Check for
updates

Revisiting the difference between instrumental and terminal values to predict (stimulating) prosocial behaviours: The transcendental-change profile

Luis Oceja[1]* , Eric Stocks[2], Marc Heerdink[3], Sergio Villar[1],
Sergio Salgado[4], Pilar Carrera[1], María Arribas[1], Mariana Bargsted[5],
Maite Beramendi[6], Amparo Caballero[1], Agustín Espinosa[7],
Gabriel Escanés[8], Luisa Lima[9], Dolores Muñoz[1], Pablo Nájera[1],
Sabina Pereira[9], Marisol Villegas[10] and Elena Zubieta[6]

[1]Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain
[2]University of Texas at Tyler, Texas, USA
[3]Universiteit van Amsterdam, The Netherlands
[4]Universidad de la Frontera Chile, Temuco, Chile
[5]Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Santiago, Chile
[6]Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina
[7]Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, Peru
[8]Universidad Empresarial Siglo 21, Córdoba, Argentina
[9]ISCTE-Instituto Universitario de Lisboa, Portugal
[10]Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas, Venezuela

Past research suggests that the connection between values and people's behaviour may not be as straightforward and robust as has been claimed. We propose that a more holistic and discriminative view that acknowledges the influence of a specific combination of values on specific kinds of behaviour is needed. In the current project, we test two hypotheses regarding the *transcendental-change* profile (TCP). First, that TCP is characterized by a combination of the readiness to engage in those challenges (instrumental) that can make the world a better place (terminal). Second, the centrality of the TCP facilitates performance of those prosocial actions that are perceived as stimulating and global. The results of five studies support the reliability and validity of this conceptualization of TCP (Studies 1 and 2), and show that when the prosocial initiative is perceived as either global (Study 3) or stimulating (Studies 4 and 5), the TCP is the strongest predictor of the willingness and commitment to engage in such prosocial action.

Values are regarded as important bridges that connect people's minds, hearts, and actions. Research has shown that values express human tendencies (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992) which guide behaviour through their relationship with attitudes, motives, norms, or beliefs (Feather, 1995; Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). Among the

authors who have proposed and tested the existence and influence of a specific number of values (Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1960; Hartman, 1967; Kahle, 1983; Mitchell, 1983; Rokeach, 1973), Schwartz and collaborators created one of the most accepted and influential modern approaches (Schwartz *et al.*, 2013). However, despite the value of this framework for understanding values, the bridge between values and people's behaviour is not as straight and robust as it is assumed to be (for a review, see Maio, Olson, Bernard, & Luke, 2003). To strengthen this bridge, it has been suggested that (1) a more discriminative approach to the characteristics of both values and behaviour is needed (Lönnqvist, Verkasalo, Wichardt, & Walkowitz, 2013; Schwartz *et al.*, 2013), and (2) that the combined influence of a set of values on behaviour must be considered (Lönnqvist, Leikas, Paunonen, Nissinen, & Verkasalo, 2006; Lönnqvist, Walkowitz, Wichardt, Lindeman, & Verkasalo, 2009). Here, we build on Schwartz's theory of values (1992, 2010) and Rokeach's (1973) distinction between instrumental and terminal goals to propose that stimulation as an instrumental goal, and universalism as a terminal goal combine into the transcendental-change profile (TCP): *the readiness to engage in those challenges that can make the world a better place*. We propose that the TCP predicts prosocial behaviour aimed at global improvement better than each of the constituent values.

According to Schwartz's theory, there is a structure of universal values that guides many aspects of human life, such as attitudes, emotions, or actions (Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 2010; Schwartz *et al.*, 2013). The universality is because human existence involves coping with universal requirements stemming from their needs as social animals (Schwartz, 1992). Regarding the structure, this theory proposes a quasi-circular and continuous arrangement that establishes the mutual compatibility (those values placed close to each other such as power and achievement) or incompatibility (those placed in opposite positions such as stimulation and security) of values. This structure can be summarized in two orthogonal dimensions: self-enhancement versus self-transcendence (i.e., emphasizing either the pursuit of self-interests or concern for the welfare of others) and openness-to-change versus conservation (i.e., emphasizing either independent action and readiness for new experiences, or self-restriction and resistance to change).

Predicting behaviour from values: The need of differentiating and combining

There are two strategies that can substantially strengthen the bridge that connects values and behaviour. The first one consists of further differentiating both values and behaviours. Specifically, regarding values, Schwartz (1992), Schwartz and Boehnke (2004) presents a new theory that distinguishes different facets of the original 10 value types. For instance, the *original* value of universalism is now proposed as comprising three subtypes: tolerance, societal concern, and protecting nature. This more refined theory proposes the same circular structure but now formed by 19 more discriminating values (Schwartz *et al.*, 2013). Regarding behaviours, Lönnqvist and collaborators propose to differentiate between two kinds: actions that are relatively normative (e.g., a public action widely regarded as positive; Lönnqvist *et al.*, 2009) and actions that are relatively value-expressive (i.e., compatible with one's central values; Lönnqvist *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, the connection between values and behaviour can be now analysed from a more refined perspective that distinguishes 19 different value types and, at least, two different kinds of action.

The second strategy consists of adopting a holistic view that acknowledges the combined influence of a set of values on behaviour. Indeed, Schwartz and

collaborators recently objected that, 'studies that employ the theory of basic values treat the 10 values as discrete entities... in doing so, none of them build on the central assumption of the theory' (Schwartz *et al.*, 2013, p. 664). Instead, these authors emphasize the holistic, continuous, and interrelated character of the structure of values. For instance, Schwartz (2010) claims that any value might be relevant to prosocial behaviour, but what influences helping most frequently across contexts is the continuum comprised by universalism, benevolence, conformity, security, and power.

Proposing the transcendental-change value profile

In the present work, we follow these discriminative and holistic strategies to propose and test the existence of a specific value profile defined as *the readiness to engage in those challenges that can make the world a better place*. The definition of this profile builds upon three theoretical foundations. First, Batson (1994, 2011) postulated that there are four motivational forces that can give rise to a prosocial action. These four motives differ from one another based on the ultimate goal that directs them: Egoism (i.e., to alleviate pain and increase pleasure in ourselves), Altruism (i.e., to protect or promote the welfare of another person), Collectivism (i.e., to protect or promote the welfare of a group of people, animals, objects, events, and the like), and Principlism (i.e., to uphold a specific moral principle, such as justice). Based on Batson's (1994) analysis, Oceja and collaborators (Oceja & Salgado, 2013; Oceja, Salgado, & Carrera, 2018; Oceja & Stocks, 2017; Salgado & Oceja, 2011) postulate a fifth motive, labelled as Quixoteism, whose ultimate goal is to increase the welfare of the 'world'. These authors note that they use the term 'Quixoteism' in order to differentiate it from the label 'Quixotism', which is typically used pejoratively, in the analysis of the literary character of Don Quixote and associated with the definitions of 'unrealistic idealism' or 'impracticality in the pursuit of ideals'. Unlike Quixotism, Quixoteism may give rise to a prosocial action.

Second, Schwartz (2010) found that political activism, as measured by the number of politically relevant and legal acts performed in the past year (e.g., contacting a politician, participating in a public demonstration, boycotting a product), correlated most strongly with the values of universalism and stimulation (see also Vecchione *et al.*, 2015). Schwartz suggests that 'this deviation indicates that pursuit of excitement also motivates political activism' (Schwartz, 2010, p. 237). Indeed, Salgado and Oceja (2011) used Schwartz's theory to construct a measure of one process that may lead to Quixoteism. This process, coined as *orientation toward transcendental change,* refers to a specific configuration of values fairly related to the general values of universalism and stimulation. Salgado and Oceja (2011) found that this orientation was positively associated with transcendental benefits derived from performing a prosocial behaviour (Study 2) and willingness to perform a prosocial behaviour when it was relatively challenging (Study 3).

Third, Rokeach (1973) differentiated between instrumental and terminal values. Specifically, he claimed that some values refer to preferable modes of behaviour (e.g., courage, logic, independence), whereas others refer to desirable end states of existence (e.g., a world at peace, mature love, comfortable life). This difference concerning the goal type allows researchers to measure specific combinations of preferred ways of obtaining a desirable end state (e.g., using courage to achieve world at peace; see also, Sandy, Gosling, Schwartz, & Koelkebeck, 2016). Note that we do not claim that specific values should be

exclusively considered as terminal or instrumental, nor do we aim to develop such a typology. We actually agree with Schwartz's approach that values are not linguistic constructs that change form simply by changing the spelling of the word. Instead, values are scientific concepts that have clear antecedents, consequences, and operate in predictable ways and, consequently, there is a clear difference between values operating as ends and values operating as means. Therefore, what we claim is that the instrumental–terminal distinction is useful because it allows empirical testing of the influence of theoretically relevant combinations of values.

We built upon these three theoretical foundations in proposing the existence of the transcendent-change value profile (TCP) defined as *the readiness to engage in those challenges that can make the world a better place*. This profile results from combining two values in a particular way: the first one (related to stimulation) as instrumental and the second one (related to universalism) as terminal. In the present research, we create an operational measure of this profile and show that it strengthens the bridge between values and helping behaviour (Daniel, Bilgin, Brezina, Strohmeier, & Vainre, 2015).

The present research

We tested two hypotheses concerning the *transcendental-change profile* (TCP). First, we hypothesize that in Schwartz's circumplex value structure (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004), the TCP is located between the values of stimulation and universalism. Second, that the centrality of TCP predicts, over and above the stimulation and universalism values, the willingness and commitment to perform a particular kind of action: those that are perceived as a stimulating way of increasing the welfare in the 'world'. We followed two steps in order to test these two hypotheses. First, we created a novel, reduced version of the Schwartz's Social Values Survey (SVS) that comprises 11 items (from now on the RSVS-11): one for each of the ten general value types proposed by Schwartz, plus the TCP item. Specifically, the RSVS-11 presents 11 short verbal descriptions (see Table 1), and the respondent is first asked to read all of them and then to rate with a 6 those two descriptions they identify most with, and with a 1 those two profiles they identify least with. Ratings of between 2 and 5 for the remaining profiles were to be made according to the perceived degree of endorsement with them. This is a combination of the instructions used by Schwartz and collaborators in the design of the PVQ and SVS (viz., the description of the values and the rank ordering, respectively). We created each description by combining in one sentence the essential goals and aspirations associated with Schwartz's value types.

Second, we tested our hypotheses regarding the transcendental-change profile in five studies. In Study 1, we tested in a large and heterogeneous sample that includes five languages from eight countries whether (1) the values included in the RSVS-11 present the quasi-circular structure proposed by Schwartz's theory and (2) transcendental-change profile is located in a place coherent with its definition. In Study 2, we mainly tested the convergent validity of the original SVS and RSVS-11 by analysing the relationship between the values scores obtained with the two instruments. Besides, we examined whether the TCP is more than just the sum of the two related values (universalism and stimulation). Finally, in three more studies we tested whether the centrality of transcendental-change profile predicts willingness to commit (Studies 3 and 4) and actual commitment (Study 5) to engage in and either global (Study 3) or stimulating (Studies 4 and 5) prosocial behaviour.

Table 1. English version of the items included in the RSVS-11

Item	Value
Being loyal to your friends and helping those close to you	Benevolence
Being independent, self-confident, making your own decisions, and being creative	Self-direction
Being outstanding, showing others that you can do well and being admired for it	Achievement
Taking care of nature and seek peace, equality and social justice	Universalism
Being polite and not disturbing others, avoiding things that are regarded as wrong	Conformity
Doing things in a traditional way and preserving those customs you have learned	Tradition
Engaging in those challenges that can make the world a better place	Transcendent change
Liking adventures, experience something new, different and exciting	Stimulation
Living in a stable and tidy environment, and avoid doing things that could risk your safety	Security
Being the decision maker, having power, making money and having status	Power
Enjoying life and look for any opportunity to do amusing and delightful things	Hedonism

STUDY 1

The objective of Study 1 was to examine the validity of the RSVS-11 within a sample as large and diverse as possible in terms of gender, age, and cultural origin. Firstly, we test whether the 10 values included in the RSVS-11 homonymous to the Schwartz's general type of values would present the quasi-circular structure proposed by Schwartz. That is, using universalism as a starting point, we predicted the following clockwise order: universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, security, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction. Secondly, we tested that the transcendental-change profile (TCP) would be located between stimulation and universalism.

Method

Participants and procedure

One thousand one hundred and fifty-five participants (67% women, 30% men, and 3% not declared; *age range* = 16–76, M = 22.40, SD = 6.28) completed the RSVS-11. This sample was composed of people from twelve cities in eight countries: Madrid, Spain (N = 143); Lisbon, Portugal (N = 88); Amsterdam, the Netherlands (N = 100); Los Angeles, California, and Tyler, Texas, USA (N = 91); Lima, Peru (N = 139); Porto Alegre, Brazil (N = 63); Santiago, Temuco and Antofagasta, Chile (N = 287); Buenos Aires and Córdoba, Argentina (N = 244).

We conducted a back-translation procedure (Brislin, 1970) to obtain a version of the RSVS-11 in six different languages: Spanish-Spain, Spanish-Latin America, English-USA, Dutch, Portuguese-Portugal, and Portuguese-Brazil. Each participant completed the RSVS-11 in one session that took place in one of four contexts: (1) students in a classroom, (2) students in a library, (3) non-students at their homes, and (4) non-students at their workplaces. In all cases, we presented the RSVS-11 in written format. The instructions included a general description of the study and assurance that the data would remain

confidential. Participants were asked to read these instructions and, if they agreed to participate, to sign a consent form. All the distributed questionnaires were completed.

Results and discussion

We first run a mixed linear model to test whether the data that comprise eight different national subsamples adjust for independence. The analysis supported the overall independence by showing low interclass correlation coefficients for the 11 values (with only two above .08, self-direction and power, *ICC*s = .16 and .17, respectively). Then, in order to assess whether the values measured with the RSVS-11 were located within the quasi-circular continuum proposed by the Schwartz's model, we ran the Multidimensional Scaling (MDS; see Cox & Cox, 2001; Jaworska & Chupetlovska-Anastasova, 2009) using the SPSS PROXSCAL program with Euclidean distance measures, ordinal proximity transformations and *z*-scores. This analysis uses an iterative process to compare the adjustment of the empirically obtained structure of dissimilarities between every pair of variables (i.e., the values) with the hypothesized structure (i.e., quasi-circular). This is the analysis used and recommended by Schwartz and Boehnke, (2004).

As shown in Figure 1, the quasi-circular structure was obtained: all the values except hedonism are located at the same radius distance. The stress function (Kruskal & Wish, 1978) showed that this two-dimensional result was .130 (scores lower than .150 are considered acceptable). As hypothesized, the positions of the ten values are consistent with the structure proposed by Schwartz's model. Self-direction and stimulation, and security and tradition interchanged their respective positions, but nonetheless kept their location in their correspondent quadrant. Bilsky, Janik, and Schwartz (2011) have pointed out that these minor variations are not rare in research on the SVS. Regarding the transcendental-change profile (TCP), as hypothesized, it was placed between stimulation and universalism, on the border that connects the self-transcendence and the openness-to-change quadrants. The results indicate a quasi-circular shape around which the ten values are placed according to their mutual compatibility and incompatibility, and that the TCP was located in the predicted place. We conducted the same analysis by splitting it between the Spanish-speaking (*N* = 813) and non-Spanish-speaking participants (*N* = 342) and the results remained very similar.

In sum, the analyses supported the sinusoidal shape of the pattern of relationships between transcendental-change profile (TCP) and the other 10 profiles based upon the Schwartz's theory. We propose that this profile is more than the sum of universalism and stimulation, however. We conducted Study 2 to examine this proposition directly, while also testing the convergent validity between the SVS and the RSVS-11.

STUDY 2

We conducted Study 2 to specifically test the convergent validity between the SVS and the RSVS-11 and, moreover, whether the TCP can be accounted for by the universalism and stimulation measures obtained from the SVS. Additionally, we separated the administration of each measure (range of the time interval was from 1 hr to 1 month) to control that the convergence could be explained for either the conceptual activation provoked by the
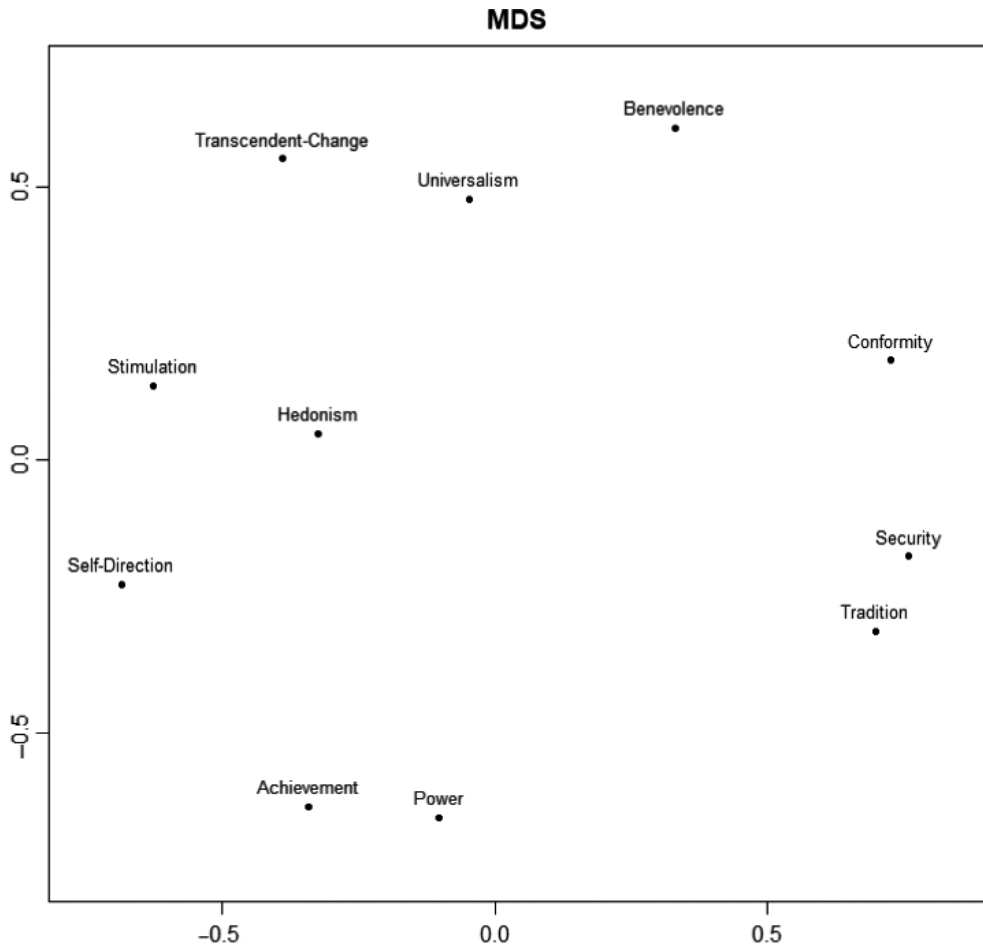
MDS

Figure 1. Quasi-circular structure of the 11 profiles as measured through the RSVS-11 in the Study 1.

previous instrument (i.e., accessibility) or the intentional attempt to match responses on each instrument (i.e., consistency).

Method

Participants and procedure

Three hundred fifty-one Spanish undergraduate students (76% women, 23% men, and 1% not declared; $range_{age}$ = 17–50, M_{age} = 19.68, SD_{age} = 5.04) voluntarily completed the original and our reduced version of Schwartz's scale (SVS and RSVS-11, respectively).

We gave to each participant a set of instructions explaining the goals of the study and assurance that the data would remain confidential. Once participants had read these instructions and signed a consent form, they completed a set of questionnaires included in a booklet in counterbalanced order. All the participants completed first the SVS and, after a time interval that ranged from one hour to one month, the RSVS-11. We used this procedure to reduce potential confounds related to accessibility and consistency.

Results and discussion

The SVS contains 60 items, and the ten general value types are obtained by averaging the correspondent individual items, which varies for each value (e.g., 7 items for universalism, 2 items for hedonism). In contrast, the RSVS-11 includes one item per value. Following Schwartz and collaborators' commendation (Schwartz, 2010; Schwartz *et al.*, 2013), we focus on the structure of values as a whole.

First, to test whether the scores obtained through the SVS and through the RSVS-11 follow the quasi-circular structure proposed by Schwartz, we conducted a multidimensional scaling analysis (MDS). A two-dimensional map was obtained for each instrument. The stress function (Kruskal & Wish, 1978) showed that this two-dimensional result was .056 for the SVS and .092 for the RSVS-11. In both cases, the values were arranged in the quasi-circular structure and followed the predicted order with some minor exceptions. In the SVS, tradition and conformity interchanged their positions, and power was relatively far away from the structure. In the RSVS-11, self-direction and stimulation interchanged their positions (presumably due to the inclusion of the transcendental-change profile). To illustrate the similarity between the two quasi-circular structures, we introduced scores obtained through the SVS and RSVS-11 in the MDS. As shown in Figure 2, the scores of the RSVS-11 were arranged in the external circle and the scores of the SVS in the internal circle. Homonymous profile-value pairs very closely to one other. The transcendental-change profile (TCP), as predicted, was located close to universalism and adjacent to stimulation.

Second, bearing in mind that the RSVS-11 includes one item per value, we focused on the four higher-order quadrants (i.e., self-transcendence, self-enhancement, conservation, and openness-to-change) to test the direct relationship between the scores obtained with the two instruments. In this way, we both used the more reliable level of analysis while keeping the holistic view advocated by Schwartz and collaborators. Furthermore, to reduce the effect of response style and acquiescence bias (Lee, Soutar, & Louviere, 2008; Schwartz, 1992), the scores of both instruments were centred around each person's overall rating. As shown in Table 2, the homonymous quadrants have a positive and significant correlation (all above .50; ps < .0001), and the pattern of positive and negative associations with the adjacent and opposed quadrants was coherent with the Schwartz's theory both within and between the instruments.

Finally, regarding the main objective of the present work, the TCP included in the RSVS-11 demonstrated a coherent pattern of associations with the values measured through the SVS at both the higher (quadrants) and lower (values) level of analysis. As shown in Table 3, the pattern of association with the scores of the RSVS-11 showed that the TCP is positively associated with the values of stimulation and universalism. However, further analysis revealed that this profile is not subsumed by the combination of these two general values. The multiple regression analysis with the TCP as criteria and universalism (β = .352, p < .001) and stimulation (β = .094, p = .067) as predictors showed an equation that explained 14% of the total variance; furthermore, the inclusion of their interaction (product) added nothing to the prediction (β = .003, p = .994).

STUDY 3

In Study 3, we tested whether TCP is specifically associated with a preference for global change and whether that association can be accounted for by the profiles of universalism and stimulation.
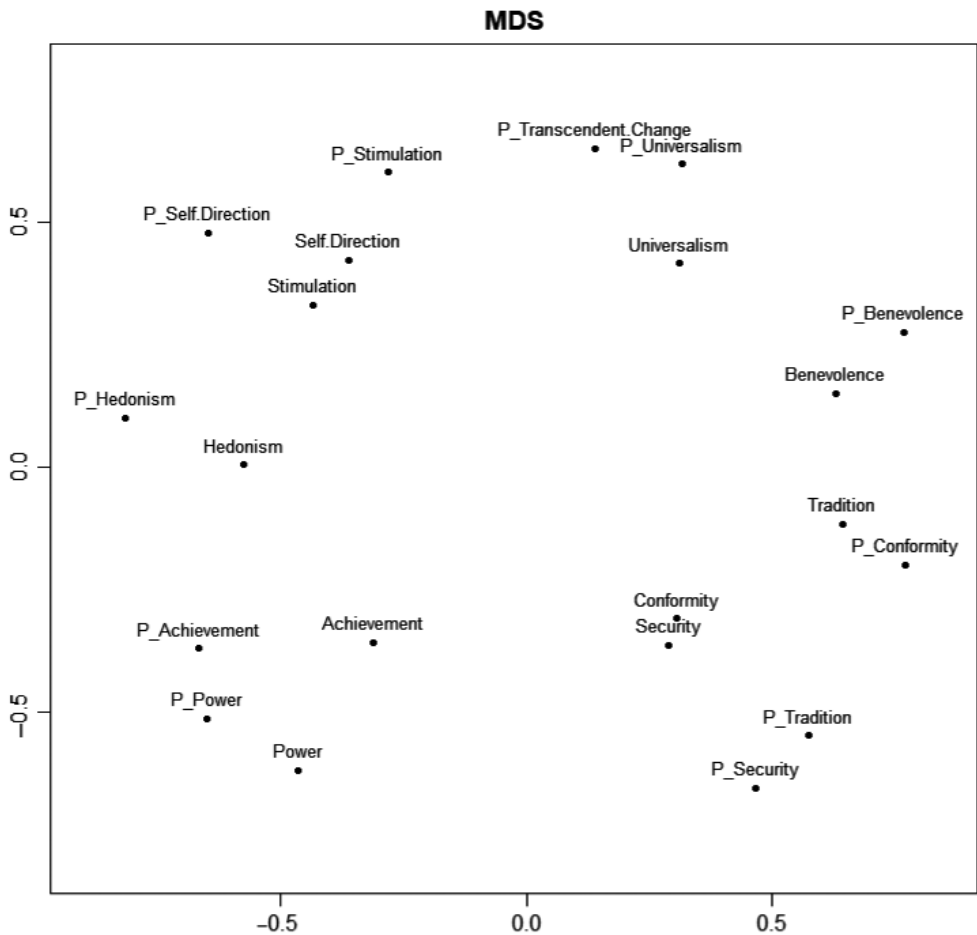
MDS

Figure 2. Quasi-circular structure of the 10 values (left) and the 11 profiles (right) as measured through the SVS and the RSVS-11, respectively, in the Study 2.

Method

Participants and procedure
Forty Spanish citizens completed a questionnaire presented through the Qualtrics program. As three participants did not fully complete it, the final sample size was 37 (62% women, $M_{age} = 25.41$, $SD_{age} = 7.68$).[1]

The questionnaire had four parts: the introduction, the RSVS-11, the choice task, and the report of motives. Specifically, after reading the introduction that explained the objective of the study and assured the confidentiality and anonymity of the personal information, they first completed the RSVS-11 and then were presented with five descriptions of different kinds of NGOs. As shown in Table 4, four of these descriptions

---

[1] *A sensitivity analyses conducted using G*Power 3.1 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009) confirmed that the designs were sufficiently powered (.80) to detect the following size effects in Study 3 (4 predictors), Study 4 (3 predictors), and Study 5 (12 predictors): .37, .20, and .18, respectively.*

Table 2. Pearson correlations between quadrants obtained through the SVS (upper diagonal) and the RSVS-11 (lower diagonal) in Study 2

	Self-transcendence	Conservation	Self-enhancement	Openness-to-change
Self-transcendence	**.530****	.151*	−.630**	−.257**
Conservation	−.080	**.502****	−.623**	−.634**
Self-enhancement	−.505**	−.493**	**.555****	.007
Openness-to-change	−.042	−.588**	−.067	**.546****

Notes. The correlations between the homonymous are in bold.
*p < .01; **p < .0001.

Table 3. Pearson correlations of transcendental-change profile with the quadrants (in bold) and the values obtained through the RSVS-11 and the SVS in Study 2

	RSVS-11	SVS
Power	−.309**	−.173**
Achievement	−.259**	−.080
Hedonism	−.117*	−.107*
Self-enhancement	**−.366****	**−.189****
Stimulation	.172**	.128*
Self-direction	−.011	.096
Openness-to-change	**.121***	**.155****
Universalism	.249**	.299**
Benevolence	−.043	.084
Self-transcendence	**.191****	**.240****
Conformity	−.109*	−.182**
Tradition	−.230**	.098
Security	−.223**	−.104
Conservation	**−.277****	**−.094**

Note. *p < .05; **p < .005.

were based on each of the ultimate goals that, according to Batson (1994, 2011) approach, may drive prosocial behaviour. We added a fifth description based on the ultimate goal referring to the TCP–quixoteism link (Oceja & Stocks, 2017). Therefore, the five descriptions depicted organizations devoted towards their members (Egoism), other needy individuals (Altruism), big deprived collectives (Collectivism), the respect of principles and ideals (Principlism), and the promotion of big global changes (Quixoteism). We asked the participants to first read all of them and then order them according to their preference to support. Finally, they used a 9-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 9 = *totally*) to report the extent to which their choice was based upon each of the following ultimate goals: (1) to improve specific person's lives, (2) to help big groups or collectives, (3) to uphold principles and values, (4) to make the world a better place, (5) to obtain a personal benefit.

Results and discussion

We designed Study 3 to specifically test whether the TCP significantly predicts the preference for initiatives that involve to purse global changes and, if so, whether its

Table 4. Descriptions presented in Study 3

Type of NGO	Description
Individuals	Our goal is to help specific individuals, allowing them to address their basic needs and have access to the resources necessary to carry out a decent life
Collectives	Our goal is to assist big collectives affected by disasters provoked by natural or human causes. Those thousands of people who form groups that everyday struggle to survive
Principles	Our goal is to promote the respect for justice and human rights. To strengthen them where they are already applied and developing them where they hardly exist
Global	Our goal is to address those problems with global causes and consequences. These problems include illegal trafficking of weapons and people, poverty, famine, and disease
Personal benefit	Our goal is to assist affiliates in several and different facets of their lives. To do so we create webs of mutual support and develop initiatives that leads them to help each other

predictive power can be accounted for by universalism and stimulation, taken either separately or in conjunction. To do so, we first created the global-change-preference variable by multiplying the order given to the global NGO (from 5 to 1) with the reported willingness to make the world a better place (1 = *not at all*, 9 = *extremely* important). We then conducted one stepwise regression analyses with global-change-preference as criterion and TCP, universalism, and stimulation as predictors. The results showed that TCP significantly predicted global-change-preference, $\beta = .438$, $R^2_{ch} = .169$, $F(1, 35) = 8.33$, $p = .007$, but universalism and stimulation did not, $\beta s = .269$ and $.138$, ts $(33) = 1.75$ and 0.86, respectively, $ps > .07$. Furthermore, introducing the universalism–stimulation interaction (product) marginally improved the equation from $R^2_{ch} = .169$ to $R^2_{ch} = .224$, $F(1, 34) = 3.47$, $p = .070$; with both TCP and the interaction remaining marginally significant, $\beta s = .317$ and $.300$, $ts(34) = 1.97$ and 1.86, $ps = .057$ and $.071$.

In line with our hypotheses, the results showed that when the opportunity to choose between different kinds of prosocial initiatives is provided, TCP predicted the preference for that initiative that involved a relatively higher orientation towards 'world improvement'.

STUDY 4

The transcendental-change profile (TCP) refers to the readiness to engage in those challenges (stimulating means) that can make the world a better place (global prosocial goal). Therefore, all other factors held constant, the relationship between centrality of TCP and prosocial behaviour may not only depend on whether the prosocial action increases global welfare, as shown in Study 3, but also on whether the action is perceived as stimulating. Studies 4 and 5 tested this final idea. Specifically, in Study 4 we tested if the relation between TCP and the willingness to engage in prosocial actions is moderated by the stimulating quality of that behaviour. We presented the participants with the opportunity of collaborating with an NGO that organizes a food bank to assist several deprived collectives. They answered questions regarding their (1) perception of the initiative, (2) willingness to collaborate in it, and (3) values (through the completion of the RSVS-11). Our main hypothesis is that, among those who had previously perceived the

initiative as stimulating, the TCP would be the strongest positive predictor of the willingness to collaborate.

Methods

Participants and procedure

Participants were 59 undergraduate students (90% women, $M_{age} = 18.64$, $SD_{age} = 1.23$) who received a partial credit towards a course requirement for participating. They came individually to the laboratory where the researcher greeted them, showed them into a sound-proof research booth, gave them a booklet with the materials for the study, and left them to complete it on their own. The first page contained a paragraph informing them that we wanted to know their opinion concerning a specific prosocial initiative. They then read that the Federation of Food Banks (SFFB) was going to hold a campaign for collecting non-perishable food destined to several deprived children. Therefore, SFFB needed to collect some funds by making phone calls to a list of randomly chosen citizens, and they were looking for volunteers to make those calls.

Finally, we told the participants that, as a part of a different study, they could voluntarily complete a measure of values (the RSVS-11). All participants chose to complete it. Once they had finished, they called the experimenter who returned, thanked them and debriefed them.

Results and discussion

Perception of the initiative and general prosocial willingness

Right after reading the initiative, participants completed a questionnaire that contained both open- and closed-ended questions. Two groups of questions specifically referred to the objective of this study. First, at the beginning of the questionnaire, participants reported how they perceived the initiative of asking for funds by making the phone calls to a list of citizens chosen randomly. Specifically, on a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *extremely*), they perceived the initiative as moderately stimulating ($M = 5.12$, $SD = 1.15$), exciting ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.00$), and entertaining ($M = 3.76$, $SD = 1.10$). Second, at the end of the questionnaire, they reported the extent to which they would be willing, intend to, and will probably help ($Ms = 4.95, 4.42$ and 4.07; $SDs = 1.17, 1.48$, and 1.26, respectively). We averaged these items to create the composite measures of *stimulating quality* ($\alpha = .75$, $M = 4.24$, $SD = 0.89$) and *prosocial willingness* ($\alpha = .88$, $M = 4.48$, $SD = 1.17$), respectively.

Prediction of the prosocial willingness

Our main hypothesis was that the stimulating quality of the initiative would moderate the association between the transcendental-change profile (TCP) and the prosocial willingness. Specifically, we expected TCP to be the strongest predictor of the prosocial willingness when the initiative was perceived as highly stimulating. Additionally, in line with previous research (Lönnqvist *et al.*, 2013; Schwartz, 2010), we expected that self-transcendence values (universalism and benevolence) would also be associated with prosocial willingness.

We first obtained the correlations of the 10 values and the TCP with the stimulating quality of the initiative and with prosocial willingness. The results showed that

benevolence, conformity, and TCP were positively associated with prosocial willingness; rs (57) = .364, .265, and .267, respectively, ps < .05. This result is consistent with previous research (Schwartz, 2010). Furthermore, not surprisingly, the more stimulating the initiative, the higher participants' willingness to collaborate in it, r(57) = .49, p < .001.

To test whether the stimulating quality of the initiative moderated the association between transcendental-change and the prosocial willingness, we standardized the predictor (TCP) and moderator (perceived stimulating quality) and obtained their product. Then, prosocial willingness was regressed onto the two predictors in the first step, and their interaction (product) in the second step. In line with our hypothesis, results showed that both stimulating quality and TCP were significant predictors; βs = .473 and .271, ts(55) = 4.48 and 2.51, ps < .02, respectively. Also, the interaction between both was significant, β = .266, t(55) = 2.52, p = .01, and improved the equation from R^2_{ch} = .306, F(2, 56) = 13.80, p < .001, to R^2_{ch} = .366, F (1, 55) = 6.33, p = .01. Figure 3 illustrates this interaction. Additional analyses showed that those participants who both perceived the action as stimulating and reported above average in TCP were more willing to collaborate (M = 5.49, SD = 0.93) than those who did not perceive the action as stimulating and/or reported below average in TCP (Ms = 3.88, 3.98, and 4.50; SDs = 1.04, 1.15, and 0.92); $p \leq .05$ in the pairwise Bonferroni comparisons. Finally, the analyses revealed that this interaction was not found with the combination (product) of universalism and stimulation, β = .074.

The results of Study 4 are consistent with both previous research on the influence of values on prosocial behaviour and our hypothesis. First, regarding the ten values, the results showed that prosocial willingness was associated with benevolence and conformity. Second, supporting our hypothesis, the results showed that the transcendent-change profile is more strongly associated with the willingness to contribute in prosocial initiatives, the more these initiatives are perceived as stimulating.

Study 4 has at least three limitations. First, participants reported regarding the stimulating quality of the initiative, their willingness to help, and their hierarchy of values in the same session. Second, reporting prosocial willingness did not involve an actual commitment to perform this apparent positive action. These two limitations are common in psychosocial research and are directly related to cognitive (accessibility and consistency) and social (desirability) demand effects. Finally, though the sample size is similar to those used in previous research on similar variables (i.e., values predicting willingness to perform a real prosocial action; Salgado & Oceja, 2011; Oceja & Salgado, 2013), a new study with larger sample and replicating similar results is convenient. We conducted the Study 5 to address these limitations.

STUDY 5

In this study, we tested whether transcendental-change profile predicts the actual commitment to perform a stimulating prosocial behaviour. Specifically, in two separate sessions, participants completed the RSVS-11 and, one month later, were presented with an unexpected opportunity to donate some time to a food bank that assists several deprived collectives (i.e., adults and children who live under severe risk of social exclusion due to poverty, long-standing unemployment, and personal or family crisis). This opportunity was real and took place on a specific Saturday. Participants were asked not only if they were willing to participate in that campaign but, in case they were, to
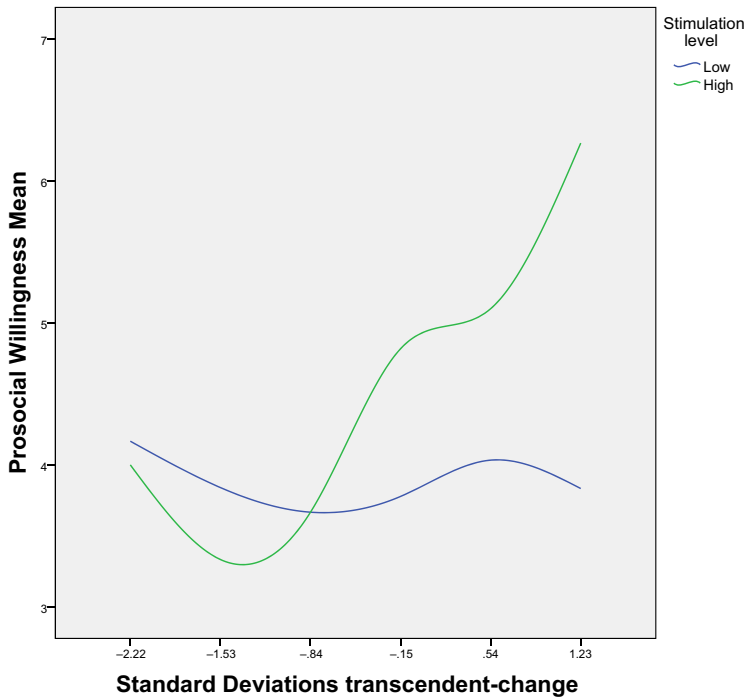
Figure 3. The relationship between transcendental-change (predictor) and prosocial willingness (criteria) when the initiative is perceived as low (blue) versus high (green) stimulating in the Study 4. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

commitment to help by providing their signature, personal data (name, email address, or phone number), and the preferred timetable (morning or evening).

Method

Participants and procedure

One hundred and nine undergraduate students (75% women, $M_{age} = 19.93$, $SD_{age} = 5.93$) voluntary participated in a study that had two phases. In the first phase, the participants completed a battery of questionnaires that included the RSVS-11. In the second phase, which was conducted one month later, all the students were randomly assigned to one of the several studies that were being run at the time. After excluding four participants who had not attended the first phase, the final sample was 105 participants.

Those who were randomly assigned to participate in this study came individually to the laboratory where the researcher greeted them and showed them into a research booth. These were sound-proof cubicles with a chair, a desk, and a computer. In a Power Point presentation, participants first learned that they could follow their own pace. The presentation included three slides. The first slide informed participants that they would be asked to read, watch, or listen to a piece of material, and to report their reactions to it. The second slide explained that the material consisted of listening to a 4-min clip of classical music. The third slide participants asked to open an envelope that was on the left-hand side of the keyboard and to read the opportunity form. On this form, participants were

told that the music contained in the clip had been selected by the Federation of Food Banks (FFB). This organization was going to conduct one of their campaigns for collecting non-perishable food by setting up 'donating spots' in different supermarkets around the city. Therefore, they were looking for volunteers to attend these 'donating spots'. The form concluded by inviting the participant to collaborate during either one morning or evening next Saturday. Those who accepted were asked to provide their signature and contact information (email address and/or telephone number).

Once they had finished, they called the experimenter who, remaining unaware of each participant's decision, returned to thank them for taking part and debriefed them.

Results and discussion

Pilot study

We conducted a pilot study in order to test whether the action proposal offered in Study 5 was perceived as useful and stimulating – while eliminating the cognitive demand effects (i.e., accessibility and consistency) possibly provoked by first asking about the quality of the initiative and subsequently about the commitment to perform it. Specifically, a group of undergraduate students of the same university ($N = 43$, 57% women, $M_{age} = 18.79$, $SD_{age} = 1.16$) were independently asked to read and evaluate the action proposal. The measure consisted of the following questions 'To what extent do you see the opportunity of donating time to collaborate in this campaign as stimulating [. . .exciting; entertaining; useful; beneficial; effective] ($1 = not\ at\ all$, $7 = extremely$).' We then created two composite measures (i.e., stimulating–exciting–entertaining and useful–beneficial–effective, αs = .85 and .83, respectively); and, as expected, we found that participants rated the proposal as relatively stimulating ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 0.94$), and useful ($M = 5.76$, $SD = 0.86$).

Prosocial commitment

The participants did or did not commit to collaborate with the prosocial initiative. We first obtained the Spearman correlation (Rho) of the transcendental-change profile (TCP) and 10 values with this dichotomous variable. As shown in Table 5, prosocial commitment was positively associated with TCP and the two values related to it (universalism and stimulation), and negatively associated with power.

We then tested whether the association between the TCP and prosocial commitment can be accounted for by the other values (paying special attention to universalism and stimulation). To do so, we conducted three binary regression analyses using the stepwise forward Wald method, which introduces into the equation only the significant predictors according to their prediction power. In the first analysis, the 11 values were included as potential predictors, and the TCP was the strongest ($\beta = .522$, $p = .006$), followed by power and achievement (βs = $-.264$ and $-.406$, ps = .049 and .046, respectively). The final solution ($\beta_{TCP} = .442$, $\beta_{power} = -.406$, $\beta_{achievement} = .294$ and constant = -1.976) correctly predicted 68.6% of the total sample: 57.8% and 76.7% of those who did and did not actually commit, respectively. In the second analysis, the TCP, universalism, and stimulation were included, and the TCP was the strongest and single significant predictor. In the third analysis, the TCP and the combination (product) of universalism and stimulation were included, and once again the TCP was the strongest and single significant predictor. The predictive power of the TCP remains the same in the three stepwise regression analyses ($\beta = .522$, $p = .006$).

Table 5. Spearman correlations (Rho) of the profiles (RSVS-11) with actual prosocial commitment in Study 5

	RSVS-11	p
Transcendental-change	.279	.004
Power	−.243	.012
Achievement	.077	.435
Hedonism	.066	.503
Stimulation	.181	.065
Self-direction	−.026	.793
Universalism	.214	.028
Benevolence	.145	.139
Conformity	−.058	.556
Tradition	−.013	.892
Security	−.158	.107

As expected, the TCP consistently predicted prosocial commitment, and the analyses showed that this prediction cannot be accounted for by the other ten values included in the RSVS-11. Furthermore, in line with those of Study 4, the results suggest that the TCP explains variance in prosocial behaviour *beyond* a simple arithmetic combination of the values of universalism and stimulation.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

In the present work, we propose the existence of the transcendent-change value profile and tested its validity. This profile refers to a combination of values that elicits the motive of quixoteism (Oceja & Salgado, 2013; Salgado & Oceja, 2011). Specifically, this profile involves values referred to as openness-to-change and self-transcendence (Schwartz, 1992, 1994; Schwartz *et al.*, 2013), with the former as instrumental and the latter as terminal (Rokeach, 1973). Regarding its measurement and testing, the results from all studies reported here supported our hypotheses. In Study 1, using a diverse sample of participants from eight different countries, the values measured with the RSVS-11 were arrayed on the theoretical quasi-circular structure of values proposed by Schwartz (1992, 1994), and the transcendental-change profile (TCP) was located in a position coherent with its definition – on the border that connects the self-transcendence and the openness-to-change quadrants. In Study 2, in addition to good convergent validity between the RSVS-11 and the SVS, the results showed that the TCP is compatible with but not subsumed by the values of universalism and stimulation. In three more studies, the results supported the predicted association of TCP with an opportunity to engage in prosocial behaviour that is relatively more oriented towards 'world improvement' (Study 3) and stimulating (Studies 4 and 5). This association was significant not only with the willingness reported temporally close to the measurement of values (Studies 3 and 4), but also with the actual commitment offered one month after of the measurement of values (Study 5).

Our work is in line with those who suggest that forming meaningful combinations of values would enlarge their explanatory power. Lönnqvist *et al.* (2006) pioneered this approach by analysing the interactions between conformity and other self-transcendent and self-enhancement values. Specifically, they found that the predicted association of universalism, benevolence (positive), and power (negative) with prosocial action was

significant only among those who reported low scores in conformity. Here, we propose that the activation, via either salience or centrality, of transcendental-change values profile may lead to sensitivity to the welfare of the world at large, awareness of (stimulating) viable actions to promote it, and perceiving oneself as both able and responsible to take those actions. This can be useful to anticipate and promote the performance of complex and relatively exceptional prosocial behaviours labelled as political activism (Thomas & McGarty, 2018; Vecchione *et al.*, 2015) and social entrepreneurship (see also the relevant distinction between benevolent givers and social activists coined by Thomas & McGarty, 2017, 2018).

Limitations and future directions

The measure of TCP is embedded in a questionnaire composed by 11 single items aimed at assessing 11 value profiles (RSVS-11), and single-item measures typically raise concerns about their reliability and internal consistency. Though we acknowledge these concerns, we believe that four considerations show that their applicability to the RSVS-11 is limited. First, the results from Study 1 and 2 support the internal consistency, reliability, and convergent validity of the RSVS-11. Second, the results of Studies 3, 4, and 5 support the theoretically driven hypothesis regarding the association of the TCP with the willingness and commitment to perform global and stimulating prosocial actions. Researchers have pointed out that single-item measures might not be a limitation when these two aspects concur (Lawton, Conner & McEachan, 2009; Trafimow & Finlay, 1996) and there is indeed an increasing appreciation of single-item measures (Bergkvist & Rossiter, 2007; Postmes, Haslam, & Jans, 2013; Sandy *et al.*, 2016) that are advantageous to be used in conjunction with other measures. Third, using one item per value type facilitates the respondent to perform the anchor task (i.e., first reading all of them, then picking the two least and most valued, and finally rating the rest), that may be key in the assessment of values. Finally, the results of recent research support the link between the value profile of transcendent change and the motive of quixoteism through a measure that contains 8 specific values (Oceja *et al.*, 2018). Nevertheless, although measurement issues do not challenge our main findings, they should not be dismissed as irrelevant.

With respect to future directions, we recommend researchers to design measures comprised of other meaningful combinations of values. It may be argued that obtaining a comprehensive view of all the possible combinations (10^2 to 10 = 90, and 360 if the instrumental–terminal difference is included) is not practical. However, theoretical considerations can and should assist in focusing on specific path-and-goal combinations. Specifically, aside from the aforementioned work of Lönnqvist *et al.* (2006), classic approaches and past research suggest that the values related to the self-enhancement and self-transcendence quadrants may be viewed as terminal. For instance, the research on achievement motivation theory (McClelland, 1987; for a review, see Murphy & Alexander, 2000) advocates for achievement and power, and the aforementioned research of Batson and colleagues on those motives that may promote the public good (Batson, Ahmad, Powell, & Stocks, 2008) advocates for benevolence and universalism, since they are linked to altruism, collectivism, and principlism. There are, of course, many additional possibilities, but a venue for further research could be to start with the analysis of the combinations that propose conservation versus openness-to-change values as instrumental, and self-transcendent versus self-enhancement values as terminal. This approach may strengthen the bridge that connects values, taken both separately and in conjunction with other variables, the initiation of specific action (e.g., giving one concrete donation of time

or money) and the maintenance of long-standing behaviours (e.g., volunteering, political activism, and social entrepreneurship). Given recent and constant events regarding social crisis, it is indeed important to understand what motivates us to choose either relatively easy and passive or stimulating and risk-taking prosocial actions that are relatively more locally or globally oriented.

Acknowledgements

References

Allport, G. W., Vernon, P. E., & Lindzey, G. (1960). *Study of values*. Oxford, UK: Houghton Mifflin.

Batson, C. D. (1994). Why act for the public good? Four answers. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *20*, 603–610. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167294205016

Batson, C. D. (2011). *Altruism in humans*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Batson, C. D., Ahmad, N., Powell, A. A., & Stocks, E. L. (2008). Prosocial motivation. In J. Shah & W. Gardner (Eds.), *Handbook of motivational science* (pp. 135–149). New York, NY: Guilford.

Bergkvist, L., & Rossiter, J. R. (2007). The predictive validity of multiple-item versus single-item measures of the same constructs. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *44*, 175–184. https://doi.org/10.1509/jmkr.44.2.175

Bilsky, W., Janik, M., & Schwartz, S. H. (2011). The structural organization of human values-evidence from three rounds of the European Social Survey (ESS). *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *42*, 759–776. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022110362757

Brislin, R. W. (1970). Back-translation for cross-cultural research. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *1*, 185–216. https://doi.org/10.1177/135910457000100301

Cox, T. F., & Cox, M. A. (2001). *Multidimensional scaling*. London, UK: Chapman & Hall.

Daniel, E., Bilgin, A. S., Brezina, I., Strohmeier, C. E., & Vainre, M. (2015). Values and helping behaviour: A study in four cultures. *International Journal of Psychology*, *50*, 186–192. https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12086

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, A. G. (2009). Statistical power analyses using G*Power 3.1: Tests for correlation and regression analyses. *Behavior Research Methods*, *41*, 1149–1160. https://doi.org/10.3758/BRM.41.4.1149

Feather, N. T. (1995). Values, valences and choice: The influence of values on the perceived attractiveness and choice of alternatives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *68*, 1135–1151. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.68.6.1135

Hartman, R. S. (1967). *The structure of value: Foundation of scientific axiology*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Hitlin, S., & Piliavin, J. A. (2004). Values: Reviving a dormant concept. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *30*, 359–393. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.30.012703.110640

Jaworska, N., & Chupetlovska-Anastasova, A. (2009). A review of multidimensional scaling (MDS) and its utility in various psychological domains. *Tutorials in Quantitative Methods for Psychology*, *5*, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.20982/tqmp.05.1.p001

Kahle, L. R. (1983). *Social values and social change: Adaptation to life in America*. New York, NY: Praeger.

Kruskal, J. B., & Wish, M. (1978). *Multidimensional scaling*. Murray Hill, NJ: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412985130

Lawton, R., Conner, M., & McEachan, R. (2009). Desire or reason: Predicting health behaviors from affective and cognitive attitudes. *Health Psychology*, *28*, 56–65. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013424

Lee, J. A., Soutar, G., & Louviere, J. (2008). The best-worst scaling approach: An alternative to Schwartz's value survey. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *90*, 335–347. https://doi.org/10.1080/00223890802107925

Lönnqvist, J.-E., Leikas, S., Paunonen, S. V., Nissinen, V., & Verkasalo, M. (2006). Conformism moderates the relations between values, anticipated regret, and behaviour. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *32*, 1469–1481. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167206291672

Lönnqvist, J.-E., Verkasalo, M., Wichardt, P., & Walkowitz, G. (2013). Personal values and prosocial behaviour in strategic interactions: Distinguishing value-expressive from value-ambivalent behaviours. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *43*, 554–569. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.1976

Lönnqvist, J.-E., Walkowitz, G., Wichardt, P., Lindeman, M., & Verkasalo, M. (2009). The moderating effect of conformism values on the relations between other personal values, social norms, moral obligation, and single altruistic behaviours. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *48*, 525–546. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466608X377396

Maio, G. R., Olson, J. M., Bernard, M. M., & Luke, M. A. (2003). Ideologies, values, attitudes, and behaviour. In J. DeLamater (Ed.), *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 283–308). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic.

McClelland, D. C. (1987). *Human motivation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Mitchell, A. (1983). *The nine American lifestyles: Who we are and where we're going*. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Murphy, P., & Alexander, P. A. (2000). A motivated exploration of motivation terminology. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, *25*, 3–53. https://doi.org/10.1006/ceps.1999.1019

Oceja, L., & Salgado, S. (2013). Why do we help? World change orientation as an antecedent of prosocial action. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *43*, 127–136. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.1925

Oceja, L., Salgado, S., & Carrera, P. (2018). Do we really care for the world? Testing the link between transcendental change values and the quixoteism motive. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2018.1528153

Oceja, L., & Stocks, E. (2017). The path from helping one to helping the group and beyond. In E. van Leeuwen & H. Zagefka (Eds.), *Intergroup helping* (pp. 183–204). New York, NY: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-53026-0

Postmes, T., Haslam, S. A., & Jans, L. (2013). A single-item measure of social identification: Reliability, validity, and utility. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *52*, 597–617. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12006

Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Salgado, S., & Oceja, L. (2011). Towards a characterization of a motive whose ultimate goal is to increase the welfare of the world: Quixoteism. *The Spanish Journal of Psychology*, *14*, 145–155. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_SJOP.2011.v14.n1.12

Sandy, C., Gosling, S., Schwartz, S., & Koelkebeck, T. (2016). The development and validation of brief and ultrabrief measures of values. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *99*, 545–555. https://doi.org/10.1080/00223891.2016.1231115

Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *25*, 1–65. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60281-6

Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Are there universal aspects in the content and structure of values? *Journal of Social Issues*, *50*(4), 19–45. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1994.tb01196.x

Schwartz, S. H. (2010). Basic values: How they motivate and inhibit prosocial behaviour. In M. Mikulincer & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Prosocial motives, emotions, and behaviour: The better angels of our nature* (pp. 221–241). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/12061-000

Schwartz, S. H., & Boehnke, K. (2004). Evaluating the structure of human values with confirmatory factor analysis. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *38*, 230–255. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0092-6566(03)00069-2

Schwartz, S. H., Cieciuch, J., Vecchione, M., Davidov, E., Fischer, R., Bejerlein, C., . . . Konty, M. (2013). Refining the theory of basic individual values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *103*, 663–688. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029393

Thomas, E. F., & McGarty, C. (2017). When giving isn't enough: Responding to humanitarian emergencies through benevolent and activist support. In E. Van Leeuwen & H. Zagefka (Eds.), *Intergroup helping: The positive side of intergroup behaviour* (pp. 369–388). New York, NY: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-53026-0

Thomas, E. F., & McGarty, C. (2018). Giving versus acting: Using latent profile analysis to distinguish between benevolent and activist support for global poverty reduction. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *57*, 189–209. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12228

Trafimow, D., & Finlay, K. A. (1996). The importance of subjective norms for a minority of people: Between subjects and within-subjects analyses. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *22*, 820–828. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167296228005

Vecchione, M., Schwartz, S. H., Caprara, G. V., Schoen, H., Cieciuch, J., Silvester, J., . . . Alessandri, G. (2015). Personal values and political activism: A cross-national study. *British Journal of Psychology*, *106*, 84–106. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjop.12067