



“The Impact of Moral Foundations and Political Uncertainty on Voting Behavior in Spain: A Study Based on Haidt and Graham's Theory”

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Abstract

This study examines the impact of moral foundations and political uncertainty on voting behavior in Spain, using the Moral Foundations Theory developed by Haidt and Graham. The research seeks to elucidate the psychological and sociological influences on Spanish voters by analyzing variables such as religiosity, perceived fairness, equality policies, exclusion, satisfaction with the system, economic perception, and attitudes towards the monarchy. A sample of 204 Spanish adults provided data through validated questionnaires. Statistical analyses, including ANOVA, post hoc and Kruskal-Wallis tests, were conducted to assess the relationships between these variables and political ideologies. The results reveal significant ideological differences across the political spectrum, focusing on the main parties: PP and VOX from the conservative wing, and PSOE and Sumar from the socialist wing. The study also aimed to identify clear ideological cleavages within the Spanish context. Although notable differences were observed, the distribution of the sample for specific parties suggested that the cleavages need to be multi-dimensional to ensure precision. In any case, this study offers valuable insights into the complex interplay between moral foundations and political behavior, contributing to the broader discourse on political psychology and electoral behavior in democratic societies.

Keywords: moral foundations, political cleavages, political parties, voting behavior, Spanish electorate, political psychology, sociopolitical analysis.

Introduction

Over the past years, Spain has witnessed incessant changes in its political landscape, encompassing shifts in official positions, the enactment of new laws, and a surprising electoral turn of events as experienced in the general elections of July 2023. The term “surprise” was most frequently employed by the media to depict the outcomes of the electoral process as expectations were set for a victory and subsequent congressional majority for the political parties entrenched in the right-wing spectrum. Contrary to these expectations, the reality unfolded differently with left-wing parties (socialists, so called “progressists” etc.) managing, against all odds, to secure an “absolute majority” with other political parties represented in the Spanish congress to establish a government in November 2023.

As mentioned earlier, this result did not cease to astonish newspapers and other media outlets, as they had confidently predicted a new government led by the conservative parties. As a result of this last electoral outcome, the aim of this study is to analyze the psychological and sociological aspects that characterize the Spanish voter and understand the foundations of electoral decisions made by this figure. Questions such as “are decisions concerning politics driven by personal motives or interests, by animosity, resentment, or even fear of the opposing side, by tradition, or by loyalty to a specific political party in the Spanish context?” are those that we hope to dissect and answer by the end of this investigation. We hypothesize that these decisions have a moral and psychological core in its nucleus and thus examining the interplay between morality and individual psychology will further allow us to reach a better understanding of the Spanish voter. We will, therefore, ground our approach in the Moral Foundations’ Theory formulated by Graham et al. (2013), as it provides a solid framework for studying both human morality and political behavior.

Before delving into the theory of moral foundations, let's elucidate its purpose. The creators of the Moral Foundations Theory were driven by the following inquiries: Where does morality originate? Why do certain moral judgements resemble each other across cultures, while at other times, they vary significantly? And is morality concrete or abstract (Graham et al., 2013).

As articulated in Haidt's (2013) book, “The Righteous Mind: Why Good People Are Divided by Politics and Religion,” the answers to these three questions can be summarized as

follows: Firstly, Haidt explains that, based on his research, morality can be both innate (characterized by evolving intuitions) and learned (when children apply those intuitions within a specific culture). This convergence bridges the historical nativist and positivist stances regarding the origin of morality. Secondly, depending on one's cultural background, categorized by Haidt (2013) as either WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic) or non-WEIRD, moral concerns differ. For instance, individuals from a WEIRD culture, characterized by individualism, seek a morality that protects individual rights, where the emphasis is on considerations related to harm and impartiality. Conversely, in cultures where the focus is on relationships, contexts, groups and/or institutions over individual needs (mostly non-WEIRD), moral considerations encompass not only harm and impartiality but also additional concerns fostering social cohesion. In light of these observations, the third questions' response is that despite the attempts by many authors to reduce morality to a single principle, a variant of "maximizing well-being" (or similarly, aiding others and avoiding harm), Haidt argues that morality is far richer, more complex, contradictory and multi-faceted due to the existence of global cultural diversity. Moral monism, or the idea of grounding morality in a single principle (supported by authors like Kohlberg, Turiel and others) may lead to substandard societies and with a high risk of becoming "inhumane" by neglecting other moral principles (Berlin et al., 2013).

To illustrate this perspective, Haidt uses an excellent analogy of taste receptors in the human taste buds. He explains that while every human has five taste receptors, not everyone enjoys the same foods. To fathom these differences, an examination of each culture's culinary habits and a study of the evolution of our ancestor's diets would be required. In similar fashion, to understand moral judgements and why people differ on moral issues, one must explore "our evolutionary heritage, the history of each culture, and the process of socialization of the individuals within them".

The aim of this investigation is not to undertake such a monumental study, but what this reasoning suggests is that it is reasonable to align with the arguments of Haidt, Schweder and Berlin, among others, regarding the pluralistic view of morality as an abstract entity. Haidt formulates his theory of moral foundations, explaining that "although culinary practices may vary, they should all appeal to the human tongue, as it's equipped with the same taste receptors". In essence, what this phrase portrays is that while moral matrices may vary interculturally, they all form part of the human experience, shaped by the same social receptors.

As previously explained, the original objective of this theory was to provide a theoretical framework to comprehend the origins and evolution of human moral reasoning that would transcend the traditional or monistic view of morality. The latter posited that morality emanated from two foundations: 1) justice (Kohlberg, 1971) and 2) sensibility to harm (Gray et al., 2012). Following diverse cross-cultural studies, such as one undertaken in a Hindu culture, Haidt and colleagues contended that to offer a more exhaustive and transcultural understanding of the moral principles that govern humankind, the two traditional moral foundations would prove to be insufficient in explaining intra and intercultural diversity. Therefore, the Moral Foundations Theory proposed by Graham and Haidt introduced five foundations (Haidt, 2013, p. 146), that they believed shapes human moral reasoning:

- 1) Care/Harm: This foundation activates human sentiments of caregiving, protecting, nurturing, and interacting with others, aligning closely with the psychological attachment theory.
- 2) Fairness/Cheating: Grounded in a sense of justice and the pursuit of fair treatment, this foundation includes concepts such as reciprocity, fairness and equality.
- 3) Loyalty/Betrayal: Rooted in our historical legacy as “social” beings, this foundation refers to feelings of loyalty to one’s community or group, coupled with a rejection towards deceit and betrayal.
- 4) Authority/Subversion: Reflects the human tendency to establish hierarchical social structures, this foundation alludes to respect for authority, order, and tradition, while opposing subversion and rebellion.
- 5) Sanctity/Degradation: Tied to a sense of “purity” and aversion to what is considered impure or disgusting, this foundation often influences moral judgments related to taboos and sacred matters. It exhibits variations across different cultures, finding connections in political realms, such as attitudes towards religion and ecological/environmental concerns.

- 6) Freedom/Oppression: Pertaining to the desire for freedom and autonomy, this foundation encompasses moral sensitivity to acts of oppression and a commitment to individual rights.

This last and latest foundation was incorporated in the most recent publication of this theory (Graham et al., 2013) as it was deemed a fundamental aspect concerning diverse political ideologies, and thus an aspect we find pertinent to bring into this investigation.

According to Graham et al. (2013), politics is nothing more than a perception. Consequently, can the relationship between an individual's moral foundations and political ideology have implications in how he perceives and passes judgment on groups and others? Could it determine, therefore, his decision to vote for one political entity over another? The authors address the first question by asserting that various groups within the American political spectrum emphasize or prioritize certain moral foundations over others, resulting in divisions or disparities in political voting. A series of investigations have been undertaken throughout the years in different parts of the world, proving significant results in line with the moral foundations stated, political ideologies and further variables.

Through a study evaluating participants' political ideologies, moral foundations and responses to moral dilemmas (the latter aimed to activate those moral foundations), Graham and colleagues (2009) found that liberals and conservatives differed in the priority they assigned to the different moral foundations. Liberals exhibited a greater affinity for the care and fairness foundations, while conservatives accorded equal importance to all five moral foundations. This led the authors to conclude that conservatives construct their moral judgments based on a broader array of moral foundations.

In the research by Koleva et al. (2012), the findings led to the conclusion that an individual's moral intuitions across various topics such as abortion, immigration, same-sex marriage, and others "underlie, unite and motivate" diverse ideological perspectives. In this work, we employed a similar approach by analyzing a specific set of variables to identify potential cleavages characterizing the Spanish population, which we further develop later. Additionally, the study revealed how distinct connections between moral foundations contributed to the development of diverse political outlooks.

An investigation involving a sample of one hundred and forty Dutch university students (van Leuwen & Park, 2009) produced results consistent with those found by Graham et al. (2009) concerning the importance assigned by liberals and conservatives to differing moral foundations. Simultaneously, the study observed that perceptions of social threats predicted the tendency to stress specific moral foundations, which subsequently predicted the individuals' political orientations.

Nevertheless, studies have also challenged the moral foundations theory such as the one directed by Hatemi et al. (2019). It contends that, despite a well-established correlation suggesting that the moral foundations theory can offer an explanation for distinct ideologies, their alternative theoretical standpoint asserts that moral reasoning also serves to justify pre-existing political and social beliefs. This study posits further as, regardless of the sample and instruments used, it sustains that moral foundations do not causally or decisively predict political ideology. This is attributed to the notion that political orientations are more temporally stable than moral foundations; hence, the latter are more a product of political orientations than the reverse. The intention behind mentioning this study is none other than to underscore that the moral foundations theory does not provide the panacea to the interrogation "what prevails? Political ideology, moral foundations, or another non-considered variable". As evidenced by Hatemi et al. (2019), there are equally valid alternative perspectives on the relationship between morality and political ideology. Nevertheless, we will revisit this topic later in the study.

In the meta-analysis carried out by Kivikangas et al. (2021) to both assess the connection between morality and political orientation or ideology and build upon the findings of Graham et al. (2009) regarding how liberals and conservatives rely on different moral foundations, it was concluded on the one hand that those fundamental differences identified by Graham and colleagues between liberals and conservatives were confirmed. However, on the other, the study notes that these results are less generalizable than initially estimated. For instance, they found that the association between moral foundations and political orientation or ideology varied both inter-culturally (across regions and countries) and sub-culturally (e.g., between white and black individuals).

The aim of this research is not merely to replicate the study done by Haidt et al. (2009) in a Spanish context, but to also incorporate and measure a set of other variables that we deem representative. In the study by Haidt, they discovered consistent results in countries like the

United Kingdom and other Western societies, making it therefore plausible to expect similar outcomes in Spain. Nonetheless, we acknowledge the potential for inconsistencies based on social, economic, ecological/environmental, and related others. These factors, which we intend to identify, study and ultimately assess, may influence Spanish citizens and thus the answers they provide.

To divide and structure the Spanish political spectrum, we have followed a similar fashion to the “cleavage theory” proposed by Lipset and Rokket in 1967 (Fried, 1968), who defined a cleavage as “a significant social division that separates people based on sociocultural or socioeconomic characteristics, leading to political conflict”. As mentioned earlier, we will investigate several variables that we consider relevant and up to date in the Spanish society to identify differences in the political landscape in this country. The variables we considered relevant to study in the Spanish scenario are 1) religiosity, 2) ecocentrism (environment/ecology), 3) taxes (tax moral and perceived fairness), 4) immigration (basic rights, equality policies and exclusion), 5) active interest in politics, 6) degree of closeness to the political party, 7) system satisfaction, 8) economy, 9) education, 10) healthcare, 11) nationalism (sovereignty and patriotism), 12) LGBTQ+, 13) feminism, 14) trust in the institutions, and 15) monarchy.

Our hypothesis posits that we will find results akin to those uncovered by Graham et al. (2009) in the United States and the other Western societies evaluated, pointing towards a form of universalism in human morality regarding political preferences. This conjecture anticipates that individuals aligned with the right-wing political ideology in Spain will place relatively equal importance across all five moral foundations, whereas those adhering to left-wing perspectives will emphasize the moral foundations of harm/care and fairness/cheating more strongly. While our primary hypothesis delineates such patterns to occur, we also acknowledge the possibility for variability, not only within each political group, but also with regard to specific variations influenced by Spanish cultural heritage and/or the unique circumstances in this context, such as the presence of regional nationalisms and pro-independence movements, that may prove to show more divergencies than the ones considered at first.

Method

The overall approach of this study falls under the umbrella of an observational research, and in a more precise terminology, a cross-sectional quantitative research design, taking into account that we aim to observe and clarify the following: In general terms, we look to explore the predominant moral foundations in the various political ideologies shown in the sample studied, in order to compare and contrast those achieved in similar investigations undertaken in the United States, United Kingdom, the Netherlands etc. In more specific terms, we aim to clarify if the moral foundations observed with liberals and conservatives in the other studies mentioned are as predominant as seen in this one, with the Spanish sample.

Participants

Participants were 204 adults (128 women and 76 men, with a median age of 24) who agreed to answer the questionnaire anonymously and were randomly assigned to the study. Gender, age, socioeconomic status, place of residence and place of birth were also assessed. The criteria that participants had to meet in order to be considered relevant or included in the study was to be over 18 years of age, a Spanish national and eligible to vote at local, regional, national, and European level. All the participants were obtained via messages and posts displayed on social networks and social media apps such as WhatsApp and Instagram. The number of participants that were eligible and therefore included in this study were 200 in total, excluding the remaining four due to inappropriate responses.

Materials

We've composed a questionnaire, containing the scales described below. All of them were either validated in Spanish, coming from a trusted source (European Social Survey), or made especially for the study. Before answering the questionnaire, the participants were informed of the confidentiality of the answers they would provide (no name or specific form of identification was asked for in the survey) and had to indicate that they agreed to the fact that the researchers in this study would use their answers purely for investigation purposes. It was clarified that no harm of any type would be exerted to anyone who answered the questionnaire. This investigation was previously consulted and further approved by a board of ethics of the university.

The questionnaires used in the study were the following:

1: Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ 30; translated into Spanish): This questionnaire is divided into two sections, where the first part examines moral relevance regarding various concerns and the second assesses moral judgements made from more concrete items that could more strongly trigger the moral intuitions of a person. All the items in the scale are designed so that none of them is related to any practice assumed by any political party, to minimize the probability for participants to recognize these items as related or relevant to political ideology. Therefore, answers are not guided by any political belief (right wing or left-wing). An additional item is used to check whether participants were paying attention and responded meaningfully to the questionnaire (item 6: “whether someone was good at math or not”). For post-analysis purposes, this item was taken away.

2: Cleavages: These questionnaires requested the participants’ ethical and moral evaluations concerning different scenarios related to the following dimensions:

2.a. Religiosity: the "Brief Scale of Religiosity" (EBR) (Bernabé-Valero et al., 2015) is a short, one-dimensional scale designed to measure religiosity. The scale comprises four items, each one addressing different aspects of the religious experience, and scored differently: degree of religiosity (1 = "Not religious" to 6 = "Very religious"); frequency of religious attendance (1 = "Never" to 6 = "Everyday"); frequency of prayer (1 = "Never" to 6 = "Everyday"); and importance of God in one's life (1 = "None" to 6 = "Absolute"). Originally, the scale showed a Cronbach's alpha reliability of 0.89.

2.b. Ecocentrism (environment/ecology): the “Revised New Ecological Paradigm (NEP-R)” (Moyano-Diaz et al., 2014) is used to measure environmental beliefs and includes two main dimensions: ecocentrism and anthropocentrism (we used the questions from the ecocentrism dimension, which reflects an orientation towards the protection and care of the environment). It is a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree), and originally showed a Cronbach’s alpha reliability of 0.757

2.c. Taxes: "Cuestionario definitivo para el estudio de los factores que influyen en el cumplimiento tributario" (Timaná & Pazo, 2014) was used to measure attitude towards taxes. Although it contained 9 different factors to measure the attitude of professionals towards

tax payment, we only assessed dimensions of "tax morale" and "perceived equity," both with Cronbach's alpha values of 0.59 and 0.69 respectively. The scale uses a 5-point Likert scale (0 = "strongly disagree" to 5 = "strongly agree").

2.d. Immigration: the "Attitudes toward Immigration Scale (EAHI)" developed by León, Mira, and Gómez in 2007 (retrieved from Holgado et al., 2010) was used to measure attitude towards immigration. It includes 8 different factors, from which we used 3 of them (the first referring to basic rights, the third which referred to equality policies and the eighth, referred to exclusion). Cronbach's alpha for each factor was 0,85, 0.77 and 0.74 respectively. The scale uses a 5-point Likert scale (0 = "Not at all", 5 = "A lot").

2.e. European Social Survey (ESS) (European Research Infrastructure, 2023): This survey referenced the remaining variables studied throughout this investigation. The questions were designed to elicit specific responses. These were as follows:

2.e. I. Active interest in politics: Question A12: "to what extent would you say you are interested in politics?". To answer, a 4-point Likert scale was used where 1 = "a lot" and 4 = "not at all".

2.e. II. Trust in the institutions: Question A17-24: "how much do you trust each of the following institutions? Spanish parliament, the justice system, the police, the politicians, the political parties, the European parliament, the UN, the scientists". To answer, a scale from 1 (being the least) to 10 (being the most) was used.

2.e. III. Satisfaction with the system: Question A42 and A43 respectively: "Thinking now about the Spanish government, to what extent are you satisfied with the way it is carrying out its duties?" and "Overall, to what extent are you satisfied with the functioning of democracy in Spain?" To answer, the scale goes from 1 = "not at all satisfied" to 10 = "completely satisfied".

2.e. IV. LGBTIQ: Questions A47 to A49: "Gays and lesbians should have the freedom to live as they wish", "I would be ashamed if a close

relative were gay or lesbian”, "Gay and lesbian couples should have the same rights to adopt as heterosexual couples. To answer, a 5-point Likert scale was used where 1 = “strongly agree” and 5 = “strongly disagree”.

2.e. V. Degree of closeness to the political party: Question A36: “To which political party do you feel most close too”. A list with the different Spanish political parties was provided, with a single option to choose from. Question A37: “To what extent do you feel close to that party?”. To answer, a 4-point Likert scale was used where 1 = “very close” and 4 = “not at all close”.

2.e. VI. Political party vote: A26. “Which party did you vote for in the last elections?” A list with the different Spanish political parties was provided, with a single option to choose from.

2.3. VII. Position in the political spectrum: A39. In politics, people sometimes talk about 'left' and 'right.' Where would you place yourself on this scale? 0 means 'left' and 10 means 'right'.

2.e. VIII. Economy: A41. “Overall, to what extent are you satisfied with the current economic situation in Spain?”. A scale from 0 = not at all satisfied to 10 = completely satisfied was provided.

2.e. IX. Education: A44. “How would you rate the overall state of education in Spain?”. A scale from 0 (“very bad”) to 10 (very good) was provided to answer.

2.e. X. Healthcare: A45. “How would you rate the overall state of the healthcare system in Spain?”. A scale from 0 (“very bad”) to 10 (very good) was provided to answer.

2.e. XI. Monarchy: A51. To what extent would it be acceptable to you for pain to have a strong leader who is above the law? A scale from 0

(not acceptable at all) to 10 (completely acceptable) was provided to answer.

2.f. Self-made scales: The remaining two variables of Nationalism (including two factors, “sovereignty” and “patriotism”) and Feminism, were evaluated from self-made questions. Both measures were answered through a 4-point Likert-type scale (1 = “strongly disagree” and 4 = “strongly agree”).

Procedure

We proceeded with a factor analysis for each of the variables that we studied to identify any inconsistencies in them. In this study we asked a wide variety of questions that we thought were pertinent to the job at hand, nevertheless, according to the factor analysis done in posteriority, some questions did not show any relation to any of them whatsoever. After conducting factor analyses for the different scales used, and especially for those that did not have factors previously determined like the scales obtained from previous published investigations (such as the scales measuring attitude towards nationalisms, attitude towards feminism and the ESE questions), the next step taken was to filter out the questions from the various surveys that had no relation to what we wanted to measure (shown in the following paragraph). According to the resulting data from these analyses, some questions from the previously made surveys even proved to have no relation with the factors studied (see Table 1 in the appendix). Therefore, we proceeded to make the following adjustments, which again can be seen in Table 1 in the appendix:

To identify the optimal solutions for factor analysis, from the self-made scale of “Nationalism”, questions 2 (“the self-determination referendum by an autonomous community should be constitutional/enshrined in the Spanish constitution”) and 4 (“in the following question, specify in which competencies the autonomous communities should have autonomy: None, political (legislative), judicial, economic”) were taken away post-analysis. From the other self-made scale of “Feminism”, question 2 (“there should be a balanced presence of women and men in the workplace for reasons of equality”) was removed as well. From the second part of Moral Foundations questionnaire, question 12 (“it can never be right to kill a human being”) was also eliminated as the adjustments and configurations proved more adequate without it. From the scale measuring “attitude towards taxes”, question 10 (“when I

compared what I pay in taxes to what others pay, it seems fair to me”) showed no relation to the two factors that were being measured (tax morality or perceived equity), thus were removed consequently. See table 10 (in the Appendix) for further details.

An exception was made for the "attitude towards immigration" variable as the original study identified the three mentioned factors: basic rights, equality policies, and exclusion. However, exploratory factor analysis in this study revealed four factors. Despite favorable factor loadings, the confirmatory factor analysis did not produce the expected goodness of fit (see table 10 in the Appendix). Therefore, for theoretical reasons, the study retained the original three factors from the initial research.

Subsequent to the completion of all summative processes and the computation of the means for the moral foundation factors, we proceeded to refine the sample. The majority of participants in this study reported being “in favor, closely related and electoral support” for the four principal political parties in Spain (PSOE, PP, Vox and Sumar). A minority subset, comprising 29 respondents, exhibited different political preferences (for example, parties that no longer have representation in the Spanish congress or senate, such as Ciudadanos, the Communist Party etc.). For the purposes of this investigation, the exclusion of these outliers was considered inconsequential, resulting in a focused sample of 171 individuals who endorse one of the aforementioned parties.

The ensuing phase involved calculating mean values for 1) the moral foundations and 2) the remaining variables or cleavages in question (attitudes towards taxation, immigration etc.), with the objective of elucidating correlations not only within the political spectrum, but more precisely with affiliations or support to the primary four political entities mentioned.

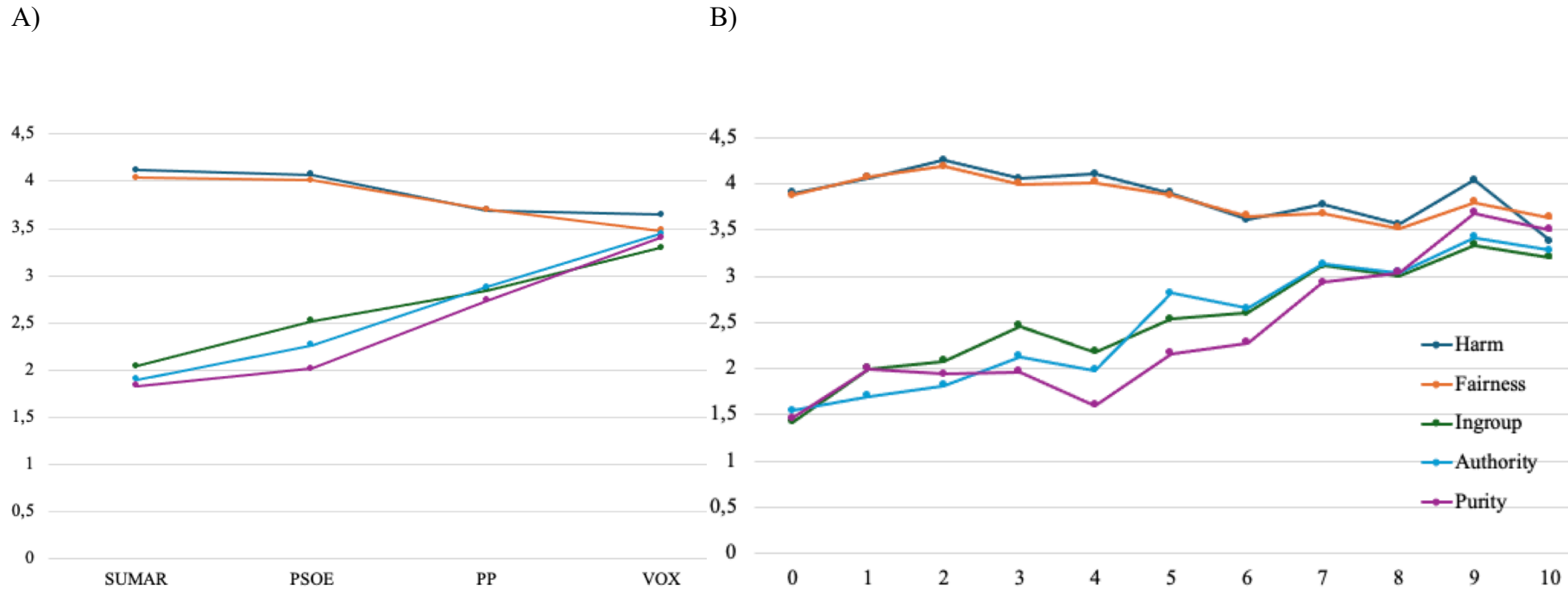
Results

Figure 1 (panels A and B) shows the results obtained from the participants answers to the MFQ, according to the four main political parties (A) and position in the political spectrum (B; recorded on a scale from 1 to 10). In both cases, we can observe that the moral foundations of “harm” and “fairness” have relatively high values on the left side of the graph, which correspond to more left-wing parties and positions in the political spectrum. In the Spanish example, PSOE and Sumar would represent these. This tendency decreases and then stabilizes

with a slight increase towards the end of the spectrum. Conversely, the other three moral foundations (ingroup, authority and purity) start with lower values on the left side and display a consistent upward trajectory that stabilizes at higher levels on the right side of the graph (which refer to right wing political parties and ideologies, which in this study would refer to PP and mainly VOX). Overall, this pattern suggests a clear shift towards conservative values, which can be clearly seen by the rightward increase in group loyalty, respect from authority and moral purity. There are central positions that seem to moderate these extreme trends, that could suggest a balanced interplay of liberal and conservative values (these probably refer to more neutral ideological voters belonging to PP or PSOE) and provide a transitional zone between the ideological extremes. As the table shows, the evolution of moral values in both tables proves to follow a non-uniform or non-linear pattern of progression, which denotes the complexity of the interplay that exists between the multiple influences of social, cultural and political factors and their relationship with the dynamic nature of political ideologies and their impact on moral reasoning and values.

Figure 1

Moral Foundations Questionnaire dimensions in relation to political choices



Note: Moral dimensions for each political party (panel A, left) and political spectrum (panel B, right), from 0 = extreme left to 10 = extreme right.

The statistical analyses confirm these intuitions, in line with Graham's et al. (2013). An ANOVA analysis (to determine whether statistically significant differences are found between the groups), tests of statistical assumptions (testing for normality through Shapiro-Wilk Test and homogeneity of variances with Levene's Test) and post hoc comparisons (to pinpoint exactly which groups differ to help understand the relationships between the groups) among the different political parties was conducted for each of the moral foundations. The results from the graphs of "estimated marginal means" also serve to support these measurements as a clear way of visualizing the differences in terms of magnitude and direction of the moral foundations among the various political parties. Note that groups to be compared are political party, instead of political spectrum. This is due to the lack of sample at each option in the political spectrum, in comparison to political parties.

1. For the "*Harm*" foundation, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed statistically significant differences attributed to the four political parties ($F(3, 171) = 4.79, p = 0.003$), indicating significant variability in how the parties are perceived in terms of this foundation. This result, which explains approximately 7.8% of the total variation ($\eta^2 = 0.078$), suggests a notable influence of political affiliation (or support for a political group) on harm perception.

The statistical assumption checks highlighted some methodological concerns; the homogeneity of variances was not maintained ($F(3, 171) = 3.61, p = 0.015$), and the data did not follow a normal distribution (Shapiro-Wilk $W = 0.969, p < 0.001$). These issues were therefore addressed using alternative statistical methods, such as the non-parametric alternative to ANOVA Kruskal-Wallis test (comparing the medians and not the means) as well as the DSCF to compare the different groups in the pairs formed between them. The results from these methods of analysis identified overall significant differences between the groups ($p = 0.002$ in the Kruskal Wallis test) with a small to moderate effective size ($\epsilon^2 = 0.0873$), indicating that 8.73% of the variance in "Harm" is explained by these group differences. The pairwise comparisons test indicated the biggest differences between PP with PSOE ($p = 0.037$) and especially Sumar ($p = 0.005$) respectively, however all p results displayed non-significant differences between them in this foundation.

The graph of estimated marginal means (Figure 5 in Appendix) corroborate these results, displaying the average perceived harm for each party, with PSOE and Sumar showing higher means (approximately 4.1 for both) compared to PP and VOX (both around 3.6 and 3.7). The error bars, representing the 95% confidence intervals, indicate more variability in the perception of PSOE and Sumar compared to the tighter intervals for PP and VOX, suggesting more consensus or less variation in perceptions of the latter two parties.

2. For the “*Fairness*” foundation, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicated statistically significant differences among the different parties ($F(3, 171) = 7.64, p < 0.001$), with an effect size (η^2) of 0.118, suggesting that 11.8% of the variation in fairness perception can be attributed to party affiliation or support to a political party.

The statistical assumption checks again revealed that the variances were not homogeneous across the groups (Levene's Test: $F(3, 171) = 2.85, p = 0.039$) and that the data did not follow a normal distribution (Shapiro-Wilk Test: $W = 0.984, p = 0.048$). Thus, once more, these issues were addressed with the alternative statistical methods used before (Kruskal-Wallis test and the DSCF pairwise comparison test), obtaining the following results: the first test portrayed significant differences between the groups ($p < .001$) with a small effect size ($\epsilon^2 = 0.129$) suggesting that 12.9% of the variance in this foundation is explained by the group differences. The pairwise comparisons did not show any significant differences between the specific pairing of the right-wing parties and the left-wing parties: PP and PSOE ($p = 0.017$), PP and Sumar ($p = 0.006$), PSOE and VOX ($p = 0.004$), VOX and Sumar ($p = 0.002$), whilst the considered “similar” ideologies portrayed the least differences between them in this foundation: PSOE and Sumar ($p = 0.986$) and between PP and VOX ($p = 0.385$).

The graph of estimated marginal means (Figure 6 in Appendix) validates these observations, showing that PSOE and Sumar received the highest fairness ratings, while VOX showed the lowest. The visual pattern (shown in the estimated marginal means figure) reflects the differences and emphasizes the varying perceptions of fairness among the political parties. The error bars, representing the 95% confidence intervals, reveal that PSOE and Sumar have narrower intervals, indicating greater

precision in their fairness ratings. In contrast, VOX's wider error bar suggests more variability in fairness perceptions.

3. For the “*Ingroup*” foundation, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) results denoted statistically significant differences among the different parties ($F(3, 171) = 14.3, p < 0.001$), with an effect size (η^2) of 0.201, suggesting that approximately 20.1% of the variation in the “ingroup” foundation can be explained by party affiliation or support to a specific political part.

The statistical assumption tests exposed that the variances are homogeneous (Levene's Test: $F(3, 171) = 0.261, p = 0.853$) and the data follows a normal distribution (Shapiro-Wilk Test: $W = 0.992, p = 0.396$), confirming the appropriateness of the ANOVA model used.

Post hoc tests identified several significant differences between the parties: A difference was observed between VOX and PSOE, with VOX having higher standards or proving more aligned with the “ingroup” foundation with a relatively close statistical significance between them (Mean Difference = -0.774, SE = 0.209, $t(171) = -3.70, p = 0.002$, Cohen's $d = -1.087$). The comparison between VOX and Sumar exposed an even greater disparity, with significant statistical difference values and a large effect size (Mean Difference = 1.250, SE = 0.207, $t(171) = 6.03, p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 1.755$). PP showed similar results to VOX in these terms towards Sumar (Mean Difference = 0.798, SE = 0.154, $t(171) = 5.17, p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 1.120$), and even though not as pronounced as with Sumar, differences were also found towards PSOE (Mean Difference = -0.322, SE = 0.157, $t(171) = -2.06, p = 0.172$, Cohen's $d = -0.452$).

The figure with the estimated marginal means (Figure 7 in Appendix) visually endorsed these findings, displaying significantly higher ratings for VOX compared to other parties, particularly against Sumar, which had the lowest ratings. The graphical representation visually reinforces the significant statistical differences found in the analysis, especially between VOX and the left-wing parties.

4. For the “*Authority*” foundation, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed statistically significant differences ($F(3, 171) = 24.2, p < .001$) with an effect size (η^2) of 0.298. This result suggests that approximately 29.8% of the variability in authority perceptions can be attributed to party affiliation or support for a political party.

Homogeneity of variances was confirmed by Levene's test ($F(3, 171) = 1.25, p = 0.293$), and the normality of residuals was verified using the Shapiro-Wilk test ($W = 0.991, p = 0.322$), supporting the validity of the statistical inferences from the ANOVA and reinforcing the reliability of these results as well.

Post-hoc comparisons revealed the following. PSOE and PP showed a mean difference of -0.615 ($SE = 0.157, df = 171$), which was statistically significant ($t = -3.91, p < .001$) and had a large effect size (Cohen's $d = -0.861$), indicating a substantial difference between these parties. The comparison between the PSOE and VOX revealed an even more pronounced mean difference of -1.182 ($SE = 0.210, df = 171$), with a very high statistical significance ($t = -5.64, p < .001$) and a very large effect size (Cohen's $d = -1.654$). The difference between PSOE and Sumar showed a mean of 0.362 ($SE = 0.196, df = 171$), proving no statistical significance ($t = 1.84, p = .258$), with a medium effect size (Cohen's $d = 0.506$). The mean difference between PP and VOX was -0.567 ($SE = 0.171, df = 171$), which was not statistically significant ($t = -3.31, p = 0.006$) and had a moderate to high effect size (Cohen's $d = -0.793$). The mean difference between PP and Sumar was of 0.977 ($SE = 0.155, df = 171$), with statistical significance ($t = 6.31, p < .001$) and a large effect size (Cohen's $d = 1.367$). Lastly, the comparison between VOX and Sumar showed the largest mean difference of 1.543 ($SE = 0.208, df = 171$), with statistically significant results ($t = 7.42, p < .001$) and an exceptionally high effect size (Cohen's $d = 2.160$), indicating a very large difference between VOX and Sumar.

The estimated marginal means figure (Figure 8 in Appendix) clearly illustrates these figures in terms of how perception of authority significantly varies among political parties, with VOX voters or sympathizers perceived considerably as the most aligned with the “*authority*” foundation and Sumar voters or sympathizers the least. Significant differences between all the main Spanish political parties can be clearly perceived from this figure.

5. Finally, for the “Purity” foundation, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicated statistically significant differences between the parties regarding average purity, $F(3, 171) = 16.1, p < .001$. The effect size (η^2) was 0.221, suggesting that approximately 22.1% of the variance in average purity can be explained by differences between parties. Levene's test resulted in no significant evidence of differences in variances, $F(3, 171) = 2.16, p = 0.095$, indicating that the variances are homogeneous.

Post hoc comparisons between political parties revealed significant differences in this last foundation. Specifically, PSOE showed a lower average in “purity” compared to the PP (mean difference = -0.723, SE = 0.200, $t = -3.611, p = 0.002$, Cohen's $d = -0.794$). Differences were also found between PP and VOX (mean difference = -0.669, SE = 0.218, $t = -3.062, p = 0.013$, Cohen's $d = -0.734$) and significantly between PP and Sumar (mean difference = 0.903, SE = 0.197, $t = 4.575, p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 0.991$), highlighting a higher average in “purity” for VOX compared to PP and significantly lower compared to Sumar. The most substantial discrepancy was observed between VOX and Sumar, where the mean difference was notably high (mean difference = 1.571, SE = 0.265, $t = 5.931, p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 1.726$) and between VOX and PSOE (mean difference = -1.392, SE = 0.267, $t = -5.210, p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = -1.528$). In contrast, no statistically significant differences were found between PSOE and Sumar, suggesting similar levels of average purity among these parties. These findings underline the significant variability in the “purity” foundation promoted by different political parties, which may reflect divergences in their internal practices and policies.

The analysis of the estimated marginal means (Figure 9 in Appendix) visually revealed the distinct differences in purity standards. VOX exhibited the highest average purity, with a mean value of approximately 3.5, significantly surpassing the other parties, followed by PP with a mean of around 2.75. PSOE's average purity was moderately lower, centered around 2.0, while Sumar displayed the lowest purity with a mean close to 2.0 as well. The confidence intervals provided high precision for these estimates, with no overlap between VOX and the other three parties, indicating statistically significant higher purity standards for VOX. Similarly, the comparison between PP and Sumar alongside PSOE also showed a significant difference, while

the overlapping intervals between PSOE and Sumar suggested no substantial disparity between them.

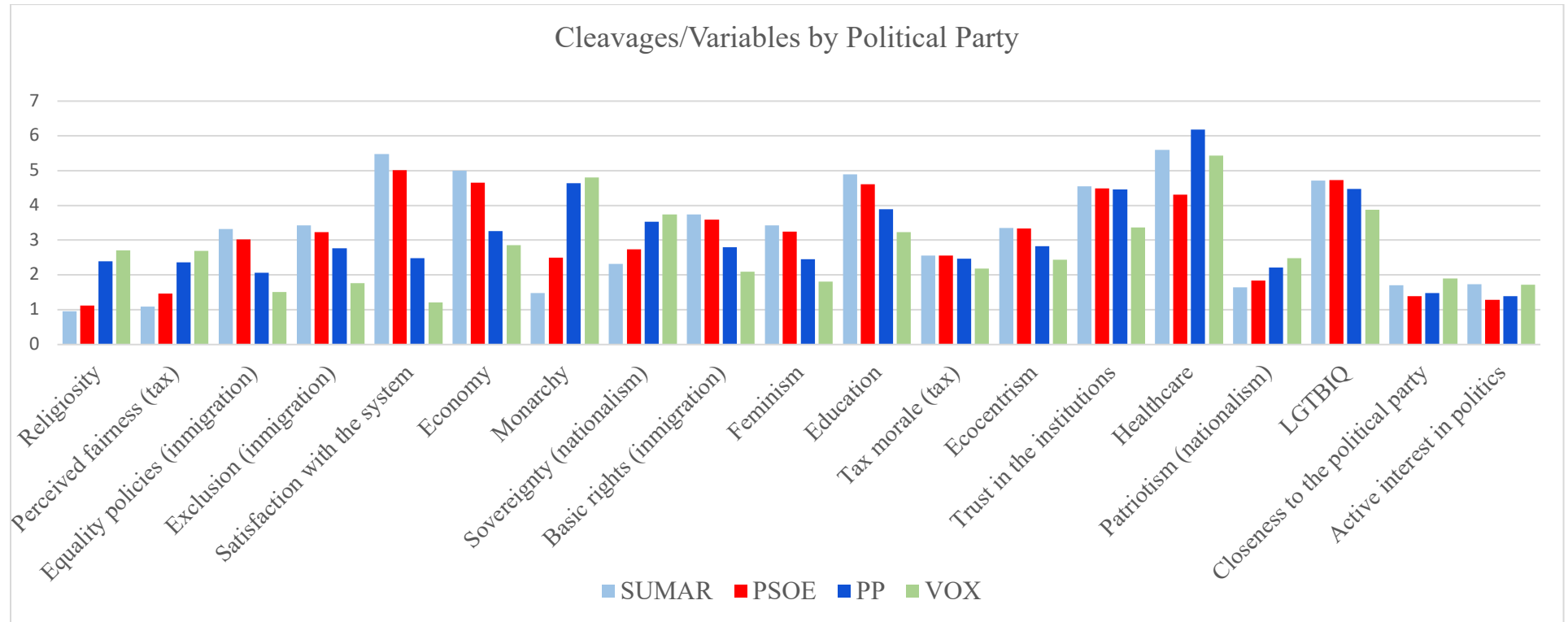
In summary, the results from the different statistical analyses employed confirm that the different positions in the political spectrum and thus the party one respectively votes for in the Spanish context, especially from the differences observed from the right-wing block of parties (PP and VOX) and left-wing block (PSOE and Sumar). In the end, these results re-emphasize the importance of considering how our moral intuitions and judgements influence our political perceptions and can also be reflected in our judgements when it comes to the voting polls. These results may also serve as another starting point for further research on these moral roots and the following implications of these perceptions.

Upon obtaining the results from the moral foundations questionnaires, we aimed to evaluate the relationships between the various variables/cleavages assessed in this study and the political parties under consideration. Nevertheless, taking into account that we studied 19 different variables, we chose 7 of which we could construct cleavages from in the Spanish context. These 7 were: 1) *religiosity* 2) *perceived fairness (tax)* 3) *equality policies (immigration)* 4) *Exclusion (immigration)* 5) *Satisfaction with the system* 6) *perception on the economy* 7) *attitude towards the monarchy*. The complete set of variables can be observed in figure , and results are displayed in tables 1-8.

The analysis of the variables across the different political parties reveals distinct tendencies and differences. For religiosity (Table 2) significant differences were observed among the parties, with PP and VOX showing higher levels of religiosity compared to PSOE and Sumar. The ANOVA test and post-hoc comparisons confirmed that PP significantly differed from PSOE and Sumar, while PP and VOX showed no significant difference, indicating that religiosity levels could be more aligned within the right-wing parties. In terms of perceived fairness (Table 3), there was a stark ideological division, with significant differences between left-wing parties (Sumar and PSOE) and right-wing parties (PP and VOX). This trend was evident in both the ANOVA test and post-hoc comparisons, which showed no significant differences within the ideological groups but marked differences between them.

Figure 2

Perspectives of the four principal political parties in Spain for the cleavage candidate variables



Note. The variables are arranged from left to right to clearly highlight the potential cleavages in the Spanish context based on the observed differences.

Table 1*Variance analysis of cleavage candidate variables*

| | Contrast Statistic (df) | Effect Size |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Religiosity | 13.2 (3) *** | 0.188 |
| Perceived fairness | 66.4 (3) *** | 0.382 |
| Equality Policies | 27.9 (3) *** | 0.329 |
| Exclusion ¹ | 26.8 (3) *** | 0.154 |
| System satisfaction | 43.0 (3) *** | 0.430 |
| Economy | 8.11 (3) *** | 0.125 |
| Monarchy ¹ | 37.3 (3) *** | 0.214 |

Note: Group analysis (by political party) in different possible cleavages. When the test is parametric, an ANOVA is conducted, with F as the contrast statistic. When non-parametric, Kruskal-Wallis with χ^2 is calculated instead. In the former, the effect size is η^2 , in the latter, its ε^2 .

¹: Non-parametric tests conducted.

* p<0.05

** p<0.01

*** p<0.001

Table 2*Pair comparison analysis of religiosity (between political parties)*

| | Religiosity | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | Mean difference | Contrast Statistic (df) | Cohen's d |
| Sumar - PSOE | -0.1 | -0.4 (171) | -0.11 |
| Sumar - PP | -0.94 | -4.79 (171)*** | -1.04 |
| Sumar - VOX | -1.15 | -4.34 (171)*** | -1.26 |
| PSOE - PP | -0.84 | -4.21 (171)*** | -0.93 |
| PSOE- VOX | -1.05 | -3.93 (171)*** | -1.15 |
| PP - VOX | -0.21 | -0.94 (171) | -0.23 |

Note:

*p <0.05

** p<0.01

***p<0.001

For equality policies (Table 4) the pattern was consistent with the observed trends, showing significant differences between left-wing and right-wing parties, with insignificant differences within the same ideological block (specially between the left-wing parties). The exclusion variable (Table 5), related to attitudes towards immigration,

also highlighted significant differences mainly between Sumar and VOX, while other comparisons showed less pronounced differences.

Table 3

Pair comparison analysis of perceived fairness (tax) (between political parties)

| | Perceived fairness (tax) | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | Mean difference | Contrast Statistic (df) | Cohen's d |
| Sumar - PSOE | -0.44 | -2.08 (171) | -0.57 |
| Sumar - PP | -1.51 | -9.06 (171)*** | -1.96 |
| Sumar - VOX | -1.89 | -8.43 (171)*** | -2.45 |
| PSOE - PP | -1.07 | -6.32 (171)*** | -1.39 |
| PSOE- VOX | -1.45 | -6.41 (171)*** | -1.88 |
| PP - VOX | -0.38 | -2.05 (171) | -0.49 |

Note:

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

*** $p < 0.001$

Table 4

Pair comparison analysis of equality policies (immigration) (between political parties)

| | Equality Policies (immigration) | | |
|--------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | Mean difference | Contrast Statistic (df) | Cohen's d |
| Sumar - PSOE | 0.29 | 1.28 (171) | 0.35 |
| Sumar - PP | 1.22 | 6.83 (171)*** | 1.48 |
| Sumar - VOX | 1.77 | 7.35 (171)*** | 2.14 |
| PSOE - PP | 0.93 | 5.13 (171)*** | 1.13 |
| PSOE- VOX | 1.48 | 6.09 (171)*** | 1.79 |
| PP - VOX | 0.55 | 2.75 (171) | 0.66 |

Note:

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

*** $p < 0.001$

Table 5*Pair comparison analysis of exclusion (immigration) (between political parties)*

| | Exclusion | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------|
| | Mean difference | p value |
| Sumar - PSOE | 0.84 | .934 |
| Sumar - PP | 4.50 | .008** |
| Sumar - VOX | 5.64 | <.001*** |
| PSOE - PP | 3.19 | .108 |
| PSOE- VOX | 5.18 | .001** |
| PP - VOX | 4.71 | .005** |

*Note:***p < 0.05****p < 0.01*****p < 0.001***Table 6***Pair comparison analysis of system satisfaction (between political parties)*

| | System Satisfaction | | |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | Mean difference | Contrast Statistic (df) | Cohen's d |
| Sumar - PSOE | 0.21 | 1.01 (171) | 0.28 |
| Sumar - PP | 1.37 | 8.28 (171)*** | 1.79 |
| Sumar - VOX | 1.94 | 8.77 (171)*** | 2.55 |
| PSOE - PP | 1.16 | 6.90 (171)*** | 1.52 |
| PSOE- VOX | 1.73 | 7.75 (171)*** | 2.27 |
| PP - VOX | 0.58 | 3.15 (171) | 0.76 |

*Note:***p < 0.05****p < 0.01*****p < 0.001*

System Satisfaction (Table 6) followed the established pattern, with PP and VOX showing significantly lower satisfaction rates compared to Sumar and PSOE, reflecting ideological divisions. Perception on the economy (Table 7) showed less pronounced but still significant differences, with some overlap suggesting convergence in economic perceptions across parties (where the scores are higher for Sumar and PSOE and lower for PP and VOX; the ideological blocks again show more affinity in this variable).

Finally, attitude towards the monarchy (Table 8) revealed notable differences primarily between Sumar and the other parties, with Sumar demonstrating as a clearer challenger to the monarchy compared to the others, who showed more favourable attitudes.

Table 7

Pair comparison analysis of views on the economy (between political parties)

| | Economy | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| | Mean difference | Contrast Statistic (df) | Cohen's d |
| Sumar - PSOE | 0.16 | 0.61 (171) | 0.17 |
| Sumar - PP | 0.80 | 3.89 (171)*** | 0.84 |
| Sumar - VOX | 0.98 | 3.58 (171)** | 1.04 |
| PSOE - PP | 0.64 | 3.06 (171)* | 0.67 |
| PSOE- VOX | 0.82 | 2.98 (171)* | 0.87 |
| PP - VOX | 0.19 | 0.83 (171) | 0.20 |

Note:

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

*** $p < 0.001$

Table 8

Pair comparison analysis of attitude towards the monarchy (between political parties)

| | Monarchy | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------|
| | Mean difference | p value |
| Sumar - PSOE | 2.55 | 0.27 |
| Sumar - PP | 7.64 | <.001*** |
| Sumar - VOX | 5.57 | <.001*** |
| PSOE - PP | 5.07 | .002** |
| PSOE- VOX | 3.56 | 0.06 |
| PP - VOX | 0.22 | 0.99 |

Note:

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

*** $p < 0.001$

In essence, our aim with this second part of the investigation was to observe and potentially establish a more specific example in the Spanish context of what Lipset and Rotka (1967) initially proposed for the western countries after the Industrial Revolution (Fried, 1968). Thus, following their example, we looked to create specific cleavages that could allow us to understand even further what could characterize an individual voter in Spain. These findings consistently highlight clear ideological divisions across the variables, particularly between the left and right-wing parties, with left-wing parties aligning closely on most variables and right-wing parties showing significant alignment on issues like religiosity. The results support the fact that the clearest differences between political ideologies and therefore between voters can be observed in terms of religiosity, perceived fairness (tax wise), equality policies (immigration), satisfaction with the system, views on the economic situation and support for the monarchy. In other words, at first glance, if we were to predict whether a voter has more affinity to left-wing ideologies or right-wing ideologies, by examining their stances on any of these seven variables, it is possible to predict with a certain degree of accuracy to which party or, at the very least, to which ideology an individual is most closely aligned.

To further corroborate the statistical findings obtained from the analyses of the different moral foundations and the different variables studied, ridge plots were generated. These plots provide a visual representation of the trends, similarities, differences, and multiple distributions of the moral foundations across the four main political parties in Spain (Figure 3 illustrates these distributions) as well as the distributions for the variables and potential cleavages.

In our attempt to validate the statistical findings obtained from the analyses of the different variables and potential cleavages through the ridge plots, we observed how the trends were different. In other words, the distributions of the variables did not show similar results to the first set of distributions mentioned for the moral foundations. This led us to understand how the creation of clearcut cleavages in the Spanish context may not be feasible based on the results obtained in this investigation. The ridge plots illustrating the distributions of the variables are presented in Figure 4.

Figure 3

The distributions for the five moral foundations in the Spanish sample

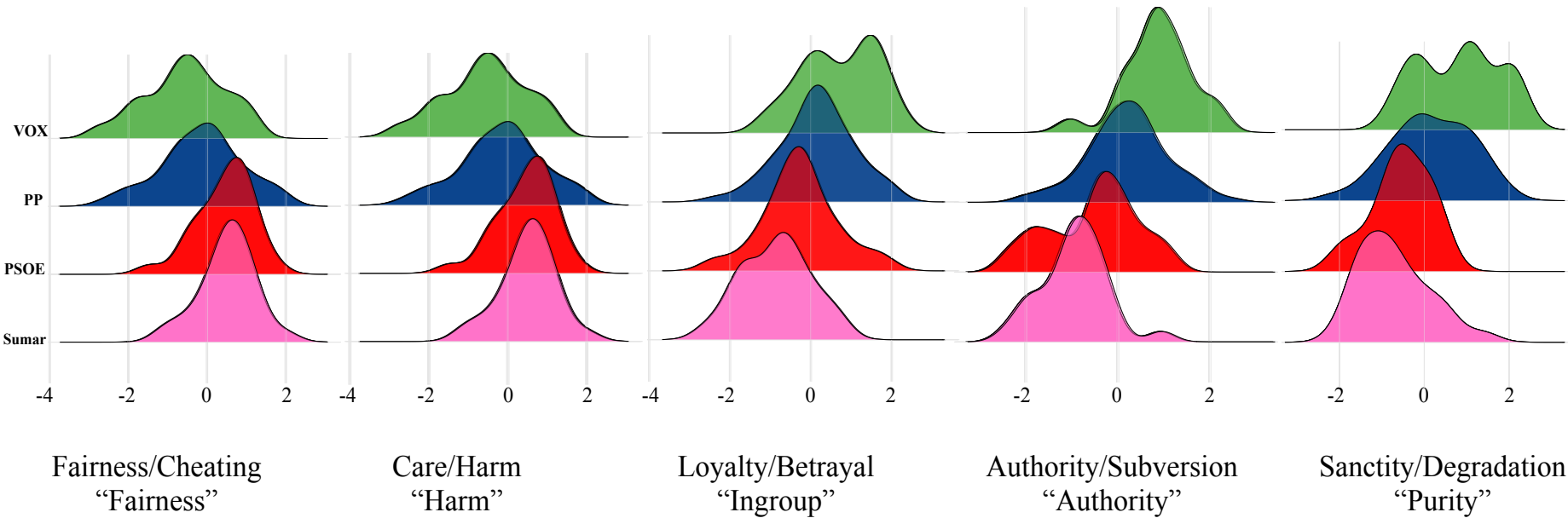
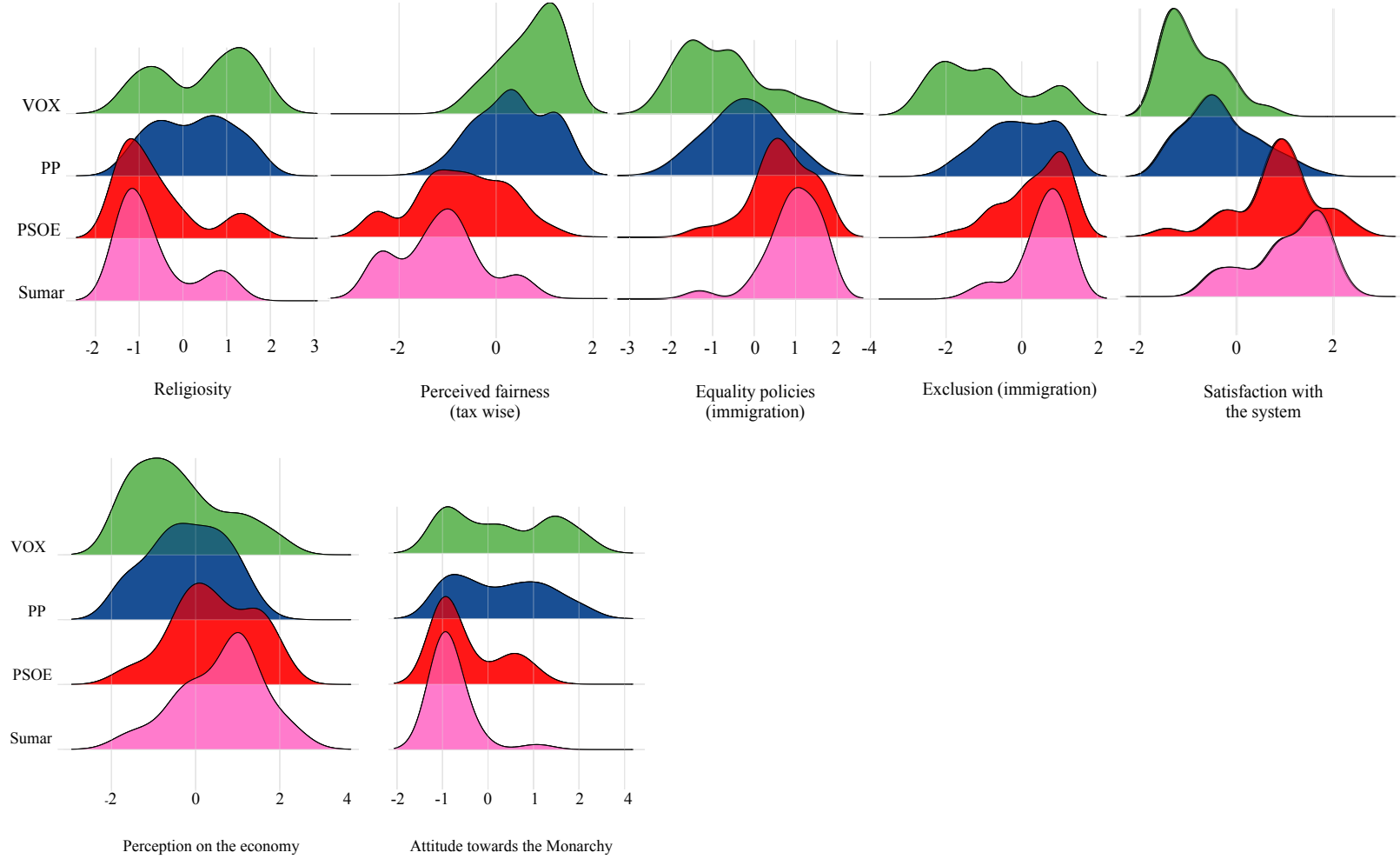


Figure 4

The distributions for the seven candidate cleavage variables



Conclusion and discussion

This study has several limitations that should be addressed in future research. First, the sample size, particularly the representation of left-wing participants, was limited. Increasing the number of respondents across the political spectrum, especially those with left-wing orientations, would enhance the robustness and generalizability of the findings. Second, the use of validated questionnaires specifically designed to measure political cleavages would improve the accuracy and reliability of the data. Finally, ensuring a high-quality translation of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ) is crucial for maintaining the integrity of the instrument and the validity of the results in different linguistic and cultural contexts. Addressing these limitations in future studies will provide more comprehensive insights into the variables that form political cleavages.

In any case, the primary objective of this study was to replicate and extend the research conducted by Graham and Haidt, as well as others in Western countries (e.g., the Netherlands), which investigated the relationship between moral intuitions and political attitudes. Firstly, we acknowledged that the translated questionnaire obtained from the Moral Foundations website had limitations in terms of reliability and validity. However, due to time constraints, it was the only available option, but the outcome was positive. In any case, consistent with previous findings, our results indicate that individuals identified as liberals (or those aligned with left-wing and socialist ideologies in the Spanish context) exhibit a greater concern for the individualizing moral foundations of Harm/Care and Fairness/Cheating. Conversely, conservatives (aligned with parties such as PP and VOX in Spain) not only show heightened concern for the binding moral foundations of Ingroup/Loyalty, Authority/Respect, and Purity/Sanctity but also demonstrate a more holistic engagement with the entire set of moral foundations compared to left-wing parties. These findings are clearly depicted in Figures 1 and 2. In essence, the results obtained from employing slightly modified measures and a culturally distinct sample (specifically, a Spanish cohort) corroborate the robustness of the link between moral foundations and political ideology as established by Graham and Haidt. The Moral Foundations Theory thus provides a valuable framework for conceptualizing and measuring political beliefs.

The second major objective of this investigation was to examine and evaluate various variables deemed relevant within the Spanish political context (e.g., attitudes towards the monarchy, immigration, taxation) to understand their relationship with political views and how these variables could form cleavages specific to Spain, similar to those established by Lipset and Rokkan in 1967 (Fried, 1968) for post-industrial revolution Western societies. Using the results obtained, we aimed to substitute the four cleavages identified by these authors in Western societies (1) center vs. periphery, 2) state vs. church, 3) owner vs. worker, and 4) land vs. industry) with seven variables that exhibited stark ideological differences among Spanish voters.

Initially, statistical analyses suggested clear differences among the seven variables, potentially forming distinct cleavages. However, further examination revealed that the distributions of these variables were more heterogeneous than anticipated, indicating that the cleavages were not as distinct as initially observed. The distribution patterns in Figure 4 demonstrate this heterogeneity, highlighting the challenges we would face in forming valid and reliable cleavages. Therefore, we believe that in order to create representative cleavages for Spanish voters, multi-dimensional approaches are necessary to address validity and reliability concerns. For instance, while religion typically characterizes conservative voters, it is not a consistent marker within the Spanish population, as some left-wing voters also prioritize religion. Thus, forming a multi-dimensional cleavage, such as combining religion with attitudes towards the monarchy, could provide more accurate characterization of Spanish voters.

It seems that the most appropriate approach to form valid cleavages is through multi-dimensional constructs, identifying variables that align in similarity and commonality. Nonetheless, pinpointing the precise variables that constitute these cleavages deserves further investigation. Notably, certain variables expected to elicit clear polarization, such as LGBTQI rights, feminism, ecocentrism, and issues of patriotism and sovereignty, did not significantly divide the sample according to different political wings, nor did they appear to correlate with the political spectrum. This circumstance may be attributed to two main reasons. Firstly, there is a possibility that the constructs under examination (e.g., LGBTQI rights) were not adequately addressed in our queries and thus further research in this domain could provide additional clarity. Secondly, this observation, however, might reflect an inherent difference in the psychology of Spanish

voters; whereas topics like immigration and LGBTQI+ rights polarize WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) populations in the United States, they may not hold the same divisive relevance in Spain. This highlights the necessity for more context-specific analyses to understand the political cleavages with more thoroughness.

Another noteworthy aspect is that the distributions observed in Figure 4 reveal the greatest heterogeneity among the VOX sympathizers. This heterogeneity could indicate a populist tendency or suggest a distinctly different voter profile compared to those traditionally associated with parties like the PP and PSOE. It is important to consider that VOX began gaining significant relevance in Spanish politics around December 2018. One possible hypothesis is that these "new" voters are seeking a political party that directly addresses their needs and demands, which again aligns with the principles of populist politics. However, this hypothesis warrants further investigation to fully understand the underlying dynamics in the Spanish political sphere.

Western societies appear to be evolving in line with the predictions of Haidt and Graham, where conservatives often emerge victorious in elections due to their effective activation of all moral foundations, in contrast to liberals, who predominantly engage the two individualizing foundations. This broad activation attracts a larger voter base towards conservatism. However, this pattern is not entirely replicated in the Spanish context. Over the 40 years of Spain's parliamentary monarchy—a system that combines the stability and continuity of monarchy with the democratic values of parliamentary government, wherein political power resides within an elected parliament and a prime minister heads the government, while the monarch performs ceremonial duties and grants royal assent to legislation without governance influence—the socialist party PSOE has governed for 27 years, whereas the conservative PP has governed for 15 years (including six years immediately after Franco's dictatorship, during which UCD, a centrist party, also governed). In more practical terms, PSOE has won eight elections, while PP has won six. Nevertheless, I would venture to suggest that Haidt's predictions might not be entirely incorrect, as the divergence could be attributed to Spain's relatively shorter democratic experience compared to other Western societies like the United States or the Netherlands. With just under 50 years of democratic rule and Spain's democratic journey continues, further years of democratic governance may provide stronger evidence to support Haidt's

propositions. Ongoing research in political psychology will be crucial in elucidating the role of morality in shaping Spanish political thought and behavior in the future.

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APPENDIX

Table 10:

Factors formed by the items and extracted from the variables measured in the survey

| Variable/Cleavages | Factor Name | Items Included | Notes |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---|
| Moral Foundations Questionnaire * | HARM | 1, 7, 12 (Part 1); 1, 7 (Part 2) | |
| | FAIRNESS | 2, 8, 13 (Part 1); 2, 8, 13 (Part 2) | |
| | INGROUP | 3, 9, 14 (Part 1); 3, 9, 14 (Part 2) | |
| | AUTHORITY | 4, 10, 15 (Part 1); 4, 10, 15 (Part 2) | |
| | PURITY | 5, 11, 16 (Part 1); 5, 11, 16 (Part 2) | |
| | Religiosity | | 1-4 |
| Attitude Towards the Environment | Ecocentrism | 1-6 | |
| Attitude Towards Taxes | Tax Morale | 1-5 | |
| | Perceived Equity | 6-9 | Item 10 removed post-analysis |
| Attitude Towards Immigration** | Basic Rights | 4, 5, 6, 9 | Original study stated a single factor whilst a factor analyses divided it into two factors. For theoretical reasons, it was maintained as original. |
| | Equality Policies | 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10 | |
| | Exclusion | 11, 12 | |
| | Active Interest in | | |
| European Social Survey | Politics | 1, 3 | Item 2 removed post-analysis |
| | Confidence in Institutions | 4.1-4.7 | |
| | Party*** | 5-7 | Linked responses based on Q5 |
| | Closeness to Political Party | 8 | |
| | Political Spectrum | 9 | |
| | Economy | 10 | |
| | System Satisfaction | 11, 12 | |
| | Education | 13 | |
| | Health | 14 | Refers to health system |

| Variable/Cleavages | Factor Name | Items Included | Notes |
|------------------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
| Attitude Towards Nationalism | LGBTQ+ | 15-17 | |
| | Monarchy | 18 | |
| | Sovereignty | 1, 3 | Item 2 removed post analysis |
| Attitude Towards Feminism | Patriotism | 5, 6 | |
| | | 1, 3, 4, 5 | Item 2 removed post analysis. |

Note: Table demonstrating the approach and successive steps conducted to validate the MFQ 30 in the Spanish sample.

* Question 12 from the second part of the Moral Foundations questionnaire ("it can never be right to kill a human being") was eliminated from the analysis due to the considerable improvement observed in the configurations and adjustments to the foundations measured.

** In this case, after having done the exploratory factor analysis, the results showed that items 4 and 5 alongside 6 and 9 measured to different factors. However, the original study from which we extracted the questions states that these 4 factors together formed only one factor, "basic rights". The similar result was obtained from the "equality policies" factor and its items. Therefore, a confirmatory analysis was conducted to review this and although the load of the items on their respective factors was favorable, the "goodness of fit" was not as favorable. For theoretical reasons, we decided to side with what the original authors considered in their study.

*** In question 5, if the vote was affirmative, the answer would be linked directly to question 6. If the vote was negative, the answer would be linked directly with question 7.

Figure 5

The estimated marginal means graph for the foundation “Harm” between the political parties

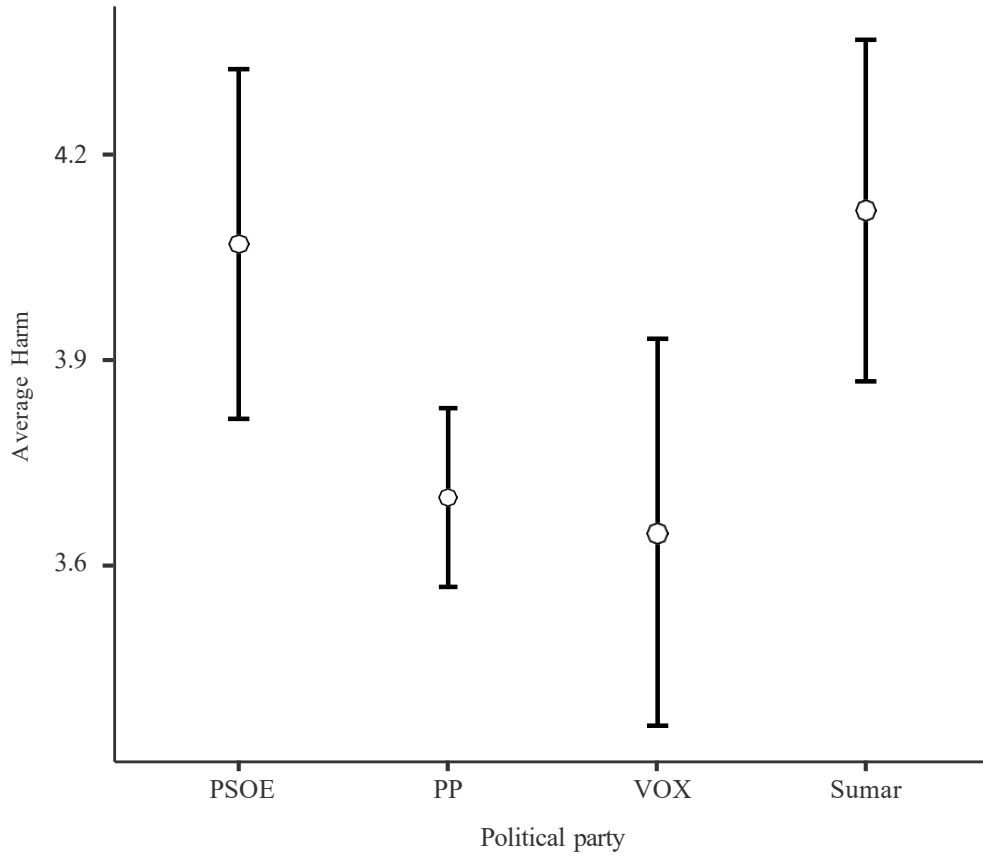


Figure 6

The estimated marginal means graph for the foundation “Fairness” between the political parties

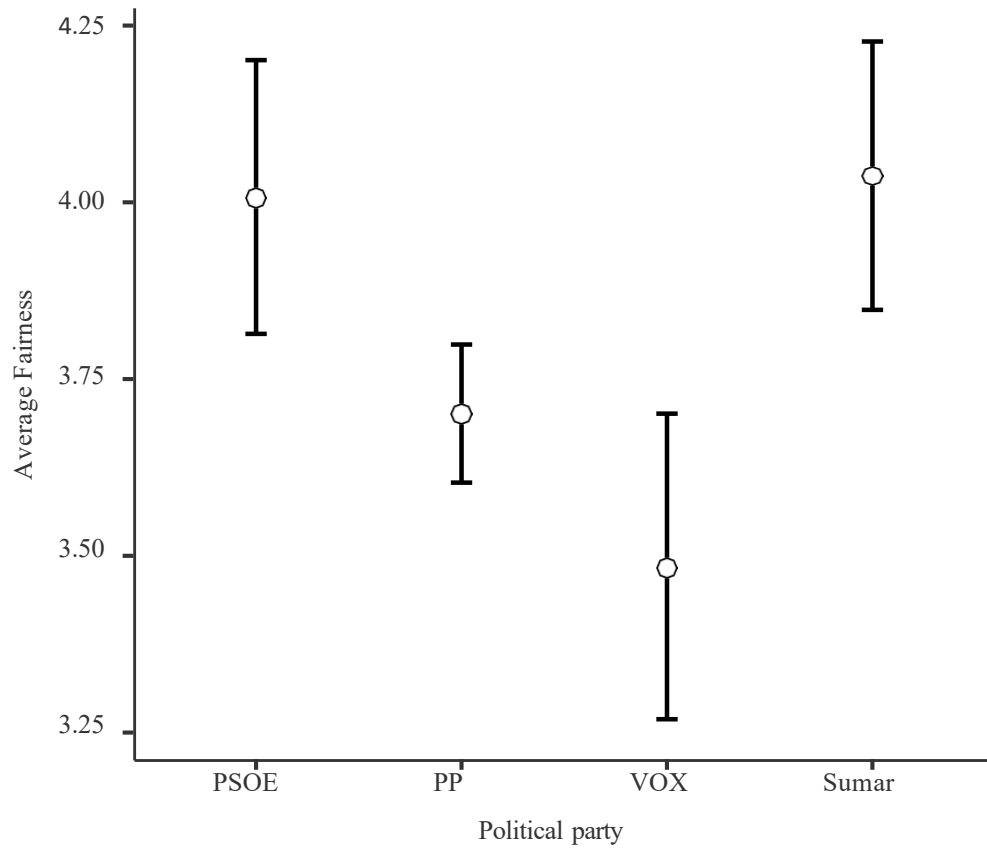


Figure 7

The estimated marginal means graph for the foundation “Ingroup” between the political parties

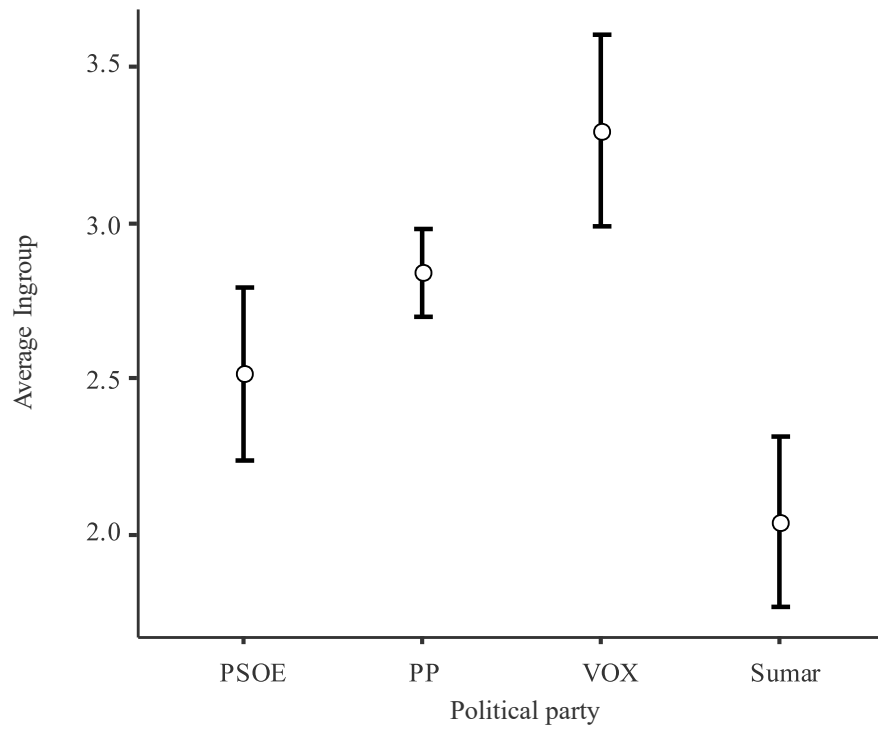


Figure 8

The estimated marginal means graph for the foundation “Authority” between the political parties

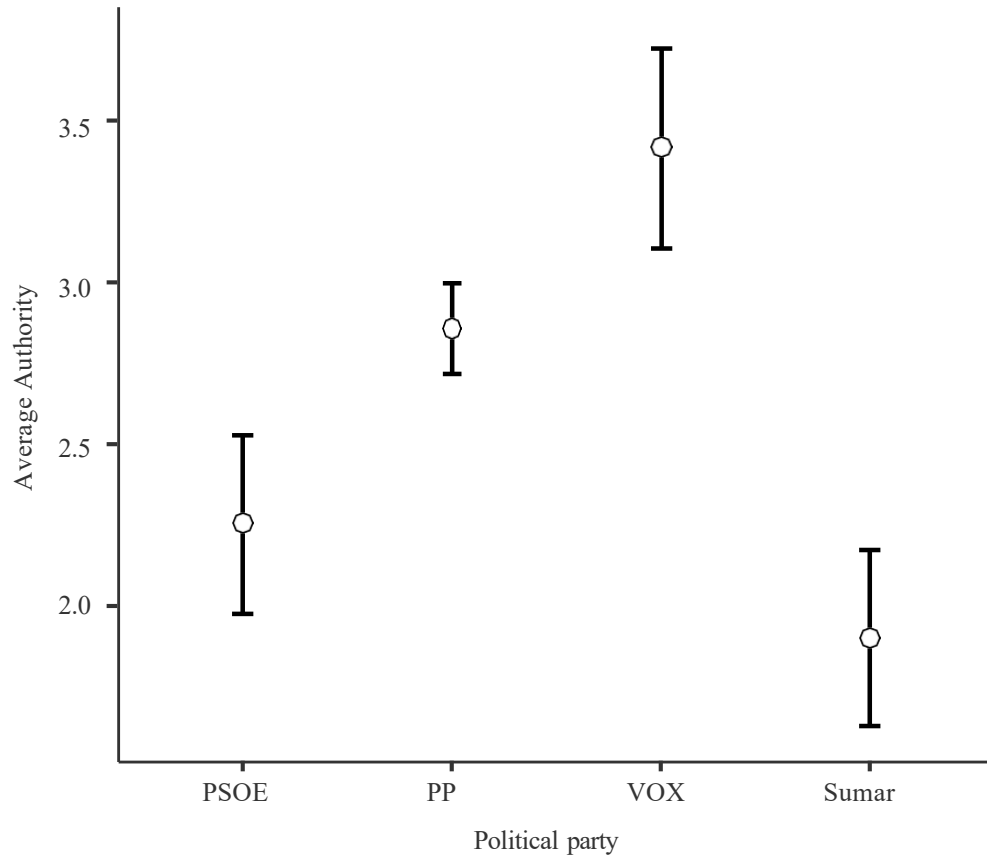


Figure 9

The estimated marginal means graph for the foundation “Purity” between the political parties

