

Political Preferences

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INTRODUCTION

We give readers the fourth volume of „Political Preferences”, an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of voting behavior issues, especially political determinants of identification. Magazine publishers are the Institute of Political Science and Journalism at the University of Silesia and the Center for Innovation, Technology Transfer and Development Foundation of the University of Silesia. Patronage of the project holds Polish Political Science Association and the Society for Academic Initiatives. The research community centered around „Political Preferences” was initiated by the Section at the Polish Electoral Studies Political Science Association and is actively involved in international research projects devoted to electoral behavior.

Journal in his intention promote empirical research in the plane of electoral behavior. Multidimensional and interdisciplinary research in political circumstances of individuals and their motivation to participate actively in political life is important for the development of civil society, one of the important dimensions of the electoral participation. Magazine publishers are particularly keen on cooperation with researchers of different disciplines who take an empirical analysis of the problem of political preferences: political science, psychology, sociology, linguistics, philosophy, and others. The degree of involvement of citizens and ultimately the decisions made in the electoral process is subject to many levels, giving you the opportunity to take the identification and analysis of the correlation existing between them.

This issue of „Political Preferences,” in contrast to the previous, is a report of empirical research, but devoted to the diversity of issues, the common denominator is the study of reality social, political and economic, affecting voting behavior. This is another step in the development of writing, involving not only the extension of the existing formula, but also its internationalization. The international dimension „Political Preferences” has been achieved not only by initiating the release number in the English language, but also by expanding the group of authors and reviewers who write about the people

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**PERSONAL VALUES, PERCEPTIONS
OF UNFAIRNESS IN SOCIAL EXCHANGE
AND HAPPINESS AMONG YOUNG VOTERS
AND NON-VOTERS IN POLAND**

Abstract:

In recent years, there has been increasing interest in phenomenon of poor political activity among young adults, manifested in large percentage of non-voters and politically non-engaged individuals. The aim of this study was to examine the relationships between voting behaviour and political preferences of young adults and their hierarchy of basic personal values, global subjective happiness and evaluations of fair and unfair treatment in social exchange.

The results of the study indicate firstly, that the most important values were power, conformity and tradition, secondly, that the non-voters evaluated hedonism lower and security higher than the voters and thirdly, that value profiles for five groups of voters differed in preferences of conformity, tradition, security and hedonism. There were no significant differences between voters and non-voters in respect of global subjective happiness and evaluations of fair and unfair treatment. However, significant differences in these variables occurred between electorates of specified political parties. The findings of the current research provide a psychological characteristic of young adults in terms of basic values, subjective happiness and perception of unfairness, allowing also to identify some of the possible indicators of poor political activity in this group.

Key words:

personal values, young voters, non-voters

Introduction

Poor political activity, problems with political identity and low turnout in election of Poles are the phenomena frequently commented on by observers of the political scene. The main source of anxiety is broadly understood poor political activity among the youngest voters. In the age group between 18 to 25 years, the lowest turnout percentage has been regularly observed [Czeźnik 2009: 17; Czeźnik 2002; Raciborski 1991]. The *Social Diagnosis 2011* report shows that age is one of the factors connected with political identity or its lack. Almost 70 percent of the subjects in the 16-24 age group do not identify with any political party and it is the highest percentage compared with the other age groups [Czapiński, Panek 2011: 294]. This phenomenon should be viewed as definitely negative since party identification promotes election participation and plays an important role in taking voting decisions [Skarżyńska 2005: 234-5]. Summarising her research on political activity of the youth Agnieszka Turska-Kawa writes: "In reference to the youngest citizens entitled to vote, the diagnoses seem to confirm that compared with other social groups, the youth display a more negative image of politics, lesser interest in it and a less intensive participation in co-decision making in terms of electing the most important national authorities" [Turska-Kawa 2012: 17].

A large percentage of non-voters and politically non-engaged individuals among the youth are not unique to Poland. The youngest group of voters has become of high interest in the last few years since the phenomenon of political alienation of the youth is becoming a problem for both European democracies as well as for the USA, inducing researchers to search for new ways of engaging the youth in political processes [Esser, deVreese 2007, Henn, Weinstein, Wring 2002; Phelps 2004].

One of the reasons of the low political activity of the young pointed out by researchers is the specificity of the value system of the group in question. They do not consider social or political engagement to be significant [Skarżyńska 2005: 214]. On the one hand, affiliative values (good family life, friendship, personal happiness) shared by young Poles and values related to professional career (interesting job) [Szafranec 2011: 39], which orient them towards personal matters may not be conducive to undertaking political activity. On the other hand, the very same values may be one of the major determinants of the party identification and voting decisions. In other words, the youth will search for such a political party that in their opinion represents their preferred values to the greatest extent. The comparative analysis of the value systems of non-voters and supporters of particular political parties allows the description of the differences in this area. The Shalom Schwartz concept covering

ten universal basic values (power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity and security) displayed in a circle is a good means of the description of the variety of this kind [Schwartz 1992; 2006]. The structure of values can be shown as two orthogonal dimensions i.e. self-enhancement versus self-transcendence and openness to change versus conservatism. The Schwartz concept was applied in analyses of the voters' value systems in many countries [Davidov, Schmidt, Schwartz 2008; Caprara, Vecchione, Schwartz 2009; Leimgruber 2011; Pilch 2012].

According to the equity theory, social relations are based on the exchange of material and non-material goods, with the exchange being viewed as fair if the inputs and outcomes of each of the engaged persons remain in balance [Walster, Walster, Berscheid 1978]. Inequity exists when the outcome/input ratios of the individual and the other person or a group are perceived as unequal. Individuals who perceive themselves as under-rewarded or over-rewarded will experience distress. Such an individual will aim for restoration of justice in the exchange. Many equity restoration techniques have been described, including terminating the relationship. Estimating the extent of gratification "due" to the individual in a given situation, people take various factors into consideration, such as the effort taken, conscientiousness, diligence, contribution to work, the level of responsibility or education and those judgements remain under the influence of egocentric motives [Skarżyńska 2005]. The sense of being unfairly treated may also result from the application of different rules of fair distribution of goods i.e. not so much "according to the contribution to everyone" as "according to the needs" or "even distribution". The preference for the defined rule depends on many social, cultural and ideological factors as well as the personal characteristics of the individual [ibidem]. The perception of unfair treatment is accompanied by attributing responsibility to a person or a group that in the subject's opinion has violated the norm of the equitable exchange. The generation of young Poles currently entering the adult life has reasons to evaluate the conditions in which they begin their independent lives as inferior to those of their older colleagues. Young people are the group most heavily affected by the economic crisis and changes in the job market related to the crisis in question (high unemployment, unfavourable forms of employment which do not promote stabilisation, low salary for labour market entrants). This situation may cause the sense of injustice among young people and the responsibility for the unfair distribution of goods may be ascribed to the ruling elites or the political class in general. Earlier studies on Polish population showed that injustice was accompanied by lower life satisfaction, negative opinions on the social reality and people, moralising about judgements as well as social passivity and demanding attitude (conviction of being "entitled" to compensation) [Wojciszke, Grzelak

1995, Skarżyńska 2005]. Therefore it can be assumed that there may be a connection between the sense of being unjustly treated by the state (authorities) and political behaviour of the young electorate.

Positive psychology is a branch of psychology focusing on the positive aspects of human functioning. It forms the basis of research on positive experiences, life satisfaction and happiness. Many studies have been dedicated to the search of the conditions and consequences of personal happiness, most widely understood as affective and/or cognitive component of subjective well-being [Lyubomirsky, Lepper 1999]. One of the examined issues is the relation between individual happiness and political participation. Researchers are of the opinion that political participation provides psychological benefits to the individual, influencing their sense of efficacy, political power and sense of empowerment [Frey, Stutzer 2000]. The reverse could also be true - happier individuals may be more inclined towards participation in elections [Klandermans 1989], as life satisfaction promotes engaging in different kinds of activity [Lyubomirsky, King, Diener 2005]. Although, deliberation on causality between happiness and political participation is debatable, the correlation between these variables does not raise any doubt as it was observed in research in many countries [Tavits 2008; Weitz-Shapiro, Winters 2011].

The objective of the presented research was diagnosing the following variables, described on the basis of declarations of subjects in a group of young Poles aged 18-24: basic personal values, evaluations of fair or unfair treatment in social exchange and global subjective happiness. A comparison was made between the evaluation of voters, non-voters, and people declaring support for separate political parties.

An attempt to answer the following questions was made:

What are the personal value preferences of young adults?

1. *What are the differences in preferences for personal values between voters and non-voters and between electorates of individual political parties?*
2. *What are the differences in evaluations of fair or unfair treatment in different kinds of social interactions between voters and non-voters and between electorates of individual political parties?*
3. *What are the differences in global subjective happiness between voters and non-voters and between electorates of individual political parties?*

METHOD

Subjects and procedure

A total of 562 young adults from Poland (311 females and 251 males), the residents of the Silesian Province, aged 18-24 years, participated in the study. A group of 263 subjects were recruited for the study with the use of the "snow ball" technique in October and November 2011. A group of 249 subjects participated in a web-based online survey in February 2012. The majority of participants reached the site through a given website address. The groups were selected by purposive sampling by the criteria related to age and the place of residence (Silesian Province). Research participation was voluntary and anonymous.

The sample varied in terms of education (4.3% primary education, 2.8% vocational education, 60.9% secondary education, 32% higher education), work situation (19.95% full-time job, 8.9% temporary job, 3.7% unemployed, 64.8% studying), place of residence (15.3% village, 8.2% city up to 20 thousand inhabitants, 22.2% city with 20 to 100 thousand inhabitants, 21.2% city with 100 to 200 thousand inhabitants, 32.2% city over 200 thousand inhabitants), current financial situation (1.4% very bad, 8.4% bad, 51.8% average, 31.7% good, 6% very good) and marital status (94.5% single, 5.5% married).

Voting status and party preferences were measured by asking participants which party they had voted for in the last national election (September 2011). The non-voters constituted 22.8% of all (128) respondents, the voters 74% (416 respondents) and 3.2% participants (18 respondents) did not report their vote. The most preferred political parties were the following: Civic Platform (CP) (32.9%, 185 respondents), Palikot's Movement (PM) (15.3%, 86 respondents) and Law and Justice (LaJ) (12.5%, 70 respondents). The rest of the voters chose Democratic Left Alliance (DLA) (6%, 34 respondents), Poland Comes First (2.1%, 12 respondents), Polish People's Party (1.8%, 10 respondents), and other parties (3.4%, 19 respondents).

Measures

Short Portrait Values Questionnaire [PVQ-21] was used for the evaluation of the basic values [Schwartz 2003]. The questionnaire consisted of 21 short verbal portraits of different people (e.g. "Being very successful is important to her. She likes to impress other people", "It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others"). The respondents answered the question: "How much is this person

like you?" by choosing one of the six possible answers (very much like me, like me, somewhat like me, a little like me, not like me, not like me at all). There were two items for each value type (three for universalism). The score for each value type was calculated as a mean of the items. The answers were corrected for response tendencies by centering each respondents' responses around his or her mean response to all 21 items [Schwartz 2003: 275]. The Polish version of the questionnaire was prepared for the European Social Survey (www.europeansocialsurvey.org). Polish translation of the original 40-item version of PVQ presented Cieciuch and Zaleski [2011].

The respondents' evaluations of their relations with individuals, groups, and institutions perceived as fair or unfair were collected with the use of two short author's questionnaires. The Inputs/Outcomes Ratio is a six-question questionnaire in which the respondent is asked to specify if they view social relations as equivalent, and therefore fair (answer 3: "I usually get as much as I deserve") or as unfair i.e. unjust to themselves (answer 1: "I get much less than I deserve", answer 2: "I get slightly less than I deserve") or unfair to other people (answer 4: "I get slightly more than I deserve", answer 5: "I get much more than I deserve"). The questions concerned the exchange relation with people in general ("Compared with what I give to others, I receive... from them"), with friends, family, and with public institutions ("I think that as a young person entering adult life what I receive from the state is...") and their employer or school. The last question concerned life balance in general understood as the inputs/outcomes ratio ("Generally I perceive myself as a person who receives... from life"). A single composite score for inputs/outcomes ratio was computed by averaging responses to the six items.

The Sense of Injustice Scale consisted of six statements describing the sense of being treated unfairly (by people in general, friends, family, national institutions, and supervisors or teachers, as well as "by life": "I think life is not fair to me"). The respondent takes a stance on the statements by specifying how often they experience such feelings by choosing from five possible answers (from "never" - 1 point to "very often" - 5 points). A single composite score for sense of injustice was computed by averaging responses to the six items.

Global subjective happiness was measured with the use of the Subjective Happiness Scale, a 4-item self-report measure developed by Lyubomirsky and Lepper [1999] ("In general, I consider myself not a very happy person - a very happy person"; "Some people are generally very happy. They enjoy life regardless of what is going on, getting the most out of everything. To what extent does this characterisation describe you? Not at all - a great deal"). The respondents answered the questions using a seven-point scale. A single composite score was computed by averaging responses to the four items. The possible range

Personal values, perceptions of unfairness in social exchange and happiness among young... of scores is from 1 to 7. Higher scores reflects greater happiness. Descriptive statistics and reliability coefficients are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and reliability coefficients

Variables	M	SD	Cronbach's α
Basic values			
Conformity	0.56	1.00	0.58
Tradition	0.54	1.01	0.36
Benevolence	-0.57	0.76	0.63
Universalism	-0.35	0.75	0.48
Self-direction	-0.59	0.74	0.6
Stimulation	0.04	1.02	0.74
Hedonism	-0.06	0.92	0.68
Achievement	-0.23	0.87	0.72
Power	0.93	1.05	0.6
Security	-0.09	0.90	0.49
Higher-order values			
Self-transcendence	-0.46	0.58	0.62
Self-enhancement	0.35	0.76	0.7
Conservation	0.33	0.68	0.68
Openness to change	-0.20	0.61	0.7
Other variables			
Inputs/outcomes ratio	2.81	0.51	0.6
Sense of justice	2.48	0.58	0.68
Happiness	4.82	1.21	0.84

Statistical analyses. Many of the distributions were not normal and the examined groups were of unequal size therefore non-parametric data analysis methods (Kruskall-Wallis H test and Mann-Whitney U test) were used. Statistics were computed using IBM SPSS version 21.

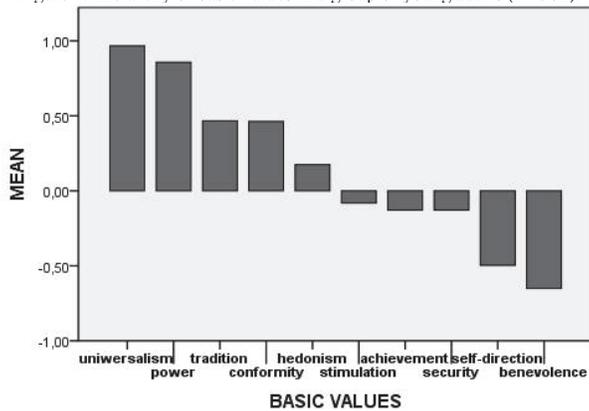
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Value priorities among young adults

The results of the current study showed that young adults rated the following as the most important: power, conformity and tradition, respectively (Figure 1). Participants attributed the intermediate levels of importance to stimulation, hedonism and security. Four the least important values were achievement, universalism, benevolence and self-direction (placed in order). Participants preferred values constituting dimension of self-enhancement (power and achievement). This finding is inconsistent with the results of previous studies, showing distinct tendency to give priority to values constituting dimension of self-transcendence (benevolence and universalism) [Cieciuch 2010,

Pilch 2012]. However, participants' rates of two other higher-order values remain consistent with the results of value systems studies conducted in Europe i.e. conservation (conformity, tradition and security) was rated higher compared to openness to change (self-direction, stimulation and hedonism) [Schwartz, Sagie 2000; Ramos 2006]. It is interesting to note that self-direction was the least important value in the participants' hierarchy.

Figure 1. Hierarchy of basic values in a group of young adults (N=562).



Value hierarchy based on young adults' rates was similar to right-wing voter profile, with the exception of security, which is usually described as a key value for this type of voters [Caprara et al., 2009]. The respondents' hierarchy of the higher-order values is also characteristic for right-wing voters, with high rates of self-enhancement and conservation [Kilburn 2009: 874]. In addition, basic values shared by left-wing voters (universalism, benevolence and self-direction) [Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna et al. 2006; Caprara, Schwartz, Vecchione, Barbaranelli 2008] are the last three in the participants' hierarchy. Considering the Schwartz [1994: 39] analysis of relations between preferred basic values and political orientations, it is possible to hypothesise that people who share the value system emerging from the current study will not support political parties which stress civil liberties (in view of the fact that self-direction is the last of the values in hierarchy) or the ones which promote economic egalitarianism and redistributing resources (in view of universalism and benevolence low rates).

Hierarchy of values obtained from the current study is not consistent with value preferences expressed by the representative sample of Polish population (N=1099), obtained from the research on attitudes and voting behaviour, conducted after the 2011 election [Pilch 2012]. Power, which was the most important in the value hierarchy of young adults, was the least important to the group that varied according to age. Similarly, self-direction, benevolence and universalism, which received the lowest rates in the current study, were considered to be highly important by the representative group of Polish voters. However, the above-mentioned differences did not appear when the results of the current study were compared to the results of the group of young adults (aged 18-24) separated from the representative Polish sample [Pilch 2011]. This subgroup (N=137) presented the hierarchy of values completely different from the rest of the sample, but similar to the hierarchy obtained in the current study. Power, conformity and tradition were placed from the 2nd to the 4th position, whereas benevolence and self-direction were the least preferred values. Also, self-enhancement (higher-order value) was more important to respondents than higher-order value self-transcendence.

Table 2. Means for five groups of voters and the results of non-parametric ANOVA (Kruskal-Wallis test) and pair-wise comparisons between the groups

Variables	Means					Kruskal-Wallis H test (df=4)		Pair-wise comparisons*12
	non-voters N=128	CP N=185	LaJ N=70	PM N=86	DLA N=34	H	p-value ¹	
Basic values								
Conformity	0.73	0.41	0.30	0.92	0.52	21392	0.001	LaJ-PM, CP-PM
Tradition	0.58	0.55	0.22	0.90	0.76	18534	0.001	LaJ-DLA, LaJ-PM
Benevolence	-0.53	-0.62	-0.61	-0.48	-0.48	1691	n.s.	no differences
Universalism	-0.45	-0.34	-0.20	-0.39	-0.50	6568	n.s.	no differences
Self-direction	-0.72	-0.52	-0.53	-0.67	-0.54	6324	n.s.	no differences
Stimulation	-0.02	0.15	0.07	-0.18	0.18	8139	n.s.	no differences
Hedonism	-0.23	-0.02	0.27	-0.33	-0.03	20883	0.001	PM-CP, PM-LaJ, NV-LaJ
Achievement	-0.20	-0.30	-0.07	-0.32	-0.24	3097	n.s.	no differences
Power	0.99	1.07	0.92	0.67	0.77	8878	n.s.	no differences
Security	0.09	-0.22	-0.27	0.08	-0.18	11592	0.021	CP-NV, CP-PM

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Higher-order values								
Self-transcendence	-0.49	-0.48	-0.40	-0.43	-0.49	0584	n.s.	no differences
Self-enhancement	0.40	0.39	0.43	0.17	0.27	4433	n.s.	no differences
Conservation	0.46	0.25	0.08	0.63	0.37	30279	0.001	LaJ-NV, LaJ-PM, CP-NV, CP-PM
Openness to change	-0.33	-0.13	-0.06	-0.40	-0.13	18567	0.001	PM-CP, PM-LaJ
Other variables								
Happiness	4.73	4.92	4.99	4.58	4.84	10716	0.03	PM-CP, PM-LaJ
Inputs/outcomes ratio	2.76	2.89	2.77	2.79	2.69	7873	n.s.	no differences
Received less than expected from the state	1.78	1.89	1.76	1.56	1.62	15440	0.004	PM-CP
Sense of injustice	2.52	2.39	2.60	2.53	2.42	1038	0.034	CP-PM, CP-LaJ

* corrected for multiple comparisons ¹two-tailed ²p<0,05

Note. Means presented to highlight the differences between the groups. CP=Civic Platform, LaJ=Law and Justice, PM=Palikot's Movement, DLA=Democratic Left Alliance, NV=non-voters

Voting behaviour and value preferences

For the purpose of the analysis, the participants were divided into two groups (voters and non-voters) based on their voting participation. The voters were additionally divided into subgroups based on their choice in the 2011 national election. The subgroups of party supporters consisting of fewer than 30 respondents had been excluded from the analysis. In order to illustrate the differences between the groups, the means attributed to ten basic values and four high-order values for groups of non-voters as well as for four groups of party supporters (Civil Platform, Law and Justice, Palikot's Movement, Democratic Left Alliance) were calculated. However, the analysis was performed using non-parametric tests. The results obtained from the analysis are presented in Table 2.

Firstly, value priorities of voters and non-voters were compared. There were two significant differences between the groups i.e. in hedonism (U=2.001, p=0.045) and security (U=2.185, p=0.029). Non-voters evaluated hedonism lower and security higher compared to voters.

Secondly, the comparisons between five groups of voters were made. As

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Table 2 shows, there were significant differences between the groups in preferences for four basic values i.e. conformity, tradition, security and hedonism. Three of these values (conformity, tradition, security) constitute higher-order value conservation. The evaluations of conformity differed significantly between PM and LaJ voters and also between PM and CP voters. The attachment to conformity was the highest in the group of PM supporters and the lowest in LaJ supporters. The preference for tradition was significantly different between LaJ and PM voters and also between LaJ and DLA voters. PM voters had the strongest and LaJ supporters the weakest preference for tradition. The ratings of hedonism differed significantly between LaJ voters (highest score) and PM voters (lowest score), between LaJ voters and non-voters and also between LaJ voters and CP supporters. Finally, significant differences in preferences of security were observed between LaJ voters (the lowest score) and PM voters (highest score) and also between PM voters and CP supporters.

There were significant differences in preferences for the two higher-order values i.e. conservation and openness to change (for the results of pair-wise comparisons see Table 2). Surprisingly, no differences were found in preferences for values constituting higher-level dimensions i.e. self-enhancement versus self-transcendence.

Based on the foregoing analysis, it is possible to underline the most important differences in value preferences between the analysed groups of voters. The strongest preference of conservation values (conformity, tradition and security) and the weakest preference of openness to change distinguished PM supporters from other groups. It was also the only group of party supporters that did not value power the most. The first in the value hierarchy of this group was conformity followed by tradition. Moreover, their evaluations of hedonism were the lowest compared to other groups. According to the Schwartz theory, these young people are motivated to live within the bounds of a traditional culture and to conform to traditional social norms.

A number of similarities between non-voters and PM supporters were observed. Non-voters' value profile also showed the dominance of conservation values over openness to change values, relatively high evaluations of security, and relatively low evaluations of hedonism. However, the value profile of LaJ supporters was different. This group, similarly to other young voters in this study, also preferred conservation to openness to change, but the difference between evaluations of these two higher-order values was slight. Their preference for security was the lowest compared to other groups. On the other hand, the ratings of hedonism were the highest. It is possible therefore that contrary to the other groups of voters in the group of LaJ supporters egocentric motivation is not accompanied by tendency to respect social norms, but rather by the need for

pleasure. The evaluations of CP supporters regarding conservation and openness to change were in-between PM voters' and LaJ voters' results. The ratings of security (low) and power (high) were similar to LaJ supporters' evaluations.

Inputs/outcomes ratio, sense of injustice and global subjective happiness

Happiness. The mean score for global subjective happiness was 4.8 (for a 7-point scale where 1 = low happiness and 7 = high happiness). Lyubomirsky and Lepper [1999] reported the mean scores from 4.63 to 5.07 for 8 samples of young Americans. No significant difference between voters and non-voters was observed for the Subjective Happiness Scale ($U=21518.5$, $p=0.212$). This finding did not confirm that political participation might influence happiness or might be a consequence of being happy [Weitz-Shapiro, Winters, 2011]. The comparisons show significant differences in happiness between CP and PM voters and also between LaJ and PM voters (Table 2). PM supporters showed significantly lower global subjective happiness compared to CP and LaJ supporters.

Inputs/outcomes ratio. The mean for the overall inputs/outputs ratio was 2.81 ($SD=0.51$), which means that the majority of participants felt that they "usually get as much as (they) deserve". The only exception was the question regarding an exchange with the state ($M=1.7$, $SD=0.8$). Most of the respondents (81.7%) chose the answer suggesting that they felt they received less than they expected from the state. Only 11 respondents (2.2%) had an opposite opinion i.e. they thought they received more than they had expected from the state. No significant differences in the overall inputs/outcomes ratio were found between five groups of voters (Table 2). When answers to six questions comprising the overall inputs/outputs ratio were analysed separately, only one significant difference between groups of voters was found. PM supporters perceived their exchange with the state as less equivalent compared to CP supporters. The group of PM supporters described their relations with the state as the most unfair and unjust to themselves.

Sense of injustice. The mean score for sense of injustice was 2.48 ($SD=0.58$). This result indicates that the participants experienced feelings of being treated unfairly either "rarely" or "from time to time". There were significant differences between five groups of voters (Table 2). CP supporters showed the lowest sense of injustice compared to other groups of young people and the difference between the responses of CP voters and PM voters was significant.

The results of the study showed only a very weak relationship between participants' voting behaviour in the 2011 parliamentary election and the evaluations of fair and unfair treatment in different social situations. To see if the two methods of assessing opinions about social exchange can differentiate the sample, the results of groups varying in educational level and declared financial situation were compared. There were significant differences in the inputs/outcomes ratio ($H=16.543$, $df=3$, $p=0.001$) and sense of injustice ($H=18.887$, $df=3$, $p=0.001$) between four groups of participants varying in educational level. Less educated groups showed a higher sense of injustice and felt they received less than they gave in social exchange. Similarly, significant differences in the inputs/outcomes ratio ($H=25.745$, $df=4$, $p=0.001$) and sense of injustice ($H=13.684$, $df=4$, $p=0.008$) between five groups varying in declared financial situation were found. The respondents who declared a poor financial situation showed a higher sense of injustice and described themselves as receiving less than they gave. These results suggest that the lack of clear relationship between participants' voting and the evaluations of fair and unfair treatment in different social situations is not only method-dependent.

Conclusions

Personal values are connected to universal human needs and motivational goals. Personal values also provide a general structure to political attitudes [Feldman 2003] and allow to predict voting choices. Some studies have reported that value priorities may be used as predictors of voting behaviour because people tend to vote for parties that, in voters' opinion, will promote preservation of their personal values [Barnea, Schwartz 1998; Caprara et al., 2006].

No differences in the dimensions of self-transcendence and self-enhancement were found between the groups of party supporters in the current study. Self-enhancement values prompt people to enhance their personal interest, also at the expense of others, whereas self-transcendence values motivate respondents to transcend selfish goals and take care of others [Schwartz 1992]. There were no strong conflicts between these contradictory groups of values in young voters i.e. they evidently preferred selfish goals (such as personal success, prestige, social status and control) to taking care of other people's needs.

None of the examined groups showed that kind of value system which is acknowledged as typical for supporters of such parties that stress individual freedom and civil rights (high self-direction and stimulation, low tradition, conformity and security) and those that promote economic egalitarianism (high universalism and benevolence, low power) [Schwartz 1994: 39-40]. On the other hand, the value hierarchy of young voters obtained in the current study

can be described as typical for right-wing voters (high security, low universalism) [Caprara et al. 2006]. These voters will probably choose political parties that support different forms of control and may display a tendency to right-wing authoritarianism (high tradition and power, low self-direction) [Kilburn 2009]. The values important to left-wing voters (universalism, benevolence, self-direction) were the least preferred.

Global subjective happiness and evaluations of fair or unfair treatment (inputs/outcomes ratio and sense of injustice) were not related to political participation of young people. The groups of young voters and non-voters in the 2011 parliamentary election did not differ in this respect.

The differences in happiness and sense of injustice between electorates of political parties (CP, LaJ, PM and DLA) were significant, but weak. Relatively lower happiness reflecting the judgments of personal well-being and satisfaction with life distinguished young PM supporters from the other groups of voters. Young voters of LaJ more frequently felt treated unfairly and it can reflect a relatively higher attitude of entitlement in this group.

Although respondents generally described their social relations as equivalent ("I usually get as much as I deserve"), the relations with the state were evaluated as unjust. The most common answer was the following: "I think that as a young person entering adult life what I receive from the state is less than I deserve". This conviction may result in unwillingness to participate in elections in the future.

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REACTIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Abstract:

We live in the twenty-first century, which witnessed by far the most intensive marketing of politics, and traditional approaches (The Great Man Theory, *situational, relational*) to the process of emergence of political leadership are simply not enough. Cooperation between leaders and their followers is determined by cultural and social context, specific political situation of the time, patterns of social behavior. Development of new information technologies and dissemination of the means of mass communication have introduced another factor to the analyzed process, forced by civilisational changes. These changes initiated the processes shaping the emergence of a fourth approach to political leadership, which we may call *reactive*. Reactivity is an active process of management of the changing image of the leader, responding to the evolving social preferences, and subsequently disseminated through the media.

Key words:

political leadership, reactive leadership

Traditional approaches to the process of emergence of political leadership have been recognized to fit along three main models [Turska-Kawa 2013]. The first of these – *subjective*, dominated in the first half of the twentieth century; it focused the attention of researchers on the person of the political leader – and leader's personal qualities, motivation and other psychological characteristics that determine the effectiveness of the function exercised. This approach is known commonly as the The Great Man Theory. According to its major assumptions, presented for the first time by Thomas Carlyle [1907], the flow of history can be explained by the influence of great individuals with extraordinary qualities. In his works, the author claimed that the history of the world is