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ABSTRACT

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Within the American public, there are significant differences in opinion on political policy. The current research explores the roots of disagreement between the political opinions of liberals and conservatives. It is hypothesized that political opinion differences between liberals and conservatives are so fundamental they may be potentially explained by differences in specific Five Factor Theory personality traits, or by differing politically relevant worldviews (beliefs about the locus of control of others and poverty attribution). Using these three types of predicting variables (personality, locus of control of others and poverty attribution), this study seeks to explain the differences political opinion on the specific issues of abortion and social welfare policy. The results showed the personality facet O6 Liberalism had the strongest relationship to opinions on abortion and social welfare policy. Poverty attribution also had a significant relationship with opinion on social welfare policy. How the core constructs and characteristics which define O6 Liberalism (and potentially political liberalism) relate to opinion on abortion and social welfare policy are discussed, along with the influence of poverty attribution on social welfare policy opinion. Future directions of research into the characteristics that contribute the political opinion conflicts between liberals and conservatives are suggested.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Over time, individuals develop their own attitudes, beliefs, and values. The development of these is influenced by many factors, innate dispositions, family and culture, and a wide range of other social experiences. Some of these beliefs, values, and attitudes relate to and influence the formation of political ideology and opinions. Within the republican system of government in the United States, the opinions and attitudes of the American citizens on political issues and policies hold significant power in influencing their votes which elect political leaders and guide the general political direction of the country. Because of this, researchers recognize the importance of political opinions of the general public, as well as the factors that shape their formation.

Within the American public, there are significant differences in opinion on political policy. Often these specific opinion differences are generalized into a broader debate between individuals with differing political ideologies (political liberals against political conservatives). Unfortunately, generalizing the debate on specific issues into ideology can lead to less productive dialogue and debate on political issues. The aim of the current research is to investigate the roots of political disagreement between liberals and conservatives by determining contributing factors which influence the formation of an individual's particular political ideology and specific political policy opinions. The specific political issues selected here, opinions on abortion and social welfare policy; reflect the fundamental opinion differences and conflict between liberals and conservatives.

Traditionally, political views and opinions are seen as influenced by family, culture, and other personal experiences. However, recent development of modern personality theory may provide additional explanation in political opinion development. Modern personality theory suggests that some of the personal characteristics of an individual are innate, inborn dispositions. These dispositions or personality traits serve as a filter on perception and experience as an individual develops. From this view, personality traits may have a specific and independent relationship to political opinions. Another perspective investigated here is that individuals may simply differ in fundamental ways on how they perceive the environment. These differing perceptions lead to the development of potentially politically relevant (and vastly different) values, beliefs and worldviews which then form the basis for more specific political opinions, and political ideology.

The current research explores the roots of disagreement between the political opinions of liberals and conservatives by investigating the factors which relate to the formation of individual opinions on abortion and social welfare. The political issues on abortion and social welfare are both salient issues in the discussion about differences between liberals and conservatives and reflect some of the fundamental opinion conflict between liberals and conservatives in public debate. The purpose of this study is to investigate the question, are personality traits and other potentially politically relevant worldviews significant related to fundamental issues that differentiate the political ideology of liberals and conservatives such as opinions on abortion and social welfare policy?

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Political Ideology

The investigation of differences in political ideology shows a clear divide in the American public on political issues. Haidt and Graham (2007) investigated the differing moral foundations used by liberals and conservatives that may explain the differences on political issues. They argue that based on anthropological research, there are five moral foundations found in human culture used as the basis for moral decisions. The first, harm/care, was developed out of the expansion of compassion where disliking suffering experienced by offspring expanded to disliking suffering of others in general. The second, fairness/reciprocity, was developed from frequent alliance formation within animal and then human society. Third, ingroup/loyalty, was developed out of a long history of living in small, tight knit familial groups where trust and cooperation developed within the ingroup and distrust developed for outgroups. Fourth, authority/respect was developed from a history of living in hierarchical structured groups where dominance is rewarded in exchange for group protection and services. Finally, the fifth, purity/sanctity, was born from the development of the human emotion of disgust. Disgust serves as a guarding emotion for the body in maintaining health against environmental contaminants. Haidt and Graham (2007) show all of these foundations are found in differing degrees and combinations within different cultures and each foundation can be overridden by another depending on the moral circumstance.

The results from Haidt and Graham (2007) provide an intriguing explanation for the differing opinions between liberals and conservatives. Participants were asked to

identify their political orientation and to what extent each of the five moral foundations was relevant to their moral decision making. The results showed that extremely liberal individuals ascribed more relevance to harm/care and fairness/reciprocity than ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect and purity/sanctity. Extremely conservative individuals ascribed equal relevance among all five moral foundations. Based on these results, the political opinion differences between conservatives and liberals are at least partially due to the differing moral foundations in the development of their political opinions. These results also show the opinions of liberals and conservatives differ at core levels, and may also be accounted for by looking at core differences in personality traits as well. Additionally, further investigation into these core differences between liberals and conservatives could potentially open up a new political dialogue and points of debate with hopefully more productive discussion and compromise.

Abortion

Since the Supreme Court decision of Roe v. Wade, the legalization of abortion has created a debate as complicated as it is contentious, coming to represent in recent years a core issue of division between Democrats/liberals and Republicans/conservatives. Part of the complexity surrounding the abortion issue is the continuous range of possible opinions about abortion rather than the dichotomous choice that is represented by the labels "pro-life" and "pro-choice." Strickler and Danigelis (2002) describe the range of opinions on abortion as generally between the two poles of opinion, one end believing abortion should be legal without any restrictions, the other believing abortion to be

wrong/immoral/illegal in all circumstances. However, between these two poles exists a range of opinions on circumstances where the legality of abortion should be qualified based on some type of need, which is where much of the general public's opinion exists. These results reflect the importance of studying the entire continuum of abortion views instead of limiting measured opinion into the two dichotomous categories of "pro-life" or "pro-choice."

Analysis of abortion opinion polls has also shown several demographic and other factors associated with differences abortion opinions. Petersen and Mauss (1976) found that individuals with a suburban/urban background, with high educational attainment, and of African American ethnicity had more approving views toward abortion, while Catholics and religious fundamentalists were less approving. Additionally, views on sanctity of life, religiosity, and sexual liberalism were found to be the most powerful predictors of abortion opinion. Petersen and Mauss (1976) studied religiosity and abortion views further and found that within religious conservatism, as education level increases opposition towards abortion decreases. This trend also holds within religious conservatism and income level, as income level increases opposition towards abortion decreases. Along with demographic and socioeconomic variables, these studies indicate that political party orientation and ideology relate to abortion opinion. The earlier study of Petersen and Mauss (1976) found similar patterns between party affiliation and abortion opinion. Another interesting longitudinal study by Strickler and Danigelis (2002) found that there has been increase in the influence of political liberalism on abortion opinion starting in the mid-1980's and continuing into the mid-1990's.

Abortion opinion from the mid 1980's to 2003 from Shaw (2003) showed that most respondents indicated they had very strong feelings on abortion and had not changed them in many years, supporting the notion that abortion is an important issue within the political system that individuals believe in with conviction. Given the choice between a pro-choice or pro-life label, a slight majority of respondents identified themselves as pro-choice throughout the 1990's. Both of these results also indicate the nearly even split in the American public with regards to opinions on the legality of abortion. However, aggregate responses also indicated tendencies to change abortion opinion based on circumstance and perceived motivations of the woman seeking the procedure, which supports similar results from Strickler and Danigelis (2002). These results suggest a need for more precise measure of abortion opinion taking into account that opinions may differ depending on the circumstances of the woman seeking an abortion.

Another study by Dillon (1993) examined the complexity of arguments for and against abortions. After examining the statements from single and multi-issue pro-life and pro-choice organizations, the significant findings indicate a lower level of complexity within the arguments of the overall abortion discourse compared to other areas in the politics. These results may support the previous notion that the debate between pro-choice and pro-life supporters is unproductive due to opposing sides arguing separate points without adequately addressing the opposing arguments. Additionally, Dillon (1993) suggests that the simplistic, argumentative strategies of pro-choice and pro-life organizations may serve to consolidate the opinions of more extreme members but are

unlikely to be fully accepted by those whose view on abortion lies in between the two extremes, further adding to the divide in debate.

Economic inequality/poverty

Political opinion on economic inequality/poverty is more of a perception or worldview with implications towards many types of economic policy opinions rather than a singular policy decision. However, view on economic inequality/poverty remains an important issue that reflects fundamental worldview and platform differences between liberals and conservatives. An important distinction that should be mentioned about this issue is that economic inequality/poverty opinion is dependent on the perception of economic inequality that exists within American society. A casual observer of society can identify the visible economic inequality but it is an individual's perception and interpretation of these visible economic differences that makes up economic inequality/poverty opinion.

Not only does the research show that economic inequality exists, but in fact, since 1947 economic inequality has increased. Statistics from the Census Bureau show an accelerated growth in income from the higher percentiles of the economic class (Bartels, 2008). For families at the 20th economic percentile, their average real income growth since 1947 has been 1.4%, compared to families at the 95th percentile whose average growth has been 2.0%. Bartels (2008) comments, "Measured in 2006 dollars, the real incomes of families at the 20th percentile increased by less than $15,000 over this period, while the real incomes of families at the 95th percentile increased by almost $130,000."

The economic statistics show clear economic inequality in American society, but it is the interpretation of this economic reality that becomes politically significant and reaches at the heart of opinion differences between conservatives and liberals. The political policies and ideology of decision makers has a significant impact on the economics of the country, especially the lower and middle class. Bartels' (2008) examination of the impact of partisan economic policies on economic inequality found that middle class incomes have grown twice as fast under Democratic presidents than Republican, and real incomes of working poor incomes have grown six times as fast. This demonstrates the considerable impact political ideology and public policies can have on the lives of citizens. In another study by Smeeding (2005) the growing economic inequality in the United States was compared to other well developed nations. By studying incomes and national budgets, it was found that since the start of the 21st century, the United States has more economic inequality than any other rich nation with membership to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) of the world. This result highlights the level of economic inequality in the U.S. is a significant issue compared to other rich nations. Additionally, the study found that U.S. government policies and social spending have lesser effects on reducing economic inequality in the United States compared other rich nations. This result is significant because it was also found that government spending, along with low wages can have a large impact on economic inequality. The author argues that the larger economic inequality in the United States cannot be explained by differing demographic factors, but is due to institutional lack of spending on low-income working families. This study

highlights the influence that political policy can have on economic conditions within a country. Based on these results, it could be said that the United States is one of the most conservative rich nations in the world with regards to its policies to spending on behalf of low-income working class citizens. This reflects on the political landscape and opinions that created these policies, and provides an international context to a national debate.

A strong body of empirical evidence shows the growing economic inequality within the United States. However, it is the perception of this inequality by the general public that ultimately influences policy decisions within the U.S. system of democratic government. In a descriptive study of public opinion on poverty and public assistance, Shaw and Shapiro (2002) investigated differences in public opinion. Overall, there are significant and fundamental differences within the public on issues surrounding public assistance and poverty. This research uncovers the differences in basic underlying lines of thought between liberals and conservatives. Conservatives generally believe that the U.S. economic system (capitalism) is fair, and that American workers get what they deserve based on how well or hard they work to make money. From this perspective, economic inequality suggests that rich people possess dispositional or internal characteristics and therefore deserve to earn their higher incomes, while the poor do not possess the needed characteristics, and thus are not deserving of similarly high incomes as the wealthy. On the other hand, liberals tend to interpret expanding economic inequality as due to situational or external characteristics of society or the economic system (i.e. unfair, prejudiced or biased), rather than because of a lack of needed internal or dispositional characteristics (i.e. hard working, intelligence, etc.) by the poor. From

this perspective, economic inequality is more of a reflection of the general unfairness of the economic system or society as a whole rather than an exposure of the poor who don't possess the necessary characteristics to be financially successful. Politically, how an individual interprets this economic inequality/poverty may serve as the root of their reasoning in the development of their own political opinions on specific economic policies (e.g., tax brackets, cuts, welfare etc.).

Cozzaredi, Tagler and Wilkinson (2001) conducted research on attitudes towards the poor, poverty attribution and sociopolitical ideology (measured by just world belief and protestant work ethic) that supports the ideas explained above. Previous research indicates that Americans are likely to endorse multiple reasons for the cause of poverty but view individualistic reasons for poverty as most important. Among Midwestern, mostly white undergraduates, the results of this study indicated that race, age and political affiliation were all significant predictors for type of poverty attribution. Supporting previous research, Non-Democrats/non-liberals were also significantly more likely to make individualistic poverty attributions than external or cultural attributions while Democrats/liberals made significantly more cultural and external attributions for poverty. These results help confirm the belief that liberals are more likely to attribute poverty to reasons outside of the internal characteristics of poor individuals as opposed to conservatives who are more likely to attribute poverty to the internal characteristics of poor individuals. These differing types of poverty attribution then ultimately influence the formation of specific public policy opinions on economic inequality/poverty issues. What remains less clear are the other what other possible personal characteristics of

individuals that may also influence the type of poverty attribution a person believes in or that directly relate to the formation of political ideology and specific political opinions.

Personality

Development in modern personality theory has lead to an emergence of trait based theories of personality. Most notably, the Five Factor Theory (FFT) has become an accepted, empirically researched personality theory that allows for the measurement of inborn, innate behavioral dispositions. Created out of both lexical and theory driven research practices, the FFT is made up of five dominant personality traits which are represented as five domains (McRae & John, 1992). The FFT provides a useful framework for the mapping of individual differences across Big Five traits which could possibly serve as an excellent foundation to study personality traits and other factors that influence the development of political ideology and opinions.

The FFT broad domains of personality, listed in order of factor strength are Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and Openness to Experience (Openness). Extraversion contains the facets Friendliness, Gregariousness, Assertiveness, Activity Level, Excitement-Seeking and Cheerfulness. High scorers (extraverts) on Extraversion are characterized as "are upbeat, energetic, active, friendly, talkative, and assertive, while introverts are reserved or even shy." (Schoen & Schumann, 2007). Agreeableness contains the facets, Trust, Morality, Altruism, Cooperation, Modesty, and Sympathy. High scorers on Agreeableness are characterized as "altruistic, trusting, generous, soft-hearted, and sympathetic while low scorers are suspicious, hard-

hearted and demanding." (Schoen & Schumann, 2007). Conscientiousness contains the

facets Self-Efficacy, Orderliness, Dutifulness, Achievement-Striving, Self-Discipline,

and Cautiousness. High scorers on Conscientiousness are "thorough, organized,

industrious, ambitious, resourceful, and enterprising, whereas their counterparts at the

lower end are immature, impatient, lazy, careless, and moody." (Schoen & Schumann,

2007). Neuroticism contains the facets Anxiety, Anger, Depression, Self-Consciousness,

Immoderation, and Vulnerability. High scorers on Neuroticism feel more negative

emotions like "anxiety, depression, anger, discontent, and irritation." (Schoen &

Schumann, 2007). Finally, Openness contains the facets Imagination, Artistic Interests,

Emotionality, Adventurousness, Intellect, and Liberalism. High scorers on Openness to

Experience are "curious, imaginative, and original, while persons who exhibit low scores

are mild, cautious, and conservative." (Schoen & Schumann, 2007; International

Personality Item Pool, 2001).

  With the emergence of interest surrounding the FFT, the NEO Personality

Inventory-Revised (NEO-PI-R; Costa and McCrae, 1992) has become the most widely

used measure of the FFT. This personality inventory is a proprietary instrument,

copyrighted by the authors and publishing companies and it is expensive to acquire.

Although personality research has experienced a substantial resurgence in recent years, a

lack of freely available personality inventories precludes further research. Goldberg

(1999) addressed this issue by developing a scientific collaboratory known as the

International Personality Item Pool (IPIP) (International Personality Item pool, 2001).

The IPIP was developed with the intention to provide rapid access to measures of

personality and other individual differences to promote the advancement of personality theory. The IPIP is a public-domain collection of personality items of similar form, providing scales measuring constructs analogous to those measured by many major proprietary personality inventories (Goldberg et. al., 2006). The M5 Questionnaire (M5; Mccord, 2002), is a self-report measure comprised of 336 items from Goldberg's International Personality Item Pool (2001). The M5 is designed to assess traits of normal personality and as an instrument based on the facets and domains described by Costa and McCrae (1995). The M5 determines personality scores identified at five basic domains; Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and Openness to Experience. Each of these five domains consist of 6 lower-level, descriptive facets. The reliability and validity of the M5 has been researched in several studies. In a series of correlational studies, each of the M5 domains and related facets were compared with independent scales measuring factors related to the intended characteristics of the domains and facets. The results yielded statistically significant correlations between the M5 domains and facets and the associated scales. The results of these studies indicate that the M5 is a reliable and valid measure of personality traits.

Personality and political opinion

With the emergence of the FFT, measurable personality traits that capture innate dispositions of the Big Five are available to researchers. Using the FFT, it is possible ask whether personality has an influence or relationship to the formation of political attitudes and opinions (Schoen and Schumann, 2007). The present research investigates the

potential role that an individual's personality traits may have in both directly relating to specific political opinion and the development of individual worldviews that then influence specific political opinion. More specifically the question being investigated is whether the personality traits of individuals may act as a filter on their experience and influence the interpretation of individuals' general experience from which specific political opinions may be developed.

Unfortunately, there is little previous research based in the United States investigating personality traits and political opinion; however, several studies performed in Europe have investigated this issue. Caprara, Barbaranelli and Zimbardo (2002) found that center-right voters in Italy tended to be higher on Conscientiousness and Extraversion domains while center-left voters tended to be higher on Agreeableness and Openness to Experience domains, suggesting that personality traits relate to political ideology. Another study from Schoen and Schumann (2007) in Germany yielded results indicating that citizens higher on Openness to Experience and Agreeableness while lower on Conscientiousness were more likely to support socially or economically liberal parties. Similarly, a study by Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Wecchione, and Barbaranelli (2006) showed center-left voters were higher on Openness to Experience while center-right voters were higher on Conscientiousness. These results show that personality traits can have influence on political ideology.

From these studies, the trend of the relationship between personality and political ideology generally shows that conservative individuals are higher on Contentiousness while more liberal individuals are higher on Agreeableness and Openness. However,

contradictory results from Mehrabian (1996) found no relationship between political

ideology and personality traits showing some uncertainty of the influence of personality

on political ideology. Most of the previous research is studies located outside the United

States and focus on political ideology rather than specific political opinions on political

issues. These studies also only use the broad personality domains of the FFT without

taking advantage of the more specific personality facets. These weaknesses from

previous studies along with the variability of results because of the differing global

locations of the research samples suggests the precise relationship between personality

and political opinion is uncertain and warrants further study in the United States.

Locus of control and attribution

Along with personality, the Locus of Control construct has been widely studied

since the development of Rotter's Internal-External (I-E) scale (Levenson, 1981). "The

internal-external control construct was conceived as a generalized expectancy to perceive

reinforcement either as contingent upon one's own behaviors (internal control) or as the

results of forces beyond one's control and due to chance, fate or powerful others (external

control)." (Levenson, 1981). However, work from Levenson (1981) and Lindbloom and

Faw (1982) suggest a differentiation in the external measure between fate/chance and

powerful others. This multidimensional conceptualization of Locus of Control

differentiates between the views of the world as unordered and random (Chance) and the

world as predictable but controlled by powerful forces outside the self (Powerful Others).

This Multidimensional Locus of Control measure from Levenson (1981) captures three

scales, Internal, Powerful Others and Chance. Individuals with a high Internal view of control could likely be described as feeling able to influence their own life circumstances and surroundings through their own purposeful actions. Conversely, individuals with a high Chance view of control could be described as feeling as though the world is unordered and random, making their own actions relatively non-influential in their environment and determining their own circumstances. Finally, individuals with a high Powerful Others view of control could be described as feeling that the world is predicable and ordered, but their own circumstances and surroundings are maintained by powerful others rather than their own personal actions (Levenson, 1981). A psychometrics Locus of Control study from Lindbloom (1982) also supports a multidimensional of the Locus of Control construct.

The Locus of Control construct has been used to study many psychological phenomena however, very little research is available on Locus on Control and specific political opinions. Minor results in a study by Levenson and Miller (1976) revealed that liberals are more likely to score higher on the Chance scale ($p < .10$), while Conservatives are more likely to score higher on the Internal scale ($p < .10$). The vast majority of previous research has also focused solely on the self oriented measure of Locus of Control. However, in order to capture a worldview with more influence on specific political opinion, it is suggested here that to focus more on an individual's view of other peoples' locus of control, or a Perceived Locus of Control of Others (PLOC). This other oriented type of locus of control measure is discussed in Paulhus and Christie (1981), where a taxonomy of factors of perceived control differentiates between self and

other orientated target for Locus of Control. It is hoped that this other oriented measure has promise to be used as measure that captures an individual's view of what type of control other people have over their own life circumstances. Used as this type of measure, PLOC may have potential to be another, more specific and influential variable (along with personality traits) to specific political opinions.

In addition, causal attributions for poverty have been studied in areas related to political ideology as well. Abouchedid and Nasser (2002) investigated the poverty attributions of Lebanese and South African students. They found the South African students from the more individualistic culture (similar to the United States) made more internal and less structuralistic attributions for poverty than the Lebanese students from the less individualistic culture. In another study, Hunt (2002) also found similar statistically significant relationships between race, religion and differing causal attributions for poverty. These results and other previous research (Cozzaredi, Tagler and Wilkinson, 2001) suggest that there may be potential for differing attributions for poverty to be both descriptive of attitudes towards economic inequality and related to specific economic policy opinions such as social welfare programs.

Statement of problem

Fundamental differences exist between the political opinions of people with different political ideologies. However, less research has investigated the differences in political ideology by using specific political issues that are representative of these ideological differences. The two political issues selected in this study are opinion on

abortion and social welfare policy because they reflect the fundamental differences in opinion and conflict between liberals and conservatives. Differences in political opinion have been previously accounted for by looking at differing demographic characteristics, socioeconomic values, and moral foundations. However, it is hypothesized here that political opinion differences between liberals and conservatives seem to be so fundamental they may be potentially explained by differences in specific FFT personality traits, or by differing politically relevant worldviews (beliefs about the locus of control of others and poverty attribution). Using these three types of predicting variables (personality, locus of control of other and poverty attribution), this study seeks to explain the differences political opinion on the specific issues of abortion and social welfare policy.

Previous research shows there is a general relationship between personality and political opinion. Essentially, individuals with more liberal political ideology and opinions tend to be higher on the personality domains Agreeableness and Openness, and lower on Conscientiousness. Conversely, individuals with more conservative political ideology and opinions tend to be lower on the personality domains Agreeableness and Openness, and higher on Conscientiousness. Based on these relationships, it is hypothesized here that individuals higher on the Agreeableness and Openness domains and facets, and lower on the Conscientiousness domain and facets will have more liberal political opinions, meaning more pro-choice abortion views and more supportive views of social welfare programs.

Additionally, this study investigates the possible relationship of potentially politically relevant worldviews such as beliefs about the locus of control of others and differing poverty attributions with opinion on abortion and social welfare policy. It is hypothesized here that beliefs about the locus of control of others may have an influence on how people think about the economic and sexual circumstances of others, which would also influence their opinion on the political issues of abortion and social welfare policy. If people view others' economic and sexual circumstances are outside to their own control (circumstances due to reasons outside of their own internal characteristics) it is less likely they will hold others morally accountable or responsible for their negative circumstances (i.e. the development of an unwanted pregnancies or living in a low income financial situation). If individuals don't hold others as morally responsible for their own negative circumstances, they would be more likely to support (have a liberal political opinion on) governmental policies designed to help people improve their negative sexual or economic circumstances (i.e. legalized abortions and social welfare policies that provide financial support and resources to the poor). Specifically, it is hypothesized that individuals with higher views on non-internal locus of control of others will have more pro-choice abortion views and more supportive views of social welfare programs (liberal opinions). Conversely individuals with higher views on internal locus of control of others will have more pro-life abortion views and less supportive views on social welfare programs (conservative opinions).

Similar to beliefs about the locus of control of others, it is hypothesized that the differing poverty attributions (reasons why individuals think people are poor) individuals

use to explain the existence of poverty shows what individuals think about the control others have over their own economic/financial circumstances. If individuals attribute poverty to reasons outside of the personal characteristics of the poor (meaning outside of their own control) it is less likely they will hold the poor morally accountable or responsible for their low income financial situation and thus be more supportive of governmental policies designed to help people improve their low income financial circumstances (i.e. social welfare policies that provide financial support and resources to the poor). Specifically, it is hypothesized that individuals with more non-individualist poverty attributions will have more supportive views on social welfare programs (liberal opinion) whereas individuals with more individualist poverty attributions will have less supportive views on social welfare programs (conservative opinion).

Hypotheses

1. Scores on the Agreeableness domain will correlate positively with Non-Individualist poverty attribution, pro-choice opinions on abortion and more supportive opinions on social welfare policy. Agreeableness will correlate negatively with Individualist poverty attribution.

2. Scores on the Openness domain will correlate positively with Non-Individualist poverty attribution, pro-choice opinions on abortion and more supportive opinions on social welfare policy. Openness will correlate negatively with Individualist poverty attribution.

3. Scores on the Conscientiousness domain will correlate positively with Individualist poverty attribution, pro-life opinions on abortion and less supportive opinions on social welfare policy. Conscientiousness will correlate negatively with Non-Individualist poverty attribution.

4. PLOC internal scale will correlate positively with pro-life opinions on abortion, Individualist poverty attribution, and less supportive opinions on social welfare policy.

5. PLOC powerful others and chance scales will correlate positively with Non-Individualist poverty attribution, pro-choice opinions on abortion and more supportive opinions on social welfare policy.

6. Individualist poverty attribution will correlate positively with less supportive opinions on social welfare policy.

7. Non-Individualist poverty attribution will correlate positively with more supportive opinions on social welfare policy.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

Procedure

A sample of Western Carolina students (N = 155) completed a series of randomized online questionnaires for course or extra credit. The time needed to complete the questionnaires was about 25-40 minutes. Each questionnaire included an informed consent form and directions for answering each type of question.

Instruments

Personality – 180 items from the M5 Questionnaire were used to measure the FFT personality domains and specific facets of Agreeableness, Openness, and Conscientiousness.

Previous research has indicated Neuroticism and Extraversion have the weakest relationship with political ideology which warrants their exclusion from the study in light of keeping the questionnaires at a manageable length (Schoen and Schumann, 2007; Caprara et. al., 2002). The M5 Questionnaire (McCord, 2002) is a 336-item public-domain instrument based on Goldberg's (1999) IPIP item set, producing scores on the five major domains of the Five Factor Theory as well as six more specific facets under each domain as described by Costa and McCrae (1995). Previous research has shown that the M5 questionnaire has good internal reliability for measuring both the five major domains and specific personality facets. Participants are asked to rate how accurately each statement describes them using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (very inaccurate) to 5 (very accurate).

Perceived Locus of Control of Others (PLOC) – This 24 item measure was grammatically adapted from Levenson's (1981) Multidimensional Locus of Control scale from internally oriented items (I-oriented) to other-oriented items that capture the participants' beliefs about the amount and type of control other people have over their own life situations.   Responses are scored on 3 independent subscales, Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance/Fate. From the 24 items, there are three independent 8 item subscales, Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance/Fate. The original scales show low internal reliability for the Internal scale (α = .64), and acceptable reliability for the Powerful Others (α = .77) and Chance/Fate (α = .78) scales in a student sample, N=152 (Levenson, 1981). Participants were asked to indicate agreement with each item using a Likert type 6-point format with a negative or positive numerical score given for each item.

Poverty Attribution (PA) – Participants were presented with statements collected from previous scales (Hunt, 2002 and Abouchedid and Nasser, 2002) representing different poverty attributions (essentially, reasons why they think people are poor) and asked to indicate agreement using a 5-point Likert-type format. This measure creates two independent subscales, Individualistic and Non-Individualistic. Example items from Individualistic scale: 'No attempts at self improvement.' or 'Lack of effort and laziness by those who are poor.' Items from Non-Individualistic scale: 'Prejudice and

discrimination in hiring, promotion and wages.' or 'Failure of society to provide good enough education for many Americans.'

Social Welfare Attitude (SWA) – Participants were presented with statements about social welfare, adapted from Hirshberg and Ford (2001), and asked to indicate agreement with each item using a 5-point Likert-type format. Participants received a score on two subscales, Positive attitude and reasons (SWA Positive) and Negative attitude and reasons (SWA Negative) which combine to create an overall SWA score (SWA Total). Higher scores on SWA Total represent more supportive opinion on social welfare policy and lower scores represent less supportive opinions on social welfare policy. Example items from SWA Positive scale: 'The government should guarantee a basic standard of living.' or 'We are spending too little money on Social Welfare in United States.' Items from the SWA Negative scale: 'Social Welfare benefits undermine individual responsibility.' or 'Social Welfare benefits for the poor undermine their willingness to work.'

Abortion view – Individual opinion statements about abortion were adapted from National Election Study and General Social Survey items. Participants were asked to indicate agreement with six statements reflecting differing abortion views. These are the six statements:

1. By law, abortion should never be permitted, no matter what the circumstances.

2. The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.

3. The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.

4. Abortion should be legally permitted if, due to personal reasons, the woman would have difficulty in caring for the child.

5. By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion (regardless of reason) as a matter of personal choice.

Using the above statements as a guide, participants were also asked to select a number from 1 to 100 on the abortion scale representing where their own abortion view falls within the Pro-Life/Pro-Choice abortion debate. Scores closer to 1 represent more pro-life abortion opinions and scores closer to 100 represent more pro-choice abortion opinions.

Demographic variables – Participants were asked to identify their age, gender, race, combined household income level (household they grew up in), frequency of church attendance, political ideology and political party affiliation to provide a general description of the sample from this study.

CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS

Participant descriptives

There were 174 initial responses to the questionnaire. Of those, only 155 were included in the analysis due to incomplete responses. Participants with less than a 92% item response rate, who failed to complete at least 5 of 6 of the questionnaire sections or who completed the questionnaire in less than 10 minutes, were excluded from the analysis. Participant reported sex was 32.7% male, 67.3% female, and 1.3% did not report sex. Participant race was 87.7% Caucasian, 5.2% African American, 3.2% multi-racial, 1.3% Native American, 0.6% Asian American, 0.6% Hispanic, 0.6% other and 0.6% did not report.

Participants reported combined household income in the following distribution: 5.8% under $20,000; 5.8% between $20,000-$30,000; 14.2% between $30,000-$40,000; 16.1% between $40,000-$55,000; 25.2%, between $55,000-$70,000; 16.1% between $70,000-$100,000; 10.3% between $100,000-$150,000; 2.6% between $150,000-$200,000; 3.2% over $250,000 and .6% did not report income. 72.0% of participants reported a combined household income between $30,000 and $100,000.

Participants reported attending church in the following distribution: 20.6% attend church every week, 16.8% attend almost every week, 20.0% attend once or twice a month, 23.9% a few times a year, 9.7% never attend church and 8.4% reported no religious preference. 81.8% of participants reported attending church at least a few times a year.

93.5% of the participants identified with a political party (23.4% Democrat, 39.4% Republican or 30.3% Independent). The distribution of political party identification was:

3.2% Strong Democrat, 8.4% Moderate Democrat, 11.6% Independent Democrat, 30.3% Independent Independent, 12.3% Independent Republican, 19.4% Moderate Republican, 7.7% Strong Republican, 6.5% identified themselves as apolitical, and 0.6% did not report.

79.7% of the participants identified their political ideology (24.8% Liberal, 36.2% Conservative or 18.1% Middle of the road). The distribution of political view was: 2.6% Extremely Liberal, 11.6% Liberal, 10.3% Slightly Liberal, 18.1% Middle of the road, 11.0% Slightly Conservative, 19.4% Conservative, 5.8% Extremely Conservative, 20.3% reported didn't know/haven't thought and 1.3% did not report.

Scale construction and reliability

The three 60 item personality domain scales, Agreeableness (α = .92), Conscientiousness (α = .94), and Openness (α = .92) showed excellent scale reliability. The 10 item facet personality scales had acceptable reliability alphas ranging between α = .75 (C1 Self-Efficacy) and α = .86 (A1 Trust). A6 Sympathy had the lowest alpha at α = .70.

The Perceived Locus of Control of Others (PLOC) measure has three scales Internal, Powerful Others and Chance/Fate. The PLOC Internal scale (α = .54) had very low reliability in this sample. For comparison, the original self-oriented Internal scale

from the Multidimensional Locus of Control scale (Levenson, 1981) on had a reliability

alpha α = .64. The PLOC Powerful Others and Chance/Fate scales had acceptable

reliability alphas at α = .77 and α = .77 respectively. Exploratory Factor Analysis did not

reveal any improved factor structure or reliabilities for the PLOC scales.

The Poverty Attribution (PA) measure has two scales, both with acceptable

reliability alphas, Non-Individualist (α = .78) and Individualist (α = .78). The Social

Welfare Attitude (SWA) measure has two separate scales, Positive attitude and reasons

(SWA Positive, α = .84) and Negative attitude and reasons (SWA Negative, α = .85)

which combine to create an overall SWA scale (SWA Total, α = .88). All three scales

have very good reliability alphas.

The abortion scale had a mean of 51.1 and median of 43.0. 9.7% of participants

did not respond. See Graph 1 for the abortion scale response distribution. The SWA

Total had mean of 2.82 and a median 2.87. 8.4% of participants did not respond. See

Graph 2 for SWA Total response distribution.

Correlations

Pearson product correlations were run between demographic variables,

personality traits, PLOC scales, PA, SWA and abortion scale to examine the relationships

between variables. See Table 1 for correlations between personality traits and other

variables. See Table 2 for the intercorrelations between the variables outside of

personality. SWA Positive and SWA Negative were very highly related to SWA Total, *r*

= .90, *p* < .001 and *r* = -.85, *p* < .001 respectively. The correlations with SWA Total

captured most of the significant correlations of SWA Positive and SWA Negative. The individual abortion items were also very highly related to the abortion scale. Correlations with the abortion scale captured most of the significant correlations for the individual abortion items.

The broad personality domain Agreeableness ($r = .27$, $p < .01$) correlated positively with SWA Total, supporting the hypothesis. The Agreeableness facets A6 Sympathy ($r = .39$, $p < .01$), A5 Modesty ($r = .20$, $p < .05$) and A1 Trust ($r = .20$, $p < .05$) were also significantly correlated to SWA Total. There was no significant correlation between the Agreeableness domain and the abortion scale, not supporting the hypothesis. The only significant Agreeableness facet to correlate with the abortion scale was A2 Morality ($r = -.17$, $p < .05$). There were no significant correlations between the Agreeableness domain and PA Individualist or PA Non- Individualist. However, PA Individualist and Agreeableness facet A6 Sympathy ($r = -.17$, $p < .05$) had a negative correlation, while PA Non-Individualist and A6 Sympathy ($r = .38$, $p < .01$) had a positive correlation. Both of these results supported the hypotheses.

Table 1. zero order correlations between personality traits and PLOC scales, Poverty Attribution, Social welfare policy opinion (SWA) and abortion opinion (abortion scale).

	PLOC Internal	PLOC POthers	PLOC Chance	Individualist	Non-Individualist	SWA Positive	SWA Negative	SWA Total	Abortion Scale
A1 Trust	0.31**	-0.12	-0.23*	-0.06	0.11	0.15	-0.17*	0.20*	0.06
A2 Morality	0.13	-0.18*	-0.32**	0.01	-0.06	0.09	-0.09	0.13	-0.17*
A3 Altruism	0.15	-0.15	-0.32**	-0.03	-0.01	0.18*	-0.02	0.16	-0.04
A4 Cooperation	0.11	-0.18*	-0.29**	-0.06	-0.12	0.02	-0.08	0.08	-0.02
A5 Modesty	-0.07	0.13	-0.07	-0.16	-0.05	0.19*	-0.15	0.20*	-0.02
A6 Sympathy	0.03	-0.04	-0.11	-0.17*	0.38**	0.38**	-0.31**	0.39**	0.02
Agreeableness	0.16	-0.13	-0.32**	-0.11	0.05	0.23**	-0.20*	0.27**	-0.04
C1 SelfEfficacy	0.13	-0.11	-0.24**	0.06	0.00	-0.04	0.08	-0.07	-0.09
C2 Orderliness	0.05	-0.01	-0.15	0.00	-0.01	0.00	0.06	-0.03	-0.12
C3 Dutifulness	0.20*	-0.07	-0.27**	0.07	-0.01	-0.03	0.02	-0.02	-0.16
C4 Ach-Striving	0.15	-0.01	-0.20*	0.08	0.10	-0.03	0.02	-0.02	-0.01
C5 SelfDiscipline	0.08	-0.04	-0.15	0.00	-0.06	-0.08	0.04	-0.05	-0.05
C6 Cautiousness	-0.01	-0.07	-0.16	0.06	0.00	-0.06	-0.04	-0.03	-0.13
Conscientiousness	0.12	-0.06	-0.25**	0.06	0.00	-0.06	0.04	-0.05	-0.12
O1 Imagination	0.00	-0.02	0.06	-0.13	0.14	0.19*	-0.18*	0.21*	0.36**
O2 ArtisticInterests	0.02	-0.19*	-0.18*	-0.19*	0.20*	0.20*	-0.21*	0.24**	0.24**
O3 Emotionalilty	0.13	-0.14	-0.07	-0.05	0.18*	0.28**	-0.06	0.21*	0.11
O4 Adventurousness	-0.12	-0.26**	-0.22**	-0.08	0.10	0.14	-0.09	0.14	0.32**
O5 Intellect	-0.08	-0.10	-0.11	-0.09	0.22**	0.11	-0.13	0.13	0.27**
O6 Liberalism	-0.14	-0.11	-0.07	-0.26**	0.23**	0.53**	-0.47**	0.57**	0.67**
Openness	-0.05	-0.19*	-0.15	-0.20*	0.26**	0.36**	-0.29**	0.38**	0.48**
O6 Liberalism edited	-0.15	-0.07	-0.03	-0.28**	0.21*	0.48**	-0.48**	0.54**	0.63**

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

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 2.

Zero order intercorrelations between the non-personality variables. Shown here are demographic variables, PLOC scales, Poverty Attribution, Social welfare policy opinion (SWA) and abortion opinion (abortion scale) to examine the relationships between variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Sex		0.07	-0.01	0.16	-0.03	0.00	-0.13	-0.02	0.12	-0.13	0.14	0.04
2. Income (1=poor 8=rich)			-0.03	0.12	-0.09	-0.11	0.16	-0.03	0.08	0.05	0.05	0.22*
3. Church Attendence (1=every week)				-0.13	0.03	0.11	-0.10	0.20*	0.21*	-0.17*	0.20*	0.49**
4. PLOC Internal					0.13	0.08	0.21*	-0.05	-0.03	0.26**	-0.15	-0.10
5. PLOC Powerful Others						0.63**	-0.06	0.11	0.03	-0.02	0.01	-0.16
6. PLOC Chance/Fate							-0.07	0.23*	0.10	-0.05	0.06	-0.14
7. Poverty Attribution Individualist								-0.03	-0.31**	0.52**	-0.47**	-0.12
8. Poverty Attribution Non-Individualist									0.42**	-0.32**	0.39**	0.10
9. SWA Positive										-0.56**	0.90**	0.30**
10. SWA Negative											-.85**	-0.32**
11. SWA Total												0.35**
12. Abortion Scale (1=pro-life 100=pro-choice)												

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

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

The broad personality domain Openness ($r = .38, p < .01$) correlated positively with SWA Total, supporting the hypothesis. The Openness facets O1 Imagination ($r = .21, p < .05$) and O2 Artistic Interests ($r = .24, p < .01$) and O6 Liberalism ($r = .57, p < .01$) were also significantly correlated to SWA Total. The broad personality domain Openness also correlated positively with the abortion scale ($r = .48, p < .01$), supporting the hypothesis. The Openness facets O1 Imagination ($r = .36, p < .01$), O2 Artistic Interests ($r = .24, p < .01$), O4 Adventurousness ($r = .32, p < .01$), O5 Intellect ($r = .27, p < .01$) and O6 Liberalism ($r = .67, p < .01$) were also significantly correlated to the abortion scale. The Openness domain ($r = -.20, p < .05$) correlated significantly with PA Individualist, supporting the hypothesis. The Openness facets O2 Artistic Interests ($r = -.19, p < .05$) and O6 Liberalism ($r = -.26, p < .05$) also correlated negatively with PA Individualist. The Openness domain ($r = .26, p < .01$) also correlated significantly with PA Non-Individualist, supporting the hypothesis. The Openness facets O2 Artistic Interests ($r = .20, p < .05$), O3 Emotionality ($r = .18, p < .05$), O5 Intellect ($r = .22, p < .01$) and O6 Liberalism ($r = .23, p < .05$) also correlated positively with PA Non-Individualist.

There were no significant correlations with the Conscientiousness domain or any of the facets to SWA Total, the abortion scale, PA Individualist or PA Non-Individualist, which did not support any of the hypotheses.

There were no significant correlations with PLOC Internal and SWA Total, the abortion scale, PA Individualist or PA Non-Individualist, which did not support any of the hypotheses. However, PLOC internal ($r = .26, p < .01$) did positively correlate with

SWA Negative. There were no significant correlations with PLOC Powerful Others and SWA Total, the abortion scale, PA Individualist or PA Non-Individualist, which did not support any of the hypotheses. There were also no significant correlations with PLOC Chance/Fate and SWA Total, the abortion scale, or PA Individualist, which did not support any of the hypotheses. However, PLOC Chance/Fate ($r = .23$, $p < .05$) did positively correlate with PA Non-Individualist, supporting the hypothesis.

PA Individualist ($r = -.47$, $p < .01$) negatively correlate with SWA Total. Also PA Non-Individualist ($r = .39$, $p < .01$) positively correlated with SWA Total. Both results supported the hypotheses.

In summary, the personality facets O6 Liberalism ($r = .57$), A6 Sympathy ($r = .39$) and O2 Artistic Interests ($r = .24$) along with PA Individualist ($r = -.47$), PA Non-Individualist ($r = .39$) had the strongest relationships to SWA Total (all $p < .01$). The personality facets O6 Liberalism ($r = .67$), O1 Imagination($r = .36$), O4 Adventurousness ($r = .32$), O5 Intellect ($r = .27$) and O2 Artistic Interests ($r = .24$) also had the strongest relationships with the abortion scale (all $p < .01$).

Zero-order correlation analyses showed a number of significant factors related to political opinion. However, because many of the significantly correlated factors (especially within personality and the Openness domain) are interrelated, it is difficult to assess the relationship of each specific factor to political opinion using only correlational analyses. In order to more directly assess the relationship of each factor to political opinion, independent of other significant factors, multiple regression analyses are necessary.

On a separate note, the O6 Liberalism personality facet is made up of 10 items, two of which seem to measure political ideology. The two items are 'Tend to vote for liberal political candidates.' and 'Tend to vote for conservative political candidates.' To separate the construct of political ideology from personality, these two items were removed to create an edited O6 Liberalism facet from the remaining original 8 items (α = .71). O6 Liberalism and O6 Liberalism edited had extremely similar correlations to the other variables and there were no differences in the statistical significance or non-significance of the correlations.

Social welfare policy regression

An Ordinary least squares multiple regression analysis was used to assess the predictive ability of income and church attendance, personality, and Poverty Attribution (PA) for SWA Total. The factors income, church attendance, A6 Sympathy, O2 Artistic Interests, O6 Liberalism, PA Individualist and PA Non-Individualist were entered. Preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity. The total variance explained by the entire model was 52.6%, F (7,124) = 21.80, $p < .001$. In the final model, the significant predictors of SWA Total were: O6 Liberalism (β = .44, $p < .001$), PA Individualist (β = -.32, $p < .001$) and PA Non-Individualist (β = .29, $p < .001$).

SWA Total Regression				
Independent	β	B	Standard Error	*t*
Variables		(unstandardized)		
Constant		1.51	.440	3.42
Income	.02	.02	.023	.90
Church attendance	-.05	-.05	.032	-1.53
A6 Sympathy	.13	.13	.093	1.44
O2 Artistic Interests	-.02	-.02	.067	-.31
O6 Liberalism	.44***	.44	.076	5.81
PA Individualist	-.32***	-.32	.060	-5.29
PA Non-Individualist	.29***	.29	.074	3.94

F (7,124) = 21.80   Adjusted R² = .53
p < .05; **p* < .01; ***p* < .001 (2-tailed).

The same Ordinary least squares multiple regression analysis was re-run with O6 Liberalism edited replacing the original O6 Liberalism facet in order to separate the measure of political ideology from the liberalism personality trait. The total variance explained by the entire model was 49.8%, *F* (7,124) = 19.56, *p* < .001. In the final model, the significant predictors of SWA Total were: O6 Liberalism (β = .40, *p* < .001), PA Individualist (β = -.32, *p* < .001) and PA Non-Individualist (β = .30, *p* < .001).

SWA Total Regression				
Independent	β	B	Standard Error	*t*
Variables		(unstandardized)		
Constant	1.40	1.40	.459	3.05
Income	.03	.03	.023	1.25
Church attendance	-.03	-.03	.032	-.98
A6 Sympathy	.15	.15	.095	1.55
O2 Artistic Interests	-.00	-.00	.069	-.06
O6 Liberalism edited	.40***	.40	.081	4.98
PA Individualist	-.32***	-.32	.062	-5.19
PA Non-Individualist	.30***	.30	.076	3.94

F (7,124) = 19.56   Adjusted R² = .50
p < .05; **p* < .01; ***p* < .001 (2-tailed).

Abortion opinion regression

An Ordinary least squares multiple regression analysis was used to assess the predictive ability of income and church attendance, and personality for the abortion scale. The factors income, church attendance, O1 Imagination, O2 Artistic Interests, O4 Adventurousness, O5 Intellect, and O6 Liberalism were entered. Preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity. The total variance explained by the entire model was 48.4%, $F(7,132) = 19.67$, $p < .001$. In the final model, significant predictors of the abortion scale were: O6 Liberalism ($\beta = .50$, $p < .001$), church attendance ($\beta = .16$, $p < .05$) and income ($\beta = .15$, $p < .05$).

Abortion Scale Regression

Independent Variables	β	B (unstandardized)	Standard Error	t
Constant		-69.30	16.10	-4.30
Income	.15*	2.70	1.14	2.36
Church attendance	.16*	3.49	1.64	2.12
O1 Imagination	.09	5.32	4.42	1.20
O2 Artistic Interests	-.09	-4.03	3.61	-1.12
O4 Adventurousness	.12	6.99	4.20	1.66
O5 Intellect	.04	2.02	4.05	.50
O6 Liberalism	.50***	23.13	3.76	6.16

$F(7,132) = 19.67$ Adjusted $R^2 = .48$
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (2-tailed).

The same Ordinary least squares multiple regression analysis was re-run with O6 Liberalism edited replacing the original O6 Liberalism personality facet in order to separate the measure of political ideology from the liberalism personality trait. The total variance explained by the entire model was 48.4%, $F(7,132) = 17.72$, $p < .001$. In the

final model, significant predictors of the abortion scale were: O6 Liberalism (β = .44, $p <$

.001), church attendance (β = .19, $p < .05$) and income (β = .17, $p < .05$).

Abortion Scale Regression

Independent	β	B	Standard Error	t
Variables		(unstandardized)		
Constant		-78.20	16.62	-4.71
Income	.17**	3.16	1.17	2.70
Church attendance	.19*	4.15	1.67	2.48
O1 Imagination	.10	5.80	4.53	1.28
O2 Artistic Interests	-.07	-3.35	3.70	-.91
O4 Adventurousness	.15	8.37	4.29	1.95
O5 Intellect	.04	1.91	4.16	.46
O6 Liberalism edited	.44***	21.97	4.05	5.42

F (7,132) = 17.72   Adjusted R² = .46
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (2-tailed).

Poverty attribution regression

An Ordinary least squares multiple regression analysis was used to assess the

predictive ability of church attendance, PLOC and personality for PA Non-Individualist

scale. The factors church attendance, PLOC Chance/Fate, A6 Sympathy and O6

Liberalism were entered. Preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure no violation of

the assumptions of normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity. The

total variance explained by the entire model was 29.7%, F (4,136) = 14.38, $p < .001$. In

the final model, significant predictors of the PA Non-Individualist Scale were: A6

Sympathy (β = .42, p < .001) and PLOC Chance/Fate (β = .26, $p < .001$).

PA Non-Individualist Regression

Independent	β	B	Standard Error	t
Variables		(unstandardized)		
Constant		.47	.378	1.24
Church attendance	.16	.06	.035	1.82
PLOC Chance/Fate	.26***	.20	.055	3.60
A6 Sympathy	.42***	.48	.085	5.58
O6 Liberalism	.12	.10	.077	1.33

F (4,136) = 14.38   Adjusted R^2 = .28
*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (2-tailed).

The same Ordinary least squares multiple regression analysis was re-run with O6 Liberalism edited replacing the original O6 Liberalism personality facet in order to separate the measure of political ideology from the liberalism personality trait. The total variance explained by the entire model was 29.2%, F (4,136) = 14.05, p < .001. In the final model, the significant predictors of the PA Non-Individualist Scale were: A6 Sympathy (β = .43, p < .001) and PLOC Chance/Fate (β = .26, p < .01) and church attendance (β = .18, p < .05).

PA Non-Individualist Regression

Independent	β	B	Standard Error	t
Variables		(unstandardized)		
Constant		.50	.382	1.31
Church attendance	.18*	.07	.035	2.12
PLOC Chance/Fate	.26**	.19	.055	3.51
A6 Sympathy	.43***	.49	.085	5.74
O6 Liberalism edited	.08	.07	.081	.89

F (4,136) = 14.05   Adjusted R^2 = .27
*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (2-tailed).

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION

The strongest conclusion the results support is the relationship of the personality facet O6 Liberalism to SWA and the abortion scale. Based on the strength of the regression results, there is a good case that the O6 Liberalism personality facet captures many the characteristics of political liberalism as they relate to specific political opinions. Along with O6 Liberalism, there were also several significant zero-order correlations between the Openness domain facets (along with A6 Sympathy) and specific political opinions. Previous research has shown a positive relationship between Openness and liberal political ideology and supporting the hypothesis, the current results are consistent with previous findings showing the Openness domain and facets were positively related to more liberal views (more pro-choice opinions on abortion and more supportive opinions on social welfare policy) on specific political issues.

In the current sample, O6 Liberalism is also associated with a number of other personality traits. Post-Hoc zero-order correlations show that O6 Liberalism is very strongly related to every other facet in the Openness domain and to the Openness domain itself ($r = .62$, $p < .01$). O6 Liberalism also has a negative relationship with the Conscientiousness domain ($r = -.26$, $p < .01$) and a positive relationship to facet A6 Sympathy ($r = .21$, $p < .01$) These correlations also demonstrate that those higher on O6 Liberalism tend to be more open to new experiences and ideas being more curious, imaginative, and original. They are also more sympathetic to the needs of others, but tend to be less conscientious, thorough, organized, industrious, ambitious, resourceful, and enterprising (Schoen & Schumann, 2007). If the facet O6 Liberalism represents

political liberalism, then its correlations with the personality domain Conscientiousness and Agreeableness facet A6 Sympathy is consistent with previous research showing more liberal individuals tend to be higher on Openness and Agreeableness and lower on Conscientiousness (Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Wecchione, and Barbaranelli, 2006; Schoen and Schumann, 2007; Caprara, Barbaranelli and Zimbardo, 2002). These correlations do not support the specific hypotheses suggesting that the Agreeableness and Conscientiousness domains are directly related to specific political issues on abortion and social welfare policy, but they are related to political liberalism as a political ideology.

However, the regression analysis of this study suggests the only significant, independent relationship between the Openness domain (along with A6 Sympathy) and political opinion on abortion and social welfare policy is through the facet O6 Liberalism. In the current sample there were no relationships between the Conscientiousness domain or facets to specific political opinions on abortion and social welfare policy. This suggests there may be no direct associated between Conscientiousness and specific political opinion, and the relationship between Conscientiousness and ideology may need to be studied with more specificity. The regression analysis also suggests that the association of the Agreeableness domain and facets with specific political opinion may simply be due to the A6 Sympathy facet. The results from this study suggest the personality domain Openness seems to be strongest personality domain associated with political opinion. Though, similar to the Agreeableness domain and A6 Sympathy, this may simply be due to the Openness domains and facets relationship with the facet O6 Liberalism. Further study with additional samples and statistical analysis are needed to

clarify whether personality traits outside of O6 Liberalism have a direct relationship with specific political opinions or are simply related to ideology or other factors that then influence specific political opinions. These results also suggest the important point using more specific measures for both personality and political opinion in political/personality related research. Using personality facets along with broad domains in political personality related research eliminates the possibility that a single or several facets may be accounting for the relationship between a broad personality domain and dependent variable. Measuring specific political issues opinion as opposed to simply general political ideology allows for more specific analysis, and in general, the potential research conclusions can be more specific and precise.

As stated previously, based on the strength of the regression results, the strongest result of the current study is the case that the O6 Liberalism personality facet captures many the characteristics of political liberalism as they relate to specific political opinions. In this study, the term "liberal" in O6 Liberalism is defined through the FFT perspective in that O6 Liberalism as a lower order personality facet under the broad domain Openness which is generally viewed to be a consistent personality trait, persisting over time. This perspective is reflected in the instructions for the M5 questionnaire instructions which ask participants to "describe how accurately each statement describes you. Describe yourself as you generally are now, not as you wish to be in the future." However, to understand more accurately the core constructs and characteristics which define O6 Liberalism (and potentially political liberalism) and in effort to provide more specific conclusions from research, inspection of the O6 Liberalism items may be useful.

O6 Liberalism is made up of 10 items:

> 1. Tend to vote for liberal political candidates.
>
> 2. Believe there is no absolute right or wrong.
>
> 3. Believe criminals should receive help rather than punishment.

Reverse scored items:

> 4. Believe we should be tough on crime.
>
> 5. Believe we coddle criminals too much.
>
> 6. Believe laws should be strictly enforced.
>
> 7. Believe too much tax money goes to support artists.
>
> 8. Believe in one true religion.
>
> 9. Tend to vote for conservative political candidates.
>
> 10. Like to stand during the national anthem.

Items 1 and 9 of O6 Liberalism are simply measuring general political ideology as a personality trait. An individual's general political ideology obviously would have a relationship to their opinions on specific political issues, but when these two items were removed in the O6 Liberalism edited facet, there were minimal differences in both the correlation and regression analyses. This also suggests that ideology (i.e. liberalism or conservatism) is more than just a description of the type of candidates individuals generally vote for. It also indicates that knowing the political ideology of the candidates individuals generally vote for is not the strongest predictor of their own political opinions on specific issues.

The other items in O6 Liberalism seem provide a more fundamental view into the specific concepts that define liberalism. The strongest concept derived from items 3, 4, 5, and 6 could be described as an unforgiving, strict, authoritarian view as it relates to the law and punishment of criminals. Because items 4, 5 and 6 are reversed scored (and the opposite wording of item 3), it shows that political liberalism is defined as lacking this strict, authoritarian view of the law and punishment of criminals whereas conversely, political conservatism would be partially defined by holding this strict view. Item 2 describes a belief in moral relativism as general moral compass. Theoretically, the belief in moral relativism in item 2 seems to relate well with the previous concept of a strict, authoritarian view of law and punishment. If liberals believe there is no clear moral right and wrong (less rigid moral views), it is logical to assume that it would be more difficult for them to feel as morally confident or comfortable in punishing (or punishing as severely) those who commit illegal crimes or supposedly immoral acts, because of their moral uncertainty. Conversely, if conservatives believe in a clear moral right and wrong (more rigid moral views), it would be much easier for them to feel morally confident or comfortable in punishing (and punishing more severely) those who commit illegal/immoral acts, because of their moral certainty.

Item 8 describes the belief in a monotheistic religion, which in a majority of the current study sample of rural, Caucasians (and in a majority of the U.S.) means a belief in the fundamental precepts of the Christian religion. Again on a theoretical level, this item's construct seems to relate well to the previous logic of moral relativism and its relation to a strict, authoritarian view of law and punishment. Belief in a one true religion

(here, presumably the precepts of Christianity) generally involves a belief in the religious morals which would be viewed as handed down by God and lacking any moral relativism or uncertainty. For conservatives, these religious beliefs could potentially reinforce the strength of their moral certainty and therefore the moral comfort/confidence of holding a strict, authoritarian view of law and punishment. For liberals, a lack of belief in a monotheistic religion based morality would seemingly complement the moral uncertainly of moral relativism and add reason to not hold a strict, authoritarian view of law and punishment (due to a lack of moral confidence/comfort). The content from Items 7 and 10 is more difficult to integrate into the previous logic relating to the partial definition of liberalism through holding a strict, authoritarian view of law and punishment. Item 7 content could be interpreted in multiple ways. It could be capturing either a distaste of art or the arts, or a dislike of government funding from taxes supporting artistic enterprise, or both. In political culture, favoring the ideas limited government and reduced taxes is often linked to conservatives. Item 10 seems to capture the enjoyment of a common public display of patriotism. However, it is less certain how items 7 and 10 relate to previously mentioned concept and logic defining liberalism (and differentiating it from conservatism).

The review of items from O6 Liberalism indicates some potential, specific personal characteristics that differentiate liberals and conservatives, especially relative to the political issues of abortion and social welfare. Based on the O6 Liberalism item review, political conservatism seems to be partially defined by monotheistic religion-based moral beliefs and a clear, black and white moral certainty that seems reinforce and

accompany a strict, authoritarian view of the law, morality and punishment. These characteristics and views would seemingly allow conservatives to feel more morally comfortable, confident and certain in punishing others who break their general moral/legal rules (and punishing them more harshly). On the other hand, political liberalism seems to be partially defined by a lack of a strict, authoritarian view of the law and punishment that may be due to lacking monotheistic religion-based moral beliefs and a personal morality defined by moral relativism (and uncertainty) rather than black and white moral beliefs. Because of this, may lack the moral comfort, confidence and certainty in punishing others who supposedly break general moral/legal rules (or if they do punish them, they do less severely).

The items from O6 Liberalism seem capture some of the core principles and characteristics that differentiate political liberalism from conservatism on core political issues such as abortion and social welfare. A more in depth statistical analysis of how each specific item from O6 Liberalism independently relates to political opinions on abortion and social welfare policy specifically would provide more information about the influence of each particular item (and concept) but that type of analysis lies outside of the scope of current research.

Specifically, O6 Liberalism church attendance (or religiosity) and parental/household income level were the only significant predictors of political opinion on abortion. Consistent with general thought, individuals higher on O6 Liberalism (political liberalism) and who attended church less frequently (indicating less religiosity) had more pro-choice opinions on abortion. These results show that both liberalism and

religiosity influence abortion opinion directly. Continuing the potential explanation of liberalism from above, it is possible that the moral relativism and uncertainty of liberals may also apply to beliefs on sexual behaviors. If liberals tend to think the sexual behaviors that may lead to unwanted pregnancies (i.e. unprotected sex, premarital sex or accidental pregnancy from protected intercourse, etc.) are not immoral, then it is possible they would be more supportive governmental policies (legalized abortion) to resolve unwanted pregnancies. Additionally, individuals with higher parental/household income also had more pro-choice opinions on abortion. The influence of income on abortion opinion is more difficult to interpret. It may simply be that individuals with higher parental/household income may tend to be more liberal politically, and thus more accepting of pro-choice abortion views. There may be additional reasons outside of political liberalism explaining why parental/household income level influences abortion opinion (such as explaining the less rigid views on sexuality) specifically due to financial conditions, but it seems that any explanation from parental/household income would be be less influential on abortion opinion than the one from political liberalism.

For specific opinion on social welfare policy, there were two types of significant predictors, the personality facet O6 Liberalism and poverty attribution, both Individualist and Non-Individualist. With these two types of factors influencing social welfare policy opinion, there may be separate but related possible interpretations as to how these two types of factors relate to social welfare policy opinion. The results show that individuals higher on O6 Liberalism (political liberalism) had more supportive opinions on social welfare policy. Continuing with the O6 Liberalism logic and definition, it is again

possible that the moral relativism and uncertainty of liberals may apply to beliefs about circumstances which lead to low income financial situations/poverty in others. If liberals tend to think the events, actions, or circumstances that lead to low income situations in others are not the moral responsibility of the poor, then it is possible they would be more supportive of governmental policies (i.e. social welfare policies that provide financial support and resources to the poor) designed to help people improve their low income financial circumstances. The development of political opinion on social welfare policy is more difficult to interpret though because the larger number of reasons, and number of ways those reasons can be morally interpreted that cause people to become poor.

So why might liberals think the events, actions or circumstances that lead to poverty are not the moral responsibility of the poor themselves? That question is more difficult to answer but poverty attribution may help provide an answer this question. Supporting the study hypotheses, the results found that individuals with higher on PA Individualist poverty attribution had less supportive opinions on social welfare policy while those with higher Non-Individualist poverty attribution had more supportive opinions on social welfare policy. Individualist poverty attribution is a more narrowly focused concept, explaining why people become poor as simply due to personal characteristics of the poor (i.e. 'the poor make no attempts at self improvement.' or 'a lack of effort and laziness by the poor.'). Non-Individualist poverty attributions are more varied reasons for existence of poverty, but all explain why people become poor as due to circumstances outside of the personal characteristics of the poor (i.e. 'because of prejudice and discrimination in hiring, promotion and wages.' or 'because of a failure of

society to provide good enough education for many Americans.'). These can be many types of external reasons for poverty such as characteristics of society, the economic system or simply due to chance. In previous research, Non-Individualist poverty attributions have been separated into more categories than the singular 'Non-Individualist' category, however all of the Non-Individualist reasons seem relate well to each other though, as shown by the PA Non-Individualist scale internally reliability, $\alpha =$ .78. However, a potential reason why Non-Individualist poverty attributions relate well to each other may be that they all are reasons explaining poverty that don't hold the poor themselves as morally accountable for their own financial circumstances, because the reasons are interpreted as being outside of the low income individuals control (poverty due to reasons other than the internal personal characteristics of the poor). If individuals (liberals) tend to attribute poverty/low income financial circumstances of others to reasons outside of the personal characteristics of the poor themselves (meaning reasons outside of their own control) it is less likely they will hold the poor accountable or responsible for their low income financial situation and thus be more supportive of governmental policies designed to help people improve their low income financial circumstances (i.e. social welfare policies that provide financial support and resources to the poor). The types of poverty attributions individuals use to explain the existence of poverty have a strong relationship to their opinions on social welfare policy. Poverty attributions also seem to have potential to show what individuals think about the control others have over their own economic/financial circumstances. Supporting this notion is the correlation between PLOC internal ($r = .26$, $p < .01$) scale and SWA Negative

(despite the internal reliability problems with PLOC internal). This result suggests that individuals with a higher view that others are in control their own lives and circumstances tend to have opinions that agree with the negative consequences of social welfare policies on welfare recipients.

In attempt to further explain this question, the factors related to Non-Individualistic poverty attribution were also investigated. O6 Liberalism was one of the correlated factors, but was not a significant predictor. The two strongest predictors of Non-Individualistic poverty attribution were personality facet A6 Sympathy and PLOC Chance/Fate. These results suggest individuals who tend to attribute poverty as due to reasons outside of the personal characteristics of the poor tend to be more sympathetic of others as a general personality trait. They also tend to view the world for others people as more unordered and random, where their actions as less influential in their environment and the life circumstances of others as due to the forces of pure chance or fate. Based on previous research and the current study, there is a strong relationship between poverty attribution and opinion on social welfare policy, however the factors that relate to differing types of attribution an individual chooses are less certain. The results here show that the concepts within the personality facet A6 Sympathy are likely influential or related to the type of poverty attribution individuals use to explain the existence of poverty. The results from the PLOC Chance/Fate scale (despite the measurement problems) also indicate that the belief about the type and amount of control others have in their own lives and financial circumstances (or volition of others) is another possible factor that could explain why individuals explain the existence of poverty using differing

reasons (Individualistic vs. Non-Individualistic). When judging the moral blame for circumstances of others (especially financial circumstances), individuals' opinion on whether those circumstances are a result of events or actions that are within the control of others (i.e. due to their own personal characteristics) or outside of the control of others (i.e. due to situations outside of their own personal characteristics) may be one of the fundamental foundations moral assessments are made upon, and ultimately could show significant influence in the development of specific political opinion. The PLOC scale attempts to capture this general view of others' volition over their life circumstances, but there seems to be considerable weakness in the in both internal reliability (for the PLOC internal scale ($\alpha = .54$) and theoretical coherence in the concepts measured by the individual items of the PLOC measure. Despite this, the PLOC measure may have potential as a future instrument to capture more concretely the view of others' volition as well as potentially explain why individuals attribute poverty to different reasons, and form differing opinions on political issues.

Finally, the results of this study may also demonstrate that the stereotypical characteristics or personality traits of either liberals or conservatives may be related to their political ideology (O6 Liberalism) or other factors related to political opinion, but do not seem to directly relate to specific political opinions on abortion and social welfare policy. The point here is that it may be easy to associate members of a specific political ideology with stereotypical or commonly associated personality characteristics, but many of these characteristics are ultimately not likely to be related to their specific political opinions on political issues. Based on this, if the aim of political debate is to persuade

others to change their political opinion, it would be more efficient and productive to discuss or debate the personality traits or worldviews that directly relate to political opinion (O6 Liberalism characteristics or differing poverty attributions) rather than the personality traits that only coincidentally appear in people with a specific political opinion

Strengths and limitations

The results and conclusions of the current study may be limited by one of the most common issues in social psychology research, often referred to as the college sophomore problem (McNemar, 1946). The concern with this issue is the study sample, predominantly 18-19 year old, rural, Caucasian college students, is not representative of the population of the American public and therefore the limiting the generalizability of the study results. The results of this study should be viewed based on the limitations of the sample age, race/ethnicity, geographical and cultural location. Additionally, 20.3% of the participants selected 'Don't know/Haven't thought about it' when asked identify their own political ideology, which may indicate that a higher percentage of participants have less knowledge about where their own political opinions put them in the continuum of political ideology to than would be found in the general population. However, it could be argued that in relation to the personality, cognitive and other mental process related to political opinion formation, there would only be minimal differences between a college student sample and adults from similar demographic backgrounds, meaning the current study sample can be representative of adult political opinion. Also, the study participants

provided a diverse distribution of specific political opinions on abortion and social welfare, along with self-reported political ideology giving results based on a large portion of the political spectrum.

On another note, though the PLOC scale attempts of measure the potentially useful construct of perceived volition of others, however the PLOC measure seems to have some theoretical construct and item content problems that were not readily solvable through any exploratory factor analysis. This issue is also evident in the weak internal reliability of PLOC Internal scale. Because of these methodological weaknesses, any of the significant results from the PLOC scale in this study are more difficult to interpret.

Future Directions

The present study inspires several questions that provide potential directions of future research though. The most obvious direction for future study is the more specific investigation of the core concepts of the O6 Liberalism personality facet (and items) and how it may potentially conceptualize and explain the core differences between liberal and conservative ideology. An area already investigated in some respects by Haidt and Graham (2007), the differing moral foundations between liberals and conservatives may serve as an additional explanation of some of the core differences within political ideology and opinion. Additionally, the this study encourages future studies to use more specific measures of both personality, other relevant worldviews and political opinion to continue the attempt to identify and define the characteristics that divide and create conflict between individuals who differ in political opinion and ideology. It is hoped that

further research into these areas will provide a more precise elaboration of the factors that cause political opinion conflict and potentially allow for more efficient and productive discussion of the specific factors that citizens use to form political opinion.

More specifically, there seems to be potential in continued investigation into more specific types of poverty attribution and the factors that influence the type of attribution individuals use to explain societal economic conditions. One factor of particular interest, which the PLOC scale's attempts to capture, is an individuals' view on the volition of others. The results of the current study, while difficult to interpret they are, seem to indicate this factor as a concept that should be explored as it relates to political opinion. Finally and most generally, the results should encourage the study of larger, more demographically diverse samples which would enable more confident and generalizable conclusions about the factors related to specific political opinions.

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Appendix A: Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Project Title: Personality and Political Policy Opinion

What is the purpose of this research?

This research seeks to examine the relationship between personality, beliefs about the amount of control other people have over life situations and political opinions.

What will be expected of me?

You will be asked to complete several questionnaires relating to personality, beliefs about the amount of control other people have over life situations and specific political opinions on abortion, poverty and social welfare programs. Participation is voluntary and you do not have to participate if you prefer not to.

How long with the research take?

It will take approximately 25-40 minutes to complete the questionnaires.

Will my answers be anonymous?

Yes. If you give you name for the purpose of recording your survey response in order to receive course or extra credit, your name will be stored in a secure file separate from your survey responses If you do not need course or extra credit for participation, then your name will not be used at all in this research. The information you provide will be for the purpose of data collection.

Can I withdraw from the study if I decide to?

Yes. You can withdraw from the research at any time without penalty and ask for your answers not to be used.

Is there any harm that I might experience from taking part in the study?

No. There is no foreseeable harm to participants by taking part in this study.

How will I benefit from taking part in the research?

If you are in a psychology course you will receive course credit for participating. If you are in a Political Science or another undergraduate course you may receive extra credit for participating (determined by the professor of your course). If you are not in an undergraduate course or are not a student, then you will have the satisfaction of having participated in a study contributing to the understanding of the factors that influence political opinion.

Who should I contact if I have questions or concerns about the research?

If you have any concerns about how you were treated during the experiment, you may contact the office of the IRB at Western Carolina, a committee that oversees the ethical dimensions of the research process. The IRB office can be contacted at (828) 227-3177. This research project has been approved by the IRB.

You may contact me (Andrew Johnson) at the Department of Psychology Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, NC 28723 (828-227-7361). You can also contact the Program Director David McCord at (828-227-7361).

If you need to collect course or extra credit for participating in this research please write the following in the blank below: 1. your name 2. the course name and 3. the instructor's name for the course in which you would like to receive credit .

If you don't need course or extra credit for participating there is no need to record your name.

If you would like to receive a summary of the results once the study has been completed please write your email address below:

By continuing to the next page you are consenting to participate in this research study.

Appendix A: Abortion View Questionnaire

Directions: Indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by using the rating scale below. Write the corresponding number next to each question in the blank provided.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

_____1. In The Bible, God says abortion is immoral and a sin.

_____2. Abortion should be legally permitted if, due to personal reasons, the woman would have difficulty in caring for the child.

_____3. The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.

_____4. By law, abortion should never be permitted, no matter what the circumstances.

_____5. By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion (regardless of reason) as a matter of personal choice.

_____6. The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.

Directions: Using the statements to the right as a guide, circle a number from 1-30 that best represents your point of view on Abortion. Also write that number from 1-30 here: _____

Pro-Life

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Pro-Choice

In The Bible, God says abortion is immoral and a sin.

By law, abortion should never be permitted, no matter what the circumstances.

The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.

The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.

Abortion should be legally permitted if, due to personal reasons, the woman would have difficulty in caring for the child.

By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion (regardless of reason) as a matter of personal choice.

Appendix A: Attitude towards Social Welfare Questionnaire

Directions: Indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about Social Welfare by using the rating scale below. Write the corresponding number next to each question in the blank provided.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. The government should guarantee that no one should suffer from severe deprivation.
2. I would be ready to pay higher taxes so as to increase spending on education.
3. Social Welfare benefits for poor families increase their dependence.
4. There are too many people receiving Income Support benefits who should be working.
5. We are spending too little money on Social Welfare in United States.
6. Social Welfare benefits undermine individual responsibility.
7. The government should take responsibility for the welfare of people unable to meet their own needs.
8. Most people on Income Support benefits who can work try to find jobs so they can support themselves.
9. I would be ready to pay higher taxes so as to increase spending on social welfare.
10. The government should guarantee a basic standard of living.
11. Many people getting Income Support are not honest about their needs.
12. The government should take responsibility for reducing income gaps.
13. Unemployment compensations undermine the willingness of the unemployed to work.
14. I would be ready to pay higher health taxes so as to increase spending on health.
15. Receiving Social Welfare benefits encourages laziness.
16. One of the main problems with Social Welfare is that it doesn't give people enough money to meet their basic needs.
17. It's not fair to tax working people and give their money away to unsuccessful people asking for hand outs.
18. Social Welfare benefits for the poor undermine their willingness to work.

Appendix A: Poverty Attribution Questionnaire

Directions: Members of our society live in different financial conditions, whereas causes of poverty may vary from case to case. The following statements describe some of the possible reasons why some people become poor. Please rate to which extent you agree with these statements, i.e. how well the statement explains the reasons why some people in our country are poor.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

1. Low wages in some businesses and industries.
2. Lack of thrift and proper money management.
3. Fate.
4. Break down of nuclear or traditional family.
5. Personal irresponsibility.
6. Just bad luck.
7. Prejudice and discrimination in hiring, promotion and wages.
8. Failure of society to provide good enough education for many Americans.
9. Having to attend bad schools.
10. Lack of effort and laziness by those who are poor.
11. Failure of private industry to provide enough good jobs.
12. Lack of discipline among those who are poor.
13. Being born into poverty.
14. Not having the right "contacts" to help find jobs.
15. God's will.
16. No attempts at self improvement.
17. The types of jobs the poor can get are often low paying.
18. Alcohol and drug abuse or loose morals among the poor.
19. A Federal government which is insensitive to the plight of the poor.
20. Being born with a low IQ.
21. External forces that we neither understand or control.

Appendix A: Perceived Locus of Control of Others Scale

Directions: On this page is a series of attitude statements. Each represents a commonly held opinion. There are no right or wrong answers. Read each statement carefully and indicate the extent to which you agree by marking to the left of each statement with each number value provided.

Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

_____ 1. Whether or not other people get to be leaders depends mostly on their ability.

_____ 2. To a great extent other people's lives are controlled by accidental happenings.

_____ 3. I feel like what happens in other people's lives is mostly determined by powerful people.

_____ 4. Whether or not other people get into a car accident depends mostly on how good of drivers they are.

_____ 5. When other people make plans, they are almost certain to make them work.

_____ 6. For other people, often there is no chance of protecting their personal interests from bad luck happenings.

_____ 7. When others get what they want, it's usually because they're lucky.

_____ 8. Although other people might have good ability, they will not be given leadership responsibility without appealing to those in positions of power.

_____ 9. How many friends others have depends on how nice a person they are.

_____ 10. For others, often what is going to happen will happen.

_____ 11. Other people's lives are chiefly controlled by powerful others.

_____ 12. Whether or not other people get into a car accident is mostly a matter of luck.

_____ 13. Other people have very little chance of protecting their personal interests when they conflict with those of strong pressure groups.

_____ 14. It's not always wise for other people to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune.

_____ 15. For other people, getting what they want requires pleasing those people above them.

_____ 16. Whether or not others get to be leaders depends on whether they're lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time.

_____ 17. If important people were to decide they didn't like someone, that person probably wouldn't make many friends.

_____ 18. Other people can pretty much determine what will happen in their lives.

_____ 19. Other people are usually able to protect their personal interests.

_____ 20. Whether or not other people get into a car accident depends mostly on the other drivers.

_____ 21. When others get what they want, it's usually because they worked hard for it.

_____ 22. For other people to have their plans work, they make sure that they fit in with the desires of people who have power over them.

_____ 23. Other people's lives are determined by their own actions.

_____ 24. It's chiefly a matter of fate whether or not other people have a few friends or many friends.

Appendix A: Demographics and Political Ideology/Identification

Directions: Please fill out the following information about yourself.

Year born: _____
Sex: _____
Academic Major: _____

Please identify your race, check all that apply:

Caucasian   African American Asian-American Hispanic Arab-American Native American Other

Based on your or your parents' combined income, which economic class would you use to describe the household you grew up in?

Under $19,999 $20,000-29,999 $30,000-39,999 $40,000-54,999 $55,000-69,999 $70,000-99,999 $100,000-149,999 $150,000-199,999 $200,000+

Please indicate how often you attend church or a religious service:

Every week   Almost every week   Once or twice a month   A few times a year   Never No religious preference

How would you describe your involvement with political parties?

____ Strong Democrat
____ Moderate Democrat
____ Independent Democrat
____ Independent
____ Independent Republican
____ Moderate Republican
____ Strong Republican
____ Apolitical

How would you describe your political views?

____ Extremely Liberal
____ Liberal
____ Slightly Liberal
____ Middle of the Road
____ Slightly Conservative
____ Conservative
____ Extremely Conservative
____ Don't know/Haven't thought about it

Appendix A: M5 Questionnaire Personality Items

Directions: On the following pages, there are phrases describing people's behaviors. Please use the rating scale below to describe how accurately each statement describes *you*. Describe yourself as you generally are now, not as you wish to be in the future. Describe yourself as you honestly see yourself, in relation to other people you know of the same sex as you are, and roughly your same age. So that you can describe yourself in an honest manner, your responses will be kept in absolute confidence. Please read each statement carefully, and then fill in the bubble that corresponds to the number on the scale.

Response Options
1: Very Inaccurate
2: Moderately Inaccurate
3: Neither Inaccurate nor Accurate
4: Moderately Accurate
5: Very Accurate

1 ____Have difficulty imagining things.
2 ____Do not like art.
3 ____Experience my emotions intensely.
4 ____Waste my time.
5 ____Am easy to satisfy.
6 ____Am passionate about causes.
7 ____Enjoy examining myself and my life.
8 ____Obstruct others' plans.
9 ____Treat others differently if I don't like them.
10 ____Dislike new foods.
11 ____Like to solve complex problems.
12 ____Love flowers.
13 ____Do crazy things.
14 ____Suspect hidden motives in others.
15 ____Enjoy thinking about things.
16 ____Tend to vote for liberal political candidates.
17 ____Would never cheat on my taxes.
18 ____Excel in what I do.
19 ____Indulge in my fantasies.
20 ____Seldom get emotional.
21 ____Believe that everyone should have a say.
22 ____Believe in the importance of art.
23 ____Seldom get lost in thought.
24 ____Believe that too much tax money goes to support artists.
25 ____Can handle a lot of information.
26 ____Am not easily affected by my emotions.
27 ____Turn my back on others.
28 ____Believe laws should be strictly enforced.
29 ____Jump into things without thinking.
30 ____Often forget to put things back in their proper place.
31 ____Avoid difficult reading material.
32 ____Enjoy wild flights of fantasy.
33 ____Trust others.
34 ____Am not interested in abstract ideas.
35 ____Get to work at once.
36 ____Treat people as inferiors.
37 ____See beauty in things that others might not notice.
38 ____Think that all will be well.
39 ____Believe in one true religion.
40 ____Feel sympathy for those who are worse off than myself.
41 ____Am a creature of habit.
42 ____Do the opposite of what is asked.

43 ____Rarely notice my emotional reactions.
44 ____Postpone decisions.
45 ____Believe that people are essentially evil.
46 ____Like order.
47 ____Like to get lost in thought.
48 ____Can't stand confrontations.
49 ____Am a good listener.
50 ____Am not bothered by messy people.
51 ____Can accept a lot from others.
52 ____Have a vivid imagination.
53 ____Like to act on a whim.
54 ____Do not like concerts.
55 ____Act without thinking.
56 ____Avoid philosophical discussions.
57 ____Know the answers to many questions.
58 ____Believe there are many sides to most issues.
59 ____Dislike changes.
60 ____Contradict others.
61 ____Like to tidy up.
62 ____Give everyone a chance.
63 ____Trust what people say.
64 ____Keep my promises.
65 ____Know how to get around the rules.
66 ____Experience very few emotional highs and lows.
67 ____Go straight for the goal.
68 ____Believe that we should be tough on crime.
69 ____Need a push to get started.
70 ____Yell at people.
71 ____Have little to contribute.
72 ____Anticipate the needs of others.
73 ____Am attached to conventional ways.
74 ____Start tasks right away.
75 ____Like to begin new things.
76 ____Avoid mistakes.
77 ____Believe that criminals should receive help rather than punishment.
78 ____Do not have a good imagination.
79 ____Feel others' emotions.
80 ____Look down on others.
81 ____Try to understand myself.
82 ____Use flattery to get ahead.
83 ____Tell the truth.
84 ____Distrust people.
85 ____Have difficulty starting tasks.
86 ____Hold a grudge.
87 ____Have a good word for everyone.
88 ____Have a high opinion of myself.
89 ____Plunge into tasks with all my heart.
90 ____Have difficulty understanding abstract ideas.
91 ____Am annoyed by others' mistakes.
92 ____Take no time for others.
93 ____Don't like the idea of change.
94 ____Am not highly motivated to succeed.
95 ____Stick to my chosen path.
96 ____Like music.
97 ____Get others to do my duties.
98 ____Believe in human goodness.
99 ____Spend time reflecting on things.
100 ____Treat all people equally.
101 ____Do not enjoy going to art museums.
102 ____Find it difficult to get down to work.
103 ____Insult people.
104 ____Put people under pressure.
105 ____Am committed to principles of justice and equality.
106 ____Love to daydream.
107 ____Dislike talking about myself.
108 ____Prefer variety to routine.
109 ____Seldom toot my own horn.
110 ____Like to stand during the national anthem.
111 ____Am wary of others.
112 ____Make people feel welcome.
113 ____Put little time and effort into my work.
114 ____Respect others.

115 ____Don't understand people who get emotional.
116 ____Make people feel uncomfortable.
117 ____Carry out my plans.
118 ____Believe that others have good intentions.
119 ____Rush into things.
120 ____Tend to vote for conservative political candidates.
121 ____Take advantage of others.
122 ____Break my promises.
123 ____Do not like poetry.
124 ____Reassure others.
125 ____Believe that I am better than others.
126 ____Choose my words with care.
127 ____Have a sharp tongue.
128 ____Handle tasks smoothly.
129 ____Cheat to get ahead.
130 ____Admit when I am wrong.
131 ____Think highly of myself.
132 ____Have a good word for everyone.
133 ____Believe that people are basically moral.
134 ____Misjudge situations.
135 ____Enjoy the beauty of nature.
136 ____Believe that everyone's rights are equally important.
137 ____Suffer from others' sorrows.
138 ____Get back at others.
139 ____Have a rich vocabulary.
140 ____Misrepresent the facts.
141 ____Am indifferent to the feelings of others.
142 ____Do more than what's expected of me.
143 ____Anticipate the needs of others.
144 ____Love to read challenging material.
145 ____Am a bad loser.
146 ____Consider myself an average person.
147 ____Complete tasks successfully.
148 ____Seldom daydream.
149 ____Get irritated easily.
150 ____Feel others' emotions.
151 ____Know how to get things done.
152 ____Love a good fight.
153 ____Love order and regularity.
154 ____Am interested in many things.
155 ____Don't see the consequences of things.
156 ____Pretend to be concerned for others.
157 ____Am not bothered by disorder.
158 ____Want everything to be "just right."
159 ____Do not enjoy watching dance performances.
160 ____Try not to think about the needy.
161 ____Work hard.
162 ____Use others for my own ends.
163 ____Love to help others.
164 ____Tend to dislike soft-hearted people.
165 ____Am sure of my ground.
166 ____Do things according to a plan.
167 ____Hate to seem pushy.
168 ____Stick to the rules.
169 ____Believe that others have good intentions.
170 ____Dislike being the center of attention.
171 ____Demand quality.
172 ____Believe that there is no absolute right and wrong.
173 ____Leave a mess in my room.
174 ____Am concerned about others.
175 ____Make others feel good.
176 ____Am not interested in theoretical discussions.
177 ____Believe that we coddle criminals too much.
178 ____Do just enough work to get by.
179 ____Lay down the law to others.
180 ____Try to follow the rules.

Appendix B: Abortion Scale Distribution

Graph 1.

Distribution of responses to the abortion scale measuring opinion on abortion. Scores closer to 1 represent more pro-life abortion opinions and scores closer to 100 represent more pro-choice abortion opinions.

Abortion Scale (1=pro-life 100=pro-choice)
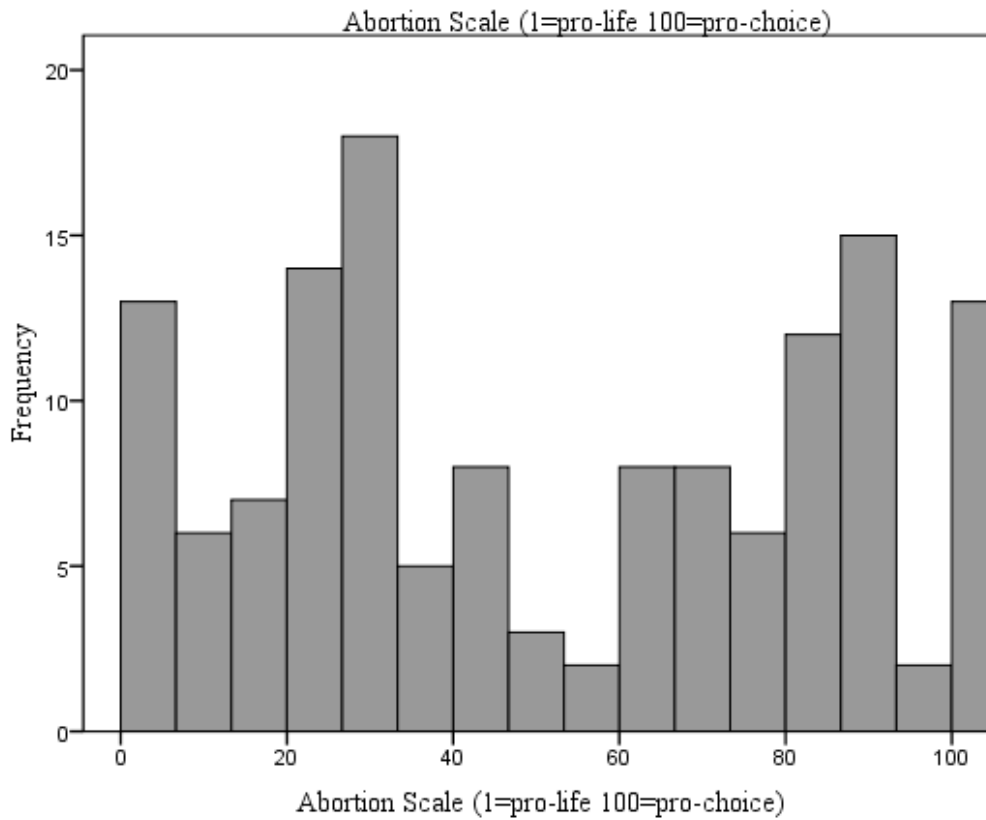
Appendix B: SWA Total Distribution

Graph 2.

Distribution of responses for SWA Total measuring opinion on social welfare policy.   indicate agreement with each item using a 5-point Likert-type format. Higher scores on SWA Total represent more supportive opinion on social welfare policy and lower scores represent less supportive opinions on social welfare policy.

SWATotal