; or by particular experiences we have. After reading words related to *equality* and *fairness* (related to self-transcendence values) for instance, experiments have shown that we are more likely to volunteer than after reading words related to *power* and *ambition* (self-enhancement values).[36]

When one value is engaged, we are likely to suppress opposing values, making them appear less important. If I reflect for a few minutes on wealth and status, for instance, I am likely to become less motivated to act in an environmentally friendly way.[37]

By engaging one value, we can also engage values that are close to it. Reading words related to *equality*, for instance, can thus engage our motivation towards *protecting the environment* and *broadmindedness*. We call this the *spillover effect*. For example, one study found that, after thinking briefly about the importance of *broadmindedness*, *affiliation,* and *self-acceptance* (self-transcendence values), people rated climate change as more important than did another group asked to think about self-enhancement values.[38]

This means that framing the same issue in different ways can provoke very different responses. In one experiment, two groups of volunteers were given an identical task – framed either as a *Consumer Reaction Task* or *Citizen Reaction Task*. The 'consumers' became more competitive and less likely to engage in collective action (such as volunteering to join a group). They also conserved less water in a resource management game, and felt less personal responsibility for environmental problems.[39] The research showed that this was because the self-enhancement values of people were being temporarily engaged through being described as a consumer: a word associated with money, buying, and self-interest.

In another experiment, researchers observed people playing the Prisoner's Dilemma, a much-studied game of cooperation or betrayal where individuals can demonstrate altruistic, strategic or selfish motives. Again there were two versions of the game, totally identical except in name: half the participants played the 'Wall Street Game', and the other half the 'Community Game'. The Wall Street players were consistently more likely to betray the other players and attempt to win the highest rewards through selfish means. But those who played the Community game, on the other hand, tended to cooperate with their counterparts.[40] Again, it appears that whilst the 'community' signal tapped into people's self-transcendence values, the idea of 'Wall Street' tapped into values around power and wealth (self-enhancement values).

The way an organisation makes the case for the issues it works on is therefore crucially important, as the values that underlie communications will connect with particular attitudes and behaviours.

How do equality bodies currently engage values?

We've seen how values influence attitudes and behaviours relevant to equality and discrimination across Europe. In this section we begin to explore how equalities bodies engage those values through their communications.

To inform this analysis we used the survey responses of 13 European equalities bodies[41] about the appeals they make to organisations and individuals as to why equality mattered. We also held a workshop with communications representatives from 18 equality bodies on the same subject.

We found a diverse range of appeals and have distilled and arranged these into Schwartz value groups in short sub-sections below. We have also included direct quotes from the equality bodies in the appendix.

First, a quick reminder of the model we are using.
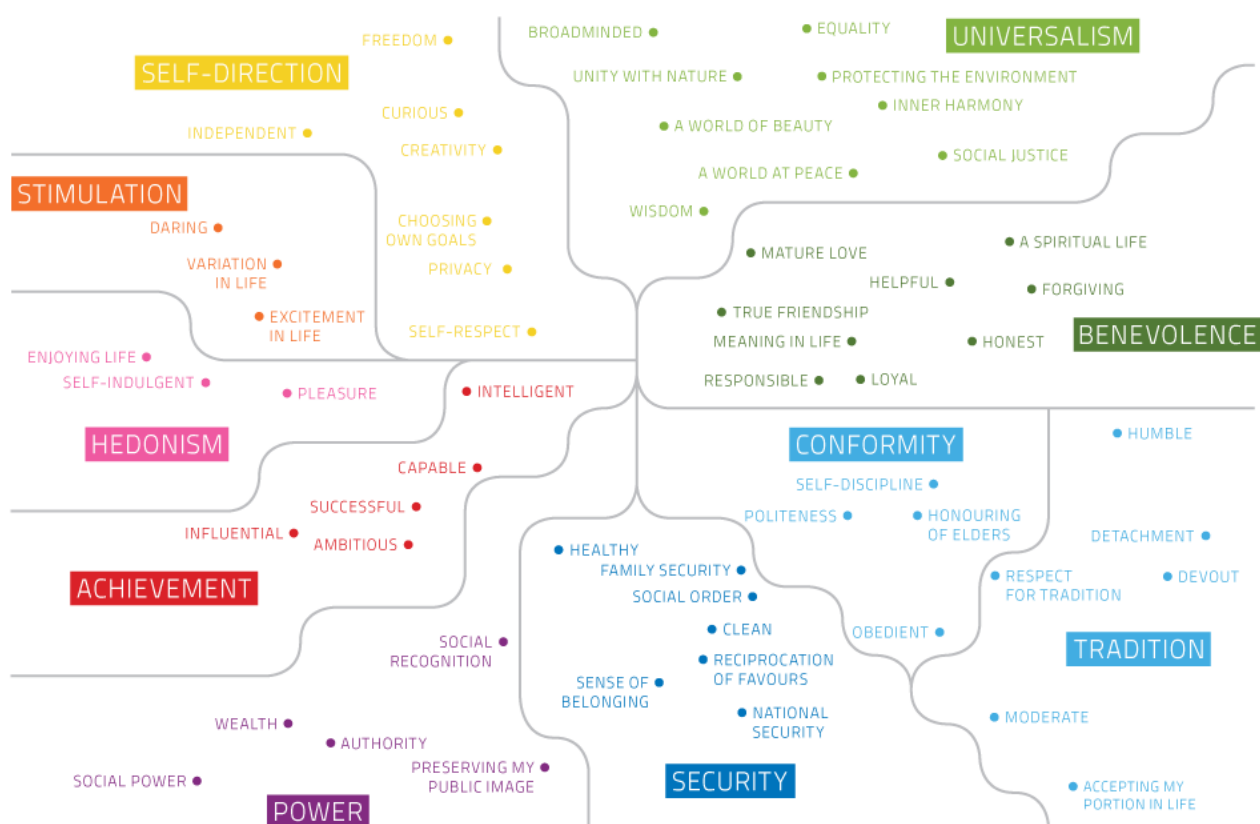
The table below summarises some of the key findings from the survey. Equality bodies were asked to summarise the main arguments they use to make the case for equality, and then also any other arguments they use. The frequency column is a tally of the number of times the survey respondents mentioned an argument that related to the value.

Table 22. Summary of arguments mentioned by equality bodies in relation to values

Value	Frequency	Argument
Universalism	19	'Equality means justice.'
Benevolence	8	'This is our common social responsibility.'
Tradition	0	N/A
Conformity	10	'Equality is important because it is a legal and moral obligation in our society.'
Security	12	'Discrimination represents a permanent danger to social cohesion and may imply serious conflicts.'
Power	11	'Inequality results in disadvantages that have serious economic costs.'
Achievement	9	'Equality is important because it ensures that employers are 'employers of choice'.'
Hedonism	0	N/A
Stimulation	0	N/A
Self-direction	6	'Equality is about giving people actual choice and opportunity to live their life the way they wish.'

It is encouraging that arguments that related to universalism were mentioned frequently, as universalism values are associated with and tend to encourage positive attitudes and behaviours, as demonstrated in previous sections. However, it is a concern that conservation and self-enhancement values were also mentioned with high frequency, as these values are most associated with intolerance and discrimination. Given that self-direction and benevolence values are also associated with positive equality indicators, it is interesting that they were used less.

It is important to note that these results are purely for illustrative purposes: no firm conclusions can be made about how equality bodies appeal to different values from this survey. First, it relied on the input of a small number of individuals whose responses may not represent those of the organisation. Second, ascertaining the values that were most likely being engaged through equality body communications would require a thorough examination of the actual texts and materials used by equality bodies in their work: something we would propose to do in a follow-up project.

In the following pages, we outline summaries of some of the key arguments that were mentioned by survey respondents and workshop attendees.

We have included one example from the survey responses for each value.

Universalism

'The principle of equal treatment is a fundamental principle for a pluralistic and democratic society.'

Equality is a universal (human) right.
We are all equal, so we all have the right to be treated equally.
Equality is necessary for a democratic society.
Equality is the right thing to do.
Equality is needed for there to be social justice.

Benevolence

'Equal and fair treatment and perceived gender equality at the workplace increases trust and loyalty.'

Equality in society is everyone's responsibility.
Equality increases trust and loyalty.
Equality helps minorities.
Equality is respect for other people.

Tradition

None found.

Conformity

'It is our obligation under European law.'

Equality is taken seriously by other people (or businesses).
Equality matters because it's the law.

Security

'We often speak about statistics which prove that [a] more tolerant country is [a] safer place to live.'

Equality makes societies safer.
Equality increases social order.
Equality matters because it's the law.

Power

'Inequality results in disadvantages that have serious economic costs.'

Equality increases people's contribution to the economy.

Equality increases competitiveness and profits because you have the best person for the job.
Equality increases foreign investment.

Achievement

'Equality is important because it makes business sense since it enhances the competitiveness of the enterprise through the recruitment of the best persons for the job.'

Equality makes societies more successful.
Equality means people achieve more.
Equality leads to higher IQs.

Hedonism

None present.

Stimulation

None present.

Self-direction

'[Equality] creates a fairer society where everyone can participate and has the opportunity to fulfil their potential and use their qualifications, skills and experience.'

Equality allows people to live their own lives.
Equality empowers people to fully participate in society.
Equality gives people freedom of expression.

Themes & issues

There were some interesting themes, issues and commonalities in the survey responses and workshop discussions. We will discuss some of these briefly here; again, further research would be required to draw out any clear trends or make any conclusive recommendations.

Multiple 'securities'

Security was a common theme. When asked about expressing this value in particular, survey respondents mentioned many different ways of talking about issues of security that might relate to different values. For instance, protection and safety of vulnerable or marginalised communities may relate more to benevolence values than security values. This is important because whilst benevolence values encourage concern for others, security values are related to prejudice and discrimination. We would advise equality bodies to avoid security values but use benevolence values more. However, we would also recommend this as an area for further investigation in any follow-up work.

Power vs. Empowerment

The concepts of power and empowerment were occasionally used interchangeably, or in parallel. Occasionally, it was ambiguous as to which was being referred to, as in the quote below:

'Discriminated people are not able to contribute to our society.'

It is important to disaggregate these. Empowerment – when referring to increasing the voice and opportunities of marginalised groups – is likely to engage universalism and self-direction values, which encourage concern for equality and the wellbeing of others. However, when communications refer to the control of resources, and monetary arguments in particular, these are likely to engage with power values.

Engaging these vales risks encouraging stronger discriminatory attitudes and behaviours and is therefore likely to undermine the work of equality bodies. A couple of survey respondents noted that this type of argument also tends to make them feel uncomfortable:

'I have also thought about the message that 'we cannot afford to have discriminated people' (e.g. people without work are expensive for the society). Is it really the right way to argue equality as a manner of resources and welfare?'

'Sometimes it is argued that: 'equality may be financially beneficial'. It bothers me because I think it [is] used to counteract other arguments, such as 'migrants take our jobs', 'we cannot support vulnerable groups in such economic crisis' and so on. In my view, equality should be non-negotiable and arguments on equality should be standing on their own. However, I realize such arguments may be persuasive if escorted with evidence/ statistics/ good examples. E.g. the financial situation of countries where women are much more represented in decision making.'

Achievement vs. participation

This is a similar issue to the one described above. Equality bodies sometimes referred to arguments about participation as relating to achievement values, which they might do in talking about economic competitiveness or 'winning'. However, when talking about equal participation in society, this can be framed in a way that relates much more to universalism, benevolence and self-direction values, as in the following quote:

'Equality enables persons to participate in areas where they are underrepresented and when they are able to use their competences and skills to fulfil their potential irrespective of their gender, age etc.'

Individual vs. collective appeals

Some communications focused on the individual, others on the collective (community or nation, for instance). While not a hard rule, those appeals that are focused on the collective benefits of equality are more likely to connect with self-transcendence values because of their inherent focus on the needs of others. However, these arguments should still be framed in the language of self-transcendence and openness-to-change to be sure of connecting with these values.

Benevolence: kindness without superiority

Benevolence is a value associated with concern for the wellbeing of other people, responsibility towards society, and helpfulness, and should therefore be a value that is of use to organisations working towards a more equal and accepting society. However, communicating a benevolent case can occasionally risk being objectifying or disempowering. One respondent to the survey we sent to equality bodies cited one argument they had heard for equality as below.

'Minorities … are individuals who need our help.'

Whilst this is a clear appeal to benevolence, it also creates the impression of a weak and vulnerable 'other' who requires the patronage of a more privileged individual. This creates, unintentionally, a hierarchy between 'us' and 'them' that is associated more with security or power values and is potentially unhelpful for an organisation promoting equality. A rights or justice perspective is one more likely to engage with universalism values and effectively promote equality.

'The law'

The law was an unsurprising common theme in many of how equality bodies talked about their work. It is an interesting theme, as it naturally evokes ideas of power structures and obedience, which most naturally relate to power, security and conformity values. It was also highlighted by a couple of survey respondents as a theme that they felt somewhat uncomfortable with, as the quote below demonstrates:

'I sometimes think that we focus too much on the legal aspects of equality and too little on the human rights aspect, [although] we try to get better at this all the time.'

However, the context is again important: a communication that highlights and focuses more on community benefits, increased opportunities, well-being, care, compassion and other arguments related to self-transcendence and openness-to-change values, but happens to mention the law in the mix ('Equality ensures we all have the opportunities we need and makes our communities better, which is why we have this law') is likely to primarily engage with these more helpful values. Similarly, providing people with knowledge about their rights is an important task, and can be done in a way that is framed around empowerment. On the other side, talking about the law without context as a means of enforcement only ('You must do this because it is the law and you will be prosecuted otherwise') may well engage instead with self-enhancement and conservation values, which are unhelpful to equality issues.

Negative vs. positive

A similar issue centred on whether appeals for equality were being made using positive (pro-equality) or negative (anti-discrimination) arguments:

'Because our 'core business' is fighting discrimination, we will refer more to the principle of non-discrimination. In fact, if you type the words 'discrimination/ antidiscrimination/ non-discrimination' in the search engine of our website, you will get 3 times more results than if you type the word 'equality' (despite both words being part of the name of our organization)! And you will get even less results when typing words such as 'diversity', 'society',… The first series of words refer to a legal approach, the second to a more universal value/principle and the last ones to a more sociological

approach. Although this is by far no scientific measure, it tends to indicate that we (proactively) communicate more on '(legal) principles' than on broader, social issues. Of course, the emphasis will be put more on one of this approaches according to our target audiences. But in reality, more and more we try to combine those three approaches in our external communications, in particular a 'right-based' approach to a 'social' approach.'

There is some psychological research that suggests that threat messaging is less motivating than more positive messaging, and also seems to connect with security values. It is unclear if this would be the case in discussing discrimination with a negative perspective. But it is worth bearing in mind that there are many more opportunities to connect with values when talking about them in the positive.

Tension between different 'equalities'

We asked the question of survey respondents as to whether anything stood out for them in the way different types of equality were argued for. It seemed that this was a consideration for some; as noted in an earlier quote, some arguments for one type of equality might have a negative impact on others.

'Sometimes it is argued that: 'equality may be financially beneficial'. It bothers me because I think it used to counteract other arguments, such as 'migrants take our jobs', 'we cannot support vulnerable groups in such economic crisis' and so on.'

Others noted that some types of equality were given higher importance:

'Most of the time there is an overemphasis on gender and racial/ethnic discrimination, in comparison to other grounds. Ageism, for example, is rarely, if ever, reported as a problem. It is also sometimes unsettling when some vulnerable groups argue that the violation of their rights and their complaints are more important and urgent to deal with, than others. e.g. gender issues vs. race issues; e.g. people with a certain disability vs. people with another kind of disability'

The issue of the tensions between different types of freedoms (and the misunderstanding of equality) was also brought up:

'It seems like the human rights argument does not have an effect on people anymore. We have serious trouble explaining to people in general that discrimination is wrong and why it is wrong. During this autumn I have often heard people saying (or writing online) that 'of course employees/restaurant owners/shop owners should have the freedom to choose their employers/customers. There is nothing wrong with that'. The whole concept of equality seems to be not understood.'

It would be advisable to bear in mind the values that are most strongly related to equality and freedom outcomes when making arguments for any type of equality: as this is most likely to mean that concern for one 'spills over' into concern for another. Building an argument on self-transcendence values, and particularly universalism, can build support for all equality issues.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Taking into account the research on values and equality, from previous research and our own investigation, and the survey data from equality bodies, we make the following recommendations.

Use universalism, benevolence and self-direction values

Research suggests that these values lead to more equal and non-discriminatory outcomes. Develop new ways – and continue to use existing ways – of expressing these values.

Avoid power, achievement, conformity, tradition and security values

This means avoiding making arguments based on the economic case or on the legal implications of not complying with equality and diversity legislation. These values are likely to encourage more discriminatory attitudes.

Talk about protection rather than security

Security values are associated with nationalism and discriminatory attitudes. However, it is sometimes necessary to discuss the safety of marginalised groups: in these instances, appeal to values around human needs, care and protection.

Contextualise the law

Talking about the legal framework for equality and human rights may engage with power, conformity or security values. However, if placed within wider reasoning behind the law, and the commonality of experience and wellbeing it provides us, this is more likely to engage with universalism and self-direction values.

Think beyond communications

It is important to think beyond just communications. Policies, institutions and relationships experienced in any society by its inhabitants will influence and shape their values. It is highly likely that there are policy or institutional solutions to non-diversity and discrimination that foster the very values upon which intolerance is based; other solutions will be self-reinforcing because of the values they embody and promote.

Necessary caveats!

1) Test what works best in different contexts. Just because universalism values generally lead to better outcomes, it doesn't mean all appeals based on universalism values will be more effective in every circumstance: some audiences or some issues may be better addressed through appeals to self-direction or benevolence, for instance. There will also be a number of different ways of appealing to the same value that might work most effectively with different audiences.

2) 'Trade-offs' may be necessary in some situations. Making appeals to power, achievement or security may seem to make most sense with a particular group, for example. This should only be done if you know you will have a greater impact on self-transcendence values in the longer-term. This may occur, for example, when using an economic appeal to get people onto a training course that is particularly effective at engaging universalism values and changing attitudes and behaviours. Similarly, an appeal to power or achievement may be deemed crucial in persuading particular groups to support a law that will have great benefits for equality in the long-term.

However, there are many considerations in such a decision. Because of the negative impact of such an appeal, they should really only be used in situations where there is some form of follow-up. In other words, it is better if people do not only see or hear this communication ('broadcast' communications), but that they experience something afterwards that is more related to the values around equality. Otherwise, a communication may engage with the values of large groups of people that encourage more discriminatory attitudes without counter-balance.

Such appeals should also only be used when it is reasonably certain that the long-term effects will be to strengthen equality outcomes and values. It may not be worth the risk of strengthening self-enhancement values for a short and insubstantial training course that does not act to connect with the values of a training participant or a piece of legislation whose structure is not guaranteed. Such an action may only serve to undermine the work of equalities bodies by encouraging the values behind prejudice and discrimination.

Moreover, it is worth testing the assumption that any appeals not in line with self-transcendence values are actually any more effective. The research suggests this might not be the case.

NEXT STEPS

There are a number of issues that we would be keen to explore further in the proposed second phase of this project. We discuss a few of these briefly below.

Detailed communications analysis

Our initial research in this project has allowed us a first impression of the communications of equalities bodies. However, there is much more in-depth research that could be carried out into the framing of the actual communications that equality bodies use. Further, we would propose some development of new methods of framing communications based on the more helpful self-transcendence and self-direction values, and look to test these cross-culturally.

Communications toolkit

Based on our earlier work on framing communications, and the communications analysis, we would propose creating an accessible toolkit for communicators in equality bodies for analysing and designing their own communications with values in mind. This would aim, rather than providing a 'blueprint' for all situations, to give organisations a set of practical tools that can be adapted to their own contexts, and examples of best practice.

Values in institutions and policies

We have found some predictive relationships between the values held by individuals and European country averages and equality and diversity attitudes and outcomes. But what shapes these values in our societies?

Research suggests that our values are shaped by a huge range of life experiences, from our school and work environments through to our experience of national and international institutions. We would propose to do further research into what policies and structures are most associated with the values that promote equality.

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