Legitimacy as a Key Driver and Determinant of CSR in Developing Countries

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Abstract

This paper aims to specify the conceptual limits of CSR in a developing country context. Taking organisational legitimacy theory as a departure-point, it is argued that two key shortcomings regarding the contribution of CSR towards development can be identified: First, a multinational company operating in a remote country mainly seeks to gain legitimacy from its primary stakeholders which are typically based in its home market (e.g. customers, media), leading to a bias towards short-term projects with a high visibility rather than longer-term capacity-building initiatives. Second, differing perceptions of legitimacy in the home and the host country can lead to a misjudgement of which kind of initiative would be deemed appropriate in the host country and, subsequently, a misallocation of resources occurs. Implications are presented regarding (a) the strategic alignment of a corporation's engagement in CSR as well as (b) the conceptual limits of CSR in contributing towards (ecological) sustainability.

Key words: Corporate Social Responsibility, Organisational Legitimacy, Institutionalisation, Developing Countries, Cultural Differences, World Values Survey, Multinational Companies, CSR Business Case, Governance, Stakeholder Concept

1 Introduction

Business has positioned itself as a key player on the international development agenda. Despite mixed assumptions about the actual developmental impact of private inflows into developing countries, it can be ascertained that the private sector today has an unprecedented potential to contribute towards some of the most pressing developmental needs. Although in actual terms, the rise of foreign direct investment (FDI) into developing countries seems rather modest compared to the respective financial flows among the so-called triad of North America, the European Union and Japan (see e.g. Matten, 2000; Rugman, 2000), its relative importance has risen dramatically: the share of FDI of total capital flows into developing countries has risen from 30% to 82% between 1980 and 2002 (UNCTAD, 2004; UNED Forum, 2001), at the same time dwarfing official development assistance which has declined in absolute figures in this period. Both in the advanced economies and developing countries, a shift can be observed towards the privatisation of formerly public goods and services (see e.g. Weizsäcker, Young, Finger, & Beisheim, 2005). This shift is further documented by the global dissemination of a multitude of new approaches such as the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI), the UN Global Compact, the global increase in the application of ISO14000, SA8000, AA1000, and other environmental and social management systems, as well as the plethora of corporate codes of conduct (for an overview see e.g. Leipziger, 2003).

Along these lines, public perception towards the role of business in society has changed rapidly and markedly. Rather than seeing business as part of the problem, it is increasingly seen as part of the solution (for a detailed account see e.g. Pattberg, 2006, 11pp.). Accordingly, the development agenda has shifted from the question how business causes poverty, to portraying the private sector as part of the solution (see e.g. Prieto-Carron, Lund-Thomsen, Chan, Muro, & Bhushan, 2006). This can be illustrated by the UN Global Compact and its direct link to the UN Millennium Development Goals:

"The Compact's relevance will lie in the decision participants make to either build a sustainable society that offers opportunity to the world's citizens or to condemn millions of people to live riven with conflict, ravaged by disease and bereft by hope. Right now, global players have a choice" (Kell, 2003: 47).

One key question regarding this statement by Georg Kell, the Executive Head of the Global Compact office, will be whether businesses actually do have a free choice – or whether their CSR activities are rather shaped by their institutional settings as well as structural factors within these organisations. Recently, a growing number of researchers have questioned the adequacy of current mainstream CSR approaches to produce substantial outcomes in terms of improved sustainability in a developing country context (see e.g. Blowfield & Frynas, 2005; Fox, 2004; Newell, 2006; Prieto-Carron et al., 2006; Utting, 2003).

This paper aims to contribute towards a better understanding of the impact of the current mainstream CSR agenda from a developing country perspective. The analysis will be based on the diverse body of organisational legitimacy theory. In the next section of the paper, a brief introduction to CSR and development is provided. Subsequently, CSR in a developing country context is examined through the lens of organisational legitimacy. The analysis is informed by the strategic and the institutional arrays of organisational legitimacy theory. Based on the analysis, hypotheses are formulated regarding the impact of organisational legitimacy on CSR in a developing country context. The paper concludes with a brief summary as well as some key implications derived from the analysis.

2 CSR in developing countries: an overview

The concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has been extremely successful in recent years, and has become increasingly relevant in areas that had previously been dominated by official development assistance (see e.g. Blowfield et al., 2005). In summary, CSR can best be described as an umbrella term, referring to the responsibilities of business towards society (see Note

1). CSR is not an entirely new concept in most parts of the world. Albeit often termed differently, there have been similar approaches towards business responsibility in many different countries (Blowfield et al., 2005; Prieto-Carron et al., 2006); (for an illustration of the evolution of CSR in the Indian context see e.g. Mohan, 2001). However, the current dissemination of CSR instruments is somewhat different in that it stems from the Anglo-American tradition, highlighting the voluntary nature of CSR as well as focusing especially on Northern multinational companies (MNCs) (see e.g. Fox, 2004). In doing so, it follows the trend of a diffusion process of policy instruments from North to South and therefore of a global convergence of policy structures (on the diffusion of environmental policy innovations see e.g. Jänicke, Kern, & Jörgens, 2000; Tews, Busch, & Jörgens, 2003; Weidner & Jänicke, 2002).

As pointed out above, the dramatic rise in importance of CSR from a developing country perspective is based on both the multitude of new large-scale CSR approaches, as well as the new role that has been assigned to the private sector vis-à-vis official development assistance. *"Doing well by doing good"* has gained a large and growing number of advocates. A plethora of best practice examples of CSR in developing country contexts has evolved, to a large extent highlighting the *"business case of CSR"*. Several studies highlight the economic potential for MNCs tapping into developing country markets (see e.g. Kirchgeorg & Winn, 2006; Prahalad, 2005; Thorpe & Prakash-Mani, 2003; World Business Council on Sustainable Development, 2004). Regardless of the question whether these new CSR initiatives are effectively producing viable outcomes in terms of (sustainable) development, CSR has proven to be an attractive option vis-à-vis regulative approaches: (a) business can increase its regulatory autonomy; (b) host governments can devolve responsibility to business and therefore save scarce resources; and (c) non-governmental organisations can raise their profile and funding opportunities (see e.g. Michael, 2003).

One tangible result that has certainly been achieved by the current CSR *"movement"* is that it *"has got people talking about worker rights, global governance, sustainable enterprise and all manner of topics that have relevance*

to the well-being of the poor and marginalized" (Blowfield, 2005b: 515). However, one central theme regarding Corporate Social Responsibility in a developing country context is that current practice is outpacing research on the broader implications of this increased reliance on business self-regulation. As a consequence, the CSR and development agenda is shaped and consolidated while failing to address a number of substantial shortcomings of the concept itself (see e.g. Blowfield, 2005b; Blowfield et al., 2005; Prieto-Carron et al., 2006). In his analysis of the relationship between companies and poorer local communities, Newell concludes that *"mainstream CSR approaches assume a set of conditions that do not exist in most of the world. CSR can work, for some people, in some places, on some issues, some of the time"* (2005: 556).

Critical issues that have been raised regarding the current mainstream practice of CSR and development are e.g. (a) the predominance of the *"CSR business case"*, leading to an overemphasis on corporate reputation and a detraction from the actual problems that should be addressed by CSR (e.g. Frynas, 2005; Klein & Harford, 2005; Utting, 2005); (b) the pivotal role of the stakeholder concept, leading to a bias towards a company's primary stakeholders (see Note 2) (e.g. Blowfield, 2005a; Pedersen, 2006; Prieto-Carron et al., 2006); (c) the inadequacy of the CSR agenda, reflecting a *"Northern"* understanding of CSR while at the same time neglecting developmental issues (e.g. Fox, 2004; Fox, Ward, & Howard, 2002; Utting, 2001; Ward, 2004; Ward & Fox, 2002); and (d) the governance dimension of CSR, pointing to an enabling environment which would be essential for effective self-regulation, and the crowding out of alternative (regulatory) policy instruments (e.g. Fox, 2004; Ite, 2004; Newell, 2006; Utting, 2002).

3 CSR in developing countries viewed from the perspective of organisational legitimacy

The explanatory power of organisational legitimacy theory in the context of CSR in developing countries is twofold: first, its capability to address more than profit-maximising motives creates a more complete picture of companies' motives to engage in CSR, not merely focusing on the so-called business case of CSR. Second, organisational legitimacy is able to embrace cultural factors, which form different institutional pressures in different contexts.

Organisational legitimacy has not evolved as one contingent theory but as an umbrella of concepts stemming from a variety of disciplines, ranging from resource dependence theory over new institutionalism to management theory (for an overview see e.g. Hahn, 2005; Suchman, 1995). Depending on their respective disciplinary backgrounds, these concepts vary in the ways legitimacy is defined as well as the analytical perspective that is taken. In general, a distinction can be made between the strategic tradition and the institutional tradition of organisational legitimacy. From a strategic view-point, the focus rests on the organisation (*"managers looking out"*) and assumes a relatively high degree of managerial control over the legitimating process (see e.g. Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990; Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975; Lindblom, 1994; Maurer, 1971; Perrow, 1961; Pfeffer, 1981; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Richardson, 1985). In the institutionalist tradition, a broader perspective is taken (*"society looking in"*), focusing on how organisations or groups of organisations adapt to their institutional environments in order to manage legitimacy. Here, legitimacy is not seen as an operational resource, but rather as a set of external constraints, forming the actions of the organisation (see e.g. DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Elsbach, 1994; Hahn, 2005; Suchman, 1995; Zucker, 1987) (see Note 3).

In an attempt to synthesise the different arrays of research to one contingent body of legitimacy theory, Suchman provides the following generic definition of organisational legitimacy: *"Legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some*

socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (1995: 574).

Depending on the different theoretical arrays, a number of subtypes of organisational legitimacy can be identified. A distinction can be made between pragmatic legitimacy, moral legitimacy, and cognitive legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). While the first type is grounded in the self-interest of the organisation's stakeholders, aiming for influence or a tangible return in exchange for granting legitimacy, moral legitimacy is based on a conscious judgement of the audience whether the actions of the organisation are granted moral approval or not. In contrast to pragmatic legitimacy, the decision is not merely based on self-interest calculations (e.g. for an analysis of reciprocal stakeholder behaviour on the basis of organisational legitimacy see Hahn, 2004, 2005). The third type, cognitive legitimacy, is fundamentally different from the former two in that it is not the result of a communicative discourse between the organisation and/or its stakeholders (e.g. Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Scott, 1995). Instead, it is based on cognition, either because the organisation itself or its actions are comprehensible or are taken for granted (see e.g. Hahn, 2005; Suchman, 1995). Along these lines, institutional theory differentiates between postconscious and preconscious institutionalisation: while the former refers to approval based on an evaluation process, the latter is based on cognitive approval or taken-for-grantedness (see e.g. DiMaggio, 1988; Roberts & Greenwood, 1997).

In their task to manage the legitimacy of their environments, organisations have a number of different means at their disposal. In the strategic school, a considerable body of literature exists on the strategies organisations can employ in order to gain, maintain, or repair legitimacy (see e.g. Hahn, 2005; Suchman, 1995). In general, an organisation can employ *"substantive"* or *"symbolic"* means to seek legitimacy. While the substantive management produces actual change by or within the organisation, symbolic management refers to the attempt to appear consistent with one's external expectations in order to be able to continue business as usual (see e.g. Ashforth et al., 1990; Richardson, 1985).

By definition, organisational legitimacy is not a universal concept. Rather, the judgement whether an organisation and its actions are perceived as legitimate is socially constructed – and therefore subject to change depending on the social environment the organisation is based in. This becomes especially acute in multinational entities that span over a number of countries and hence simultaneously face multiple social systems. To think of an MNC as a single entity that faces a global environment, i.e. a global competitive domain, a global political domain, etc. *"introduces an unrealistic assumption of a homogenous and monolithic environment"* (Rosenzweig & Singh, 1991: 343). Instead, Rosenzweig and Singh regard an MNC *"as a set of differentiated structures and processes, and each of these structures and processes exists in the many subunits of the organization. (They) are affected by a variety of environmental forces, some of which are specific to the host country and some of which are global in nature. They face, at the same time, a pressure for conformity to conditions in the local environment and an imperative for consistency within the multinational enterprise"* (Rosenzweig et al., 1991: 344). In this regard, they follow well-established findings of the field of international business strategy (Bartlett, 1986; Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989; Ghoshal & Nohria, 1989; Prahalad & Doz, 1987). Looking at an MNC, one can therefore distinguish between a global *"meta-environment"* it operates in, and the various environments in which the subunits of the MNC are based (Kostova & Zaheer, 1999; Zaheer, 1995). International media or large NGOs would be part of the meta-environment an MNC is embedded in, whereas local media or residents would be typical stakeholders of the latter category.

As pointed out above, key features of the current CSR approaches are their voluntary nature as well as the focus on Northern multinational companies (see e.g. Fox, 2004). Consequently, a Northern MNC conducting a CSR initiative abroad – either through a subsidiary or in the form of a supply chain relationship – can be confronted with a discrepancy in the judgement over the nature of legitimacy in its home country and the local host environments it operates in.

The UN Global Compact's ten principles are backed by universal declarations such as the UN Declaration of Human Rights or ILO Labour principles, and refer to *"global values"*. However, even the most basic human rights have been subject to interpretation. This can be illustrated by the longstanding debate around *"Asian values"* and the reluctance to embrace individual human rights in a number of Asian countries (see e.g. Sen, 1997). Even if individual human rights are generally endorsed by a given society, there may be different perceptions about the human rights situation within this society in general. In this regard, results of the World Values Survey (WVS, 2006) (see Note 4) can serve to illustrate differing perceptions about the human rights situation in a number of European and South Asian countries.

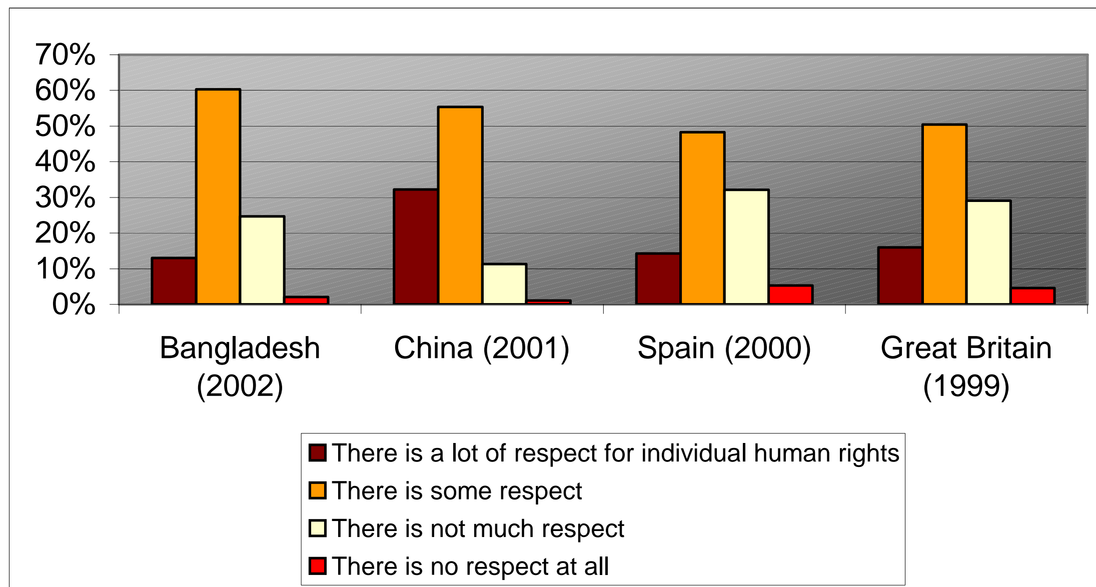

Figure 1: Perceptions of Human Rights Situation in selected Countries (based on WVS, 2006)

One astonishing insight of the above survey results is that on average, Bangladeshi and Chinese respondents were in fact more satisfied with the human rights situation in their countries than their Spanish and British counterparts. It is neither the purpose of this example to discuss the above results in detail, nor to discuss the multitude of factors which may have influenced the respondents in their decisions (e.g. freedom of speech or the respondents' expectations relative to the previous record of human rights in their

respective country). Instead, the above example is merely intended to illustrate that local perceptions can vary greatly depending on the respective (cultural) context.

A similar example refers to the trade-off between different values, which might be judged differently in different societies. Blowfield & Frynas refer to a survey carried out by the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD), asking respondents from different countries what CSR meant to them: it turned out that there were considerable differences between e.g. Thai and Ghanaian respondents, stressing environmental issues or community empowerment respectively (Blowfield et al., 2005; World Business Council on Sustainable Development, 2000). The above mentioned discrepancy between a *"Northern"* industrialised country agenda and its *"Southern"* developing country counterparts in terms of the priorities within sustainable development also points towards an inherent discrepancy in the respective norms and values.

Research on cross border environmental management of large MNCs suggests that a key driver for the enhancement of environmental management in the local developing country context is the pressure created by the headquarters (see e.g. Hansen, 1999; Jeppesen & Hansen, 2004; Ruud, 2001, 2002). These findings are in line with organisational theory, where the resemblance in the organisational structures of a corporation's headquarters and its foreign subsidiaries has been labelled *"mirror effect"* (Brooke & Remmers, 1978; Rosenzweig et al., 1991). It follows that from the perspective of a local (developing country) subsidiary or supplier, problems can be posed by the simultaneous existence of external local demands and internal *"coercive pressures for isomorphism"* created by the parent company (DiMaggio et al., 1983; Rosenzweig et al., 1991: 347). In the case of mere supply chain relationships, some of these coercive pressures such as the technologies employed and the organisational structures (Rosenzweig et al., 1991) may be weaker than in the case of an MNC subsidiary, or even non-existent. However, a Southern supplier that is involved in a code of conduct might face a similar mismatch of local perceptions and obligations imposed by a code of conduct.

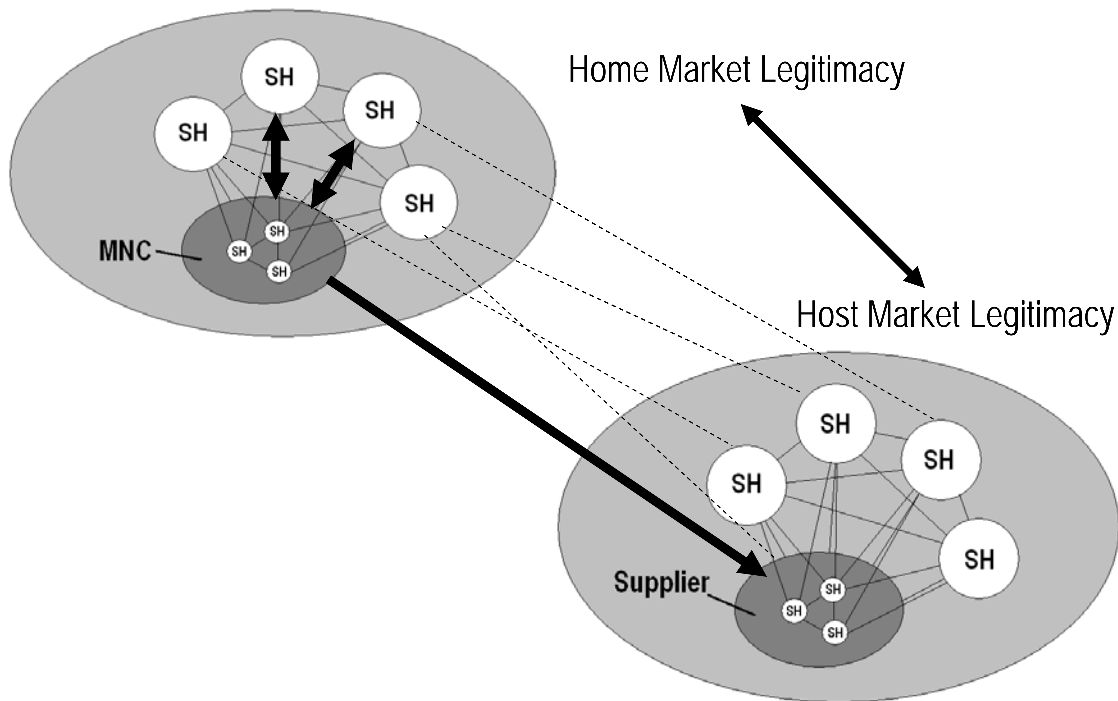

Figure 2: CSR in Developing Countries from the Perspective of Organisational Legitimacy

Figure 2 illustrates the peculiarities of a typical CSR initiative from the perspective of organisational legitimacy. As mentioned above, current large-scale initiatives can to a considerable extent be characterised by MNCs initiating activities through a subsidiary or through its supply chain. Instead of assuming that both the MNC and its subsidiary/supplier are facing the same global monolithic environment, it is more appropriate to acknowledge that they are involved in their own nets of local stakeholders, respectively. Therefore, two distinct publics are involved in the CSR process. This leads to a set of hypotheses regarding the nature of this relationship in terms of organisational legitimacy.

Hypothesis 1: CSR is mainly used as a means of managing primary (Northern) stakeholders.

A multinational company operating in a remote country mainly seeks to gain legitimacy from its primary stakeholders. These are typically based in its home market (e.g. customers, media). Since the company mainly targets those stakeholders that actually have a crucial stake in the operations, the discourse around the company's activities takes place in the North. There is a danger of a detachment of the company's CSR activities from the actual problem the activities aim at in the host country. Furthermore, if CSR is used as a means of legitimacy management, the company has to produce tangible results to prove their engagement to their primary stakeholders. This can result in a bias towards short-term projects with a high visibility rather than longer-term capacity-building initiatives. As Frynas points out, *"PR needs may, for instance, prioritize media-friendly projects such as donating medical equipment or helping to construct a new hospital, rather than slow local capacity-building or the training of village nurses"* (Frynas, 2005: 585). At the far end of the scale, this can lead to *"green-washing"* (see Greer & Bruno, 1996), i.e. businesses solely focusing on symbolic legitimacy management and disregarding the actual impact of their activities.

Hypothesis 2: Differing perceptions of legitimacy in the home and the host country can lead to a misjudgement of which kind of initiative would be deemed appropriate in the host country.

This issue points to the process of preconscious institutionalisation mentioned above. A CSR agenda that is initiated in a Northern context inevitably reflects Northern values. Those elements of legitimacy that are deeply rooted in cultural traits of a society are not subject to a discourse between stakeholders over what is right or wrong, but are rather taken for granted. There can be a different understanding of what is right or wrong based on different cultural backgrounds (e.g. deeply embedded business practices in countries such as Indonesia or Nigeria, which would clearly be identified as corruption in other countries). Different perceptions of the trade-off between environmental and economic goals

in developed and less developed countries can also be named here. Consequently, when carrying out CSR activities abroad, a company is at risk of merely transferring their social construction of legitimacy into the host country context, leading to a misjudgement of which kind of initiative would actually be deemed appropriate in the local context.

Hypothesis 3: Companies benefit from the identification of different legitimacies in the home and host countries they operate in.

Regardless of whether CSR is carried out in an instrumental manner or on the basis of *"enlightened self-interest"*, the identification of the cultural contexts is of high relevance for multinational operations. In both cases the acknowledgement of the different cultural contexts the company operates in will decrease the risk that is associated with a failure of CSR initiatives. Investments in CSR initiatives that do not produce the intended results due to a mismatch of legitimacies at home and abroad are clearly a misallocation of scarce resources. Moreover, CSR initiatives that do not produce the intended outcomes can cause reputational damage. Increased integration of local stakeholders and the creation of feedback loops between host country operations and the company's headquarters can contribute to a reduction of these risks, since they can help to couple the legitimation processes in home and host country.

The degree of centralisation of a company's CSR policies will to a certain extent determine the company's ability to adapt to different cultural contexts. A highly decentralised CSR regime will be more likely to identify the local host country peculiarities which might limit the effectiveness of voluntary initiatives. Consequently, the degree of headquarters' control over the company's CSR activities and therefore its short-term potential as a public relations tool will decrease. However, it can be argued that in the long run the coupling of legitimacies leads to more viable outcomes of CSR activities, since they lead towards increased local appreciation of the company's operations.

4 Conclusions

The purpose of this article is not to reject the current mainstream CSR and development agenda as a whole – there are clearly both a multitude of highly excellent initiatives as well as CSR activities that are failing miserably. The purpose is rather to tackle the question of what the current CSR agenda can realistically achieve. There is clearly a need to gain a better understanding of CSR in a developing country context in order to create a better fit with other instruments.

A considerable amount of literature has been produced on the impact of strategic legitimacy management on CSR, especially in the field of corporate environmental disclosure (see e.g. Deegan, Rankin, & Tobin, 2002; Gray, Kouhy, & Lavers, 1995; Guthrie & Parker, 1989; Patten, 1992; Woodward, Edwards, & Birkin, 1996). This has shed light on some of the underlying mechanisms determining a company's engagement in CSR. Main findings include the bias towards large companies with high brand visibility (which is tantamount to the neglect of small-scale operations), the essential role of civil society pressure, as well as the limitations of CSR regarding its use as a public relations channel, focusing on the business of CSR and thereby largely ignoring those aspects of CSR which do not directly contribute towards a company's financial bottom-line. However, regarding CSR in a developing country context, the explanatory power of organisational legitimacy goes beyond its strategic tradition. The institutional array of organisational legitimacy proves as a useful body of theory to inform CSR in a developing country context, since it is able to address cultural factors and goes beyond business case considerations.

For several decades, cultural differences have been acknowledged in international management studies (see e.g. Hofstede, 1980; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997) – it is surprising that a context-sensitive issue such as corporate social responsibility has up to now to a certain extent been reluctant to address cultural factors more prominently. The institutional branch of organisational legitimacy theory is well suited to contribute towards a closure of this gap. It can identify some of the main obstacles

regarding CSR in a developing country context as well as its strengths and limitations vis-à-vis other policy instruments.

A number of implications both on the company and policy level can be derived from the above analysis. From a company perspective, CSR initiatives that do not match the local understanding of legitimacy can lead to failure and therefore result in a misallocation of resources. If an action is not perceived as relevant locally, it will be likely that the aimed-for goals will go beyond a company's capacity. As a result, even those *"self-enlightened"* companies who are pursuing a proactive approach to CSR can face situations in which a misallocation of (CSR) resources occurs through a different preconscious institutionalisation in home and host country. As a consequence, regarding CSR programmes or initiatives planned by Northern corporations but carried out in a remote country, we can subsequently follow organisational legitimacy theory in that we have to *"recognize how local subsidiaries of MNEs come to reflect values, norms, and locally accepted practices"* of the societies in which they operate (Rosenzweig et al., 1991: 345; Westney, 1989: 12). Feedback loops and more decentralised CSR structures can be vital for a CSR initiative, in order to gain a better understanding of the actual impact and local perceptions of the initiative.

From a policy perspective, it is clearly advisable to put measures in place that ensure a better integration and acknowledgement of Southern stakeholders. Feedback loops that strengthen the interlinkages between home and host country publics can reduce both the misallocation of resources of proactive companies and the tendency of reactive companies to employ CSR measures as a mere public relations tool. It is important to note that the underlying mechanisms of a predominantly voluntary CSR agenda do not apply to a vast number of businesses globally. Especially in the absence of structural framework conditions such as independent media or a conscious consumer base, it is unlikely that a critical mass can be reached that creates new, more sustainable behavioural norms, as e.g. envisioned by the UN Global Compact (see e.g. Kell, 2005: 72). Moreover, questions have to be raised about the relationship between mainstream CSR and governance issues in the South. Increased involvement of

large businesses in development to correct for local lack of capacity may well further weaken local authorities – and subsequently lead to a further erosion of framework conditions that would in turn enable the functioning of voluntary CSR approaches. In this regard, it also has to be questioned whether the current CSR agenda leads to a crowding out of potentially more effective regulatory approaches.

Note 1. An overview of CSR definitions is provided by e.g. Carroll (1999) or Moir (2001). For the purpose of this article, the current mainstream initiatives, such as the UN Global Compact, SA8000, the Fair Labour Association (FLA), the Global Reporting Guidelines (GRI), ISO14001, or the multitude of codes of conduct, serve as a proxy for CSR. Instead of defining a target state of corporate responsibility, the focus is on understanding the contemporary mainstream CSR regime that is already in place today.

Note 2. Clarkson's distinction between primary and secondary stakeholders is followed in that primary stakeholders are *"those without whose continuing participation the corporation cannot survive"*, whereas secondary stakeholders are *"those who influence or affect, or are influenced or affected by, the corporation (…) but are not essential for its survival)"* (Clarkson, 1995: 106-107).

Note 3. Legitimacy theory has played a considerable role in work on corporate social and environmental disclosure (see e.g. Deegan et al., 2002; Gray et al., 1995; Patten, 1992; Woodward et al., 1996). However, all of these approaches mainly follow the strategic tradition, focusing on how an organisation manages its legitimacy vis-à-vis its stakeholders.

Note 4. The World Values Survey is a large-scale survey of human values covering respondents from more than 80 societies. It focuses on sociocultural and political change (see http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org).

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