

Some considerations on intellectual apostolate. A view from Europe.

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Abstract

In the Pope's words, intellectual apostolate must be a priority for us. The radical changes that postindustrial societies are undergoing is leading to the predominance of secular, rational and self-expression values. Religion is not disappearing but the Churches and their fixed doctrines are giving way to more subjective beliefs and practices. However, the fact that people in developed countries are concerned with issues such as the meaning of life opens up some possibilities for the announcement of faith. Faculty working together in interdisciplinary and highly specialized groups as experts and advising committees may have a great impact upon both national and international policy makers.

Résumé

Dans les mots du Pape, l'apostolat intellectuel doit être une priorité pour nous. Les changements radicaux que subissent les sociétés postindustrielles conduit à la predominance des valeurs rationnelles et d'auto-expression. La religion ne va pas disparaître mais les Églises et leurs doctrines traditionnelles vont céder à des croyances et des pratiques plus subjectives. Toutefois, le fait que les citoyens des sociétés plus développées sont concernés avec des questions telles que le sens de la vie ouvre des possibilités pour l'annonce de la foi. Les Jésuites peuvent former des groupes interdisciplinaires et hautement spécialisés, aussi avec des laïcs et des non-croyants, travaillant comme conseillers et avoir ainsi un impact considérable sur les décideurs des politiques nationales et internationales aux niveaux social, économique et politique.

Introduction

Central problem: the central problem of intellectual apostolate is to find the right way to reach the men and women of our time, especially the more educated people, in the secularized Europe as in every other continent, so that we may announce them the Gospel of Jesus Christ. As the cultural and economic levels of European citizens are rising, people turn away from both the traditional, organized religions and churches, and the idea of a personal God, or even of any god. This is especially true in the northern European countries like Sweden, Norway, and others. But this trend is rapidly extending throughout the traditionally more Christian countries, like Portugal, Spain, Ireland, Poland and Italy. It is also extending

throughout the developing world. Economic development, liberal democracies, technological and scientific development and the impact of mass media upon everybody and every domain of human life, are creating a new world with new languages, new mental images, new ideas of freedom of thought and of speech, that lead more and more people to believe that the traditional world of religion has come to a definite end. ¹

This problem will be analyzed on the basis of the documents of the 35th General Congregation, the letter and the address of the Pope to the Congregation, the address of Father General to the Pope in the same occasion, some passages of two books by Joseph Ratzinger, Introduction to Christianity and Faith and the Future, and the studies based upon the European Values Study and the World Values Survey.

Key challenges to be addressed:

In his book Faith and the Future Ratzinger summed up some of the challenges to faith that need to be addressed: “It seems incontrovertible that today the mentality described by Comte is that of a very large section of human society. The question about God no longer finds any place in human thought. To take up a well-known saying of Laplace, the context of the world is self contained, and the hypothesis of God is no longer necessary to its comprehension. Even the faithful, like travelers in a sinking ship, are becoming widely affected by an uneasy feeling: they are asking if the Christian faith has any future, or if it is not, in fact, more and more obviously being made obsolete by intellectual evolution. Behind such notions is the sense that a great gulf is developing between the world of faith and the world of science, a gulf that seems unbridgeable, so that faith is made very largely impracticable.”² Let us analyze briefly some of the main challenges we need to face.

1-The challenge of discerning priorities. Most of us have contacts with those Christians who keep their faith, some more consciously others less. As evangelizers, we are all very busy with preaching the Spiritual Exercises, accompanying spiritually many people,

planning pastoral activities with young people in our high schools, parishes, summer camps, etc. We can't leave these activities, which are specific of our Ignatian charism, we can't abandon these people. But we also need to answer the challenges both of the traditional atheism and of the so-called new atheism that is increasingly attracting people, especially among the younger and the more educated. We, Jesuits, are becoming older and older, fewer and fewer. New vocations are not sufficient in order to keep all our pastoral activities. Many communities and pastoral institutions have been closed, and many more will be in the future. It is also true that many new communities and pastoral initiatives have been created. We need not announce anything like 'the beginning of the end', but many of our institutions will surely disappear in the near future, unless they change and adapt very quickly to the new situations – some of them radically new – that are arising in the actual globalizing trend. There are surely many challenges that need to be met without any delay.

2-The challenge of going beyond the intellectual/pastoral divide. Are we, the Jesuits, truly aware of the importance of the intellectual apostolate? It is written in the first decree of the 35th Congregation that we are.³ But to what degree? Intellectual apostolate leads us to engage in many activities that are not always recognized as pastoral. The divide between pastoral and intellectual activities is still very strong among us, even among young Jesuits. If one takes part and delivers a paper in a Congress on Science and Religion, v.g., his Jesuit fellows hardly think that his brother is doing any sort of pastoral activity. The same happens if someone engages in a consistent dialogue with atheists. "Such efforts are useless because we know that atheists usually don't want to be converted", I've heard. Such a view, that is rather common among us, has important consequences at least in two main domains: our choice of apostolic activities and the formation of young Jesuits.

3-The challenge of reframing the Jesuits' formation. The formation of young Jesuits both at the academic and at the pastoral level, needs to be such that they may understand that

a fundamental aspect of our mission, as it has been given us and reaffirmed especially by Paul VI, John Paul II and Benedict XVI, is to engage firmly in the faith-culture dialogue and, more specifically, in the dialogue with atheism. Benedict XVI clearly said in his address to the 35th General Congregation that the Church needs urgently people “who devote their lives to stand on those frontiers in order to witness and help to understand that there is in fact a profound harmony between faith and reason, between evangelical spirit, thirst for justice and action for peace. Only thus will it be possible to make the face of the Lord known to so many for whom it remains hidden or unrecognisable.” And he emphatically added that “this must therefore be the preferential task of the Society of Jesus.”⁴ It is worth to recall Fr. General’s words to the Holy Father during the 35th General Congregation. As Jesuits, he said, we are “feeling confirmed in our mission to work at the frontiers where faith and science, faith and justice, and faith and knowledge, confront each other, and in the challenging field of serious reflection and responsible theological research.”⁵ In order to truly fulfill this mission, we need a new mentality especially among the younger Jesuits, so that so that they may truly understand the importance of intellectual apostolate in contemporary societies, and be adequately prepared for this mission. In this sense, I believe their formation needs to be restructured. I fully endorse, for example, the recommendations of a recent document produced by Jesuits in Science on the need of young Jesuits to learn some basics in different sciences during their studies.

4-The challenge of long term results and rewards. Jesuits who work in pastoral activities with families or with young people, who preach the Spiritual Exercises or spend many hours in spiritual direction are commonly taken as models of what young Jesuits who are in the several stages of formation generally want to become in the future. And we surely hope that young and older Jesuits will continue engaged in those activities. However, the younger may acquire progressively an image of a Jesuit that is closely related to someone

whose activity bears fruits that are not only visible and comforting but also achieved in the short term. This priority given to activities that produce immediate and short term results and rewards is present in younger as in older and active Jesuits, and it will surely prevent us to choose intellectual activities whose results may never be seen or may be obtained only in the long run.

5-The challenge to be at the unsecure frontiers. We need to be where people are and live where people live, especially the unbelievers and those who are vacillating in their faith. We also need to be with those educated people who have greater impact on society and who spread their atheistic views, sometimes in a militant way. We need to enlarge our horizons and look beyond people who are usually looking for us in search of spiritual help; we need to pay attention to those many more people who do not even know us, who do not come to talk to us in search for any kind of help. Our ‘houses’ and ‘communities’ where we feel safe, secure and comforted are not only our communities but also the groups of our friends who are members of CVXs, who have a frequent experience of our Spiritual Exercises, who regularly come to talk to us in search of advice. As we feel consoled in the ‘safe’ situations, we may experience more difficulty to feel ‘at home’ in other situations where we may have to face uncertainty and often hostility. As Father General said in his mentioned address to the Holy Father, we all thank him “to have been once more encouraged to follow our Ignatian tradition of service right where the Gospel and the Church suffer the greatest challenges, a service which at times also lends itself to the risk of disturbing a peaceful lifestyle, reputation and security.”⁶ But of course, these words may be no more than just words if we do not make decisive and in some cases radical moves in order to make the changes that the Lord is asking us to make. We need to listen more carefully to His call to inhabit the new frontiers which we need to be able to identify in the concrete situations of our world. At this point, it is worth to recall the Pope’s wise words in his mentioned Address: “The obstacles challenging the

evangelizers are not so much the seas or the long distances as the frontiers that, due to a mistaken or superficial vision of God and of man, are raised between faith and human knowledge, faith and modern science, faith and the fight for justice.”⁷ The 35th General Congregation has wisely acknowledged that “the letter and the allocution of the Holy Father open for us a new epoch.”⁸

Analysis of the problem(s) in a way to enlighten understanding and raise key questions on how best to address the problem, from a global context and the cultural context of Europe.

1-A changing problem. Until recently, our central problem as evangelizers was how to educate in the faith the children and the younger, and to accompany the adult Christians that come regularly to our churches, spiritual exercises, CVXs and spiritual direction. We could easily live with those who were religiously indifferent but usually tolerant.

However, the situation changed quite a lot over the last few decades, especially in Europe. A growing number of non believers are turning away not only from the Churches; they are also turning against both the Churches and any form of organized religion. Even if it is true that the number of atheistic organizations is not high, and that their crusade makes little, although not negligible, social impact, their importance and their impact are increasing. How are we to act in such a situation? It is true that we now face situations where many simply don't care about religion. But we also face the situation of those who actively fight religion. And we also face the situation of an increasing number of Christians who know little about their faith and have little or no concern about the practical implications of this faith and, as a consequence, are leaving their faith behind.

2-The negative image of religion. People are more and more aware of the existence of different religions, and of unacceptable aspects in many of them, they find new reasons to refuse religion in general and, especially in Europe, Christianity in particular.

Fundamentalism among Jews, Hindus, Muslims and Christians, is certainly a powerful obstacle to everyone who may be looking for answers to his or her religious concerns, and may also be a convincing reason for those who are unsure about their faith to abandon it with no sorrow or pain. The public image of religion in general and of the Christian Churches in particular is increasingly negative. This is particularly true among the more educated people, including university students and lecturers.

The idea that science contradicts religion, that religion is incompatible with progress in every domain, and that religion in general deals badly with rational arguments, particularly in ethical domains such as sexual morality and the many aspects of bioethics, both at the levels of practice and of research – all these ideas are becoming more and more accepted.

To get rid from every religious belief, religious concern or religious social visibility is now for an increasing number of people a true mission in the name of human civilization.⁹

3-Data from European and World Surveys. Quick and substantial changes have been occurring in every society especially since the beginning of the industrial revolution in Europe. These changes have been studied over the last three decades on the basis of both European and World Surveys. The changes have been triggered by economical and political developments, made possible by both scientific and technological progress. Such developments are having strong impact on religious beliefs, political democratization, attitudes towards key aspects of human life, such as family, children and divorce. The impact has been particularly strong in the ethical domain such as abortion, homosexuality, euthanasia, stem cell research, sex role, etc. These cultural changes occur in first place in the more industrially developed societies, especially in Europe. Ronald Inglehart has been coordinating the studies based on the results of both Europe and World Surveys, and has put forward the thesis that economic development, cultural progress and political change are closely related and allow us to understand why and how societies evolved until now, and how

they will evolve in the future. Societies move from traditional to secular-rational values, and from survival to self-expression values. According to Inglehart, “traditional values place strong emphasis on religion, respect for authority, and have relatively low levels of tolerance for abortion and divorce and have relatively high levels of national pride. Secular-rational values have the opposite characteristics. Agrarian societies tend to emphasize traditional values; industrializing societies tend to emphasize secular-rational values.”¹⁰ Such cultural changes have an impact not only on every society as a whole but also on successive generations within every society. A basic shift from survival and traditional or materialist values to secular-rational and self-expression or postmaterialist values is now occurring in most societies worldwide. The ‘protestant Europe’ (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, Switzerland, Finland and Germany) and Japan score high both in self-expressions values (vs. survival values) and in secular-rational values (vs. traditional values). In the opposite situation we find countries in Africa (Zimbabwe, South Africa, Uganda, Tanzania), South Asia (Bangladesh, Pakistan, Iran, Philippines, Indonesia), and Latin America (Chile, Peru, Brasil). The United States score high in self-expression values but low in secular-rational values, since traditional values are still very strong in the American society. In a situation right below the ‘Protestant Europe’ we find the ‘Catholic Europe’, in which France, Belgium, Italy and Spain score high both in self-expression and in secular-rational values; Ireland and Portugal have a low score in secular-rational values, since traditional values are still strong in these countries. However, as to self-expression (vs. survival) values Portugal has a moderate score whereas Ireland as a high score. Most ex-communist countries in Europe, including Russia, score high in secular-rational values but remain in the area of traditional values (vs. self-expression values). China also scores high in secular-rational values but low in self-expression values. According to Inglehart, “postmaterialist values emerge as people come to place increasing emphasis on autonomy, self-expression and the quality of life. This shift is

linked with changing existential conditions – above all, the change from growing up with the feeling that survival is precarious, to growing up with the feeling that survival can be taken for granted.”¹¹

The findings of the European and World Surveys carried out between 1981 and 2007 in 45 countries show that “the extent to which a society allows free choice has a major impact on happiness. Since 1981, economic development, democratization, and increasing social tolerance have increased the extent to which people perceive that they have free choice, which in turn has led to higher levels of happiness around the world.”¹² How does happiness relate to religious beliefs? As to the religious dimension, what both the European and the World Values Surveys have been consistently showing is that as people and societies move from an existence dominated by material or survival values, to a culture where postmaterialist values of self-expression, political democracy and personal autonomy are dominant, they tend to feel that they do not need God anymore. As Inglehart and others put it: “we argue that feelings of vulnerability to physical, societal and personal risks are a key factor driving religiosity, and we demonstrate that the process of secularization – a systematic erosion of religious practices, values and beliefs – has occurred most clearly among the most prosperous social sectors living in affluent and secure post-industrial nations.”¹³ As the economical level of a country rises, welfare institutions are also more effective, and the sense of subjective security increases. In these societies, people also tend to move away from institutions that may be felt as obstacles to their autonomy and self-expression, because institutions always impose rules on their members. The Christian Churches are among such institutions.

Cultural changes are reinforced by generational changes. In developed countries every new generation adopts new lifestyles based on subjective self-expression values, and moves further away from traditional institutions like traditional family model, political parties, parliaments, armies, churches, etc.

The findings of these studies also show not only that people in developed countries have been changing their moral and religious beliefs and practices, but also why this has been happening. According to Inglehart, “Religious orientations are changing too. In the uncertain world of subsistence societies, the need for absolute standards and a sense that an infallible higher power will ensure that things ultimately turn out well filled a major psychological need. One of the key functions of religion was to provide a sense of certainty in an insecure environment. Physical as well as economic insecurity intensify this need; the old saying that “there are no atheists in foxholes” reflects the fact that physical danger leads to a need for belief in a higher power. But peace, prosperity, and the welfare state have produced an unprecedented sense of security that one will survive. This has diminished the need for the reassurance that religion traditionally provided. The postmodern world view is linked with declining acceptance of rigid religious norms concerning sex and reproduction and a diminishing need for absolute rules.” This is not however the whole story. Some sort of spiritual or religious concerns continue to play an important role in peoples’ lives. In fact, Inglehart continues arguing that the postmodern worldview “also brings a growing concern for the meaning and purpose of life. Thus, though established religious organizations have declined in most advanced industrial societies, we are not witnessing a decline in spiritual concerns but rather a redirection of them. This change in world views has given rise to a wide range of new social movements, from the environmentalist movement to the women’s movement, and to new norms concerning cultural diversity and growing acceptance of gay and lesbian lifestyles.”¹⁴

According to Inglehart, the worldwide process of secularization especially in the more affluent countries, has not eroded religion: “In the knowledge society, productivity depends less on material constraints than on ideas and imagination. This creates a climate of intellectual creativity and stimulation, in which spiritual concern again become more central.

Although the authority of the established churches continues to decline, during the past twenty years the publics of postindustrial societies have become increasingly likely to spend time thinking about the meaning and purpose of life. Whether one views these concerns as religious depends on one's definition of religion, but it is clear that the materialistic secularism of industrial society is fading." However, the emphasis on self-expression values in knowledge society transforms religion as an opportunity for self-expression of one's spiritual or religious concerns. As Inglehart continues, "there is a shift from institutionally fixed forms of dogmatic religion to individually flexible forms of spiritual religion. Even one's religious ideas become a matter of choice, creativity and self-expression."¹⁵ Our intellectual apostolate needs to take into account, although critically, these findings so that we may address the real people living in changing societies, where God seems to disappear from people's concern, but aspects related to spirituality and religion are not disappearing.

Dimensions of faith of the intellectual apostolate.

1-In search of a new image of God. The 'traditional God' was and still is seen by many people as a source of security, especially in agrarian societies where people are very much dependent on factors, like the weather, that they do not control. In these societies, people are also completely dependent on both Church and State authorities. Since this economic, social and political situation has been rapidly changing, especially since the industrial revolution and, even more, after World War II, a new image of God and of religion has yet to be 'created': a God whose main role is not to help people to survive in agrarian societies; a God who is not against either to people's autonomy, rationality and freedom or to the corresponding self-expression values.

2-The impact of science. Developments in science, especially during the XXth century, have allowed mankind to develop their knowledge of how the universe began, of how the laws of nature work, and of how life appeared and evolved on Earth. Quick

developments in technology that are taking place also give people the sense of security since they are increasingly able to understand and control natural processes. These scientific and technological developments create in people, especially in those with higher educational levels, a sense that God is no longer necessary or, even worse, that science contradicts religion. For these educated people, the traditional God is basically the God-of-the-gaps that belongs to the past. However, this God-of-the-gaps continues to be proposed by educated Christians.

3.Proving God's existence. Many educated non-believers wonder why Christians believe in God and even think they know a lot about him, but are not able to provide any convincing proof of his existence. Attempts to revive some of the traditional proofs of God's existence have had little or no effect upon the minds of educated people. But for many Christians, Jesuits included, such proofs are possible and necessary even today.

3-Ethics and religion. The ethical domain has been closely associated with religion especially in Christianity and Islam. In Catholic official documents on euthanasia, abortion, stem cells research, same sex marriage, etc., references both to the Bible and to the traditional doctrine of the Church seem to be an important part of the arguments against those practices. It happens, however, that a growing number of people, especially young and adult educated people are moving away from such references. We need to recognize that some of the ethical views of the Catholic Church are among the main reasons why many people consider the Catholic doctrine outdated and the Catholic Church an institution that appears to be unable to understand that changes have necessarily to be introduced in many doctrinal views.

4-Fundamentalisms. Religious fundamentalism is one of the most powerful reasons why many people don't believe in God and don't even want to discuss the issue. Christian creationists and proponents of 'intelligent design', together with fanatic Muslims and Hindus, believe they are bearing witness to their faith but they are actually pressing people to move

away from God. Ecumenical and interreligious dialogue must, in this respect, be taken as a high priority.

How faculty working together globally will be better able to address the problem(s).

Structured and formal interdisciplinary, interreligious and international groups, working on the basis of clearly established goals and methodologies would be able to address the mentioned problems in a fruitful way. The members of such groups need to be highly specialized in their fields and avoid being engaged in many different and divergent activities at the same time. They must possess the ability to establish permanent contacts with significant institutions and people in their fields, and the capacity to be creative and to be willing to face new and unpredicted challenges. Finally, such groups may take the form of international Jesuit communities or they may be more open and include also laypeople, men and women, both at national and at international level.

How faculty, people living in the reality of the problem, and policy makers can learn from each other and together address the problem.

We need to work with lay people and people of other religions, and even with non believers, with “people who share our values but not our beliefs.”¹⁶ Specialization and intervention in particular areas may give us credibility and put us in contact and dialogue with policy makers. Faculty will need to work, officially or not, as advising committees, and produce professional statements and advice on a regular basis.

Some common research projects or topics.

A study on the role of religion in a postmaterialist society. How can we announce the Gospel in societies where the predominance of self-expression values, autonomy and freedom seem to conflict with the idea of a God and a Church who impose their norms upon people and limit their freedom to act and think? Which new language, symbols, mental images, times and places are needed? This research project may lead to a much needed Credo for

Christian people living in societies where the level of education is rising, and where scientific and technological advancements provide people with a sense of control over their lives and the world. One has the feeling that ecclesiastical and theological languages that are used today in official and doctrinal documents and in homilies, general addresses, debates, etc., are in urgent need of change taking into account cultural changes in postmaterialist societies.

The project may also include the production of high level publications to be edited simultaneously in as many countries as possible. It may also include the organization of international meetings to be held in different countries. The actual evolving situation of religion in European countries may well be a suitable subject for a research project.

Some key questions to stimulate discussion.

(2).How are we going to tell people that they need a God? (3).Should we try to (re)elaborate a convincing proof of God's existence? (4).How are we going to meet the challenge of the new, militant atheism? (1).Which God are we actually announcing today? (5).Is it necessary, and is it possible to discuss ethical issues, especially in the fields of bioethics and of sexual ethics, with no mention of the Bible and of Christian doctrine? (6).Is it reasonable to think that it is possible to engage in a fruitful dialogue with both Christian and Muslim fundamentalists? (7).How can the intellectual apostolate take into serious account people's search for the meaning of life, especially in the postmaterialist societies? (8).Do we need to move from the traditional to a postmaterialist God? (9).Have we really left the God-of-the-gaps behind?

Ways to establish a global network to engage faculty and others in research and advocacy projects beyond the conference.

A way to establish a global network of faculty members is to gather people who share similar views on the goals, methodology and the value of intellectual apostolate in its different modalities; people who speak English fluently and at least another language; people

who are familiar with the more updated ways to communicate; people who are willing to work in interdisciplinary groups with clear goals and methodology, as mentioned above; people who are able to work together with others, who are aware of the urgency to be at the frontiers, especially those where others are unable to live. This global network may be based either on individuals or in small groups living in different countries and permanently interconnected.

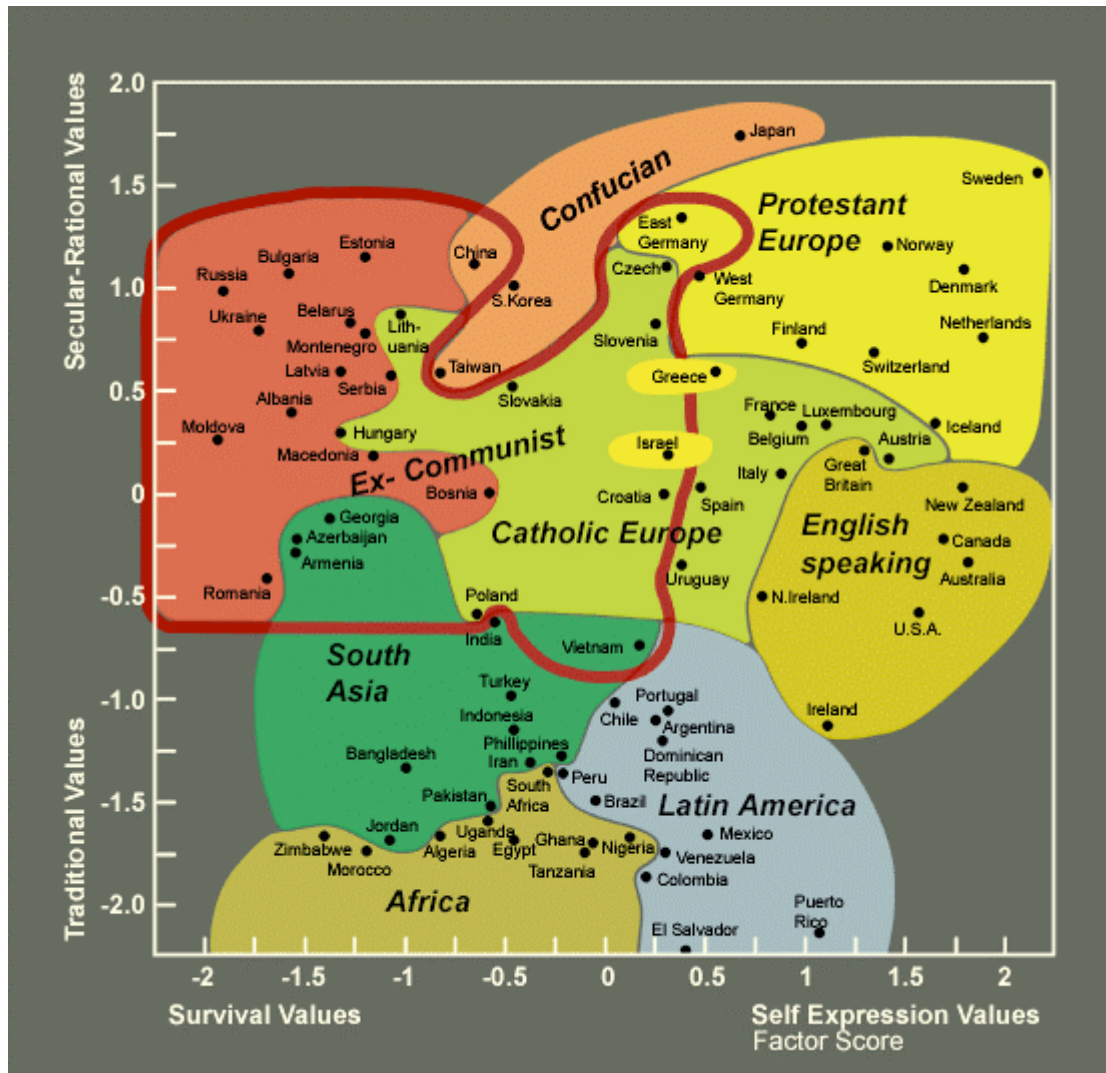
Endnotes

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- ¹ See Harris, Sam (2005), *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason*, W.W. Norton.
- ² Ratzinger, Joseph (2009) *Faith and the Future*, Ignatius Press, pp. 14-15. Originally published in 1970.
- ³ “We are aware of the importance of the intellectual apostolate for the life and the mission of the Church today”. GC 35, D 1, § 13.
- ⁴ Benedict XVI, *Allocution to the 35th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus* (21 February 2008 § 4)
- ⁵ Adolfo Nicolás, *Allocution to the Holy Father during his audience to the Fathers of the 35th General Congregation* (21 February 2008, § 2)
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ Benedict XVI, *Allocution to the 35th General Congregation*, § 3.
- ⁸ CG 35, D1, § 16.
- ⁹ See Hitchens, C. (2007), *God is not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything*, Twelve Ed.
- ¹⁰ Inglehart, Ronald (2008), “Changing values among Western Publics from 1970 to 2006”, in *Western European Politics*, 1-2, p. 139
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.
- ¹² Inglehart, Ronald *et al.* (2008), “Development, freedom, and rising happiness. A global perspective (1981-2007), in *Perspectives of Psychological Science*, 3, p. 264.
- ¹³ Inglehart, Ronald and Norris, Pippa (2004), *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics worldwide*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 4-5.
- ¹⁴ Ronald Inglehart (2000), “Globalization and postmodern values” *The Washington Quarterly*, 23:1, p. 224.
- ¹⁵ Inglehart, R. & Welzel, C. (2005), *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, p. 31.
- ¹⁶ GC 35, D 2, § 21.

Appendix

The Inglehart Values Map

The Inglehart Values Map visualizes the strong correlation of values in different cultures. Countries are clustered in a remarkably predictable way.



The World Values Surveys were designed to provide a comprehensive measurement of all major areas of human concern, from religion to politics to economic and social life and two dimensions dominate the picture: (1) Traditional/ Secular-rational and (2) Survival/Self-expression values. These two dimensions explain more than 70 percent of the cross-national variance in a factor analysis of ten indicators-and each of these dimensions is strongly correlated with scores of other important orientations.

The Traditional/Secular-rational values dimension reflects the contrast between societies in which religion is very important and those in which it is not. A wide range of other

orientations are closely linked with this dimension. Societies near the traditional pole emphasize the importance of parent-child ties and deference to authority, along with absolute standards and traditional family values, and reject divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide. These societies have high levels of national pride, and a nationalistic outlook. Societies with secular-rational values have the opposite preferences on all of these topics.

The second major dimension of cross-cultural variation is linked with the transition from industrial society to post-industrial societies-which brings a polarization between Survival and Self-expression values. The unprecedented wealth that has accumulated in advanced societies during the past generation means that an increasing share of the population has grown up taking survival for granted. Thus, priorities have shifted from an overwhelming emphasis on economic and physical security toward an increasing emphasis on subjective well-being, self-expression and quality of life. Inglehart and Baker (2000) find evidence that orientations have shifted from Traditional toward Secular-rational values, in almost all industrial societies. But modernization, is not linear-when a society has completed industrialization and starts becoming a knowledge society, it moves in a new direction, from Survival values toward increasing emphasis on Self-expression values.

A central component of this emerging dimension involves the polarization between Materialist and Postmaterialist values, reflecting a cultural shift that is emerging among generations who have grown up taking survival for granted. Self-expression values give high priority to environmental protection, tolerance of diversity and rising demands for participation in decision making in economic and political life. These values also reflect mass polarization over tolerance of outgroups, including foreigners, gays and lesbians and gender equality. The shift from survival values to self-expression values also includes a shift in child-rearing values, from emphasis on hard work toward emphasis on imagination and tolerance as important values to teach a child. And it goes with a rising sense of subjective well-being that is conducive to an atmosphere of tolerance, trust and political moderation. Finally, societies that rank high on self-expression values also tend to rank high on interpersonal trust.

This produces a culture of trust and tolerance, in which people place a relatively high value on individual freedom and self-expression, and have activist political orientations. These are precisely the attributes that the political culture literature defines as crucial to democracy.