Exploring What Australians Value

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1 The Study of Values

1.1 Introduction

Ronald Conway (1978) described Australia as the 'land of the long week-end'. The phrase resonated with many people. Australia was a place where people lived for the week-end. It was a land where people worshipped the sun, ritualised their drinking, and found their sense of community around sport. It was a land where having fun meant relaxing on the beach or drinking at the footy or cricket. Work was endured as the means to enjoying the long week-end.

Australia has also been known for its egalitarian ideals. Born out of the convicts transported to its shores from 1788 until the middle of the 19th century, non-aboriginal Australia has had a strong distaste for authority, class, and pretension. Of course, there have been divisions between the wealthy and not so wealthy. However, most Australians have seen themselves as middle class (Graetz and McAllister 1988, p.224). Respect for social position has long been the butt of Australian humour. People who expect that their claims to class will give them place in society soon find it is more likely to exclude them from social life. Equally, those who put themselves on a pedestal are quickly brought down to earth. Australia has long been known for its dislike of 'tall poppies'.

Australians have also been known for their mateship: their willingness to stay beside each other and give whatever support they could. Perhaps mateship goes back to the days of the gold miners as they helped each other survive in the primitive conditions on the gold-fields. Mateship certainly became a key and respected characteristic of Australians during World War I as soldiers supported each other through the horrors of war. The image of Simpson helping to take wounded soldiers to a place of safety while under fire in the Gallipoli campaign has long been an icon of Australian values.

But are these the values which Australians hold most dear today? Do hedonism, egalitarianism and mateship sum up the Australian psyche? Or have Australians become more diverse in their values along with the greater variety in the ethnic backgrounds from which the Australian population is constituted? Have these values been undermined by the consumer mentality which has swept the Western world?

Hugh Mackay (1963, p.296) suggests that Australian values have undergone rapid change over the past few decades and consequently we live in an 'age of redefinition' or a time when the current world no longer fits with our old world view. Gender roles have changed, altering the nature of family life. The development of electronic communications and increased mobility of most Australians has changed the nature of community life. Does mateship continue to be valued as it was in earlier decades?

The workplace has changed and the changing economy has led to insecurity in employment, under-employment and unemployment. Many people have to work long hours in order to keep their jobs, apart from paying for their lifestyles. Are the ideals of a relaxed and leisure-filled world slipping away?

With the changing workplace has come increased income inequality. Some company directors are earning several hundred times the average Australian wage. Meanwhile, there are increasing numbers of people now described as the 'working poor'. Is Australia accepting increased social inequality, determined not so much by inherited position in society but by income and employment status?

This monograph explores the nature of Australian values in this age of change, relying not on anecdotal evidence, but on empirical survey research of the views of Australians. Values are explored through analysis of the 1998 Australian Community Survey which contained a 22 item value instrument based on Salom Schwartz's (1994) revision of the earlier work of Milton Rokeach (1973) along with many other questions about values and attitudes. (For further information about the Australian Community Survey, please see Appendix 1.)

The Australian Community Survey data indicate that the differences in people's values may be identified through four different values orientations: social well-being, self-enhancement, order and spirituality. *Social well-being* has to do with an emphasis on the social and physical environment. The values of freedom and social justice and a commitment to caring for the natural environment are characteristic of this orientation. *Self-enhancement* places greater importance on maximising personal pleasure and individual well-being. An *Order* orientation places national security, cleanliness and politeness at the top

of the hierarchy of values, while a *Spiritual* orientation emphasises religious and spiritual values. This paper develops this typology and describes the characteristics of the Australians most likely to be attracted to each of the orientations.

2. Theories of Origin of Values

There have been many theories of how people come to hold values. Each theory has its own account of the major influences perceived to shape people's values. They can be divided into two types: psychological and sociological. The psychological theories give an account at the individual level. They look at the experiences of early childhood and the processes of maturation, at the development of personality and the mechanisms of learning. Sociological theories, on the other hand, reflect on the development of different values sets within different social contexts: the influence of class and socio-economic environment, the impact of different historical and cultural backgrounds.

There is some evidence to suggest that values are influenced by genetic factors inherited from parents. Some personality characteristics have a genetic component. For example, some people are born with a genetic predisposition towards extroversion, their lives revolving around other people, while others are more introverted, gaining their energy from the time they spend alone. To this extent, personality may have an impact on what people want from life and what they value in it.

Most theories of values, however, put more emphasis on the influence of nurture rather than nature. Sigmund Freud suggested that the experiences of early childhood had a significant impact on the development of the personality and resulting value orientations. Having identified several stages of sexual development, he suggested that the way in which each stage was resolved contributed to personality and to orientations to life.

At another level, Freud also saw values as constructs of the superego, formed in childhood as the products of society. He suggested that the superego was the mechanism inculcated through social training, through mechanisms of conscience and guilt, which sought to control the anti-social tendencies of the id with its powerful libido. People's behaviour emerged as the resolution of the internal conflict between the superego and the id (see, for example, the discussion in Wilson, Williams et al. 1967, pp.243-255).

Psychologists, as distinct from psychiatrists, have usually stressed the impact of patterns of learning. Behaviour patterns in children are reinforced by rewards and punishments. Gradually those patterns are internalised to such an extent that they survive beyond the need for reward and punishment. Most parents are careful about their children's social environments. They look for schools and social activities that will reinforce the values they think are important. For some parents, religious organisations and activities are expected to play an important role, reinforcing the parents' primary moral values, teaching what is 'right' and 'wrong', 'good' and 'bad'.

The cognitive development theorists have added to the picture by suggesting ways in which such patterns are internalised as mental abilities develop. Lawrence Kohlberg, for example, has built on the developmental theories of Jean Piaget, suggesting there are three major levels of moral development. The first he describes as the 'premoral' in which the child is responsive to rules, but sees them in terms of the effects of obedience. The child knows that disobeying someone with physical power will lead to unpleasant consequences, for example. In the second 'coventional role conformity', the child seeks to maintain the expectations of family and peers. The child looks for positive feedback to being 'good' and pleasing others. In the third stage, the rules are internalised and the person desires to affirm moral values and principles for their own sake, apart from any supporting authority (Kohlberg 1964).

Other social psychologists have pointed to the fact that different values arise at different stages in life. Rokeach (1973), in a study of Americans aged between 11 and 70, found that values varied in importance throughout a person's lifespan. He reported that the values of beauty, friendship and politeness were of greatest importance to adolescents and levelled off thereafter. Of less importance to adolescents were the values of imagination, logical thought and inner harmony. According to his research, these values came to the fore during college years, but decreased in importance after that. Having a comfortable life, being cheerful, clean and helpful increased in importance after marriage, reflecting the environment of family life. National security was of less importance to younger people, but increased after college when they could be drafted into national service. It was highest, however, for those around retirement age, who Rokeach held were most likely

to identify with the establishment.

In an Australian study that used Rokeach's value scales, Norman Feather (1975) found that children were less conservative and more likely to emphasise tolerance and broad mindedness than adults. Excitement and pleasure were also of greater importance. The parents, by contrast, considered family, national security, self respect, politeness, cleanliness and competence important - values Feather believed were connected with middle age and its responsibilities.

The environment that people find themselves in at various stages during the course of life influences what they value. As adolescents develop their own patterns of friendship, so friendship as a value comes to the fore. As young adults have the opportunity to explore the world on their own, so there is a focus on the excitement of new experiences and the pleasures of life. Family life brings new responsibilities and the desire for order and efficiency.

Sociologists and social theorists have related values to social structures and economic circumstances. Karl Marx believed that values where predominantly 'superstructural': developed in a *post hoc* way to explain people's patterns of behaviour which were largely determined by their economic circumstances. He argued that the 'powerful' will reinforce values which protect their positions and status.

Different values orientations are apparent in different cultures, at least partly depending on their social structures and economic patterns. Values have deep connections with language. Many words have an evaluative as well as a descriptive component. As children learn the language, they pick up the values inherent in it. Words such as 'democracy' and 'justice', for example, may be learnt as positive words describing good social conditions before it is learnt what social forms of social functioning might be described as democratic and just.

Language is one way in which cultural values are transmitted from generation to another. A study of the values of Christians and Buddhists in the Thai culture, for example, found little difference between their values (Hughes 1984). The study underlined how pervasive cultural patterns are in the development of people's values, even in the face of specific attempts to inculcate different value systems.

Values also change from one generation to another. Robert Wuthnow (1976) defines 'generation units' as people sharing experiences, interests and a collective identity. He suggests that shifts, for example in religious practice, are indicative of one 'generation unit' defining itself in opposition to its predecessor.

Typically generations are defined by key points in history considered to be factors in social change. For instance, Western society was deeply influenced by the Depression and then the social and physical devastation of World War II. These historical events reinforced the concern for the maintenance of tradition and the desire for order and security. By contrast, the 'baby boomer' generation, affected by the coming of television and by the material well-being of the sixties, while living under the cloud of the Cold War and the wars in Korea and Vietnam, placed great value on the freedom of the individual, on peace and social justice. Around the same time, travel became cheaper and easier. The nature of community life changed. Local communities became less significant as people had greater personal mobility and more access to the wider world through their televisions. Higher levels of education, widespread questioning of customs and traditions and accepted moral values, new technology such as contraceptive pills led to the challenging of many values.

Ronald Inglehart (1977) has argued that the differences in the values of 'Generation X' and previous generations can be understood by the comparison of material and post-material society. He suggests that Western society has moved into a 'post-material' age in which threats to physical and material security have decreased markedly from the starvation of the Great Depression and high death rate caused by the two world wars. Consequently, he argues the present generation is able to focus more on non-material values and quality of life. With respect to Australian values and attitudes, Graetz and McAllister (1988, pp.248-252) found some weak evidence for Inglehart's thesis. Australians over the age of 65 were more likely to affirm materialist goals, such as fighting rising prices, encouraging economic growth and developing a stable economy along with social aims related to security such as fighting crime, maintaining order, and strengthening the defense forces. By contrast people under 30 were more likely to affirm post-materialist goals such as having more say in one's work situation and in government, the protection of free speech, and the beautification of cities. People raised in a post-materialist age, he says, are more concerned about the environment and about the redistribution of economic power.

Mackay (1997, ch. 3 and 4) has his own version of these changes. He describes Australian baby boomers as shaped by the material acquisitions which indicated success. Generation X, by contrast, has more of a lifestyle orientation in which a job, children, mortgage or marriage are fine so long as they do not impinge on one's lifestyle and "having fun".

Anthony Giddens (1994, p.5) sees Western societies as moving from traditional and post-traditional patterns. In a traditional society, he suggests, most aspects of culture are handed from one generation to the next. The post-traditional society, on the other hand, is characterised by 'reflexivity', processes whereby there is constant analysis and evaluation of the patterns of the past by the individual as they decide on the patterns they will adopt for the future. Hence the ability to identify a particular 'culture' fades as each individual creates their own patterns of living, or, in Mackay's terms, their own life-style. Within that context, values are decided much more by individuals in reflection on their own circumstances and what they want from life, rather than being handed down as part of tradition.

Peter Berger et al. (1974, p. 173) have suggested that one factor in these cultural changes has been the decrease in the size of families. In small families, children can be raised in such a way as parents seek to accommodate individual needs and desires. In larger families, it is necessary to make decisions which are appropriate for the needs of the family as a whole unit. As families have become smaller, so the individual has come to the fore. Generation X is sometimes referred to as the 'me-generation' (see, for example, Mackay 1993, pp.241- 246).

Mackay (1999) suggests that the increased choices of contemporary Australian society have contributed to high levels of uncertainty and insecurity. In his view, increased focus on the individual and consumerism, is a symptom of people seeking to control something even it is only their personal appearance

> If I can't control unemployment or the reconciliation process, if I can't control how the corporation that employs me is going to resolve tension between social conscience and the bottom line - what can I control? One answer is that I can control what video I'll rent, which school my children will attend, where I'll go for our next holidays, whether we'll put another room in the roof, which care we'll buy, what

we'll have for dinner tonight (Mackay 1999. pp xvi).

Moral relativism is just one part of the uncertainty people are experiencing, Mackay claims that people are beginning to see that issues like Aboriginal Reconciliation, unemployment, sexuality and drug trafficking are more complex that first realised. Without the traditions of moral absolutes, reinforced by widespread respect for religious authority, many people are just not sure what to believe and what values they should hold (Mackay 1999, pp xxii).

While many Australians have little respect for religion, many others continue to see religion as one of the sources of their values. In the Australian Community Survey, 55 per cent of the sample said that what was of primary importance about religion was that it gave them their values. In their cross-cultural surveys, Schwartz and Huismans (1995) have found that the importance of religion was associated with the affirmation of values like tradition and conformity, and with benevolence and security. Religious people were also less likely to affirm hedonistic values, or, to some extent, values associated with power and achievement.

However, religious institutions in Australian have been most vocal on particular moral issues, mostly associated with family relationships, life and death. Graetz and McAllister (1988, chapter 5), as have others, (see, for example, (Hughes 1985, p.6) found that people who said they were religious, and particularly church attenders, were unlikely to approve of homosexuality, pornography, abortion or the legalisation of marijuana. Many believed divorce should be made more difficult and women should devote their time primarily to the family. They gave higher priority to issues of national interest like strong defence, maintaining order, fighting crime and encouraging patriotism.

While religion has often found to be related to specific issues, its impact on the values which operate in daily life are not quite as apparent. From his analysis of the Values Study Survey, Philip Hughes reported that religion had little relationship with most of those values associated with daily life, with what people looked for in a job or what they desired in a work situation. It make little difference to the qualities they encouraged in their children, their use of leisure time, or their attitude to most social issues (Hughes 1985). However, other studies have indicated higher levels of volunteerism within the community by church attenders (Hughes and Black 2002).

3. Identifying and Measuring Values

One of the key figures in recent research on values has been Milton Rokeach, an American social pyschologist. While acknowledging the variety of roots that values have, he has seen their analysis as important in the study of culture and of sub-groups within culture.

Rokeach began his study of values by listing every value term that could be identified. He had the help of large groups of university students writing down all their values. From these, Rokeach sought to develop a short list of the most 'basic' values. After several years of research, he identified a list of thirty-six values which he considered to be the core around which all the remaining beliefs and values grouped. Rokeach believed that these values had cross-cultural validity and that the variety of cultures consisted largely of the different priorities given to these thirty-six values.

Rokeach divided these thirty-six values into two groups.

• *18 Terminal Values* or end states of existence that are of intrinsic value (i.e. valuable in themselves). He suggests that these can be alternatively intra-personal or self-centred, inter-personal or society centred. In his view, salvation and peace of mind represent the former while world peace and brotherhood are represent the latter.

• *18 Instrumental Values* or modes of conduct. For Rokeach, these consisted of moral and competence values which were seen as means of attaining (hence instrumental) the terminal values.

Table 1. Rokeach's List of Terminal and Instrumental Values

No.	Terminal Values	Instrumental Values
1	A comfortable life (a prosperous life)	Ambitious (hard-working, aspiring)
2	An exciting life (a stimulating, active life)	Broadminded (open-minded)
3	A sense of accomplishment	Capable (competent, effective)
4	A world at peace (free from war and conflict)	Cheerful (light-hearted, joyful)
5	A world of beauty (beauty of nature and the arts)	Clean (neat, tidy)
6	Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)	Courageous (standing up for your beliefs)
7	Family security (taking care of loved ones)	Forgiving (willing to pardon others)
8	Freedom (independence, free choice)	Helpful (working for the welfare of others)
9	Happiness (contendedness)	Honest (sincere, truthful)
10	Inner harmony (freedom from inner conflict)	Imaginative (daring, creative)
11	Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)	Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
12	National security (protection from attack)	Intellectual (intelligent, reflective)
13	Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life)	Logical (consistent, rational)
14	Salvation (saved eternal life)	Loving (affectionate, tender)
15	Self-respect (self-esteem)	Obedient (dutiful, respectful)
16	Social recognition (respect, adminration)	Polite (courteous, well-mannered)
17	True friendship (close companionship)	Responsible (dependable, reliable)
18	Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)	Self-controlled (restrained, self-disciplined)

His examples were behaving honestly or imaginatively and loving versus logically.

Rokeach (1973) developed a value survey in which he had subjects place the 18 instrumental and 18 terminal values in order of perceived importance. These values were defined using language that was as objective as possible - using terms that were neither negative nor overly positive. The aim was that the subjects own internalised value system would tell them how to rank the values.

Thus, to sum up Rokeach's theory, single proscriptive beliefs/values group together to form attitudes regarding something concrete. These "value-attitude" systems are then in turn connected to the wider belief systems. However, there have been some criticisms of his theory. One is that it has often been noted that instrumental values can become 'terminal', as seen as valuable in themselves. While one person may see cleanliness as helpful in achieving a sense of accomplishment or even contributing to 'a world of beauty', another person may become so focussed on cleanliness that it becomes a value in its own right.

Another issue is the way in which Rokeach measured values was that he forced people to rank all values in a linear fashion. There was no possibility of two values being seen as equally important. Yet, in the real world, people often do hold values as being of equal importance. One can value obedience and politeness, for example, and in most circumstances in daily life, such values do not conflict with each other.

Schwartz has sought to refine Rokeach's work. Rather than distinguishing between instrumental and terminal values, he prefers to put the values in one list before his subjects. He also asks his subjects not to rank the values, but to assess the relative importance of each value individually. People are asked to rate values on a 9-point scale:
- 9: a guiding principle in my life,
- 7: of supreme importance,
- 6: very important,
- 3: important,
- 0: not important,
- -1: opposed to my values.

Schwartz holds that values are:

> desirable transitional goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity. Implicit in this definition of values as goals is that (1) they serve the interests of some social entity, (2) they can motivate action-giving it direction

and emotional intensity, (3) they function as standards for judging and justifying action, and (4) they are acquired both through socialization to a dominant group and through the unique learning experiences of individuals (Schwartz 1994).

At the most basic level, Schwartz perceives values to be a response to three requirements: biological needs, coordination of social interaction and the effective functioning and survival of groups. Further values can be compatible or have the potential to conflict with one another such as the pursuit of achievement and benevolence.

Schwartz has also expanded Rokeach's list of 36 values to a list of 56 values which he maintains more adequately covers the variety of values found in different cultures. His survey of values has been tested on 97 samples across 44 countries.

Based on his research, Schwartz developed a typology of ten value clusters. He graphs these values showing the distances between them as shown in Figure 1.

Around the outside of the circle are what Schwartz has defined as higher order, oppositional value types:
- Openness to Change (self-direction and stimulation) vs. Conservatism (tradition, conformity and security)
- Self Enhancement (power, achievement) vs. Self Transcendence (universalism, benevolence).

The categories of values are presented in Table 2 on page 9.

The value survey method used by Rokeach and Schwartz provide one way of measuring values. Such surveys provide an indication of what people feel to be valuable. They tap into what people consider to be their ideals. Such surveys do not necessarily give a good account of how people actually behave.

One might also look at values through the ways in which people use their resources. How they spend their money may give a good indication of what they think is valuable. However, it is limited in as far as most people recognise that some of the most valuable aspects of life cannot be purchased. How people spend their time is another indicator. But it too is limited. For some of those aspects of life are considering of great value, such as freedom and equality, cannot be easily measured through the use of time.

The methods of Rokeach and Schwartz to examine values provide just one picture. The picture is limited by people's self-awareness, and limited by the fact that it provides insight into subjectively held ideals rather than the values that are demonstrated in people's behaviour. Nevertheless, it is an important picture of how people think and, of the wider scale, what are the cultural ideals.
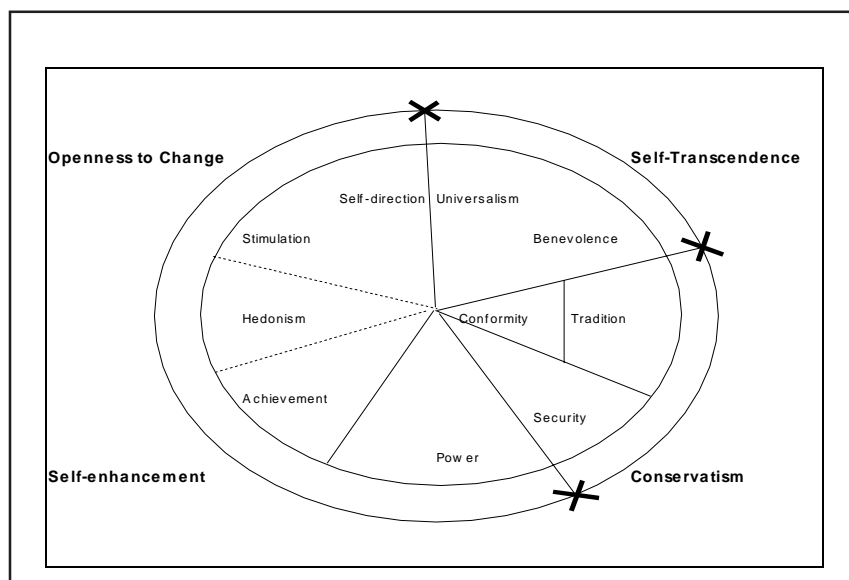

Figure 1. Model of Relations among Motivational Types of Values (Schwartz & Huismans 1995)

Table 2. Schwartz's List of Values Areas

Area of Values	Description of Value Area / List of Values (Words and Phrases) Used in Representation of Value Area
Power:	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources. *Social power, authority, wealth, preserving my public image [social recognition)*
Achievement:	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards. *Successful, capable, ambitious, influential [intelligent]*
Hedonism:	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself. *Pleasure, enjoying life*
Stimulation:	Excitement, novelty and challenge in life. *Daring, a varied life, an exciting life*
Self-direction:	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring. *Creativity, freedom, independence, curiosity, choosing own goals [self respect]*
Universalism:	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance,, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. *Broadmindedness, wisdom, social justice, equality, a world at peace, a world of beauty, unity with nature, protecting the environment.*
Benevolence:	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in personal contact. *Helpfulness, honesty, forgiveness, loyalty, responsibility [true friendship, mature love]*
Tradition:	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide. *Humility, accepting my portion in life, being devout, respect for tradition, moderation [detachment]*
Conformity:	Restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms. *Obedience, politeness, self-discipline, honouring parents and elders*
Security:	Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships and of self. *Family security, national security, social order, cleanliness, reciprocity of favours [sense of belonging, healthy]*

Notes on table:

a Three additional values (Spiritual Life, Meaning in Life, Inner Harmony) were also included in the original 56 to measure a potential spirituality value type. They did not form such a type across nations in empirical research, nor did they emerge in a consistent manner with any of the 10 types. The result indicates that the meanings of these values vary substantially across individuals and groups.

b Values in brackets were not used in computing indexes for value types.

(Schwartz and Huismans 1995)

4. The Australian Community Survey

The following analysis is based on the Australian Community Survey, conducted in 1998 by The Centre for Social Research at Edith Cowan University and National Church Life Survey Research. The underlying aim of the project was to explore Australian communities with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and beliefs and also the roles of organisations such as the church and voluntary organisations in community life.

The Australian Community Survey used an amended version of Schwartz's value scale. It was not possible to include all values in the survey which was seeking to accomplish a variety of tasks. Twenty-two values were chosen as being particularly relevant to the major themes of the survey, namely, the nature of community life and the relationship of religion to community. In choosing the list of values to be included, the various categories of values were examined. Values from each of the ten categories identified by Schwartz were included.

Respondents to the survey were invited to rate each value on a scale from 0 to 4 described in the following terms:

0. Opposed to my values or not important to me at all
1. Of little importance
2. Important
3. Very important
4. MOST important.

Having evaluated each of the 22 values on the five point scale, respondents were then asked to look back over their answers and identify the ONE value which they thought was of GREATEST importance as guiding principle in their life. This enabled a further differentiation between the various values and effectively created a six point scale on which all values were scored.

This scale was included in six versions out of eight of the Australian Community Survey and responses were gathered in these six versions from more than 6200 people – a response rate of about 50 per cent. The survey provides a snapshot of the Australian community as a whole. Because of the size of the sample, it is also possible to examine sub-groups within the population with a high degree of confidence.

The survey was conducted nationally. The sample was obtained randomly from the electoral roll using 8 categories of community-type. Urban areas were classified using the Australian Bureau of Statistics Social and Economic Indicators for Areas Scale (SEIFA). This scale takes into account education, occupation and income among other factors. Thus the four areas were determined as quartiles of the index. Rural areas by contrast were classified by number of people in the largest centre of population within the postcode area:

•   Population > 20,0000
•   Population 2,000 - 20,000
•   Population 200 - 2,000
•   Population < 200

This was done to ensure adequate samples of each geographic type and sparsely populated rural areas were over-sampled for this purpose. However, the sample could also be weighted to given an exact representation of these groups as is present in the whole population.

2. The Values of Australians

There are several ways of looking at the major values of Australians. The graph below shows the proportion of respondents, which represent Australians as a whole, who consider value items either most important or very important. Note however, this question asks people to rate values as opposed to ranking them. Thus hypothetically a person could rate every item most important. The graph has been sorted by the percent saying an item was most important. However, when very important responses are combined, this changes the order somewhat.

The value most strongly affirmed by the Australian population as a whole was a world at peace. No doubt, people are thinking of the huge disruption that war produces. Slightly under 70 per cent of respondents rated this as most important.

The second most strongly affirmed value was honesty. Around 60 per cent considered this most important. Ninety per cent of the sample said honesty was either most important or very important. Honesty is probably seen as the most basic quality in relationships – both with oneself and with others. Through honesty a level of authenticity with oneself and with others can be achieved.

Both of the values of peace and honesty have to do with the social environment in which people want to live. Australians are saying they do not want life disrupted by war and they want to be able to trust other people.

The third most affirmed value was true friendship. People value relationships far

more than the more individual values such as success or excitement. They see relationships with people they can trust and with whom honesty is an on-going characteristic as integral to a good life.

There was a strong desire for people to live in a world where there are opportunities for each person to have a fair go. Around half of all Australians rated equality as most important. A similar proportion rated social justice as most important. When 'very important' responses were added, social justice was affirmed by 85 per cent, which is five per cent more than the corresponding figure for equality.

Politeness and freedom also relate to the social environment and were considered most important by just under half of all respondents respectively. Again, both of these values contribute to the sort of social world in which

Guiding Principles for Life among Australian Adults

Item	Most important	Very important
A world at peace	68	86
Honesty	61	90
True friendship	55	85
Equality	49	75
Social justice	49	80
Politeness	48	82
Protecting the environment	47	79
Freedom	47	76
Meaning in life	41	74
Enjoying life	40	69
National Security	39	64
Wisdom	39	73
Broadmindedness	39	72
Cleanliness	33	63
Helpfulness	32	68
Success	26	62
Creativity	26	58
Exciting life	20	49
Social recognition	18	45
Spiritual life	16	32
Being devout	14	28
Wealth	6	21

Percentage rating item very important / most important:

Source: Australian Community Survey 1998

Figure 2.

Guiding Principles in Life: Single Value of Greatest Importance

Value	Percent
Honesty	11.9
True friendship	11.6
Meaning in life	10.9
A world at peace	10.9
Enjoying life	9.6
Wisdom	6.6
Broadmindedness	4.6
Spiritual life	4.5
Equality	4.4
Freedom	4.2
Being devout	3.1
Success	2.8
Social justice	2.7
Protecting the environment	2.7
Exciting life	2.4
Creativity	1.6
Social recognition	1.4
Politeness	1.2
Helpfulness	1.1
Wealth	0.6
National Security	0.6
Cleanliness	0.6

Percent Affirming

Source: 1998 Australian Community Survey
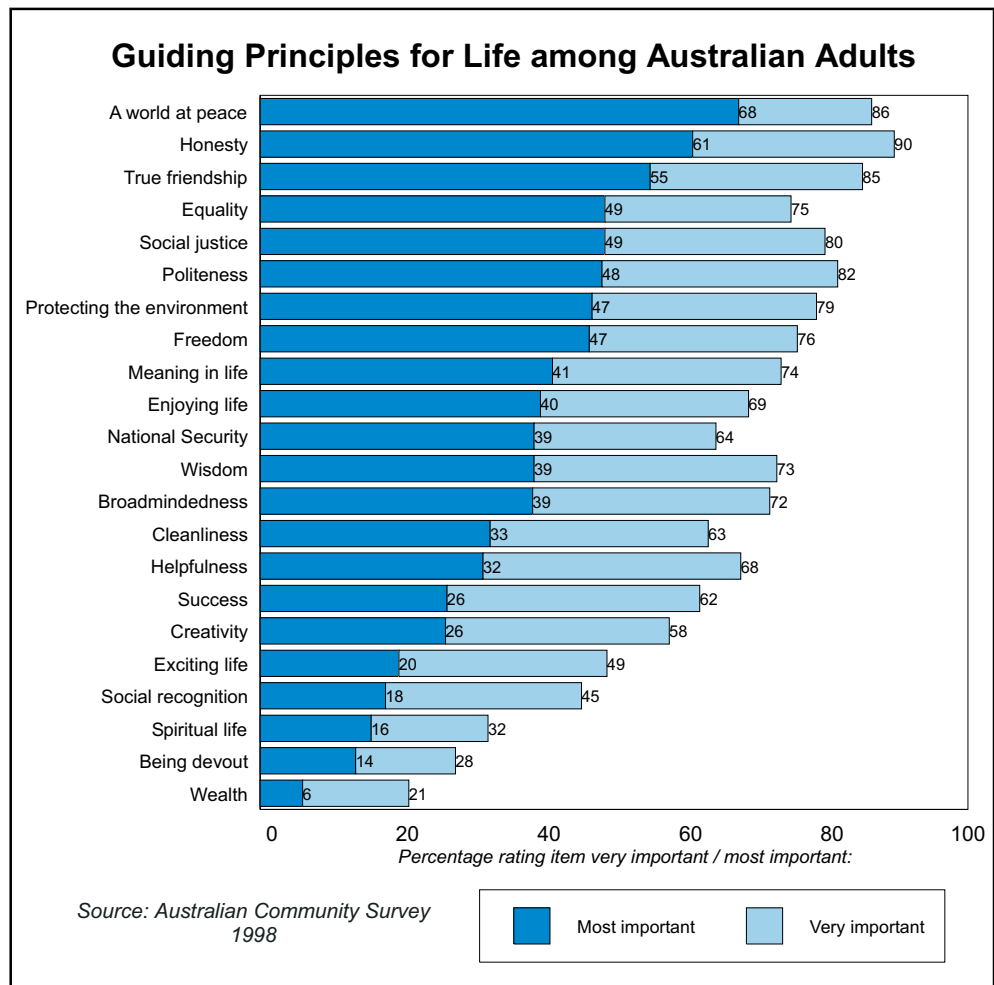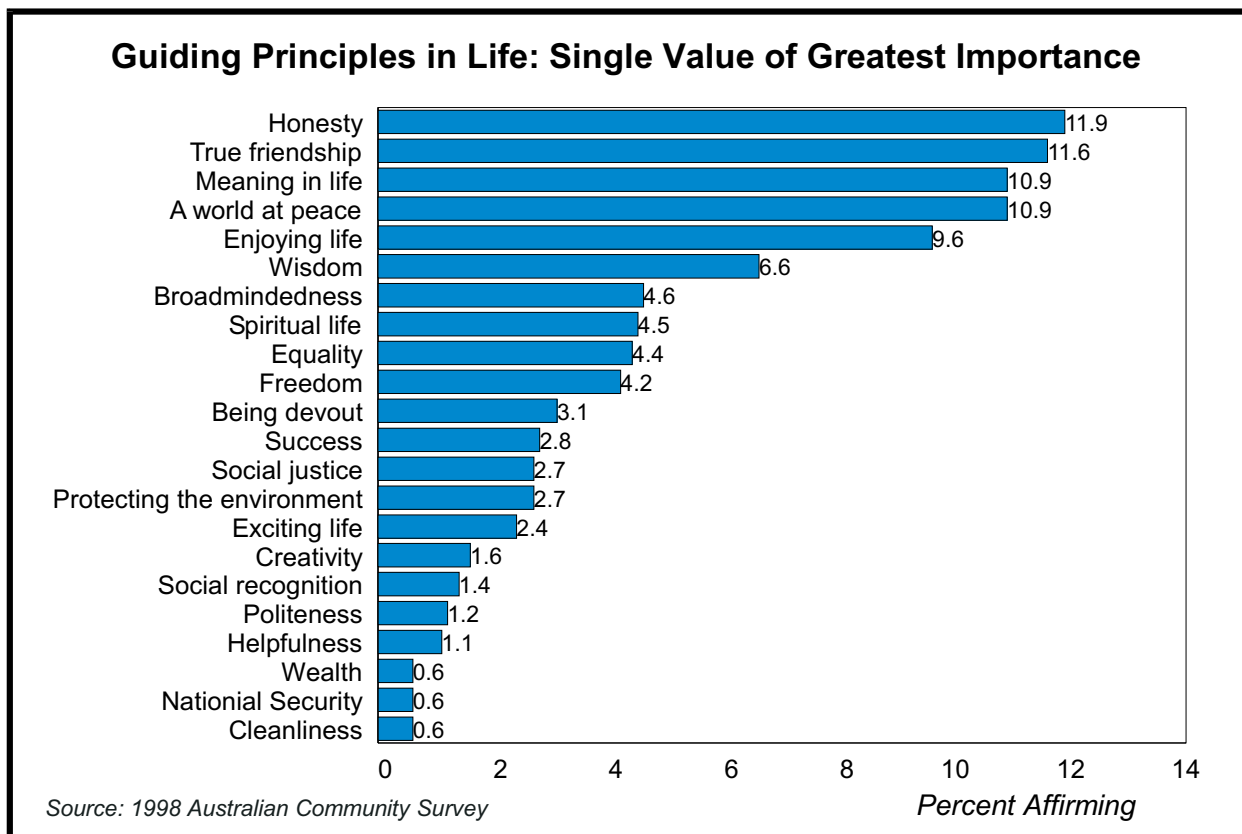
Figure 3.

people want to live rather than simply being expressions of self-interest.

There is a widespread awareness that the natural environment is under threat. Almost 80 per cent felt that it is most important or very important to protect the environment, and that the future of human life depends on this.

A little further down the list come values which have to do with what an individual might wish to personally achieve. Meaning in life, enjoying life, wisdom and broadmindedness were each rated as most important by around 40 per cent of respondents. When 'very important' responses were added, meaning in life – further defined as having a purpose in life – was affirmed by 74 per cent of the respondents. In this broad context, meaning could be derived from a philosophy or way of life, from religion or through meaningful relationships with family and friends. Wisdom is probably seen as one of the means of attaining a meaningful life and finding one's way around the social world. Broadmindedness has to do with willingness to tolerate diversity. The enjoyment of life, described in the questionnaire as the enjoyment of food, sex, and leisure, received a fairly similar rating. These values tended to be rated more highly than social recognition, success or spirituality, for example.

National security was rated as most important by 39 per cent of the population, compared to 33 per cent for cleanliness and 32 per cent for helpfulness. However, when those rating these values as very important were added, the percentages were 64, 63 and 68 respectively.

Given the apparent focus on the individual in the contemporary culture, it is a little surprising that individually-oriented values were down the bottom of the list. Around one quarter of the population rated success, creativity, social recognition and excitement as most important. Perhaps most people considered these to be 'extras'. They valued them, but they did not see them as having the importance of those values which provide the social environment for life. There may also be a sense in which most people feel that only when the basic prerequisites for social life are in place can success and creativity come to the fore.

Sixteen per cent of respondents considered a spiritual life most important, the proportion reaching almost one third when 'very important' responses were added. Similarly, only 14 per cent considered living a devout life most important and 28 per cent with very important. Viewed from the perspective of values

deemed *not* important, 12 per cent considered spirituality not important at all, and 17 per cent considered being devout not important at all.

The item least valued by respondents was wealth. Only 6 per cent said this was most important, and another 15 per cent regarded it as very important. This does not mean that material possessions are not important. It is likely that people interpreted wealth as having money over and above what was needed for a comfortable life. In most versions of Rokeach and Schwartz's value surveys, 'a comfortable life' is included as well as 'wealth', and 'a comfortable life' generally comes much higher up the list of people's priorities. While people's standards of comfort vary considerably, most people want sufficient to be comfortable and relatively secure in the future. Beyond that, wealth has little importance for most people.

Unlike Figure 2, Figure 3 represents the responses to a separate question which asked people to choose the single value of greatest importance in the 22 presented. As a result, the picture of priorities was a little different. Honesty, true friendship, meaning and world peace were each ranked as of greatest importance by between 10 and 12 per cent of respondents. Wisdom was ranked as of greatest important by seven per cent.

Broadmindedness, a spiritual life, equality and freedom were each affirmed as the most important value of all by around four per cent of respondents, and devoutness by about 3 per cent. It is interesting that living a spiritual life is above the middle in the ranking of the 22 items items. Being successful, social justice and protecting the environment were each ranked as of greatest importance by just under 3 per cent. Living an exciting life attracted 2.4 per cent of first preferences.

Creativity, social recognition, being polite and being helpful were each ranked of greatest importance by a little over one per cent of respondents. Wealth, national security and cleanliness each attracted first preferences from about half of one per cent.
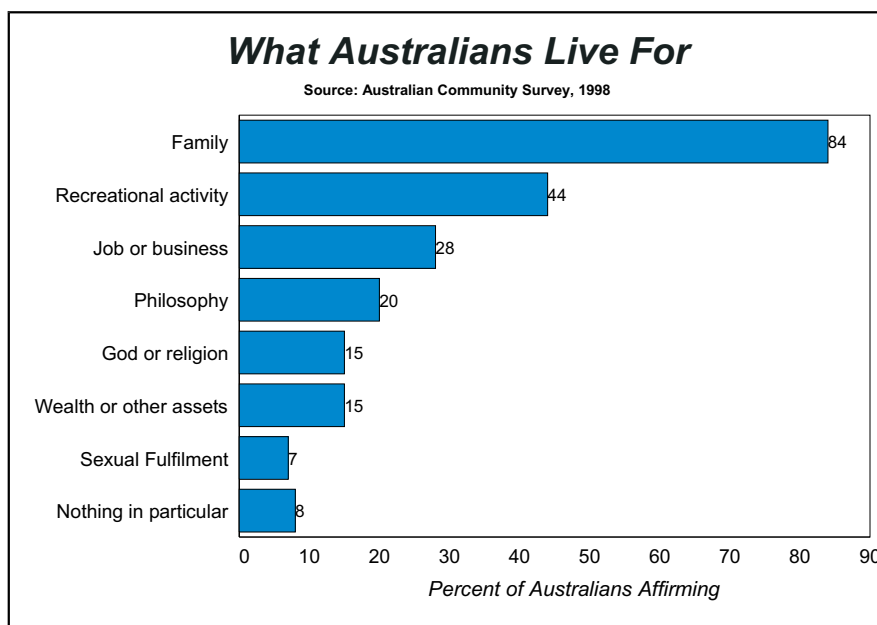

Figure 4.

Another picture of people's values can be obtained from a question which asked respondents what they lived for (Figure 4). From nine possibilities, respondents were invited to choose up to three. It is evident here that family life rates very high as a focus for life for the vast majority of Australians. Second comes particular forms of leisure or recreational activity. Then comes work: one's job, farm, company of business, followed by a philosophical system or approach to life. Around 15 per cent each chose God or religion or wealth and money, and just half of that proportion chose sexual fulfilment.

These pictures of values from the Australian Community Survey do not exactly correspond with the popular stereotypes. Mateship, or, in the words of this survey, true friendship, is very high on the list and was affirmed as 'most important' by 55 per cent of the sample. Even more important are the relationships of family life. Equality and social justice were also strongly affirmed as most important by around half of the sample.

However, the enjoyment of life comes some way down the list of values in terms of the strength of affirmation. Only 40 per cent of Australians said it was 'most important'. Other hedonistic values such as having an exciting life and wealth were close to the bottom of the list. While fun and pleasure has its place, relationships, and ensuring a peaceful life for all Australians by far precedes it in importance, at least in terms of people's ideals.

2.1. Value Patterns

While these frequencies provide us with information representative of overall Australian values, they do not show patterns in the values themselves. In their discussion of the theory of values, Schwartz and Huismans (1995) maintain that some values are compatible with each other while others conflict.

Factor analysis was used to identify what values fell together in the ways in which people responded to them in the Australian Community Survey. The graph below presents the four major groups of values. The combined variation in these four orientations accounted for 57 per cent of the total variation in the ways in which answers were given to the questions on values. These four factors will be used in the following analysis. The major sets of values each formed statistically reliable scales. Details of the factor analysis are provided in Appendix 2. The four groups of values are outlined below.

Order

The first group of values revolve around the desire for security and order. They include cleanliness, politeness and national security. Cleanliness relates to the desire for order within one's own personal environment, while politeness has to do with order in social interactions. Schwartz also found these values to be closely related to each other and having to do with a desire for conformity and the harmony and stability and placed them in the 'conservatism' part of his wheel of values (Schwartz 1994 p.24) opposed to openness to change.

Social Enhancement

The second group of values relates most to characteristics of the social and physical environment in which people want to life. For many people, it is important that the world they live is in one which there is equality and freedom, social justice and tolerance of differences as indicated by broad-mindedness. They want a social environment in which there is friendship and in which people help and support each other. The people who emphasised these social values also valued the protection of the environment. The value of 'wisdom' also falls into this group. Presumably, those who value wisdom see it as contributing to a just and compassionate social environment. Most of these values fall in the value areas of universalism and benevolence in Schwartz's model of values. It is an orientation which Schwartz characterises as valuing an understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.

Spirituality

The third group of values consists of two primary values: the extent to which living a spiritual or a devout life was important. Another value which is closely allied with this group is that of meaning in life. Those who valued spirituality also tended to value wisdom and helpfulness. Schwartz has an area of values which he describes as 'tradition': respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide. Within this area he locates the values of humility, being devout, and having respect for tradition. For some people, spirituality may fit here. For other people, it may indicate a value of self-transcendence that is not tied to the traditions of culture or religion. Hence, it may be more appropriate to locate it outside of Schwartz' wheel of values, although related to universalism, benevolence and tradition.

Self Enhancement

The fourth group of values have to do with personal experiences and individual well-being. They include

Major Value Orientations
Percentage of Australians Affirming

Order — 19 | 61
Social-enhancement — 12 | 69
Spirituality — 10 | 24
Self-enhancement — 3 | 31

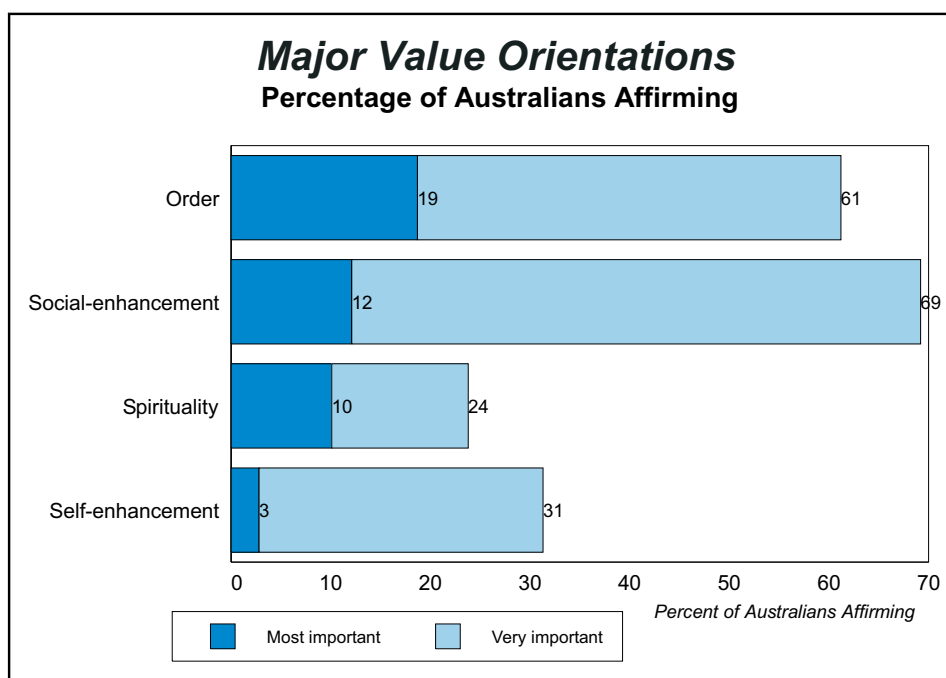Percent of Australians Affirming

Most important   Very important

Figure 5.

wealth, living an exciting life, social recognition, enjoying life and success. These values mostly fall into the area that Schwartz describes as 'self-enhancement' in its various forms of power, achievement, hedonism and stimulation.

Australian Values Orientations in Schwartz's Wheel

Different value orientations exist because particular people draw more heavily on certain sets of values than others. However, most people do not draw on *only one* set of values. Most people affirm a wide range of values. Nevertheless, the differences in the level of affirmation of these various value orientations are significant and are explored in the following section. Eighty-four per cent of the respondents affirmed one value orientation more strongly than others. In the following analysis, except where noted, the percentages refer to the group of people who affirmed a particular value orientation more strongly than other value orientations.

2.2. Typology of Australian Values

This section examines the four major groups of values in depth. It describes the characteristics of people more likely to strongly affirm each of the orientations. Additional areas in which they share common ground are also explored including personality type, what they live for, the qualities that they value in children, their philosophy or approach to life, religion, morality, social and political views and attitudes to others and the community.

2.3 Order Orientation

National security, cleanliness and politeness[*]

[*]Note: World peace and honesty were also rated highly by the order orientation but because they were also affirmed by the other value orientations, these values could not be used to distinguish between the value orientations.

Nineteen per cent of all respondents rated all the items in this scale as being 'most' important or chose one of the values as being that of greatest importance. In all, 61 per cent of the respondents rated all the values in this orientation as being 'very important' or 'most important', and more than one third of respondents affirmed these values more strongly than those of any

other value orientation. Hence, it can be said that the values that constitute a sense of order are widely affirmed among Australians. People with this orientation seek a safer, more orderly world for themselves and their children. It should be noted that this survey was undertaken in 1998, prior to the recent concern over terrorism.

Personal Characteristics

People 60 years of age and older were particularly concerned about these values related to order. More than half of them (53%) affirmed the values related to order as more important than any other values. In contrast, around one quarter of the sample (25%) under 40 years of age saw these values as having the highest priority.

The importance of order does not increase evenly with age. There is a significant jump between people in their 50s, among whom 22% said it was most important, and people in their 60s or 70s among whom 30 per cent rated these values as most important. The importance of order may be related to historical factors rather than life-stage. The concern for order is a characteristic of those who experienced the Depression and World War II.

This finding corresponds with Inglehart's (1977) thesis. He suggests that the concern for order and stability grew out of the experiences of deprivation and anxiety during those times. National security was important because it had been significantly threatened during World War II, and people who were alive then have retained from those times the concern for protecting national security.

However, Inglehart's thesis does not quite as easily explain the concern for politeness and cleanliness as characteristics of this value orientation. Nor is it evident from the results of the survey that this desire for order can be seen as opposed to 'post-materialist' values of freedom of speech and participation in community.

Philip Hughes (1994), drawing on the theories of the relationship of cosmology to culture, has argued that those growing up prior to the 1960s tended to see the world as an orderly place, a little like an industrial machine. He suggests that this sense of order arose from the experiences of childhood in which the social order was strongly affirmed and in which the world was not seen as changing in unmanageable or unpredictable ways. For many people of this generation, religious worship was an affirmation of that sense of order and of the belief that God had

ultimate control. Evil was seen as arising from the breaking of the rules of the order.

A number of factors occurred in the early 1960s which led those growing up in this era to begin to see the world differently. The rates of change in Western society increased. Increased mobility meant that children grew up with some experience of a wider environment, but one which lacked the predictability of the local area which was explored on foot or by bicycle in earlier years. The major factor, however, was probably the influence of mass media which portrayed the world as being disordered, both through its news and through its drama (Hughes 1993). The world was a place where the unexpected was always happening. An orderly way of approaching the world did not necessarily achieve the sense of well-being that people sought. The desire for order faded.

However, there are other factors which may be important in the desire for order. The Australian Community Survey found that the value of order was affirmed much more strongly by those with little formal education. More than 50 per cent of those who had not completed secondary education affirmed it as 'most important' compared with only 11 per cent of those who had post-graduate degrees. The level of formal education was more strongly related to the importance of order than was age. Those who were renting public housing and those with poor health also indicated that order was very important to them, as did manual workers, the semi-skilled and the unemployed. The least concerned about a sense of order were professionals. The desire for order may relate to a certain sense of vulnerability, the sense that change and chaos are hard to handle.

Correspondingly, people living in lower socio-economic urban areas rated the importance of order much more highly than did people in higher socio-economic areas. Thirty-nine per cent in the lowest socio-economic quartile rated it as the most important value orientation, compared with 23 per cent in the highest socio-economic quartile. Through all rural areas order was rated more highly than it was in urban areas.

The valuing of order was also related to personality. Those people who saw order as most important tended to score high on neuroticism and low on psychoticism. In other words, those people who worry more about life and are 'tender-minded' in their concern for others value more the sense of security that arises out of a world which is well-ordered, and hence, more predictable.

There were no differences between men and women in their concern for order.

Religion and Philosophy of Life

There appeared to be two quite distinct groups among these people. One group of about 30 per cent affirmed that they had 'no religion', they did not believe in God, and thought the Bible was worthless. Another group of about 15 per cent were strongly Christian, affirming traditional Christian beliefs and the authority of the Bible and attending church monthly or more often.

Around half of them saw religion as important in providing values for life. A small proportion (7%), but more than of any other value orientation, saw religion as the importance of religion in encouraging people to keep the Ten Commandments.

This group was less confident than others in the human capacity to overcome whatever barriers and problems it meets and to create a better world. Close to 20 per cent of the sample said felt that humanity could not overcome the challenges and another third of the sample was neutral.

A little more of the orientation of those who value a sense of order is found in the qualities they would encourage in children. That would put special stress on the values of obedience and good manners. They would also encourage thrift, saving money and things. They had comparatively little time for independence and imagination.

When asked what they lived for,
- 86% said they lived for their families,
- 44% for leisure activities
- 26% for work
- 18% for wealth
- 15% for a philosophy of life
- 10% for God or religion,
- 6% for sexual fulfilment, and
- 8% for nothing at all.

In most respects, they were not very different from the rest of the population. They were just a little stronger in the importance of family and wealth, and a little weaker on work and a philosophy of life.

Morality and Society

On questions of honesty, people with strong order orientations were no different from the rest of the sample. Compared with the sample they were less likely to consider prostitution ever justified and less likely to approve of pre-marital, extra-marital or

same-sex sex.

In relation to issues of life and death, they were significantly less likely to consider suicide or abortion ever justified but were much more likely to support the death penalty as punishment for some crimes. These findings are consistent with conservative values. Curiously, significantly higher proportions affirmed the right of the terminally ill to die while no significant difference was found regarding the justification of euthanasia.

A high proportion of these people agreed with the idea that the only way to solve the drug problem in Australia was through tougher law enforcement.

People who valued order were more likely to choose Liberal than Labour (39% as compared with 32%). They were less keen than most on Australia becoming a republic although only 21 per cent thought that should never happen. They also had stronger opinions about the flag with 37 per cent affirming that any change to it should be resisted.

On some other political issues, however, they did not have strong views. They are more likely to believe private enterprise is the best solution to economic problems although 41 per cent said they were neutral or unsure. They were divided, around 40 per cent each way, as to whether it was the responsibility of the government to reduce income inequality. While most (63%) affirmed that immigration had added to the richness of Australian life, they were less strong in their affirmation than the people associated with any of the other value orientations.

Their position on families was ambiguous. They were more inclined than most others (27% affirming compared with 21% of the total sample) to favour well-defined family roles with the father as the bread-winner and the mother caring for the children. However, most (54%) affirmed that working mothers could develop just as warm relationships with their children as those who stayed home.

Those orientated towards order were more ambivalent about social change than those with other value orientations. When asked about general changes that had occurred in society in recent decades, 46 per cent were positive, and 22 per cent negative, but a large group of 33 per cent said there were unsure. When asked about their attitudes to continued rapid social change, 45 per cent were neutral.

In relation to specific changes, they were less sure about the value of increased technology in the home or about increasing multiculturalism. They were more strongly affirming of more emphasis on money and material possessions than most others with 36 per cent indicating that would be a positive thing. Like most of the sample, the vast majority (90%) thought more emphasis on family life would be a good thing.

People who emphasised the values of order were least likely to be involved in voluntary work. About 47 per cent, compared with around 57% of others, were involved in a voluntary group. If they were involved in voluntary activities, it was most likely to be in informal ways of helping other people.

2.4 Social Orientation

Equality, freedom, social justice, protecting the environment, broad-mindedness, wisdom, helpfulness and friends.[*]

Twelve per cent of all respondents rated all the items in this scale as being 'most' important. In all, 69 per cent of the respondents rated all the values in this scale as being 'very important' or 'most important'.

As in Schwartz's description of universal values, people who were socially orientated in the Australian Community Survey were focussed on the well-being of the community and of the environment. More than the rest of the population, they stressed the importance of freedom, of the equality of all people and of social justice. People with a strong social orientation emphasised broad-mindedness in their approach to life, along with wisdom. They valued true friendship, that is, having close and supportive friends, and helping others. The socially orientated were committed to working towards a better world for everyone.

Personal Characteristics
The people who most strongly affirm these social values were younger people, mostly under 60 years of age. Almost exactly half the population under 60 affirmed this value orientation, compared with 33 per cent of those over 60. The highest affirmation was among those in their 30s.

The sense of responsibility for family life may be one of the factors which focuses people on these values. Yet, there was a higher affirmation among those who were single or in de facto relationships

than those who were married. Rather than life-stage, it would seem likely that the differences relating to age reflect the sorts of historical changes discussed in relation to the valuing of order. The desire for order which was characteristic of those growing up prior to 1960, has been replaced by the less materially-oriented values, to use Inglehart's terminology, of freedom and tolerance, care for the environment and for social justice among those growing up since 1960.

Involvement in the work-force, and perhaps responsibility in the work-force, may enhance this affirmation of the social world. The survey found stronger affirmations of these social values among those involved in the work-force, either part-time or full-time, compared with those who were retired or involved in home duties. Those with work of higher social status, such as professionals and supervisors, had a strong social sense, while it was relatively weak in those who were involved in skilled trades or manual work and among farmers and the self-employed. There were much stronger affirmations of these social values among those with high levels of formal education. It was the major value orientation of 69 per cent of those with post-graduate degrees compared with around 40 per cent of those with trade certificates and less than 30 per cent of those who only had primary levels of education.

However, this orientation in life may not just be a product of historical changes, place in society and educational level. It may also arise from early childhood experiences. Women more strongly affirmed these social values than did men. Fifty-one per cent of women said rated this value-orientation as most important compared with 43 per cent of men. This difference may arise from the fact that women are encouraged more, from the earliest years, to take an interest in people rather than mechanical things, in the social world, rather than the world of machinery and gadgets.

Personality factors had less bearing on the social value orientation than on the value of order. The affirmation of these social values was not related to psychoticism or neuroticism. However, those who scored higher on extroversion tended to score higher on these values.

Religion and Philosophy of Life
Most of the socially oriented were not strongly religious. They were more likely than the total sample to be occasional church attenders and less likely to attend monthly or more often. Fifty-eight per cent said they never attended services of worship. As noted above, few said they lived for religion, but many of them saw themselves as having strong principles which guided their lives. On the other hand, few rejected the realm of the spiritual. Most (74%) said they believed there was a God, but were more likely to say that they believed in some sort of life-force rather than a personal God. More than two-thirds of them said that science cannot explain everything. The majority (68%) said they believed that the Bible was inspired. Most (56%, with another 25% unsure) said that there is much in the universe that cannot be explained by science, that is more in the realm of the spiritual.

However, tolerance was important to them and most (70%) agreed that different religions and philosophies may be equally true in their own right. They were divided, however, as to whether there can be clear guidelines about what is good and what is evil: 46 per cent saying good and evil depend on the circumstances and 36 per cent disagreeing with them. However, most (72%) felt that the needs of others were more important than one's individual rights.

Among the values they would encourage in children were tolerance for others and a sense of responsibility. Through these values they would prepare children for relating to others, respecting others, and taking responsibility for their actions. However, this group also prized some personal values: spontaneity, being in touch with one's feelings and independence.

When asked what they lived for,
- 84% said family life
- 46% leisure activities
- 31% work
- 29% a philosophical approach to life
- 10% wealth
- 8% God or religious beliefs
- 6% sexual fulfilment
- 9% nothing.

They stood out from the remainder of the sample in the numbers affirming the importance of living for a philosophical system or approach to life, but with less affirmation of God or religious beliefs or wealth and material possessions.

Morality and Society
On many moral issues, they tended to hold more liberal views than the sample as a whole. The vast majority (87%) affirmed the right of the terminally ill to die at the time of their own choosing. A higher proportion than any other group (51%) indicated that they felt that same-sex relationships were not generally wrong.

People with a strong social orientation were more likely to vote Labor than Liberal in elections (43% Labor to 26% Liberal), although a comparatively high proportion (11%) would vote for other parties. Most (64%) wanted Australia to become a republic in the next 10 years and many would be happy to see the Australian flag changed.

Nevertheless, they were divided about whether private enterprise was the best way to solve Australia's economic problems. Approximately one third of them thought it was, just under one third thought it was not, and a little more than one third were unsure. There was a similar division in opinion as to whether the government should be responsible for addressing income inequality. Unlike many others who responded to the survey, they were not willing to blame youth unemployment on the youth themselves. Sixty per cent affirmed that unemployment among youth was not a result of young people not wanting to work.

They were more strongly affirming of multiculturalism than were any other group. Eighty-one per cent of them said people who had come to Australia in the last 30 years had made Australian society much more interesting. More than other groups they felt it was important to have an up-to-date knowledge about events and developments in other parts of Australia and the world.

They were much more positive than other groups about the changes that have occurred in Australian society. While many (43%) were not sure how they felt about listed future changes, others (38%) were positive. They were not as concerned as most others about the possible weakening of family life in the future, but the majority (56%) felt that increased emphasis on money and material possessions would be a bad thing. Most would want to see an increase in multiculturalism and most (54%) were positive about the increased use of technology in the home.

More than 70 per cent of these people indicated that they were involved in voluntary work – just a little over the average. They were a little less likely to be involved in helping people in an informal way, but more involved in contributing to the wider community and involved in voluntary groups, particularly those relating to social justice and welfare. When asked about their involvement in various types of community groups, higher proportions than those with other value orientations were involved in social justice and welfare groups.

2.5 Spiritual Orientation

Devout Life and Spiritual Life

Ten per cent of all respondents rated all the items in this scale as being 'most' important. In all, 24 per cent rated all these values as being 'very important' or 'most important'.

People valuing the spiritual orientation rated as very or most important having a spiritual life, which was defined in terms of emphasis on the importance of spiritual not material matters, and being devout, which was defined in terms of holding to religious faith and belief. There was a large overlap in the affirmation of these two values. However, having a spiritual life was a little more inclusive than being devout. Overall, 5.5 per cent of the sample said that spirituality was very or most important to them but being devout was of little or no importance, while just 1.8 per cent said being devout was most or very important but spirituality was of little or no importance.

These findings correspond with the results of the Wellbeing and Security Survey conducted in 2002 by Edith Cowan University, Deakin University, Anglicare (NSW) and NCLS Research. This survey asked people whether they were religious or whether they were spiritual. The majority of people in all age groups either said they were both, or they were neither. In other words, most people explore spirituality through religion. However, there were some older people who saw themselves as religious but not spiritual, and a larger number of younger people who saw themselves as spiritual but not religious (Hughes, Black et al. 2004).

In the Australian Community Survey, there was great variation in the sample in relation to these values, and scores were more widely distributed than for other values. Ten per cent of the sample said the spiritual dimension was most important, and another 13 per cent said it was very important to them. To more than one quarter of the sample (26%), this orientation had no importance at all.

Characteristics
There was a slight tendency among those in their 60s to place greater importance on the spiritual dimension and for those in their twenties and thirties to place less importance. Certainly the importance of being devout was affirmed more strongly by older people

with 36 per cent of those over 60 describing it as 'very important' or 'most important' compared with 14 per cent of those under 40. However, the differences in the affirmation of spirituality by different age groups were not significant. Overall, the affirmation of the spiritual dimension varied very little across the age groups: from 10 per cent of 20 year olds to 12 per cent of 70 year olds. While fewer young people than older people express its importance through traditional religious activities, the importance of the spiritual dimension appears to be fairly constant.

Gender was more important than age in distinguishing those who valued spirituality from those who did not. Of those who scored the spiritual dimension higher than any other value orientation, 53 per cent were women and 47 per cent were men. As many other studies have found, women tend to have a stronger interest in the spiritual dimension of life than do men.

Other characteristics, however, complement the picture. Those who were married, divorced or widowed tended to place more emphasis on these values than did those who were single or in a de facto relationship. There was also greater importance given to the spiritual among those involved in home duties or involved in tertiary studies than those who were not. Those people whose lives revolved around their families rather than work had a greater tendency to emphasise the spiritual dimension.

However, the primary distinction was not between work and family. Rather it was an orientation towards production and business or towards people. Of all those who affirmed strongly the spiritual orientation, 30 per cent were professionals working with people, as distinct from professional working in technological fields. They were teachers, health workers and social workers rather than engineers, architects and surveyors. Many of those who affirmed strongly this dimension had university degrees. They were also more likely to be working in a shop than in skilled trades or manual work.

Research in various places around the world has pointed to a distinction between the 'knowledge class' and the 'business class' (for a summaries of some of that research see Hughes 2001 and Hughes 1985). It has been argued that the business class is focussed on production and finance. Those in the business class tend to place greater importance on the concrete things. The knowledge class, on the other hand, tends to be in occupations in which income is received as a result of work with people. Success in such occupations is often difficult to measure, for it often has to do with incremental changes in people. Many people whose lives revolve around their families also fit into the knowledge class. As for professionals working with people, there are no easy ways to measure success and failure in family life. The knowledge class tends to place more emphasis on abstract values, on beauty and the environment, on family and friends. The knowledge class is also more likely to value 'spirituality'.

It has been suggested that the occupations of people tend to reinforce certain values: the concrete values of profit and loss, or the more abstract values of beauty and development in relationships. However, it is unlikely that these value orientations start with occupation. People probably move into particular occupational fields partly because of their value orientation. Those who value the more abstract things such as beauty and relationships tend to move into occupations which correspond with those values.

It is possible that such values come out of early childhood experiences. In many cultures, and to a large extent within the Western culture, girls are encouraged through the activities of play and their relationships within the family, to adopt 'knowledge class' values rather than 'business class' values. With the knowledge class values comes the spiritual value orientation. Research has shown that the differences in orientation to spirituality between men and women are smaller when one is looking only at people involved in full-time work. The Australian Community Survey found that when one controlled for occupational type, and thus, as far as possible for a 'knowledge class' or 'business class' orientation, the difference in church attendance among men and women disappeared altogether. Gender differences could be accounted for entirely in terms of the 'knowledge class' / 'business class' distinction (Hughes, Bellamy et al. 2000).

There was a slight, but statistically significant, relationship between this spiritual dimension and low scores on Eysenck's measure of psychoticism. In other words, those who valued the spiritual dimension of life tended to be 'tender-minded' towards other people. They were not as preoccupied with themselves as were others.

Religion and Philosophy of Life
Most of those who scored high on this set of values said that both having a spiritual life and being devout were very important to them. Thus, it is not surprising that 81 per cent said they attended religious services

at least once a month. In fact, 65 per cent said they attended weekly or more often. Ninety per cent said they believed in a personal God. Sixty-nine per cent said they believed the Bible was literally the 'Word of God'. Around half of them (49%), compared with just 14 per cent of the total sample, rejected the idea that all religions could be equally true, and 85 per cent rejected the idea that science explains everything we need to know.

On the other hand, it should be noted that among those who scored 'having a spiritual life' as most important in life, around 50 per cent never attended church or attended only occasionally. Among these were many who said they believed in a life-force rather than a personal God.

While the majority of respondents said religion was important for providing values, the majority of these people said that religion was important primarily for the opportunities for sharing faith (22%) and for worship (48%).

In the 1998 Australian Community Survey, people who valued the spiritual dimension were strongly in favour of encouraging religious faith in children. They also tended to put more emphasis on obedience and unselfishness than did the total sample.

When asked about what they lived for in life,
- 95% said family
- 57% said God and religious beliefs
- 36% said work
- 17% said leisure pursuits
- 10% a philosophy or approach to life,
- 6% wealth and
- 2% sexual fulfilment.

Just 2 per cent said they did not have any particular goals in life. This group stood out from the remainder of the sample in the high numbers citing family life, religion and work as important, and the low numbers citing leisure, wealth, sexual fulfilment and nothing in particular.

Morality and Society

Most (74%) of those highly valuing the spiritual dimension thought that there were clear guidelines about right and wrong. They rejected the notion that good and evil depended on the circumstances. They also affirmed strongly that one must put responsibilities towards others before one's own rights.

People who value the 'spiritual orientation' were significantly more likely than others to take a conservative line on life and death issues. A large majority held that suicide, abortion, and euthanasia could never be justified and a large portion of them (37%) opposed the death penalty whatever the crime. In terms of sexual issues, most believed that pre-marital, extra-marital or same-sex sex could never be justified.

In terms of their politics, however, many were not sure how to align themselves. Almost 20 per cent of them were swinging voters, sometimes voting Labor, sometimes Liberal. Of those who had maintained a loyalty to one particular party, close to half voted Labor and half voted Liberal. They were more strongly opposed to Australia becoming a republic than the people of any other value orientation.

On many other political issues, however, they did not have strong opinions. When asked whether private enterprise was the best way to solve Australia's economic problems, nearly half of them (46%) indicated they were neutral or unsure. The remaining half were divided, for and against. Thirty-one per cent thought that it was the responsibility of the government to reduce differences in income in the population, but another 45 per cent disagreed, and the remaining 24 per cent were neutral or unsure.

While some might expect that the spiritual would not have a strong interest in social issues, the opposite was the case. Seventy-nine per cent of them felt that one should have an up-to-date knowledge about events and developments in Australia and the world. Most also felt that immigration had made Australian society more interesting. On the other hand, many were not as sure about the changes that Australian society has experienced as are other sectors of the population. More than a quarter of them (28% compared with 19% of the total sample) felt quite negative about changes such as the developments in technology, multiculturalism and family structures. Another third were neutral or unsure of their feelings.

They are also more anxious than the whole sample of respondents about the future of society and the possibility of continuing rapid change. Close to one third of them felt negative about further rapid change in society and another 44 per cent were neutral. They were anxious about the lowering of respect for authority and about more emphasis being given to money and material possessions. Forty-four per cent were positive about increased use of technology in the home, but 40 per cent indicated they were unsure about it. On the other hand, they tended to be positive about increased multiculturalism in society.

The great majority of them hoped there would be greater emphasis on family life in the future. They had strong opinions, but were divided on the importance of traditional family roles. Thirty-three per cent agreed with the idea that a husband's job was to earn money and a wife's job was to look after the home and family. Many of these people (50%) felt that a working mother could not establish the same sort of warm and secure relationship with her children as a mother who did not work.

Those emphasising spiritual values were more likely than other members of the sample to be involved in voluntary work on a personal level, assisting people who needed help. They were also more likely to be involved in community groups and organisations and involved in voluntary activities contributing to the wider community such as coaching a sports team. Overall, more than three-quarters of them (76%) indicated they were involved in some form of voluntary activity, compared with 67 per cent of those with other value orientations.

2.6 Self enhancement

Exciting life, enjoying life, wealth, success and social recognition

Just three per cent of all respondents rated all the items in this scale as being 'most' important. In all, 31 per cent rated these values as being 'very important' or 'most important'.

People with a strong emphasis on self enhancement were focussed on seeking a good life for themselves. They wanted to lead exciting lives and to have a wide variety of experiences, for instance, visiting different places, meeting new people, trying new sports or following their personal interests. For them, life was primarily about personal enjoyment, and particularly the enjoyment of sensual pleasures: food, sex, and leisure. These people also placed greater emphasis on personal success and social recognition. In terms of the values they wanted to encourage in children, they did not stand out from other people with the exception that they were keen to encourage children to seek adventure.

While, on the surface, such values would appear to be typical of how many Australians approach life, these values of self-enhancement were not affirmed

strongly. Around three per cent of the sample affirmed all of these values as being 'most important' and only 29 per cent affirmed them all as 'very important' as guiding principles of their lives. While 70 per cent of the sample said that 'enjoying life' was very important to them, less than 10 per cent said it was the single value of greatest importance. The creation of wealth, defined in terms of having material possessions and money, was one of the least important items in the whole list, and less than 1 per cent attributed the greatest importance to it.

When asked about what were the goals in life they would live for,
• 71% said family,
• 67% said leisure or recreational activity,
• 42% said wealth,
• 33% said work,
• 18% said nothing in particular,
• 13% said a philosophical approach to life
• 12% said sexual fulfilment, and
• 1% said God or religious beliefs.
In relation to most of these goals, they stood out from other people in the survey. Much higher proportions affirmed the importance of leisure, wealth, sexual fulfilment or nothing in particular. Much lower proportions affirmed the importance of family, a philosophical system, and, most notably, religious beliefs.

Characteristics
Of all those who scored higher on the values of self-enhancement than on any other values, 81 per cent were in their twenties or thirties and 71 per cent were men. More than half of them (55%) were single or in de facto relationships.

This does not mean that all young men in their twenties and thirties value nothing more than having a good time. Of all the young men in their twenties, only 26 per cent scored high on the values of self-enhancement. The largest group affirmed the social orientation. However, this value orientation is more likely to rise among young men without family responsibilities. It seems likely that many people would change their priorities when they began their own families and become responsible for their own children.

However, this orientation to life may be reinforced by certain types of occupations. The differences between people working with other people and people working in business or production of some kind, of knowledge class and business class, have already

been noted. Most of those scoring high on self enhancement were working full-time or were tertiary students preparing to enter the work-force. Many were working in technical professions or skilled trades. There was an over-representation of those who were self-employed and employers.

In many respects, the characteristics of those oriented to self-enhancement were the opposite of those who emphasised spiritual values: the business class rather than the knowledge class. As part of the business class, those who emphasised self enhancement were working in places where their effort directly related to results, and the results could be measured in terms of financial success. Such an occupational ethos would align directly with their desire for self-enhancement, for success and for accumulating wealth.

While circumstances may reinforce the values of self enhancement, cultural factors may also play a role. It is noteworthy that there was a tendency for those who had such values to be Australians rather than immigrants, and, if immigrants, most likely to be from the United Kingdom or other parts of northern Europe. Thus, their cultural background is one in which individualism has been strongest, against the greater emphasis on the family in southern Europe and Asia.

Some historical trends were also evident in the figures. Almost no one born before or during World War II scored high on the values of self-enhancement. Almost all those who did so were of the generation referred to as 'Baby Boomers' or of later generations. In other words, they were part of that generation which has been described as the 'me' generation which had been raised in small families focussed on meeting the needs of each individual in the family. They have also grown up in a world in which commercial and consumer pressures have been present since birth, in which advertisers have used every method, every trick they know to convince people that their happiness lies in greater consumption of material goods and in focussing on their own self-enhancement.

It is surprising how few people have accepted, at least in theory, the values that Western consumer society has encouraged. It is highly likely that consumer advertising affects how people spend their money even if people resist its pressures at the level of ideals and principles. Yet, most people, while seeking to enjoy the material and sensual things of life, place even greater value on relationships and on a fair and just social environment in which to live. Even among those who placed high store on self-enhancement, the most common response when asked what they lived for, was family, followed by leisure activities and wealth.

While cultural background and personal circumstances have a significant role in the reinforcement of the values of self-enhancement, there are also personality factors. The people who scored strongly on self-enhancement also scored strongly on Eysenck's scale of psychoticism. They were people whose personalities were self-centred rather than attuned to other people. They tended to score a little higher than average on extroversion too, suggesting that these people tend to find their energy from being with other people rather than being alone. They also scored high on neuroticism.

Religion and Philosophy of Life
All those who put great value on self-enhancement affirmed the statement 'we only live once, so let's make the most of it'. Most of them affirmed a relative view of religion and philosophy, affirming that different religions and philosophies may be equally right in their own way. One third of them indicated they did not know how to respond and 10 per cent disagreed that all religions and philosophies may be equally right.

Very few of those whose values centred on self-enhancement ever attended church. Seventy-one per cent said they never attended, and another 25 per cent said they attended very occasionally. Just 4 per cent attended monthly or more often. However, only some of them reject religious beliefs totally. Fourteen per cent rejected the idea of God entirely and another 25 per cent said they did not know what to believe. Most others believed there was something there - some sort of life-force force - but some (21%) believed in a personal God. Many (37%) felt that the Bible was just a human book and was not inspired by God in any way, but more than half (53%) said it could be inspired although containing human errors.

This does not mean however that they all believe that science has all the answers. About one third felt there was much in the universe which was not explained by science and another 38 per cent did not know what to think. However, for these people, the material and sensual things in life were more important than the spiritual.

These people had a great deal of confidence in human beings. The majority (64%) affirmed that humanity

can overcome all barriers and problems and achieve whatever people put their minds to.

Morality and Society

Most people in the total sample indicated that one should put the well-being of others before one's personal rights. In contrast, those valuing self-enhancement were divided. One third said they were unsure how to answer. Among the others 28 per cent one should put others first, and 40 per cent disagreed. Many seem to think that the individual must look after his or her self. Nearly half of them (46%) said that unemployment among young people occurs because they do not want to work. Another 23 per cent said they did not know whether it was the fault of young people or not.

Similar views were apparent in their politics. Of the 58 per cent who had an opinion, most said that private enterprise was the best way to solve Australia's economic problems. Many of them (45%) disagreed with the idea that the government should be reducing differences in income between the rich and the poor, although again, a high proportion (24%) did not know what to think.

Those who affirmed most strongly the value of self-enhancement said they were committed to voting Liberal. However, the total group emphasising self-enhancement was evenly divided between Liberal and Labor.

While their values were focussed on themselves, most of these people (68%) affirmed that it was important to them to know what was going on in the world. Most of them (64%) also affirmed that immigrants had contributed to making Australian society more interesting than it would have been, although their affirmations were weaker than those of all other groups except people oriented to order.

They were inclined to make sense of their lives in the here and now. About half of them (48% with 25% saying they did not know) rejected moral absolutes, saying that right and wrong depend on the circumstances at the time. They were more permissive in their views regarding pre-marital sex than others

in the sample with 78 per cent saying it was not wrong at all. Some (38%) were supportive of same sex relationships, but others (44%) felt that such relationships were always wrong.

There was a tendency for those whose values revolved around self-enhancement to support euthanasia and abortion on demand, although not all felt that way, especially those who were a little more ambivalent about self-enhancement. The logical consequence of this approach to life is that if life cannot be enjoyed, one might as well end it. However, most of these people held that suicide could never be justified.

Those who valued self-enhancement were generally positive about the changes that have occurred in society in recent decades. They were also much more positive about the future than any other group, although more than one third of them were unwilling to express an opinion either way. They were more positive than most people who responded to the survey about the increasing emphasis on money and material possessions. They liked the increase in technology in the home and the possibility of less emphasis on work in the future. Most approved of increasing multiculturalism. Many (61%) were concerned about the possible decline in respect for authority, although less so than other respondents to the survey. Most thought that more emphasis on family life would be a good thing, although, again, their feelings were generally weaker than those of other respondents.

While their values may have focused on themselves, this group was just as likely as others to be involved in voluntary activities, with 71 per cent indicating that they had had some involvement in the past 12 months. They were less likely than others to be involved in helping needy people or to be assisting in the wider community such as through coaching a sporting team. However, they were just as likely as others to be involved in a voluntary group or one kind or another. Their strongest areas of involvement were in sport, recreational and hobby groups.

3. Conclusions and Consequences

3.1 A General Picture of What Australians Value

Almost all Australians want a world that is peaceful and a world where people are honest. These are basic prerequisites for a life that is worthwhile and enjoyable. At times when there is little threat to these values, they may be taken for granted. At other times in Australia's history they have become a major focus. When political leaders and the mass media have focussed on the threat of terrorism, these values have come to the fore. There are many interpretations of the causes of the terrorist activity, and differences in the paths to a solution, but Australians are united in their desire for a world that is peaceful and where people are honest with one another.

The values of egalitarianism and mateship have often been the focus of commentary on the Australian way of life. They continue to be among the most cherished of Australian values. True friendship is deeply valued, as is the equality of opportunity for all people. Australia is a place where people believe all should have the opportunity to make what they can of life. Many Australians (42%) feel that one of the roles of government is reduce the differences between rich and poor, to help create greater income equality. Others (35%, with 22% are not sure what to think) feel that this is not a role of government, but that there should still be equality of opportunity, even if not equality in outcomes. Most Australians place considerable stock on social justice, although there are many interpretations as to what this means.

Family life was not one of the values in the list used in this study. Part of the reason for not including it is that it is so widely affirmed that responses to it would not distinguish between people. Its importance was evident in the responses to the question on what people would live for, with 84 per cent of the sample indicating they would live for their spouses, children and other family members.

Beyond these values of peace and honesty, family and friends, equality and social justice, the Australian Community Survey found some division in people's orientations. As we have seen, there are four different value orientations:

♦   order - in national, social and personal life;

♦   enhancement of social well-being - through an emphasis on equality and freedom, tolerance and wisdom, social justice and environmental care;

♦   spirituality - as distinct from an emphasis on material matters, and generally involving religious faith;

♦   enhancement of the self - through seeking enjoyment in life, excitement, success, wealth and social recognition.

Towards a Model of Australian Values

Rokeach (1973, p.8) believed that there were two kinds of terminal values. There were those that were self-centred and those which were society-centred. He described end-states such as salvation and peace of mind as self-centred and world peace and brotherhood as society-centred. That distinction is immediately evident in two of the four value orientations identified in this paper. Rokeach went on to identify two social values which could be used to identify political systems: freedom and equality. From these two social values, Rokeach identified four types of political system. He suggested that facism placed little value on either freedom or equality. Communism placed high value on equality and low on freedom. Capitalism placed low value on equality and high on freedom. Socialism placed a high value on both freedom and equality (Rokeach 1973, p. 170).

A series of studies in Australia, however, has suggested that social values can best be understood in terms of a two-dimensional model: *international harmony and equality* over against *national strength and order* (Braithwaite 1994, p.74). While the first of these dimensions picks up Rokeach's value of equality, the second is a little different from freedom. Moreover, Braithwaite has found that these social values correlate consistently with certain personal values. *International harmony and equality* relates to personal growth and inner harmony, wisdom and self-knowledge, and also with those values relating to the welfare of others such as tolerance and helpfulness. *National strength and order* tends to relate to social recognition by the community, authority and economic prosperity, along with being polite and clean. Braithwaite links these two value dimensions to the work of Eric Fromm who suggested that there were two types of conscience: the authoritarian and the humanistic. The authoritarian conscience seeks well-being through aligning one's self with powerful authority and participating in the

strength of that authority. The humanitarian conscience has faith in one's inner capacities and seeks to fulfil the human potential. Braithwaite has found that in most people both these 'consciences' co-exist. Thus, they are not necessarily polar opposites. People often find solutions to specific situations by drawing on some sort of compromise between these two paths (Braithwaite 1994, pp.81-84).

Braithwaite (1994, p.84) also notes the parallel between these values and Inglehart's work. She suggests that there are parallel's between *national strength and order* and Inglehart's concept of materialism, and between *international harmony and equality* and post-materialism.

While the distinction that Braithwaite has found is evident among our four types, it does not do justice to the variation in the four types. *Spirituality* shares some common values with *international harmony and equality*. There is a shared appreciation of relationships, of inner harmony, and of helpfulness towards others. Both values are more evident within the 'knowledge class' than the 'business class'. It is interesting to note that these values both predominate in higher socio-economic urban areas.

There is also some commonality between the concern with *order* and the values of self-enhancement. Both are focussed, ultimately, on individual well-being rather than the well-being of the society. Both are oriented towards finding a place and recognition within the social world. These values both predominate in lower socio-economic and rural areas.

Can *spirituality* be seen as the personal dimension of *social enhancement* while *the values of self-enhancement* are seen as the personal dimension of *order*? There may be some truth in this, but it is not an adequate picture. It does not pick up the fact that the values of *self-enhancement,* for example, are found predominantly among younger people while *order* is primarily a concern for older people. Nor does it do justice to the fact that some of those concerned for *social well-being* have an antipathy to *spirituality* and particularly to its religious dimension.

There are also some links between *order* and *spirituality*. Both are hesitant about change. Both are cautious in regard to the future and are not very confident of the human capacity to deal with the challenges that arise. On the other hand, *social well-being* and *self-enhancement* tend to be more confident about the future and human potential. Both are less

conservative in their moral values.

Placing them in Schwartz's circle with its two major dimensions provides a better model of these values. One dimension is that from the self to others; the second dimension is that from openness to change, including self-direction and the seeking of stimulation*,* to *resistance to change,* involving reliance on tradition, conformity and the power of authority, whether that power be seen to reside in God or in a political system (Figure 6).

Factors in the Development of Values

It has been shown in the preceding discussion that these value orientations do relate to a wide range of attitudes and behaviours. They relate to voting behaviour and political opinions. They are expressed in relation to people's voluntary contributions to the community as well as in the attitudes to such issues as abortion and family structure. If one wants to understand how Australians think and act, one needs to understand their value orientations.

The relationships between Eysenck's measures of personality and these various value orientations suggest there may be a disposition towards certain value systems rooted in the personality. The neurotic tend to value order. The psychotic tend to be self-centred in their values. Those with low levels of psychotism (sometimes referred to as the 'tender-minded') have greater interest in spirituality. Extroverts are a little more likely to affirm the values of social well-being.

It would be surprising if what children are taught and the values which are reinforced or punished did not affect their orientations. Athough this study was not able to examine the impact of patterns of child-rearing and parental values on the values of their children, it is very likely that their teaching and their example have lasting consequences. Schools, friends, and social groups will also have a continuing impact.

However, other factors come into people's lives, confirming certain value orientations and inhibiting the development of others. Some of these factors have to do with people's stage in life. Young, single people are more likely to be centred on themselves: focussed on their own pleasure and achievement in life. Family life brings with it commitments to others which focus people more on the social values.

The sort of work which people move into and the ways in which they learn to measure success and failure in their work may also have an impact. Much work revolves around the production of goods and
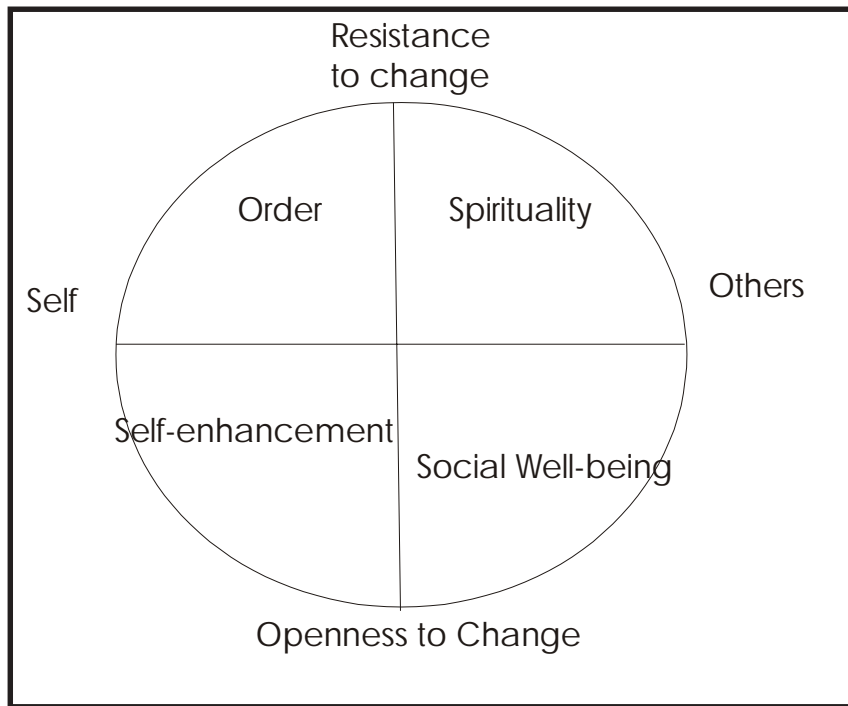
Figure 6. Relationships between the Orientations

or loss. Indeed, it is often more difficult in such work to measure one's success at all. The value of non-material aspects of life, and abstract values such as beauty, are more likely to come to the fore.

For some Australians, the orientation to the spiritual dimension of life is affirmed through a church or other religious organisation. In worship, the spiritual dimension is acknowledged and its importance re-affirmed. But around half of the Australian population have no involvement in a religious organisation of any kind. While some explore spirituality themselves, many of them have no place for spirituality in their lives.

the offering of services. Success is usually measured by financial profit and failure by financial loss. Such work appears to relate to an orientation towards personal achievement, the creation of wealth and sensual enjoyments. Other work revolves around people: their education, health or communal well-being. Such work cannot be measured easily by profit

When people find themselves vulnerable, there is a tendency for them to affirm more strongly the need for order, both at social and personal levels. Thus, those people marginalised by poor health, financial insecurity, a lack of formal education or by the frailty of old age are more likely to affirm the need for order and security.
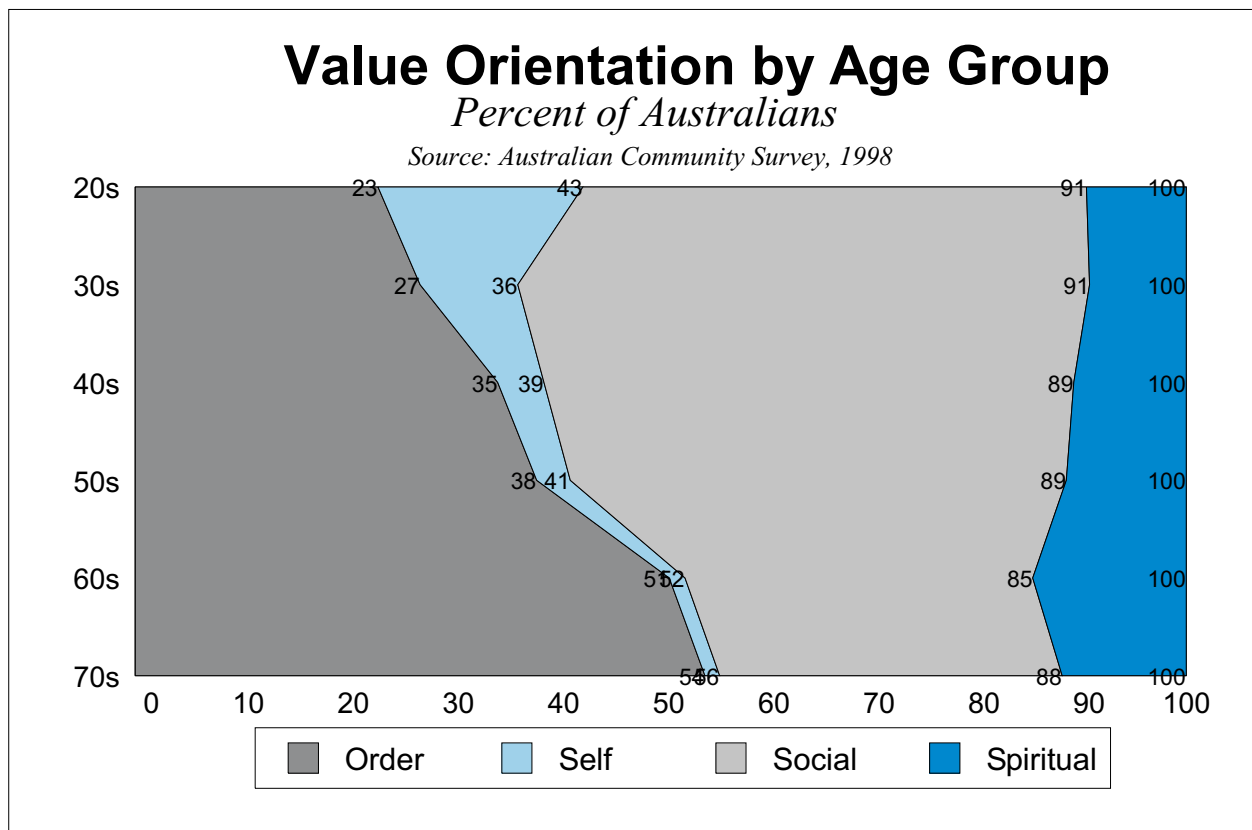

Figure 7.

Some of the differences in value orientations among different age groups make little sense in relation to life-stage. Rather, there are suggestions that historical changes may have had an impact. People who grew up in the years of the depression and World War II value tend to value order in social and personal life more than those who grew up post World War II. Those who have grown up post World War II affirm more strongly the values of self-enhancement.

These differences point to historical changes in Australian culture: the development of the individualism of the 'me' generation and the fading of the sense of social and transcendent order that dominated the Western world prior to the 1960s, even in the face of the destructiveness of World War II. Even in the War, many people hoped that it would bring about permanent peace, that it would be the war that would end all wars. They continued to believe in their forms of social organisation, in the social structures of life. Since the 1960s, belief in the possibility of permanent peace and in the efficacy of organisations has faded somewhat. Hence, the focus on social order has never had the importance for the 'Baby Boomer' generation that it had for their parents.

Table 3 summarises some of the personal and social differences between the people who affirm most strongly each of the value orientations. The personality and gender differences suggest that these values orientations have some roots in hereditary factors, but the generational, stage of life, occupational and locational factors suggest that there are important interactions between social context and value orientation.

3.2. Some Implications

For centuries, people have sought to influence the values of others. Most people expect schools and churches, for example, to inculcate certain sets of values. From time to time, great emphasis has been placed on moral education. Many employers would dearly love to find easy ways of inculcating certain values in their employees: values of loyalty and hard-work, for example.

The analysis of values in this paper suggests that values are not simply learnt in the same way as the skills of writing, for example. To some extent, the basic value orientations have some roots in personality and in early childhood experiences. Further, value orientations are affected by a person's social circumstances. If people feel vulnerable, in terms of their personal security or even their financial security, the importance of looking after themselves may come to the fore.

Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of human needs suggested that physiological needs for food, water and shelter are primary. When those needs are satisfied, then psychological needs become most prominent, such as the needs related to self-esteem. Beyond those needs are the social needs of intimacy and a sense of belonging to a community. These needs – or the values which correspond with them – are not as clearly or invariably hierarchical as Maslow originally suggested. Nevertheless, there is something in the fact that those who feel vulnerable in terms of obtaining the necessities of life probably place more emphasis on self-enhancement and on those values related to self-protection. When those needs are satisfied, relationships with others and the

Table 3.

Factors Relating to Value Orientations	Order	Social Enhancement	Spiritual	Self Enhancement
Predominant Personality	Neuroticism	Extroversion	Low psychoticism	High psychoticism, extroversion
Predominant Gender	Both	Female	Female	Male
Predominant Generation	Pre-1960s (materialism)	Post-1960s (post-materialism)	Some change in form: religion to spirituality	Post-1960s (post-materialism)
Predominant Stage of Life	Retirement	Work and family	Throughout	Prior to family life
Occupation	No tendency	People-oriented	People-oriented	Production/ business oriented
Location	Lower socio-economic and rural	High urban socio-economic	3rd highest quartile socio-economic	Lower socio-economic and rural

enhancement of the social environment comes to the fore.

In other words, if one wants to do something about people's basic value orientation, one will need to address their social conditions of life. It is unlikely that an educational program will readily change a person's fundamental orientation in life.

Nevertheless, schools, churches and other organisations may well build on value orientations, shaping them and giving them a certain content. Most people have some sensitivity to others and are concerned for their feelings and their well-being. Demonstrating what concerns others have, what affects their feelings, and what influences their well-being will help people find appropriate ways of demonstrating that sensitivity. Simply informing people about the needs of others may shape and provide content to the concern for others.

One particular area of growth is the understanding of 'the other' and thus the group to whom one's sense of responsibility applies. Understanding and appreciating people beyond one's immediate social contacts and networks, people of other cultures and religions may extend people's experience of others. It may contribute to widen the sense of responsibility to others.

It would seem that the value of spirituality may be influenced by some basic factors in people's personalities and perhaps in the social environment. How that openness to spirituality is shaped depends on experiences in life including the interactions between the person and religious organisations and other spiritually-oriented individuals.

The social environment plays a significant role in shaping people's values. Marx was right to draw special attention to the importance of economic structures and the ways in which people obtain their livelihood. However, the specific example that this study has found of importance, the split between the knowledge and business value orientations, is one Marx could not have envisaged.

There are some interesting consequences of different value orientations. Those who put their trust in self-

Table 4.

Mean Level of Satisfaction with Life On a Scale from 1 to 7 (1='Terrible,' 7 = 'Delighted')	
Order	5.35
Self-enhancement	5.39
Social-enhancement	5.42
Spirituality	5.62

enhancement are the most positive about the future. They like the changes they see going on around them. More consumer goods to purchase, more technology at every level of society enhances the sort of life they want to live.

Yet, these people are quite a small group in the Australian scene overall. Most people want to enjoy life, but for most, there are more important aspects. Many are deeply worried that the focus on personal enjoyment will lead to a further deterioration in social life and will continue the pillage of the environment. Ultimately, the focus on the self could be self-destructive.

Interestingly, the different value orientations do relate to different levels of satisfaction in life although the differences are not large. The differences in life satisfaction between those who placed greatest emphasis on order, self-enhancement and social well-being were not significantly different from each other. However, those who valued most highly the spiritual orientation to life reported significantly higher levels of well-being.

There is, in this, perhaps some confirmation of the wise words about human values spoken 2000 years ago:

> For whoever wants to save his own life will lose it; but whoever loses his life for me and for the gospel will save it.   Mark 8.35.

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Appendix 1. About the Australian Community Survey

In 1997-98 a survey into the nature of community life and the various ways churches relate to their communities was conducted by researchers from Edith Cowan University and NCLS Research. The Australian Community Survey (ACS) was made possible by a Collaborative Grant from the Australian Research Council and the support of ANGLICARE (NSW) and the Board of Mission of the Uniting Church (NSW). The research has been jointly supervised by Prof Alan Black and Dr Peter Kaldor. The research team included John Bellamy, Keith Castle and Philip Hughes.

To ensure that different sorts of community were adequately represented in the sample of people surveyed, Australia was divided into eight types of locality, and equally sized samples were drawn at random from electoral rolls of people living in each type of locality. Four urban categories were identified using the Australian Bureau of Statistics Socio-Economic Indicators (SEIFA) as measures of socioeconomic level for postcode areas. Four rural categories were identified by density of population in postcode areas. Postcodes were placed in the appropriate list a number of times depending on the relative size of the population within each postcode, so that every adult in the particular category had an equal chance of being selected for the survey.

From each of these eight lists of postcodes, representing eight types of Australian community,

50 postcodes were chosen randomly. For each of these postcodes, 50 people were chosen at random from the electoral rolls. Thus, questionnaires were sent to 20,000 people in 400 postcodes. In terms of providing a national sample of Australians, this process meant there was an over-sampling of most rural areas. Close to 17,000 questionnaires were delivered. Many people had moved, and no forwarding address was available. Nearly 8500 questionaries were returned, giving an effective response rate of about 50%. Consequently, for each of the eight types of community, there were responses from more than a thousand people.

Eight different versions of the survey questionnaire were produced, resulting in a sample of around a thousand respondents for each type of questionnaire. Some questions appeared in all eight versions, while others were placed in one version or a few versions. This approach was done to maximise the amount of information returned while keeping the questionnaire relatively short for any one respondent. The eight versions were randomly distributed throughout the samples drawn from the eight types of community.

The ACS database has proven to be a rich resource, in exploring the relationship between churches and their communities, in further understanding Australian spirituality, the issue of social capital and the relationship between personality, well-being and spirituality.

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Appendix 2. Factor Analysis

Values	(1) Social enhancement	(2) Self enhancement	(3) Order	(4) Spirituality
Equality	0.658	0.188	-0.093	0.118
Freedom	0.596	0.304	-0.114	0.058
Spiritual life	0.196	-0.025	-0.112	0.858
Exciting life	0.249	0.745	-0.093	0.107
Meaning in life	0.384	0.366	0.129	0.484
Politeness	0.327	0.157	0.582	0.173
Wealth	-0.146	0.628	0.212	-0.167
National security	0.098	0.130	0.684	-0.021
Creativity	0.494	0.463	-0.047	0.124
Social recognition	0.154	0.506	0.366	0.111
World peace	0.562	0.037	0.404	0.003
Wisdom	0.544	0.228	0.203	0.311
Friendship	0.516	0.224	0.299	0.136
Social justice	0.693	0.012	0.310	0.156
Broadmindedness	0.729	0.157	0.067	-0.037
Protecting the environment	0.690	0.078	0.187	-0.042
Honesty	0.617	0.057	0.444	0.147
Helpfulness	0.567	0.051	0.303	0.336
Enjoying life	0.302	0.627	0.174	-0.160
Being devout	-0.043	-0.048	0.233	0.845
Success	0.178	0.654	0.330	0.169
Cleanliness	0.068	0.193	0.766	0.055
Reliability of scale (Alpha)	**0.8369**	**0.7281**	**0.6809**	**0.7639**

Note that the following values were not used in any of the scales because they weighted on more than one scale:
Meaning in life
Creativity
World peace
Honesty.

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