Long torn by ill fate? Wounded collective identity in light of a survey in Hungary[1]

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Abstract: *The primary aim of the paper is to explore the relationship between the trauma-focused self-description of Hungarian history and other factors such as sense of regional betweenness, memory, well-being or even the respondent's personality (sympathy for authoritarian personality traits, political orientation, religiosity). In the current study, network analysis is used to explore the elective affinities between the above-mentioned variables. This method – rather than focusing on linear relationships – concentrates on interactions and feedback loops to better understand this social phenomenon. Our results show that the outlined factors form a coherent and highly stable belief system that can only be changed by significant influences.*

Keywords: ***historical trauma, collective identity, narrative, network analysis***

I. Introduction

There have been countless attempts to understand the specificities of the Hungarian culture and society. These approaches can be divided into two main (ideal)types. The first type includes those that explain the specificities of the Hungarian society in terms of various structural factors. Some argue (cf. György 2019; Human Development Report 2020) that national specificities can be best

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described in terms of various macroeconomic indicators (GDP, income, inequality), while others suggest that it is geography and closely related geopolitical characteristics that are the most definitive (cf. Szűcs – Parti 1983). Still others believe that the characteristics of the institutional structure are decisive (cf. Győrffy 2018), and there are also those who consider the 'modus operandi' of political leadership to be the most dominant (cf. Bibó 2012; Karácsony 2019; Győrffy 2020). In contrast, the other strand of approaches dealing with the 'characteristics' of the Hungarian society tries to capture the specificities of the Hungarian society through cultural factors. In this case, some argue that the socialist past is the most significant factor (cf. Kollár 2014; Magyar – Madlovics 2020; László – Bauer 2021; Bozóki 2022), others emphasise the lack of civic culture (cf. Bódy – Kovács 2006; Tölgyessy 2016), while some have seen or see the characteristics of Hungarian society in general national character traits (cf. Szekfű 2007; Hunyady 2003; Ladányi 2015). In addition to these, although intrinsically linked to the national character approach, there are also scholars who see collective traumas 'built on' historical contingencies (e.g. the 1848 and 1956 revolutions, Trianon) as the most defining (Csepeli 2013; Mészáros – Vámos – Szabó 2017; Máté-Tóth – Nagy – Szilárdi 2020). The most recent and most systematically implemented 'manifestation' of this – last – approach is András Máté-Tóth's theory of *Wounded Collective Identity* (Máté-Tóth 2019, 2020; Balassa – Máté-Tóth 2022), according to which one of the primary characteristics of Hungary (and the CEE region in general) is a self-description focused on traumas (Balassa – Máté-Tóth 2022).

This model, as we have just suggested, interprets the processes in Hungary in the broader context of the specificities of the Central and Eastern European region, and builds primarily on the insight that 'many authors describe the collective social identity of the region as a whole by emphasizing threat and traumatization, and shows their presence and regional significance in the different societies of the region, in historical events and in their interpretation specific to the region' (Máté-Tóth – Szilárdi 2022: 30). This sense of collective threat, according to the theory of wounded collective identity, is at least partly due to the geocultural and geopolitical ('betweenness') position of the region. In other words, the fact that the Central and Eastern European region is located on the border between the Eastern and Western spheres of interest and that, as a consequence, 'the majority of the countries in the region experienced the alternating domination of Western and Eastern hegemonies during the nineteenth and even more so during the twentieth century' (Máté-Tóth 2022; see also Bibó 2012; Szűcs – Parti 1983; Huntington 1996) has contributed significantly to the trauma-focused self-description of the region's societies.[3] This kind of regional

3 In relation to Hungary's position, classical (Hankisset et al. 1982) and more recent sociological research on values (Füstös – Tárnok 2013; Tóth 2017) have also come to similar conclusions. As István György

traumatisation becomes crucial not only at the micro level of family memory, but also at the macro level of social institutions, because of the events strongly linked to the repeated changes in state sovereignty, the two World Wars and their consequences, and the fundamental uncertainty of national autonomy and state sovereignty. The institutionalisation of these historical traumas in Hungary is particularly evident in the country's dominant literary works (the National Anthem,[4] the National Song), in national holidays (the 1848 or 1956 revolutions) and in the school events that symbolically revive them every year.

All of this suggests that, although the theory of wounded collective identity draws heavily on national character approaches, it goes 'beyond' them in two respects. On the one hand, – at least according to the authors of these lines – instead of a general metaphysical grounding of national traits, it sees collective 'wounds' as language games (Wittgenstein 1973) or narratives framing (Lakoff – Johnson 2003) historical contingencies. This approach builds on the premise that the world, or indeed 'Hungarianness', can be narrated in myriad different – sometimes radically different, but equally valid ways (Rorty 1994; Goodman 1978; Kollár et al. 2019; Kollár – Stefkovics 2021). While these narratives are significantly aligned with specific historical experiences, they nevertheless offer a significant role for different interpretations. On the other hand, instead of monocausal – reductionist – models, which (more or less) try to attribute the characteristics of the Hungarian society to a single factor, the wounded collective identity (WCI) approach focuses on the interactions between different elements. The model of wounded collective identity, modified on the basis of empirical research, includes, in addition to narratives focusing on historical trauma, perceptions of regional betweenness, social memory, personality (sympathy for authoritarian personality traits, political orientation, religiosity) and well-being expectations. As Máté-Tóth and Balassa (2022: 72) note, 'the sense of collective woundedness' can be considered an almost universal phenomenon in Hungarian society. "Especially for those who perceive the country's position as vulnerable, who tend to favor an authoritarian leadership style, who are religious, and who attach importance to state commemorations of historical events' (Máté-Tóth – Balassa 2022: 72).

Although these results are significant and confirm the theoretical assumptions, they capture identification with the trauma-focused national narrative (woundedness) as a dependent variable, and they do not take into account that we are not talking about linear causal relationships between the compo-

Tóth notes, 'Hungary is located on the world value map in roughly the same place as its geographical location predestines it to be (i.e. on the edge of Western culture, near the Balkan and Orthodox worlds)' (Tóth 2017: 38)

4 That these results are not only specific to Hungary is confirmed by the fact that a comprehensive analysis of the region's anthems shows that in other countries, too, expressions such as 'Long torn by ill fate' are frequently found (Kiss 2011).

nents identified in the theoretical model, but about interactions between the individual factors. For example, sympathy for authoritarian personality traits is clearly not in itself a cause of woundedness, just as woundedness alone does not make someone live in an unfavourable life situation. Therefore, in line with the original model's aims, in the present study we investigate the interactions between the different factors. In other words, in line with the theoretical approaches presented, we assume that there are strong (mutually reinforcing) relationships between the different variables in the WCI model. On the other hand, we believe that this causal network of relationships is fundamentally influenced by the perception of historical trauma.

II. The wounded collective identity as a network of elective affinities

The concept of elective affinity (Weber 2020) provides an excellent framework for understanding the above outlined possible interactions. The term itself originates from chemistry and, simply put, describes the attraction or repulsion of different elements towards each other, i.e. the process by which elements with different qualitative properties create new compounds (McKinnon 2010; Kollár 2021). The earliest – significant – use of the concept in the humanities was by David Hume. Hume used the term to capture the interactions between parts of the mind (cf. Demeter 2016, 2022). Contrary to mechanical approaches, in Hume's model the 'attraction' between different elements is only some kind of 'gentle force' (Hume 1976: 34; Demeter 2016, 2022), not a universal and insurmountable law like gravity' (Kollár 1998: 30; Hume 2007: 12). Hence, the relationships between different elements are highly sensitive to the specific, heterogeneous qualitative nature of each factor (Demeter 2022).

Hume thus derives the workings of mental processes not 'from first principles and the interaction of homogeneous corpuscles, but from the internal activity of matter, the interactions of heterogeneous qualitative features' (Kampis 2017: 2). This endeavour – and the concept of elective affinity itself – was considered crucial in the field of social sciences in Max Weber's oeuvre (Kollár 2021; McKinnon 2010). Weber used the concept to describe 'sociochemical' reactions, in which new qualities, emergent patterns, are created through the 'mixture' of elements with different qualitative properties, which go beyond the inherent specificity of each element (McKinnon 2010; Kollár 2021). The best-known example of this is 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' (2012), in which Weber shows how different religious doctrines and narratives can influence factors with different qualities, such as economic practices. However, Weber has also applied the elective affinities approach to a wide variety of other phenomena, such as the interaction between different religious doctrines and other ideas, or the congruence between certain ideas and social classes (Weber

1970; Jost – Federico – Napier 2009). In all these cases, elective affinity describes a kind of usability relation (cf. Kollár 2021). The 'purpose' of the pre-modern capitalist economic practice, for example, is clearly not to be a field for the fulfilment of an ascetic vocational ethic. However, due to its specific qualitative properties (e.g. simple quantification of the success of work in the world) it is explicitly useful (acceptable) for this purpose (cf. Kollár 2021; Kollár – Kollár 2020). This kind of usability relation can be illustrated explicitly through a less abstract example. The functions of a window include, for example (cf. Ludlow 1976), letting in sunlight and air (open window), reducing external noise and temperature loss (closed window). Engineers, interior architects and designers optimise windows along these functions: for example, they develop more efficient insulation techniques. Clearly, windows – or the professionals who design and optimise them – are not intended to promote suicide. Nevertheless, a well-opening window is particularly useful when one wants to commit suicide. The affinities between the factors identified in the (WCI) model under study can be explained in a similar way. Meaning that, for example, for those who identify with a national narrative that focuses on historical traumas authoritarian personality traits can be particularly useful. If we believe that it is the destiny of Hungarians to continue their unbroken struggle in the world in the face of historical adversity, then we need a strong leader to lead the way in times of despair. As already suggested by Max Weber (1980: 661), periods of – psychological, political or economic – trauma provides favourable conditions for a charismatic leader, who has authoritarian personality traits to gain support (Hidas 2018: 187; cf. Győrffy – Martin 2022; Körösényi 2019).

III. Methodology: quantification of elective affinities

Quantifying these kinds of – qualitative – relations is not a simple task. However, the most suitable approaches for these type of analysis are agent-based modelling and network analysis. While the former focuses on how collective structures emerge through interactions at the micro level (Kollár D. 2021; Macal – North 2006; Lineras 2018: 29), the latter focuses on the interactions and feedback loops between individual agents rather than on the linear descriptions of relations (Dalege et al. 2016).

In the present study, given the data available, we apply the latter approach and attempt to interpret the elective affinities between the factors defined in the WCI model as an attitude network. Network analysis has rarely been used in the past to investigate the interactions between attitudes. The primary reason for this is that the main goal of traditional approaches has been to reduce different factors to a single latent attitude. This type of procedure is based on the assumption that particular attitudes are (causally) reducible to other more general attitudes. In contrast, the network theory approach argues that

different attitudes cannot be traced back to a single 'generic' entity, but that the interactions between different attitudes determine the explicit form of the attitude network. Accordingly, certain attitudes are more 'usable' for other attitudes, but this usability relation can be fundamentally influenced by other factors, other attitudes. This is well illustrated by what has been said before: for someone who believes that his country belongs nowhere, a narrative focusing on historical trauma is particularly useful, and the reverse is also true. Conversely, someone with a strong European identity is unlikely to have a strong elective affinity with a sense of regional betweenness. To empirically capture this insight, Dalege et al. (2016) developed the Causal Attitude Network (CAN) model, which combines the study of attitudes with network theory (Dalege et al., 2016). The CAN model 'conceptualizes attitudes and ideologies not as entities based on a common cause, but rather as networks in which measurable evaluative reactions represent nodes that are causally connected through edges' (cf. Schlicht-Schmälzle – Chykina – Schmälzle 2018: 4; Dalege et al 2016). In other words, the primary aim of the approach is to capture the interactions between different factors as a causal network in which the elective affinities between the individual elements become tangible.

In line with this, in our paper we use the Causal Attitude Network method to explore the dynamics of the elective affinities between the components of the WCI model. This approach thus allows, on the one hand, the exploration of the interactions between the different components and, on the other hand, the identification of central factors that have a decisive influence on the dynamics of the relationships between the network components.

Data collection and variables

The empirical analysis is based on a survey of 1,000 respondents conducted by the Századvég Foundation in May 2021, and is representative of the Hungarian adult population by gender, age group, highest level of education and type of settlement. The questionnaire included a total of thirteen statements[5] capturing an aspect of the Wounded Collective Identity Model, each of which asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with a statement on a four-point Likert scale.[6] We also included an additional dimension in our analysis, measuring the sense of agency. The rationale for this is that currents research has shown a significant (negative) relationship between individuals' trauma-focused self-descriptions and their experience of agency (Mohat et al. 2014; Beste 2007; Veronese et al. 2019; Ataria 2015). This was conceptualised

5 For descriptive statistics, see Appendix 1.

6 In formulating the individual statements, we have drawn heavily on the empirical study by Máté-Tóth and Balassa (2022).

through two variables. The average inter-item correlations[7] were above 0.2 for all dimensions. This means that the internal reliability of the scales is satisfactory. In addition, we used two additional factors in line with the theoretical model: one measuring the respondent's religiosity[8] and the other measuring the respondent's political orientation.[9]

Table 1: Variables and dimensions used for analysis

Hungarians are considered secondary citizens in the EU.	Failure	Trauma-focused narratives
Hungary is in a powerless position in world politics.		
Hungarians always choose the side that loses in the end.		
Hungarians are constantly fighting for their independence.	Narratives focusing on historical traumas.	
Hungarian culture must be protected from foreign influences.		
Society must remember the tragedies of our history.		
The vicissitudes of history have forged the Hungarians into a strong nation.		
Hungarians have unjustly suffered a lot throughout history.		
My family has suffered directly from the hardships of history.	Memory	Memory
Strict rules mold people into good members of society.	Sympathy for authoritarian personality traits	Sympathy for authoritarian personality traits
Children need to be disciplined in order to build character		
Hungary does not really belong either to the West or to the East.	Perception of regional betweenness.	Perception of regional betweenness
Overall, how satisfied are you with your current life?	Well-being	Well-being
How religious do you consider yourself to be on a 7-point scale, with 1 being irreligious and 7 being religious?	Religiosity	Personality
I control my life, it's up to me how it goes.	Sense of Agency	
Adversity doesn't break the dynamic that drives me towards my goals.		
Which of the following would you identify yourself as? 1. Left-wing 2. Centre 3. Right-wing	Political orientation	

7 The 'traditional' reliability tests (Cronbach's alpha) are particularly sensitive to the number of items constituting each dimension, which is why for short scales it is more appropriate to look at the average inter-item correlation (Pallant 2016). For the average inter-item correlation, the optimal range is between 0.2 and 0.4, according to the classic paper by Briggs and Cheek (1986).

8 How religious do you consider yourself to be on a 7-point scale, with 1 being irreligious and 7 being religious?

9 Which of the following would you identify yourself as? 1. Left-wing 2. Centre 3. Right-wing

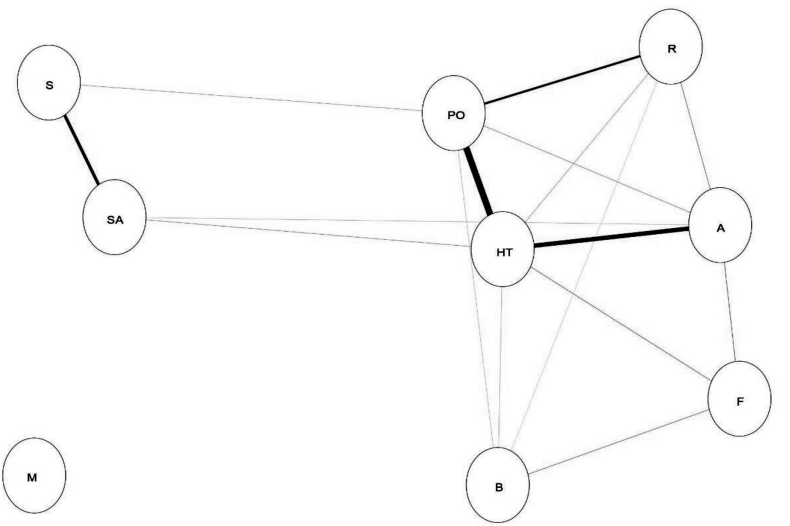
The network model was developed in three steps. In the first step, latent variables were constructed along each dimension by principal component analysis. Factor values greater than 0.1 were assigned a value of one and values less than 0.1 were assigned a value of zero. Then, in a third step, we created the weights using the IsingFit function of the R program package qgraph (cf. Dalege et al 2016; van Borkulo et al. 2014). The IsingFit function runs an n-number logistic regression model, where each variable is regressed iteratively on the other variables. That is, each variable (node) is regressed by the other eight remaining variables. The weights are thus the logistic regression parameters between the two variables, obtained by controlling for all other variables.

Results

General network topology

The network of factors in the WCI model is illustrated in Figure 1. It shows that eight of the nine components are linked to the network and that the memory factor is the only one that does not play a role. After excluding the latter and re-running the model, we see a highly integrated network. There is a positive relationship between the different elements, showing that the various components of the WCI model are mutually 'reinforcing'. The most marked elective affinity is between political orientation and self-description focusing on histori-

Figure 1: General network topology



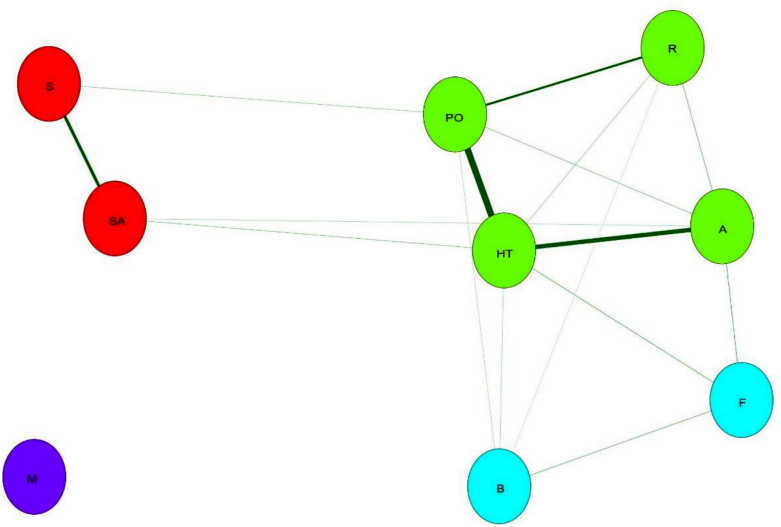
S – Satisfaction, SA – Sense of Agency, M – Memory, PO – Political orientation, R – Religiosity, HT – Narrative focusing on historical trauma, A – Sympathy for authoritarian personality traits, F – Failure, B – Perception of regional betweenness

cal traumas, and between the latter and sympathy for authoritarian personality traits. However, there is also a significant relationship between religiosity and political orientation. Similarly, there is a strong interaction between agency and life satisfaction.

This suggests that the two sets of variables (1. agency and satisfaction; 2. politics, narratives focusing on historical trauma and sympathy for authoritarian personality traits) essentially represent two distinct clusters. That is, in these cases, we observe dense and strong relationships between the individual variables (nodes). To verify this hypothesis, we performed a cluster analysis using the Walktrap function of the igraph package (Pons – Latapy 2005), which finally both confirmed and nuanced our hypothesis. The procedure resulted in three clusters. The first cluster (red) consists of the variables of agency and satisfaction. The second cluster (green) is constituted by political orientation, narrative focusing on historical traumas, sympathy for authoritarian personality traits and religiosity. Finally, the third cluster includes indicators of betweenness and failure.

Looking at the 'bridges' between the clusters (Figure 3), the 'red' cluster is linked to the 'green' cluster in three ways. On the one hand, we observe an elective affinity between political orientation and life satisfaction, while on the other hand, the agency indicator is linked to the historical trauma and sympathy for authoritarian personality traits variables. Similarly, the 'blue' cluster's failure index interacts with the historical traumas narrative and sympathy

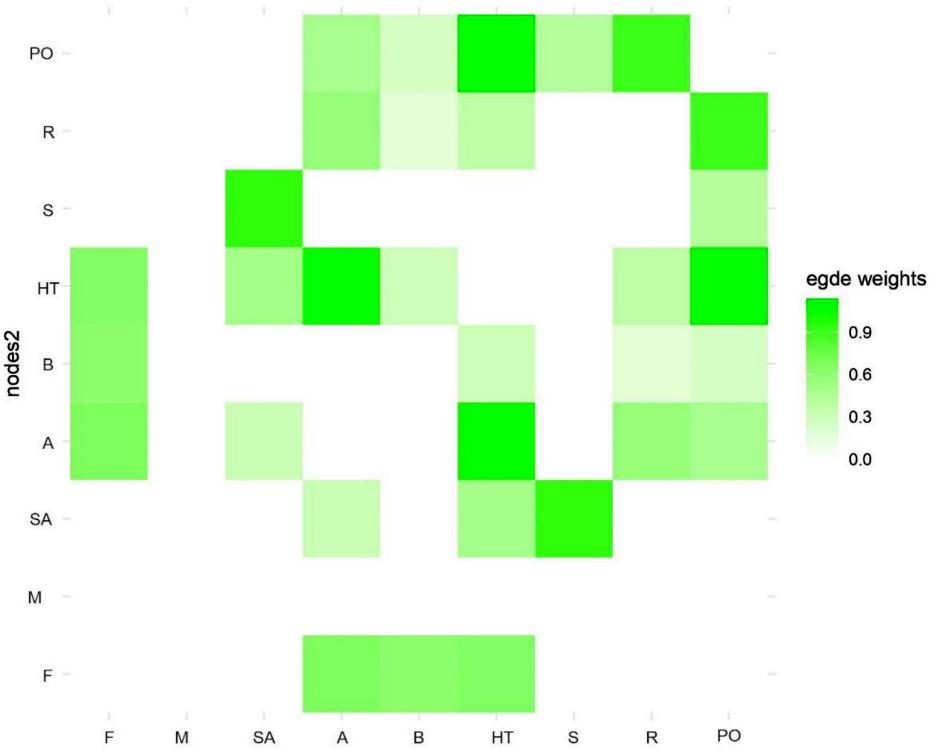
Figure 2: Clusters



S – Satisfaction, SA – Sense of Agency, M – Memory, PO – Political orientation, R – Religiosity, HT – Narrative focusing on historical trauma, A – Sympathy for authoritarian personality traits, F – Failure, B – Perception of regional betweenness

for authoritarian personality traits variables, and the betweenness indicator shows affinity with the historical trauma narrative, political orientation and religiosity variables.

Figure 3: Heatmap



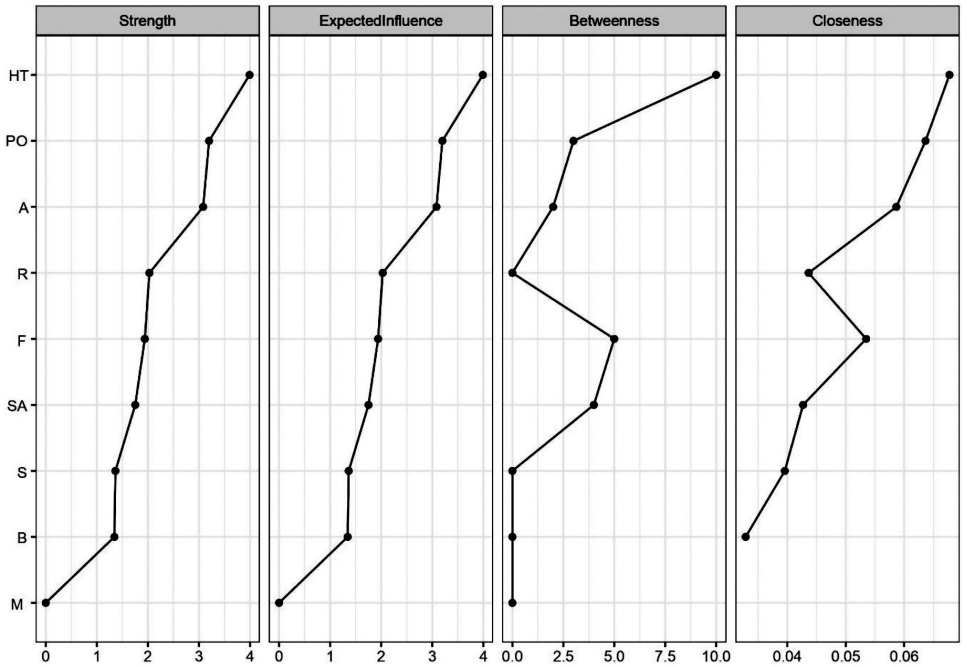
S – Satisfaction, SA – Sense of Agency, M – Memory, PO – Political orientation, R – Religiosity, HT – Narrative focusing on historical trauma, A – Sympathy for authoritarian personality traits, F – Failure, B – Perception of regional betweenness

Centrality analysis and network dynamics

After exploring the general topology of the network, we also examined which variables occupy a central position in the network. In other words, which factors have the most influence on the 'information flow', i.e. which variables have the most significant impact on the network. The three most commonly used indicators for measuring this are strength, closeness and betweenness. The strength is the sum of the edges that are directly related to a given node (variable). In other words, this indicator describes how much direct influence a given node has on the network. Closeness expresses the inverse of the shortest path length between a given node (variable) and all other nodes in the network (Dalege et

al 2016; Schlicht-Schmälzle – Chykina – Schmälzle 2018). So, closeness is an indicator of the probability that information from a given node will 'travel' directly or indirectly through the entire network. Finally, betweenness describes how strongly a given node can influence the flow of information in the network (Dalege et al 2016).

Figure 4: Centrality metrics



S – Satisfaction, SA – Sense of Agency, M – Memory, PO – Political orientation, R – Religiosity, HT – Narrative focusing on historical trauma, A – Sympathy for authoritarian personality traits, F – Failure, B – Perception of regional betweenness

Based on the relevant metrics, self-description focusing on historical traumas has the greatest impact in the network, followed by political orientation for all three metrics. In other words, the interactions between the individual factors – the elective affinities between the variables – are most remarkably influenced by these factors. Thus, it is historical trauma-focused narratives and political orientation that frame the usability relations between the other factors (Lakoff – Johnson 1980; Lakoff 2002).

IV. Discussion

In our paper, we explore how the self-description of the Hungarian society, focusing on historical traumas, is related to other variables such as sympathy for authoritarian personality traits, sense of regional betweenness, religiosity, memory, political preferences, life satisfaction and agency. The results show that the most marked elective affinities are between political orientation and historical trauma-focused narratives, and between the latter (historical trauma-focused narratives) and sympathy for authoritarian personality traits. Moreover, there is also a significant relationship between religiosity and political orientation. As mentioned earlier, the trauma-focused narrative is particularly well suited to make a person favour authoritarian personality traits to (and vice versa). The relationship between political orientation and historical trauma-focused narrative can be explained in a similar way. Indeed, dominant political rhetoric relies heavily on the postmodernised use of romantic (Bojtár 2015) 'horror stories' (Kollár – Kollár 2017), and it is particularly useful to have an elective affinity for the narrative of historical trauma. The link between religiosity and political orientation is also not surprising. The plasticity of right-wing rhetoric is created precisely by the specific reuse (exaptation) of messianic tone. Obviously, this in turn creates a useful medium for the spread of religious ‚memes'.[10] These results therefore fit in very well with the theoretical assumptions.

In contrast, a somewhat surprising result is the positive relationship between the sense of agency and the historical trauma narrative. That is, those who identify more with the historical trauma-focused national narrative report higher levels of agency. Although the literature on trauma would suggest the opposite sign (Mohat et al. 2014; Ladányi 2015; Beste 2007; Veronese et al. 2019; Ataria 2015), it is possible that rhetoric of the governing party reframes these traumas in a way that also increases the sense of agency among those who are receptive of it. To test this hypothesis, we looked at how this correlation changes when we examine the relationship between the two variables disaggregated by political preferences.

Table 2: Correlation between commitment to a narrative focusing on historical trauma and the sense of agency

Political orientation	Correlation
Left-wing	0,01
Centre	0,22**
Right-wing	0,36**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

10 This is not to say, of course, that religiosity is necessarily a right-wing characteristic, merely that right--wing rhetoric in the Hungarian context is a fertile – and usable – medium for religious narratives.

The results show that while there is no association for those who identify themselves as left-wing, there is a significant degree of correlation for those who identify themselves as right-wing. All this seems to confirm that the narrative of the governing party is able to enhance the experience of agency by rewriting collective historical trauma (cf. Denham 2008). As Kollár and Kollár argued (2017), one of the dominant narratives of the Hungarian political discourse states that although 'there are many dangers for Hungarians, history has chosen Hungarians, and especially their leader, not only to save their people from „evil", but also to show the way to the world as a patron' (Kollár – Kollár 2017). In other words, this narrative reframes a national history based on collective trauma in such a way that the agents are elevated to heroic figures who have significant roles to play in defending not only the nation but also Europe. The metaphorical 'struggle for freedom' against international elite groups, Brussels or even George Soros (cf. Jenne 2021; Visnovitz – Jenne 2021; Jenne et al. 2022) thus represents a kind of ontological therapy for those who show affinity with it.

V. Conclusion

In our study, we have mapped the relationship between the self-description of the Hungarian society focusing on historical traumas and other variables such as sympathy for authoritarian personality traits, sense of regional betweenness, religiosity, memory, political preferences, life satisfaction and sense of agency. Our results suggest that the attitudes outlined in the WCI model are closely interrelated and form an essentially coherent set of beliefs, based on interactions and feedback loops.

Dalege et al. (2016) and Schmälzle et al. (2018) argue that 'in highly connected networks, the attitudes are more stable and difficult to change, which requires more persuasive force since the strongly related evaluative reactions keep each other in place' (Schmälzle et al. 2018: 7). This suggests that the factors in the WCI model form a highly stable belief system that can only change in response to significant 'interventions'.

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Appendix – Descriptive statistics

ITEM	MEAN	STD. DEVIATION
HUNGARIANS ARE CONSIDERED SECONDARY CITIZENS IN THE EU.	2,58	1,19
HUNGARY IS IN A POWERLESS POSITION IN WORLD POLITICS.	2,91	1,02
HUNGARIANS ALWAYS CHOOSE THE SIDE THAT LOSES IN THE END.	2,62	1,05
HUNGARIANS ARE CONSTANTLY FIGHTING FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE.	2,91	1,01
HUNGARIAN CULTURE MUST BE PROTECTED FROM FOREIGN INFLUENCES.	3,33	0,96
SOCIETY MUST REMEMBER THE TRAGEDIES OF OUR HISTORY.	3,60	0,68
THE VICISSITUDES OF HISTORY HAVE FORGED THE HUNGARIANS INTO A STRONG NATION.	2,82	1,06
HUNGARIANS HAVE UNJUSTLY SUFFERED A LOT THROUGHOUT HISTORY.	3,29	0,88
MY FAMILY HAS SUFFERED DIRECTLY FROM THE HARDSHIPS OF HISTORY.	2,66	1,15
STRICT RULES MOLD PEOPLE INTO GOOD MEMBERS OF SOCIETY.	2,91	1,00
CHILDREN NEED TO BE DISCIPLINED IN ORDER TO BUILD CHARACTER	3,45	0,79
HUNGARY DOES NOT REALLY BELONG EITHER TO THE WEST OR TO THE EAST.	2,89	1,05
OVERALL, HOW SATISFIED ARE YOU WITH YOUR CURRENT LIFE?	3,20	0,83
I CONTROL MY LIFE, IT'S UP TO ME HOW IT GOES.	3,46	0,75
ADVERSITY DOESN'T BREAK THE DYNAMIC THAT DRIVES ME TOWARDS MY GOALS.	3,30	0,85
HOW RELIGIOUS DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF TO BE ON A 7-POINT SCALE, WITH 1 BEING IRRELIGIOUS AND 7 BEING RELIGIOUS?	4,06	2,14
WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING WOULD YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF AS? 1. LEFT-WING 2. CENTRE 3. RIGHT-WING	2,21	0,69