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WYŻSZA SZKOŁA MENEDŻERSKA W WARSZAWIE
WARSAW MANAGEMENT UNIVERSITY

INDEKSOWANE NA LIŚCIE CZASOPISM PUNKTOWANYCH MNiSW (5 PKT.)

INDEXED IN MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION INDEX (5 PTS.)

interdyscyplinarne pismo z zakresu nauk społecznych, zawierające artykuły odzwierciedlające procesy społeczne, gospodarcze i polityczne, zachodzące w Polsce, w Europie i na świecie

STUDIA Społeczne

SOCIAL Studies

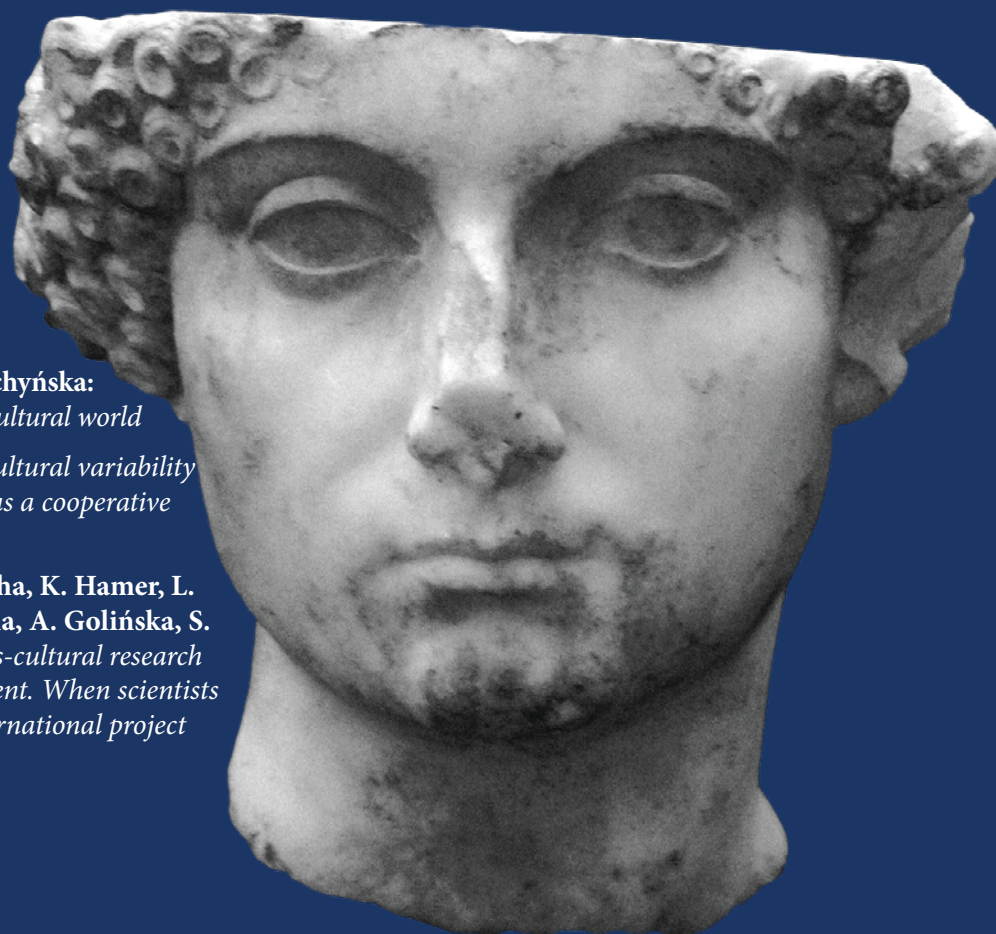
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Wydawca: Wyższa Szkoła Menedżerska w Warszawie
Adres Redakcji i Wydawcy: Wyższa Szkoła Menedżerska w Warszawie
ul. Kawęczyńska 36, 03-772 Warszawa, wsm.warszawa.pl

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Opracowanie graficzne, skład i łamanie / DTP:

Wydawnictwo WSM, Fedir Nazarchuk,

Grafiki oraz zdjęcia zgodne z / All images in accordance with:



Wersja pierwotna (referencyjna) czasopisma to wersja drukowana. / The original (reference) version of the journal is printed.

„STUDIA SPOŁECZNE” – PÓŁROCZNIK Z ZAKRESU NAUK SPOŁECZNYCH, ZAWIERAJĄ ARTYKUŁY ODZWIERCIEDLAJĄCE PROCESY SPOŁECZNE, GOSPODARCZE I POLITYCZNE, ZACHODZĄCE W POLSCE, W EUROPIE I NA ŚWIECIE / “SOCIAL STUDIES” – HALF-YEARLY SCIENTIFIC MAGAZINE PUBLISHING ARTICLES ON SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL PROCESSES IN POLAND, EUROPE AND THE WHOLE WORLD

Wszystkie nadsyłane artykuły naukowe są recenzowane. Procedura recenzowania artykułów, zapora ghostwriting oraz zasady przygotowywania tekstów i instrukcje dla autorów znajdują się na stronie internetowej czasopisma / All articles are peer reviewed. The procedure for reviewing articles, and the Guide for Authors can be found on the website of the journal

Korekta artykułów zamieszczanych w czasopiśmie wykonywana jest przez Autorów periodyku / Proofreading by authors.

Drukowane w Polsce / Printed in Poland — Nakład / Circulation: 500

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ZA PUBLIKACJĘ W „STUDIACH SPOŁECZNYCH” (ZGODNIE Z WYKAZEM CZASOPISM NAUKOWYCH MNIŚW, CZĘŚĆ B, POZYCJA NR 2195), AUTORZY WPISUJĄ DO DOROBKU NAUKOWEGO 5 PKT. / AUTHORS OF “SOCIAL STUDIES” RECEIVE 5 POINTS (ACCORDING POLISH MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND HIGHER EDUCATION)

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

We are delighted to announce the first English issue of *Social Studies* and welcome you to read international Authors' works. The current issue is mainly focused on social and psychological research. You will find multicultural and cross-cultural elaborations: *Love in the multicultural world* by prof. Barbara Gawda and mgr Katarzyna Bochyńska, *Cross-cultural research project management. When scientists are becoming international project managers* by dr Magdalena Łuźniak-Piecha, dr Katarzyna Hamer, prof. Lilliana Manrique Cadena, mgr Agnieszka Golińska and prof. Sam McFarland as well as *Cross-Cultural Variability in Siciosexuality as a Cooperative Problem* by dr Łukasz Tanaś and *Perception of European identity and social diversity in Poland and other European countries* by dr Patricia Figueira-Putresza and dr Marek Drogosz.

Sociological approach is represented by dr Roland Łukasiewicz with his two works focused on two important problems: *Homeless People Toward Work as a Subject of Social Reintegration* and *Students' Learning Motivation Decrease in Contemporary Polish Society*. The diagnosis of modern society is also outlined by dr Dorota Miłoszewska in her article "Disorders" of *Global Order in the deliberations of Robert Kagan*. Coming back to Warsaw Katarzyna Szczepaniak is introducing *City's architecture and urban identity: The power of Warsaw's multiple stories*.

It is our intention to continue issuing the international research in English and other conference languages. We hope you will find current issue interesting and inspirational according to the broad topics discussed as well as international perspective introduced.

DR MAGDALENA ŁUŹNIAK-PIECHA

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Social Studies 15 (2) /2016

ISSN 2081-0008

e-ISSN: 2449-9714

p 5-11

LOVE IN THE MULTICULTURAL WORLD

ABSTRACT

The article reviews data on the cross-cultural approaches to love. First, the romantic model of love is discussed in different perspectives. The researchers agreed that the romantic model of love is pan-cultural or universal, typical not only to western societies. Then, cross-cultural studies on different models of love are described. The cross-cultural differentiation of love is explained with its influencing factors such as dimension individualism-collectivism, emotional investment, attitudes toward marriage, linguistic specificity of expression, and gender. The article highlights romantic love as an omnipresent emotion, which means that it is present in every culture. However, its diversity is due not only from its cultural milieu. Love is dependent on many factors that moderate its quality and characteristics. The collected data documented strong similarities in love among various cultures, which suggests a certain degree of psychological unity or/and species-typicality in humans, and in turn, some similarities in the neurobiological mechanisms of love.

KEY WORDS: LOVE; CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACHES; ROMANTIC LOVE; INDIVIDUALISM-COLLECTIVISM; EMOTIONAL INVESTMENT; MARRIAGE, EXPRESSION, GENDER.

1. INTRODUCTION

Love is a key-topic of literature, movies, series, everyday communication of people in western societies (Jankowiak, Fisher, 1992: 149). Love seems to be omnipresent in the media (Wojciszke, 2001). Love is thought to be crucial in human relationships. In general, in scientific literature, love is defined as a complex emotion, a form of attachment, an attitude towards the world, or a biological need (Schmitt, 2007: 364). Furthermore, there are different types of love, different models of love, and different components of love (Sternberg, 2001). Love may be conceptualised both as a positive state and/or process (Wojciszke, 2001). The experience of love is dependent on many factors (Schmitt, 2007: 365). The main factors which are thought to be important for love are: personality traits, mental disorders, gender, social environment, and culture. Consequently, scientists such as psychologists, anthropologists, neurobiologists, cross-cultural researchers and evolutionists discuss the following questions: What is love? How to describe or to analyze love? Is love universal or typical only of western cultures? How is love expressed by people? Which factors determine the love experience?

The relationships between love and culture have been described in many different ways by scientists. Ethnologists aim to understand ethnic determinants of love. Historians tend to analyze attitudes towards love, sex and intimacy across ages and in the context of historical events. Cross-cultural researchers tend to highlight a differentiation of attitudes towards love in people from different cultures and nations in the world. Evolutionary psychologists and anthropologists want to convince us, that love is a universal feeling and that the passionate form of love is present in every culture (Doherty et al., 1994: 391).

2. ROMANTIC LOVE: A UNIVERSAL OR ONLY WESTERN CONCEPT?

A topic often discussed in literature is related to romantic love as the most popular form of love. Romantic love is defined as intense attraction that involves the idealization of the other person, within an erotic context, with an expectation of durability in the future (Lieberman, Hatfield, 2007: 400). Anthropologists believed that romantic love is unique to Euro-American culture (Jankowiak, Fisher, 1992, 149), and that this model of

love was transmitted to other cultures throughout the ages. De Munck and associates (2011) tend to identify and to describe the core features of romantic love, and to compare this type of love between American, Russian and Lithuanian respondents. They show that these three nations are consistent in characterising romantic love; they perceive the following features of this type of love: passion, altruism, happiness, persistent thinking about the partner, and a need to improve the well-being of the partner (De Munck et al., 2011: 136). American, Russian, and Lithuanian people stated that romantic love is an intense feeling, and the most desired need is to be together. The research also showed some differences in romantic love between the three investigated nations. The American participants indicated the friendship and comfort love (related to security and comfort) as key-aspects of romantic love, whereas the Russian and Lithuanian participants did not mention these characteristics. However, the Russian and Lithuanian respondents described love as something unreal and unstable, which did not appear in the views of the Americans. De Munck and associates (2011) concluded that romantic love is a universal feeling as evolutionists postulate, however there are differences in the experience of romantic love among different nations/people, which are determined by specific social factors.

A meta-analysis by Jankowiak and Fischer (1992: 154) tends to show prevalence of romantic love in different cultures and countries. They documented that the romantic model of love was present in 88,5% among all 166 cultures they had analyzed. They used the following indicators to identify romantic love: accounts depicting personal anguish and longing, use of love songs or folklore that highlight the romantic involvement, elopement due to the mutual affection, native accounts affirming the existence of passionate love, and ethnographer's affirmation that romantic love exists (ibid., 151). They analyzed materials from Sub-Saharan Africa, East Eurasia, the Insular Pacific, North America, South and Central Americas, and the Mediterranean Cultures. Romantic love was present in each of these culture areas from 77 % (Sub-Saharan Africa) to 96% (Circum-Mediterranean cultures) (ibid., 152). These results are significantly contradicted to the idea that romantic love is essentially limited to western societies. Moreover, they suggest that romantic love is an universal, pan-cultural or "near-universal" human feeling. It potentially confirms, that romantic love may have had evolutionary bases as postulated by evolutionists (Buss, 2007: 103). Although culture appears to have strong effects on human mate preferences, there are strong similarities among differ-

ent cultures. This implies a certain degree of psychological unity and species-typicality in humans (Buss et al., 1999: 45), as well as similarities in the neurobiological mechanisms of love (Boer, Boel, Ter Horst, 2012: 122).

3. MODELS OF LOVE: DATA FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Among many typologies of love the Hatfield's love types are well known. She distinguishes two forms of love: passionate and companionate (Kim, Hatfield, 2004: 173). Passionate love is similar to romantic love. It is a hot, intense emotion that is characterized as a state of intense longing for a union with another person (ibid., 174). It is associated with fulfilment and ecstasy, yet unrequited passionate love is linked with emptiness, anxiety and despair. In contrast, companionate love is less intense, but it is a warm feeling of affection and tenderness that people feel for those with whom they are deeply connected (Hatfield, Rapson, 1987, 1996, 2007; Hatfield et al., 2007; Kim, Hatfield, 2004: 175). This type of love is described as friendship, deep attachment, intimacy or long-term commitment (Hendrick, Hendrick, 2007: 226). Much research aimed to investigate whether or not there are differences between cultures in passionate and companionate love. The Passionate Love Scale was used in these studies. Kim and Hatfield (2004: 180) did not find any significant differences between American and Korean students in passionate or companionate love. They explained the results by the idea that Koreans and Americans are similar due to a broad and rapid 'Westernization' of the Korean society. Another study was carried out by Landis and O'Shea III (2000). They compared passionate and companionate love between nine societies from North America, Europe, Middle East and the Pacific Areas. They showed that passionate love is multidimensional, and there are some differences in the structure of factors constituting passionate love between different cultures (Landis, O'Shea III, 2000: 773).

A well-known model of love is the Sternberg's Triangular Love Concept (Sternberg, 1997, 2007). The theory assumes that there are three components of love: passion, intimacy and commitment (Sternberg, 2007: 276-277). These components differ across time and by type of relationships between partners (Beall, Sternberg, 1985). Many researchers tried to examine whether or not there are differences in these components between different cultures. The data presented by Gao referring to the Triangular Theory of Love showed a higher level of passion in American than in Chinese couples, whereas the

levels of intimacy and commitment were similar among Americans and Chinese (Gao, 2001: 339).

The third well-known love theory, often used in cross-cultural studies, is the Love Styles Theory by Lee. This conception assumes that there are three basic love styles and three secondary love styles. The basic love styles are: Eros (passionate, romantic love), Ludus (game-playing love), and Storge (love as friendship-based love) (Hendrick, Hendrick, 2007: 227). Then, the secondary love styles, formed as a combination of the basic love styles, are as follows: Pragma (pragmatic, practical love – a compound of Storge and Ludus), Mania (possessive, dependent love – a compound of Eros and Ludus), and Agape (altruistic love, which is a compound of Eros and Storge) (Hendrick, Hendrick, 2007: 227-228). These types of love refer to types of relationships between partners, and not to their personality.

On the basis of this conception a Love Attitude Scale was constructed (Hendrick, Hendrick, 2007: 229-230), and this scale was used in many research focusing on examination of cross-cultural differences in love styles. Neto and associates (2000) conducted their studies with use of the Love Attitude Scale. They assumed that the Mania, Eros and Agape styles as characterising by intense emotions will be independent of culture, while the styles dependent on social norms and environment and not associated with intense emotions such as the Pragma, Storge, and Ludus styles, will correlate with cultural aspects. They examined a large sample from many countries in Africa, Asia, South America and Europe. The researchers found that the American six factor love model postulated by Lee could be applied across cultures. Slight differences were found for Eros, Mania, and Agape between the countries as it was hypothesized, whereas the differences for Pragma and Storge were considerable (Neto et al., 2000: 633). There were very few differences between gender, however men showed themselves as more ludic (higher Ludus) and more agapic (higher Agape) than women, which was interpreted that men are more emotionally dependent on their relationships (Neto et al., 2000: 634).

No differences were found in love styles among American, Russian, and Japanese males, while there were differences in females' love styles; Russian women reported the Mania and Agape styles more often than American women, while American women reported the Storge style more often (Sprecher et al., 1994: 359). Other research comparing American and Chinese samples shows significant differences in love styles; the Pragma

and Mania styles are more frequent in Chinese people (Sprecher, Toro-Morn, 2002: 140).

Another cross-cultural research with use of the LAD Scale was conducted by Grabovac (2012). The researcher compared love styles between Hungarian and Serbian monolinguals and bilinguals. She showed that bilingual Hungarians reported the Storge style more often than monolingual Hungarians. Then, the Ludus love style was higher in bilingual Serbians than in monolingual Hungarians, a higher level of Mania in monolingual Hungarians than in bilingual Serbians (Grabovec, 2012: 423-424). The researcher concluded that languages may express love schemata differently, and bilingual people may be subject to other cultural and socialization influences (Grabovec, 2012: 425). The comparison between British and Hong-Kong samples revealed certain differences in love styles; higher endorsement of Ludus in the UK participants, a higher level of Pragma in the Hong-Kong participants, and no differences in Mania and the other styles (Smith, Klases, 2016: 98-104). The same technique was used in research focusing on comparison of UK and Turkey (Sanri, Goodwin, 2013). The analysis showed that the Ludus, Storge, Mania and Pragma styles were significantly higher in the Turkish respondents while the Eros style was the highest in the rural British respondents. These love attitudes were associated with values of the participants; the Turkish respondents were found as to be more conservative in terms of the preferred values (Sanri, Goodwin, 2013: 842-843).

To summarize the abovementioned data it should be noted that love theories created in the western culture, mostly in the USA, could be applied across cultures. The results on love components and love styles clearly suggest that there are more factors involved in the cross-cultural differentiation of love. One of them is the individualism-collectivism dimension.

4. INDIVIDUALIST VS. COLLECTIVIST CULTURES AND LOVE

Individualism vs. collectivism is one of dimensions associated with love styles and love forms. Many research confirmed this relation. They established a significant correlation between collectivism - individualism and the importance of love. Respondents from individualist countries were much more likely to rate love as an essential factor for the establishment of marriage (Levine et al., 1995: 565). They believe much more in the romantic model of love. Psychological collectivism is connected with a less favourable attitude toward divorce (Dion,

Dion, 1996: 14). Dion and Dion (1996: 15-16) states that the dimension individualism-collectivism is a good frame to understand romantic love. They highlight the notion of this dimension both in terms of the societal and psychological levels. They also argued that individualism-collectivism is multidimensional. One of its components is the self-contained individualism, and it is thought to be associated with problems of intimacy. A higher level of self-contained individualism causes an increase of divorce rates in the USA and Canada in the last decades. Dion and Dion (1993: 66) stated also that individualist societies emphasize romantic love, and relations between romantic love and marriage. Marriage based on romantic love assumes that it should promote a personal development. This elicits the conclusion that marriage may be perceived as offensive in the individualist culture, it increases the expectations and a sense of pressure. While the collectivist culture increases intimacy, but this intimacy is distributed to each family member (Dion, Dion, 1996: 16). Recent studies demonstrated that the dimension of collectivism-individualism and its relations to age, gender as well to duration of relationship between partners may explain diversity of love styles (Smith, Klases (2016: 102).

5. EMOTIONAL INVESTMENT, CULTURE AND LOVE

Diversity of love may also depend on other factors associated with culture such as e.g. emotional investment. Individuals differ in the general tendency to emotionally invest in relationships (Schmitt et al., 2009: 831). Love is a form of emotional investment. Psychology of emotional investment has a strong evolutionary background. Two dimensions from The Big Five Model are extremely important for love: extraversion and agreeableness (Schmitt, 2007). Studies confirmed that emotional investment was considerably related to extraversion and agreeableness. Passionate love is more associated with both of these dimensions and dominance (Schmitt et al., 2009). To a certain degree love is a social event which may be dependent on local social factors influencing emotional investment. Thus, Chinese Americans experience passionate love more often than European Americans (ibid.). Respondents from the Pacific region experience friendship more often than Americans. This is strictly linked to the level of stress in a society or local environment. Higher levels of ecological stress were associated with lower levels of emotional investment within and across cultures (Schmitt et al., 2009). People living in a secure culture, when there are better opportunities of education, healthcare

and adequate economic level may develop greater tendencies to emotional investment, and in turn, may be more focused on love than people who live in a bad economic situation, high stress and insecurity (Schmitt, 2007: 368). A higher cultural stress is linked to insecure dismissing attachments, more unrestricted forms of mating, and to lower levels of emotional investment (Schmitt et al., 2009). Emotional investment is higher in those cultures which report upper or middle-upper socioeconomic classes. Low emotional investment was identified in the following countries: Taiwan, Morocco, Ethiopia, Indonesia, South Korea, Tanzania, Japan, and Hong-Kong (ibid.: 837). Mexican American women reported a deeper feeling of subordination than European American females, and Mexican American men were more dominant than European American men (Neff, Suizzo, 2006: 449). It reveals the fact that gender scripts rooted in cultures have an impact on love relationships. Emotional investment is also associated with national levels of self-esteem; the lowest national self-esteem is in East Asia and Africa, while the highest level of national self-esteem is in North America (Schmitt et al., 2009: 838). Emotional investment has an impact on mating strategies and on perception of love, which in turn, influences a differentiation of love-relationships (ibid.)

6. LOVE AND MARRIAGE

Love also depends on a cultural tradition and views on marriage. In general, these two aspects are perceived as strictly inter-related. However, people from different cultures differ in how they perceive the links between love and marriage. Researchers showed that love as an essential element for marriage is reported more often by respondents from western societies than from eastern cultures (Levine et al., 1995). These differences were more evident for a marriage contract than for dissolution of marriage. Sprecher and Toro-Morn (2002) compared beliefs on love of men and women from North America and China. They found that men from North America more frequently than women from North America were interested in a marriage contract without love; they also reported that they were more ludic, agapic, less erotic, and pragmatic (in terms of Lee's typology), they scored higher in idealization of romantic love, and they perceived emotional satisfaction as less important in durability of a couple. Similarly, Chinese men were more agapic than Chinese women. However, Chinese men were more romantic (they were convinced that they might deal with problems) and storgic than Chinese women. Chinese men thought that fate is important in love and physical pleasure is essential for the

marriage. The authors conclude that Chinese people, in general, possess both more idealistic and pragmatic vision of love. Americans and East Asians think that care, trust, respect and honesty are important for friendship and love, however trust is more important for love in marriage. Americans see love in marriage as important and unconditional, while East Asians are more likely to report caring as an important element in marriage (Klin et al., 2008). These differences are related to the philosophical aspects; Chinese interpersonal relationships are influenced by Confucian principles such as forgiveness, righteousness, and propriety. This attitude results in certain features of love and marriage such as harmony, the relational conception of the self, and importance of social roles for relating (Klin et al., 2008: 203).

7. EXPRESSION OF LOVE AND GENDER

Differentiation of love may be due not to real experience of love but may reflect the linguistic specificity of expression of love. Although love may be expressed in different ways, the linguistic expression of love is most widespread.

Researchers found that the expression “I love you” differs across cultures, in some of them being used more often while in others less frequently. People who are not native English but speak English, tend to use this sentence more often while speaking English than while speaking their own native languages (Wilkins, Gareis, 2006). Linguistic analyses show that the expression of love such as “I love you” is related not only to the emotional context, but also to language proficiency and factors associated with language use. Multilingual speaking people feel a different degree of emotional weight of the expression “I love you” in different languages (Dewaele, 2008). The emotional weight of “I love you” is also related to the self-perceived dominance of the language, the context of acquisition of the second language, the age at the onset of the second language learning, a degree of socialization, the nature of the network of interlocutors, and a self-perceived oral proficiency (Dewaele, 2008: 1776). The expression “I love you” differs across cultures, and is used more often by females and those who use English (Kline, Horton, Zhang, 2008). Americans use the expression “I love you” much more frequently than Germans use its German equivalent, and in many more contexts than only by lovers (Gareis, Wilkins, 2011). There are differences in expression of love by Americans and East Asians. Americans reported greater openness, expressiveness and physical contact for expressing intimacy, while the Japanese cited great-

er understanding as an intimacy form (Kline, Horton, Zhang, 2008: 203). The differences in expression of love between American and Asian cultures may be due to the complexity of emotions, or complexity of emotional experience, and/or linguistic ways to express them (Shiota et al., 2010). The typical opposition between negative and positive emotions possibly exist in American-European cultures. It means that Asian Americans who reported more love toward their partner may also report some contempt, while European Americans report either love or contempt, and not both of them at the same time (Shiota et al., 2010: 795).

The literature suggests that the process of expression of love is also influenced by gender (Schmitt, 2007). The main cause of gender differences in the linguistic differentiation of love expression may be due to stereotypes concerning men and women (Davis, Latty-Mann, 1987). Men are perceived as being less expressive and less emotional, whereas women as more emotional and sensitive (Gawda, 2008: 815-816). The differences in love expression may be also due to men's and women's different interpersonal skills, social roles, experiences, and expectations from relationships based on love (Schmitt, 2007: 369). The literature indicates that women express stronger positive feelings of love, liking, joy and contentment than those expressed by men (Gawda, 2008: 815). Women are more expressive than men are, and they laugh more often in social situations (Schmitt, 2007: 369-370). These data is not consistent; Shimanoff (1983: 177) for example confirmed only small differences in the way how men and women talk about emotions. Some researchers note that men, rather than being less expressive, actually talk differently about emotions (Gawda, 2008: 815). The study on a Polish sample showed that there are differences between men and women in the emotional discourse about love. First, women tended to use emotional vocabulary more frequently than men. Furthermore, the narrations about love written by women were longer and more often included negations and pauses in sentences or between sentences. Women's narrations about love were longer and also more expressive; women used more syntactic, lexical and stylistic means in their descriptions of love. This may suggest that women are stronger involved in the emotional situation where they are required to formulate a story about love (Gawda, 2008: 819).

8. CONCLUSION

The top-discussed and deeply examined thesis that romantic model of love was invented by western cultures

and is typical only of western societies has not been confirmed by studies. On the contrary, romantic love was found as present in almost every culture in the world. The cultural diversity has an influence on perceiving and experiencing love. The results on love clearly suggest there are more factors which are involved in the cross-cultural differentiation of love. The cultural diversity is described by different characteristics such as e.g. individualism-collectivism. Individualism is associated with passionate love while collectivism with a less favourable attitude toward divorce. Emotional investment may influence love, since it is connected with national levels of self-esteem, opportunity of education, healthcare, socio-economic level, stress, and attachment styles. Lower national self-esteem and lower security in a country leads to development of low emotional investment just as in some African cultures or in East Asia. Love is also dependent on views on marriage and values

related to marriage. Thus, people from Asian cultures possess both a more idealistic and pragmatic vision of love, while people from Western cultures possess a less traditional view of love.

The last important results to be noted are that language and the linguistic expression may influence the perception of love and its experiencing. Possibly, all diversity of love is due to the linguistic specificity. That is why multilingual people feel the emotional weight of expression of love in different languages. Asians report more complexity in their relations about love, and women describe love in a richer vocabulary than men.

Although some cross-cultural differentiation of love was documented, strong similarities in love among cultures were revealed. This suggests a degree of psychological unity in humans and similarity in the neurobiological mechanisms of love.

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Social Studies 15 (2) /2016

ISSN 2081-0008

e-ISSN: 2449-9714

p 13-21

CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH PROJECT MANAGEMENT. WHEN SCIENTISTS ARE BECOMING INTERNATIONAL PROJECT MANAGERS¹

ABSTRACT

The present article is focused on the activities comprising the management of cross-cultural research project in terms of multi-national, multi-institutional and interpersonal communication. Additionally we explore some effects of culturally affected computer-mediated communication (CMC), the mutual assumptions and perception of the project partner influencing cooperation, as well as the willingness of communication partners to cooperate in cross-cultural context. Therefore we support our analyses and conclusions with the scientific reports as well as with the business related and for-the-business-practice developed solutions and practical leads. Additionally we share some of international cross-cultural teams experiences as examples in order to contribute to the understanding of human behavior in multinational, cross-cultural research programs.

KEY WORDS: CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH, INTERNATIONAL TEAMS, COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION (CMC), ETHNOCENTRISM IN COMMUNICATION, ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURES, CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

INTRODUCTION

Academic researchers are becoming more aware that psychological (and other) studies would benefit from adding a cross-cultural perspective. Every country has its own cultural characteristics (see e.g. work of Hofstede, Inglehart, Schwartz and others, see e.g. Boski, 2009; Żemojtel-Piotrowska, 2016), history and contemporary societal and political situation, which may influence the processes and models under scientific examination. If a researcher wants to generalize his/her findings to a population larger than one's primary study group, they must be verified not only on various groups, but also in other cultural contexts.

Therefore cross-cultural interactions and collaborative research among universities are more and more integral to academic and scientific work today and numerous international, cross-cultural teams are being created to add this cultural factor to the research. Because researchers themselves come from different organizations and countries (which all have their specific cultures), cultural factors should be also taken into considerations while planning research and establishing an international, cross-cultural research team. Because we are all more or less ethnocentric in our thinking, sometimes we do not realize how these differences may affect us as researchers.

As Hofstede defines it, "culture is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others" (2011: 3). Most commonly, the term culture is used for tribes

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or ethnic groups, nations, organizations. Lately it is also used for occupations (e.g., of psychologists versus doctors, or of academics from different disciplines etc.). Culture is a collective phenomenon, but within each collective there is a variety of individuals, so people within the same culture can differ on many dimensions.

The aim of this article is to share the authors' experiences and experiences of our colleagues from different teams to contribute to the understanding of human behavior in multinational, cross-cultural research programs. Even though communication among people with different cultural backgrounds has become the academic and business standard, it can be challenging. This applies especially to computer-mediated communication (CMC), where the availability of non-verbal and context information is restricted (Hansen, Fabriz, Stehle 2015: 279). Researchers have pointed out CMC demands in terms of full information understanding (Scollon & Scollon, 1981), avoiding stereotypes (Epley & Kruger, 2005), and judging one's own communication abilities appropriately (Kruger, Epley, Parker, & Ng, 2005). Especially the last aspect of cross-cultural communication, judging one's own communication abilities appropriately, is going to be highlighted in this article, since we will emphasize the necessity of researchers' own awareness in the field of cross-cultural cooperation.

We deliberately do not describe all the methodological aspects of cross-cultural research. These issues are the subject of many handbooks, and methodological elaborations (see e.g.: Batorski, Olcoń-Kubicka, 2006; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, Dasen, 2004; Davidov, Schmidt, Billiet, 2011; Kwiatkowska, 2014). The present article is focused on the activities comprising the management of cross-cultural research project in terms of multi-national, multi-institutional and interpersonal communication. Additionally we explore some effects of culturally affected CMC in terms of the formulation of emails, the mutual assumptions and perception of the communication partner influencing cooperation, as well as the willingness of communication partners to cooperate in cross-cultural context. Therefore, we support our analyses and conclusions with the scientific reports as well as with the business related and for-the-business-practice developed solutions and practical leads.

CULTURAL DIMENSIONS IN INTERNATIONAL TEAMS

The Hofstede's National Cultures six dimensions model helps to explain some unexpected situations one may face in international teams. Hofstede introduced four

cultural dimensions, and later added two more to result in six dimensions describing cultural differences: Power Distance (the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions accept and expect unequal distribution of power), Uncertainty Avoidance (a society's tolerance for ambiguity), Individualism/Collectivism (the degree to which people in a society are integrated into groups), Masculinity/Femininity (the level of emotional and social role differentiation between the genders), Long/Short Term Orientation (generally speaking the focus on the future vs. focus on the past and present) and Indulgence/Restraint (a society allowing relatively free gratification of basic and natural human drives related to enjoying life and having fun vs a society suppressing gratification of needs and regulating it by means of strict social norms) (see e.g. Hofstede, 2011, <https://geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html>).

Of those six, four dimensions seem to be particularly worth more elaborated description in the context of international cooperation.

Individualism tends to prevail in developed and Western countries, while collectivism is stronger in developing, Eastern and Asian countries (Hofstede, 2011). It is good to remember this dimension during cooperation, for example, when inviting people from collectivistic countries for a visit. An entire group of people may arrive for dinner (depending on the context, with family and friends or colleagues etc.), not just the 2 or 3 co-operants who were directly invited (see Boski, 2009). There is a true story of a Chinese team coming to visit a cooperating research institution in Europe, which included 40 people: a few researchers and a lot of clerks and other Chinese officials not directly connected to the project. However, from the perspective of the Chinese group those additional visitors were also an important part of the Chinese delegation. In collectivistic cultures this is common, as a group is what counts, not individuals.

Power distance differences can also be a challenge. Anglo-Saxon and German speaking countries have lower power distance than do Asian, Latin, African and East European countries (Hofstede, 2011), where hierarchy (also academic) will count a lot in a research team. In high power distance countries, a handshake is always initiated by a person higher in hierarchy (e.g. with higher title, older, a woman). Another example may be a student starting his email to American professor with "hi", which will not be considered "out of the line" at American University, while in Poland it would be perceived as extremely rude. In countries with high power distance even obsequiousness towards colleagues high-

er in hierarchy may be expected. One should be aware of these differences when communicating with partners from different cultures, also when writing emails, which should be framed appropriately for the recipient's culture.

The Masculinity/Femininity dimension may be important when dealing with teams having partners of both genders. Minimum emotional and social role differentiation between the genders which is characteristic for Femininity cultures means more equality between men and women, while in countries high on Masculinity dimension, female researchers may spot some difficulties while communicating with male colleagues. In such countries, men are supposed to be assertive and successful, while women are perceived as less active in, for example, management context. According to Hofstede et al.'s (2010) index score, Masculinity is high for example in Japan and some Latin countries such as Italy and Mexico; low in Nordic countries and the Netherlands; and moderately low in some Latin and Asian countries such as France, Spain, Portugal, Chile, Korea and Thailand. One female research team leader described a situation of necessity to fight for "power" in a team with Japanese professor who perceived himself as higher in the hierarchy than the rest of the team, including its female leader. The two engaged in a detailed comparison of achievements and duties in a form of competition. The situation was challenging for the team leader but ended with a good, friendly and long-lasting cooperation with her Japanese colleague, who finally saw her as a competent, successful and skilled researcher.

Uncertainty Avoidance indicates the extent to which a society tolerates ambiguity and unstructured situations: "uncertainty avoiding cultures try to minimize the possibility of such situations by strict behavioral codes, laws and rules, disapproval of deviant opinions" (Hofstede, 2011: 10). Uncertainty accepting cultures are more tolerant of opinions that differ from the norm, and they tend to have fewer rules. In international teams high uncertainty avoidance may cause some problems with accepting different views from one's own and with being flexible and open-minded.

THE COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION (CMC) IN CROSS-CULTURAL PROJECT MANAGEMENT

With the ever-increasing importance of research internationalization, a strong development towards virtual communication and virtual research environment at

universities can be observed. Often, students are requested to participate in research, to help with data gathering as well as with the processing of data and writing research reports. Sometimes such requests can become an element of a final assignment to prepare a study project or as part of a students' coursework.

In cross-cultural studies, a large part of communication with participating students has to take place via emails, online questionnaires, chat rooms, messengers, social media, and so on, as computer-mediated communication (CMC) is a highly effective and economical way to share information and work cooperatively on cross-cultural comparative studies, and other international common projects (see: Hansen, Fabriz, Stehle 2015; Hinkle 2002).

From the international researcher's point of view, it is of key importance to be aware of the influence of the perceived cultural background of the communication partner on the perception of that partner. In international correspondence partners from different cultures exchange information and requests. Vignovic and Thompson (2010) showed emails to participants that either contained spelling and grammatical errors or were written in an unusual style, untypical for the particular context, and asked them to rate the sender's personal traits and competencies. Senders of emails constructed in a way perceived as typical for the particular social and cultural context (i.e. business letter written in „typical business style”, personal letter constructed in „informal” style) were believed to be more conscientious, intelligent, and trustworthy than senders of emails written in an unusual style (i.e. „not-in-style” business letter) or containing spelling errors. The negative perception of the sender persisted even when participants were provided with additional information on the sender's foreign background.

In one of the research projects used by us to give practical examples in this article, the team responsible for the management and execution of the whole venture was distributing psychological questionnaires and research-participation-invitations as well as instructions and requests among students from different countries, with different languages. An emphasis was therefore put on a „proper” instruction and email style as well as the language and an important part was played here by the cooperating academics from participating Universities. For example the instructions for US and British students, although both in English, had to be attentively modified by native speakers from both countries and adjusted to the organizational culture of each Univer-

sity. The differences included not only particular words that had to be changed, but also cultural details e.g. the frequency of using the word “please” in instructions – US partners suggested dropping most of them, while British partners added a few more.

People participating in projects are often asked to answer pools of questions. Spending precious time on sharing one's opinions in an honest and reflective way, the willingness to help in research, is not something researchers can “take for granted”. Hansen, Fabriz and Stehle (2015) investigated willingness to help modified by CMC environment and identified social identity as an important factor for helping behavior. Shared social identity increased the level of trust and led to more helping behavior in the CMC environment. Based on these findings, Hansen et al. (2015) assumed that the lack of a shared social identity – for example due to cultural divergence – may lead to distrust and therefore hinder willingness to help.

An important part of each instruction for the participating students was therefore reference to the name and email address of the academic teacher supervising the research program at the university. Therefore, „in case of any questions/doubts” students were encouraged to contact the teacher. This statement is also a way to ensure participants that there is a reliable person they know who is a part and a „face” of the research they are participating in, which gives additional credence to the study. It is also likely important that the supervisor of the local research is also the teacher who is entitled to assign extra credit points for the participation in the research. However this is also subject to cross-cultural/national differences. For example, academics in the UK are not allowed to give students ‘extra credit’ for participating in research studies, whilst it is an acceptable practice in other countries such as Poland, or the USA. Using the email addresses with the domain of the participating universities is also a way to increase the perceived credibility of the research project.

This however, could also be not enough. Sometimes the research team must be really creative to gain the participants' acceptance of the credibility of the research. An interesting example might be the Ecuador research team that had to take part in a TV program as a way of gain authenticity in order to encourage people to take part in their studies. Before that, no one wanted to participate.

„HOW WAS THIS NOT OBVIOUS FOR THEM?” - ETHNOCENTRISM IN COMMUNICATION.

As mentioned, the ability to judge appropriately own communication abilities is one of the key competencies for doing cross-cultural research. Cross-cultural and also interpersonal differences influencing the effectiveness of communication are a well-known phenomenon (see: Batorski, Olcoń-Kubicka, 2006; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, Dasen, 2004; Davidov, Schmidt, Billiet, 2011; Hansen, Fabriz, Stehle, 2015). That being said, we also follow Kruger, Epley, Parker, and Ng (2005) highlighting that when people try to imagine the perspective, thoughts, or feelings of someone else, they use their own perspectives as an anchor or reference point. Therefore, the assessment of another's perspective is influenced, at least in part, by one's own.

Additionally - when talking about cross-cultural CMC communication - partners are also struggling with the lack of non-verbal cues. Face-to-face communication conveys not only what is said but also how it is said. Speakers can use gestures to point in a particular direction, use voice to underline parts of the sentence, and follow expressions of the listener to make sure the communication is effective. Email loses these non-verbal emphases (Thompson & Nadler, 2002). For that reason, email can be a both the source of miscommunication and a lack of awareness of the miscommunication. Usually, the email senders know the precise message that they intend to convey, but what is obvious to the sender may not be clear to the person on the „other side of the wire”. Since it can be difficult to separate one's own perception of the message from the perception of the message available to recipient, the email message may be more ambiguous than the sender realizes.

As established by Kruger (Kruger et al., 2015) people routinely overestimate how well they can communicate through email, particularly when the meaning of the message is ambiguous. He further argues that this overestimation is caused, at least in part, by egocentrism, the inherent difficulty of moving beyond one's subjective experience of a stimulus and imagining how the stimulus might be evaluated by someone who does not share one's privileged perspective (Kruger et al., 2015).

Similar problems can be found in surveys. This is the first issue discussed during University courses on conducting survey – “what are the ways participants can understand this particular question in a way it is formulated?”. However as one tends to look from one's own perspective and experiences, it is very hard to predict

all possible answers to this question. This prediction becomes much more difficult in cross-cultural contexts.

Being aware of all the difficulties described above, researchers must put a significant efforts into composing instructions for participants as clear and unequivocal as possible. Nonetheless, even strong efforts are not always fully effective. Students participating in one of the projects analyzed here were supposed to complete a questionnaire with psychological measures and at the end of 40-minutes completing the surveys, an additional message was introduced: „If you would like the feedback with the summary of the results, please leave your email below. All emails will be moved to a separate file before the data are examined to preserve confidentiality.” Respectively, the message for Mexican students was formulated in Spanish. The translation was done by co-operating academics - Spanish native speakers. Under the message there was an active space for the email address. Below this communication a blue button saying SUBMIT (ENVIAR in case of Mexico) was placed.

The research team was quite pleased with the fast and systematic inflow of the data from USA, UK and Poland, while the same time quite concerned with lower inflow in the Mexican poll. Scholars from Mexico asked the students if there was any problem with their research participation. Students swore they have completed all the questions, some of them even sent the print-screens with the last page of the questionnaire. When the research team investigated the whole issue, it turned out that some of Mexican participants decided not to share their email addresses, thereby skipping the email address blank space and the ENVIAR button below it as well. Those students perceived ENVIAR button as the one for the email address only - not for the whole questionnaire they just completed. And because this university is a well-known technological university, students are used to self-submitting data systems (those that save data on the real-time basis).

On one hand, this story might be summarized as a minor miscommunication, on the other, the lack of miscommunication awareness might cause the researchers to lose important data. Therefore, it was the ability to go beyond „how is this not obvious for them?” and looking for an answer to this question that made it possible to continue with the project. In the next phase of the study, a more elaborated system was used to prevent data loss.

„WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT >RELIGIOUS< MEANS” – POLITICS STANDING IN A WAY

While choosing a country for cross-cultural comparisons during research planning, it may be important not only to decide which countries would be the best to compare from scientific point of view, but also to realize potential problems, even threats, in the political situations in these countries.

For example, as one of the teams learned during their cross-country cooperation, studies in Vietnam should not involve religious beliefs. This country is “officially” a secular country and asking about religious beliefs may raise serious problems and create political threats for both the local research team and for the participants in the study. On the other hand, Vietnamese (and residents of some other Asian countries) will not say directly what could be a problem. As for members of collectivistic, East Asian cultures, group harmony is a critically important social norm, therefore the risk of upsetting a relationship with a partner discourage open confrontation (Gelfand et al, 2013). The research team, while translating the measures, was surprised by their partners saying simply that participants in Vietnam will not understand what “religious” means and that this item cannot be translated. After considering this issue, the Vietnamese side reluctantly revealed that it is politically incorrect item.

In Europe some questions cannot be asked, as well. For example, German opinion polls organizations do not view questions about religion as politically correct. So it is usually a good idea to discuss at the beginning of cooperation what topics are delicate/tricky/not possible to study in partners’ country in order to figure out the way to deal with such potential problems in advance.

Politics can also disturb cooperation within the team itself. One of the research teams, having Israeli and Iranian researchers, faced the situation that because Arab countries do not officially recognize Israel as an independent country scientists from these countries could not communicate directly with Israeli partners. They were required to communicate through a researcher from third country instead and insisted on putting an official statement in a joint article, that they did not cooperate directly. Otherwise, they could have faced serious political problems in Iran.

„THIS IS HOW WE DO THINGS HERE” - CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION AMONG ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURES

As we are talking about different types of universities (i.e. technological), where students are used to work in a particular ways, it is important to analyze cross-cultural communication also in the context of organizational culture. To experience cultural differences we do not necessarily need to contact our co-operants on the other continents. The communication between two partners working in a different organizational environments can also be the cultural “minefield”. In one of the projects described here, cooperation among colleagues from a big technological university, a management and finance oriented university, humanities oriented universities, and a large and prestigious scientific research institution was established. All of these organizations have their own policies, standard operating procedures, and communication patterns, and they differ from one another.

It may be interesting to note here the cultural dimensions of the communication process described by Warburton² in his World Business Model (WBM). Warburton proposed that effective cooperation demands two abilities: being aware of partner’s approach as well as being aware of one’s own approach. Nothing should therefore „be obvious for them since it is obvious for us”.

WBM framework consists of five dimensions. First of them is **diplomacy vs. directness** in communication. Diplomatic communicators hesitate to state their minds directly, as they are afraid of negative emotional impact on others. The opposite, „direct” communication means that message is delivered simply, clearly, literally, without hesitation. The possible confusion between direct and diplomatic communicators may cause „the diplomat” to perceive his partner as „too direct”, „rude”, „with no manners”. On the other side, the „direct” person may see his partner as „two-faced”, „double-tongued”, „unreliable”. Cross-cultural teams face these differences very often. Some organizations prefer straight, direct manner of communication and some do not. One of the teams described the situation when a researcher from one of British Universities wrote to another British researcher from different University he never met before, “hi Suzy, how are you? Why don’t you ask your University about possibility of introducing the program...” In other organizations such direct communication could not be accepted.

He’s second dimension is **literal vs. coded language**. „Literal” culture members tend to use short „yes”, „no” answers, words mean literally what they should mean. Coded cultures prize linguistic finesse, metaphors, refer to “codes” - small-talk in such culture is a way to check if a partner „speaks my language”, understands my „hints”, is „on my level”. Therefore some confusion may occur if a „literal” speaker perceives his partner as „talker”, and a „coded” partner perceives the other party as „simpleton”. In international teams where partners from literal language cultures cooperate with coded language partners it may be very difficult to communicate if one does not recognize these differences. For example, in some organizations (especially with Asia-originating organizational cultures), employees cannot simply say “no” (aforementioned group harmony norm). They avoid the answer, putting it in a cover of other words or even agree to do the task but at the end they do not proceed with it. Getting to know the coded language partners speak may prove essential.

The third dimension of WBM framework is **reserve vs. emotion**. „Reserve” cultures put emphasis on calmness and consider it to be crucial in professional relations. „Emotion” cultures perceive exuberant reactions as a sign of genuine interest in a matter and a reason to trust each other. Obviously, this difference can lead to mutual lack of trust between partners from „reserve” and „emotional” cultures. „They cannot be trusted, it is impossible to read their faces” - is the impression „emotional” culture forms about the „reserve” one. „They cannot be trusted, they are neither serious nor mature enough.” - is the „reserve” way of thinking about their „emotional” partners.

The fourth dimension is **self-promotion vs. self-depreciation**. „Self-promotion” culture members find it bizarre to say they are not very good at something when they are actually skilled in that area. „Self-depreciation” culture members, where modesty is a virtue, prefer to understate their abilities, and status, as speaking positively about themselves is viewed as arrogance and displays a lack of manners. Because of this cultural difference, persons from „self-promoting” cultures may be perceived as „pert” in the eyes of „self-depreciating” culture members. On the other hand, „self-promoters” may underestimate „self-depreciating” persons or perceive them as „aberrant”, „depressed”, low skilled or simply incompetent.

The fifth dimension of World Business Model is **written vs. spoken word**. „Written word” cultures see a commitment as binding only when communicated in writ-

2 <http://www.worldbusinessculture.com/index.html> 2.09.2016

ing. Spoken word is usually just an exchange of attentions and kind gestures. „Do you have it on writing?” is a common question in such cultures. „Strong bureaucracy” is here a compliment. In „spoken word” cultures agreements are only believed in, and binding when have been discussed by people with a strong personal, trusting relationship. Obviously „bureaucracy” is not a compliment in such cultures, and „things are done this way since ages, so we are not going to introduce some >regulations< now...”. Obligation to write everything down can be perceived as cold, stiff, awkward and a symptom of lack of trust which could undermine the relationship. When written and spoken word cultures need to cooperate, a lot of mutual understanding and flexibility is essential.

We have talked about many problems that may occur in the process of communication, particularly across cultures. Additionally, working within a big international team means also communicating with members of different organizational cultures via CMC. In such circumstances even the length of the email may cause problems. More „direct” and „literal” organizational cultures prefer short messages with no „unnecessary drifts”. Short answers are given, preferably as „yes”, „no”, „ok”, „negative”. „Time is money” in such cultures, and long, „coded” emails are perceived as a „waste of time”, „unclear”, and „chaotic”. On the other hand „coded” culture members prize long emails, with some „personal touch”, and exchange of private information. They perceive short „business only” messages as „dry”, „soulless”, „poorly building relation”. Cooperation between „direct, literal” and „coded” organizational cultures therefore require flexibility from both sides. And again, it is worth noting differences between written and spoken type of contact: interestingly „literal” and „direct” organizational cultures while switching from mails into face to face conversations, start from „small talk” instead of „going straight to the point” type of conversation, which may be confusing for partners from different cultures.

In „spoken-word” organizational cultures, it is very important to meet potential research partners in person and let them know you first, before one starts a whole official written path to obtain approval for a research project. One of the teams cooperating with Vietnamese University discovered how necessary it may be to base cooperation on personal ties and personal recommendations. After such ties are achieved, projects suddenly start to be possible that first seemed almost impossible. They discovered that it was impracticable to establish

any cooperation by emails, especially for bigger projects. Sometime researchers even discovered that their emails were simply moved to trash bins as letters from strangers, without any effort to read them. The situation is even more complicated as people on high positions in organizations do not always speak English (e.g. a dean of one of the Universities) and may delete such emails instead of forwarding them to potential research partners in their organization.

When talking about written vs. spoken word dimension it is worth mentioning that the **level of bureaucracy** may also vary to a great extent. From a research point of view, it means that various rules for study approvals may apply. Apart from participants consent, one can spot all range of additional rules from a simple verbal „yes” from a teacher who will let the team to make a study with his students (e.g. Economical University in Delhi, India) or even lack of ethical rules for researchers (one of the universities in Kazakhstan), through necessity of simple letters describing a study addressed to a school or company head, to very detailed descriptions of the study directed to University Boards, which needs to obey many additional rules concerning, for example, personal data security (e.g. one of the universities in USA) to extreme situation of necessity to have an approval for the study from the country government (as it happened in one of the projects in China). Asking about these rules at the beginning of projects may help teams avoid unpleasant surprises later.

MUTUAL COMMITMENTS AND THEIR SCOPE

Not only the form, but also the content of what was said may be a source of misunderstandings. In international research projects mutual commitments and their scope are of key importance and can be a source of confusion. For „spoken word” cultures a promise of „helping by introducing a project” means many different kinds of support, flexible frames and means of such help, changing the request or adding new requests since „you promised to help”. For „written word” organizational culture the scope of mutual help means very specific range of help, e.g. „10 questionnaires, 2 rooms and 300 students” - as this was agreed in a written version of a project description. It is therefore important to discuss all details of cooperation at the beginning of the project, especially what will be the task divisions, because every ambiguity may cause problems in the future, as every partner may otherwise interpret their obligations differently. Writing down all agreements in a clear way when having a partner from „written word” organizational culture is

recommended. Of course, it may be a challenge in scientific research projects because of constant development in science and necessity to adjust projects to newly published discoveries. Some flexibility from all parts of the project seem inevitable and essential. Therefore project planning shall also consider “the level of flexibility” within the project scope, since “some flexibility” might be differently understood by all parties. The way of discussing changes in the project will probably be rooted on both organizational cultures, in some cases “adjustments” being a subject of renegotiation.

Another part of cooperation that may be tricky is what will be the benefits from cooperation for each partner. It is very important to talk about these benefits at the beginning to discover what would be the most interesting for potential partners. Money is not always the only or most important benefit. Co-authorship of articles and conference presentations, research visits at co-operating scientific institutions, gathering new contacts and experiences, collecting data for a partner in his future project etc. are also valuable scientific incentives. It needs detailed interviews with partners, because sometimes “the devil hides in details”. For example, for Vietnamese partners it was important to have joint publication, but it appeared later that they understood this to mean being listed among the first of three authors of such publication. It was due to the fact that for Vietnamese research institutions only being a first, second or third author counts as an achievement of their employees. However, this expectation could be a problem for other cooperators, especially in big grants with many partners.

CONCLUSIONS

The authors of this article discussed several possible areas of difference between partners from various cultural contexts and potential problems in establishing and maintaining international research teams. Analyses and conclusions were supported with the scientific reports as well as with the business related and for-the-business-practice developed solutions and practical leads. Additionally we shared some of international cross-cultural teams experiences as examples.

As Salas and Gelfand point out “While cultural diversity often brings with it new perspectives and innovative solutions, differences in culture and viewpoint can also lead to misunderstandings and interaction problems. Therefore, there is a pressing need to understand the processes and influences of intercultural collaboration as well as how to manage the process to result in the most effective outcomes possible” (Salas, Gelfand, 2013: 235). We pointed out that it is a good idea to discuss key issues at the beginning of cooperation, namely, what topics are delicate/tricky/not possible to study in partners’ country (e.g. for political reasons), what procedures are required to obtain approval to conduct studies (the level of bureaucracy), what will be the task division between the partners (in details), and what benefits from cooperation can be important for each partner.

We summarized the cultural dimensions described by Hofstede as well as the cultural dimensions of the communication process described in World Business Model. We showed how cultural differences in five main dimensions of WBM (diplomacy vs. directness, literal vs. coded language, reserve vs. emotion, self-promotion vs. self-depreciation and written vs. spoken word) may be a source of misunderstandings. We dedicated substantial part of the article to the issue of computer mediated communication (CMC), an every day activity for big research teams, but we noted that CMC creates additional problems and has its own limitations. However, because CMC is rarely discussed in this context, we thought it useful to elaborate on this part.

At the end, we would like to add that however difficult intercultural cooperation in research projects may be, this cooperation brings important benefits and opens new opportunities in the modern world of scientific research. Being aware and respecting the differences between partners, being flexible, open minded and not trying to bend your partner to your style of work is the way to make it work.

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Social Studies 15 (2) /2016

ISSN 2081-0008

e-ISSN: 2449-9714

p 23-29

„THINKING FAST AND SLOW” FRAMEWORK IN CBT. A PRACTITIONER’S GUIDE TO WORKPLACE RELATED ANXIETY (WRA) COUNSELLING

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this article is to provide an accessible description of a treatment model that addresses the problems of work related anxiety in the context of CBT advances. Authors share their expertise in the field of the newest CBT models encouraging practitioners to consider the possibility of brooding their skills and receiving specialised training in the neuroscience supported treatment. Authors are focusing on the necessity of working out an integrated approach to achieve effective supporting models beneficiary for the clients as well as for the counsellors.

KEY WORDS: WORK RELATED ANXIETY, CBT ADVANCES, WORKPLACE PHOBIA, „NEW ABC” FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

Srivastva and Sen pointed out as early as in 1995 that working in modern organisations in industrialised societies has become increasingly stressful. The authors also remark that despite the increasing number of available facilities, human capital development programs, and all the CSR policies, people often show work related apprehension and emotional tension in the job. Their actions are marked by fear and insecurity. A number of behavioural manifestations have psychological bases, in which a reference to the prevailing situational context of the person can hardly be overlooked. More often than not, such emotional tension is arising out of the person’s imaginary involvement in his or her situational contexts. In psychological parlance, their behavioural patterns are referred to as job anxiety or workplace related anxiety (see: Srivastva, Sen 1995: 253).

The main purpose of this article is to provide an accessible description of a counselling model that addresses the problems of work related anxiety in the context of CBT advances. We are focusing on the necessity of working out an integrated approach to achieve effective supporting model. We are following the newest CBT models encouraging practitioners to brooding their skills and receiving specialised training in the neuroscience supported techniques.

ANXIETY PROVOKING WORKPLACE

As Stawiarska-Lietzau and Łużniak-Piecha (2016) are pointing out in their broad analysis, workplaces contain stimuli which are especially prone to provoke anxiety:

- the pressures of „hypercompetition” - demands for achievements which may provoke perception of overtaxation or insufficiency (see: Browning et al. 2007; D’Aveni 1995; Turnipseed, 1998);
- uncertainty about the professional future and keeping the job (see: Eshel, Kadouch-Kowalsky 2003; Strazdins et al. 2004);
- social hierarchies (see: Thomas, Hynes 2007);
- conflicts with colleagues or superiors often described in terms of mobbing or bossing (see: Mathieu et al. 2014; Yildirim Yildirim 2007);
- environmental and physical endangerments (see: MacDonald et al. 2003; Munir et al. 2007), or structural changes (see: Campbell Pepper 2006);

and last but not list:

- dysfunctional/pathological management (see: Boddy 2014; Łużniak-Piecha, Stawiarska-Lietzau 2015; Stawiarska-Lietzau, Łużniak-Piecha 2016).

Anxiety triggering workplace environment characterised above became a subject of a number of research

programs within last years. Brooks and Schweitzer's definition of anxiety is "a state of distress and/or physiological arousal in reaction to stimuli including novel situations and the potential for undesirable outcomes" (Brooks, Schweitzer 2011: 44). Kouchaki and Desai (2015) proposed to examine the anxiety state in terms of a transitory emotion. For nearly everyone, anxiety is an unpleasant and aversive emotion that motivates individuals to flee from anxiety producing situations. It signals the presence of a potential, subjectively recognised threat, and elicits behavioural, psychological, and even physiological responses in individuals to reduce the aversive situation (Kouchaki, Desai 2015: 361).

Kouchaki and Desai argue that it is of a key importance to refer to the evolutionary biology recognising anxiety as a potentially beneficial state that was shaped by natural selection. The experience of anxiety can be viewed as a response pattern that evolved because of its tendency to offer some advantages in particular situations. Over the course of evolution, such a response pattern comprising physiological and cognitive responses became preprogrammed in humans. In other words, anxiety-provoking situations often automatically trigger self-protective reaction patterns in us (Kouchaki, Desai 2015: 361). We are going to analyse those response patterns in the further parts of the article.

Examining workplace anxiety environmental sources, and analysing it as a psychological phenomenon leads us to the necessary description of its influence on employers' cognitive, motivational, and behavioural processes. The mechanism of workplace related anxiety works as follow (Kouchaki Desai 2015):

- anxiety signals the presence of a potential threat to self,
- anxiety facilitates the detection and processing of threat-related stimuli in general,
- anxiety makes people selectively attend to threatening information,
- anxiety leads to interpret ambiguous events in a relatively threatening way,
- perceived threat causes attention to be allocated to detecting its source, and anxiety facilitates this detection.

The „anxiety loop” described above shows how anxiety increases perceived threat and signals the presence of a potential threat to the self. This state leads people to (a) identify real and imagined threats, (b) focus more cognitive resources on threatening versus neutral stimuli,

(c) interpret ambiguous stimuli as possible threats, and (d) recall information related to threat more easily than neutral information. In threatening situations, the brain shifts its cognitive resources to focus on generating rapid defense mechanisms. This state is accompanied by the release of stress hormones that enable people's cognitive efforts to be channeled into responding to the situation (Kouchaki, Desai 2015: 361). The more detailed analysis of this mechanism is a part of the treatment mechanism described in the second part of presented article.

WORKPLACE PHOBIA

The growing level of an anxiety evoked by a workplace can lead to a syndrome called *workplace phobia* (see: Stawiarska-Lietzau, Łuźniak-Piecha 2016). Workplace phobia is characterised by a strong phobic anxiety reaction toward the workplace. There is a panic-like physiological arousal when thinking of the workplace or approaching it. The person shows clear avoidance behaviour towards the workplace (Muschalla, Linden 2009: 592).

It is important for practitioners to be able to recognise and properly diagnose the syndrome that is often misinterpreted as depression, agoraphobic episode (the client refers to his/hers fear in relation to leaving home for the office) or other psychological problem. Haines and his associates (2009) specified following criteria for workplace phobia diagnosis:

- self-reported intensive fear when approaching or passing the workplace,
- inability to enter the workplace because of severe anxiety symptoms,
- and reduction of symptoms when leaving the workplace.

Employees with workplace phobia demonstrate also elevated heart rate response and subjective reports of fear that are typical phobic symptoms. Avoidance, an important diagnostic criterion of phobic anxiety disorders, in workplace phobia, differently from specific phobias often manifests in long-time sick leave, and can result in quitting the workplace or early retirement (Muschalla, Linden 2009: 592-593).

Muschalla and Linden revealed in their research that patients with workplace phobia are highly convinced that the workplace had negative influence on their health status. This can be seen as an evidence for the perception of the workplace as a "real" endangering stimulus. People know why they are frightened at work,

namely because of ugly working conditions, frightening superiors, aggressive customers, or the daily work overload, etc. Therefore workplace phobia can also be understood as a form of *pathological realangst* which means a dysfunctional (pathological) anxiety reaction while a realistic endangering stimulus is present (Muschalla, Linden 2009: 601) The authors suggest that possible etiology of this disorder is that from anxieties which have first and originally manifested at the workplace, a complex system of phobic behaviour may develop which exceeds the workplace and generalises the feeling of endangerment (*Ibidem*).

WORKPLACE PHOBIA TREATMENT

It is known that in all behavioural therapeutic treatments of phobias exposition is an important method (see: Bourne 2010; Marks, 1987). Muschalla and Linden point out that the special problem about the therapy of workplace phobia is therefore the fact that *in vivo* expositions with anonymous graded approaching are difficult or even impossible to be performed. The conditions at the workplace cannot be controlled by the therapist so that a planned and dosed exposition is not possible. Under such conditions there is even the risk of strengthening the phobia. Generally, the traditional therapy techniques were descriptions and analysis of situations and behaviour, the development of coping strategies, the revision of self-imposed demands, principles of reframing and anxiety management, clearing of conflicts and exposition *in sensu* (Muschalla, Linden 2009: 593). It is therefore important for therapy practitioners, counsellors and Human Resources Departments specialists to expand their support skills and „equipment” using the advanced knowledge go neuroscience supported therapy.

CONVENTIONAL CBT

Conventional CBT is defined as a group of therapeutic approaches sharing common assumption that emotional and behavioural experiences are caused by thoughts, beliefs, and cognitions rather than by „objective” external events (Field, Beeson, Jones 2015). Two main models are: Rational Therapy, later renamed Rational-Emotive Behaviour Therapy (REBT), developed by Albert Ellis (1957, 1962), and Cognitive Therapy, developed by Aaron Beck (1967). Both approaches are built on the assumption that dysfunctional emotional and behavioural responses were caused directly by dysfunctional thinking, known as cognitive distortions (Beck) or irrational beliefs (Ellis) (see: Field, Beeson, Jones 2015).

Treatment therefore - as described in previous parts of the article - was focused on confronting, disputing, and restructuring maladaptive thought patterns into more adaptive patterns that would lead to more adaptive emotional and behavioural responses. Cognitive mechanisms and thought patterns continues therefore to be a central focus of many contemporary CBT models today (see: Field, Beeson, Jones 2015; Beck, Haigh 2014).

THE ABCDE ANALYSIS

Central to REBT framework of Albert Ellis (1962) is the ABCDE analysis. It is used as a schema to perform a step-by-step evaluation of client’s responses to the environment. In this model, the emotional and behavioural dysfunctional response begins when a person encounters an **activating event (A)** in the environment, also referred to as an antecedent, precipitant, or trigger.

The person’s first reaction is interpretation of the activating event based on **beliefs (B)** the person already holds in relation to the event, also known as thoughts or cognitions.

If irrational, these beliefs create dysfunctional emotional and behavioural **consequences (C)**.

To prevent this dysfunctional reaction from occurring, a person should be taught to recognise and **dispute (D)** these irrational beliefs.

This should aloud to **exchange (E)** the irrational on new and more rational emotional and behavioural response.

The goal of counselling, according to Ellis (1962), is to modify a person’s irrational beliefs to prevent emotional distress or dysfunctional behaviour. The ABCDE model has been introduced and developed by numerous authors and practitioners (e.g., David 2003; DeSilvestri 1989; DiGiuseppe 1986; Dryden 1984; Maultsby 1984) focused on creating techniques supporting clients in this difficult task such is mastering their emotions and behaviour by conscious control of their thinking. Since treatment is focused on conscious thinking process, the client needs to develop ability to think before acting or producing emotional response (see: Field, Beeson, Jones 2015).

„THINKING FAST AND SLOW”

Maultsby (1984) proposed that in a process driven largely by physiology, individuals react almost instantly to an activating event before thinking occurs. Recent explorations in cognitive psychology propose advanced tech-

niques of supporting a person's ability to think before acting. A client's difficulty in thinking before responding emotionally or behaviourally can be understood by examining how people respond under conditions of stress, threat, or an intensely pleasurable stimulus (e.g., Field, Beeson, Jones 2015; Kahneman 2011). Under everyday circumstances, when there is no actual or perceived stressor, sensory information from the inside and outside of the body are processed in terms of the person's past experiences and memories. The rational part of the brain (prefrontal cortex) works to inform how the person will respond, sending appropriate messages to the motor cortex and out to the body. The behavioural response is therefore formed. This **top-down** processing was described by Kahneman (2011) and called "**thinking slow**," "the high road," or "Systems 2 thinking". It is the „thinking slow" processing that allows the brain to make conscious, rational decisions about how to respond to the stimuli. The information processing system shifts when faced with a stressor. In those circumstances, the information is processed by more primitive regions of the brain to ensure survival. Instead of involving cortex, the thalamus communicates the amygdala directly, which causes the release of hormones, and this effects with adrenaline release (i.e., epinephrine). Adrenaline activates the sympathetic nervous system and causes physiological changes in the body: increase of heart rate, shallower breathing, tense of muscles, etc. The release of epinephrine followed by cortisol is described as "the fight or flight" response (Cannon 1914; Selye 1936). This process occurs whenever a person is faced with an actual or perceived threat or an intensely pleasurable stimulus (Field, Beeson, Jones 2015). Conscious „slow" thinking would slow down the flow of information, causing additional steps before the message is processed and the adaptive behaviour to avert a potential threat could be introduced. In the stressing situation person is thus likely to respond instinctively, only later thinking about the event. Automatic respond to perceived threats means that subcortical brain regions are activated without engaging the rationally thinking part of the brain, and that effects with emotionally formed reaction. This automatic process is described by Kahneman (2011) as "**thinking fast**" as well as "the low road," "bottom-up processing," and "Systems 1 thinking" (see also: Field, Beeson, Jones 2015)

To use a clinical example, let's imagine a client - Robert - complaining of felling anxiety and feeling "somehow paranoid" when having to work in particular circumstances (cooperation with a specified person, in a particular place, or on a given task) during the work-day.

For some times earlier, the client had been humiliated or emotionally harmed while working in described environment and has since deliberately chosen a different work circumstances (let's say Robert has such possibility to choose different projects and cooperant), avoiding as effectively as he could certain person, and projects. Each of these strategies is a cognitive, top-down decision, chosen by the client to cope with stress. But even after arranging these additional strategies, Robert may still experience a racing heartbeat, and shallow breathing when entering the office. Robert may also feel additionally stressed by being unable to control these emotional and physiological responses, despite making every effort to do so („Why do I act like that? What's wrong with me?"). In such situation, the classical CBT strategy, such as reinforcing the client's cognitive strategies, positive self-talk or work-day planning, may still not resolve the perpetual problem of physiological and emotional arousal during the work-day. In this work-related-anxiety scenario, the client is engaging in „fast" processing, using the system working quickly, efficiently, and with less conscious thought. Robert's brain is not prioritising thinking before acting nor engaging in metacognition when physiologically and emotionally deregulated. Conscious analysis, comes after Robert has responded behaviourally or emotionally. Training Robert to modify thoughts before responding is asking him to change the way his brain naturally operate—a monumental challenge. An enhanced model is therefore needed, one that integrates current research from neuroscience into the practice of CBT and accounts for automatic responding, implicit memory, and the role of the counsellor in breaking automatic cycles of responding (Field, Beeson, Jones 2015). It is also important that the therapy mechanism and technique is easily understood by both counsellor and client, since effective CBT counselling requires that both parties understand and believe in the intervention selected - so that both expect change to occur (Anderson, Lunnen, Ogles 2010).

ADVANCED ABC FRAMEWORK FOR „SLOW DOWN" THINKING

Anderson, Lunnen, and Ogles (2010) proposed a cognitively advanced technique of work in ABC framework. In this approach the main assumption is that the client can be trained in a conscious analysis of „thinking fast" mechanism, and therefore exchange it into „thinking slower". **Awareness** of all the physiological and cognitive mechanisms of „thinking fast" (A) makes it possible for clients to analyse their physiological state (racing heartbeat, sweaty palms, shallow breathing), and be-

havioural response (feeling unable to work effectively in the given circumstances).

In a conscious state of Awareness (A) the **Brain (B)** can proceed the information with the use of the cortex developing critique thinking, problem-solving strategy, and plan for a response. The client might describe his feelings and reasons for his behaviours as well as subsequent thoughts. This is obviously another very difficult task the client is facing therefore an intense support of the counsellor is necessary to train and develop the effective mechanism of „Awareness (A) building and Brain - cortex (B) proceeding”. The client might create false evaluations that, if practiced long enough, begin to emerge in future, and become automatic thoughts (Field, Beeson, Jones, 2015). Robert might build a belief of him „feeling toxins coming from the person X and poisoning his body and mind”, and this quite powerful metaphor, if integrated into his way of thinking, might drive him to additional paranoid thinking and images of person X „hunting him”... There is nothing bad in metaphors, as long as they are not becoming the „real pictures” in client’s imagination, and make the phobic feelings even bigger problem.

Being supported by the counsellor the client works on conscious and fact related Awareness (A) and Brain (B) analysis of the situation. As a **Consequence (C)** integrated emotional responses (conscious feelings) are generated by cortex and may become secondary emotions. To conclude Robert’s example, the client feels shame and lack of satisfaction in the job place (C) after an appraisal (B) (A) of his physiological responses (racing heartbeat, sweaty palms, shallow breathing) and the behavioural responses (feeling unable to work) (see: Anderson, Lunnen, Ogles 2010; Field, Beeson, Jones 2015). This state of mind, rather than panic thinking, might become a beginning of solution searching, e.g. conversation with HR Department, new career path establishing, strategic planning of job change.

Several studies recommend this top-down approach of Anderson, Lunnen, and Ogles (2010) model (e.g., Clark, Beck 2010; Makinson, Young 2012). Field, Beeson and Jones (2015) in their analyses of the „new ABC” do however underline the proper timing of the intervention, stating that such interventions „are most advantageous after the major moment of crisis has passed, leaving room for clients to reappraise their response to the situation in a calm, relaxed state, and [...] are not useful during the initial response phase [...] when information is sent quickly and automatically to the nervous system, bypassing the opportunity for conscious thought in

the neocortex.” (Field, Beeson, Jones 2015: 215). Therefore the preliminary counselling should be focused on building awareness, tolerance, and acceptance of „fast thinking mechanism” consequences. Clients can experience difficulties regulating affect or controlling their behaviour, therefore the counsellor role is to work with the client on the conscious **Awareness (A)** of physiological consequences of a subjectively recognised threat and only after that to help them to proceed information (B), and change these consequences (C).

ADVANCES IN CLIENT SUPPORT METHODS - PRACTITIONER’S “TOOLKIT”

The first phase of treatment, as stated above, is focused on helping client consciously analyse his own physiological responding and emotional activation. This may require interventions other than traditional talk therapy. However effective the relaxation techniques might be, they still require conscious thinking therefore are useful only after the first physiological and emotional response of the organism. In this first „fast” activating stage of reaction the aim is to teach „client’s organism” to react in a modified way. In above developed clinical example of job-related-anxiety Robert would be supported in the process of becoming aware of his first response to the threat. Counselling focuses on the question: „How do you feel **physically** when anxious or panicked?” According to Field, Beeson and Jones the beneficial approaches to „developing physiological awareness are mindfulness, biofeedback and neurofeedback, and healthy coping behaviours that activate the senses” (Field, Beeson, Jones 2015: 216 - 218).

Mindfulness helps to develop first conscious, than automatic control on parts of the body or the breath (Field, Beeson, Jones 2015: 216 - 218). During biofeedback and neurofeedback sessions, „clients are exposed to how their brain and body react to certain sensory stimuli, which can help them moderate how their own brain responds” (Ibidem: 216 - 218). It is of key importance to realise that biofeedback and neurofeedback are „advanced technical procedures, requiring specialised training and experience” (Ibidem: 217). The trained and experienced specialist is using a technology based on heart-rate monitoring, quantitative electroencephalography (qEEG), and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). The treatment has the potential to retrain the unconscious regulatory processes in a way that is not available to traditional approaches, such as forms of talk therapy (Field, Beeson, Jones 2015; Linden 2008)

therefore should not be provided by any "self-named specialist" having technical training only.

Healthy replacement behaviour is a technique used in a Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (Linehan, 1993). The main assumption is: "keeping a client's attention in the here-and-now, and to prevent memories of past events from triggering emotional and behavioural responding" (Field, Beeson, Jones 2015: 217). Marcia Linehan (1993) was using the block of ice, asking client to hold it each time the hurtful emotional impulse occurred. Than the procedure of desensitisation was introduced, by slowly asking the client to last for longer without „the device”.

The second phase of treatment within the new ABC is focused on breaking automatic reactions and create new neuronal pathways involving cortex proceeding the information. According to Field, Beeson and Jones mindfulness, biofeedback, and neurofeedback techniques can still be useful (Field, Beeson, Jones 2015: 217). Robert - the client from the clinical example - would explore memories and associations related to his physiological reactions while continuing to build adaptive practices in everyday work. Counselling should be mainly focused on exposing thoughts and images of the past work experiences while asking the client to become attentive to physiological responses during the exercises and give voice to physiological states. Therefore the cortex can overtake the process of information proceeding. „Thinking fast” is „slowing down”.

The third phase of treatment is changing consequences of previous processes. Advanced techniques of CBT can be at use: the acceptance mechanism, described by Maultsby (1984) as: "the world does not have to work exactly the way I want it to work", "changing the scale

of the description of particular event". The client learns to anticipate and accept physiological arousal upon preparing to enter the office, without increasing the intensity of his reactions by becoming overwhelmed by the „panic thinking”. Following this acceptance, the client could learn to engage in productive self-talk about the past history of successful and effective work.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this article was to provide an accessible description of a treatment model that addresses the problems of work related anxiety in the context of CBT advances. Our main assumption is the necessity of working out an integrated approach to achieve effective supporting model. We are following the statement Field, Beeson and Jones (2015: 218) encouraging practitioners to consider „receiving specialised training in the practice of mindfulness, biofeedback, or neurofeedback, or another form of unconscious body awareness when providing CBT services.”

Future treatment models and empirical research on them are needed to validate the concepts presented here and explore other ways in which advanced CBT can help promote human development, resilience, and wellness in the work and out of work.

Finally, while the New ABC framework offers a conceptual model of work with job-related-anxiety suffering client, the intent was not to present the advanced CBT as such. Our analysis merely integrates the current body of knowledge. Although treatment „tools” and recommendations are provided, the list is not exhaustive.

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CROSS-CULTURAL VARIABILITY IN SOCIOSEXUALITY AS A COOPERATIVE PROBLEM

ABSTRACT

Human cooperation and coordination can be viewed as an outcome of a gene-culture coevolutionary process, in which increased reliance on cultural transmission creates a niche, which shapes the “social brain” with a suite of norm-psychology, pro-social traits and high fidelity social learning and this provides a feedback loop on complexity of cultural transmission itself. In this light we can expect cooperative problems to be supported by intuitive norm-psychology. In the domain of human sexuality, general sex drive variability is not a cooperative problem and therefore cultural norms play minor part in its regulation. Sociosexual variability, on the other hand, can be a cooperative problem, in and some contexts it is strongly regulated by norms. In patriarchal cultures of honor, especially chastity of females can become a sacred value and as such, sociosexual restrictiveness is expected to be the generalized default intuitive response. Even contemplating a tradeoff against this value could be subject to punishment and maintenance of reputation of “protection” of this value can result in such extreme events as “honor killings”. In developed, gender-equal countries, possibly because institutions are in place to solve the major issues related to the mating vs parenting tradeoff, sociosexual decisions rest on self-interested individual deliberation instead.

KEY WORDS: SOCIOSEXUALITY; HUMAN MATING; COOPERATION; CROSS-CULTURAL; SEX DRIVE; INTUITION

COOPERATION AND GENE-CULTURE COEVOLUTION

Humans are unique animals in that their genome is shaped not only by local ecology, but largely by self-created environment: culture. Culture-gene coevolutionary hypothesis, broadly speaking, states that there is a spiral influence of gene-based phenotypic traits on culture, as well as influence of culture on gene frequencies (Chudek & Henrich 2011). Culture can create niches, to which brains and bodies adapt and brains/bodies determine what kind of culture is possible or likely to thrive. One, well described, example of such process is the gene-culture coevolution of the cultural practice of milking cattle and human metabolism (Beja-Pereira et al. 2003). Cultural practice of increasing herds and selecting for animals with increased milk yield created a niche, which promoted the frequency of genes encoding for adult lactose tolerance. Increased levels of lactose tolerance, in turn, affected the cultural practice of milk drinking. Larger herds were creat-

ed and gene pool of domestic cattle was shaped as well, greatly altering its characteristics (Baratay 2014).

Some scholars suggest that existence of large scale human cooperation and coordination should also be explained by a process of gene-culture coevolution (Chudek & Henrich 2011). Human cooperation is defined as any situation in which individuals act together in a way to maximize the total payoff, by benefiting one another and refrain from defecting, usually in the form of “free-riding” – maximizing one’s immediate individual payoffs at the expense of others payoff. Current example of such cooperative enterprise is the European Union, an institutional arrangement involving a cooperative problem: each country benefits most by minimizing its contributions and maximizing its benefits, but the group would maximize the total payoff if no nation would free ride. In experimental settings a typical model of a cooperative problem is the well-known “Prisoner’s dilemma”, a game used in behavioral economics

and psychology (Nowak 2006). Problems of cooperation clearly involve a tension between self and other-benefit. Defecting is always the outcome maximizing strategy for self, if others decide to cooperate. Maintaining cooperation therefore requires additional supports, such as use of sanctions or norms (Henrich 2006).

Problems of cooperation can be contrasted with similar, yet slightly different, problems of coordination. Typical model for the coordination problem is the "Stag hunt" game (Skyrms 2004) - as the name of the game suggests, an example of this situation is making a coordinated decision to hunt for a large animal. It is a situation in which everyone gains the maximum payoff only if everyone participates in the same activity. If one of the partners does not participate, then the effort of everyone else is wasted. In this situation there is no tension between self and other-benefit. It is never in one's interest to defect, since free riding is impossible, but the main issue is how to align actions with one another, so that everyone participates. Psychological capabilities which are helpful in this regard are related to imitation and mimicry, such as using the same signals for communication or adopting common rituals.

The general idea of the process of gene-culture coevolution of human cooperation and coordination is that solution to those problem became dependent, to a larger and larger extent, on culturally transmitted information. This supported the selection for a set of cognitive mechanisms, motivations and abilities for dealing with norms, defined as behavioral standards enforced by a particular community. Genes affecting higher fidelity social learning and processing of norms increased in frequency and this, in turn, facilitated the increase in complexity of possible arrangements of cultural information (Chudek & Henrich 2011). As a consequence, today we find many early emerging pro social dispositions such as in-group biases, egalitarian biases, moral emotions supporting culture dependent large-scale cooperation and coordination (Van de Vondervoort & Hamlin 2016).

CROSS-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN SOCIOSEXUALITY

The abovementioned view of gene-culture coevolution suggests that in context involving problems of cooperation and/or coordination both biological predispositions and cultural norms should play a role. Arguably some domains of human mating are filled with such problems, whereas other are relatively not. Empirical evidence suggests that, indeed, one aspect of this domain:

sociosexuality, is best explained by a hybrid bio-cultural model, whereas another: general sex drive, can be explained by biological factors alone (Lippa 2009). It is worth focusing on those aspects of human mating, because cross cultural is relatively rich, with an empirical base supported by two large-scale studies: International Sexuality Description Project, involving 14,059 people across 48 nations (Schmitt, 2005) and an internet survey conducted by BBC, with over 200,000 participants in 53 nations (Lippa, 2009).

Sociosexuality refers to the contextual factors of human mating. In the broadest terms the construct describes variability in an answer to the question: Is casual sex with a relatively unknown person an appropriate or desirable thing to do, or is intimacy and/or commitment a necessary prerequisite for passion (Sternberg 1997; Penke & Asendorpf 2008)? Acceptance of casual sex is called permissive or unrestricted sociosexuality. Sex drive, on the other hand, refers to the general frequency of sexual activity, threshold for arousal by sexual stimuli and its rewarding value (Lippa 2006). It is the general, motivational aspect of sexual interest.

Permissive sociosexuality, acceptance of short term mating, is correlated with engagement in sexual activity before any long-term legal commitment, earlier age of first intercourse, higher lifetime number of sexual partners, beliefs that marital infidelity, prostitution or divorce can sometimes be justified, as well as the frequency of mate poaching attempts (Schmitt 2005; Penke & Asendorpf 2008). Engagement in mating is also negatively correlated with parenting effort (Gangestad & Simpson 2000). Summing up, variability in sociosexuality, but not variability in sex drive, is related to cooperative problems.

Sex differences in sex drive are consistent across nations and are not moderated by gender equality or economic development. Males are consistently higher than females in sex drive and this pattern of results is similar to sex differences in height (Lippa 2009). Women are consistently more variable than men in sex drive and this possibly can be explained by factors such as testosterone levels (Shifren et al. 2000) or fluctuations in sexual interest related to ovulation (Rule et al. 2011).

Pattern of sex differences in sociosexuality is different. Men are more willing than women to engage in short term relationships, but this is moderated by social factors. Higher gender equality and economic development diminishes this difference, whereas it is largest in relatively underdeveloped countries with unequal gender roles (Lippa 2009). This is mainly due to a severe drop

in willingness to engage in short term relationships by women, which is accompanied by a decrease in variability of their preferences. Putting it differently, in countries such as Iceland, Austria, Denmark, Switzerland or Sweden women preferences for short term mating are only slightly lower than men's, and as variable as men's, whereas in Philippines, Malaysia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Trinidad and Tobago, women's preferences become rigidly restricted, they drop in variability and in average values.

Explanation of this result classically comes from evolutionary and social structural theories. They tend to paint a different picture, but one that treats both sociosexuality and sex drive in similar fashion (Wood & Eagly 2002; Schmitt 2005; Gangestad & Simpson 2000). Evolutionary approach suggests that the observed differences in sexual behavior between males and females are a result of evolved mechanisms. Social structural theorists insist that the key differences lie with gender roles, power imbalances and patriarchy, which is claimed to be universal across cultures (Walby 1991). Patriarchy puts emphasis on traditional sex roles and certainty of paternity; therefore, for example, it restricts women's but not men's sexuality (Wood & Eagly, 2002).

When we consider empirical data, both hypotheses gain some support but also seem to slightly miss the mark. Evolutionary approach did not predict that sociosexuality, especially in women, is strongly associated with gender equality and economic development. Social structural hypothesis assumed that sex drive should also be related to social context, whereas it is not, and additionally underestimated the relative influence of sex differences and cross national differences on sociosexuality (Lippa 2009). Full explanation of this phenomenon seems to require a more precise hypothesis. From what we know so far there seems to be qualitative difference across cultures in the way that sociosexual decisions are made. In some places evolved preferences play the major role, whereas in other strong normative expectations are displayed.

FROM SACRED VALUES TO PERSONAL PREFERENCES

Why is it that when we move on the scale of gender equality and economic development, at some point strong normative expectations for restricted sociosexual attitudes and behaviors appear, whereas earlier they seemed to be a personal preference? Cross-cultural study on traits desirable in potential mates offers another piece of evidence (Buss 1989). When it comes

to mate preferences many traits are relatively universal across cultures, but value assigned to chastity (lack of previous sexual experiences) shows the greatest cultural variation and it tends to correlate with restrictiveness in sociosexuality. In some cultures chastity is treated as an important, sacred value, whereas in others it is irrelevant in mate preferences, or even undesirable.

When restricted sociosexuality becomes a value, it strongly affects personal reputation, as moral traits are the most important factors affecting global impression formation (Goodwin 2015). This leaves no room for personal preferences, as there is an expectation for a generalized intuitive, fast and automatic preference for restricted sociosexuality. In cultures which assign no value to chastity, engagement in short term mating is a question of a contextual deliberation, individual evaluation of every "for" and "against" instead (Rand 2016). In cultures in which chastity is considered sacred, even contemplating the idea of engaging in short term mating, as in answering the questionnaire about sociosexual preferences, can be treated as considering a taboo tradeoff (Tetlock 2003).

Other studies show when the existence of this type of intuitive and automatic decision-making is necessary to support cooperation. Cooperative taboos are present in situations when there is a relatively rare, but strong temptation to free-ride and defection is harmful to others involved (Hoffman et al. 2015). Strategic, interest based cooperation, is not sustainable in such context. In order to make strategic, cost/benefit cooperation sustainable, one of the parameters of the situation has to change. Either the temptation must be lower or defection cost must be ameliorated.

Arguably, one important factor that diminishes costs in the mating vs parenting tradeoff, is the strength of institutions. Efficiency of institutions is shown to be the general factor which determines whether a "honor strategy", or "rational-interest based strategy" is more adaptive (Nowak et al. 2015). Honor based strategy is based on maintaining reputation of willingness to retaliate against other people even if it is extremely risky or costly to do so. Rational and interest based strategies rely on either situational cost/benefit analysis or reliance on authorities in times on conflict. Honor-based strategy is an evolutionary stable strategy when authority effectiveness is low, but loses in frequency when institutional effectiveness rises (Nowak et al. 2015).

Taking this into account we could possibly explain some aspects of one of the most disturbing forms of family

violence: “honor killings”. “Honor killing” occurs when (mostly, but not only) women are put to death for an act that is perceived as bringing shame to their families. In countries such as Pakistan, occurrence of such events is estimated at ~2000 in years 2004-2007, perpetrators are mostly family members and reason is alleged engagement in short term sexual relationship (World Health Organization 2013; Nasrullah et al. 2009; Vlachová & Biason 2005).

Thought this paper variability in sociosexuality was shown as a cooperative problem in interest-based/dignity-based cultures and honor-cultures (Leung & Cohen 2011). It was argued that reliance on institutions in interest-based cultures makes sociosexuality a personal preference problem, whereas in honor-cultures, especially patriarchal ones, sociosexual restrictiveness is often the socially expected automatic response, at least for females. What has been relatively neglected, but is important for further consideration, is the role of internal factors, such as guilt, in interest-based cultures, as well as a comparison between honor-cultures and face-cultures (Leung & Cohen 2011). Both honor- and face-cultures rely on relatively strong external sources of evaluation and strong reciprocity norms, but with a different emphasis on hierarchy, status and personal retribution. Preliminary hypothesis regarding the consequences of those differences for sociosexuality is that whereas in

honor-cultures violations of sociosexual taboos often end in interpersonal violence, in face-cultures it would rather involve elements of shame and humiliation.

CONCLUSION

Measuring individual difference variables across cultures is a challenge. When we consider variables related to cooperative problems, such as sociosexuality, we can expect that cultural norms will play an important role in explanation. Furthermore, we can expect that this role will be different across contexts. In some areas individuals will be free to make their own cost/benefit analysis regarding their willingness to engage in short term mating. In other areas this will be a taboo topic with a solution strongly enforced by social expectations. The process of gene-culture coevolution produced universal human predispositions for dealing with cooperative problems, but much more work is needed in order to understand the various ways in which cultures tend to solve them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Author wishes to express gratitude to Yuliya Kovalchuk, MA who contributed to the work on the early version of the manuscript.

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Social Studies 15 (2) /2016

ISSN 2081-0008

e-ISSN: 2449-9714

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“DISORDERS” OF GLOBAL ORDER IN THE DELIBERATIONS OF ROBERT KAGAN

ABSTRACT

Robert Kagan is one of these American scientist, who brightly and precisely define his opinions on the most important matters related with the international arena safety. Through scientific articles to books, he analyses the “disorders” of the Global Order after the Cold War – called often “period of deregulation”.

The article shows, there are difficulties with the term “Global Order” after the Cold War. Also it shows the meaning and importance this Global Order to the modern international policy. R. Kagan’s thought, based on the so-called hierarchic vision of this Order, which United States as the most important imperium („creator/stabilizer” of it). Each “disorders” of this Order connected with such dangers like: asymmetric threats, international terrorism, growth the autocratic states and different elements, influences on this Global System. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is not able to deal from all these problems. It is political-military Atlantic Allied, which has limited possibilities, especially in the economic and cultural (soft power) level. R. Kagan pays attention on the NATO. This organization sets on military operations, extinguishing conflicts, humane actions, which unfortunately often turn into armed fight. For this global structure is harder dissolves such affairs like: the growth of “failing states”, problems of security co-operation, the challenges connected with economic crisis and others ecological difficulties. These threats/challenges standing before the NATO in the nearest future. There are plenty of questions about appear and shape this organization (next extensions), its aims and position of the USA, like the only and the most important leader of the NATO.

KEY WORDS: INTERNATIONAL/GLOBAL ORDER; THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA); THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU); THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO); GLOBAL STRATEGY; TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS; SMART POWER.

The worst peace is better than a good war.

Benjamin Franklin (cit. for: Cochrane 2008: 1)

When you do not have a hammer, it is no way you want to look like a nail.

(Kagan 2003: 1)

Robert Kagan is one of the most respected analysts of international relations in the United States, and also a *neocon*¹, who in a clear and precise

way explains, in his books and numerous articles, the intricacies connected with the international security. His membership of the American organizations, work for the State Department, where he wrote speeches, and also a scholarly – journalistic experience, make him a penetrating observer of the events taking place in the arena of international politics². The famous author’s words, cited in the beginning of the article, coming from his first book (*Of Paradise and Power*) went down

¹ Neoconservatism is a trend of the American political thinking, which originally expressed itself in a sense of dissatisfaction with “modern liberalism” The name of this intellectual trend was given to the system of beliefs of a group of the former left-wingers, who in the beginning of the 70s of the XXth century began to evolve towards more liberal ideas. This way of perception of the international reality, which became a product of a small group of intellectualists, broke with this what was regarded as a dangerous turning on the left, in order to in the post-war period draw on the views of Alexis de Tocqueville and many other sources regarding as the most important leadership of the United States and “democracy promotion”. As Irving Kristol concluded, one of

the founder-fathers of this trend: “[...]. Neoconservatism is a very complex ideology, and just the nickname “neo” means the transition from neo-marksism, through neo-trockism, neo-socialism, neo-liberalism and in the end to neo-conservatism”. R. Kagan is membered among a younger (II) group of the generation *neocons*. See Bartyzel; Kristol 1995:3; Miłoszewska 2015: 102-120; Ryan 2010: 12-13.

² More information about R. Kagan, as a lecturer, publicist and political analyst, see <<http://rightweb.irc-online.org/profile/1241.html>>(15.07.2016); <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/about/staff/index.cfm?fa=expert_view&expert_id=1241>(15.07.2016).

in history of international relations. They were used to describe relations among the entities of international arena – first of all to show mutual interrelations between the United States and Europe *vel* the European Union. The author raises an attribute of military power as one of the most significant factors, which is not able to be replaced with either economic level or diplomacy – which complement it. The possession of military power is an advantage in geopolitical rivalry, however, this power should always be put into practice with deliberation, and what is the most important, as a last resort (Kagan 2006: 7; Idem 2012: loc. 83-86).

On the base of his considerations concerning Global Order and its "disorders" (threats, problems), R. Kagan analyses the post-Cold-War Order and mutual relations of all the participants of the international arena, and especially connections among the biggest (the most powerful) powers of the XXth and XXIst century. Since just from these mutual relations, their redefinition after the period of two-block rivalry (USA–USSR) depends the creation of *New International Order* and preventing consecutive threats. Mutual cooperation "across borders" of all the participants of the international arena determines stability and security of this Order. "Speaking with one voice" in the most important issues concerning Global Order, can prevent consecutive threats to this Order, and in the worst scenario, will stop chaos in the international arena, that is so-called disorder (Kagan 2012: 21-21; 138-139; Brzeziński 2012: 75).

1. GLOBAL ORDER – ITS ESSENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE FOR MODERN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RELATIONS.

R. Kagan identifies Global Order with International Order, which is connected with coherence and internal balance in the system of a given whole (Kagan 2005: 87-89; Łoś-Nowak 2002: 194). It is something conventional, existing in a world of ideas, because in the world, in practice there is no Order, what is connected with numerous conflicts of a smaller or larger scale of intensity such as the Middle East, Somalia, the Israelite-Arabian conflict and the like. So there is a definite state of balance among the entities of international relations, which manifests itself in a given ratio of forces in the International Order (Łoś-Nowak 2002: 194-195). So in practice Global Order appears as International Order. So both terms are exchangeable and for the needs of the article are used in the same sense.

The concept of International Order is bound with dynamics, so it is subject to evolution. The phase of adolescence of any Order depends on circumstances, conditions and a degree of institutionalization. Yet always in a *New International Order* „remains” a part of the elements from the old, former one – since it is a re-assumption of the old one in new circumstances (Ibidem: 194). This Order is based on the balance of forces, the system of security and the rules of international law and the system of political forces. You can favour among other things Westphalian Order, Versailles, Potsdam and bipolar and the like. All of them are connected with a dominant position of one or a few states, a determined balance among the entities of international relations – supported in addition by military power and diplomacy. The evolution of International Order contains three components, which shows the following table.

TAB. 1. The components of the evolution of International Order

A new balance of relations among the participants of international relations – it is a very important element, since every Intrnational Deal/Order comes into being in the suitable circumstances. Quite unlike are shaped the relations among the countries as a result of an imposed Order through winning a conflict/ war and differently in case of shapening it through diplomacy, in which countries together decide about its shape. It has also then the most in common with the former Order, since nothing is imposed by force, and so it has a chance of a continuous renewal, and it is also enriched by new elements, which that system did not have.
A new balance of forces and coincidences of stands of states – nations are a main entity of the most important decisions in international relations. Each of them is an equal partner in making this Order, and such a grasped partnership allows to predict that the made Order based on mutual respect and voluntariness, may survive very long years.
A new state of arrangement of international coexistence – taking a decision about shaping a <i>New International Order</i> – it does not matter if at conflict or peace – the entities of the international arena have besides its rights also certain duties and are obliged to arrange new mutual relations among them to be able to react together to outside threats.

SOURCE: Study based on the: T. Łoś-Nowak, *Stosunki międzynarodowe*, Zakamycze 2002, p. 194-196; *Leksykon współczesnych międzynarodowych stosunków politycznych*, Cz. Mojsiewicz (ed.), Wrocław 2000, p. 212.

Difficulties appear already at the very term of the post-Cold-War. This period is often called "deregulation" of the international relations³, since after 1989 appeared a few visions, models concerning this *New International Order*. This term means the time of great changes including the rise and fall of great powers, a great number of conflicts on a smaller scale, shifts on the map of wealth and new technology connected with a deepen-

3 The term "deregulation", that is uncertainty, is bound with arranging "again" mutual relations and building an International Order after the Cold War. A problem was a great number of visions of this New Order based on one or multi-polarity and that the Cold War did not have its date of victory, so the day of its end became intangible and future uncertain. See Haass 2004: 37-39.

ing Globalization – which enrich mutual relations, but also give rise to new threats (Kagan 2008: 3-19; Naissbitt 1982: 16-19; Mojsiewicz 2000: 228).

Among the forecasted post-Cold-War theories the greatest fame gained the concept of Francis Fukuyama concerning the end of history⁴ and the civilization paradigm by Samuel Huntington⁵. R. Kagan, however, bases his vision of Global Order on the multi-polarity bound with a certain hierarchy, consisting in this, that in the international relations regionally lead or dominate many states for example the People's Republic of China, Japan, India and the like, but the only world's power, which should watch over this Order as its "moderator/creator" are the United States. This power in terms of political, military, economic and technological issues will still be without an equal rival (Jarczewska-Romanuk 2005: 229-234; Khanna 2008: xvii-xix; Malendowski 2000: 591; Miłoszewska 2015: 283).

2. INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN THOUGHT OF ROBERT KAGAN

The author of "Of Paradise and Power" perceives this Global Order as a hierarchical Order, in which predominate, however, conflicts – what is directly connected with the concept of S. Huntington. So in the multipolar world of "mutual dependencies" appear new challenges and local conflicts, which cause "disorders" of stability of this International Order. For this author power or its

lack (read on: weakness) mostly decide the permanence of a given system as well as its security, what has a significant impact on the international community (state and non-state entities).

On the base of his views on the subject of Order and its stability, this *neocon* introduces two different visions of a global strategy. One of them is bound with perception of this world through the United States, the other one through the European power. The American analyst of international relations in these two scenarios considers the power of military force in relation to diplomacy, that is "soft political influence" so-called *soft power*⁶, the power of diplomacy and arguments at the cost of a military factor. In the first field the leader is the United States, in the last one the advantage shifts more and more towards the European Union. R. Kagan believes that military power is more convincing than negotiations or the values of culture (Kagan 2003: 2-4). Analysing both scenarios, you can notice that the USA believe in military power and will not hesitate to use it if they acknowledge that their own business of this power, as well as the security of all the international system need this. It is connected with the role of this empire as a "moderator/creator" of this Global Order (Kagan 2003: 1-2). However, the European Union prefers more peaceful solutions based on mutual partnership and international cooperation. It results from the fact that Europe based in the past its will of action on conquering consecutive regions. However, the territorial expansion led this power the defeat, which became an outbreak of World War I. The European power swapped its actions with the United States – applying international law as well as negotiations instead of using military force. At present the Europeans are approaching problems with a greater subtlety and you can say a certain "refinement". They are trying to influence other participants of the international arena more delicately, with indirect methods. They also bear defeats better as well as they can patiently wait for the effects of their actions. They also prefer peaceful solutions, negotiations, diplomacy and persuasion to compulsion. At settling disputes they appeal to international law, universally applicable conventions and the international public opinion. Europe tries to bring nations closer with the help of economic and commercial bonds. Often attaching smaller weight

4 The author in his vision of the post-Cold-War world concluded that at last after so many numerous conflicts would follow in the arena of international politics peace and the return to democracy. International relations would be founded on the mutual relations supported by economic power and diplomacy, however not on using the military. Even local disputes among the entities of international relations would not cause "disorders" of the global system, because they would be quickly put out. However, a big conflict in the global scale would be unprofitable for potential costs of such a war would exceed considerably potential profits – especially for more and more states had already access to nuclear weapons and would not hesitate to use them. F. Fukuyama claimed that after the period of the Cold War nothing could surprise international actors, yet, and first of all there would not be "a great war" and conflicts being able to threaten the international security. In his successive books and articles, the author redefines his views and tries to look for solutions for numerous threats to "the New International Order", which carries a process of progressive Globalization. See Fukuyama 1996; Idem 2005.

5 The conception of the "clash of civilization" is bound with an attempt to prevent an outbreak of a great war. Its author assumed that among civilizations there will wage mutual conflicts also inside themselves. This realistic vision became a warning for each abuse of power. At the same time it is the world full of uncertainty and fragile stability of the International Order. Whatever this concept can be faulted, so looking at modern international relations you can get the impression that you can very easily provoke a conflict on a large scale of intensity and state leaders not always take reasonable decisions, often resorting to using armed forces. See Huntington 2003: 15-21; Miłoszewska 2008: 309-318.

6 "Soft political influence" is a synonym of *soft power*, which is bound with a ability to attract and persuade. States (powers) become a signpost for other entities. This culture is connected with a certain attractiveness for others, no use of force (in particular military) and occurs when other geopolitical entities acknowledge authority and legitimization for a moral reign of a given power in the arena of international politics. See Nye 2007: 5; 7-10; Idem 2011: 81.

to direct results of action, believing that with time it will bring concrete effects (Kagan 2003: 11). So the European power lives in Kant's world of "eternal peace". However, the USA in Hobbes' vision "fight of everyone with everyone" (Ibidem: 66-69; Kagan 2002: 13-16). The author also concludes that the European Union in its "postmodern" world⁷ lives under the protective umbrella of the United States, that is the Organization of the North Atlantic Treaty, in which the American power leads in domination. The NATO is able to respond to each problem bound first of all with military force (Kagan 2003: 65). The European Union having a well educated and productive population at its disposal numbering 500 million people and economy around 16 trillion US dollars (*About the EU...*). This organization has financial and technical resources to make itself a political power – if only it wanted to become it. The Europeans could safely spend twice more on armaments than they do now, if considered necessary. However, the story of the fall of the continental powers and the use in excess of its force, led this international organization to the conclusion that peaceful partnership and diplomacy are a bigger advantage than military power (Kagan 2003: 65-66). In this place of the work it is worth mentioning that in 2012 the EU received the Nobel Peace Prize for its peaceful actions, based on multilateral diplomacy and transformation of the "continent of wars" into the "continent of peace" (Sikorska 2012).

Analysing the considerations of R. Kagan, the following table shows a diagram of the cultural-political differences between the American and European power. These transatlantic mutual differences are up-to-date all the time.

TAB. 2. The differences in the culture of the UE–US strategy

PREJUDICES AND STEREOTYPES	MODERN USA	POSTMODERN UE
Media language	The EU is the Alliance of rich and ageing cowards	The USA is the country of cowboys
The leaders of the rival	Machiavelli's students	Crusaders
The rival from overseas	Effeminate Goliath	Outgrown giant

7 The term used by Robert Kagan as well as one of the most important British diplomats – Robert Cooper. The "postmodern" world is based on partnership and cooperation "across borders" with other participants of the international relations. One predominates in it, the use of diplomacy, the values of culture as well as economic encouragements. However, there is a lack of acceptance in it to use in excess a military force, what would be ill-advised, because with military factors you will not solve any problem – you can additionally deepen it. See Kagan 2003: 65-83; Cooper 2005: 37-50.

Attitude to war	The EU is afraid of war	The USA is hungry for war
The foundations of philosophy	The realism of Hobbes	Kantian <i>eternal peace</i>
The use of military force	Preventive strikes	Deterring function
The basis for global politics	Geostrategy, geoeconomy and soft power	Geoeconomy and soft power
The way of extinguishing crises	Law and diplomacy backed up with military force	Law and diplomacy backed up with the institutions of the UNO
Everyday ideas and values	Individualism and rivalry	Mediocrity and passivity

SOURCE: Study based on the: R. Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power. America and Europe in the New World Order*, New York 2003; R. Potocki, *Post-państwowość UE w kontekście rozważań Roberta Coopera*, in: *Suwerenność państwa we współczesnych stosunkach międzynarodowych*, Z. Leszczyński, S. Sadowski (eds.), Warszawa 2005, p. 265.

3. THE NATO – THE EUROPEAN "PROTECTIVE UMBRELLA"

Since the establishment of the NATO, that is from 24 August 1949 and the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty 4 April 1949, this political-military organization of initially 10 states, was the main protection against the Soviet Union and communist ideology (Kagan 2003: 64-65; Gaddis 2007: 53). During the Cold War the Europeans were not specially interested in eliminating military differences in relation to the US army. The American nuclear guarantees deprived them of the incentive to spend such sums, that would be necessary to rebuild their military status. The European Union expanded its "quiet (cooperative) power"⁸ based on freedom, democracy and the principles of international law. In contrast, the United States, which constitute a central place in the organization, defended its territory in crisis situations. It was a great military aid as well as economic (Kagan 2008: 10). The only, however important, strategic task of Europe was stagnating in their own territory and the defense against a Soviet attack until the arrival of the Americans. Europe did not understand the need for growth and the maintenance of a fixed army in part because the NATO has always defended its territory. The European Union renounced military force, defending its legitimacy by solving almost every conflict by diplomatic means. With the help of the NATO as its military

8 The term used by the Bulgarian linguist and historian of ideas – Tzvetan Todorov, who described Europe as unable to exert a significant influence in the international relations. The EU has up-to-now not taken the military responsibility, and its advantage is the growing economic position – though with numerous internal problems, this "structure" does not play such a significant role in the international arena, which wants to be. Sometimes it confuses the prestige built for so many years, to power. See T. Todorov 2004: 91-104; I. Krastev, M. Leonard 2007: 123-124.

arm, the EU could focus more on its internal affairs, among other things further expanding the structure, economic development and the creation, around it, of a stable external environment (Kissinger 1996: 887; Moczułski 2003: 125-142). The lack of the European army leads to the fact that the European Union does not see military threats, often downplaying, thinking, that the North Atlantic Treaty will resolve every conflict – what also leads to "disorders" of Global Order and mutual misunderstanding in the transatlantic partnership (Juncker 2015; Kik 2004: 207). In all conflicts, where the action switches to the Euro-Atlantic alliance as the NATO, it simply means the United States is responsible for their extinction and the use of military force as a last resort. By the way, the USA does not always want to use power factors – in the development of the conflict diplomatic decisions are not always conducive to its solution, and the only means, which remains, is military power, even used as a bogey. This is because the United States, especially from the point of view of military actions, just more quickly recognize problems, react to them in a more decisive manner, not being afraid of any negative effects of such a turn of events. This is due to a sense of its unique (leading) role, as the power, based on stabilizing and strengthening the security of Global Order (Hartz 1955: 35; Lipset 2008: 28-31). General Wesley Clark describing the conflict in Kosovo in 1999, stated "that it sparked a political impotence and confusion in Europe, as well as revealed the transatlantic gap in military technology and ability to conduct modern warfare" (Cit. for: Kagan 2003: 59). Europe did not see the threat in the dictatorship of Slobodan Milošević, so it preferred not to take any risky military steps, while the United States was agreed that the regime should be hit eventually and as hard as possible. The EU believed that the entire action against the Serbian dictator was conducted largely under the dictation of the US power and did not have to come to bloodshed. However, the USA was dissatisfied because of inconsistencies in the European position and wait too long to grant a mandate by the UN (Ibidem: 59-60). The strength of America versus Europe's weakness, made themselves felt not only during the crisis situations of this conflict, but also each other one leading to the use of military force⁹. Wherein the use of military force is needed in some situations.

The NATO operations in the past two decades were accompanied by a process of deep transformations of its political and military missions, realistic tasks and the geographic extent of operations, instruments of prevention and defense, the organizational structure and composition of its members. This transformation of the Alliance stemmed from the progressive changes in the international environment as well as the risks which the Treaty was to meet (*Operations and missions...*). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is one of the most important organizations reacting immediately in the face of conflict. No other international structure is able to respond so quickly to any threats to the international security (Ibidem). The Alliance uses military power, eventually to its strategy of 1991 it served as political-military – typically defensive, what is often seen in the international arena (Kuźniar 2005: 208-223). However, quenching the conflict, leading the humanitarian, stabilization mission – more often you can see the use of diplomacy, mutual partnership and the use of "soft diplomacy"¹⁰. Unfortunately, it happens that such operations in various regions of the world often change into the use of military force on a large scale and not stabilization of the situation in the region. Such an example is the already mentioned one, the conflict in Kosovo. The way to carry out the humanitarian operation was wrong, and only deepened it. It was limited to air strikes, which resulted in not only the dozens of victims, but also great controversies within the Alliance and outside it (Ibidem: 216). However, the objectives of such operations were very often right, because the NATO has always defended the territory or the wronged population, and the means leading to it not always gave the expected result. This is mainly due to the military conditions of the Treaty. This organization underwent the transformation in its strategy – from military to political-military tasks (Ibidem: 217-220). It appeared that after the Cold War the participants of the international relations need the NATO not only for defense, but also solving economic problems, bringing crises under control, determent and defense, and first of all partnership. The objectives and activity of the organization expanded, and most importantly, it turned out that it is one of the pillars of the Alliance treaties (organizations) in the world. The North Atlantic Treaty since its inception

9 The examples of a mutual transatlantic misunderstanding and a different strategic culture are also such conflicts as the war in the former Yugoslavia (1991-1995), two wars in the Persian Gulf (1991 and 2000), as well as the problem of stabilization of Iraq (the overthrow of Saddam Hussein) and Afghanistan (stabilizing-military operations, launched in 2001) and the like. They reveal that the Europeans not having a modern army are internationally in most cases powerless against the problems of the XXIst century, because even the best diplomacy must be backed up by military

power, to make your opponent be afraid of the costs of its use. See Kagan 2016; Orlowski 2012; *Raport...* 2005: 35.

10 Humanitarian operations around the world, based on "soft diplomacy/soft political influence" are the future for the NATO troops and their international image. The North Atlantic Alliance appears at the crash site as soon as possible and smoothly and flexibly responds to stabilize the situation in the region. See R. D. Kaplan 2005: 13-14; *Rozmowa...*

include more and more nations ready to joint changes and compromises. The Alliance connects the Western World with the former Soviet Republics. In this field you also need a lot of changes, especially in matters of mutual cooperation and further enlargement to the East, among other things for Georgia and Ukraine, and other states in the region. So far this is unlikely, primarily because of the opposition from Moscow, which in the future may potentially threaten militarily the Alliance (Kuspyś 2009: 56-57). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is also against new threats, not only military, but also economic, energetic, ecological – and all this in the future to be able to more effectively counter the threats to International Order (Kagan 2008: 98-99).

4. MUTUAL COOPERATION "ACROSS BORDERS" OF THE STATES. INTERNATIONAL ORDER THREATS VERSUS GLOBAL CHANGES

In his subsequent articles and books R. Kagan "slightly" redefines his views on the weakness of the European Union for the benefit of its member nations. Then the European power and its legitimacy depend on "speaking with one voice" of all the EU members, because in unity there is only a strength.

Therefore the existing two powers (USA–EU) are so different from each other, and despite the discrepancies on certain issues, they should work together to prevent a transatlantic rift and subsequent "disorders" of International Order (Grant 2003; Kagan 2008: 9-18; Idem 2004: 118-120). Thus the hard factors of power, such as military attribute supported by the economy strength, as well as "soft", that is diplomacy, are equally important. The two balancing faces of the power lead to one result, that is the "smart/intelligent" power. These two types of force, which make the state become the real power, introduces the following figure.

FIG. 1. Smart power



SOURCE: Study based on the: J.S. Nye Jr., *The Future of Power*, New York 2011, p. 207-208.

Resorting only to an instrument of military power rather proves the lack of substantive arguments for resolving international disputes and threatens the remilitarization of the relations among the "actors" of the international arena. On the other hand the recourse only to the legal and institutional validation, that is any kind of diplomatic actions, does not protect against political ineffectiveness. Thus, the mutual balance between the

two levels of power leads to the so-called *smart power*, so the actions based on the stability of Global Order and eliminating further threats to it.

The world after the Cold War has become full of new complex changes, requiring an urgent response, from not only states, but especially international organizations, as well as mutual cooperation for the international security. The great post-Cold-War transformation linked to the ongoing process of Globalization has had positive as well negative effects of the phenomenon (Kagan 2008: 3-19; Mojsiewicz 2000: 228). The "postmodern" world is characterized by not only conflicts based on the force of arms among nations, the era of computerization has led to the fact that innocent civilians are suffering (Wejksznier 2006: 207-230; Wysota 2006: 29). The challanges that can disrupt International Order have its severe consequences for the entire international community – shows the following table.

TAB. 3. The factors causing „disorders” of the International Order after the Cold War

<p>Military conflicts – their scale has not decreased, even increased. Around the world there are currently over 100 conflicts with a greater or lesser intensity scale. There are two times more than in the previous decades. After the Cold War, from the Balkans, through Africa, South America, to East Timor, there was an explosion of ethnic and religious struggles these on economic grounds, and not just territorial. The wars claimed more than 5 million lives caused destruction of the entire regions, leaving tens of millions of refugees and orphans. The measures available to the states are even more effective and debilitating than during the Cold War. More and more nations are able to have illegally nuclear weapons. Less developed countries have acces to chemical, biological weapons and are often the same weapons smugglers. All this creates a danger for the stability of the International Order.</p>
<p>Sector III (transnational corporations and non-governmental organizations) – this is the power of the XXlst century. They have a bigger power in the country, often they have greater financial resources than the other "actors" in the international relations. This has its positive and negative effects since these entities pose a threat to seize power in the country, a preemptive strike and the like.</p>
<p>The era of computerization (informatization) – more and more battles are fought without the use of an army, only the computer keyboard or mouse. With the help of such facilities you can cause many a conflict crippling the infrastructure of the nation concerned. Computers have become a source of intercepting the most important information that could destroy the entire state apparatus. That is why it is important to work together to increase the stability of the Order, which thanks to such technical novelties can be demolished. The risks resulting from the dissemination of the Internet are also associated with international terrorism, organized crime and <i>cyberwar/infowar</i> – all of them are the causes "disorders" of the International Order.</p>

Asymmetric threats – the object of a massive impact (leveling technology) becomes not the state, but the civilian population. The terrorist organization or different attacks in such a way as to destroy the entire infrastructure of the state including the most important civilian objects. It takes the opportunity of such a strike, because in other circumstances it would be impossible due to the asymmetry of both parties to the conflict. One of them is disproportionately weaker than the other. Such a group is in possession of the most modern computer equipment, financial resources and the hatred to the attacked entity. The examples of such threats: the attack on the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon building (2001), the attacks on the Madrid train (2004) or London (2005).

The increase in "failed and failing" states and the fight against "rogue states" – increasing poverty and backwardness of some regions lead to a state of decomposition of the national infrastructure and support from the outside. They cannot deal with their internal problems and as a result become even poorer. They are often taken over by various conflicts and local wars, what contributes to impoverishment. It is countries like Mexico, Somalia and other regions of Africa and Latin America are the main threat to the International Order. "A failed state" is characterized by instability, the lack of respect for the legal, legislative chaos, the inability to control the whole territory by the government, a common threat to everyone, especially foreigners, numerous conflicts of varying surfaces, from ethnic through religious and political through plain banditry. This leads to further paralysis of the internal structures of the country. An attempt to objectify and quantify the analysis of dysfunctional states is the so-called *Failed States Index* (FSI) prepared annually by the Washington *Fund for Peace*. For the first time FSI was presented in late July and early August 2005 in the magazine „Foreign Policy" and took into account 75 states. Every year there are changes in the number and the states are classified as "weak", "failing" and "failed". "Rogue states", however, are a threat because their authoritarian governments are accused of human rights abuses, support for terrorism and development of the arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. As such in 2002 the US administration declared Iraq, Iran and North Korea.

The problem of autocracy – increase in the number of the nations with a regime of this type leads to diminish the group of the democratic states and raises a number of threats to Order and its stability. R. Kagan draws attention to the problem of Russia and paternalistic China. As far as China grows in economic strength and is not a direct threat to the United States, wanting to cooperate on a partnership basis, whereas Russia with its Eurasian doctrine (being an empire at all costs) seeks to rebuild this great structure as it was. Russian imperialism may result in future negative consequences for the international security, destabilizing it.

SOURCE: Study based on the: R. Kagan, *The Return of History and the End of Dreams*, New York 2008; R. Kuźniar, *Polityka i siła. Studia strategiczne – zarys problematyki*, Warszawa 2005; J.S. Nye Jr., *Konflikty międzynarodowe. Wprowadzenie do teorii i historii*, Warszawa 2009; *Spory – konflikty zbrojne – terroryzm. Dysfunkcjonalne czynniki współczesnych stosunków międzynarodowych*, W. Malendowski (ed.), Poznań 2006.

Observing the international growth of the above mentioned threats, you should realize that it is so important to maintain mutual partnership relations among all the entities of international relations and benefit from the two attributes/levels of power – *hard* and *soft* – to be able to counter further challenges of the International Order.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Mutual cooperation of states/non-state entities "across borders" leads to the stabilization of the International

Order. Despite the differences, the example of, you can see that in most cases these entities "speak with one voice" (Kagan 2012: 21-22). The international system has no place for the use of military power, unless they are unilateral interventions constituting an exception, and not the main principle (Kissinger 2006b: 6-7). Referring to the deliberations of R Kagan on power, Global Order and its "disorders" you can see, that the *neocon* believes in military force and its arguments, used even as a last resort (Kagan 2003: 10-11; Idem 2006: 7-8). He thinks, however, that recourse to the only instrument of power rather proves the lack of substantive arguments for resolving international disputes, like the same recourse to diplomatic measures does not protect against political ineffectiveness (Kagan 2012: 138-139). Therefore all the elements/attributes of power should complement one another to prevent further challenges for the Global Order, and above all its instability (Ibidem). According to the author, this Order stabilize predominantly the United States, in the form of the NATO, where they play the most important role (Kagan 2003: 71-73). This organization tries to respond to all conflicts and other global problems of humanity, but there is still much to be done in the area of so-called "soft security", and so the use of "soft power".

To cope with the "disorders" of the International Order, and thus the challenges of the XXIst century the North Atlantic Treaty should base its strategy on three equal bases:

- I **Transformation** – from both inside and outside, which will enable the NATO to react more quickly to the various problems relating to international security. This strategy also applies to the further expansion of the members of this organization, and counting with the opinion of all its member states. It is related also to the "soft political influence" – and thus the use of military power, not its excessive exploitation;
- II **Partnership** – only joint decisions and actions contribute to increased stability of the International Order – which is unfortunately sometimes lacking the Alliance. Each NATO member is an equal partner to the discussion of the opinion to be reckoned with. Further enlargements of the organization should not depend on a few countries, fears and threats flowing from this, only the co-balanced decisions;
- III **Operations** – including not only military, but above all humanitarian and stabilizing the situation in the regions. The NATO often uses force, not realizing that it is not about winning the conflict, but its sta-

bilization to make the region be later able itself to cope with the difficult situation. More non-military operations, based on diplomacy and cooperation can lead in the future to increase the prestige of the NATO in the international arena. (Barber 2005: 172-173; Fukuyama 2005: 117-118; Kagan 2003: 83-89; Idem: 2008: 5-6).

The three strategies should be developed equally because they are mutually dependent on one another, as well as thanks to them the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is able to fight effectively with "disorders" of the International Order and its stability.

The United States is still a global superpower, securing interests of Europe as well as the security of the world. R. Kagan just in the American empire sees the main guardian of international relations, especially that in global politics there are still new risks, which may in the future lead to the destabilization of the international arena. Thus, cooperation/actions with other actors of the international arena, lead to an increase in the security of this Order, through the joint efforts to deal with all kinds of threats to its stability.

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CITY'S ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN IDENTITY: THE POWER OF WARSAW'S MULTIPLE STORIES

ABSTRACT

Warsaw has a long history of foreign influences that have been shaping its identity. The aim of the paper is to recognise these contributions and expose them by providing stories of major historical landmarks as well as figures - symbols of Warsaw and Polish heritage. In fact, architecture serves here as solid evidence of the variety among Warsaw's inhabitants and visitors who have been co-creators of the city. The key proposition is to challenge the traditional approach to the Polishness and to use the term in public discourse in a more balanced and enriched way, embracing other cultures' input ('multicultural Polishness'). Also, the emphasis is put on the dangers of symbolic narration with its nationality-based terminology that should give way to concrete narration. Finally, the practical applications of Warsaw's vibrant and multi-dimensional personality are discussed.

KEY WORDS: IDENTITY, NATIONAL IDENTITY, BELONGING, URBAN IDENTITY, SYMBOLIC DISCOURSE, CONCRETE NARRATION, NATION/CITY BRANDING, PARADOX

In her inspiring TED talk, the novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2009) emphasises the dangers of a single story that lead to stereotyped and narrowed perceptions of complex issues and individual human beings. The author further explores the social context of power relations that charge the narratives in one way or another. She moves on from individual people's stories and translates this phenomenon to a wider context, referring to single stories of places: the African continent and countries such as her homeland Nigeria or Mexico with respect to the immigration debate. At the moment of writing these words, in summer 2016, the latter have become of particular significance due to the Donald Trump's nomination by the Republican party. In his acceptance speech, Trump promises to build the wall to stop the influx of Mexicans. His choice of words creates a very specific narrative, emotionally loaded with fear, e.g. "Illegal immigrants are roaming free to threaten innocent citizens" (Roberts & Jacobs, 2016), also present in the recent Polish discourse. Undoubtedly, the recognition of a radical, nation-oriented candidate for the U.S. president poses a threat of a single story's dominance not only within the USA context, but also on the international arena. It also strikes as shocking to witness the

'memory loss' in the country that was historically built from scratch by 'immigrants'.

Nevertheless, the United States, as much as it is associated with multicultural background and multiple national identities (e.g. Weedon 2004), is not the only country to welcome the recent growth of nationalist attitudes. In Poland, the phenomenon of Polishness has also become of vital importance in the mainstream public discourse since the rightist government took over the power in the parliament elections of 2015. This turn in the public debate sparks a lot of controversies, yet, at the same time, it may motivate to explore the terms and concepts taken for granted.

The aim of this paper is thus to explore multiple stories on the European continent, in the city of Warsaw which, as the capital of Poland, is seen as one of the symbols of the state, rich in the 'Polishness factor'. Still, the Polishness of Warsaw will be not so much challenged as revisited in order to expose its multidimensional nature or, in other words, to show that the city's identity has been built by a significant number of foreigners. Due to the extensive scale of the topic, the discussion is narrowed down to studying the stories behind a selection of Warsaw landmarks, and a few key figures connected with

Warsaw's history. Prior to this presentation, however, the threats of symbolic narration are mentioned. Next, the question of national identity is addressed and followed by a glimpse on the parallel between a person and city. Hopefully, this short example of Warsaw will help to deepen the awareness of many cultures' contributions into the Polish heritage, promoting a mindful use of nation-oriented terminology for the sake of healthy, unbiased communication standards in the public debate.

SYMBOLIC DISCOURSE VS. CONCRETE NARRATION

Many people tend to take pride in abstract symbols and concepts that are seen as carriers of national identity. These include the flag and its colours, national emblem, anthem, capital city. Even if a person with the Polish passport is not particularly fond of the colours white and red, they may be expected to exhibit certain positive behaviours at the very sight of them, especially in situations or events where the symbols are exposed together. Similarly, we are socialised to pay respect to the flag, stand up when we hear the anthem, even though, as individuals we may not have any true feelings for the tune. Consequently, due to its very abstract nature, symbolic discourse in politics has a low potential of evoking deep motivation on the individual level of perception. Urban activists, Mergler, Pobłocki and Wudarski (2013), expose the dangers of symbolic politics, which tends to segregate people, and advocate the rejection of this thinking for the sake of **concrete narration** (in Polish: *narracja konkretna*) to involve people from a specific area into fact-based discussion that will help them realise how much they have in common (2013: 37). Although the authors' primary application of the term refers to solving current city problems, it may also be used as a tool to a mindful discussion on the city history and architecture. Without the critical and down-to-earth approach to internal and external communication, the complexity of the identity, whether of a person or a city, may be lost or twisted. The hazards of such manipulations are known also from the contemporary European history. As Weedon points out, "battles over the meaning and control of history and historical symbols can, on occasion, be used to justify wars, as in the case of Serbian narratives about Kosova, or Northern Ireland (2004: 24).

NATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

According to some thinkers, the concept of a **nation** and **nationality** is relatively recent creation. For example, Gellner (1983) claims that they are the post-products of the industrial revolution, for until then the social

divisions were too distinct to allow for integration on a large scale. The author emphasises the role of the educational system, a strong socializing tool in terms of nationalism, developed consecutively and supporting the growth of industrialism. Hobsbawm (1991) moves even further by asserting that 'nation' and 'nationality' are artificially constructed terms, applied since its origins in the 19th century as a means of political manipulation (in Kopczyński & Tygielski 2010:10).

Why does nationality matter? Does one's passport define who we are? Nowadays, we are not just humans. We are citizens, labeled by nationality and thus assigned to fit a collection of similar items. What if the borders are changed? What if one's state ceases to exist? Do we lose a part of identity, ourselves? Does such a loss affect as a human being? Obviously, there is no claim here to abolish formal recognition of belonging embodied in passports, but to recognise them as secondary in importance, for, due to their symbolic and very formal character, they may be to a large extent detached from our actual experiences of **belonging**.

In her explorations on identity and belonging, Selasi (2014) poses questions: How can one come from a nation? How can a human being come from a concept?¹ In line with her doubts there is Anderson's (1991) definition of nation as the 'imagined community'. According to Anderson, it "is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion" (1991: 6), which once again shows the relative and imposed character of the term.



FIGURE 1. The mural of Maria Skłodowska-Curie, born in Warsaw in 1867; due to the czar's rule her formal nationality was Russian. (source: Korzeniecki 2011)

CITY IDENTITY: 'multicultural Polishness' of Warsaw

1 As her TED bio says, "A writer and photographer of Nigerian and Ghanaian descent, born in London and raised in Boston, now living in Rome and Berlin, who has studied Latin and music, Taiye Selasi is herself a study in the modern meaning of identity" (http://www.ted.com/speakers/taiye_selasi)

Comparing a city to a human being is a common practice. We personalise cities by saying, for example, 'the heart of Warsaw' or 'the city DNA'. The person and the city have been intertwined at many levels since the dawn of the urban developments. As Sennett (1994) points out, ancient Greeks' architectural solutions were affected by their perception of human body with its cold and hot qualities. Roman urban planners, in turn, relied heavily on Vitruvius' concept of a man² and the emphasis on body' symmetry (1994:102), followed and developed later by Leonardo da Vinci. Thus in Roman times, the first point to be defined in the process of a city development was *umbilicus*, the equivalent of the original Vitruvian man's navel (1994:106). In the Middle Ages, the man-city parallel were discussed by John of Salisbury in the 12th century and Henri de Mondeville in the late 13th century, though the approaches differed substantially. Interestingly, the latter, according to Sennett, were comparing foreign refugees to wounds that should be healed, i.e. supported and incorporated, by the combined effort of the (political) body organs.

Another type of a city personification is much more contemporary and practical in a different way. In this approach it is the city personality that becomes one of key notions, though it is linked not as much with psychology as with business. The strategy of nation, region³ or city branding, which is in question here, is a recent solution, yet very useful and effective, as it introduces tools from business management and marketing, such as brand identity or brand positioning, (Dinnie 2008) to promote the growth of the subject in question.

What is the identity of Warsaw then and how to take advantage of it? Can we call Warsaw a Polish city only because it is located in Poland? Obviously, Warsaw plays the role of the capital city but if we adopt a critical, wholistic and in-depth perspective, what we need to recognise is that any national identity, whether of a human or of a city, is a vast and complex issue with multiple layers. To emphasise the tricky nature of identity Jenkins (2008) quotes Davies and Moorhouse's (2002) example of Wrocław, regarded as Polish town, i.e. currently located within Poland. However, the city name have changed over the centuries (Wrotizla, Vretslav, Presslaw, Braslau) depending on who was in power over this region (Poles, Czechs, Germans twice, Bohemians, Austrians, Prussians), and so has the city identity. Due to its turbulent past Warsaw has also experienced various shifts in its

character and formal belonging that affect the current *status quo*. The question is broadly discussed by Mikołaj Madurowicz (2007) who concentrates on **the urban space of Warsaw identity**, pointing out that from this perspective a city is seen as 'a machine used for the purpose of signification, communication, information and identification' (2007:217). What are then the messages sent by the Poland capital's landmarks? Since numerous of them bear traces of foreign input, their Polishness, viewed in a traditional way, becomes challenged. In fact, their nationality is enriched by new dimensions, providing us with a term of 'multicultural Polishness'. This outcome corresponds perfectly with another research finding by Madurowicz, namely that **paradox** is the key trait of Warsaw's urban space. To illustrate that phenomenon, the paragraphs below and images provide evidence that a large number of the Varsovian icons, both objects and historical figures, that constitute a vital part of Polish heritage have multiethnic origins. The categories discussed are divided into Objects, key landmarks, and People, kings of Poland as well as a sample of non-royals, families and individuals, who contributed significantly to the city's growth.

OBJECTS: WARSAW'S LANDMARKS

According to Dudek-Mańkowska's research (2011), the main architectural symbols of Warsaw as seen by the city inhabitants include: the Palace of Culture and Science, the Old Town, the Royal Castle, the Royal Łazienki Park, Mermaid, and the Sigismund's Column. These objects also appear on the official city website warsawtour.pl within Top 10 tourist attractions, though categories are more general here, i.e. 'Royal residences' or 'Places related to Chopin'. They are further accompanied by the Warsaw Rising Museum, the POLIN museum, National Museum, Copernicus Science Centre, National Stadium, and the Vistula river.

The first urban structure, **Palace of Culture and Science**, differs significantly from the other objects in the presentation due to its after-war origin. Still a source of controversies, it is an obvious reminder of unwanted and much hated 'friendship' with the once powerful neighbour, the Soviet Union. In other words, the unrefutable political gift. It was commissioned by Georgia-born Stalin, designed by a Russian architect, Lev Rudnev, and built by ca 3500 Soviet workers. The settlement "Friendship" built specifically for them is in the Wola district is still to be seen there. Those who died in accidents during the construction are buried in the Orthodox cemetery, also in Wola. Thus the building is not the only trace of

² A male body was the point of reference.

³ An interesting example of the Lesser Poland Voivodeship: the article on the region brand identity available in Polish at http://www.malopolska.pl/_userfiles/uploads/TMM.pdf

this ‘friendly’ visit in Warsaw. Despite its origins and emotional turbulences it may evoke, at present it is often ranked as ‘number one’ Warsaw’s landmark.

The **Old Town** is a fine replica of the pre-war urban complex. Yet, the identity of this place is multilayered, indeed, as were the facades of the buildings that gained new ‘faces’ over the time. The space houses the memory of many centuries of vivid urban life and multicultural exchange, for a long time being ‘the proper Warsaw’ and always the heart of the city. Due to its importance, the Old Town inhabitants consisted of the richest and most successful merchants, many of whom were of foreign origin. For example, the record of reknown Varsovian Fukier family, originally German Fugger, comes from 1510 and their house in the Old Market square is still there.

The Sigismund’s Column, one of the key city landmarks and meeting points is a great example of foreign contributions to the Polish heritage; Sigismund III himself was of Swedish origin, the statue was commissioned by his son, half-Swede, half-Austrian, and developed chiefly by three Italians: August Locci, Constantino Tencalla, and Clement Molli. In 1854 the project became even more ‘multicultural’ thanks to the a German sculptor, August Kiss, whose work was placed in the fountain surroundind the column. The fountain, in turn, was created according to Enrico Marconi’s design, the fourth Italian contributor here. A year later, another characteristic sculpture in the Old Town was erected, i.e. **the Mermaid**, the oldest symbol of the city. Designed by Konstanty Hegel from the Austrian family that moved to Warsaw a few decades earlier, the sculpture was refined by Marconi’s water installation. The other architect’s contributions in Warsaw include the designs of Hotel Europejski, All Saints Church, water tower in Saxon Garden, the rail station as well as some works for the Wilanów Palace complex, the district within the city limits from 1951.

The Royal Castle, however, is definitely the record breaking structure in terms of foreign input within the Old Town and the whole city. Even though the current complex is a reconstruction, it is the place to remind us of the city’s and country’s heritage. It is worth highlighting the fact that it embraces a multitude of non-Polish stories: the residence owners, designers, constructors, decorators, visitors, servants as well as... invaders and destructors. Sad and difficult as it is, the role of the latter needs to be recognised, as by looting the castle (e.g. Swedes in the 17th century and the Nazi in the 20th century) and literally demolishing the walls, by these

actions, however painful, the aggressors also laid the ‘bricks in the history’ of the place and the city. To illustrate the positive contribution briefly, Table 1 provides major figures of non-Polish origin, both commissioners and architects, who significantly added up to the development of this royal residence. By no means is the list complete, as there were numerous other foreigners who had influence on the changing shape and history of the castle. To name but a few artists, such as painters and decorators, solely from the period of Stanisław II Augustus it is obligatory to mention at least Marcello Bacciarelli, Bernardo Bellotto (known as Canaletto), Jean-Baptiste Pillement, André le Brun, Giacomo Monaldi.

Rulers / Commissioners	Architects
<i>Sigismund II Augustus</i>	Giovanni Battista di Quadro Giacopo Pario
Sigismund III	Giovanni Trevano, Vincenzo Scamozzi, Giacomo Rodondo, Paolo del Corte, Matteo Castelli
<i>Michael I</i>	Izydor Affait
Augustus II the Strong	Johann Friedrich Karcher Joachim Daniel von Jauch, German
Augustus III	Gaetano Chiaveri, Carl Friedrich Pöppelmann Johann Christoph Knöffel
<i>Stanisław II August</i>	Jakub Fontana, Domenico Merlini, Johann Christian Kamsetzer, French artists such as the architect Victor Louis. Ephraim Shroeger
Ivan Paskievich, Tsar’s governor (Polish: namiestnik)	Ludvik Corio

TABLE 1. Key commisioners and foreign arictecs of the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

The rulers of Polish origin are given in italics (based on Zamek Królewski: Historia Zamku)

One of the main treasures and green sanctuaries of Warsaw, **The Łazienki Royal Park**, was developed under the rule of Stanisław II August. The key architects included Domenico Merlini, from the famous Lake Como region in Italy, and the Dresden-born Johannes Christian Kamsetzer. And they were not the first foreign architects in this spot. In fact, one of their main tasks was to rebuild the Baroque bathhouse comissioned in the 17th century by Prince Lubomirski and designed by a very fertile Dutch architect, Tylman van Gameren⁴. The original structure became incorporated in the neoclas-

4 Tylman van Gameren worked also for the French-born Queen of Poland, Marie Casimire, the wife of John III Sobieski. In turn, Sobieski’s statue in Łazienki Park, commissioned by Stanisław II Augustus was designed by the French sculptor, Andre le Brun, and executed by the Vienna-born Franciszek Pinck.

sical **Palace on the Isle**, the focal point of the Łazienki complex, that can be admired today.

PEOPLE OF WARSAW: 'POLISH' RULERS

The first king of Poland to visit the castle in Warsaw was the Lithuanian-born Władysław Jagiełło. The first Polish monarch who became its owner 100 years later, in 1526, was Sigismund I who came here with his Italian wife, Bona Sforza. Finally, in 1568 thanks to Sigismund II August the castle became the permanent royal seat. The end of his rule and the introduction of 'free election' law brought about more foreign monarchs: the French, Henry de Valois, followed by the royal couple of a half-Swede, half-Italian (Anna) and a Hungarian (Stephen Báthory). The other rulers of non-Polish origin included Swedes: Sigismund III, who moved the capital from Cracow to Warsaw in 1596, Władysław IV, John II Casimir as well as two Germans, Augustus II the Strong, Augustus III the Saxon, and two Russian tsars who were formally the kings of Poland, Alexander I and Nicholas II.

PEOPLE OF WARSAW: CITY INHABITANTS

According to Stasiak and Pawlak (2010), in the 14th century, when the city gained in importance, the foreigners were a slight minority, consisting mainly of German, Jewish and Czech craftsmen. In the 15th century the Jewish community was already quite considerable; also Lithuanians and Ruthenians came to live here. As Warsaw was growing in strength economically and politically, it was attracting more and more newcomers. After the city became another residence of Sigismund I, many foreigners, Italians in particular, settled by the Vistula. To a large extent this influx is to be linked with the king's Italian wife, Bona Sforza. Later the trend continued due to the union with the Duchy of Lithuania in 1569 and the central role of Warsaw in the Commonwealth. In 1575 the recorded number of foreigners grew from 3 to 9 per cent. Obviously, the city attractiveness as a habitat increased even further after 1596, when Warsaw became the state capital. The other reasons than the court-bound ones were religious persecutions and wars that made people flee their homelands and seek shelter in the uniquely tolerant Kingdom of Poland (Kopczyński & Tygielski, 2010). Moreover, the 16th century was a time when architecture flourished, which created space for the Italian specialist to exercise their talents and skills, for instance, at reconstructing the original, medieval seat of previous Warsaw rulers. According to Tazbir (2001), the other professions occupied predominantly by Italians in the 16- and 17th-century Poland

were court (royal and nobility) painters (e.g. Tommaso Dolabella, Bernardo Belotto, Marcello Baciarelli), musicians, horse trainer as well as doctors, pharmacists, and writers (in Tygielski 2010).

The papers collected by Kopczyński and Tygielski (2010) pay tribute to the numerous nations whose representatives co-created the old Poland. As the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the state obviously embraced Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians, who are thus referred by the editors as 'locals'. The other group of nationalities that are recognised as of vital importance included Germans, Jews, Armenians, the Tatars, Crimean Karaites, the Romani people as well as Italians, Scots or the Dutch. The latter included the Szenk family (originally Schenk or Schynk). In his sagas of Warsaw families, Budrewicz (1983) lists numerous foreigners who played an important in the city's life and growth: Swiss (Semadeni), French (Puget), Italian (Baciarelli, Boretti), German (Gebethner, Hennenberg, Spiess). The contribution of the latter group have been more recently recognised thanks to the project 'Poles of their choice' (*Polacy z wyboru*)⁵ that gives credit to architects, artists, scientists, clergymen, entrepreneurs of German origin who settled in Warsaw. The list begins with the already mentioned Fukier and includes also such reknown names as Oppman, Schuch, Wolff and Wedel, to name but a few from around thirty families depicted in the project.



FIGURE 2. Exotic detail from the Old Market Square facade. The house owners of foreign origin included

Himland, Giannotti, and Ginter (Lewandowski), (source: Lauterbach 2014).

5 The project's website is available in Polish and German at <http://www.polacyzwyboru.pl>. The information in English at <http://dsh.waw.pl/en/events/poles-by-choice-families-of-german-descent-in-warsaw-in-the-19th-and-20th-century/>

The system (buildings and the streets) deteriorates without blood cells distributing oxygen, i.e. people, whose will is capable of wonders. Warsaw is undoubtedly one of the best examples here, for it was recreated and lifted up from the ashes by passionate individuals who loved the city even after it was turned into a stone desert by the Nazi during WWII. Therefore, the internal diversity of the system needs to be recognised by paying homage to all the city inhabitants, not only the contemporaries, but also those from the past. If we turned attention towards ordinary life in pre-war Warsaw, we would see numerous businesses and enterprises run by families of foreign origin who settled here at some point and also helped to rebuild the city after the war. The communist rule, however, brought about unseen homogeneity among the Warsaw population, as the number of foreigners decreased significantly. Still, many of those who stayed or came to Poland in years 1945-1989 played their parts in the city life. An extensive account of these individual stories is provided by Jerzy Kochanowski (2013).

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Despite the narrow scope of this article, the multi-ethnic contribution to Warsaw's history and architecture are undeniable. It shows clearly that multicultural aspect is a strong quality in the city's identity, why not to build on that? How to use it as an asset that would facilitate the city's and its inhabitants' prosperity and well-being? In his exploration of the nation branding, Keith Dinnie (2008) proposes the Conceptual Model of Nation-Brand Identity and Image where architecture and history play important parts. As seen in Figure 1. Dinnie's model recognises all the key factors that constitute 'the enduring essence' of a nation. To some extent, however, the model can be also applied to a city. Also, the modified nation-brand definition would provide a following city-brand description: "the unique, multi-dimensional blend of elements that provide the city with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all of its target audiences." (original definition in 2008:15). This knowledge, in turn, may be applied to promote the place in a conscious and mindful manner at many different levels. The most common objectives include attracting tourist and investors as well as increasing exports.

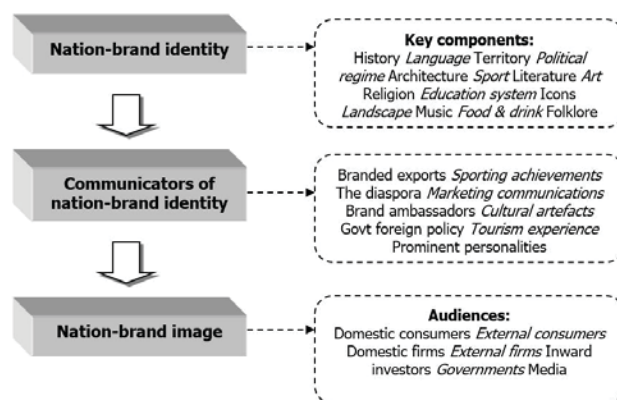


FIGURE 3. Dinnie's Conceptual Model of Nation-Brand Identity and Image (source: Dinnie 2012).

An interesting discussion on Warsaw brand identity is provided by Marcel Lange (2012). In his master thesis, the author advocates the use of brand positioning to increase Warsaw's attractiveness as a tourist destination, especially for the young people. And, as a matter of fact, the aspect of tourism may lead to a far greater benefit than the financial one. When travelling, we have more opportunities to appreciate the otherness and, by experiencing different places, people, foods, climate or architecture, we may achieve a better understanding of the locals and the host culture as well a more in-depth understanding of ourselves and own backgrounds. The possible outcome is more tolerance in the world where numerous animosities have been developed and sustained not by ordinary people, but nation and other group leaders with their propaganda, i.e. communication filled with abstract symbols and detached from the factual, concrete discourse that should derive from people's actual, not indoctrinated, needs. The power of tourism and the enriching interactions at the individual level are emphasised by Aziz Abu Sarah (2014), the Palestinian activist and TED fellow, who claims tourism to be "the best sustainable way to bring down those walls and to create a sustainable way of connecting with each other and creating friendships." Warsaw and other Polish cities face now a great opportunity to play an important role in this project, for Poland has been chosen by Lonely Planet one of the ten top tourist destination of 2016 (Lonely Planet), which obviously is both a high rank recommendation and obligation. If taken seriously by policy makers and consulted with the brand identity specialists, this chance may bring a variety of benefits for the country, cities, their inhabitants, and the visitors.



FIGURE 4. Zebra crossing at E. Plater street commemorating Chopin, half-Polish, half-French Polish composer; in the background Tourist Information Office at the Palace of Culture and Science (source: Bruliński 2016).

CONCLUSIONS

If we look on the surface of the city we will see the buildings, roads, various urban solution and, obviously, people around, communicating and commuting within the city limits and beyond, resembling the oxygen carried through body vessels. An intricate system of dependencies. To understand the place and its inhabitants, newcomers in any city will be advised to see the jewels, most recommended spots, landmarks unique for the given organism. It can be a glance, but one might wish to understand it better and make some effort. To learn something more about a person we spend more time with them, talk about their past experiences, origins, significant others in their lives, factors that shaped who they are. In this article, a similar approach was applied to show the multitude of stories behind the major city landmarks with the focus on narratives of foreign origins. Although the discussion was on Warsaw, this simple analytic tool can be applied to any city and its urban structures.

Due to the limits of the paper Warsaw stories were narrowed down to a selection of key historical places, figures and family names. Still, the city is telling its tales all the time and the multicultural narratives can be seen and heard through a number of channels. Apart from the stories of the past, the modern architecture and urban structures give credit to contemporary foreign architects, designers, engineers as well as investors, construction companies, etc. The city inhabitants representing other cultures speak through their presence, events, business, cultural and socio-political activities, and various languages that fill the Warsaw air with their waves. Warsaw did not become 'global' and 'multicultural' after the political transition in 1989. The city came back to its old traditions and customs, to its habit of being a vibrant and multi-layered system. By embracing numerous multicultural Warsaw's architecture is a strong message of tolerance and cooperation. Paradoxically, it shows that the city's Polish identity embeds layers of significant foreign imprints, providing, at the same time, foundations for deeper understanding of the current human interactions within urban space as well as for unbiased, in-depth discourse in the public domain that recognises the limited and superficial character of the nation-centred terminology.



FIGURE 5. The remains of the Saxon Palace, part of the Saxon Axis, with the neighbouring Metropolitan by Norman Foster and The Grand Theatre building, originally designed by Antonio Corazzi (source: Szczepaniak 2016).

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Social Studies 15 (2) /2016

ISSN 2081-0008

e-ISSN: 2449-9714

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HOMELESS PEOPLE TOWARD WORK AS A SUBJECT OF SOCIAL REINTEGRATION

ABSTRACT

One of the main subjects of social reintegration among homeless people is work. The professional activation of homeless people seems to have two faces. One is work as a new way of finding yourself in a new social reality. The second one is an actual work performed by homeless person with a strong characteristics of deepening the state of homelessness. This article is based on research made on environment of homeless people in Poland and some other European counties. There are a few elaborations based on that research. This one is one of them.

KEY WORDS: WORK; HOMELESSNESS; WORK SEARCHING; SOCIAL REINTEGRATION; PEARL FISHERS.

INTRODUCTION

Work seems to be an universal good and a foundation for other values. It is a main tool needed to estimate how much the human is worth. John Paul II wrote "... work is human's good, good of his humanity – for it is work that human not only recast the nature to make it more suitable for himself but also makes him more real as a person, and becomes more human like"(Jan Paweł II, 1982).

Nowadays being active on work field has the characteristics of taking part in social life consciously and it is a citizen obligation. Moreover, work should not only be only a way to support ourselves but also an obligation fulfilled by person in order to create goods for our society. For homeless people, work should have mostly an integrative value but as it is presented in my research it deepens the state of homelessness. When we take under consideration the fact that homelessness in sociological understanding is a social problem (social phenomenon) characterized by having no place to live (no home) we come to the conclusion that it is mainly caused by lack of possibility to earn. It is work that should provide the roof over our heads. At the same time, when we look at that issue from psychological point of view – it is described as a critical state of existence of a person with no place to live and no livelihood to support basic needs, permanently excluded from society due to disintegration

of social relations and social acceptance. It is also described as a state of evident and permanent deprivation of a need for a place to live when the person is not able to prevent this situation. It is linked to a serious mental and social impairment of human existence (Pilch, 2003:339; Kurzyński, 2000:8-10). Work is important for both social and economic reasons that are interrelated. Work allows one to make the dream of having his own place in social structure come true. This comes from a natural need of giving something in return as well as the need of belonging (Phelps 2013:28). Social functions of employment (for example, being content with work) can't be achieved when there is lack of economic and protectable accomplishments. It is because well-paying job seems to give an economic and social satisfaction.

Next to learning and entertainment, work is one of the most important human activity. It means it influences human's moral development and it affects how we cooperate and work together in social situations. It is work that leads to a proper and appropriate psycho-social relations. Based on my observation of the environment of homeless people it is work that tends to deepen the fatal situation. It means that it doesn't give a strong enough feeling of being safe and secure to make homeless person leave an institution and its support. The nature of homelessness eliminates the close-minded and explicit classification of its causes because the problem is more complicated than we think it is. The reasons of home-

lessness are interdependent and constitute important ground for further research (behaviours, personality, social situations, social work actions, nature of work that may influence certain behaviours, addictions). While working on my research in some European countries I worked as a construction worker with people who were not able to spend their free time without alcohol. As a result of being a part of this environment the weaker individuals may become addicted. This may lead to financial problems or/and even homelessness. I observed that it is not an isolated example. The human's work is distinguished by awareness of intentions, image of effect and deliberated action. Moreover, work is a human good, his identity, pride, happiness and sense of existence. The meaning of work in humans's live is perfectly described in research on homeless people. The research shows that homeless person suffers for a long time not only from a lack of earnings and limited consumption but from a collapse of social interactions in family. The vivid downfall of self-respect is clearly noticeable along with regression of mental and physical condition (Kozek, 2000:176). When the unemployment factors and homelessness cumulate the situation is often considered as extensive and irreversible.

METODOLOGY BASES FOR ELABORATION

This research is based on a study done throughout years in selected cities in Europe (London, Berlin, Dortmund, Malaga, Malmö). The research was conducted in collaboration of self-participant observations and purposefully constructed research checklist. As I have been mentioning repeatedly in my elaborations the best and most interesting conclusions come from participant classified observation. Because of this method, some may call not ethical, we are able to collect the most reliable information. The example of construction workers presented includes also the ones who were homeless already. The homeless immigrants usual work as helpers on construction sides but also as qualified specialists. It is worth saying that many of them are fully educated and considered experts in their profession. On construction sides we can meet bricklayers, welders, plumbers, woodworkers, etc.

UNEMPLOYMENT, HOMELESSNES, SOCIAL REINTEGRATION

As I have mentioned in the beginning, work is the fundament of human existence. Poverty of homeless people, the phenomenon not needed in our society causing harm and affecting people and their families, seems

to be a logic consequence of leaving work. It may lead to a common conclusion that employment is the best solution for poverty in our society (Podgórska-Jachnik, 2014). When we talk about an unemployment of homeless people it is thought to definitively indicate what the fundamental problem is and what comes next. The unemployment may be the cause of homelessness, but it may be the other way around. The homeless people live under strong feeling of deprivation. They focus on supporting their basic needs, live day by day and don't plan their future. Their agenda is based on time of meals give away. In this situation going back on work market could shake their agenda dramatically. They don't welcome the change because it results in losing an easy way of supporting basic needs (Duracz (red.), 2007). There are two perspectives existing in work environment; environment of employers and employees. Because of the character of my research I will pay more attention to the second one. Although, it is really important to underline the behavior of employers and their positive effect on reducing homelessness. However, it is really hard as the homeless people, just like criminals, are not welcome by most employers. This is the reason for creation of separate work camps (Slawek foundation) that have nothing to do with integration but isolation and tension creation. It comes from my observations that the major obstacle in order to get a job, beside addiction, is not being able to admit the situation. It is hard because if the employer wants to hire a person he needs to resist him, so he needs a place of living, bank account, etc. Having home is very important when looking for work. It is hard to find a job with no place to live. This is the employers guaranty. The lack of address makes a bank account opening impossible as well. The situation gets even more complicated when we look at society attitude regarding homeless people and the stereotype that claims that homeless people have no chance on work market. As a consequence, maintaining permanent homelessness and unemployment leads to addiction, to a constant help of institution, and the reality that is not acceptable for a homeless person. Most homeless people have mental and health problems and abuse alcohol. Many of them feel guilty, rejected and hurt. They also have low self-esteem, feel hopelessness and powerlessness.

The negative image of homeless person (not trustworthy and unreliable) makes the come back to work environment very hard. Moreover, they get paid less or get no money at all. Often, they are employed illegally. The situation on motherland work market caused and is still causing the situation when homeless person goes

abroad to find a job. Abroad, he often works on black market and deepens his state of homelessness. This situation lasts till now and it is not a solution for social reintegration. Professional activation of homeless people has been developing since 2003, mainly based on EU funds. Its intensive growth was possible because of taking some legal actions and following regulations. For example: social employment regulation from June, 13. 2003, Promotion of employment and work market institutions from April, 20. 2004 and Social Cooperative from April, 2006¹. The acceptance of these regulation came along with new possibilities on working against social exclusion of homeless people. The regulation from April 20. 2004 about New Plan of Development seems to work well as it allows access to EU funds².

The goal of my elaboration from 2006 was to observe and research the attitudes of homeless people regarding work market, openness and the ways of gaining money. As I have mentioned in the beginning there are many homeless people with solid education. It means they can provide a high quality service and have a huge work potential (Łukasiewicz 2016b). Being aware of the fact that people like that exist. I decided to raise a question about their desire to work in a profession. The answers are pleased in chart 1 and graph 1.

CHART 1. Desire to work in the profession

SOURCE: based on own research

As it is presented on the chart and histogram only 281 people declared YES, next group of 416 declared NO and 3 didn't give any answer. Consequently, we can be under the impression that homeless people are not interested in work in the profession. By analyzing the data regarding education we were able to generalize the information contained in chart number 2. The chart shows occupations versus desire to work in the profession. We have to acknowledge the fact that in some cases

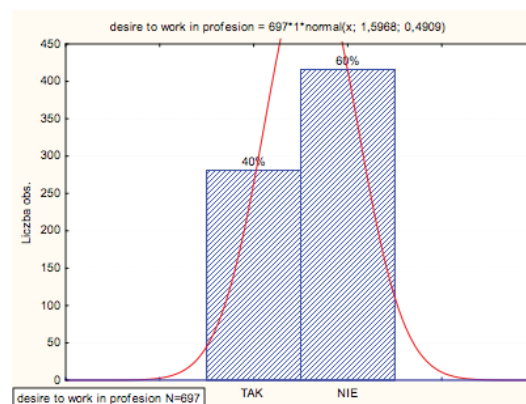
it was impossible to get a job because of language barrier. However, some people abroad declared willingness to work.

CHART 2. Occupation vs. desire to work in the profession.

SOURCE: based on own research

When we look at first occupation- teacher, we can notice that most people rejected the job offer because of language deficiency.

GRAPH 1. Histogram of desire to work in the profession



SOURCE: based on own research

The next question based on source materials regarding the employment of homeless people and the attitudes of employers towards them is about job offers presented to them. The resultants are pleased in chart number 3.

CHART 3. Job offers

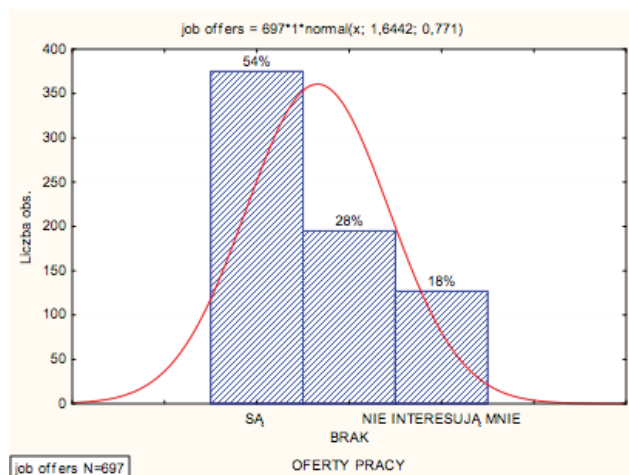
SOURCE: based on own research

It shows that in majority of cases people declare that the offers are not for them. It contradicts with common thought that homeless people don't get any job offers. Although, it is worth mentioning that most offers come from foreign employer and they aim the immigrant client. In this case most offers are short term, probation offers or black market jobs. It is interesting that in 127 number of cases our target is not interested in the offer. It increases the number of offers.

1 Ustawa z dnia 13 czerwca 2003 r. o zatrudnieniu socjalnym (Dz. U. z 2003 nr 122 poz. 1143)

2 Ustawa z dnia 20 kwietnia 2004 r. o Narodowym Planie Rozwoju (Dz. U. z 2004 r. nr 116, poz. 1206)

GRAPH 2. Job offers

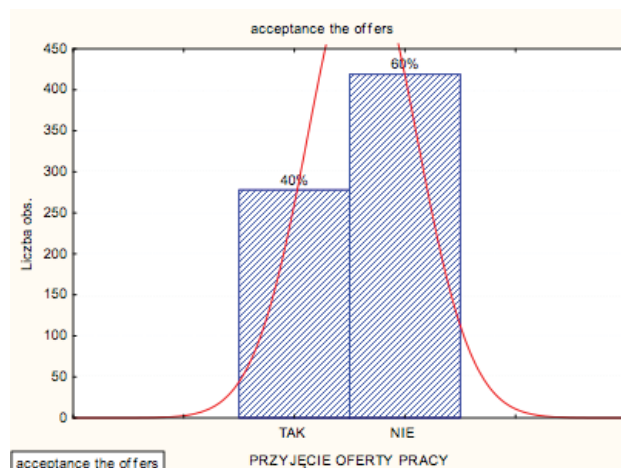


SOURCE: based on own research

In the context of research presented above, the chart number 4 regarding question of job acceptance looks very interesting. Only 278 out of 700 hundred people declared willingness to accept the job offer.

CHART 4. Acceptance job offers

GRAPH 3. Acceptance of job offer.



SOURCE: based on own research

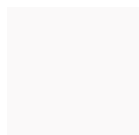
Homeless people experience difficulties adjusting to rules and social standards. It is clearly visible in behaviors on work market. We can also observe this situation when it comes to hiring mothers with young children, mostly single mothers. Their situation, however, was taken under consideration in other research. It is worth mentioning that the stigma of being a single mother or homeless person seems to be an unbreakable barrier. According to employers a person in this situation doesn't meet their requirements. This person is not only unwanted as a worker but also not available at all times and may take sick days to take care of a child. They are not only less available but also less attractive on job market.

Among barriers that make getting a job harder is having a criminal record, lack of family support and unstable financial responsibilities. Chronic unemployment combined with chronic homelessness gradually results in total social and professional rejection. The long term existence in pathology minimalists institutional help and seems to be an another step to psychosocial deprivation. As a result of this situation, people like that become clients of social services and other social support institutions as basic needs providers and supporters. This passive existence results in deactivation of professional qualifications (for some unemployment is a way of living, easier than work that requires for example new qualifications) and finally causes a total exclusion from work market. It is supported by research that giving support leads not only to weakening of motivation but also to permanent state of social rejection and lack of possibility to get back on track. In this place we need to talk about learnt helplessness and inherited helplessness which affects an entire family. In one of my

SOURCE: based on own research

research I explained the importance of this situation when it comes to inherited helplessness and social slyness (Łukasiewicz, 2016a). This topics needs to be presented and elaborated in separate article. This situation rings a bell because a poverty and low social status are hereditary among some group of people. It is very dangerous for children staying with their homeless parents.

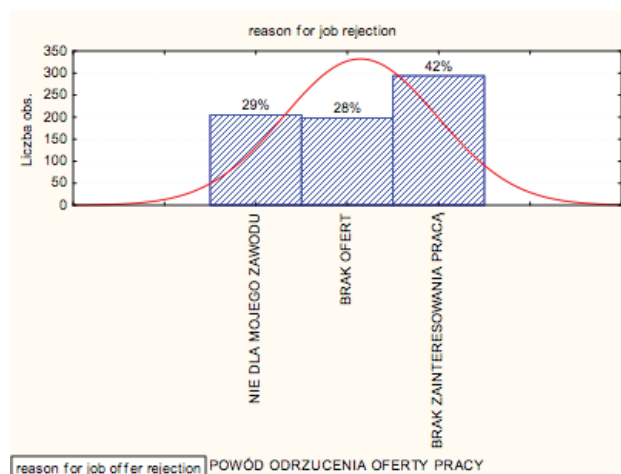
CHART 5. Reason for job offer rejection



SOURCE: based on own research

As it shows in the research, most people are not interested in any work. In other cases people say that the job doesn't match their qualifications or there in no offers at all. The research points that the homeless people usually pick easy jobs such as an easy construction work but they often leave it after receiving first pay or prepay. On construction sides in Germany or England employers don't pay for the first month of work. They start with the second one or in the middle of the second month. What's more, they usually offer place to live. The homelessness person is able to earn and has time to take care about himself (taking a bath, sleep in own bed) (Łukasiewicz 2016b). The story ends when they receive their first pay and leave or rather dump their job.

GRAPH 4. Reason for job rejection



SOURCE: based on own research

The existing system of social support in Poland pays attention to an importance of getting out of homelessness by getting a job. As we can hear from homelessness people themselves, it is extremely hard to get a job without having permanent address. Breaking the stereotype regarding homeless people and former prisoners seems to be a lost case. I base my opinion on research I have made and I truly believe it is not doable. The differences and stereotypes will never allow for full integration of both. As it is claimed in my research and the research of others, the homeless people declare readiness for stable work that will provide home and normalized their family life or readiness to start new families. It is not doable in Polish socio- economical reality. When we take under consideration monthly minimal pay and taxes, the homeless person is subjected to vegetation. In the center for homeless people mentioned before, 2/3 of homeless people work but with no perspective or a chance to rent their own place. Many of them have to pay alimony, have court orders and debts subjected to collection. This is why even the one who makes decent money is sentenced to live in a support institution. Just like the one making minimum wage.

CONCLUSION

The work activation of homeless people is one of the main streams of social support. The goal here is to create a variety of choices for homeless people. The psychological condition (level of self-esteem, motivation to change life style, closure with the past, rejection of current life situation seems) to be the attributes on a way to get a job. It goes without saying that the homeless person needs to declare his readiness for work. Having professional

responsibilities by homeless person results in: leaving the state of stagnation, raising positive image of themselves, getting an income, being active in life. It means that work is needed not only to provide an income but also for its therapeutic value. The reintegration of homeless people has to include basics skills such as writing and reading. In one of my researches I pay attention to illiteracy of some social groups (Łukasiewicz, 2015). The knowledge of these basic skills seems to be a priority that goes along with a creation of ability to function well in society or even a prosaic ability to get up early go to work.

Work activation seems to be a real chance for homeless people when combined with a proper support. The reason of having problems finding a job can be found in legal solutions, limited actions taken by social services and too formal interpretation of regulations that don't deal with an actual issue. In Polish social work system there isn't strong enough emphasis put on prevention. Moreover, the environment of employers needs to be more open-minded and supportive in order to foster reintegration. There should be more enhancers exciting to encourage the most endanger groups and pathology. The employment for homeless people is something more than a social and professional integration. It helps

to gain and develop skills, competences, motivation and ability to become active in life.

Many homeless people need an additional time and support when it comes to gaining and maintaining work or participating in a professional activation. The people, who are not ready to take an action, should have an access to an adequate and minimal income and social support (Dębski, 2014).

In the conclusion of my research I would like to put an emphasis on the fact that only in case of psycho and physical attitude of homeless people regarding work and its reintegrative advantages we can talk about a real possibility to introduce the concept of social reintegration. The research shows, however, that homeless people are not interested in work, mostly the work that could drive them back to society. Moreover, the work done by homeless people abroad is characterized by deepening their stage of homelessness. It also allows to take advantage of the situation not necessarily in order to create or improve the life situation.

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AKTY PRAWNE

- Ustawa z dnia 13 czerwca 2003 r. o zatrudnieniu socjalnym (Dz. U. z 2003 nr 122 poz. 1143)
- Ustawa z dnia 20 kwietnia 2004 r. o Narodowym Planie Rozwoju (Dz. U. z 2004 r. nr 116, poz. 1206)

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Social Studies 15 (2) /2016

ISSN 2081-0008

e-ISSN: 2449-9714

p 61-68

STUDENTS' LEARNING MOTIVATION DECREASE IN CONTEMPORARY POLISH SOCIETY *"THE SIMPLEST WORK METHOD IS TO LISTEN TO WHAT CHILDREN SAY"*

ABSTRACT

Writing a report on counteracting school youth's negative behaviours represented by lack of involvement in learning activity as well as by cases of truancy is, as a matter of fact, the major share of problems faced by Polish contemporary educational system. The aim of this report is to present any available actions and movements associated with highlighting the issue of motivation at school and to specify modern educational standards. The broad range of problems concerning appropriate motivating teachers of primary, secondary schools, and academic center's appears to be not enough explored by Polish scientists and researchers. The latest works in this area date back to 1990s. The works to be praised here are: Ida Kurcz. *Pamięć. Uczenie się. Język* [w:] *Psychologia ogólna*. Warszawa: PWN. 1992, Maria Węglińska.: *Jak przygotować się do lekcji*. Kraków: Impuls 1997. As well Barbara Fatyga. Anna Tyszkiewicz. PhD. Przemysław Zieliński. MA: *Skala i powody wypadania uczniów z systemu edukacji w Polsce. Raport z badań odpadu szkolnego Na terenie 32 gmin*. Warszawa. CBOS 2002. In the work I also used the results of a research conducted by Okręgowa Komisja Egzaminacyjna, Kraków Polska - Pracownia Egzaminu Gimnazjalnego, secondary school examination study. Cracow 2006.

KEY WORDS: MOTIVATION FOR LEARNING; DROP OUT; SOCIAL EXCLUSION; SOCIAL PATHOLOGY; MARGINALIZATION

MOTIVATING FOR LEARNING VS DROP OUT

Looking into the issue of motivation and appropriate approach to students in Polish schools it is vital to emphasize clearly the fact that the second half of the 20th century was a revolution which created a new world of computers, mass media, the Internet, and virtual reality with which the young generation in Poland and elsewhere identifies. The older, "pre-virtual generation" either does not have the capability or is unable to ignite the interest in cyberspace in them. As a result of this the two generations, co-existing side by side inhabit two dimensions of reality, two substantially different kinds of imagination. The electronic revolution 'dropped' the teachers another, new world which the young generation of mankind entered without hesitation, and the older one (the teachers) are not quite successfully following the latest trends which could facilitate presenting the new reality accurately and making knowledge transfer easier.

Contemporary students freely make use of the Internet at home, listen to music and watch films on high-tech media players. At school they frequently use educational aids which remember their parents' school days. With the current pace of cultural changes it is hard for Polish school to keep up with all technological novelties, although certain ordinances by the Ministry of Education in the realm of educational center's activities may raise some hope for the future.

Implementing the main assumptions of the education reform of 1999 was supposed to prepare students for living in information society, and to lay stress on developing both the skills of students and teachers in the first place, as well as to point out the necessity of purchasing new teaching materials by the schools. The standards suggested by the ministry are available on Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej i Sportu web pages¹. The ministry's report emphasizes the necessity of equipping educational

¹ www.men.gov.pl [dostęp 08-12-2016]

centers in multimedia devices which could serve teachers to organize class work as well the students to acquire knowledge on their own. The document issued by the ministry indicates the number and type of the most basic and most advanced technological means which should be at the disposal of every school in the country. Unfortunately, the ministry's declarations are hampered by Polish schools poor budgets. Numerous schools throughout Poland treat those endeavours as wishful thinking, or at best consider them very long term plans.

Utilizing the latest cultural and technological achievements is often blocked not only by financial problems per se. but they are quite regularly prevented by the strong psychological resistance which teachers who are to make use of multimedia teaching aids feel, as well as by their lack of awareness what benefits students might gain from supporting the learning process with new teaching methods. Hence there exists the necessity to introduce a range of professional large-scale training sessions introducing the latest technological techniques. It is a stated fact, though, that today's youth is strongly attracted by using the newest multimedia technological achievements. Only by using these techniques in teaching will we be able to make the student stay at school and his education will bring about gradual effects, however, in the process of education we certainly will not get rid off the necessity to read books or work with written materials. one at least may make an effort to make more attractive such things as observing mathematical, physical or even humanistic reality in the form of introducing visualization programs of e.g. a three dimensional solid or constructing it that way and abandoning the commonly practiced method of gluing paper models.

The necessity of undertaking those actions was raised among others at a conference **Multimedia in Polish language teaching**, held by Zakład Metodyki Języka Polskiego in co-operation with Zakład Teorii Lektury i Metodyki Literatury Wydziału Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego on November 26. 2004. The conference was meant to refer to Polish linguistics studies but it gathered scientists, methodologists. teachers and students, i.e. representatives of all groups which currently are shaping and will shape the image of Polish education. The conference's main goal was creating a support framework aimed at enlarging the knowledge about the influence of multimedia methods on the psyche and behaviour of the young audience and to obtain the answer to the question of their value and usefulness in the teaching-learning process.

'Multimedia' - the key word of the conference in question combines the meaning 'multi' - large quantity. re-

peatability, multitude and 'media' - means of communication, stresses the multi sense character of receiving multimedia texts which contribute to their attractiveness and widespread in modern communication. There is also a large possibility of using them in teaching process by showing the changes which are being made in the area of culture and educational system under the influence of means of communication dominating at a given period of time. Nowadays the common availability of multimedia methods leads to the Galaxy of TV and the Internet. The role of teachers in so rapidly changing world is not to be underestimated.

Teachers are aware of the influence of television on their students and have become media conscious. It is perfectly known that the awareness is mainly focused on the question: in what way can we use television or computers to maintain control over education? The schools' task is to support young people in learning interpreting symbols and their culture (Tanalska, 2004).

Thanks to the syncretized influence on different perception channels and information processing centres the media can be very effective both in teaching (e.g. in developing abstract thinking, memory training, improving phonomatic hearing) and in the therapy of various disorders (e.g. attention deficiency, lack of coordination, lack of seeing-physical coordination). The advantages of well-constructed didactic programs are motivating and raising students interests under the impact of polysensoric messages, adjusting them to the perceptual capabilities of target audience and shortening the message transfer time, the possibility of repeating presentations many times. By activating the audience not only as listeners and viewers but also as people involved in action, multimedia methods support remembering and understanding conveyed messages. School education should be organized so that the process of teaching and learning favours students' activities in searching for meanings, gaining experiences, and rewarding them with the feeling of satisfaction for completing tasks on their own. The above described model requires changing the role of students from the passive recipient of sent messages to the creator in the process of constructing knowledge, since "knowledge discovered, not given becomes personal".

Aside from activities concerning improving and modernizing schools it is also essential to possess appropriate teaching materials. This can be obtained with the help of multimedia facilities created among others by the Internet based **Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN and Encyklopedia Multimedialna PWN**. There are also special teachers' clubs being created for teachers of various subjects.

The clubs are a good platform for opinion exchange with regard to a number of problems connected with teaching and contain a rich spectrum of solidly prepared materials which may be used for enriching and deepening educational process. An especially important element in the context is *Akademicka Telewizja Naukowa*. The materials available at ATVN website concern primarily science but it is also possible to find articles useful in examining subjects integrating knowledge of literature with culture, history, and biographical notes of contemporary Polish humanistic scientists, opinions of literature critics, book reviews and lectures of researchers looking into different areas, unveiling the secrets of human brain functioning, reasons of dyslexia which make it easier to understand the problems and possibilities of educational interactions. All ATVN files are archived and made accessible free of charge.

For students working with the computer is something ordinary and natural, as they feel in the Internet environment more confident than teachers and it is one of the very few spheres in which they are much better oriented. Educational programs should pay special attention to the fact that teachers are anxious about using modern facilities in class or sometimes are even afraid of loss of respect if they turn out to be less proficient in something than the students. They can however take advantage of their charges' skills by giving them the chance to play the role of specialists and guides in the electronic world. Multimedia programs are a new tool for teachers and the more tools the better. Using multimedia in class should be carried out in a planned way and the student must have its purpose's awareness; one cannot bring the role of computer programs to elements of increasing lessons attractiveness but do their best to use them to increase learning motivation.

Obviously the whole of this study should be concluded clearly by the statement that multimedia must be appreciated but their role should not be overestimated in the process of learning, and even the best program cannot replace authentic contact with the other person and live language. Multimedia may constitute a precious tool in teachers work and handy aid in students learning but they cannot eliminate the teacher from the process of education. Even if a schools possibilities are limited it is worthwhile to strive for improving the situation in this area for modern teachers or lecturers cannot be indifferent to something which determines contemporary civilization. If the teacher cares about maintaining a contact with the generation of 'virtual space'. which is a *sine qua non* condition for introducing him into the world of tradition, lit-

erature, printed word, he must venture to cross the limits of cyber world, learn about its good and evil sides and by this way build bridges joining so different by nature spaces of imagination.

In the process of researching current situation on the education market it is necessary to have a look at the results of studies conducted by the Ministry of Education and all possible centres supporting and monitoring education. As far as the above mentioned aspects concern the latest observations from 2004. other researches, as it was earlier mentioned, are a bit older. Most of them concern the element of motivation in children's' actions. Children's' efficiency in action depends on the power of their motivation. Studies have shown that there are relations between the size of motivation and action efficiency. With the growth of motivation efficiency increases to a certain level and then it suddenly drops, and at very intense motivation level action efficiency is low. In didactic process the teacher should be well aware about the intellectual skills of the students.

A highly motivated student tries to solve difficult tasks by looking for all possible ways. A student with weak motivation resigns from solving such tasks. Thanks to strong motivation even poor students are able to overcome difficulties and achieve good or satisfactory results in learning. The results of carried out studies (not only Polish) as well as long lasting observations indicate the common nature of fear in children starting school education. In many cases it may be an internal (intrapsychical) source of school failures. Therefore decreasing the fear becomes one of the fundamental issues in the work of schools which aim at improving education quality.

The greatest role in forming students' learning motivation falls on the teacher. To meet the expectation the teacher must be both appropriately educated as well as have professional background and knowledge of psychology and pedagogy together with teaching materials. The most important factor, though, is the personality, i.e. what kind of person the teacher is. He or she must know how to communicate with students. especially in situations when students' needs cannot be met, when it is necessary to give something up. Everyday educational efforts require an enormous amount of involvement and constant seeking of new solutions. It requires first of all the skill of empathy, feeling the students world of emotional experiences. Therefore it is immensely vital to create such process of education which will bring the best possible results in preparing young generation to work for the benefit of the entire society. People are mostly creative, have imagination and sense of invention, and energy spending,

physical and intellectual effort are natural processes. In certain conditions the man is not only responsible but demands responsibility. External control and the fear of punishment are not the only means motivating for achieving aims. If an aim of an activity satisfies human personal needs (self-respect, curiosity, competence). Introducing activating methods, stimulating students involvement, attracting more attention to the students development and not only to realizing the teaching curriculum is associated with a shift within the assumptions referring to human nature and his motivation, e.g. accepting the existence of human internal motivation.

The education reform which took place in 1990s, which was very critically estimated by teachers, received some sort of support in the form of TERM program which prepares management staff for schools and numerous courses meant to educate well-trained specialists-reformers. The ordinance of the ministry of education of May 15 1997 in which detailed instructions were included with regard to teaching curriculum basis in Polish primary and secondary schools also sets concrete norms which should be introduced beginning with the school year 1999-2000, for the sake of EU integration. The fast pace itself indicates the proposed systems serious error. An analysis of specific regulations only confirms this fear. At the basis of the functioning system is the rule of placing skills over encyclopedia knowledge. In today's Polish school it is easy to notice more and more cases of losing learning motivation and students staying away of school. It is connected with the loss of self-confidence, aggression, drug usage, crime. Students with those problems frequently come from environments which developed in them convictions characterized by lack of security, negative school and social experiences. This causes alienation and isolation from peers and school - teachers are to play the major role in such moments (Tomaszek, 2011). They can take actions in order to evoke and strengthen students' motivation to restore their willingness to learn, make them start thinking positively about themselves and encourage them to take control over their lives. In order to achieve satisfactory results it is important to become familiar with literature which will enable learning specific strategies and activities helping students arouse their motivation (Węglińska, 1997a). A teacher-motivator ought to meet all students, their individual needs and interests. The knowledge could be enriched by information about family background and observations of his achievements. If students learn that the interest in them is genuine, there is an opportunity for creating good relationships with them via individual conversations, helping them appreciate themselves and learning. Motivation for learning can be increased by the

awareness of achieved results. It enables correcting mistakes; its deepening facilitates overcoming difficulties in learning and the growth of interest in a given subject as a result of improved results. A good teacher not only shows students their mistakes but he teaches them to perceive and correct them on their own (Węglińska, 1997b). It is also essential to enable students learning about their abilities to create positive attitudes and changing students' about themselves and their learning.

Motivating learners consists in helping them understand that uncertainty and low self-esteem lie at the basis of misbehaviour. Research shows that students, who tend to be malicious, unhealthily attract other people's attention to them, behave so since they are either frightened or uncertain. A student who messes around in class may feel insecure for a number of reasons: he might feel less gifted than his peers, have complexes connected with his social background or the source of his other problems is located in school or at home.

Views on motivation show that the teacher who controls less and allows students showing their own autonomy, initiative and auto expression creates better conditions for studying and motivation. In such conditions students show greater competence, self-esteem. We quite often learn by observing others. If the teacher shows enthusiasm towards various matters, their value is obvious.

Barbara Hiszpańska carried out studies on learning motivation (Hiszpańska, 1992; 29-30). They encompassed 183 students from three Warsaw area secondary schools. The results showed that most examined students (99%) the chosen values were selected independently according to one's own assessment. Young people are directed by internal motivation with three values stimulating aspirations: cognitive, achieving education status and pro-social. The most often declared type of motivation is the need for seeing the world, gaining the largest possible portion of information about it. 84% teenagers are driven by cognitive motivation, and 19% recognizes it as the only one that makes the learning motor. Among examined students there are those who learn to achieve formal education: secondary school-leaving examination (A-levels/high school diploma) a university place or an academic degree. It is an essential motive for 54% youth.

Internal motivation for young people is positive. It tells them to make the efforts to study. Young people are characterized by eagerness, good will, and the willingness to meet the requirements of adult life. For 35% students negative motivation has much importance. It is the fear of bad grades, teachers reprimand, and parents' anger. The

above presented research results show the situation from the end of the 20th century. although with a large dose of certainty they may be transferred to contemporary motivation pattern.

One of the basic consequences of lowered learning motivation is the element of dropping out of school. In 2002 a specialist report in order to diagnose the problem was drawn up. Contrary to GUS main statistical office analysis it turned out that Poles are a society in which only 7% of population has higher education and this index is extremely embarrassing. not to mention the fact that 9 out of 1000 students drop out of school at the age of the end of school obligation or that the so called national literacy index is pathetically low. Recently we have been dazzled with various data concerning Polish students' competence as they learn things by heart in a backward school instead of shining with skills which their western colleagues have.

In the report I verified the hypothesis which says that the currently reformed school system not only does not prevent from inequality (at least at the present stage of its rebuilding) but it also quite accurately reflects the process of social stratification which we can observe. Research has shown that the school dropout phenomenon does not limit itself to school conditions only, but it rather has a background in students' failures. The responsibility for school dropouts is pushed on each other by the school and parents in turns. The conclusion that contemporary Polish dropout is a result of sacrificing students by the system or their elimination by the system, so far cannot be officially and empirically verified since the system's existence is somehow a bit virtual. In our opinion it is mainly a result of unfinished social system reconstruction as well as reforming educational system and partially has some reflection in certain sections of educational path. It has only been proved that the dropout grows after grade VI of primary school and grade I secondary school. The study confirmed the usefulness of educational path category. As one can notice, aside from an appropriate *strictly* technical element (motivating tool), a very important element (arising from studies) is activating students' self-motivation. Both things should co-exist in a complementary way.

Scientific research from sociology and education are presented in the complete study *Szkolnictwo w pierwszym roku reformy oświaty* edited by. K. Konarzewski, who manages a team for monitoring the reform, which was appointed by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland (Konarzewski, 2001). The results of Konarzewski studies and all GUS data concerning specific schools. etc, which

were used in this study indicate that in the very basic legal act for the school system which the Law on Educational System is. running students register to show the school obligation statistics is obligatory only for head teachers and the community is to deal only with students aged 16 to 18; education office though, do not have that obligation as they should rather be involved in examining the school's 'work quality'. Subjects which are not obliged to run full register of school obligation are doing so only on a voluntary basis. The final effect of this is that the data collected from them cannot be combined into a sensible unity.

Among the latest studies concerning the scale of motivation and motivations tools one cannot miss the results of a research carried out by Okręgowa Komisja Egzaminacyjna w Krakowie, Pracownia Egzaminu Gimnazjalnego. The studies entitled ANATOMIA SUKCESU DYDAKTYCZNO-WYCHOWAWCZEGO WYBRANYCH SZKÓŁ POWIATU KROŚNIEŃSKIEGO CZĘŚĆ HUMANISTYCZNA, introduced the notion of direct contact with both subjects of the process of education, i.e. teachers and students. The gathered documentation allows for drawing the conclusion that teachers form the analyzed schools are people who not only improve their qualifications by participating in occasional training, but after receiving certificates of completion they try to broaden the range of their skills and knowledge. They are also people who look for new solutions and are disciplined at the same time as they are able to subject themselves to previously accepted agreements. In the research one can notice that observations from internal examinations are used among others to construct repair programs. On their basis teachers carry out positive or negative verification of accepted teaching methods. Such actions require critical approach to oneself, assessment of one's own actions. The assessment must be characterized by a certain level of balanced reasoning, thoughtfulness and flexibility. It is worth mentioning that teachers from the examined schools are striving for making students achieve the highest possible results by taking great care of both the young people with large capability and the ones who appear to have problems with acquiring knowledge. Building trust in the relationship between the teacher and the student is therefore not only connected with the object treatment aspect but subjective aspect as well. A teacher's personal qualities may facilitate the process of building up his or her authority. To win the students' trust however and create relations based on mutual respect. it is necessary to assume the attitude of openness on the part of students as well. The young man should realize that he is the participant of the process of shaping given skills and the pro-

cess requires from him critical self-assessment which constitutes one of the essential elements in his involvement. The attitude of openness concerns not only accepting the teachers personality. It is important firstly in view of the education subject. It is vital that students are able to systemize in an orderly way consequently gathered information meant to satisfy their need for seeing the world and meeting people. It is necessary in this case to possess discipline understood as a behavioral factor, but to the same extent showing itself in the order of existing rules in the taught subjects. It is worth noticing that it will always constitute the resultant of bringing a young man up at home, the level of his sensitivity and maturity, and educational actions taken by teachers at all levels of learning. It seems to be true that the subject-related sphere is the safest one for creating teacher-student relationships. Functional and pragmatic approach to conveying and gaining knowledge and skills evokes constructive behaviors on the part of students and teachers. It also allows for creating situations in which the important role is played the courage to begin new tasks both in the students and teachers attitude. It is worth noticing that the key meaning here will be assigned to obtaining by the participants of the educational process a basis in the form of a store of knowledge which is appropriate for a given social role. It is the information that makes the set of experiences enabling first mastering and then using the competences during the process of new tasks realization. An extremely essential factor at this point is the choice of the scope of content. It is important that they are contents concerning the ways and methods of using competence, not information for information's sake. In the examined schools one could observe positive interactions between teachers and students. Positive teacher-student interactions may then be indicated as the fundamental factor determining a high ratio of educational added value (Polish abbreviation: EWD - Edukacyjna Wartość Dodana). One must note here that building the relations takes an enormous amount of teacher's effort not only in the scope of the taught subjects but also in creating an individual approach towards the world and the Man. The above presented description of a school complex has its statistical representation in the works of schools all over Poland.

The last element which I would like to present in this study is the position of Józef Kuźma, dean of Wydział Pedagogiczny. Akademia Pedagogiczna. Cracow (Kuźma, 2016;254). According to the professor the educational crisis is a permanent phenomenon occurring in almost all countries in which educational systems have not been consistently and effectively reformed for a long period of time. hi the scale of separate countries, e.g. Poland, it also

has political, economic, structural, and program character. This state of things is caused firstly by erroneous social and educational policy and in the last place by the teaching Staff. The question of improving the current situation must be addressed to candidates for Polish parliament with no regard to their political party membership.

As far as teachers are concerned the answer is simple because all it takes is not only modern and efficient education and training (also pedagogical-psychological) but first of all they should be paid much more and given a stronger motivation. Despite the fact that Polish teachers are very much willing to raise their qualifications, the two above mentioned barriers block everything quite effectively.

It is true that new-coming teaching staff and education-alists are not enough prepared for restructuring Polish education. We are only at the very beginning of the road leading to the teacher training system reform. It concerns both such tasks as accrediting teacher training schools. i.e. universities, pedagogical academies and teacher training colleges - state and private. The accreditation, although delayed, should officially confirm that they meet organizational, curriculum, and personnel conditions necessary for educating teachers. I am afraid that implementing Europejski System Transferu Punktów (ECTC) also will not contribute to raising the level of teachers' education or could even restrict and lower teaching contents quality by unifying school syllabus. A much greater hope for improving education quality must be laid on internal assessment and self-assessment of education system; however it should be the result and not the aim or a starting point for teacher training reform. Teachers realizing their subjects or blocks of subjects are still insufficiently prepared pedagogically or psychologically for the position of class tutors (J. Kuźma. Cracow). It is now commonly known (as Najwyższa Izba Kontroli reports) that certain colleges and universities do not respect the obligatory number of pedagogy and psychology lessons to be attended by students. Poorly educated teachers after a couple of years of working in primary or secondary schools, mostly of their own initiative and at their own expense, start postgraduate studies at pedagogical-psychological faculties.

The existing state of teaching and pedagogic staff training system provides conditions for developing creativity, humanistic approach thinking via systematic syllabus modifications, offer new contents and teaching methods, multimedia techniques. including the mentioned at the reports beginning Internet. Nonetheless the process is not entirely consistent and satisfactory. The bond of students and teachers with school practice is also insufficient. In

the current financial situation colleges and universities are compelled to 'slim down' their curriculum and favor more extensive forms and methods of education (e.g. lectures instead of regular classes), which reduces costs, but not always facilitates unconventional thinking and creativity. Much of that depends on creative and humanistic attitudes of university teachers. I believe that they had the opportunity to come across creativity training, diagnosing techniques and especially pedagogical therapy within the course of their studies so they should constantly improve and complement their skills.

CONCLUSION

Summing up the results of the carried out study-investigation we have come to the conclusion that only by joint co-operation of students and teachers in the field of adjusting the syllabus, educational tools, and one's awareness of the aim of conveying and receiving information, it is possible to achieve mutual success. The latter refers both to searching for educators and the students appropriate approach to presented knowledge. The two parties ought to have the consciousness of different areas in which the acquired information may be used. Pragmatic approach to teaching and self-education constitutes a basis for building teachers and students' professionalism. Some importance for the quality of school performance is assigned to the conditions in which teachers convey and students obtain skills and information. Although they play the background role it is plausible to make them facilitate both parties' actions in the teaching-learning process. What is crucial in this case is to create conditions which will allow for recognizing individual needs of education process participants. i.e. students and teachers.

Co-operation with the student's home environment is necessary. The fact what attitude each student will assume towards school is to a large extent dependent on the family home's awareness about education aims and the goals of shaping young people's aspiration. Great importance is also attached to the teacher's aspirations, their motivation for taking new actions. It is worthwhile here to formulate the hypothesis that the stimulus for teachers' professional activity is equally divided into economic factors as well as the ones which determine satisfaction level growth or decrease resulting from taken actions.

It may look like Polish education is heading for a pre-infarct condition. Fortunately, quoting Kuźma, we can say it is not. School education heart attack could only happen if the compulsory 6-year-long and not the 8-year-long (as previously) primary school is finished by too many chil-

dren from the so called provinces, and especially from remote villages. The described danger is absolutely real. So far we can only speak about a crisis of some essential school system elements or its stagnation. Problems might result from the commonly spread among teachers lack of teaching psychology basics, didactics, or lack of knowledge in the realm of diagnosing and pedagogical therapy. Teachers have not learned, how to support children's development. They almost consider pedagogy or psychology useless. They often authoritarian, despotic, do not give students chances for retaking tests and correcting their bad grades. They do not fear psychical results of such methods of teaching and upbringing. Most teachers, however, are great, emphatic people, highly qualified, constantly broadening their subject and pedagogical knowledge, hence they are liked and eagerly followed by students.

To sum up the issue of the recent education reform one must conclude that deep understanding of the process is made difficult because of the lack of a unanimous project. which makes it necessary to consider individual opinions and remarks of the main policy makers. In order to react to the reform the following actions must be taken:

- Assessment of financial resources allocation for social purposes connected with educational problems;
- Assessment of advisability to employ appropriate specialists;
- financing and subsidizing prophylactic programs;
- searching for local and long-distance partners for solving the most difficult educational problems at schools;
- sharing the standards with other partners in all schools (appropriate computerization and experience exchange system)
- establishing a new standard of collecting and processing data about children and young people.
- Monitoring the qualifications and programs with which teachers are admitted to work in schools - it is better not to have a teacher than to have a bad one.
- Strict co-operation of schools with non-government organizations with the use of their intellectual potential and good will
- fighting the school dropout problem.

Here are some statistics to conclude the study:

1. Over 40% of students in Poland does not identify themselves with their schools. the same attitude is presented by over 30% students in Japan, Belgium

and France, the model to follow for them may be students from Sweden, Ireland and Hungary. where a low feeling of belonging to a school is declared by less than 20% students

2. Almost 30% students play truant. It is one of the highest rates noted in OECD countries
3. In most OECD around 25% students have low level of feeling of belonging to a school.
4. Polish students take one the highest positions in leaving school lessons. Over 25% of them play truant.
5. In most OECD countries about 20% students miss lessons. the smallest number has Japan - ca.5%, and the largest rate is in Israel - over 40%.
6. As much as 93 per cent of Poles say that it is worth to study.
7. 84 per cent would like their daughters to have higher education and 85 per cent would want the same for their sons. In 1996 the same declaration was made by 73% on both sides and in 1993 63 and 65 % respectively.
8. Only 5% of interviewed people say that learning does not pay.
9. Almost two thirds of interviewed people would have steered their professional career in a different way; 44 per cent would have tried to get a higher educational level. 13 per cent would have chosen another subject. and only 3 per cent would have spent less time on studying. The main motivation for Poles is high earnings (65 %) and an opportunity to avoid unemployment (41 %) (Data comes from CBOS statistical office, 2-5 April, random representative group of 993 adult Poles).

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Social Studies 15 (2) /2016

ISSN 2081-0008

e-ISSN: 2449-9714

p 69-78

PERCEPTION OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND SOCIAL DIVERSITY IN POLAND AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

ABSTRACT

The current paper presents the results of an internet-based pilot study assessing differences between Polish nationals and other Europeans in their perception of European identification, openness to others and acceptance of social diversity. Altogether, 279 persons participated: Polish citizens (N = 127); other Europeans (N = 152). Data analyses suggest that Polish participants share a common understanding of European identification with other European respondents, albeit, they show higher level of anti-Europeanness. Polish participants seem less opened to others despite that they appear less concerned about potential threats related to migrant movements than the sample group of other Europeans.

KEY WORDS: SOCIAL IDENTITY, EUROPEAN IDENTITY, SOCIAL DIVERSITY, ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS.

INTRODUCTION

SELF-IDENTITY AND IN- / OUT- GROUP RELATIONSHIPS

In the time of profound changes within the European Union defining self-identity as well as European identity becomes all the more delicate that citizens from numerous European communities need to co-exist and come to agreements with respect to many issues affecting self-image, perception of Europeanness and social diversity. Generally speaking, the term “identity” is used to define individuals on the basis of the set of beliefs, ideals and values that frame their behavior, in their need to safeguard the sense of their existence and their self-image (Costa-Lascoux et al., 2000). Who we are primarily relies on what traits of personality we are born with and/or have developed throughout our lifespan, and on what roles and status we want to be seen as holding, as a variable of values we want to be associated with. Overall, two aspects of identity have been highlighted: “personal identity”, relating to the structuring of “I” as a unique entity with its own aims and standards, and “social identity”, where “I”, as member of a social system, holds a conscious, integrated and cohesive sense of self, that is developed from early childhood onwards, through social interactions (Zalewska, Krzywos-Rynkiewicz, 2010). As such, “I” is shaped in comparison to “non-I” and moulded as a result of relations with others. In his “Social Identity Theory”, Tajfel suggests that

people’s identity reflects the social group they belong to, with the main reason for identifying with a group being its capacity to provide a status, as source of pride, and to reinforce self-esteem (Tajfel, 1979). The importance of social groups further leads to the perception of the society under categories which are not necessarily objectively defined, yet allow to delineate people in pools of “us” and “them”, whilst group culture provides all elements essential to enfold the realm of group existence and gives group members common sets of mental and material representations of themselves, as well as convictions that are progressively internalized and turned into personal choices. As a result, “I” becomes “we” and expects some recognition from “them” (Costa-Lascoux et al., 2000). It may happen, that the groups we belong to do not fully represent who we are, as adhesion to any “human melting pot” imposes flexibility and adaptation to fluctuating group standards (identity dynamics), albeit some balance must be found between inductive norms and values and personal expectations, to ensure that the ineluctable resulting compromise remains within acceptable limits that allow for maintenance of positive self-esteem. Should social norms and values start changing too notably, the consequent “redesign” of inner structure (tailoring strategy) could lead to frustration and/or rejection when pushed to its extreme. Under this perspective, internalization of group culture may be considered as a remedy to reduce efforts of adaptation, since it provides individuals with a “ready-made” social

frame, as source of reference to group characteristics. Under this form of “safety net”, it ensures in-group stability, thus avoiding in-group conflict (Malewska-Peyre, 2000). It also induces group members into accepting a collective frame, referred to as group essentialism, that brings them the inner stability they need. Without such collective approach, there would be no group recognition of “common goods”, no feeling of unity, no perception of the group as one entity (entitativity) and consequently, no possible formation of nations (Taboada-Leonetti, 2000).

Although, in general, people are certain that others see the world as they do and do not understand that the world could be perceived differently (Maruszewski, 2010), in a multinational environment, the reality becomes more complex. As mentioned earlier, through group socialization processes, “I” becomes “we”, yet expects some recognition from “them” to ensure maintenance of self-esteem (Costa-Lascoux et al., 2000). According to Tajfel, this results in the society being viewed as an assemblage of “clusters”, whereby individuals, as a means of orientation in the surrounding world, label specific properties to its various dimensions, as a consequence of categorization processes. As such, people will identify themselves and others to a number of categories, and will conceptualize prototypical schemes, as a means of simplification of their reflections over the whole situation. When applied to in-out group relationships, this phenomenon becomes all the major, that it may lead to a more competitive interpersonal approach, in quest of sustainment of self-image, with resulting intergroup discrimination. Indeed, it has been observed that members of in-groups will not only tend to discriminate persons belonging to out-groups, but will do so to a greater extent, when their feeling of group entitativity is stronger, i.e. when the perception of common identification, expressiveness, image and status is very high, thereby motivating in-group favoritisms. Oppositely, mutual group comparisons may also lead to reactions of admiration, or even subordination, when “others” are viewed as being “superior” in a given category (i.e. “I” will want to favor “them”). In situations where there are no essential elements that could be source of between-group competitiveness, lack of mutual attention has also been observed (Derks et al., 2009; Kwiatkowska, 1999; Sekerdej et al., 2012). Whether positive, negative or neutral in nature, such reactions would not be possible if not in response to stereotypisation processes, upon which groups are being viewed homogeneously, as a “single mind and body”, with their members not being recognized on the basis of their individual statuses, but

being depersonalized and perceived as prototype reflections of the groups they adhere to. Such vision tends to provoke group stigmatisation, leading to national stereotypisation, further extrapolated to dehumanisation. To this effect, research has proposed a model distinguishing two forms of “humanness”: “uniquely human” (UH) traits of personality, distinctively separating humans from animals (e.g. being civilized, rational, polite and efficient) and “human nature” (HN) aspects of personality, reflecting more nature-related features (e.g. being emotional, active, impulsive and friendly). According to this model, “HN characteristics would be expected to link humans to the natural world, and their inborn biological dispositions” whilst “UH characteristics primarily reflect socialization and culture”. Moreover, HN characteristics are typically assigned to intergroup relationships, whilst UH traits may be allocated both to intergroup and interpersonal settings (Haslam, 2006).

Coming back to the concept of “nation”, for such a community to be effectively recognizable and become source of reference to the principle of national identity, it has to emerge from a common social context, usually reflected through a different language, distinct traditions or diverse understanding of history (Sekerdej et al., 2012). Part of this process of nation formation is the ideological approach that nation members will choose to adopt with respect to their relationship with others, i.e. either patriotic (recognition of one’s own nation and its own rights, in full respect of the principle that all nations should have equal rights) or nationalistic (the feeling that one’s in-group is more human than out-groups). Recent research has looked at identification to a nation through the prism of its cultural-historical essence, referred to as symbolic essentialism, or as a consequence of genetic origins and ancestry, referred to as biological essentialism, in order to assess to what extent people living in more or less ethnically homogeneous and/or heterogeneous nations, will show attachment to their countries in sustainment of a patriotic perspective or will follow a more nationalistic approach. Findings from these studies suggest that individuals presenting stronger traits of symbolic essentialism would more strongly support patriotic values, with lower negative attitudes towards out-groups and greater tolerance towards “others”, whilst individuals presenting stronger traits of biological essentialism would tend to have stronger nationalistic tendencies, presenting more negative out-group attitudes and intolerance towards “others” (Taboada-Leonetti, 2000; Whelan, 2013).

EUROPEAN IDENTITY

With regards to “European identity”, the European heritage, founded on the Greek–Roman ancient civilization, Christianity, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, industrialization and Modernity, was, for a long time, considered as providing European residents sufficient shared values to enable them to feel as part of one community (Pichler, 2008). At a later stage, however, the EU reviewed its membership criteria, to stress on the importance of market economy, democracy and respect for human rights, as constitutive rules to determine what was to be the norm for member countries (Subotic, 2011). Thereof, as a political body, founded on a “pluralist, multicultural and multilateral vision of Europe”, and overlooking a supranational set of institutions, the EU was conceived to be the interface between each member state and the globalization of society, with its various outcomes on cultural diversity. In fact, the EU unification project, “diametrically opposed to previous state-making practices centered on rigid notions of internal uniformity” (Conversi, 2014) was to be seen as a buffer to potential tension between member countries. Under this perspective, the creation of a common supranational identity, viewed as a solution to bridge the gap between cultural pluralism and social discrepancies, was perceived as prerequisite to an efficient process of unification. Notwithstanding, studies undertaken since have shown that levels of European identity were low in Europe, all the more so, that the terminology “European identity” had acquired various meanings amongst European citizens. Since collective identities are forged out of shared experiences, memories, myths as well as long-lasting social and political practices (Nantz, 2000), the idea behind a European identity induces to reflect on the type of entity that it should represent and imposes a review of the demarcation between “us” and “them”, so essential to shaping of identity (Stråth, 2000). In 1973, when the “Declaration on European Identity” was elaborated, “we” represented nine countries with shared history, similar cultural roots and common undertakings, whilst “others”, in the hegemony of the Cold War and of the Petroleum Crisis, referred to potential enemies. Subsequent to the fall of the Berlin Wall and of significant migrations of people of varied socio-cultural backgrounds, “them” started to become “us”. Additionally, Europeanisation, presented within EU discourse as “a normative process of preaching European norms and values through policies of conditionality and socialization to its neighbours and candidate Member States” (Spannring et al., 2008) was initiated and started to be part of a wider process

of globalization as well as re-stratification of socio-cultural hierarchies (Nantz, 2000). Consequently, although the current discourse of Europe tries to mould a society capable of serving as a spiritual basis for a new and post-modernist economy, it experiences increasing difficulty in producing supranational collective identifications that would satisfy individual expectations (Nantz, 2000; White, 2000).

In the light of the above, a question arises as to the real possibility for the existence of a “European identity”. In fact, with increasing globalization, laicization and migration of people acknowledging diverse religious confessions, the cultural interactions, consequently initiated, have led to situations of constant redefinition of identity, where the integration of norms, values and traditions have become more difficult to conceive (Féréol, 2000). Disregarding the political aspects affecting power sharing between minorities, regions and state authorities (Castells, 2010), norms and values that are considered as of major importance to societies have been identified as follows: security, family, traditions and history. Extrapolating to other studies, religiousness and patriotism were also found to be regarded as strong values in group identity (Leyens et al., 2012). This raises the question of analyzing what values are important to Europeans as a base to European identity, since identification with the EU and common European consciousness can only develop to the extent to which the citizens of the member states will feel some emotional relationship with the idea of Europe (Lendvai, 2008). In fact, the notion of European identity seems no longer embraced in what was initially regarded as universal values, with the general understanding of “belonging” as based on languages, emotions and symbols, but appears to have become confined to the limits of critical and reflexive considerations, where norms and values have turned into subjects of incessant negotiation and transformation (Stråth, 2000). Individuals, so far hiding inner latent conflicts with regards to their identity, now look for public recognition of their ethno-cultural differences. Consequently, there is growing consciousness of a two-speed reality, based on distinctions between East / West and North / South countries (Arat-Koç, 2010). Such observations have been interpreted as being the cause of division amongst European communities, especially with respect to ethnic identity, since the latter was found to negatively correlate with the idea of a cosmopolitan European identity, whilst favouring support for a mono-cultural approach (Schlenker, 2013).

HYPOTHESES

As the previous paragraphs have highlighted, attempting to conceptualise European identity is very complex, all the more so, that the concept of “European project” is a relatively modern idea, that has experienced notable changes over the past several decades. In its current form, the European Union comprises twenty eight member states and may therefore not be merely perceived as an economic entity regulating the internal market, but must also be understood as a specific view of society and its identity, as set within a wider socio-economic context (Van der Wal, 2008). This particularly applies to aspects related to social diversity, especially in the light of the current socio-economic crisis that induces of people to review their understanding of security and stability, in a significantly fluctuating social setting. As such, the present study aims at investigating some of the aspects covered in our introduction, based on assessments collected from Polish nationals and other European respondents.

In the first step we will try to find out if any items of personal identification, as applied to the perception of Europe, are shared by all participants in contrast to suggestions that there are no clearly defined shared values common to all Europeans (Stråth, 2000). We will then assess if opinions to their regard vary between Polish nationals and other respondents, based on observations, from Eurobarometer surveys, that, in spite of their most recent accession, Eastern European countries felt more European than Western European nations did (Schilde, 2013).

In the second step, based on the assumption that socio-economical instability may lead to reluctance to social diversity (Letki, 2008), we will aim at considering if increased migratory movements and social fluctuations within European boundaries have induced negative perception, amongst Europeans, of migrants, seen as potential threats both to local/national identities as well as to safety and welfare of welcoming countries. To this avail, items referring to openness to others as well as to perception of social diversity will be analysed.

METHODOLOGY

PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE

For the purpose of our assessment, an online questionnaire, as described below, was prepared and distributed through internet-based social networks. The initial re-

cipients of the survey were members and friends of the author's multicultural family, as well as professionals from international institutions, with whom the author had had the opportunity to work and/or study over the past five years.

The survey was available online from the 4th of July 2014 until the 31st of August 2014, during which time it was completed by 279 respondents (115 men, 164 women; mean age: 42.8 years ($SD = 15.4$), of generally high level of education (Primary School; $N = 3$; High School: $N = 52$; Bachelor/Master: $N = 120$; Postgraduate/PhD: $N = 104$) of multiple nationalities. For the purpose of the present study, respondents were separated into two groups, based on their declared nationalities: Polish nationals versus other Europeans; in rare cases where respondents reported either dual nationality or nationalities from non-EU countries, group allocations were carried out on the basis of the reported country of residence. This resulted in the formation of two groups as follows: Polish nationals ($N = 127$); other Europeans ($N = 152$).

INSTRUMENT

The submitted questionnaire was prepared on the basis of previously published scales and surveys as listed below, further adapted by M. Drogosz and P. Figueira-Putresza for the needs of the present study: ISSP 2003 source questionnaire (2003); Special Eurobarometer 346 (2011); questions chosen from articles as quoted in earlier paragraphs (e.g. SEBESS short scale inspired from Whelan et al, 2013); the NEIM National Ethnic Identity Measure reviewed for the present purpose (based on MEIM, Phinney, 1992; Whelan, 2005); the MEIM Multi Ethnic Measure (Phinney, 1992).

The questionnaire was initially drawn up in English, later translated by bilinguals into French and Polish and then back translated into English by other bilinguals to check their equivalence. The instrument first asked about participants' demographics including gender, age, level of education, country and region of origin as well as country and region of actual residence. It was further divided into four distinct sections, comprising questions on the following: (1) Identity survey: forty eight items altogether, out of which twenty two items were related to personal identification (Appendix 1) and twenty-six items were related to personal identity and relationships with others (Appendix 2); (2) European issues survey: twenty one items related to perception of European identity and of the European concept (Appendix

3). Replies to each question were compulsory and were based on grades using a 5-point scale, where 1 presented the lowest and most negative rating (e.g. “I fully disagree”) whilst 5 was proposed as the highest score (e.g. “I fully agree”).

SUB-SCALES AND VARIABLES

With regards to sub-scales prepared on the basis of the “Identity survey”, “European issues survey” and “General opinions” survey, items were selected as a result of duly undertaken reliability analyses; where appropriate, inverted scales were used. Mean variables to these sub-scales were computed on the basis of the highest Cronbach’s alpha values obtained.

With regards to variables computed on the basis of the collected data, principle components analyses (PCA) were carried out on the whole set of individual surveys. Reliability analyses on the clusters of items extracted from the PCA’s followed. Where appropriate, inverted items to the ones extracted were used. Mean variables were computed on the basis of the highest Cronbach’s alpha values obtained (Table 1).

TABLE 1. Variables computed on the basis of collected data

Variable name	Variable description	Cronbach’s alpha (α)	Average (M)	Standard deviation (SD)
ORIGINS	Sense of origins	0.903	3.39	0.72
SYMPATHISER	Sympathiser	0.608	2.72	0.68
BELONGING	Sense of belonging	0.925	3.37	0.62
DISCONTENT	General discontent	0.785	1.93	0.54
OPENEUROP	Open Europeaness	0.772	3.25	0.23
PROTECTEUROP	Protective Europeaness	0.654	2.74	0.52
ANTIUEUROP	Anti-Europeaness	0.627	3.26	0.66

Additional variables were computed in order to address issues raised under our second hypothesis (Table 2). The resulting variables are as follows: TRADITIONS computed from four items referring solely to traditions, including personal family traditions; CULTHIST computed from items related to history, symbols and cultural traditions of countries, ethnic groups and regions, not including the EU; GENES computed on the basis of two items related to birth and descent as expressed in questions referring to the essence of being European (i.e., “to be born in Europe” and “to have parents/grandparents originating from Europe”); INCLINPAT (extracted from the NATIONAL and OPENNESS variables) reliably reflects national identification and openness to others; INCLINNAT (extracted from the NATIONAL and

inverted OPENNESS variables) reliably reflects national identification associated to reluctance to others, i.e. inclination towards nationalistic attitudes.

TABLE 2. Variables distinguishing essentialism as well as patriotic versus nationalistic inclinations

Variable	Cronbach’s alpha	Polish nationals		Other Europeans	
		M	SD	M	SD
CULTHIST	0.863	3.44	0.83	3.06	0.67
TRADITIONS	0.755	3.63	0.81	3.38	0.73
GENES	0.686	2.56	1.01	2.50	0.98
INCLINPAT	0.801	3.89	0.51	3.98	0.46
INCLINNAT	0.820	3.05	0.59	2.70	0.45

RESULTS

EUROPEAN IDENTIFICATION AND CONCERN ABOUT EUROPEAN MATTERS

From the principle components analyses carried out earlier, it was possible to extract mean variables of very high reliability. Confirmation as to whether or not these sets of extracted items could indeed be considered as reliable scales would require, as prerequisite, replication of the current exercise on representative groups of participants. However, when applied to our study, it appears that our European respondents, taken as a whole, share common sets of distinguishable traits representing personal identity and/or identification. In our assessment of differences between Polish nationals and other Europeans regarding understanding of Europeaness, four mean variables will be considered: EUROPEAN, EUROPEID and EUROPEMAT, ANTIEUROP (Table 3).

TABLE 3. Identification to Europe

Variable name	Issue covered	Polish nationals		Other Europeans	
		M	SD	M	SD
EUROPEAN	Identification with Europe	3.23	0.82	3.06	0.90
EUROPEID	To be European	2.72	0.94	2.64	0.92
EUROPEMAT	European matters	3.19	0.65	3.17	0.57
ANTIUEUROP	Anti-Europeaness	3.36	0.65	3.17	0.67

T-tests carried out on Polish nationals and other Europeans, with respect to their perception of European identification, using variables as mentioned above, revealed as follows:

- there was no significant difference between Polish respondents and other Europeans in their perception of European identification: $t(277) = 1.65$; $p = 0.10$; d Cohen = 0.198.
- there was no significant difference between Polish respondents and other Europeans in their understanding of what it was to be European: $t(277) = 0.71$; $p = 0.48$; d Cohen = 0.085.
- there was no significant difference between Polish respondents and other Europeans in their concern for European matters: $t(277) = 0.26$; $p = 0.80$; d Cohen = 0.031.
- there is a significant difference between Polish respondents and other Europeans in their feeling of anti-Europeanness: $t(277) = 2.38$; $p < 0.05$; d Cohen = 0.286.

OPENNESS TO OTHERS - MIGRANT THREAT - PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL DIVERSITY

- T-tests carried out on Polish nationals ($M = 3.80$; $SD = 0.63$) and other Europeans ($M = 4.24$; $SD = 0.56$) with respect to their openness to others revealed there was a significant difference between both groups: $t(277) = 6.14$; $p < 0.001$; d Cohen = 0.738,
- T-tests carried out on Polish nationals ($M = 2.51$; $SD = 1.06$) and other Europeans ($M = 2.81$; $SD = 1.05$) with regards to migrant threat showed a significant difference in opinions between both groups on this subject: $t(277) = 2.33$; $p < 0.05$; d Cohen = 0.28.
- With respect to social diversity seen as a positive outcome of EU enlargement, t-tests undertaken on the relevant variable indicate there are no significant differences in perception of this issue between Polish nationals ($M = 3.68$; $SD = 0.975$) and other Europeans ($M = 3.59$; $SD = 1.03$): $t(277) = 0.76$; $p = 0.45$; d Cohen = 0.28.

DISCUSSION

EUROPEAN IDENTIFICATION AND CONCERN ABOUT EUROPEAN MATTERS

The sub-scales extracted from our survey relating to European identification and concern about European matters have revealed that various sets of items could be clustered in order to categorise perception of Europeanness. Some clusters present a more open approach to the understanding of this concept, where the fact of being European is perceived as being reachable to anybody (open Europeanness), whereas other approaches are more conservative, with the “right” to Europeanness

being pinpointed as a prerogative for people who were born in Europe, grew there and had European descent (protective Europeanness). In our assessment of chosen topics related to Europeanness, we can observe that, overall, our respondents, as a whole, do not feel fully concerned by the European concept, with mean averages for items related to it (European identification, concern of European matters, as well as anti-Europeanness) fluctuating between $M = 3.13$ and $M = 3.26$, i.e. around the criterion “partly yes, partly not”. Comparison of replies provided by Polish nationals versus other Europeans have further revealed that there were no significant differences between our groups of respondents with respect to identification with Europe, perception of European identity nor concern over European issues. With regards to anti-Europeanness, however, the mean average obtained suggests that, despite opinions generally fluctuating around “3”, Polish respondents ($M = 3.36$; $SD = 0.65$) would tend to show greater reserve towards the Europe concept than other Europeans ($M = 3.17$; $SD = 0.67$).

When comparing averaged scores, as allocated to the variable assessing European identification, between Polish nationals ($M = 3.23$; $SD = 0.82$) and other Europeans ($M = 3.06$; $SD = 0.90$), we can observe a low p -value ($p = 0.1$), that could suggest a possible tendency towards a significant difference in opinions regarding this subject. This observation could lead us to speculate, that a couple of years ago, a greater difference in opinions on this subject would have been obtained between Polish nationals and other Europeans, in support of findings based on Eurobarometers surveys, revealing that “in spite of their most recent accession, Eastern European countries felt more European than Western European nations did” (Schilde, 2013). At this stage, however, we have insufficient information to reflect further on this subject. Our hypothesis stating that there are no differences between Polish nationals and other Europeans with regards to issues related to Europe, has therefore been confirmed.

OPENNESS TO OTHERS - MIGRANT THREAT - PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL DIVERSITY

When exploring data concerning openness to others, as tested on the mean variable created to this avail, it appears that respondents, as a whole, present a positive attitude towards others ($M = 4.04$; $SD = 0.63$), i.e. “rather yes”. When comparing our two groups of participants, however, a clear difference emerges between Polish nationals ($M = 3.80$; $SD = 0.63$) and other Europeans ($M = 4.24$; $SD = 0.56$), with the former group presenting a

more reserved approach towards others than the latter group. Reversely, when examining replies to the questions presenting migrant movements as potential threat to safety, welfare, local culture and national identities of welcoming countries, this inconsistency gets set back. Indeed, bearing in mind that this is a reverse scored item, whereby the lower the score given, the stronger the disapproval with the proposed questions, and although averaged scores for both groups of participants are below 3, i.e. “partly yes, partly not”, Polish nationals ($M = 2.51$; $SD = 1.06$) show a greater reluctance to agreeing with the statements than other Europeans ($M = 2.81$; $SD = 1.05$) do. This suggests that Polish nationals are more open to migrant movements than other Europeans are, which seems to be in contradiction with earlier observations regarding “openness to others”. This observation would need to be considered deeper as a part of a separate study.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The delicate issue of perception of European identity by Europeans of various backgrounds is a subject of constant investigation. In our study we have tried to look at it under different angles in an attempt to acquire a holistic understanding of the subject. To this avail, our questionnaire included items addressing the problem both from the perspective of individual identity and from an extended viewpoint more practically related to the European concept as a whole. As observed, Polish nationals do not significantly differ from other Europe-

ans with respect to common views regarding the European idea. In fact, our results suggest that, in the recent past, Polish nationals felt stronger European identification than other Europeans, since there is a tendency towards a significant difference in opinions to this effect. This could be perceived as being consequent to an initially greater enthusiasm of Polish nationals towards the European concept, resulting from a shorter time gap passed as from the entry of Poland as a Member State. However, Polish nationals have also expressed stronger anti-European opinions than other Europeans. Whether this could be the fruit of disappointment in the European Union or the consequence of any other phenomenon would need to be further investigated.

We could also speculate that the differences observed between the opinions of Polish nationals versus other Europeans result from a different understanding of the meaning of “others” and “migrants” for both our groups of respondents. This suggestion arises from feedback received from Polish participants taking part in our exercise, expressing difficulties in visualising who migrants in Poland were, as opposed to rather seeing themselves in the situation of being migrants in other countries. This aspect would need to be further investigated as part of a separate study.

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APPENDIX 1 - IDENTIFICATION SURVEY

	To what extent do the following criteria define YOUR IDENTITY:	1 definitely not	2 rather not	3 partly yes, partly not	4 rather yes	5 definitely yes
1	Your family traditions from generation to generation	1	2	3	4	5
2	The region you regard as your own	1	2	3	4	5
3	The ethnic group you belong to	1	2	3	4	5
4	The country you regard as your own	1	2	3	4	5
5	Living in Europe and being European	1	2	3	4	5
6	Being a citizen of the European Union	1	2	3	4	5
7	The history of your region	1	2	3	4	5
8	The history of your country	1	2	3	4	5
9	The history of Europe	1	2	3	4	5
10	Cultural traditions of your region	1	2	3	4	5
11	Cultural traditions of your country	1	2	3	4	5
12	Cultural traditions of Europe	1	2	3	4	5
13	You first, native language	1	2	3	4	5
14	Your religion	1	2	3	4	5
15	The symbols of your region	1	2	3	4	5
16	The symbols of your ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5

17	The symbols (e.g. flag, anthem) of your country	1	2	3	4	5
18	The symbols of the EU (like flag, anthem and motto: „Unity in diversity”)	1	2	3	4	5
19	Your occupation and/or professional qualifications	1	2	3	4	5
20	The political party you sympathise with	1	2	3	4	5
21	Your support to national sports teams	1	2	3	4	5
22	Your support to regional sports teams	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX 2 - IDENTITY SURVEY

	To what extent do you agree with the following sentences:	1 definitely not	2 rather not	3 partly yes, partly not	4 rather yes	5 definitely yes
1	I have a clear sense of my nationality and what it means to me.	1	2	3	4	5
2	I have a clear sense of my ethnicity and what it means to me.	1	2	3	4	5
3	I have a strong sense of belonging to my own country.	1	2	3	4	5
4	I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
5	I understand what my nationality means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own country and other countries.	1	2	3	4	5
6	I understand what my ethnicity or regional identification means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own ethnic group/region and other ethnic groups/regions.	1	2	3	4	5
7	To learn more about my nationality, I have often talked to other people about my country.	1	2	3	4	5
8	To learn more about my ethnicity, I have often talked to other people about my region.	1	2	3	4	5
9	I am proud of my country and its accomplishments.	1	2	3	4	5
10	I am proud of my ethnic group/region and its accomplishments.	1	2	3	4	5
11	I participate in the cultural practices of my own country, such as special food, music or customs.	1	2	3	4	5
12	I participate in the cultural practices of my own ethnic group/region, such as special food, music or customs.	1	2	3	4	5
13	I feel a strong attachment towards my country.	1	2	3	4	5
14	I feel a strong attachment towards my ethnic group/region.	1	2	3	4	5
15	I like meeting and getting to know people from countries other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5
16	I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups/regions other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5
17	I sometimes feel it would be better if people from different countries did not mix together.	1	2	3	4	5
18	I sometimes feel it would be better if people from different ethnic groups/regions did not mix together.	1	2	3	4	5
19	I often spend time with people from countries other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5
20	I often spend time with people from ethnic groups/regions other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5
21	I do not try to become friends with people from other countries.	1	2	3	4	5
22	I do not try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups/regions.	1	2	3	4	5
23	I am involved in activities with people from other countries.	1	2	3	4	5
24	I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups/regions.	1	2	3	4	5
25	I enjoy being around people from countries other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5
26	I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups/regions other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX 3 - EUROPEAN ISSUES SURVEY

	Please give your opinion on the following statements:	1 definitely not	2 rather not	3 partly yes, partly not	4 rather yes	5 definitely yes
1	To be European you must have been born in Europe.	1	2	3	4	5
2	To be European you must have grown up in Europe.	1	2	3	4	5
3	To be European you must be living in Europe.	1	2	3	4	5
4	To be European your parents and/or grandparents must originate from Europe.	1	2	3	4	5
5	Being European means feeling concerned about European matters.	1	2	3	4	5
6	At international sports events, Europe should be represented by European sports teams to strengthen the feeling of European identity.	1	2	3	4	5
7	There are no common European norms and values – each European nation has its own.	1	2	3	4	5
8	European nations should form a common European army.	1	2	3	4	5
9	The EU institutions are concerned about internal social and economic problems and know how to address these issues.	1	2	3	4	5
10	The economic and social crisis has strengthened European citizens in their feeling of European solidarity.	1	2	3	4	5
11	The economic and social crisis is causing confusion amongst European citizens who thereby develop a stronger feeling of regional and/or national identity.	1	2	3	4	5
12	There is no such thing as European identity.	1	2	3	4	5
13	The strength of the EU is the freedom to travel, study and work anywhere within its boundaries.	1	2	3	4	5
14	It is desirable that each European country should keep its full sovereignty.	1	2	3	4	5
15	The EU is strong because of its support to regions.	1	2	3	4	5
16	The enlargement of the EU is causing the loss of local cultural heritage/identity/diversity.	1	2	3	4	5
17	Social diversity is a positive outcome of EU enlargement.	1	2	3	4	5
18	Migrant movements in Europe cause loss of safety and welfare.	1	2	3	4	5
19	Migrant movements are cause of threats to cultural and national identities of welcoming countries.	1	2	3	4	5
20	Migrant movements enrich culture of welcoming countries and do not cause any serious threat to national identities.	1	2	3	4	5
21	Immigrants reinforce economic power of welcoming countries.	1	2	3	4	5

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