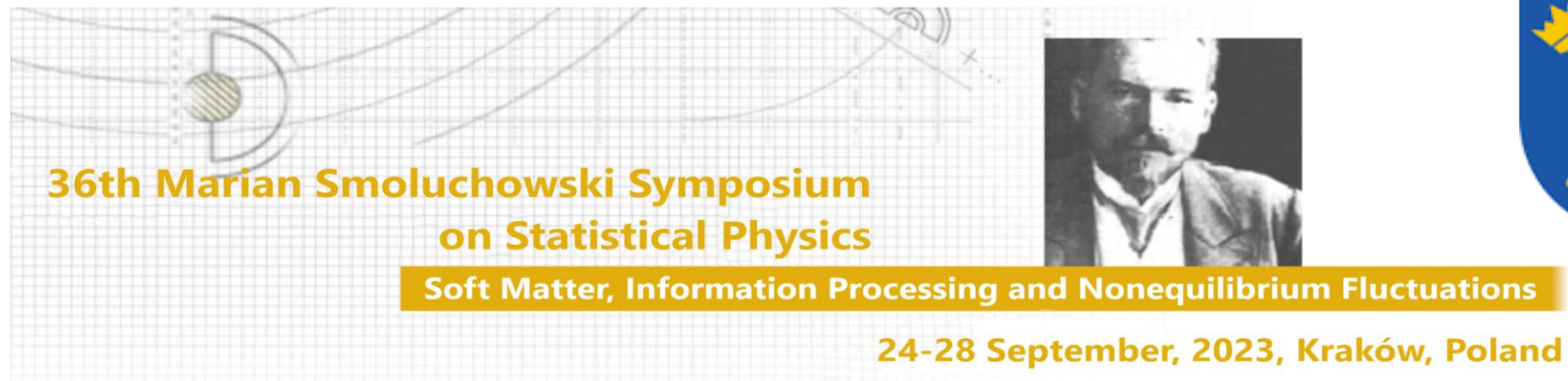


# Mitosis of life aims in Poland 2012-2016

Maciej Wołoszyn, Maria Nawojczyk, Maria Stojkow,  
Dorota Żuchowska-Skiba, Grzegorz Ptaszek, Krzysztof Kułakowski

AGH University of Krakow, Poland



Main premise:

Moral values are important for our political decisions

Main goal:

A simple method to detect polarization of moral values

## outline

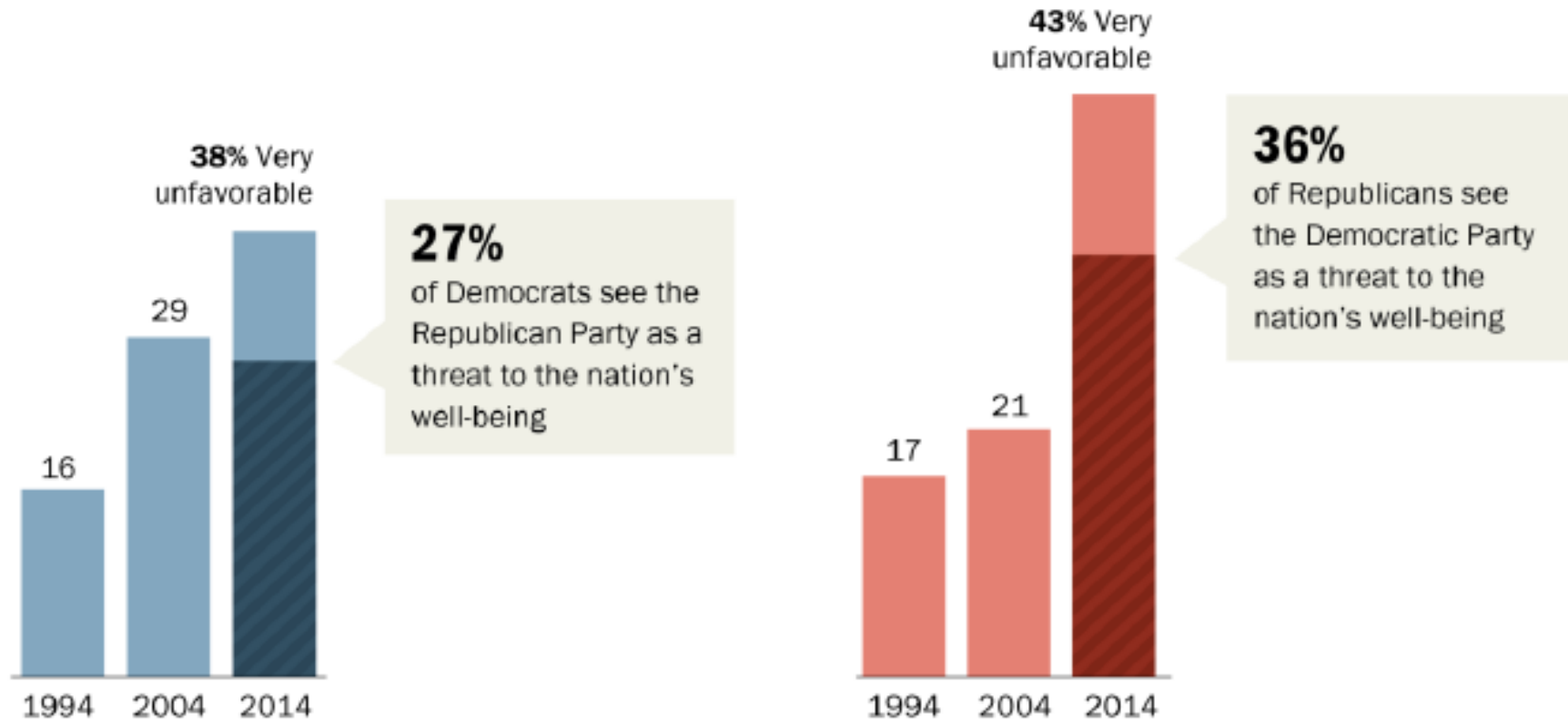
1. Polarization in Poland
2. Explorers vs Defenders: two mentalities
3. Data: life aims vs education
4. Math: polarization detection
5. Results: volatile issues, core issues
6. Comments from literature
7. Summary: what is unavoidable

# Data : polarization of attitudes

## Beyond Dislike: Viewing the Other Party as a 'Threat to the Nation's Well-Being'

Democratic *attitudes about the* Republican Party

Republican *attitudes about the* Democratic Party



Source: 2014 Political Polarization in the American Public

Notes: Questions about whether the Republican and Democratic Parties are a threat to the nation's well being asked only in 2014.

Republicans include Republican-leaning independents; Democrats include Democratic-leaning independents (see Appendix B).

P. Śpiwak (2003), a Professor of Sociology and Director of the Jewish Historical Institute, noted:

Old and new members of the Polish intelligentsia, a significant portion of the metropolitan middle-class accepted . . . the model of open society, the rest of our compatriots have sequestered themselves in their distrust, aversion to those around them . . . and collectivistic beliefs. . . . The Two Polands drift apart. ↴

R. Legutko (2005), Professor of Philosophy and a Member of the European Parliament representing the Polish right-wing party Law and Justice, stated:

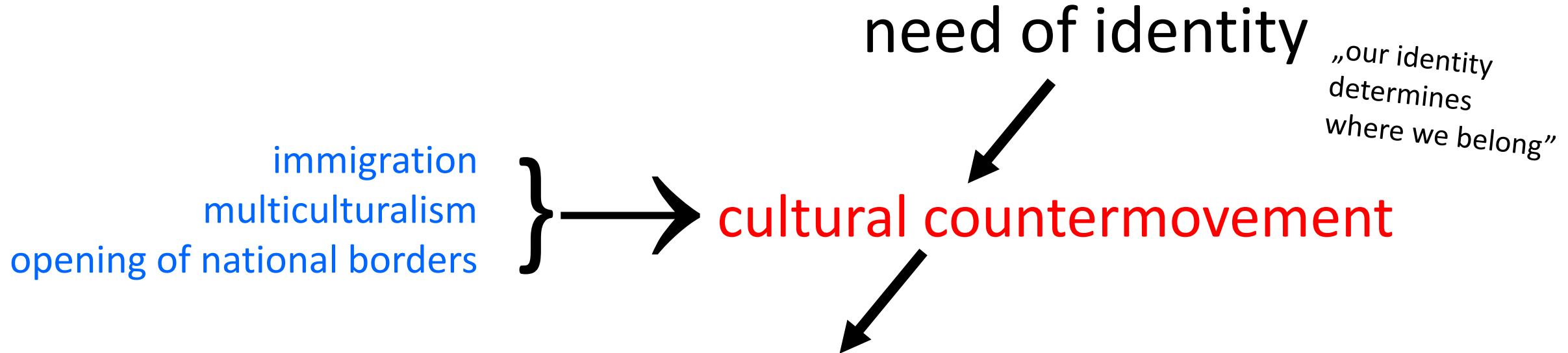
Yes, we have Two Polands and this division is not a new one. It emerged already at the dawn of the Third Polish Republic (1989). One faction proclaimed themselves the wise ones, bringing education, Europeanness and modernity to a horde of grim, dangerous simpletons.

[after J. Reykowski, Disenchantment with Democracy, OxfordUP, 2020, Ch.2]

F. Fukuyama, *The End of History*, 1989 : domination of liberal democracy.

instead we observe:

increasing approval of right-wing populists, nationalists and authoritarian ideas.



A split „**Defenders**” vs „**Explorers**”: narrow vs open definition of belonging,

**D** threatened by minorities and feel marginalized

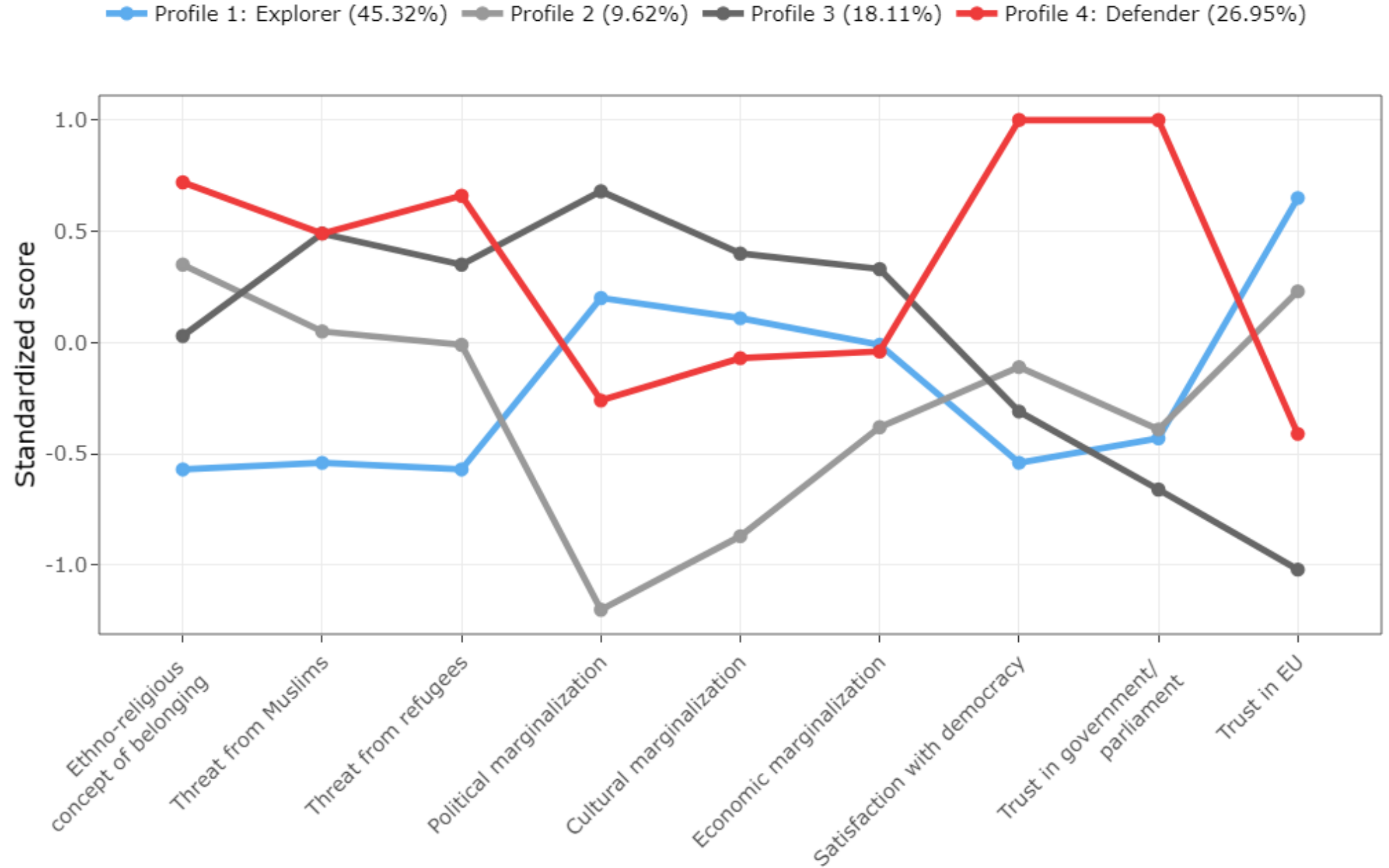
Poland is specific: both **D** (29%) and **E** (49%) feel marginalized,

57% of **D** vote for populist party (Germany 26%, France 16%, Sweden 34%)

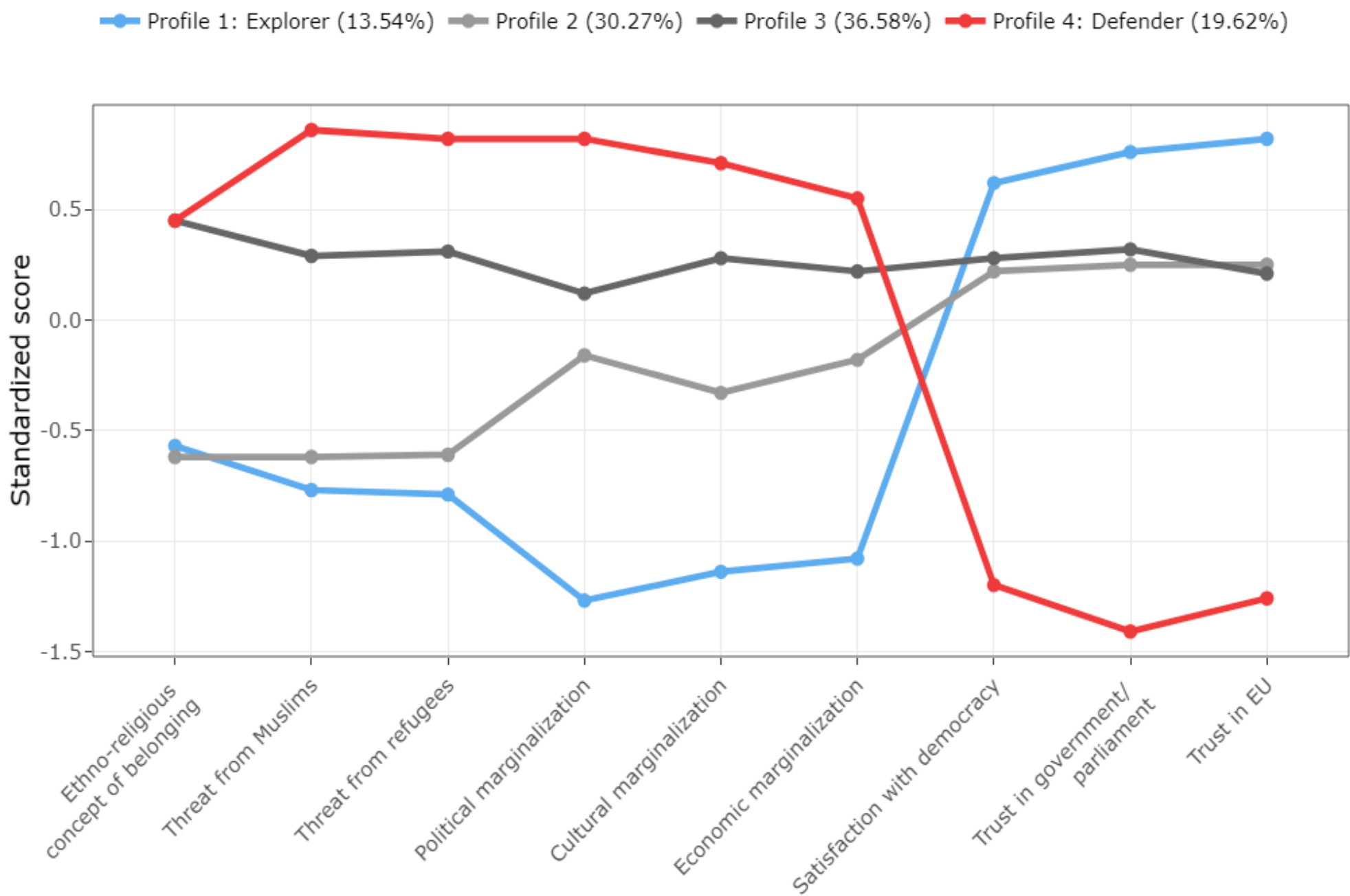
[Mitja Back et al., Working Report, Religion and Politics, WWU Munster, 2021; doi: 10.17879/97049506223;  
See also Y. Piurko et al., Political Psychology 32/4 (2011) 537, and literature therein]



# Poland



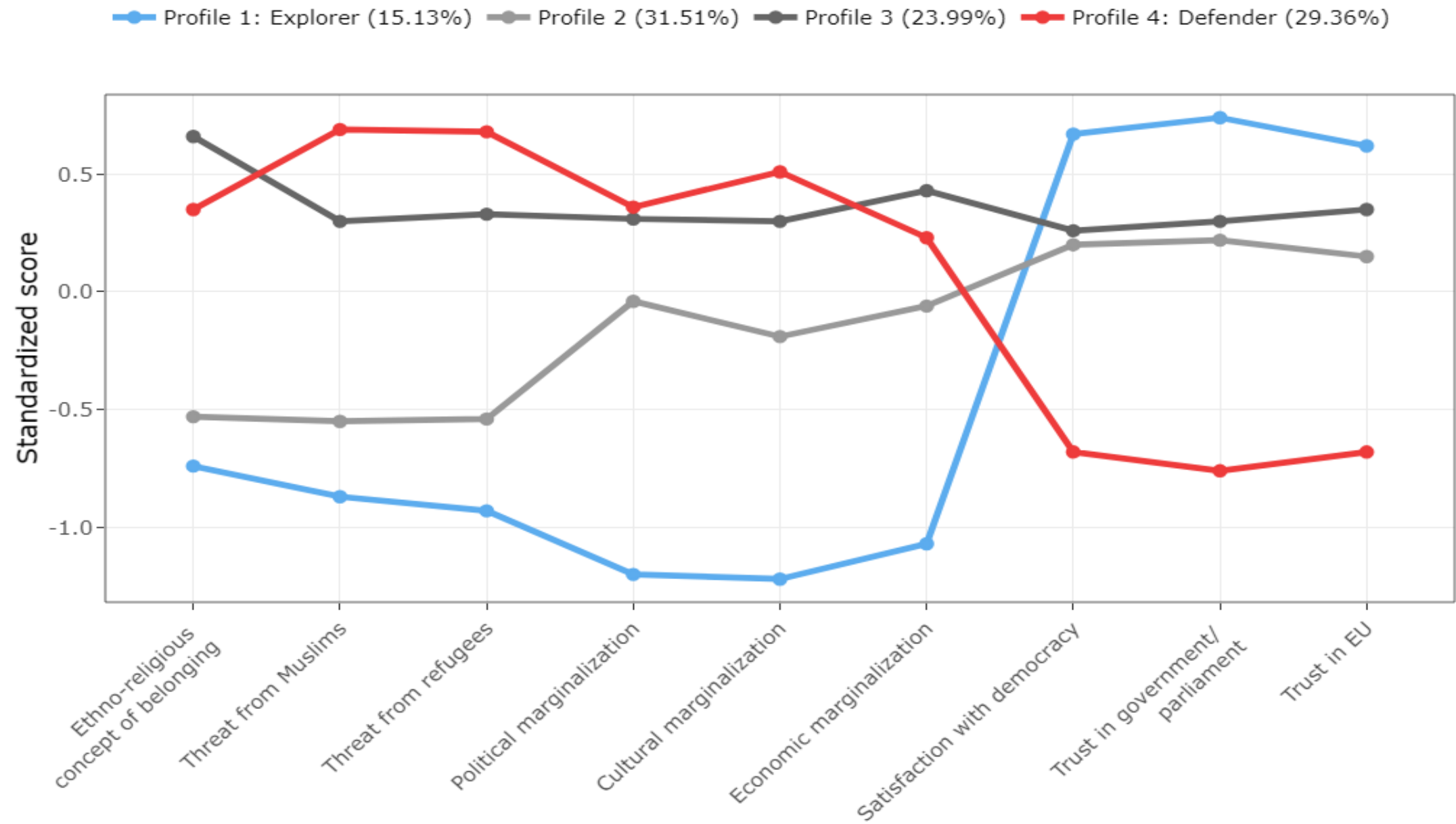
# Germany



[M. Back et al., Working Report, Religion and Politics, WWU Munster, 2021]

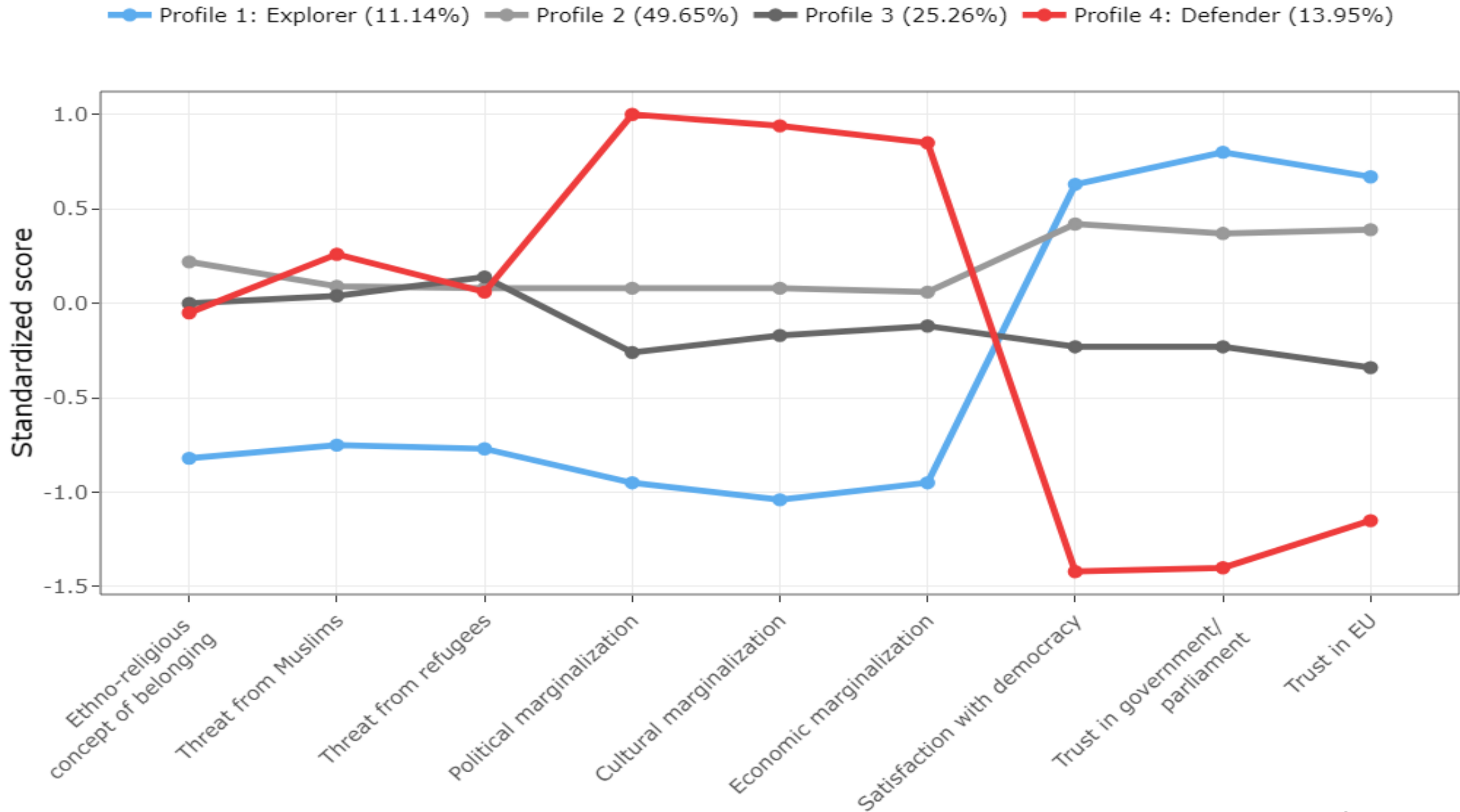


# Sweden



[M. Back et al., Working Report, Religion and Politics, WWU Munster, 2021]

# France



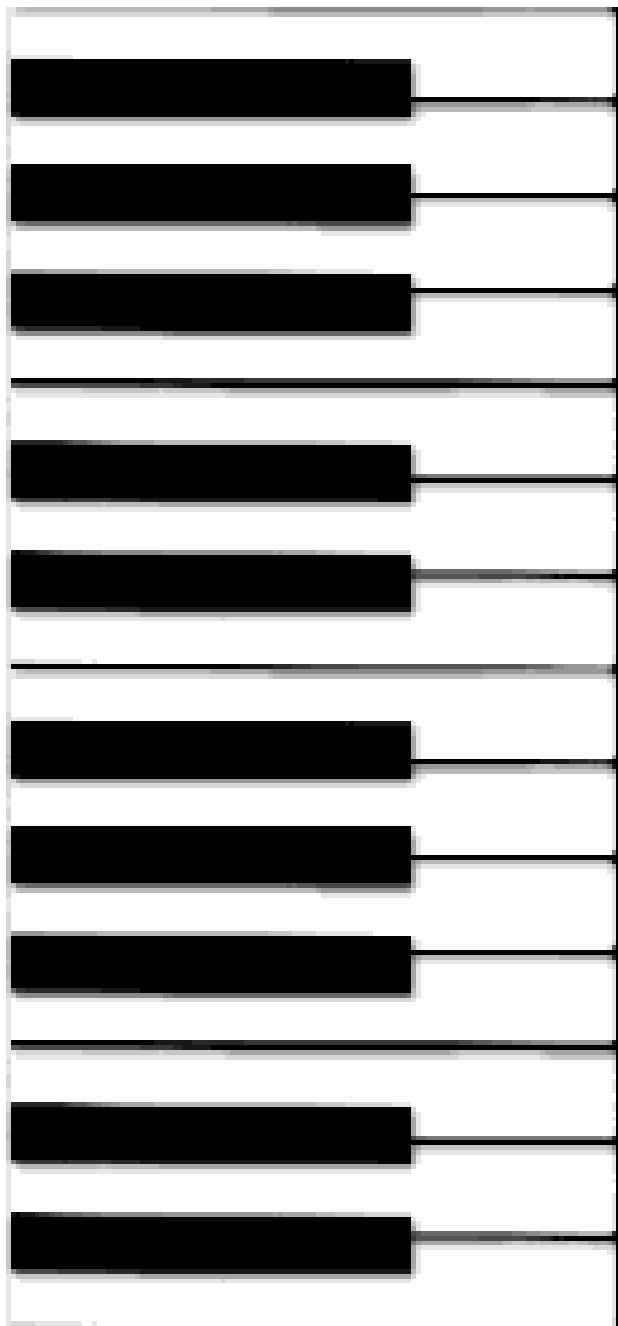
**Mentality** = network of cognitive structures in the form of:

- normative assumptions (...) on personal values
- epistemic assumptions = beliefs about what is possible
- internal assumptions about the self (who I am? What is my role?)
- cognitive style (open- or close-minded?)

**Collectivist mentality:** understanding of community as primordial bonds, a collective world view (as religion), historically shaped system of norms, attitude towards authority, rigorous social control.

**Individualist mentality:** the autonomous „self“, understanding of community as common interests and common tasks, moral autonomy, autonomous thinking, democratic approach to authority, limited social control.

## hot keys:



immigration

abortion  
racial equity

gun legislation

climate change

*...looking for  
a topic with  
the potential  
to mobilize  
<given group>  
to participate  
more actively  
in politics*

***Priming:** exposure to one stimulus affects a subsequent response to a second stimulus.*

[[helpfulprofessor.com/priming-examples-psychology/](http://helpfulprofessor.com/priming-examples-psychology/)]

## **Florida effect:**

- \* Students had to arrange a sentence, using words:  
*Florida, wrinkle, bald, grey, forgetful.*
- \* A control group got random words.

After the subjects had finished, both groups were asked to move to another room, and those in the control group walked faster.

# Life aims in Poland: It is important...

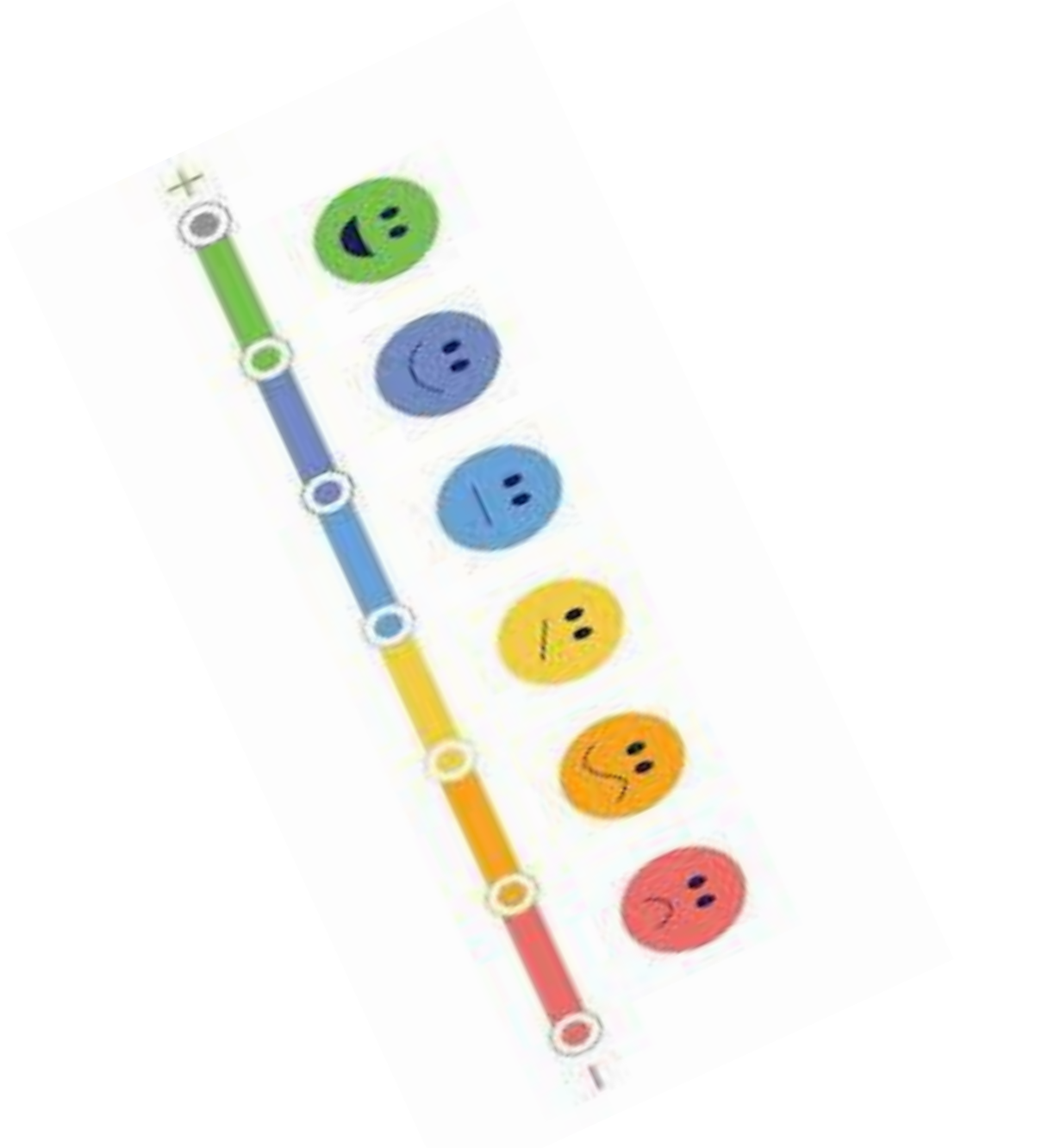
European Social Survey,  
2012, 2014, 2016  
(the rounds with  
the same 16 categories  
of education)

- 1 to try new and different things in life
- 2 to care for nature and environment
- 3 to make own decisions and be free
- 4 to seek fun and things that give pleasure
- 5 to be rich, have money and expensive things
- 6 to live in secure and safe surroundings
- 7 to follow traditions and customs
- 8 to seek adventures and have an exciting life
- 9 to behave properly
- 10 to think new ideas and being creative
- 11 that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities
- 12 to do what is told and follow rules
- 13 to have a good time
- 14 to help people and care for others well-being
- 15 to be loyal to friends and devote to people close
- 16 to be humble and modest, not draw attention
- 17 to get respect from others
- 18 to show abilities and be admired
- 19 that government is strong and ensures safety
- 20 to be successful and that people recognize achievements
- 21 to understand different people

# The 6 points Likert scale:

Value Category

- |   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| 1 | Very much like me  |
| 2 | Like me            |
| 3 | Somewhat like me   |
| 4 | A little like me   |
| 5 | Not like me        |
| 6 | Not like me at all |
| 7 | Refusal*           |
| 8 | Don't know*        |
| 9 | No answer*         |





# 16 categories of education

1. Unfinished elementary school
2. Certificate of completion of a 6-grade primary school (or 4-grade before the war)
3. Certificate of completion of a 7 or 8-grade primary school
4. Secondary school graduation certificate
5. Certificate of completion of a vocational school or agricultural training school (without completing primary school)
6. Certificate of completion of a basic vocational school or agricultural training school (after primary school)
7. Certificate of completion of a basic vocational school (after lower secondary school)
8. Certificate of completion of a general high school without a high school diploma
9. Exams after graduating from high school
10. Certificate of completion of a secondary vocational school (technical school, vocational high school, profiled high school) or technical diploma
11. Exams after secondary vocational school (technical school, vocational high school, profiled high school)
12. Technician diploma or certificate of completion of post-secondary or post-secondary school
13. College or teacher training diploma
14. Bachelor's degree or engineering degree
15. Master's degree or doctor's degree
16. Academic degree of doctor, habilitated doctor, or title of professor

$a(c, i)$  - support for issue  $i$  in education class  $c$

$\bar{a}(i)$  - support for issue  $i$ , averaged over classes

$$r(i, j) = \frac{\sum_c (a(c, i) - \bar{a}(i))(a(c, j) - \bar{a}(j))}{\sqrt{\sum_{c'} (a(c', i) - \bar{a}(i))^2} \sqrt{\sum_{c''} (a(c'', j) - \bar{a}(j))^2}}$$

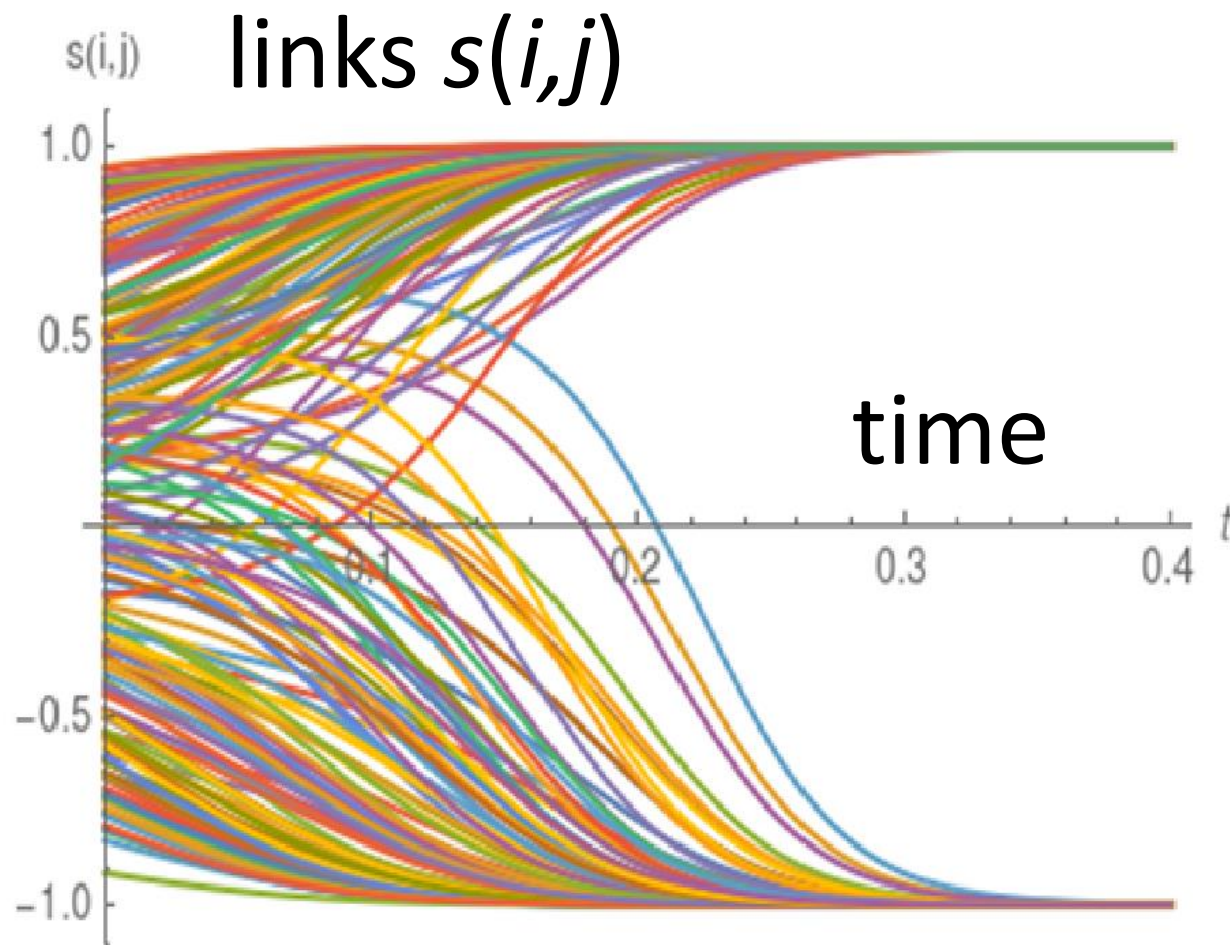
- Pearson correlation between profiles  $a(c, i)$  and  $a(c, j)$

used as initial conditions for the equations of motion:

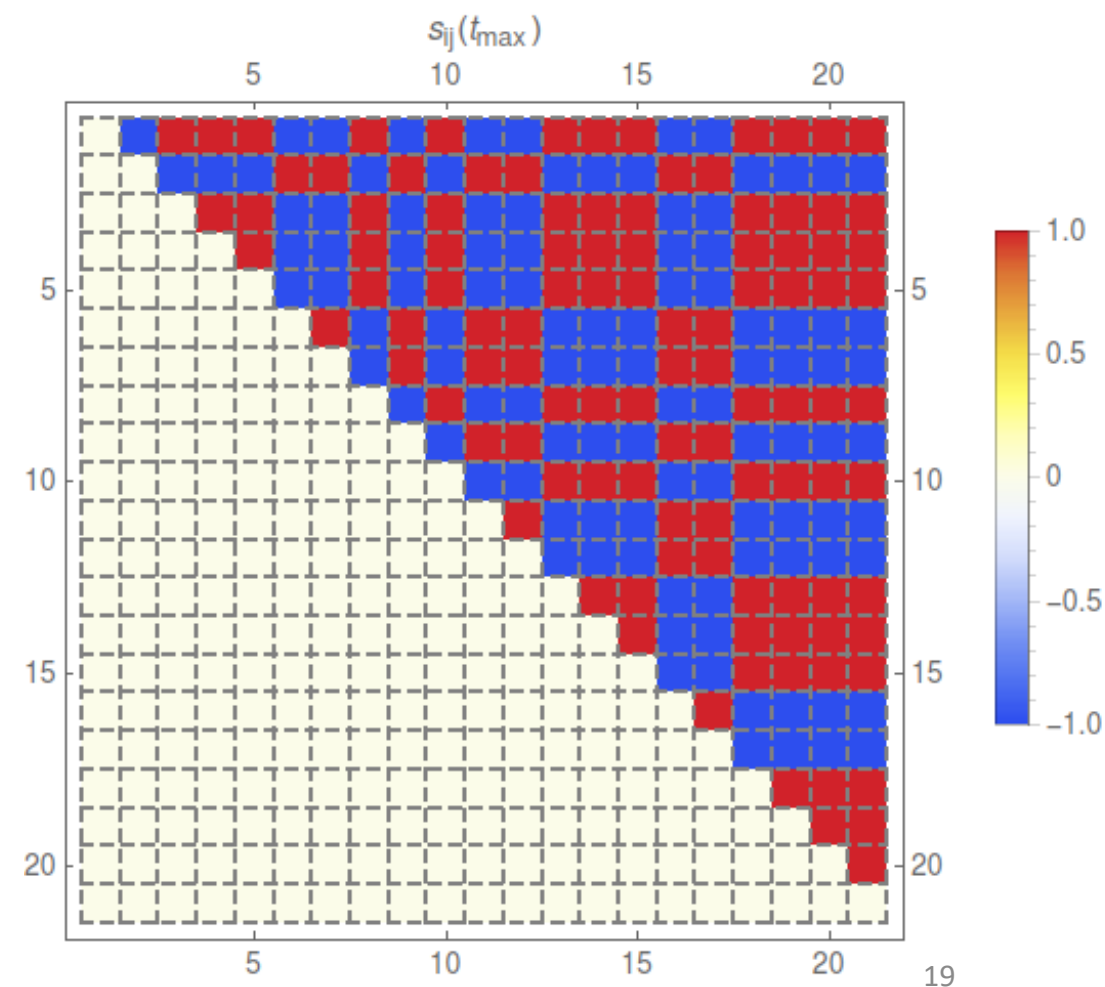
$$s_{ij}(t=0) = r(i, j) \quad \frac{ds_{ij}}{dt} = \left(1 - s_{ij}^2\right) \sum_k s_{ik} s_{kj}$$

$$\frac{ds_{ij}}{dt} = \left(1 - s_{ij}^2\right) \sum_k s_{ik} s_{kj}$$

*Friend of my friend is my friend*  
*Enemy of my friend is my enemy*  
*Friend of my enemy is my enemy*  
*Enemy of my enemy is my friend*



links order for one round



It is important...

*The issues in red/blue  
belong to the same  
clusters in all rounds  
2012, 2014, 2016*

- 1 to try new and different things in life
- 2 to care for nature and environment
- 3 to make own decisions and be free
- 4 to seek fun and things that give pleasure
- 5 to be rich, have money and expensive things
- 6 to live in secure and safe surroundings
- 7 to follow traditions and customs
- 8 to seek adventures and have an exciting life
- 9 to behave properly
- 10 to think new ideas and being creative
- 11 that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities
- 12 to do what is told and follow rules
- 13 to have a good time
- 14 to help people and care for others well-being
- 15 to be loyal to friends and devote to people close
- 16 to be humble and modest, not draw attention
- 17 to get respect from others
- 18 to show abilities and be admired
- 19 that government is strong and ensures safety
- 20 to be successful and that people recognize achievements
- 21 to understand different people

## **Volatile issues**

2 to care for nature and environment

11 that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities

15 to be loyal to friends and devote to people close

19 that government is strong and ensures safety

### **open to multiple interpretations, as:**

Ad 2: Less smog? No coal? „subdue the earth”, ecologisms (Heywood, p.247)

Ad 11,15: Polish people? All people?

Ad 11,19: social security (Law&Justice 67%, the Left 39%)

[P. Sadura, S. Sierakowski, The political cynicism of Poles (in Polish), Warszawa 2019

[https://poledialogu.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Polityczny-cynizm-Polakow\\_Raport.pdf](https://poledialogu.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Polityczny-cynizm-Polakow_Raport.pdf);

A. Heywood, Political Ideologies: An Introduction, sixth edition, Palgrave 2017]

# Explorers

1 to try new and different things in life

3 to make own decisions and be free

4 to seek fun and things that give pleasure

5 to be rich, have money and expensive things

8 to seek adventures and have an exciting life

*10 to think new ideas and being creative*

13 to have a good time

*14 to help people and care for others well-being*

18 to show abilities and be admired

20 to be successful and that people recognize achievements

*21 to understand different people*



# Defenders

**6 to live in secure and safe surroundings**

**7 to follow traditions and customs**

**9 to behave properly**

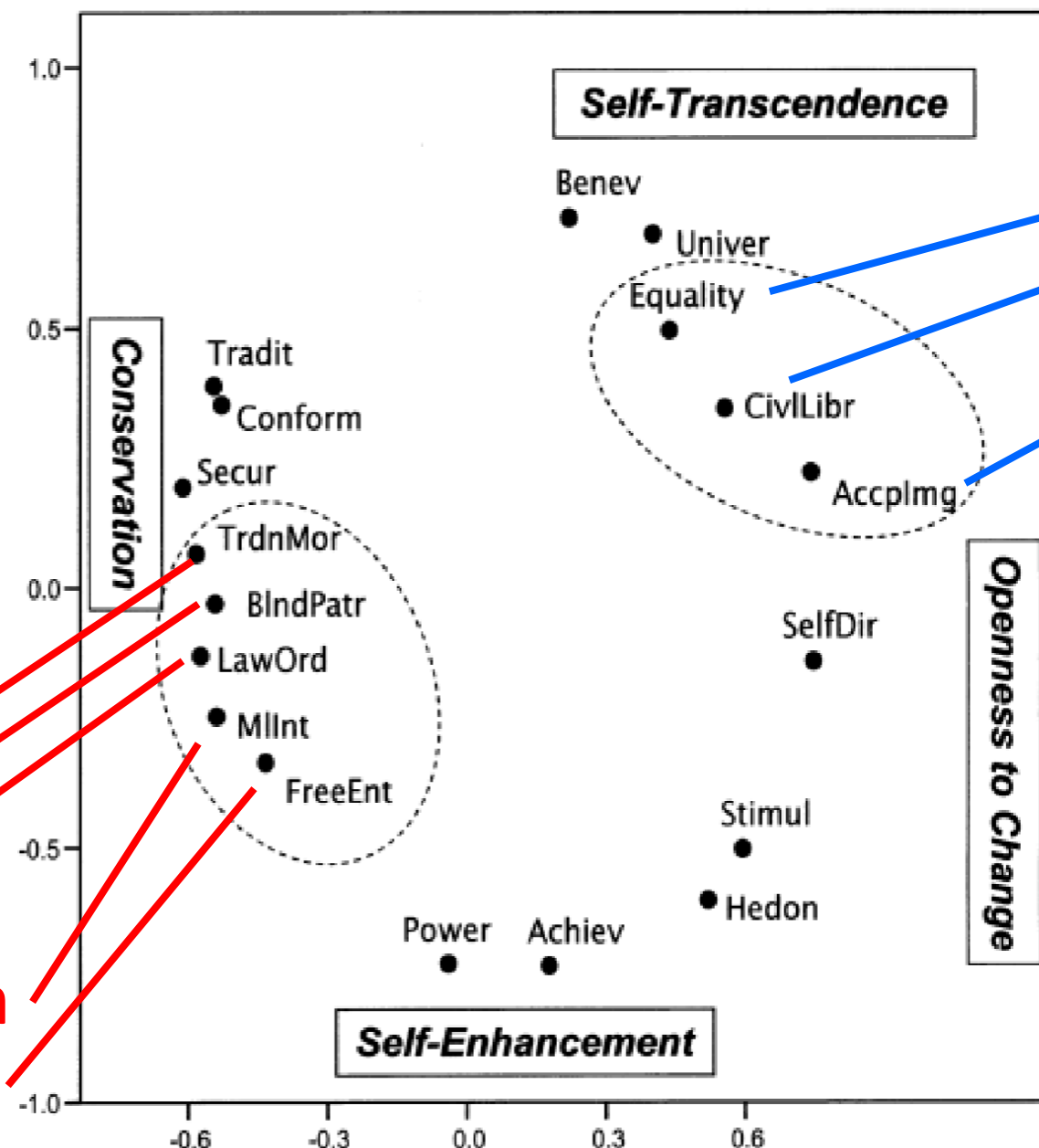
**12 to do what is told and follow rules**

**16 to be humble and modest, not draw attention**

***17 to get respect from others***

[S. H. Schwartz et al.,  
Basic Personal Values,  
Core Political Values,  
and Voting:  
A Longitudinal Analysis,  
*Political Psychology*  
31 (2010) 421];  
Italy, 2006]

Traditional morality  
Blind patriotism  
Law and order  
Military intervention  
Free enterprise



Equality  
Civil liberties  
Accepting  
immigrants

## **Personality and Politics: Values, Traits, and Political Choice**

*G. V. Caprara, S. Schwartz, C. Capanna, M. Vecchione, C. Barbaranelli*

*Italy 2001*

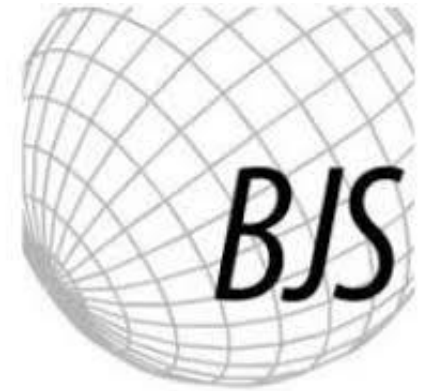
Voters' political choices have presumably come to depend more on their personal preferences and less on their social characteristics in Western democracies. We examine two aspects of personality that may influence political choice, traits and personal values, using the Five Factor Model of personality traits and the Schwartz (1992) theory of basic personal values. Data from 3044 voters for the major coalitions in the Italian national election of 2001 showed that supporters of the two coalitions differed in traits and values, largely as hypothesized.

Center-left voters were higher than center-right voters in the traits of friendliness and openness and lower in energy and conscientiousness. Regarding values, center-left voters were higher than center-right voters in universalism, benevolence, and self-direction and lower in security, power, achievement, conformity, and tradition.

Logistic regressions revealed that values explained substantial variance in past and future voting and in change of political choice, trumping personality traits. We discuss explanations for the primacy of values and implications for the social cognitive view of personality.

The British Journal of Sociology 2008 Volume 59 Issue 2

## Education effects on authoritarian–libertarian values: a question of socialization



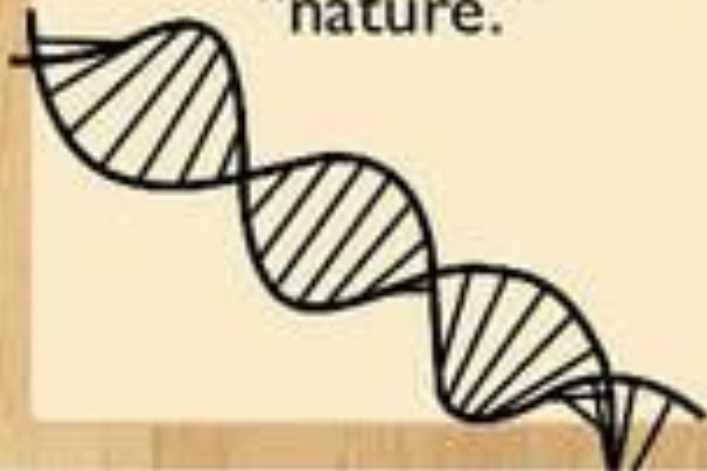
*Rune Stubager*

Over the past decades an authoritarian–libertarian value dimension has become increasingly important to electoral behaviour across western countries. Previous analyses have shown that education is the most important social antecedent of individuals' positions on this value dimension; high education groups tend towards the libertarian pole and low education groups tend towards the authoritarian pole. It remains an open question, however, what aspects of education cause this relationship. The article examines a range of explanatory models: a psychodynamic, a cognitive, a socialization, and an allocation effects model. The results strongly favour the socialization model in which the relationship between education and authoritarian–libertarian values is explained as a result of differences in the value sets transferred to students in different educational milieus. The value differences between the educational groups should thus not be seen as reflecting economic differences between the groups but rather as the result of a more fundamental value conflict.

# Nature vs. Nurture Debate

## Nature:

Our genetics determine our behavior. Our personality traits and abilities are in our "nature."




## Nurture:

Our environment, upbringing, and life experiences determine our behavior. We are "nurtured" to behave in certain ways.



## conclusions

- Defenders and Explorers exist in each society. A conflict between them is unavoidable. 
- It is likely that the actual mentality of a person is determined both by innate inclinations and social milieu.
- Mathematical tools can be used to build portraits of voters, and to identify lines of political/cultural divisions.

