

# The Validity of the Security-Harmony Social Values Model in the General Population

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The Social Goal Values Inventory was administered to a national random sample of 1,680 respondents. The data were used to explore the structure of the instrument, to test the security-harmony model of political evaluation through confirmatory factor analysis, and to test the validity of the security-harmony model through its relationships with social-demographic and political variables. The results confirmed the existence of two major dimensions underlying the Social Goal Values Inventory, one representing security and the other harmony. The security value orientation was stronger among older, less educated, male respondents. The harmony value orientation was stronger among women and the well educated. The security-harmony model of political evaluation states that changes in left/right political preferences can be brought about through changes on the harmony or security dimension and that an increase in concern for one value orientation (e.g., security) does not mean a decrease in concern for the other (e.g., harmony). As predicted, both security and harmony contributed independently to predicting the way in which individuals located themselves on the left-right continuum.

The Social Goal Values Inventory (Braithwaite, 1982; Braithwaite & Law, 1985) was developed in the mid-1970s to provide a more comprehensive measure of social values than was provided by the Rokeach (1968) Value Survey. Commitment to a ranking methodology led to a restricted selection of social values in the Value Survey: national security, a world of beauty, a world of peace, equality, and freedom. The development of the Social Goal Values Inventory extended the list to 18 values, each of which was rated on an asymmetrical 7-point scale.

Factor analyses of the Social Goal Values Inventory produced a five-dimensional solution, comprising three specific and two general factors that have been interpreted as *national strength and order* and *international harmony and equality* (Braithwaite, 1982; Braithwaite & Law, 1985). These scales are relatively independent of each other, producing near-zero correlations in student samples and small positive correlations in general population samples (Braithwaite, 1994; Heaven, 1991). Each has contributed independently to explaining variation in a range of political attitudes and behaviour (Braithwaite, 1994; Heaven, 1990a, 1990b, 1991; Thannhauser & Caird, 1990). Studies consistently show that placing a high value on national strength and order is associated with support for social policies of the right, while placing high value on international harmony and equality is associated with support for social policies of the left.

On the basis of these findings, a two-factor security-harmony model has been proposed (Braithwaite, 1994) that is similar to that used by Rokeach (1973) to classify political ideologies. Whereas Rokeach defined his two orthogonal dimensions in terms of the specific values of equality and freedom, this model defines the dimensions in terms of value constellations that are represented by the overarching concepts of harmony and security. Harmony incorporates Rokeach's value of equality. Security, on the other hand, brings together values that facilitate collective strength through imposing social control, order, and hierarchy on social life.

Support for a two-dimensional value model is widespread and has reappeared in different guises in the literature over an extensive period of time. Lipset (1963) described American society in terms of the basic values of equality and achievement; Scott (1960) identified two clusters of international goals which he called *competitive* and *cooperative* social policies;

Katz and Hass (1988) found two core value orientations that they termed *individualism* and *communalism*; and Rasinski (1987) contrasted two dimensions, *proportionality* and *egalitarianism*, representing different ways in which resources should be allocated within society.

## Reassessing the Security-Harmony Social Value Model

Values are regarded as stable phenomena because of their centrality in the belief system and their relevance across a range of institutions. At the same time, few would argue that values are immutable. As cognitions that facilitate the fit between the individual and society, they can be expected to change as the environment changes, forcing adjustments at both the social and the individual level. Political scientists such as Inglehart (1987) and Flanagan (1987), while acknowledging value stability at the individual level, have noted changes in political allegiances and the emergence of new ideologies (e.g., the new right, environmentalism) in affluent societies. While the causes for these new alliances remain highly contested, it would be naive to assume that "the New Politics" does not present some serious challenges to the way in which social values have been traditionally organised within individuals' belief systems. The emergence of new political organisations and political discourses represents the kind of change that can lead to values being cast in a new light at a cultural and an individual level.

The two-factor security-harmony model has its origins in data from a random population sample in 1975. Although the findings have been replicated in student populations (Braithwaite, 1994), a systematic study of the general population has not been undertaken since 1975 to test whether the security-harmony model remains ecologically valid given the changes in political discourse that have taken place in the past two decades. Furthermore, considerable evidence has accumulated since Converse's (1964) classic study to show that the ideological coherence found in the belief systems of elites is not always shared by the mass public (Kinder & Sears, 1985).

The National Forest Attitudes Survey (Blamey, 1995), conducted in Australia in 1994, provided an opportunity to test the validity of the security-harmony model with data from a random national sample. Values should have historical durability, as should the security-harmony value model if it is to be

useful for understanding current political and social evaluations. Consequently, this study sought to replicate the findings of the original research on the security-harmony model (Braithwaite, 1979, 1982) and to demonstrate its predictive validity in relation to present-day political identification.

The process involved four stages. First, Braithwaite's (1982) exploratory factor analysis of the Social Goal Values Inventory using principal axes factor analysis with varimax rotation is replicated with the 1994 data. Although five factors were extracted from the Social Goal Values Inventory in the earlier study, only two were considered sufficiently stable and important to be measured in future work. An exploratory factor analysis of the 1994 data provides an opportunity to revisit this question to ascertain whether the specific factors of 20 years ago have since developed into more coherent value orientations.

Second, a confirmatory factor analysis is used on the 14 items that have been accepted in more recent work as markers of the latent variables, security and harmony (Braithwaite, 1994; Braithwaite & Scott, 1991). These are the variables that have had the most consistently strong factor loadings on national strength and order and international harmony and equality in smaller student-based samples and that have been used as scale items (of equal weight) to measure the constructs.

Third, the factors emerging from the above analyses are related to age, sex, and education. National strength and order should correlate significantly with both age and education, with greater commitment being shown by older, less educated respondents. Inglehart (1977) has argued that those who are most vulnerable in a material sense are most likely to prioritise their security needs and will expect society to pursue goals that ensure security for the group. He postulates that older generations who have been born into a less affluent and safe environment are likely to be more vulnerable than younger generations. His data support this hypothesis and also show the importance of education in predicting those who have a greater concern with materialistic values. National strength and order has been associated with materialism in student-based research (Braithwaite, Makkai, & Pittelkow, 1996) and was valued more highly by older and less educated people in the 1975 general population study (Braithwaite, 1994).

On the basis of 1975 data, international harmony and equality is not expected to receive stronger endorsement from any particular age or educational group. In some recent student samples, however, women have scored more highly on this dimension than men. Elsewhere, a significant literature has emerged suggesting that women might be expected to endorse harmony values more strongly than men and security values less strongly. In a study of adolescent women, Beutel and Marini (1995) found that females were more likely than males to express concern for the wellbeing of others, less likely to accept materialism and competition, and more likely to value finding purpose and meaning in life.

Fourth, the security and harmony dimensions should be related to political identification in a general population sample. Ideological self-identification along a left-right dimension has been shown to trigger strong evaluative reactions and is associated with political allegiances and policy preferences (Kinder & Sears, 1985). Previously established links between national strength and order, international harmony and equality, left-right attitudes, and voting have led to the formulation of the value balance hypothesis: an individual's location on the left-right political continuum can be predicted from the difference in commitment to the security value orientation and the harmony value orientation (Braithwaite, 1994, 1997a). Braithwaite (1994) has explained the relationship between two-dimensional value orientations and a one-dimensional left-right continuum in terms of the constraints imposed by political institutions. She argues that both security and harmony values are written into the moral code of western societies. Most people value both, but political

institutions operate in an adversarial way, pitting one against the other. Thus, in order to engage in the political process, individuals are commonly asked to trade off their harmony values and their security values. This study, therefore, hypothesises that the difference in commitment to security and harmony value orientations predicts self-identification on the left-right continuum better than either value scale used individually.

## METHOD

### Participants and Procedure

The survey was mailed to a random sample of 3,500 adults on electoral rolls in Australia in 1994 with a reply-paid envelope. Two weeks after the initial mailing, a reminder card was sent to all nonrespondents, and in cases where no reply was forthcoming in the subsequent two weeks, another copy of the questionnaire was sent. Completed questionnaires were returned by 1,680 individuals, giving a response rate of 48%. Sample statistics on age, income, and sex corresponded closely to population parameters available from the Australian Bureau of Statistics census for 1991 (ABS, 1993). Age biases that were detected in the sample involved an over-representation of 20- to 29-year-olds (22% compared with an expected 16%) and an under-representation of 50- to 59-year-olds (13% compared with an expected 17%). In all age groups, the sample was biased toward those with more education. Those with a tertiary degree constituted 14% of the sample compared with an expected 8% (Blamey, 1995).

The sample comprised 49% men and 51% women ranging in age from 16 to 95 years ( $M = 45.48$ ,  $SD = 16.50$ ). Just over half were in paid work (58%) with a further 4% looking for paid work. The remainder were primarily homemakers (14%) or retired people (16%). The median personal income was \$20,000, with 15% earning below \$5,000 and 1% earning above \$100,000. In terms of education, 39% had left school at Junior/Year 10 or less, 38% completed high school or a diploma of some kind, and 23% had a tertiary degree or some other higher degree.

### Measures

The National Forest Attitudes Survey (Blamey, 1995) covered six broad topics: (a) general policy issues for Australia, (b) south-east forests, (c) Australian forests in general, (d) the environment, (e) social attitudes and values, and (f) personal background information. The questions used in this paper came from the latter two sections of the questionnaire.

**The Social Goal Values Inventory.** This instrument requires respondents to read through a list of societal goals and to judge each as a standard that they might use to make judgments about world and community events and to guide their actions (e.g., when voting). Responses are given on a 7-point rating scale: 1 (*I reject this*), 2 (*I am inclined to reject this*), 3 (*I neither reject nor accept this*), 4 (*I am inclined to accept this*), 5 (*I accept this as important*), 6 (*I accept this as very important*), and 7 (*I accept this as of the utmost importance*).

In spite of values being conceptualised as relatively stable phenomena that transcend specific objects and situations, items in value instruments are vulnerable to outmoded language. Pilot studies showed that one item had been robbed of ecological validity over time: "upholding traditional sexual moral standards (opposing sexual permissiveness and pornography)". Consequently, this item was omitted from the 1994 study. In another two cases, minor changes to wording were made. "Man's domination of nature" was changed to "domination of nature", and the descriptor for "reward for individual effort" was modified slightly to improve clarity (see details in Table 1).

**Demographic and social variables.** Sex was indexed using 1 = male and 2 = female. Age was measured in years. The highest level of education obtained was measured by asking respondents to circle one of 11 possible response options. For the purposes of the present study, four categories were used: 1

= did not complete any secondary levels, 2 = completed Junior/Intermediate/Form 4/Year 10, 3 = completed Senior/Leaving/Form 6/Year 12 and or a certificate or diploma (e.g., trade or nursing), 4 = completed or completing a tertiary qualification.

The measurement of political identification was taken from the National Election Survey (Jones, McAllister, Denmark, & Gow, 1993). Respondents were asked: "In politics, people talk about the left and the right. Where would you place your views on this left-right scale?". The scale comprised 10 points on which 1 represented the left of the political continuum and 10 represented the right.

## RESULTS

The first analysis was a replication of that of Braithwaite (1982). The 17 items of the Social Goal Values Inventory were intercorrelated, and the matrix was factor analysed using the principal axes method followed by a varimax rotation. The first four factors had eigenvalues exceeding 1.00: 5.92, 1.87, 1.21, and 1.03. The scree test indicated two factors for rotation. In keeping with the practice adopted in the earlier analysis, the decision was to err on the side of overfactoring and rotate the four-factor solution. The final solution accounted for 46% of the variance in the item set.

Factor 1 represented international harmony and equality and Factor 2 represented national strength and order. The third and fourth factors were more specific. Factor 3 was primarily concerned with "human dignity" and "reward for individual effort". Factor 4 brought together "equal opportunity for all" and "freedom". Reward for individual effort and freedom were variables that failed to load significantly on a major dimension in the earlier study.

The exploratory analysis demonstrates that the security and harmony dimensions remain the dominant value orientations being measured by the Social Goal Values Inventory. The next question is whether or not these data confirm that the 14 items that have behaved consistently over different samples and over

time and that have been considered representative of these two dimensions remain adequate measures of the latent variables, security and harmony.

Since the development of the Social Goal Values Inventory, the security dimension has been measured by four variables: national economic development, national greatness, national security, and the rule of law. The harmony dimension has been measured by 10 variables: international cooperation, social progress or social reform, a good life for others, rule by the people, greater economic equality, equal opportunity for all, a world of beauty, a world at peace, preserving the natural environment, and human dignity. The security-harmony model assumes that the two dimensions are relatively independent of each other.

A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted using LISREL 7 (Jöreskog & Sorbom, 1989). Assuming the values data to be at least ordinal, we estimated the model by analysing a polychoric correlation matrix using weighted least squares (WLS), with the weight matrix being the inverse of the asymptotic covariance matrix of the correlations.

The data for the above-mentioned 14 variables were fitted to a theoretical structure representing the security-harmony model. To identify the confirmatory factor model, metrics were assigned to each latent variable by fixing one factor loading for each construct to 1.00. The reference variables chosen were those with the strongest loadings on each construct: national economic development (for security) and social progress and social reform (for harmony). Loadings for items on the nonrelevant factor were set at zero.

Parameter estimates for the 14 variables are given in Table 2. All are highly significant. The  $R^2$  values for each variable range from .31 to .62, indicating that the constructs explain a reasonable amount of the variation in each of the observed measures.

The fit of the model was satisfactory in terms of three of the four goodness-of-fit indices. The chi-square statistic was higher than desirable (chi-square = 454.50 with 74 degrees of freedom), but this statistic is likely to be higher than expected

**Table 1**  
Principal Axes Factor Solution with a Varimax Rotation of the Social Goal Values Inventory

Social values <sup>a</sup>	Factor loadings			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Social progress or social reform	.63	.25	.17	-.01
A good life for others	.60	.09	.10	.24
International cooperation	.54	.16	.22	.12
Rule by the people	.51	.09	.14	.13
Greater economic equality	.49	.14	-.03	.47
Preserving the natural environment	.47	.01	.32	.25
National greatness	.23	.68	.14	.01
National economic development	.11	.68	.17	.27
National security	.02	.63	.11	.36
The rule of law <sup>b</sup>	.02	.54	.25	.35
Domination of nature	.20	.42	-.03	-.11
Human dignity	.36	.14	.56	.30
Reward for individual effort <sup>c</sup>	.08	.45	.52	.05
A world of beauty	.47	.09	.50	.11
A world at peace	.34	.18	.46	.23
Equal opportunity for all	.38	.17	.26	.63
Freedom	.24	.15	.32	.52

<sup>a</sup> "Upholding traditional sexual moral standards" was not included in the questionnaire.

<sup>b</sup> A typographical error in the survey resulted in this item being written as "the rule of the law".

<sup>c</sup> The description for this item in 1994 was "letting individuals prosper through gains made by initiative and hard work". In 1975 it was "letting the individual profit from initiative and hard work".

**Table 2**  
Parameter Estimates for the LISREL Security-Harmony Model

Construct	Lambda	SE	t	R <sup>2</sup>
Factor 1 (Harmony)				
Social progress or social reform	1.00	N/a	N/a	.41
A good life for others	.98	.03	34.30	.40
International cooperation	1.06	.03	35.48	.46
Rule by the people	.87	.03	32.06	.31
Greater economic equality	.98	.03	34.01	.40
Preserving the natural environment	1.02	.03	34.67	.43
Human dignity	1.19	.03	37.02	.59
A world of beauty	1.06	.03	35.78	.47
A world at peace	.99	.04	23.00	.54
Equal opportunity for all	.98	.04	24.70	.58
Factor 2 (Security)				
National greatness	.89	.03	33.97	.49
National economic development	1.00	N/a	N/a	.62
The rule of law	.97	.03	34.95	.58
National security	.96	.03	35.66	.58

Note. N/a = not applicable since parameter was set at 1.00.

with large samples and departures from normality (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1989). For this reason, the chi-square measure is more useful in this context as a comparative index to reflect improvements in the originally specified model. Two measures that adjust for the sensitivity of chi-square to increases in sample size are the goodness-of-fit index and the adjusted goodness-of-fit index (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1989). The goodness-of-fit index was .98 and the adjusted goodness-of-fit index .97. These indices take on values between 0 and 1 with 1 indicating a perfect fit. A fourth measure of overall fit, the root mean squared residual, was .05.

The modification indices suggested that some improvements in fit could be obtained by allowing several variables to load on both latent variables. The improvements in fit obtained through freeing the relevant parameters, however, proved to be marginal. The correlation estimated between the latent constructs of security and harmony in the LISREL analysis was .27.

Security and Harmony scale scores were calculated by assigning a weight of one to each of the defining variables and summing individual's responses to the scale items (Braithwaite, 1994). Totals were then divided by the number of items in the scale to bring final scores back to the original 1 to 7 metric. The descriptive statistics for the Security and Harmony

scales are given in Table 3 along with those obtained in the earlier study. The means and standard deviations for the 1995 data correspond closely to that collected in 1975. The correlation of .44 between the Security and Harmony scales found in the 1995 sample is higher than that encountered previously in general population samples (Braithwaite, 1994). For this reason, the effects of the social demographic variables on each value scale are examined below after partialling out the effects of the nonrelevant value scale.

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients revealed significant relationships between security, age, and education and between harmony and sex. As predicted, security values were more highly prized by older respondents ( $r = .28, p < .01$ ) and less well educated respondents ( $r = -.23, p < .01$ ), and women endorsed harmony values more strongly than men ( $r = .14, p < .01$ ).

Ordinary least squares regression models were used to examine the effects of the social demographic variables on each value scale whilst controlling for the other value scale. Two regression analyses were conducted with age, sex, and education entered, first, as predictors of security after controlling for harmony, and second, as predictors of harmony after controlling for security (see Table 4).

**Table 3**  
Descriptive Statistics for the Security and Harmony Scales in 1994 and 1975

Scale statistic	1994	1975
Security		
Mean (standard deviation)	5.54 (1.09)	5.60 (1.06)
Coefficient alpha	.79	.83
Harmony		
Mean (standard deviation)	5.61 (.87)	5.62 (.76)
Coefficient alpha	.85	.83
Correlation between Security and Harmony	.44**	.38**

\*\*  $p < .01$

**Table 4**  
The Beta Coefficients and R<sup>2</sup> for the Social Demographic Predictors of Security and Harmony in OLS Regression Models

Predictors	Beta coefficients	
	Security	Harmony
Security	N/a	.49**
Harmony	.45**	N/a
Age	.18**	-.02
Sex	-.10**	.17**
Education	-.18**	.13**
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.30**	.24**

\*\*  $p < .01$

The regression models confirmed the importance of the bivariate relationships mentioned above. In addition, they revealed lower commitment to security values among women and higher commitment to harmony values among the well-educated (see Table 4).

The 10-point left-right political self-identification scale had a mean of 5.48 and a standard deviation of 1.72. Ordinary least squares regression analysis was used to predict political identification from the security and harmony value scales after controlling for age, sex, and education. From the value balance model, the difference between harmony and security is expected to be a stronger predictor of political identification than either value scale used individually. In a multiple linear regression equation, one would expect that both security and harmony would have significant beta coefficients of approximately equal magnitude, but of opposite sign, in the prediction of left-right identification. From Table 5, both value orientations were found to make a significant contribution net of the other and net of social demographic predictors.

The data presented in Table 5 represents a full regression model in which all variables are forced into the equation. It does not directly address the question of whether the difference in commitment to security and harmony is a stronger predictor than either security or harmony individually. Some might argue that if the value scales were entered using a stepwise procedure, one value scale would dominate the other. A further regression model was tested in which the predictors were entered in a stepwise fashion. Included among the predictors was the difference score calculated through subtracting security from harmony. The expectation was that the difference score would be selected for entry into the regression equation first as the variable explaining the maximum amount of variation in political identification, and that, as a result, neither security nor harmony would have a contribution to make. The analysis confirmed these expectations. The difference score was entered on the first step, explaining 12% of the variance in political identification ( $F = 167.75, p < .001$ ). Age was added next, adding a significant 2% ( $F = 24.94, p < .001$ ), followed by education with less than 1% ( $F = 4.36, p < .05$ ). Neither security nor harmony were entered into the equation, thereby confirming that the difference score was a stronger predictor than either value score considered individually.

## DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to use data from the National Forest Attitudes Survey (Blamey, 1995) to test the validity of the security-harmony model of political evaluation. This model, based on a community study undertaken 20 years ago, postulates two major independent dimensions underlying political evaluations. The harmony dimension has been defined by cooperative social goals such as international cooperation, social reform, equality, rule by the people, human dignity,

environmental preservation, peace, and beauty. The security dimension has been defined by competitive achievement-oriented goals and strong rule enforcement as represented by national economic development, national greatness, national security, and the rule of law.

The results show the model to be remarkably resilient over time. Not only have the factors of security and harmony endured over a 20-year period, but stability characterises scale means and correlates. At the bivariate level, the security value orientation, as hypothesised, was endorsed more strongly by older and less educated respondents. The harmony value orientation was endorsed more strongly by women. When a multivariate analysis was used to examine the social demographic predictors of security and harmony net of other correlates, the same social demographic predictors emerged with two additions. Harmony values were supported more strongly by the well-educated, and security values were prized more highly by men.

The gender differences found in this study support Beutel and Marini's (1995) conclusions that women promote the wellbeing of others and look for meaning in life more than men, whereas men value materialism and competition more than women. The finding that security values are more strongly endorsed by older and less educated respondents is in keeping with Inglehart's (1977, 1990) thesis that materialist concerns are likely to be felt more strongly by those who have grown up in conditions of physical and economic hardship and who have not had exposure to knowledge and new ideas.

The security-harmony model has been conceptualised as two independent dimensions, although this study confirms findings from previous work revealing a significant positive correlation between the scales. Most commonly, the positive correlation has aroused suspicion of response bias in the value instrument (Schwartz, 1994). In community samples and in longer surveys, the correlation has tended to be higher than in student samples, a finding that lends credibility to the response bias interpretation. It seems highly unlikely, however, that response bias represents the whole story. Most notably, measures of response bias have failed to account for the positive correlation between these factors in a student population (Braithwaite, 1979, 1994). Furthermore, a plausible explanation can be offered for why a positive correlation rather than a negative one should exist between harmony and security values.

Respondents who consistently use the higher end of the rating scale adopt a different approach to values from those who consistently use the lower end of the continuum. Scott (1965) used the term *moral relativist* to draw a distinction between those who are committed to principles across context and those whose values depend on context. There is some evidence to support the argument that those who consistently use lower ratings on the Social Goals Values Inventory are more likely to be moral relativists than moral absolutists (Braithwaite, 1997b). Furthermore, this distinction is related to ideological commitments regarding the environment. Blamey and Braithwaite (1997) found that high scorers on both harmony and security were strongly supportive of forest preservation for its own sake, whereas low scorers on both harmony and security were more likely to value forest preservation in terms of its uses. In view of these findings, the positive correlation between security and harmony scores appears to reflect willingness to commit to values as overarching principles and not simply a confounding response style.

The abstract nature of the security and harmony dimensions and the consensus surrounding them are undoubtedly factors that explain the stability of the model over such a long period of time. These characteristics, however, raise an important question about its scientific usefulness. Is the security-harmony model too removed from context and behaviour to have explanatory or predictive power?

The seriousness of this challenge can be conveyed through contrasting the political climate of 1975 with that of 1995. The

**Table 5**  
Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients, Beta Coefficients and  $R^2$  for Security, Harmony, and the Social Demographic Variables as Predictors of Political Identification in an OLS Regression Model

Predictor	$r$	Beta coefficients
Security	.23**	.32**
Harmony	-.13**	-.28**
Age	.21**	.16**
Sex	-.07**	-.01
Education	-.09**	.06*
$R^2$		.13**

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

initial study in 1975 was conducted as the Vietnam war was coming to an end and when the community was strongly divided on conservative-radical lines. The Labor Party had been returned to power in 1972 after 23 years in opposition, only to lose office 3 years later through dismissal by the Governor General. Political divisions centred on the communist threat in Asia, foreign investment and the need "to buy back the farm", and the management of the Australian economy. The environment and concern about the proliferation of nuclear weapons were "counter-culture" issues and not the concern of middle-of-the-road Australians. The setting up of hippie communes and alternative lifestyles brought into question the sanctity of traditional institutions such as marriage and the nuclear family. In 1975, the Australian community had been well washed by a political culture of social change, social freedom, and social equality.

By 1995, political discourses had changed considerably. Freedom had become a rallying cry for economic ideology rather than social ideology, for deregulation and privatisation. Managing the economy remained at the centre of political debate, but the internationalisation of capital had long been accepted. Economic efficiency, the new managerialism, and a revolt against political correctness replaced the peace, love, and harmony rhetoric of the sixties and seventies. At the same time, some issues that were owned by the radical fringe in 1975 became mainstream in the nineties: the environment, new forms of family, and communal child care. Multiculturalism, equal opportunity, and international commitments also enjoyed greater consensus in Australian society in 1995 than they did 20 years before.

We would argue that these changes in what was considered radical and conservative between 1975 and 1995 do not undermine the credibility of the security-harmony model of political evaluation. Stability in basic values, in spite of environmental and attitudinal changes, is both plausible and analytically useful for those seeking to understand behaviour. First, we follow the tradition that conceives of values and value orientations as the socially accepted face of universal needs (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987), needs that do not change as political issues change. Second, we would argue that values are useful, not because of their closeness to behaviour, but because they inform us about the way in which individuals frame their decision making that leads to behaviour. The argument is supported by the results of the regression analysis reported in this paper. Both harmony and security play significant roles in determining the way in which individuals define themselves on the left-right continuum. (It must be acknowledged that, in this regression analysis, much variation in left-right identification remains unexplained. By the same token, it is doubtful that the proportion that remains unexplained is excessive when compared with the predictive capacities of other psychological constructs.)

Much discontent with the predictive power of values in the psychological literature has its roots in observed discrepancies between what people or organisations profess to be their principles and what they actually do. Value researchers have responded to such criticisms by developing theoretical accounts that delineate the other factors that are necessary if values are to be turned into actions. Feather (1990, 1995) has argued that outcome expectancies and the valences of particular objects in specific contexts must also be taken into account if the guiding role of values is to be properly understood.

Another approach to value-behaviour inconsistency proceeds from the notion that some individuals are more likely to be driven by values and principles than others. Snyder and DeBono (1987) have suggested that high and low self-monitors differ in the degree to which values guide the adoption of certain attitudes and actions, with low self-monitors showing greater value-attitude consistency than high self-monitors. According to Snyder (1974), high self-monitors tailor their behaviour to fit situational demands whereas low self-monitors base their behaviour more on internal sources such as attitudes, feelings, and dispositions.

A related, but somewhat different line of argument is that patterns of value commitments themselves determine the nature of the value-behaviour link. The security-harmony model provides an opportunity for differentiating individuals on the basis of their type of value commitment: they may be high on both value orientations, or low on both, or they may have a stronger commitment to one than to the other. Not surprisingly, those who are more strongly committed to security than harmony values and those who are more strongly committed to harmony than security values exhibit high consistency between values, attitudes, and behaviour (Braithwaite, 1997a, 1997b). The former, the security oriented, typify the political right and the latter, the harmony oriented, typify the political left. Where individuals are committed to both security and harmony value orientations, value-based decision making is likely to be more difficult than it is for those who espouse values that are in accord with the dominant left-right political institutions. Those with equally strong value commitments may need to rely on additional psychological constructs to arrive at their positions.

Understanding the different ways in which a person's value commitments shape value-behaviour linkages is only possible if one has a parsimonious typology of values. The security-harmony model, because of its abstractness and not in spite of it, offers an empirically practicable base for mapping the different ways in which values can be used in decision making by groups with different value allegiances.

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