ABSTRACT

SALL, ENGLISH GREY The Development of the CARS Political Viewpoints Scale. (Under the direction of Dr. Lori Foster and Dr. Mark A. Wilson).

This dissertation details the development and validation of the CARS Political Viewpoints Scale (PVS). The construct is defined as preferences about how society should be organized, how power in society should be allocated, the goals that society should aim to achieve, and the methods by which to achieve those goals. Political viewpoints relate to various human behaviors, including those relevant to a workplace setting. An item pool consisting of 262 items was generated and administered to two samples. The two samples were collected simultaneously and mirrored the United States electorate. The first sample consisted of 767 participants, and the second sample consisted of 762 participants. The results of an exploratory factor analysis indicated that the items were consistent with a four-factor solution. A confirmatory factor analysis on a separate cross validation sample confirmed this pattern. The final PVS consists of 24 items measuring four dimensions of political viewpoints: Collective, Accountability, Religiosity, and Security (CARS). This four-factor solution supports a multi-dimensional understanding of political viewpoints, which is more nuanced than the common conceptualization of political viewpoints falling on a liberal to conservative continuum. An assessment of convergent and discriminant validity offered additional validity evidence for the PVS. For example, convergent results indicated that Religiosity correlated significantly with the conventional sub facet of Right-Wing Authoritarianism ($r = .72$, $p < .0001$) and the Intrinsic sub facet of Age Universal Religious Orientation ($r = .72$, $p < .0001$). There were also scales that showed no significant relationship with any of the political viewpoints sub facets, providing evidence of discriminant validity. Age Universal Religious Orientation (Intrinsic) had no significant relationship with the Collective dimension. Openness to experience and risk of future

events had no relationship with the Security and Religiosity dimensions. Conscientiousness and Neuroticism had no relationship with the Accountability dimension, and Neuroticism had no relationship with Religiosity.

This research provides an impactful contribution to the space of politics and psychology in that it provides support for the idea political viewpoints exist within a person in a multidimensional and multifaceted manner. This research enables us to measure political viewpoints in a way that allows multiple viewpoints to exist within a person at one time. This provides a new and unique way to measure political viewpoints for Americans.

The Development of the CARS Political Viewpoints Scale

by
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BIOGRAPHY

English Sall graduated from Meredith college in 2013 with a bachelor's degree in Economics and went on to pursue and PhD in Industrial and Organizational Psychology at North Carolina State University. English is co-founder of the organization Impact Thread which uses IOP to address workforce and organizational development through a social good lens. Before co-founding Impact Thread, English was co-director for Aspen Institute's Impact Careers Initiative. English has also worked as a Data Strategist Fellow with Organize and as a member of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychologists-United Nations Liaison team. English is also the co-founder of Embark, a Gender Justice initiative powered by CARE. English served as Visiting Research Fellow at the Social Science Research Institute Duke University in the center for Advanced Hindsight. English is currently a principle at Community Health Acceleration Partnership as well as an Adjunct professor at UNC Gilling's School of Global Public Health in the department of Health Behavior.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Political viewpoints are preferences about how society should be organized, how power in society should be allocated, the goals that society should aim to achieve, and the methods by which to achieve those goals (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2018; Crowson, 2009; Devine, 2014; Hill, Hanna, & Shafqat, 1997; Jost, Napier, Thorisdottir, Gosling, Palfai, & Ostafin, 2007; Kiley & Keeter, 2015; Middendorp, 1978; Wood & Oliver, 2012). Research suggests that understanding political viewpoints may provide insight into human behavior in a variety of different contexts including in workplace and organizational settings. Accordingly, a number of scales and measures have been developed and used to quantify people's political views (Chin, Hambrick & Trevino, 2013; Everett, 2013; Fried et al., 2001; Henningham, 1995; Matthews, Levin & Sidanius, 2009; Middendorp, 1978). While prior measures have enhanced our understanding of the antecedents and consequences of political views and ideology, they do not fully capture political viewpoints as they exist today. The purpose of this study is to develop and validate a comprehensive, up-to-date, potentially multi-dimensional political viewpoints scale for a United States electorate. This manuscript begins with examples of previous research demonstrating the importance of understanding people's political views in life and at work. Next, an overview of prior attempts to measure political views and ideology is provided, followed by a critical assessment of shortcomings with currently available measures. This manuscript then moves to a description of the present study, which develops a new measure informed by prior research and addresses the gaps identified.

Consequences of Political Views and Ideologies

People's political views have been shown to predict a range of attitudes and behaviors including but not limited to the following five examples: trust in government (Syed, 2016); trust in false information (Samore et al., 2018); attitudes towards moral transgressions (Smith et al.,

2017); pronunciation of words (Jaggers, 2018, 2019); and intent to vote (Bennett & Bennett, 1989). First, an empirical linkage has been established between political views and individuals' levels of political trust, or trust in government (Syed, 2016). Political viewpoints predict which politicians and government actors individuals trust and how much trust they have in those politicians and government actors. When an individual's political viewpoints align with positions that the government holds and the values that the government operationalizes, then trust in government is heightened (Syed, 2016). Political trust has been touted as a key indicator of how people relate to political actors, which impacts how individuals behave with respect to their interaction with government, for example their propensity to pay taxes (Syed, 2016).

Political views also shape how people interpret or react to different government actions, such as government spending. In a study examining the role of political trust and ideology on public support for government spending, Rudolph and Evans (2005) emphasize that political ideology is a predisposition that "plays a large role in shaping the formation of policy attitudes" (p. 662). Rudolph and Evans measured ideology by asking people to state their political affiliation and found that levels of political trust are different between liberals and conservatives with respect to different actors and issues. The results indicated that political ideology moderates the effect of political trust on attitudes toward government spending. Specifically, the level of political trust amongst conservatives had a larger impact on government spending attitudes, suggesting that political trust increases the demand for government intervention, especially among conservatives (Rudolph & Evans, 2005).

Second, political views relate to people's propensity to trust false information (Samore et al., 2018). Samore et al. (2018) assessed political views by asking 500 respondents to indicate whether or not they agree with 30 politically charged issues such as gay marriage and abortion.

Respondents were also asked to evaluate the truth of 16 statements, two of which were false statements. Results showed that those with more conservative views on political issues were more likely to view the false statements as correct. This research suggests that political viewpoints may relate to trust in messages about danger and threatening information (Samore et al., 2018).

Third, political viewpoints have been shown to predict attitudes about others who commit moral transgressions (Smith et al., 2019). In a study published in 2019, Smith and colleagues found that those who hold more liberal political ideologies dislike a person more when that person has "transgressed against moral foundations of care and fairness" (p. 789). They also found that those who identify with more conservative ideologies dislike an individual more when that individual has committed transgressions against foundations of loyalty, purity, and authority. These findings suggest that defining and measuring political viewpoints can shed light on attitudes about and perhaps relationships with other people.

A fourth example is more behavioral in nature. Recent research suggests that political ideology correlates with how people pronounce certain words (Jaggers, 2018, 2019). A qualitative linguistics study conducted by Jaggers (2018) found that those who identify as Democrat pronounced words in a way that native speakers might pronounce them, for example the word "spiel" which comes from German lexicon, was pronounced "shpeel" by most Democrats, which is more closely related to how it is pronounced in Germany. Meanwhile, most Republicans pronounced it as "speel". Jaggers (2019) highlights the importance of these findings, as the pronunciation of words relates to people's attitudes, noting that "People tend to speak more like others when they have more positive attitudes towards them (p. 5). Jaggers (2019) reasons that Republicans often ascribe to more nationalist perspectives and may also have

a more negative view of diversity. In turn, those identifying as Republican may be less inclined to value speaking in a way that signals respect to other cultures (Jaggers, 2019). Understanding the relationship between political viewpoints and the way that people speak can shed light on the intention and meaning behind behaviors that may seem relatively small.

A fifth example illustrates the relationship between political views and a behavioral intention widely seen as important: intent to vote (Dunn & Thorton, 2016). Strong democracies require people to vote, yet voter participation is often disappointingly low (Desilver, 2018). Research by Dunn and Thorton (2016) suggests that beliefs about democracy impact an individual's intent to vote. Dunn and Thorton (2016) examined responses provided by U.S. participants of the fifth wave of the World Values Survey and found differential views of many "essential" aspects of democracy; these differences predicted voting intent among individuals. Dunn and Thorton (2016) found that those who were more likely to view democracy as a form of government that preforms civil liberties and the redistribution of wealth were more likely to vote for Democratic candidates and policies endorsed by Democrats. Those who reported stronger associations between democracy and religious interpretations of laws were more likely to vote for Republican candidates and polices endorsed by Republicans. Other research has examined how political views predict voter turnout, voter behaviors, and attention to issues that determine voting behavior (Bennett & Bennett, 1998; Dunn & Thorton, 2016; Mondak, 1999; Sances 2017). Recently, Pavlovic and Todosijevic (2018) considered the effect of party identification and political knowledge on voter turnout. Results showed that the effect of political knowledge on voter turnout is highly dependent on the presence of party identification. Overall, there is extensive evidence to suggest a relationship between political views and voter behaviors.

The five examples above suggest that understanding political viewpoints can provide insight into how someone will think and behave. Of special interest to organizational scholars is the importance of political viewpoints to organizational research and practice. Past research has pointed to a number of interesting ways in which political views influence workplace functioning. Examples, described next, fall into two general categories. Some research looks specifically at the effects and correlates of leaders' political views, while other research examines how the political views of the workforce more broadly relate to organizational functioning.

At the top level, research has shown interesting results pertaining to corporate social responsibility (CSR). Leaders substantially influence an organization's CSR strategy and activities, which are shaped by leaders' political ideologies (Chin, Hambrick & Trevino, 2013; Gupta, Briscoe & Hambrick, 2017). Research conducted by Chin et al. assessed the CSR profiles of 1500 firms with newly appointed CEOs. First, they measured the extent to which the political donations during the 10 years before the leader became CEO supported the Democrat and Republican parties in the United States. Chin et al. then looked at the annual CSR profile during each year in which the CEO was in office. Ultimately, results showed that CEOs who were more financially supportive of the Democrat party were more likely to lead organizations engaging in CSR initiatives, irrespective of company performance. CEOs more supportive of the Republican party tended to engage in CSR on a more contingent basis, depending on overall company performance. In other words, CEOs deemed more conservative tended to engage in CSR when the company was performing well and had extra profit. Chin et al.'s data also showed that a CEO's political ideology has a large impact on his or her company's political action committee (PAC) allocations.

More recent research has shown relationships between a CEO's political viewpoints and top management teams' decision-making processes. Research conducted by Chin et al., (2018) found that top management teams with more socially liberal CEOs engage in more extensive information search processes, which are negatively related to corporate entrepreneurship. Corporate entrepreneurship in this context refers to a value-generating focus on developing new tools, products, and frameworks inside an organization. Results also showed that top management teams with fiscally liberal CEOs tend to embark on more cooperative decision-making processes, which are positively related to corporate entrepreneurship (Chin et al., 2018). Overall, this study lends support to the idea that the political viewpoints of CEOs impact strategic behaviors within an organization.

Some literature also suggests that CEOs' political viewpoints affect the values they hold concerning diversity and equality in the workplace (Kalogeraki, Georgakakis & Greve, 2019). Research conducted by Kalogeraki et al. found that CEOs who hold more conservative political viewpoints embed fewer egalitarian values within the organization and experience more diversity-related litigation. This means that more corporate discrimination lawsuits are filed against organizations with conservative CEOs (Kalogeraki, Georgakakis & Greve, 2019).

While leaders' political viewpoints clearly influence organizational outcomes, the political viewpoints of workers throughout an organization also matter. Some investigations have shown that political viewpoints are related to workers' views about affirmative action and workplace discrimination. Research conducted by Fried et al. (2001) suggested that individuals who hold more egalitarian political viewpoints, and view fairness in terms of group equality, were more supportive of affirmative action. This finding was moderated by whether or not individuals had themselves experienced discrimination (Fried et al., 2001). In other words, those

with egalitarian political views were more likely to support workplace affirmative action, especially if they had personally experienced discrimination at work in the past.

Research has also examined how political views affect organizational retention, suggesting that turnover can occur due to lack of political viewpoint alignment. Sekou and Roy (2018) looked at workers in private equity firms. They used a spectrum-like measure to get a better understanding of workers' liberal and conservative views and to identify prevailing views as well as outliers. These data were examined alongside turnover rates within the firms employing the study sample in order to assess whether being a "political misfit" may be incentive to leave a firm. Results showed that when an individual was a conservative misfit in an environment primarily comprised of liberals, that individual was more likely to leave a firm. Alternatively, liberal misfits surrounded by conservative coworkers were more likely to stay at the job (Roy & Sekou, 2018). This is an important finding as it relates to person-job fit literature and how political viewpoints impact turnover.

There is reason to believe political viewpoints could also affect levels of inclusion and collaboration at work. Social identity theory has been shown to play a role in political in-group preferences and political affiliation (Devine, 2015). Moreover, there is a clear relationship between social identity and trust in others. This relationship is emphasized in the work of Tanis and Postmes (2005), who highlighted the notion that interpersonal trustworthiness increases expectations of reciprocity and therefore increases trust within in-groups. Trust is key for successful collaboration, which is an important component of organizational success (Harrell-Cook, Ferris & Dulebohn, 1999; Hill, 2017). This suggests that under some circumstances, conflicting political viewpoints within a workgroup may adversely affect cohesion and lead to

undesirable work outcomes such as relationship conflict and loss of productivity (Johnson & Roberto, 2018).

In sum, there is clear value in understanding political viewpoints because people's political views predict and shape important attitudes and behaviors, not only in their personal lives, but also at work. However, understanding and researching political viewpoints requires a valid and robust measure. As described next, a range of different measures have been used over the years to assess political ideology and related constructs in various ways.

Historical Measures of Political Views and Ideologies

For much of the last 50 years, scientists have been attempting to understand, define, and assess political ideologies – at times with increasing confusion and an increasing saturation of measures. Scholars continually develop new measures of ideology to examine a wide range of political phenomena (Brimhall & Otis ,1948; Burden 2004; Carson & Oppenheimer 1984; Gage & Shimberg, 1949; Groseclose, Levitt & Snyder 1999; Hill, Hannah & Shafquat, 1997; Krehbiel, 1986; Levitt ,1996; MacRae,1958; Poole & Rosenthal, 1985). While an exhaustive listing of every existing measure is beyond the scope of this manuscript, Appendix A details various measures that have been created over the years, several of which are described below.

As illustrated earlier, some researchers have measured political views by looking at patterns of donation behavior (Chin, Hambrick & Trevino, 2013; Gupta, Briscoe & Hambrick, 2017). This is limiting because such data are not always available to researchers, and not everyone donates money to causes. Another approach involves looking at past voter behavior and making assumptions about political viewpoints (Keeter, Igielnik & Weisel, 2014). This is limited by the fact that not everyone votes. In addition, voting behavior is influenced by a variety

of factors, including who happens to be on the ballot; voters may opt for candidates who do not share all of their viewpoints.

A number of researchers have measured political ideology by simply asking people whether they identify as Democrat, Republican, or with another political party (Devine, 2015). Similar measures explicitly ask respondents whether they identify as conservative or liberal (e.g., Keeter, Igielnik & Weisel, 2014). For example, research conducted by Graham, Haidt, and Nosek (2009) examined the different moral foundations of liberals and conservatives. The authors measured liberal and conservative ideology with a single item where individuals rated themselves on a 7-point scale anchored by *strongly liberal* and *strongly conservative* with *moderate* at the midpoint.

Matthews, Levin and Sidanius (2009) conducted a longitudinal study examining how a model of conservatism as motivated by social cognition relates to systems justification. To test this model, the authors measured political conservatism with two items. One item "How would you describe your general political outlook?" was presented alongside a 7-point scale ranging from 1= Very Liberal to 7=Very Conservative. The other item, "How would you describe your own political party preference?" was presented alongside the following response options:1 = Strong Democrat, 2 = Weak Democrat, 3 = Independent, Leaning more Democrat, 4 = Independent, 5 = Independent Leaning more Republican, 6 = Weak Republican, 7 = Strong Republican

More recently, Hasson et al. (2018) assessed political viewpoints by asking participants to rate their ideology in general and with respect to social, economic, and security issues specific to their country of origin. The response scale ranged from 1 (*very conservative/rightist*) to 7 (*liberal/leftist*). Individuals who rated themselves in the 1-3 range were categorized as

conservative and individuals who rated themselves in the 5-7 range were categorized as liberal. The midpoint, 4, was a neutral anchor considered to be neither conservative nor liberal.

The examples above are overt in that they explicitly ask respondents to report their political affiliation, leaning, or ideology. While quick and easy, this approach is limited given the likely range of political viewpoints within each political party or category. In addition, this approach requires a certain amount of self-awareness on the part of respondents, who are expected to know and express how conservative or liberal they are. Other measures are less overt. At the other extreme of the continuum, researchers have attempted to assess people's political views through implicit associations which respondents themselves may not even be aware of. For example, Graham, Haidt and Nosek, (2009) measured implicit political identity with Implicit Association Tests, which were administered to people who identified as liberals and conservatives. This approach used pictures of well-known liberal and conservative political figures in the United States. Respondents were asked to look at these images and identify as quickly as possible whether each image relates more to themselves or to a referent other.

Many if not most measures of political views and ideology fall between the overt and implicit extremes suggested above; they assess individuals' explicit attitudes without overtly asking people about their political party or orientation. Instead of asking respondents to report whether they are Republican or conservative, for example, many measures ask people how they feel about different issues and then draw conclusions about political views based on these responses. Many such measures, described on the following pages, are rooted in work conducted nearly 70 years ago.

Psychologists, political scientists, and others have long recognized the need for a nuanced, psychometrically sound way to measure political views and ideologies. Early efforts

can be traced back to the Michigan Model, which is a theory developed in the 1950s at Michigan State University. The Michigan Model states that voter choice is based largely on sociological factors and party identification (Visser, 1998). It primarily looked at explaining voter behaviors as a function of psychological attachment to a party affiliation. There were three major contributions of the Michigan model to political psychology according to Visser (1998). First, this was the first theory that had a true emphasis on measuring attitudes, perceptions, and general motives, which grew out of Likert's work on scale and measurements. Second, national probability samples, instead of quota samples, were used to develop the model. Third and finally, the research conducted to develop this model used open interview questions verses fixed answer questions, which allowed for more spontaneous responses (Likert, 1951; Visser, 1998). The Michigan Model drove much of the political voting research during the two decades following its publication. It became "mainstream" in social psychology-orientated voting research and was the catalyst for much of the political ideology voting measures in use today (Visser, 1998).

As noted, frequently used measures for understanding political ideologies or viewpoints assess conservatism, liberalism, or both by asking people how they feel about different issues corresponding to conservative and liberal views. An example is the Wilson-Patterson conservatism scale, which was first published in 1968. It categorizes conservatism as an attitude. This tool's main innovation pertains to the item format. Items are presented as single words or phrases such as "horoscopes" or "conventional clothes" instead of full sentences for an individual to respond to. Participants are then instructed to respond with "yes" or "no" according to whether or not they agree with the term or topic. The history of the Wilson-Patterson Scale points to a debate on whether the scale is unidimensional or comprises three dimensions: religiosity, racialism, and prurient sexuality (Stacey, 1978). The original Wilson-Patterson scale

consisted of 50 items but has developed into a shortened version consisting of 12-items (Henningham, 1995).

Using a similar approach, Henningham's (1969) social conservatism scale is a 12-item measure that considers 12 terms or phrases (see Appendix B). Each item from Henningham's (1969) 12-item scale is assumed to be associated with a socially conservative or liberal attitude, with items 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9 reflecting conservatism and items 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11 and 12 reflecting liberalism. Individuals are asked to give a "yes" or "no" response to each word or phrase. To score the measure, items are coded in a conservative direction such that higher scores indicate higher levels of conservatism. Three points are assigned to each endorsement of a conservative phrase, and one point is assigned to the endorsement of each liberal word or phrase.

The Middendorp Cultural Conservatism scale is a 12-item measure that addresses beliefs and values about education, work ethic, position of women in society, abortion, and euthanasia (Middendorp, 1978). This measure uses a 7-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*); higher levels of agreement produce higher scores, which reflect greater levels of conservatism. Lower levels of agreement produce lower scores, which suggest greater levels of liberalism. The Middendorp Economic Conservatism Scale measures individuals' responses to issues that relate to impact of trade unions, level of state intervention in regulating the economy, and income differences (Middenorp, 1978). This measure also uses a 7-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*); higher levels of agreement produce higher scores, which reflect greater levels of conservatism. Lower levels of agreement produce lower scores, which suggest greater levels of liberalism. The format and mechanics of this scale are similar to many of the other scales used to assess conservative and liberal views (Crowson, 2009; Middendorp, 1978).

Conservatism, which appears to be one of the most measured and studied aspects of political viewpoints to date, has been an evolving and shifting construct. Some scholars have proposed that conservatism is a multi-faceted structure. However, exactly which facets exist has not been universally agreed-upon. Nicol and France (2016) delineate two facets of conservatism: Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation. Others have specified different aspects of conservatism, such as social conservatism and fiscal or economic conservatism. For example, Everett (2013) created a measure of social and economic conservatism (see Appendix C). This is a 12-item scale where the order of the items is presented randomly to the participant. Participants rate how positively or negatively they feel about each word or phrase on the scale of 0 to 100 where 0 represents very negative and 100 represents very positive attitudes.

Fried et al., (2001) provide another useful example of how political viewpoints measure have historically been measured (see Appendix D). Fried et al., (2001) created a 15-item measure of "egalitarian political ideology." Respondents rated their level of agreement to these items on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 9 (strongly disagree). Similar to other historical measures and the measure being created in this research, it asks respondents to use a scale to assess agreement with full statements rather than single word/phrase issues (such as Everett, 2013). Peretz, Levi, and Fried (2015) developed this scale by merging two other scales, as well as adding some of his/her own items. In the scale above items 1,2,3,4,8,9,10,11 and 12 are items from Raskin (1978), items 7 and 14 are from Taylor (1991) and items 5,13 and 15 were items developed by Fried et al., (2001) for this study. Items were scored so that higher scores represent higher levels of egalitarianism. This this scale was not fully validated and had a lower than desired coefficient alphas (.63 in sample 1 and .69 in sample 2 respectively) (Fried et al., 2001; Peretz, Levi, & Fried, 2015). However, this effort on behalf of Fried (2001) demonstrates a

unique process of scale creation and lends further knowledge to the space of measuring political viewpoints.

Other research has shed light on the dimensionality of conservatism by examining how different facets of conservatism connect to theoretically related constructs. An example is Crowson's (2009) study examining differences in the beliefs and motives of cultural/social and economic conservatives. According to Crowson (2009), cultural/social conservatism refers to the "preservation of the ancient moral traditions of humanity" and includes the assumption that "political problems, at bottom, are religious and moral problems" (pp. 449-450). Economic conservatism is characterized by concerns regarding governmental involvement in and regulation of private enterprise and the economic lives of its citizens. The goal of Crowson's research was to address whether cultural/social and economic conservatives in the United States differ with respect to psychological functioning. To accomplish this aim, Crowson asked respondents to complete the Middendorp (1978) economic and cultural conservatism scales described previously along with seven other scales, such as the Personal Need for Structure Scale (Neuberg & Newsom, 1993) and the Need for Cognition scale (Cacioppo, Petty & Kao, 1984). Results showed cultural conservatism to be positively associated with: dogmatism; the belief that knowledge was certain; personal need for structure; need to evaluate; and fear of death. Cultural conservatism was negatively associated with need for cognition. Meanwhile, economic conservatism was positively associated with: dogmatism; the belief that knowledge is certain; and fear of death.

Efforts to better understand the underpinnings and characteristics of political views such as conservatism continue to evolve. Some research combines different measures of conservatism to get a better picture of the overall phenomenon. For example, Leone and Chirumbolo (2008)

measured right wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and support for conservative policies to assess conservatism. Their research conceptualized conservatism as a manifestation of the motivation to avoid emotions. Conservatism, according to Leone and Chirumbolo (2008), is concerned with managing uncertainty and ego-control, and is driven by a motivation to avoid emotions. To examine this hypothesis, the authors asked survey respondents to complete a 13-item Need For Affect Scale alongside their three measures of conservatism: a 30-item Right Wing Authoritarianism scale; a 16-item Social Dominance Orientation scale; and a Support for Conservative polices scale, which was created by Leone and Chirumbolo and asked respondents to rate their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale with 5 conservative polices: "Reducing government spending for retirement plans;" "Reducing the number of public servants employed by the government;" "Reducing government spending for public health programs;" "Pre-emptive war against threatening regimes;" "Use of military strikes to protect democracy." Leone and Chirumbolo's results demonstrated a relationship between emotional avoidance and conservative measures.

Leone and Chirumbolo's (2008) study is by no means the only study to assess Right-Wing Authoritarianism in relation to conservatism. A significant amount of research concerning political views has focused on constructs such as Moral Reasoning, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, and Systems Justification (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2013; Matthews et al., 2009; Nicol & France, 2016). In some cases, conservatism is conceptualized as a dimension of Right-Wing Authoritarianism. For example, in a study examining the multi-dimensionality of Right-Wing Authoritarian (RWA) attitudes, Duckitt and Bizumic (2013) measured the RWA dimensions of authoritarianism, conservatism, and traditionalism, along with social dominance orientation. The three RWA dimensions of authoritarianism, conservatism, and traditionalism

were found to be reliable and factorially distinct. An example item from the authoritarianism scale is: “What our country really needs is a strong determined leader who will crush evil and set us on the right way again.” An example from the conservatism scale is: “Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.” Finally, an example from the traditionalism scale is: “The ‘old-fashioned ways’ and ‘old-fashioned values’ still show the best way to live.”

A number of studies assessing conservatism have done so in service of a larger program of research designed to better understand the underpinnings of this political orientation. For example, the Matthews et al. (2009) study mentioned previously, which used two items to overtly ask people to report their political party affiliation and level of conservatism, measured additional constructs including threat perceptions, social dominance orientation, and systems justification. Results indicate that political ideology is a response to motivated social cognition (Matthews et al., 2009). This suggests that feelings of fear, threat, and uncertainty stimulate ideological, epistemic, and existential motives, and these motives influence political conservatism.

A more recent study conceptualizes conservatism as a “syndrome.” Stankov (2017, 2018) suggests the existence of a conservative syndrome consisting of three main constructs: religiosity; nastiness/social dominance; and social awareness/morality. Stankov (2017) emphasizes that conservative syndrome is considered as a network or aggregation of psychological traits and dispositions from various psychological domains. Specifically, Stankov (2009) defined conservative syndrome as:

> a person who attaches particular importance to the respect of tradition, humility, devoutness and moderation (i.e., traditional values) as well as to obedience, self-

> discipline and politeness (i.e., conformists values) social order, family, national security (security values) and has a sense of belonging to and pride in a group with which he or she identifies. (p. 300)

Stankov further identifies the general structure of conservative syndrome based on an Exploratory and Confirmatory Factor Analyses which identified religiosity, nastiness/social dominance, and social awareness/morality to be the core facets that cover the different domains of conservative syndrome (Stankov, 2017). The conceptualization of conservatism syndrome as a factor is proposed to be driven by traits like fear and uncertainty (Stankov & Lee, 2018).

In sum, while the examples described above and shown in Appendix A are not exhaustive, they provide a snapshot of the range of ways in which political views, ideologies, conservatism, and related constructs have been conceptualized and measured over the years. Measures range from questions overtly and explicitly asking people to report their party affiliation and level of conservatism to those tapping implicit beliefs. Many measures fall somewhere between these two extremes, asking people to rate the extent to which they agree with certain attitudes, values, or policies and then determining respondents' political views or ideologies based on the kinds of attitudes and issues they do and do not endorse. In addition to measuring political views, a number of studies have sought to understand the psychological underpinnings of certain views, such as conservatism. In some cases, views such as conservatism seem to have been pathologized, as illustrated by the notion of a conservative syndrome.

Limitations of Prior Work

Clearly, there is no shortage of studies looking at and measuring political orientation and ideology. At the same time, improvement to the measures of political views is necessary (Everett, 2013). At present, no existing instruments adequately measure political viewpoints as

conceptualized here. The purpose of the present study is to develop and validate a new measure that provides a nuanced assessment of political viewpoints. This effort is intended to overcome four limitations that characterize existing assessments, which are described next. While some scales have overcome one or more of these limitations, no existing scale has addressed all four simultaneously.

Value Bias

Researchers' own values appear to have influenced the development of some measures and studies of political views. There is a need for a measure that is values free. Everett (2013) employs the term "Value Free Measures" to reflect the need for assessments to be free from bias that can often occur in the construction or deployment of a measure (Everett, 2013; Haidt, 2013). Haidt has referenced certain imposing values influencing measures of political ideology. For example, conservatism has at times been considered a syndrome. Such an approach can lead to limited and skewed coverage of the construct of political ideology (Haidt, 2013). One of the main issues that Haidt (2013) as well as Inbar and Lammers (2012) have illuminated is the lack of neutrality that occurs during "typing" (liberal vs. conservative) due to the ways in which we define and measure political viewpoints (Graham, Noeks, & Haidt, 2009; Inbar & Lammers, 2012). For example, Haidt and Graham (2007) highlight that often when researchers ask individuals to state their affiliation such as liberal or conservative, and then associate that self-reported affiliation with other constructs such as cognitive ability, a lack of neutrality can occur (Haidt & Graham, 2007). There is a need to accurately define and create measures that are as objective as possible and that are not driven by opinions of which political viewpoint is healthier or better.

Dated content.

Some existing measures are dated. For example, Henningham's (1969) social conservatism measure asks respondents to rate the degree to which they endorse "stiffer jail terms," "Pre-marital virginity" and "Asian Immigration." Responses to such items may not be as meaningful or predictive as they once were in the late 1960s when this scale was developed. Like any survey instrument, scales measuring political views can become out of date as words and figures of speech become uncommon or obsolete. They can also become out of date as socio-technical-political changes render societal and governmental practices and issues more and less relevant. There is a need for a measure that reflects modern language and issues, as well as a framework for developing and evaluating such a measure, which can guide updates as times change.

Psychometric deficiency.

Many indices of political ideology lack psychometric underpinnings. This especially pertains to simple overt survey questions. As noted, many prior research studies have measured political ideology by directly asking people how liberal or conservative they are. This approach is limited for at least three reasons. First, it requires candor, and some people may not always feel comfortable admitting their true nature on a survey. Second, it requires self-awareness. Some people with conservative and liberal leanings may indeed lean reliably in one direction or the other, but they may not be aware of it and/or they may not use terms such as liberal and conservative to describe their beliefs and values. As Jost (2006) states, "most people do not recognize their abstract nature and certainly don't use them as scientists do" (p. 5). Perhaps this is one of the reasons Inbar and Lammers' (2012) research showed a stark disconnect between

individuals' overt self-report ideology (declaring liberal or conservative) and their preferences and viewpoints on specific polices or political issues.

In thinking about this issue, it is perhaps useful to consider other constructs measured in the social and behavioral sciences, such as the personality trait of extraversion. Researchers would rarely if ever measure extraversion by using a single item that asks people to rate how introverted or extroverted, they are on a scale of 1 to 5. Instead, subjects are typically asked to consider and rate the degree to which many different statements such as "I am the life of the party" describe them. Response patterns are then used to make inferences about where respondents stand on the overall construct of extroversion, and sometimes its sub-facets. In a similar manner, when measuring political viewpoints, this manuscript advocates a more psychometrically sound and nuanced, multi-item assessment.

Incomplete Construct Coverage

In 2013, Everett developed a 12-item social and economic conservatism scale, which successfully addressed the limitations described above. Everett's scale is values-free, relatively up-to-date, and constructed in a psychometrically sound manner. However, as its title suggests, this measure was designed to specifically assess two dimensions of conservatism. This is narrower than the aim of the current study, which focuses on political viewpoints more broadly. In addition, whereas Everett prioritized the development of a brief measure of conservatism that can be administered quickly, the current study prioritizes full coverage of the political viewpoints construct, with a secondary objective of developing as brief a measure as possible without sacrificing construct coverage.

Full construct coverage is important in order to achieve the nuanced assessment of political viewpoints needed for research. It is quite possible that two people who report

themselves to be conservative, for example, hold substantially different views about relevant issues. Too often, self-reports assume unidimensional symmetry in attitude construction and assume that liberals are opposites of conservatives (Conver & Feldman, 1981; Wood & Oliver, 2012). As noted in recent literature, a unidimensional model does not provide a complete basis from which to study political ideology (Feldman & Johnston, 2014). This is an important limitation to overcome in order to truly measure the entirety of the political viewpoints construct as well as address issues with temporal stability, meaning the ability to address the content of reports across time that consider intervening events (verses random cognitive errors) (Wood & Oliver, 2012). Existing measures do not allow for the possibility that an individual may simultaneously subscribe to a variety of viewpoints often categorized as liberal, conservative, authoritarian, socialist, and so forth. There is a need for a framework and measure capable of capturing intra-individual variation across dimensions and over time.

Proposed Definition and Measurement Framework

The purpose of the present study is to expand the conceptualization and measurement of political viewpoints beyond the left-right dimensions, and beyond the facets of social and economic conservatism. Political viewpoints will be measured in a way that allows for the possibility that people hold numerous perspectives at once, each of which falls along a continuum. Specifically, I propose the existence of a spectrum of political viewpoints pertaining to four facets: Fiscal, Security, Social, and Religiosity. These four facets are defined as follows: Fiscal refers to relating to public money or other financial matters (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020); Security refers to freedom from danger or risk (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020); Social refers to relating to society and the interaction of the individual or group (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2020); and Religiosity refers to strong religious feelings or beliefs and the view of religious

practice as an avenue to a social or personal end (Allport & Ross, 1967; Cambridge Dictionary, 2020, Gorsuch. R., & Venable., D.,1983).

To our knowledge these four facets have not been studied together in one scale. Economic or fiscal and social facets have been considered together in previous measures such as Everett's Social and Economic Conservatism Scale (2013). While items pertaining to "threat" and "need to manage uncertainty" have appeared in prior research (e.g., Jost et al., 2007), prior work has not sufficiently explored the possibility that views on security may comprise a distinct facet. Concerning religiosity, prior research has linked religiosity measures to political ideology but again, not as a distinct facet that exists alongside fiscal, security, and social views (Duriez, 2003). There is a long history of studying religiosity and spirituality in the social sciences (King & Crowther, 2004). In some works, the terms of Religion and Spirituality have been interchangeable, but distinct in others (King & Crowther, 2004). The same difficulty has been seen with the terms Religion and Religiosity, and there has also been a lack of clear operational definitions of these constructs (King & Crowther, 2004; Slater et al., 2001). The conceptualization of intrinsic verses extrinsic religion has been an important factor in the study and measurement of religion in the social sciences (Allport, 1950). Allport delineates intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity by defining intrinsic orientation as those who view their practice of religion as a goal in itself and extrinsic orientation by those who view it instrumentally (Allport & Ross, 1967). This implies that if an individual is more intrinsically orientated, this individual would be considered to be a true believer in religious practice for its own sake. On the other hand, to be high extrinsic is to view religious practice as an avenue to a social or personal end (e.g., comfort, acceptance). Political viewpoints as conceptualized in the present study focuses on the extrinsic aspect of religiosity.

The present study is a scale development and validation effort designed to consider whether these four facets exist as unique factors and if so, how are they inter-related. Less than ten years ago, Everett (2013) justified the need for social and economic (i.e., fiscal) facets by citing the fact that a contemporary conservatism scale requires a measure that taps into ideological beliefs. This justification remains true for the present effort as well. In addition to social and fiscal facets, the present study also conceptualizes political viewpoints as comprising religiosity and security concerns. "Religion" regularly appears as an item or term in many of the conservatism scales, including the original Wilson and Patterson scale (Stacey, 1978). In addition, "Security" and certain perspectives on security have been included in many definitions and scales of conservatism (Stankov, 2017). However, it is quite possible that the items developed for previous measures assumed religion and security to be an aspect of social conservatism rather than fully exploring them as distinct facets. For example, when developing the Social and Economic Conservatism Scale, Everett (2013) asked subjects to respond to fourteen items. The items "military and national security" and "religion" were ultimately assigned to the social conservatism facet. However, a closer look at the scale development research shows that "military and national security" is the weakest loading item on the social conservatism facet. In addition, it originally loaded onto a distinct third factor alongside "patriotism," which was also ultimately considered part of social conservatism. Meanwhile, "gun ownership" was the second highest loading factor on the economic conservatism facet, while "business" was the lowest loading factor. These patterns suggest the need for research designed to determine the possibility of a more multifaceted reality. Testing a greater number of more nuanced items during scale development will help determine whether aspects of what has

previously been considered elements of social and economic conservatism stand alone as distinct facets.

The present study has developed an expansive item base to test for the existence of a spectrum of political viewpoints pertaining to fiscal, security, social, and religiosity matters. Taking each of the hypothesized facets into consideration, items were developed to capture preferences about: (a) how society should be organized; (b) how power in society should be allocated; (c) the goals that society should aim to achieve; and (d) the methods by which to achieve these goals.

Method

Item Generation

Hinkin (1998) states that the key to successful item generation is a solid theoretical foundation and a true understanding of the content domain. A field scan of similar constructs and scales was conducted (e.g., political conservatism scales and scales that measured levels of collectivism) to aid in the generation of the definition of the construct and the hypothesized sub-facets that the item writers were provided when they were asked to generate items. This was an important step for this research because it enabled us to better understand similar constructs and how they were measured. A broad range of items was generated using an inductive method by asking item writers to provide items. Ten item writers were invited via email to participate in an in-person item writing workshop on North Carolina State University's campus to write items. They were identified due to expertise in measurement and psychometrics. These item writers were all doctoral students in North Carolina State University's Industrial and Organizational Psychology program and 4D Lab. All item writers were asked to write liberal, conservative and neutral items for each of the hypothesized sub facets identified, Fiscal, Security, Social and

Religiosity. Specific definitions were not given to the item writers to both limit biases and encourage as many diverse and wide-ranging items as possible. The item writers generated an initial list of items based on best practices (writing items that cover the content domain and wording the items carefully, so they are interpreted as intended; Hinkin, 1998). The guidelines provided by Dillman (2000) were followed to improve item quality, such as: writing the items using simple wording to avoid confusion, keeping the statements brief and precise to avoid unintended interpretations, using complete sentences devoid of any inflammatory or biased language, and avoiding double barreled questions (questions that ask about two different things at once; e.g., "I like dogs and cats"). A total of 225 items were generated. The generated items were declarative in nature and asked specifically about individual feelings on certain actions, decisions, and beliefs (Hinkin, 1998).

After initial item generation, 6 item judges were recruited. Item judges were asked to sort the 225 items into the four hypothesized sub facets described in this manuscript, Fiscal, Security, Social and Religiosity. Item judges were selected based on their expertise in measurement and psychometrics and were again doctoral students from North Carolina State University's Industrial and Organizational Psychology program. The six judges were invited via an email sent to 12 people requesting assistance sorting items using a Qualtrics survey. Judges were given definitions of the facets listed above as well as the definition of the construct of political viewpoints as articulated in this manuscript. Using a Qualtrics survey, judges were asked to sort items into categories specifying if the item seemed more liberal, more conservative, or neutral. Once this process was completed, the first author and an additional judge considered if there was a balanced number of items for each hypothesized sub facet and a relatively equal number of items within the liberal, conservative, and neutral categories. If there were gaps, the first author

and another judge wrote more items to address gaps or areas where there seemed to be too few liberal, conservative, or neutral oriented items in a given dimension. There was overall very little disagreement between judges in this final sorting process. A total of 20 items were disagreed upon, meaning these items were sorted into two different facets by the two judges. The first author and the other judge reached consensus to make the ultimate decision about which sub facet these items were sorted into. No items were deleted during this sorting process. A comprehensive list of the initial items generated by writers, as well as a list of the sorted items and a list of the 262 final items can be found in Appendix E.

Measures of Relatedness

Convergent and discriminant validity are crucial in providing evidence that a measure is valid and successfully measures what it intends to. Evidence for construct validity is provided when scores on a measure of a construct relate to scores on theoretically similar constructs (convergent validity) and are unrelated to theoretically independent constructs (discriminant validity) (Binning & Barrett, 1989). It is difficult to hypothesize that there will be any construct that is completely unrelated to political viewpoints. In many ways political viewpoints are an amalgamation of many psychological constructs. In lieu of dichotomizing measures into the categories of convergent and discriminant validity, they are instead considered with respect to levels of relatedness to the construct of political viewpoints.

The following measures were expected to be related at varying levels to the sub facets of the political viewpoints scale: Right-Wing Authoritarianism (Funke, 2005), Systems Justification (Kay & Jost, 2003), Social and Economic Conservatism scale (Everett, 2013), Age Universal Religious Orientation scale (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989), Risk of Future Events scale (Lerner, 2003), Affect Intensity (Larsen, 1984) and The Big Five (Goldberg, 1993).These scales can be

found in Appendix F. Right-Wing Authoritarianism (Funke, 2005), Systems Justification (Kay & Jost, 2003), Social and Economic Conservatism scale (Everett, 2013), Age Universal Religious Orientation scale (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989), Risk of Future Events scale (Lerner, 2003) were all expected to have a strong positive relationship with the Political Viewpoints Scale and specifically the hypothesized sub facets of Security, Fiscal and Religiosity. Affect Intensity (Larsen, 1984) and The Big Five (Goldberg, 1993) were expected to be unrelated or related at a low level to the Political Viewpoints Scale and specifically the hypothesized sub facets, Security, Fiscal, Social and Religiosity.

Right-wing authoritarianism

Right-wing Authoritarian (RWA) beliefs were measured with a shortened 12-item scale (Funke, 2005), including statements such as "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn." Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement on a 7-point scale from 7 (strongly agree) to 1(strongly disagree). This scale demonstrated evidence of reliability (alpha= .82). There are three sub facets of RWA that presented with low to reliable alphas, Conventional (alpha= .69), Aggression (alpha= .47) and Submission (alpha= .60).

Systems Justification

Systems justification (Kay & Jost, 2003) is an 8-item scale measuring fairness, legitimacy, and justifiability of the prevailing social system. An example item includes "American society needs to be radically restructured". Participants were asked to state their level of agreement on a Likert scale ranging from 7 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). The scale provided a reliable alpha =.80.

Social and Economic Conservativism

Social and economic conservatism scale (Everett, 2013) is a 12-item scale measuring social and economic conservatism. Scale items include 12 terms or phrases that reflect certain political issues. Individuals were asked to rate their level of agreement on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). An example item is as follows "Traditional Marriage." This scale provided a reliable alpha = .76.

Age Universal Religious Orientation

Age Universal Religious Orientation scale (AURO) (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989) is a 14-item scale that considers both intrinsic and extrinsic levels of religiosity. Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement on a 7-point Likert scale for each statement, ranging from 7 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). An example items is as follows, "My whole approach to life is based on my religion." This scale as a whole provided a reliable alpha =.86. There are also two sub facets of AURO, that both presented with reliable alphas, Intrinsic (alpha= .81) and Extrinsic (alpha= .79).

Risk of Future Events

Risk of Future Events (Lerner et al., 2003) is an 8- item scale measuring an individuals' perceived likelihood that an average American will experience risky events and take precautionary actions. Participants were asked to judge the likelihood of future events on a scale of 7 (very likely) to 1(not likely). An example item is as follows, "Getting the flu." This scale provides a reliable alpha= .81.

Affect Intensity

Affect Intensity Scale (Larsen, 1984) is a 20-item scale that measures emotional reaction to typical life events. Participants are asked to rate their level of agreement on a 7-point scale 7

(strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). An example item is, “when I get nervous I get shaky all over.” This scale indicates how strongly, or weakly individuals tend to experience emotion in their everyday life. This scale provided a reliable alpha =.70.

The Big Five

Goldberg’s Big Five Inventory (BFI) is 44-item inventory that measures an individual on the Big Five Factors (dimensions) of personality (Goldberg, 1992). Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement on a 7-point Likert scale for each statement, ranging from 7 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree).These personality factors include: Neuroticism (8 items, alpha = .86), Extraversion (8 items, alpha = .79), Openness to experience (8 items, alpha = .79), Agreeableness (9 items, alpha = .80), and Conscientiousness (9 items, alpha = .85) (Goldberg, 1993). Participants were as to rate how well they thought a given item described them using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (describes me extremely well) to 5 (does not describe me). Example items for each of this measure’s five factors are as follows: (1) Neuroticism: “Is depressed, blue;” (2) Openness: “Is original, comes up with new ideas;” (3) Extraversion: “Is talkative;” (4) Agreeableness: “Is helpful and unselfish with others;” and (5) Conscientiousness: “Does a thorough job.”

Social Desirability

Paulhus’ (1991) Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding scale was also included in the survey to determine the degree to which each new item in the political viewpoints scale is related to socially desirable responding. Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement on a 7-point Likert scale for each statement, ranging from 7 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). This social desirability measure has two sub facets, Self-Deceptive enhancement of which an example item is “I am completely rational person” and Impression management “Once

in a while I laugh at a dirty joke." The version used in this research was the shortened version, BIDR-16 validated by Hart et al.(2015). This scale in its entirety consisted of 16-items the scale provided a reliable alpha =.62. Both of the sub facets of this scale that provided low alphas, Self-Deceptive Enhancement (alpha= .35) and Impression Management (alpha= .57).

Self-Reported Ideology

Finally, in addition to asking individuals their voter affiliation we also measured participants' overt self-reported ideology by asking them to self-report their political leanings. The approach used in Everett et al. (2020) was employed. A 7-point Likert scale was used, 1=Extremely Liberal, 2=Liberal, 3=Moderately Liberal, 4=Neither Liberal nor Conservative, 5= Moderately Conservative, 6=Conservative, 7=Extremely Conservative, and participants were asked to rate themselves on the following items: Economic issues; Social Issues; Foreign Policy Issues; Security Issues; Religious issues; and "In general I am."

Demographics

Demographic data were also collected. Specifically, participants were asked to indicate their age, gender, race, education level, employment status, income level, state of residence, political affiliation, and mother and father's political affiliation.

Participants

A total of 1529 participants completed the study online and through a survey platform called Qualtrics. Through Qualtrics, two samples were collected using the exact same survey. Sample 1 contained 767 participants and sample 2 contained 762 participants. Participants were randomly selected into each sample. The decision to collect two simultaneous samples was made to ensure that each sample met the demographic criteria specified to mirror the United States voter population. Participants were recruited by Qualtrics. Participants recruited from the

Qualtrics panel were compensated various amounts ranging from $6.00 to $20.00. This compensation was provided through various mechanisms including cash, gift cards, hotel points and air miles based on the participants' preference on how they wanted to be compensated. Participants were able to complete the survey on computers, smartphones, or tablets. Participants were required to be at least 18 years of age, citizens of the United States and be fluent in the English language.

Data Screening

The total sample size was 1529 participants. The survey used via the Qualtrics panel automatically disqualified participants who failed attention checks and response time qualifications. Response time is a commonly utilized data screening technique to check for careless responding, as unusually fast survey response times likely indicate that respondents did not engage in the necessary cognitive processing to answer items carefully. A rule of thumb was utilized that required a minimum response time of at least 15 minutes, based on the estimated response time generated from Qualtrics. Three instructed-response items (i.e., "Select strongly agree for this item") were included in the survey to screen for careless responding. The final survey consisted of 410 items. It took participants on average, 30 to 40 mins to complete this survey based on estimates provided by the estimated response time provided by the Qualtrics survey platform.

The proposal upon which this research is based is provided in Appendix I.

Results

All analyses were conducted using R (**R** Core Team, 2013) or JMP (JMP®, Version <13>. SAS Institute Inc., Cary, NC, 1989-2019) unless otherwise noted. We collected

two simultaneous samples; therefore, there was no need to manually split the sample. In order to ensure that the sample collectively mirrored the United States voter population, specific demographic quotas were enlisted. Based on a literature review, the following quotas for gender, age, race and education were utilized: Men: 45% Women: 55% Age: 18-29: 13% 30-49: 30% 50-64: 29% 65+: 27% Race: White: 74% Black: 10% Hispanic 10% Education: College grad+: 37% Non-college grad: 63% (Pew Research Center, 2018).

Specifications for geographic region were identified through the following process. After conducting a search for a breakdown of geographical representation of the U.S. voter population, data were identified from the 2016 the United States Election Assistance commission. This was called the election administration and voting survey. It was the comprehensive report by state from the 2016 election. I examined the total voter turnout column and summed the states into regions (as defined by the U.S. census bureau). I then calculated proportions based on total voter turnout of the nation. The results are as follows: Midwest 23.26%, Northeast 18.63%, West 22.33%, South 35.77% (McDonald, 2016). The breakdown of each region by state is as follows: Midwest- Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota; Northeast-Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania; West- Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, Alaska, California, Hawaii, Oregon, Washington; South- Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Washington DC, West Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

Sample 1 Analyses

The first set of analyses described on the following pages utilized data from the first sample, consisting of 767 participants. This sample's demographic characteristics were as follows: Female, (55.3%), Male (44.0%) and Other (0.3%). The mean age of participants was 35.5 (*SD* 17.2) with a minimum age of 18 and a maximum age of 75. The distribution of race was white (78%), Black or African American (10%), Asian (4%), Hispanic/Latino (6%) Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (4%) and "other" (1%). Some participants indicated multiple ethnicities resulting in the total sum equaling more then 100%. The distribution of education was less than a high school degree 17%, a high school degree or GED equivalent 28%, Some college 32%, associate's degree 6%, four year degree 18%, Master's degree 10%, Doctoral degree 2%, professional degree 2%. The mean income level was $65,000 (*SD* =3.4). The distribution of employment level was full time 31%, part time 10%, unemployed 53%, and self-employed 6%. Finally, the distribution of voter affiliation was Republican 36%, Democrat 35%, Independent 22%, Unaffiliated 6% and Other 1%.

Data from the first sample of participants were used to conduct a total of 7 EFAs and 1 CFAs as described next. Due to the large number of items that were used to create the PVS, the items were divided randomly into four subgroups in order to ensure optimal interpretability of the exploratory factor analysis. An Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted on each of the four subgroups of items. All subgroups consisted of 65-67 items. These subgroups were comprised of items that equally represented all four hypothesized sub facets (Social, Fiscal Security, Religiosity) and the hypothesized orientation within those sub facets (Liberal, Conservative and Neutral). Once the subgroups were created, correlations were run on social desirability and all of the candidate PVS items. Many statistically significant relationships

emerged; however, the correlations were relatively modest in size. See Table 1. Given the modest size of the correlations and that no sizeable relationships emerged between political viewpoints items and the social desirability scores, the social desirability scores were not used further in consideration for item selection of the Political Viewpoints Scale.

I then conducted exploratory factor analyses on each sub sample consisting of 65-67 items. I tested an oblique oblimin rotation of 2-16-factor solutions. The parallel analysis revealed a structure of 13 or more factors. After further investigation, a three-factor structure was identified in each subgroup. Within the first subgroup of 67 items, the three-factor solution was the best fit with factor one explaining 12% of the variance, factor two explaining 19% of the variance, and factor three explaining 26% of the variance. This three-factor structure consisted of two conservative and one liberal factor. I then took each subgroup of "orientation" items, meaning grouping the items by their "orientation code," (e.g. all of the liberal, conservative and neutral coded items) and conducted exploratory factor analyses on each of these subsets of items. I found further evidence of a three-factor structure within those subsets of items. Finally, conducted an EFA each hypothesized sub facet separately (Social, Security, Fiscal, and Religiosity). These factor analyses further validated the three-factor structure containing one liberal and two conservative factors, while also providing evidence for a fourth factor that had previously appeared in the factor analysis but not as strongly with the lower levels of items.

Next, I identified the top 80 items with the highest factor loadings. These 80 items consisted of the top liberal and top conservative items within each hypothesized sub facet (Security, Fiscal, Social, Religiosity) to create a fifth item group. I then conducted an EFA and I found and validated a four-factor solution in this fifth item group of 80 items. Factor one explained 25% of the variance, factor two explained 15% of the variance, factor three explained

42% of the variance, and factor four explained 34% of the variance. The results of this four-factor exploratory factor analysis can be found in Appendix G. The factors identified through the EFA's were consistent throughout all of the EFA's conducted, meaning the same three factors continued to be identified with each iteration of EFA's. The fourth factor mentioned above was also consistent throughout as one that existed but became more apparent with the 80-item EFA. I then chose the top six items, those with the highest factor loadings, within each factor to run a confirmatory analysis on. The Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) confirmed a good fitting model with the four factor CFA $\chi^2(249) = 1474.14$, $p < 0.001$, $CFI = .94$, $TLI = .93$, $RMSEA = .049$. It is important to note that the Chi Square statistic is highly sensitive to sample size, which is likely the reason for a significant chi square in this model (Kenny & McCoach, 2003). The results of this CFA can be found in Table 2: CFA results of 24 items: finalists from sample 1 .

The analyses described above were guided by the best practices recommended in the literature (Cabrera-Nguyen, 2010; Hinkin 1998; Worthington & Wittaker, 2006). Following recommendations made by Hinkin (1998), throughout the exploratory factor analysis sensemaking process, the scree plot was examined, as well as variance explained, eigenvalues, factor loadings, cross loadings and interpretability when assessing how each model fit the data. The results of a parallel analysis were examined for each tested model. Levels of skewness and kurtosis were investigated and all levels of skewness and kurtosis fell within acceptable levels (-2) to (+2) (West et al.,1995).

Sample 2 Analyses

The next set of analyses described on the following pages utilized data from the second sample of participants (*N*=762). Their gender breakdown was as follows: Female 54% and male 46%. The mean age of participants was 35.6 (*SD* 17.05) with a minimum age of 18 and a

maximum age of 75. The distribution of race was White 78%, Black or African American 11%, Asian 4%, Hispanic/Latino 7%, and "other"1%. The distribution of education was less than a high school degree 2% a high school degree or GED equivalent 28%, some college 32%, Associate's degree 6%, four year degree 19%, Master's degree 10%, Doctoral degree 1%, and Professional degree 2%. The mean income level was $65,900 (*SD* =3.48). The distribution of employment level was full time 32%, part time 12%, unemployed 51%, and self-employed 5%. Finally, the distribution of voter affiliation was Republican 32%, Democrat 40%, Independent 19%, Unaffiliated 7% and Other 2%.

The data from the second sample of individuals were submitted to a CFA. This CFA included 24 items that were selected based on their factor loadings from the EFA of 80 items. These 24 items were the item finalists that emerged from the sample one analyses. Fit indices, chi square (X^2), TLI, CFI, and RMSEA of the scale were examined. The confirmatory factor analysis confirmed a good fitting model with the four factor CFA $\chi^2(246) = 644.408$, $p < 0.001$, *CFI* = . 94, *TLI* = . 94, *RMSEA* = . 046. It is also important to emphasize that the correlations among the four factors were low based on the exploratory factor analysis (none higher than *r*=.46; see Appendix G) and further confirmed in the confirmatory factor analysis. Figure 1 demonstrates the path analysis that depicts the four-factor solution. The results of this confirmatory factor analysis can be found in Table 3.

A lower Chi Square implies a better fitting model (Kenny & McCoach, 2003). The TLI depends on the average size of the correlations of the data and should be considered in conjunction with the RMSEA. The CFI is based on non-centrality of the measure and will incur a penalty for each parameter estimated. The value should be taken into consideration with the other fit indices (Kenny & McCoach, 2003). The RMSEA is an absolute measure of fit based on

the non-centrality parameter. Kenny suggests 0.01, 0.05 and 0.08 to indicate excellent, good and mediocre fit, 0.10 suggests poor fit (Kenny & McCoach, 2003). Based on these metrics, the above model suggests between excellent and good fit. The final factors and 24 items as well as their factor loadings can be found in Table 4.

Factors 1-4 indicated in the PVS shown in Table 4 are comprised of six items each. Factor one is comprised of items that describe perspective on security and is labeled the Security dimension. Factor two is comprised of items describing perspectives on poverty and accountability and is labeled the Accountability dimension. Factor three is comprised of items describing perspectives on beliefs and religiosity and is labeled the Religiosity dimension. Finally, factor four is comprised of items that describe perspective on collective responsibility and is labeled Collective.

Assessing Related Measures

Next data from sample two were used to assess convergent and discriminant validity. This entailed correlating scores on each of the four factors with scores on each of the scales included in the study to assess construct validity. These correlations were assessed using sample two first and then separately on sample one to ensure cross validation.

Table 5 shows the means, standard deviations, coefficient alphas, and inter-correlations for all scales on the data from sample 2. The correlations ranged from -.05 to .72. While there is no standard value that clearly demonstrates discriminant validity, DeVellis (2012) discussed in depth the question of how strong a correlation should be to infer convergent validity, concluding there is no true answer that defines convergent validity. Based on a brief landscape analysis of other scale validation studies, a general rule of thumb suggests that convergent validity is present with correlation values of .70 or above. The following scales demonstrated a high level of relatedness and could be interpreted as providing convergent validity. First, the conventional sub facet of Right-Wing Authoritarianism had a significant positive relationship with Religiosity (r = .72, $p < .001$). The Intrinsic sub facet of Age Universal Religious Orientation had a meaningful, significant positive relationship with Religiosity, (r = .72, $p < .001$). There were other scales that showed significant relationships but given the large sample size it was important to consider if these relationships were meaningful based on the correlation coefficients. Further, there were some scales that showed no relationship with any of the Political Viewpoints sub facets. The following scales were not significantly related to the following facets of political viewpoints and could be interpreted of providing discriminant validity: No significant relationship was found between Age Universal Religious Orientation (Intrinsic) and Collective; No significant relationship was found between Risk of future events and Security or Risk of future events and Religiosity; no significant relationship was found between Big Five Openness and Security or between Big Five Openness and Religiosity; no significant relationship was found between Big Five Conscientiousness or Neuroticism and Accountability; and, no significant relationship was found between Big five Neuroticism and Religiosity.

Assessing Voter Affiliation

Finally, as previously described, I measured participants' overt self-reported voter affiliation by asking them to overtly self-report their political affiliation, "Liberal", "Conservative", "Independent", "Unaffiliated" or "Other". This was included to provide further evidence of convergent validity.

One-way ANOVAs were conducted along with Tukey's HSD to compare means to examine whether scores on the political viewpoints scale aligned with participants' voter affiliation as well as their stated mother and father's voter affiliation. Table 6, Table 7, and Table 8 show the results. A complete table of the one-way ANOVA's and Tukey's HSD comparisons can be found can be found in Appendix H. Individuals who self-reported a Democrat affiliation have significantly higher Collective scores compared to those who identify as Republican, Independent, Unaffiliated or Other. Individuals who identify as Republican have significantly higher Security scores then those who identify as Democrat, Independent, Unaffiliated or Other. Those who identify as Republican have significantly higher Accountability scores then those who identify Democrat, Independent, Unaffiliated or Other. However, there is also a significant difference between those who identify as Democrat and those who identify as Independent, in that those who identify Independent have significantly higher Accountability scores. Finally, those who identify as Republican have significantly higher Religiosity scores than those who identify as Democrat, Independent, or Unaffiliated. There is no significant difference in those who are identify as Republican and those who identify as Other.

Individuals who indicated that their mother identified as democrat had a significantly higher Collective score than if their mother was affiliated Republican or if they did not know their mother's affiliation. Individuals who indicated their mother identified as Republican had a

significantly higher Security score than if their mother identified as Democrat, Independent, Unaffiliated, other or if they did not know. Individuals who indicated their mother identified as Republican had a significantly higher Accountability score than those who indicated their mother identified as Democrat or if they did not know their mother's political affiliation. Finally, those who indicated their mother identified as Republican had a significantly higher Religiosity score than those who indicated their mother identified as Democrat, Unaffiliated and if they did not know their mother's affiliation.

Individuals who indicated their father identified as Democrat had a significantly higher Collective score compared to those who indicated their father identified as Republican or if they did not know their father's affiliation. Those who indicated their father identified as Republican had a significantly higher Accountability score than those who indicated their father identified as Democrat, or if they did not know their father's political affiliation. Those who indicated their father identified as Republican had significantly higher Security score than those who indicated their father was identified as Democrat, Independent, Unaffiliated, or if they did not know their father's political affiliation. Finally, those who indicated their father identified as Republican had a significantly higher Religiosity score than those who indicated their father identified as Democrat, or if they did not know their father's political affiliation.

All correlations and ANOVAs cited above were also run on sample one and there were no differences in the results as described above. This lends further evidence for cross validation.

Discussion

This research offers a new and interesting tool, the Political Viewpoints Scale, which lives at the intersection of politics and psychology. Analyses resulted in a 24-item scale assessing four dimensions: Collective, Accountability, Religiosity, and Security. The PVS addresses gaps

identified in the literature. Specifically, it offers a way to measure political views that is value free, provides up to date content, psychometrically sound, and provides complete construct coverage.

One of the aims of this research was to create and validate a measure that was not value laden. Some previous measures such as Stankov's (2017) scale that aims to define and measure "conservative syndrome" would not be considered value free and implies a bias against conservativism. The scale developed in this study allows for both high and low scores on any given dimension of political viewpoints which reflects a difference in political viewpoints without judgement about who is right and who is wrong or which viewpoints is "better".

One of the most impactful findings was that there are four distinct factors. As mentioned previously in this manuscript, a limitation of previous work is the treatment of conservative and liberal being two ends of a bidimensional spectrum. This research instead implies that holding conservative or liberally oriented viewpoints are not necessarily in conflict with one another. This allows us to understand and measure the construct of political viewpoints in a new way. This research supports the idea that people can hold more than one viewpoint in their head at one time and that we can create a measure that captures this. Further, our validation process unveiled that there are not only two factors, but four: Collective, Accountability, Religiosity, and Security. Each of these factors represents a different perspective of political viewpoints that are not related to each other. The validation of these four distinct factors has some interesting implications. One interpretation is that knowing a person's political affiliation provides an incomplete understanding of his or her political beliefs. The make-up of these factors also provides a unique contribution. While the sub facets originally hypothesized in this research - Security, Fiscal,

Social and Religiosity – were not all supported by the data as originally thought, the four dimensions that were uncovered provide impactful, actionable, and data-driven insights.

The Security dimension is the one of two final factors that was similar and aligned with what was originally hypothesized. This sub facet contains items such as “an effective army keeps us all safe” as well as “a strong police force is key to keeping communities safe”. The Religiosity dimension is also similar and closely aligned with the original hypothesized Religiosity dimension. This dimension contains items ranging from, “A life without belief is empty” to “Abortion is murder”. This dimension was one of the most interesting and unique findings of this research in that it provides insight into a specific perspective that in isolation as well as in conjunction with the other sub facets offers a unique addition to the field of political psychology. While some previous scales had religiosity items, historically those items have been sorted under a social sub facet, such as Everett’s (2013) Social and Economic Conservativism scale. The items themselves are strong statements that imply a level of intensity around these perspectives. It is also telling that this dimension was meaningfully related to the Conventionalism sub facet of Right-Wing Authoritarianism as well as the Intrinsic sub facet of the Age Universal Religious Orientation scale. This not only implies construct validity for this dimension but suggests areas of further investigation about what this dimension could relate to, such as Social Dominance Orientation given that scale’s common correlation with Right Wing Authoritarianism.

The Accountability dimension was born from many of the originally hypothesized “Fiscal” coded items. However, the final items that comprised this dimension were items related to attributions for poverty, such as “Financial struggles usually result from lack of personal responsibility” and “Giving too many resources to the homeless (or unemployed) prevents them

from moving forward" which pointed to perspectives that were more aligned with personal accountability for adverse circumstances.

The Collective dimension was comprised entirely of liberally coded items and was a mixture of the various hypothesized sub facets. The Collective dimension consists of items such as "The bulk of government spending should go towards social programs" and "We should engage with other countries to help build their education systems". These items depict perspectives about advocating for specific civil and community level ideas and needs, suggesting an orientation toward collective responsibility for problem solving. People who identified as Democrat tended to produce high scores on this dimension, as well as those who reported that their mother or father identified as a Democrat.

Implications for Theory

This research contributes to a paradigm shift in how to measure political viewpoints. Given that this research validated these four distinct factors, it will be imperative moving forward that further contributions to the measurement of Political Viewpoints consider the diverse nature of the four dimensions. Based on the results of the one-way ANOVA on individual voter affiliation and the one-way ANOVA's on mother's and father's voter affiliation, there is reason to believe that some elements of political viewpoints could be hereditary. Further evidence towards the heritable nature is demonstrated by the fact that the Religiosity factor is highly positively correlated with the Right-Wing Authoritarianism conventionalism sub facet. Kandler, Bell and Riemann (2016) found evidence for the hereditary nature of Right-Wing Authoritarianism when they examined nuclear twin family data. Their research emphasized that the hereditary nature of Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation could explain the commonly reported correlation between the two. However, it is important to note that

heritability implies biological function and nurture could be just as impactful in these relationships. Therefore, heritability is not the only possible explanation for correlations with political affiliation.

Moving forward, it will be important to consider if the intra individual change of the political viewpoints construct follows some of the similar patterns that is seen with personality variables such as Right-Wing Authoritarianism. Based on these initial findings, it seems that while the instrument itself will need to be updated at the item level over time to reflect changing societal and political norms, the political viewpoints construct itself - especially the specified dimensions - will likely remain trait like within an individual over time.

Another interesting contribution that this research makes is addressing some of the construct confusion in the space of political viewpoints. For example, the "jingle" and "jangle" fallacies are important concepts to consider when measuring political viewpoints. The "jingle" fallacy occurs when different constructs are labeled the same and considered interchangeable (Kelly, 1927; Stanek & Ones, 2018; Thorndike, 1904;). The "jangle" fallacy occurs when two equivalent constructs are given different names making differentiations or distinctions where none should exist (Kelly, 1927; Thorndike, 1904; Stanek & Ones, 2018). As Block (1995) noted, when these fallacies occur, it "wastes scientific time" (Block, 1995, p. 43). The definition of the Political Viewpoints construct proposed in this manuscript and its foundation in prior research aims to address some of these "Jingle" and "Jangle" fallacies in the measurement and labeling of Political Viewpoints.

While many previous scales have encompassed some of the dimensions found in this research, to our knowledge no other measure of political viewpoints comprises all of the specific four dimensions that have been established, Collective, Accountability, Religiosity, and Security.

The creation and validation of these dimensions provide relevant and up to date content as well as a complete view of the political viewpoints construct.

Implications for Practice

This scale has tremendous implications for practice in political psychology and other areas as well, as the political sphere is becoming more divided and combative in the United States (Bermiss & Mcdonald, 2018). The Political Viewpoints Scale can be used to provide support for the notion that the "us and them" narrative glosses over important nuances. The nature of viewpoints is not bidimensional as demonstrated by this research. It is instead multifaceted and multi-dimensional.

Practically, this measure could be provided to an individual much like a "strengths finder" assessment is. Individuals could see a score for themselves for each factor that would describe their "Political viewpoints makeup". The predictive nature of this scale could also be extremely impactful in practice. By better understanding the multiple viewpoints that an individual can hold at one time, we can get a clearer and more comprehensive picture of an individual's perceptions and priorities and how those perceptions and priorities are operationalized in behaviors such as voting. In the workplace, this measure could prove an interesting platform for forming diverse groups and teams. This measure could help provide a starting point to enable more diverse perspectives within a group while also providing a safe and valid way to give insight into one's political viewpoints. This tool could be used in an effort to enhance collaboration by providing a tool for team building and conversation much like a "Strengths Finder" does in team settings. Also, being able to understand how individuals' scores on these various facets impact their work is critical. For example, the PVS could be used to shed light on whether someone high in Collective or Religiosity, for example, is more or less likely to

turn over as organizations continue to make politically oriented statements on social media and to the public.

Wier (2019) raises a key point in her article "Politics is Personal," which is that the current way that we measure and insist upon party identification has created an intense division and polarization in America. A very practical implication of the measure validated in this research is to begin to combat the divide created by party identification and highlight the complex nature of political viewpoints and the role that these viewpoints play in human behavior.

Limitations and Future Research

While this research offers important contributions, it is not without limitations. First, it is imperative to acknowledge the possible biases that may have impacted this study. The authors as well as the item writers and item judges all enter into this research with their own inherent biases that are difficult to separate from day to day activity. Throughout this study and research process the authors of this study routinely checked their biases to ensure as balanced and robust a study as possible. However, it is not possible to be aware of all inherent biases at all times. It will be imperative for other researchers to consider this tool, test it, and analyze it to ensure an unbiased instrument.

Another limitation is that while data were collected to reflect the American voter population, and in doing so the samples filled certain specified quotas that were stated in this manuscript, those quotas did not contain sub quotas to ensure a more detailed sample. For example, there was no specific sub quota for ethnicity within the women, I only specified top level quotas (meaning, a certain percentage of Black participants, and Female participants, not a

certain percentage of Black Female participants). Future research should focus on both quotas and sub quotas to ensure this tool is cross validated in those more detailed samples.

Based on the ANOVA findings regarding mother and father's political affiliation detailed above, further research should expand on the possible heritable nature of the Political Viewpoints Construct. One possible way to investigate this would be by including the Political Viewpoints Scale in a twin study. Another interesting area for future research is to explore whether political viewpoints measured by the PVS are stable, evolve over time, or fluctuate across circumstances. Further research could pinpoint whether each of the four dimensions are equally changeable over time and circumstances. For example, it would be interesting to see if views on Security are heightened by threat perceptions, whether experiences of hardship reduce Accountability views, and whether education or exposure to other cultures shape Collective views.

Conclusion

The research presented here, and the measure created and validated in this manuscript, provides a unique and impactful contribution to psychology and politics. The spirit of psychology rests on a researcher's ability to uncover and describe the complexities of humanity. The PVS is one step in our continued aim to do this. The CARS Political Viewpoints Scale has provided insight into how people are able to hold multiple political viewpoints and multiple perspectives, and provides four dimensions, Collective, Accountability, Religiosity, and Security that enhance our understanding of political viewpoints.

Table 1: Correlations between a sample of the political viewpoints item pool and social desirability sub facet scores

Item	*Social Desirability Self Deceptive Enhancement*	*Social Desirability Impression Management*
The wealth disparity is the cause of poverty	-0.18 ***	-0.08 *
The bulk of government spending should go towards social programs	-0.24 ***	-0.14 ***
Most homeless people are victims of our national societal issues	-0.18 ***	-0.07 *
The government needs to help people who are marginalized	-0.12 ***	-0.07 *
We should engage with other countries to help build their education systems	-0.11 **	-0.05
Diplomatic solutions always provide more lasting peace than military ones	-0.15 ***	-0.11 **
Welfare benefits hold people back	-0.24 ***	-0.30 ***
Giving too many resources to the homeless (or unemployed) prevents them from moving forward.	-0.21 ***	-0.18 ***
Financial struggles usually result from lack of personal responsibility	-0.14 ***	-0.15 ***
Poverty is a choice	-0.16 ***	-0.20 ***
People with large amounts of debt lack self-control	-0.18 ***	-0.12 ***
I believe the government should only help those who help themselves	-0.23 ***	-0.26 ***
An effective army keeps us all safe	-0.13 ***	-0.03
I believe we have the best military in the world	-0.12 **	-0.01
Our military is strength key to the strength of our nation	-0.09 *	0.00
Without investment in security, we will lose our power as a country	-0.10 **	-0.10 **

Note: N = 762, * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 1 Continued: Correlations between a sample of the political viewpoints item pool and social desirability sub facet scores

Item	*Social Desirability Self Deceptive Enhancement*		*Social Desirability Impression Management*	
National security should be the government's top priority	-0.16	***	-0.08	*
A strong police force is key to keeping communities safe	-0.11	**	-0.03	
A life without belief is empty	-0.18	***	-0.14	***
I believe there is one true religion	-0.08	*	-0.03	
I don't believe that religion should influence public spending (R)	0.06		0.07	*
Sunday worship helps children become responsible adults	-0.11	**	-0.04	
Abortion is murder	-0.11	**	-0.03	
I consider myself to be committed to my religious beliefs	-0.11	**	-0.04	

Note: N = 762, * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 2: CFA results of 24 items: finalists from sample 1

Construct	Sub Facets	χ^2 *df*	χ^2 *p*	*CFI*	*TLI*	*RMSEA*
Political Viewpoints	Collective, Security, Accountability, Religiosity	246	< 0.001	0.94	0.93	0.049

Table 3: CFA results of final 24 items calculated from Sample 2

Construct	Sub Facets	χ^2 *df*	χ^2 *p*	*CFI*	*TLI*	*RMSEA*
Political Viewpoints	Collective, Security, Accountability, Religiosity	276	< 0.001	0.94	0.94	0.046

Table 4: Item factor loadings from 4 factor analysis

Item	Collective	Security	Accountability	Religiosity
The wealth disparity is the cause of poverty	0.67			
The bulk of government spending should go towards social programs	0.69			
Most homeless people are victims of our national societal issues	0.70			
The government needs to help people who are marginalized	0.60			
We should engage with other countries to help build their education systems	0.50			
Diplomatic solutions always provide more lasting peace than military ones	0.53			
An effective army keeps us all safe		0.86		
I believe we have the best military in the world		0.75		
Our military is strength key to the strength of our nation		0.73		
Without investment in security, we will lose our power as a country		0.70		
National security should be the government's top priority		0.55		
A strong police force is key to keeping communities safe		0.61		

Table 4 Continued: Item factor loadings from 4 factor analysis

Item	Collective	Security	Accountability	Religiosity
Welfare benefits hold people back			0.71	
Giving too many resources to the homeless (or unemployed) prevents them from moving forward.			0.62	
Financial struggles usually result from lack of personal responsibility			0.75	
Poverty is a choice			0.75	
People with large amounts of debt lack self-control			0.57	
I believe the government should only help those who help themselves			0.61	
A life without belief is empty				0.71
I believe there is one true religion				0.73
I don’t believe that religion should influence public spending (R)				0.53
Sunday worship helps children become responsible adults				0.58
Abortion is murder				0.65
I consider myself to be committed to my religious beliefs				0.72

Table 5: Sample 2 correlations and descriptives for related measures

Variable		*M*	*SD*	*alpha*	1	2	3
1	PV Collective	4.54	1.1	0.79			
2	PV Security	5.11	1.2	0.87	-.30**		
3	PV Accountability	3.93	1.28	0.83	-.35**	.50**	
4	PV Religiosity	4.02	1.41	0.83	-.20**	.49**	.39**
5	SD Self Decp Enhancement	3.74	0.65	0.35	-.24**	-.15**	-.26**
6	SD Impression Management	4.17	0.83	0.57	-.13**	-0.05	-.27**
7	Right Wing Conventional	4.11	1.34	0.69	-.45**	.54**	.38**
8	Right Wing Aggression	4.42	1.16	0.47	-.51**	.55**	.42**
9	Right Wing Submission	3.86	1.07	0.60	-.43**	.55**	.49**
10	Social Econ Conserve Social	5.22	0.97	0.73	-.25**	.67**	.34**
11	Social Econ Conserve Econ	5.03	0.87	0.48	-.11**	.48**	.23**
12	Systems Justification	3.98	1.09	0.80	-.30**	.61**	.59**
13	Age Universal Relig Intrinsic	4.25	1.36	0.81	0	.39**	.27**
14	Age Universal Relig Extrinsic	3.7	1.23	0.79	.15**	.28**	.33**
15	Risk of Future Events	3.97	1.17	0.81	.15**	0.04	.13**
16	Affect Intensity	4.43	0.62	0.73	.27**	.29**	.41**
17	Big Five Extraversion	3.91	1	0.79	.07*	.13**	.07*
18	Big Five Agreeableness	5.05	0.91	0.80	.08*	.16**	-.23**
19	Big Five Conscientiousness	5.2	0.99	0.85	-.13**	.21**	-0.06
20	Big five Neuroticism	3.66	1.17	0.86	.14**	-.12**	-0.03
21	Big Five Openness	4.56	0.87	0.79	.27**	0	-.09*

Note: N = 762, * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 5 Continued: Sample 2 correlations and descriptives for related measures

Variable		4	5	6	7	8	9
1	PV Collective						
2	PV Security						
3	PV Accountability						
4	PV Religiosity						
5	SD Self Decp Enhancement	-.13**					
6	SD Impression Management	-0.05	.48**				
7	Right Wing Conventional	.72**	0.06	0.06			
8	Right Wing Aggression	.33**	0.03	0.03	.55**		
9	Right Wing Submission	.60**	-0.03	-0.01	.70**	.57**	
10	Social Econ Conserve Social	.56**	-.10**	-0.01	.59**	.41**	.49**
11	Social Econ Conserve Econ	.32**	-.16**	-0.04	.31**	.31**	.25**
12	Systems Justification	.43**	-.15**	-.14**	.43**	.33**	.50**
13	Age Universal Relig Intrinsic	.72**	-.24**	-.14**	.49**	.16**	.40**
14	Age Universal Relig Extrinsic	.43**	-.32**	-.29**	.19**	0.02	.22**
15	Risk of Future Events	0.01	-.26**	-.27**	-.08*	-0.01	0.01
16	Affect Intensity	.30**	-.50**	-.35**	.11**	0.04	.17**
17	Big Five Extraversion	.09*	-0.04	-0.02	0.02	-0.03	0
18	Big Five Agreeableness	.15**	.16**	.40**	.16**	0.02	0
19	Big Five Conscientiousness	.10**	.18**	.35**	.23**	.17**	.11**
20	Big five Neuroticism	-0.05	-.29**	-.28**	-.12**	-0.01	-0.06
21	Big Five Openness	-0.05	-.19**	-0.06	-.13**	-.15**	-.18**

Note: N = 762, * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 5 Continued: Sample 2 correlations and descriptives for related measures

Variable		10	11	12	13	14	15
1	PV Collective						
2	PV Security						
3	PV Accountability						
4	PV Religiosity						
5	SD Self Decp Enhancement						
6	SD Impression Management						
7	Right Wing Conventional						
8	Right Wing Aggression						
9	Right Wing Submission						
10	Social Econ Conserve Social						
11	Social Econ Conserve Econ	.59**					
12	Systems Justification	.47**	.30**				
13	Age Universal Relig Intrinsic	.54**	.32**	.34**			
14	Age Universal Relig Extrinsic	.34**	.17**	.33**	.68**		
15	Risk of Future Events	.08*	.10**	-0.02	.14**	.21**	
16	Affect Intensity	.27**	.25**	.31**	.39**	.48**	.28**
17	Big Five Extraversion	.15**	.16**	.08*	.16**	.19**	0.06
18	Big Five Agreeableness	.25**	.21**	0	.18**	-0.04	-.17**
19	Big Five Conscientiousness	.27**	.21**	0.06	.08*	-.15**	-.20**
20	Big five Neuroticism	-.16**	-0.07	-.16**	-0.04	.12**	.29**
21	Big Five Openness	0.03	.18**	-.09*	.11**	0.06	.14**

Note: N = 762, * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 5 Continued: Sample 2 correlations and descriptives for related measures

Variable		16	17	18	19	20
1	PV Collective					
2	PV Security					
3	PV Accountability					
4	PV Religiosity					
5	SD Self Decp Enhancement					
6	SD Impression Management					
7	Right Wing Conventional					
8	Right Wing Aggression					
9	Right Wing Submission					
10	Social Econ Conserve Social					
11	Social Econ Conserve Econ					
12	Systems Justification					
13	Age Universal Relig Intrinsic					
14	Age Universal Relig Extrinsic					
15	Risk of Future Events					
16	Affect Intensity					
17	Big Five Extraversion	.08*				
18	Big Five Agreeableness	-0.04	.15**			
19	Big Five Conscientiousness	-.09*	.13**	.56**		
20	Big five Neuroticism	.10**	-.21**	-.38**	-.49**	
21	Big Five Openness	.17**	.37**	.21**	.22**	-.09*

Note: N = 762, * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 6: Means and standard deviations for one-way ANOVAs on voter affiliation

Voter	Collective		Security		Accountability		Religiosity	
Affiliation	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Democrat	5.00	0.06	4.78	1.18	3.46	1.29	3.68	0.07
Republican	4.02	0.07	5.72	0.89	4.60	1.07	4.62	0.09
Independent	4.46	0.08	4.96	1.20	3.87	1.16	4.00	0.11
Unaffiliated	4.41	0.14	4.69	1.34	3.61	1.20	3.35	0.18
Other	4.68	0.24	4.50	1.35	3.77	0.97	3.71	0.32

Table 7: Means and standard deviations for one-way ANOVAs on mother affiliation

Mother Affiliation	Collective		Security		Accountability		Religiosity	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Democrat	4.80	1.06	4.90	1.24	3.63	1.26	3.84	1.35
Republican	4.34	1.22	5.40	1.13	4.42	1.28	4.50	1.45
Independent	4.45	1.05	5.04	1.13	4.16	1.28	4.35	1.29
Unaffiliated	4.60	1.13	5.04	1.28	3.97	1.25	3.82	1.38
Other	4.55	0.85	4.38	1.00	3.41	0.92	4.69	1.16
Don’t Know	4.30	0.95	4.90	1.12	3.78	1.15	3.73	1.35

Table 8: Means and standard deviations for one-way ANOVAs on Father affiliation

Father Affiliation	Collective		Security		Accountability		Religiosity	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Democrat	4.84	1.04	4.90	1.19	3.65	1.23	3.80	1.34
Republican	4.29	1.21	5.50	1.15	4.45	1.28	4.47	1.44
Independent	4.47	1.17	5.00	1.26	4.09	1.28	4.14	1.25
Unaffiliated	4.62	1.01	4.80	1.28	3.83	1.29	3.73	1.54
Other	4.59	0.79	4.69	0.90	3.85	0.73	4.90	0.62
Don’t Know	4.40	0.93	4.95	1.14	3.65	1.15	3.72	1.35

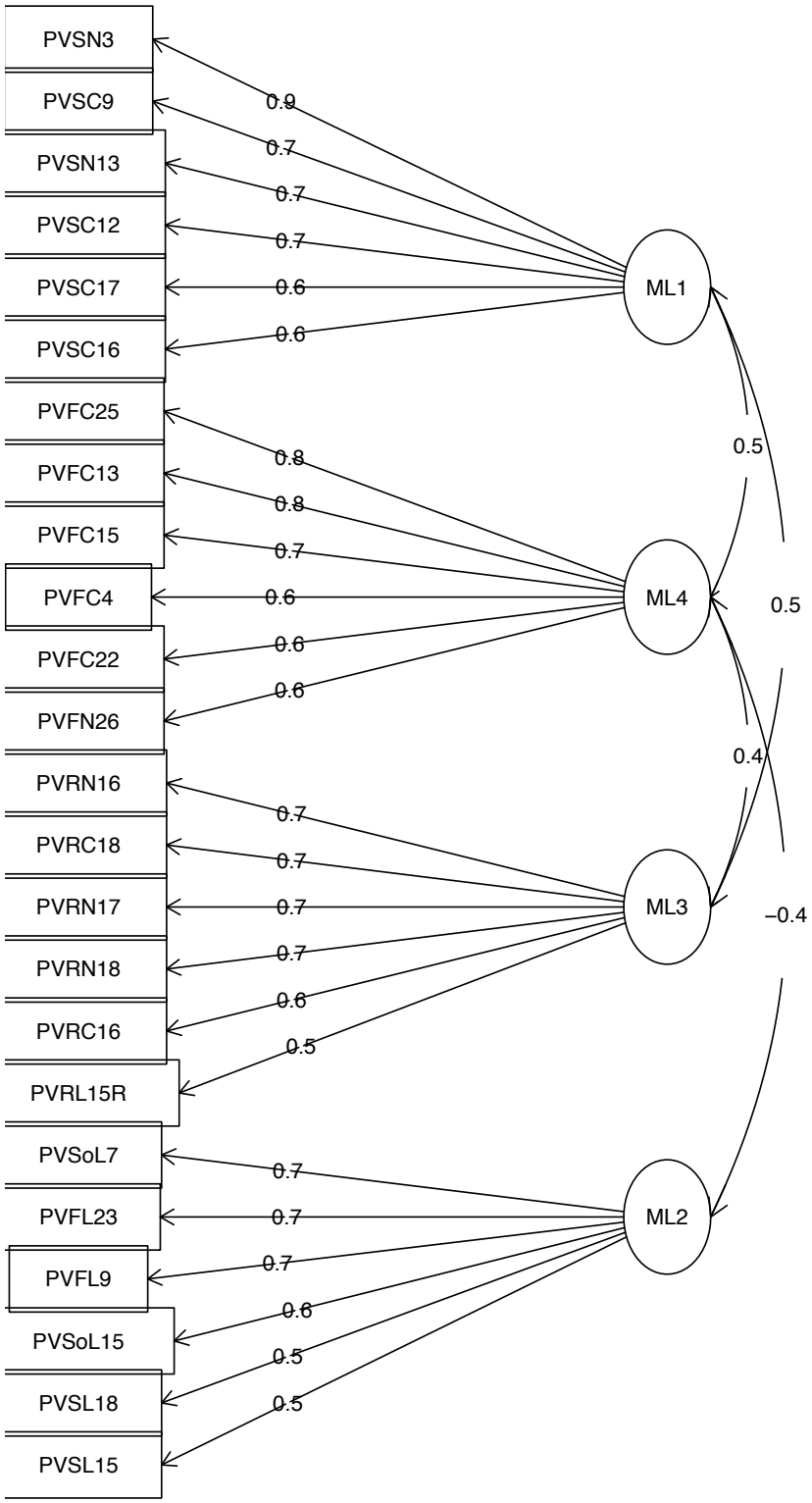

Figure 1: Path diagram from 4 factor analysis

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Historical Measures of Political Views and Ideologies

APA citation	Name of construct or scale	Number of items	Names of sub-facets or sub-dimension (if any)
Crowson, H. M. (2009). Are all conservatives alike? A study of the psychological correlates of cultural and economic conservatism. The Journal of Psychology, 143(5), 449-63. doi:http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/10.3200/JRL.143.5.449-463	Conservatism	12	Economic and Cultural Conservatism
Duckitt, J., & Bizumic, B. (2013). Multidimensionality of right-wing authoritarian attitudes: Authoritarianism-conservatism-traditionalism. Political Psychology, 34(6), 841-862. doi:10.1111/pops.12022	Right Wing Authoritarian Attitudes	16	Authoritarianism, Conservatism, and Traditionalism (ACT) and the ACT-SDO(social dominance orientation) Scale
Everett, J. A. C. (2013). The 12 item social and economic conservatism scale (SECS). PloS One, 8(12), e82131. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0082131	Conservatism	12	Economic conservatism Social conservatism
Fried, Y. L., Levi, A. S., Billings, S. W., & Browne, K. R. (2001). The relation between political ideology and attitudes toward affirmative action among African Americans: The moderating effect of racial discrimination in the workplace. *Human Relations*, *54*(5), 561–584. doi: 10.1177/0018726701545002	Egalitarian Political Ideology	15	None
Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B. A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96(5), 1029-1046. doi:10.1037/a0015141	Political and Moral Ideology	1	None
Henningham, J. P. (1996). A 12-item scale of social conservatism. Personality and Individual Differences, 20(4), 517-519. doi:10.1016/0191-8869(95)00192-1	Social Conservatism (SECS)	12	None
Jost, J. T., Blount, S., Pfeffer, J., & Hunyady, G. (2003). fair market ideology: Its cognitive-motivational underpinnings. Research in Organizational Behavior, 25,	FMI or Fair Market Ideology	25	None

53-91. doi:10.1016/S0191-3085(03)25002-4			
Jost, J. T., Glaser, J., Kruglanski, A. W., & Sulloway, F. J. (2003). Political conservatism as motivated social cognition. Psychological Bulletin, 129(3), 339–375. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.129.3.339	Political Conservatism	11	None
Matthews, M., Levin, S., & Sidanius, J. (2009). A Longitudinal Test of the Model of Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition. Political Psychology, 30(6), 921-936. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/25655430	Political Conservatism	4	None
Middendorp, C. (1978). Progressiveness and conservatism: The fundamental dimensions of ideological controversy and their relationship to social class. Mouton.	Political Conservatism	12	None
Yee, C. M., Master, S. L., Amodio, D. M., & Jost, J. T. (2007). Neurocognitive correlates of liberalism and conservatism. Nature Neuroscience, 10(10), 1246-1247. doi:10.1038/nn1979	Conservatism	1	None
Leone, Luigi, and Antonio Chirumbolo. "Conservatism as Motivated Avoidance of Affect: Need for Affect Scales Predict Conservatism Measures." Journal of Research in Personality, vol. 42, no. 3, 2008, pp. 755–762., doi:10.1016/j.jrp.2007.08.001.	Conservatism	13	None
Malka, A., Lelkes, Y., & Soto, C. (2019). Are Cultural and Economic Conservatism Positively Correlated? A Large-Scale Cross-National Test. British Journal of Political Science, 49(3), 1045-1069. doi:10.1017/S0007123417000072	Conservatism	14	Cultural and economic conservatism

Appendix B : Henningham's 1996 Social Conservatism Scale

#	Item
1	Death Penalty;
2	Multiculturalism;
3	Stiffer jail terms;
4	Voluntary euthanasia;
5	Bible truth;
6	Gay rights;
7	Pre-marital virginity;
8	Asian immigration;
9	Church authority;
10	Legalized abortion;
11	Condom vending machines;
12	Legalized prostitution.

Appendix C: Everette's 2013 Social and Economic Conservatism scale

#	Item
1	Abortion (Social)
2	Welfare benefits (reverse scored) (Economic)
3	Limited government (Economic)
4	Military and national security (Social)
5	Religion (Social)
6	Gun ownership (Economic)
7	Traditional marriage (Social)
8	Traditional values (Social)
9	Fiscal responsibility (Economic)
10	Business (Economic)
11	The family unit (Social)
12	Patriotism (Social)

Appendix D: Peretz, Levi, and Fried, 2001 egalitarian political ideology scale

#	Item
1	All things considered, most people get just what they deserve out of life. (R)
2	Maybe its not their fault but most people were brought up without ambition. (R)
3	Most poor people don't have the ability to get ahead. (R)
4	Many poor people simply don't want to work hard. (R)
5	Those who are well off in this country should be obligated to help those who are less fortunate.
6	If the government must go deeper in debt to help people, it should do so.
7	We need public policies to reduce inequality between talented and less talented people who try equally hard.
8	There are too many people who are getting something for nothing in this society. (R)
9	Anyone receiving welfare in this country should be made to work for the money they get. (R)
10	It is not right for people to go hungry in this country.
11	Basic services such as healthcare and legal assistance should be provided to everyone by the government, free of charge.
12	Compassion for others is the most important human value.
13	Because of their grater economic power, the rich have an unfair advantage over the poor.
14	Despite barriers to success such as discrimination, almost anybody can succeed if he or she tries hard enough. (R)
15	In this society, individuals' failures are often the result of the unfairness are the result of the economic, political or judicial systems.

Appendix E: Initial Item pool for Survey

Item	Proposed Dimension	Orientation Code	Added Post Sorting
A person's credit score says a lot about their character.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Accepting things for free is demeaning.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Anyone can succeed in life if they work hard.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Debt is a sign of weakness.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Debt leads to failure.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Financial struggles usually result from lack of personal responsibility.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Getting government handouts means you are not successful.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Giving too many resources to the homeless (or unemployed) prevents them from moving forward.	Fiscal	Conservative	
I believe that businesses should be free to operate without the government interfering	Fiscal	Conservative	
I believe the economy functions best when there is minimal government influence	Fiscal	Conservative	
I believe the government should only help those who help themselves.	Fiscal	Conservative	
I do not share money with friends in need.	Fiscal	Conservative	
I do not share money with those in need.	Fiscal	Conservative	
I support free trade.	Fiscal	Conservative	
If you work hard, being financially sustainable is easy.	Fiscal	Conservative	
It is important to always have protections on your resources from everyone, even friends.	Fiscal	Conservative	

It is unfair that we have to use our taxes to pay for people on welfare	Fiscal	Conservative	
Medical expenses should be paid by individuals, not society.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Poverty is a choice.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Regulations are harmful to the economy.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Running large deficits is stealing from the future.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Tax cuts for the wealthy benefit everyone.	Fiscal	Conservative	
The government's role is to help those who help themselves.	Fiscal	Conservative	
The majority of wealth is held by the hardest working	Fiscal	Conservative	
Welfare benefits hold people back.	Fiscal	Conservative	
Welfare is robbing people of the motivation to work.	Fiscal	Conservative	
You appreciate those things you earn more than those that are given to you.	Fiscal	Conservative	
"Trickle down economics" is not sustainable.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
A social safety net is sometimes needed for people who fall on hard times.	Fiscal	Liberal	
All people should have access to affordable healthcare.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
Banks are not set up to help the underdog	Fiscal	Liberal	
Capitalism is immoral.	Fiscal	Liberal	
Current financial systems are set up in favor of the wealthy.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
Employees should be paid a living wage.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
Financial regulations protect citizens from another financial crisis.	Fiscal	Liberal	
Free trade takes away local jobs.	Fiscal	Liberal	X

Government funds should go towards helping the most marginalized people of society.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
I am in favor of government spending on social programs.	Fiscal	Liberal	
I support fair trade.	Fiscal	Liberal	
National debt is a necessary part of investing in our country's future.	Fiscal	Liberal	
Our nation spends too much on national security.	Fiscal	Liberal	
Poverty is a systemic injustice.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
Regulations will prevent another fiscal crisis.	Fiscal	Liberal	
Stimulus packages should be targeted towards the 99%.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
The "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" mentality does not work for everyone.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
The bulk of government spending should go towards social programs.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
The government needs to help the less fortunate.	Fiscal	Liberal	
The governments role is to help those who cannot help themselves.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
The wealth disparity is the cause of poverty.	Fiscal	Liberal	
We should not bail out the wealthy.	Fiscal	Liberal	X
Welfare benefits provide a necessary cushion for those experiencing unexpected hardship.	Fiscal	Liberal	
Borrowing more than you can pay off is wrong.	Fiscal	Neutral	
Buying things on credit makes people lose the motivation to earn.	Fiscal	Neutral	
Countries that spend more than they have are headed for trouble.	Fiscal	Neutral	
Federal government should not tell states what to do	Fiscal	Neutral	

I believe Americans should pay lower taxes	Fiscal	Neutral
I believe the government should not decide how much money doctors make	Fiscal	Neutral
I pay debts back as soon as possible.	Fiscal	Neutral
It is better to save than to spend in every occasion.	Fiscal	Neutral
It is okay to temporarily take on debt in order to gain more in the future.	Fiscal	Neutral
Our national currency is at risk due to the size of the federal deficit.	Fiscal	Neutral
Pay bills on time	Fiscal	Neutral
Paying bills on time is a societal responsibility.	Fiscal	Neutral
People ought to live within their means.	Fiscal	Neutral
People should not spend more than they have.	Fiscal	Neutral
People with large amounts of debt lack self-control.	Fiscal	Neutral
Prefer to live beyond my means	Fiscal	Neutral
Saving money for the future is better than spending money on fun things you want now	Fiscal	Neutral
Spending money before you have it is wrong	Fiscal	Neutral
Taking risks is a necessary part of a good future.	Fiscal	Neutral
The government balance sheets should balance.	Fiscal	Neutral
The way you spend your money is how you show your priorities.	Fiscal	Neutral
There is no reward without taking risk.	Fiscal	Neutral
There is nothing wrong with credit card debt.	Fiscal	Neutral
We should make lowering the national debt a top priority	Fiscal	Neutral
Would never cheat on my taxes	Fiscal	Neutral

You should always pay your bills.	Fiscal	Neutral
Abortion is murder	Religiosity	Conservative
Bad behavior is the result of a weak moral compass.	Religiosity	Conservative
Families that pray together stay together.	Religiosity	Conservative
I am concerned about our country's loose moral values.	Religiosity	Conservative
I believe that life begins at conception	Religiosity	Conservative
I believe that marriage should only be between a man and a woman	Religiosity	Conservative
I believe the history of the institution of marriage should be maintained.	Religiosity	Conservative
I have a strong desire to share my beliefs with others.	Religiosity	Conservative
I have done a lot of work to come to my current beliefs.	Religiosity	Conservative
I see the events of the world in terms of good and evil.	Religiosity	Conservative
I think it is right to share my beliefs with others in order to help them live better lives.	Religiosity	Conservative
I would vote or not vote for someone based on their religion	Religiosity	Conservative
My beliefs are the primary way I make decisions.	Religiosity	Conservative
One day we will have to account for our actions.	Religiosity	Conservative
One day, we will all have to be accountable for the actions that we have chosen in life.	Religiosity	Conservative
Others should have the same beliefs as me	Religiosity	Conservative
Sunday worship helps children become responsible adults.	Religiosity	Conservative
The choices you make determine whether you are a good person.	Religiosity	Conservative

There really is evil in the world that has to be confronted.	Religiosity	Conservative	
I am glad to see diverse places of worship in my community	Religiosity	Liberal	X
I am interested to learn about others beliefs.	Religiosity	Liberal	X
I believe children should have the option to choose their own faith.	Religiosity	Liberal	X
I believe in diversity of faith	Religiosity	Liberal	X
I can easily separate my religion from my social beliefs.	Religiosity	Liberal	X
I do not believe my religion needs to be everyone's religion.	Religiosity	Liberal	X
I do not think political candidates religious affiliations should be considered.	Religiosity	Liberal	X
I don’t believe that religion should influence public spending	Religiosity	Liberal	X
I don’t feel its necessary to be surrounded by people who believe the same things as me	Religiosity	Liberal	X
I support the separation of church and state	Religiosity	Liberal	X
I think social policies should be free of religious bias	Religiosity	Liberal	X
Life begins at birth	Religiosity	Liberal	X
Most religions don’t value women's rights	Religiosity	Liberal	X
My beliefs do not dictate the way I vote.	Religiosity	Liberal	X
My community is religiously diverse	Religiosity	Liberal	X
Religious people tend to be narrow minded.	Religiosity	Liberal	
Some religions hold dangerous ideologies.	Religiosity	Liberal	
The institution of marriage is outdated.	Religiosity	Liberal	
A life without belief is empty	Religiosity	Neutral	

Belief in a higher power is what keeps morality in check	Religiosity	Neutral
Everyone is fully morally responsible for their behavior no matter the circumstances.	Religiosity	Neutral
I am very confident in my current beliefs.	Religiosity	Neutral
I believe right is right and wrong is wrong	Religiosity	Neutral
I believe there is one true religion	Religiosity	Neutral
I consider myself to be committed to my religious beliefs	Religiosity	Neutral
I have engaged in multiple debates regarding a difference in beliefs with others.	Religiosity	Neutral
I identify with a specific religion	Religiosity	Neutral
If others believed what I believed the world would be a more peaceful place	Religiosity	Neutral
It is better to be in an organized religion rather than to practice by yourself.	Religiosity	Neutral
It would be very difficult for someone to alter my current beliefs.	Religiosity	Neutral
Moral relativism is at the heart of a lot bad behavior.	Religiosity	Neutral
My beliefs are shaped by my direct community	Religiosity	Neutral
My beliefs guide me in my choices	Religiosity	Neutral
My beliefs influence my opinion of other decisions	Religiosity	Neutral
Others could learn a lot from my beliefs	Religiosity	Neutral
People always act in ways determined by their beliefs.	Religiosity	Neutral
Religious beliefs of public figures play in to my thoughts and beliefs about them.	Religiosity	Neutral

There is a constant battle in the world between good and evil.	Religiosity	Neutral
There is a reason for everything.	Religiosity	Neutral
A strong police force is key to keeping communities safe.	Security	Conservative
Border Patrol needs to be increased if we are to remain safe.	Security	Conservative
Countries without a strong military leave themselves vulnerable	Security	Conservative
Gun ownership is critical to personal safety.	Security	Conservative
I am always ready to defend what I have.	Security	Conservative
if you are not prepared to defend what you care for you may lose it.	Security	Conservative
If you can't backup your threats with force you are likely to lose.	Security	Conservative
Increasing immigration is a threat to national security.	Security	Conservative
It is important to enter uncertain and dangerous situations from a position of strength.	Security	Conservative
It is important to increase border protection	Security	Conservative
Laws should be upheld with force	Security	Conservative
National security should be the government's top priority.	Security	Conservative
Our country should not take the chance of letting in people from dangerous countries.	Security	Conservative
Our military is strength key to the strength of our nation.	Security	Conservative
Our military is the foundation of our society.	Security	Conservative
Our military must show force if the country is to be safe.	Security	Conservative

Our military should remain in countries we view as threats if we don't want those threats to come to our country.	Security	Conservative	
Peace is gained by strength.	Security	Conservative	
Spending money on security is always the right thing to do.	Security	Conservative	
Talk is great but it's no substitute for strength.	Security	Conservative	
The government needs to take aggressive action against national threats.	Security	Conservative	
The world is a dangerous place.	Security	Conservative	
There will never be peace without military force.	Security	Conservative	
We should limit the number of immigrants that come to this country	Security	Conservative	
When I am in a situation, I can easily perceive the possible dangers.	Security	Conservative	
Without investment in security, we will lose our power as a country	Security	Conservative	
"Stop and frisk" is a bad policy.	Security	Liberal	X
An ideal society would have no need for a military.	Security	Liberal	X
Being a "superpower" sometimes means not exhibiting force.	Security	Liberal	
Compassion is as much of a strength as physical force.	Security	Liberal	
Diplomatic solutions always provide more lasting peace than military ones.	Security	Liberal	X
Diversity by immigration is what makes us safer in the long run.	Security	Liberal	X
I am not afraid of things that are different than me	Security	Liberal	X
I believe our borders should be open.	Security	Liberal	X
I believe pacifism is a valid opinion to hold	Security	Liberal	X

I don’t always assume possible danger or threat in a situation.	Security	Liberal	X
I don’t believe that gun ownership is a right	Security	Liberal	X
insecurity is only a result of unjust systems.	Security	Liberal	X
Peace is gained through compassion.	Security	Liberal	
The military causes more harm than good in this world.	Security	Liberal	
Too much emphasis on military can erode society.	Security	Liberal	X
War is never the answer.	Security	Liberal	
We are too quick to believe that those who are different than us pose a threat.	Security	Liberal	X
We need stricter regulation on gun ownership	Security	Liberal	X
We should engage with other countries to help build their education systems.	Security	Liberal	X
We spend too much on the military.	Security	Liberal	X
An effective army keeps us all safe.	Security	Neutral	
Fear does not drive my decision-making.	Security	Neutral	X
Freedom is more important than safety.	Security	Neutral	
Humans can't exist without war.	Security	Neutral	
I am nervous about being a victim of a crime in the future	Security	Neutral	X
I believe we have the best military in the world	Security	Neutral	
I feel confident I can protect myself	Security	Neutral	X
I owe a lot to the people who fought for my freedom.	Security	Neutral	
I think biological threats are real	Security	Neutral	X
It is important to always negotiate from a position of strength and certainty.	Security	Neutral	
Laws should be strictly enforced	Security	Neutral	

Minimizing risks is a necessary part of a good future.	Security	Neutral	
My vote goes to leaders who keep our country safe.	Security	Neutral	
Peace is stagnant.	Security	Neutral	
Police officers are some of the most valuable members of society.	Security	Neutral	
The police do not receive enough resources to work effectively.	Security	Neutral	
The problems in other countries are not our responsibility.	Security	Neutral	
We must protect our freedoms.	Security	Neutral	
We should protect our freedom at any cost	Security	Neutral	
Without freedom we do not have choice.	Security	Neutral	
Couples should not have children unless they are legally married	Social	Conservative	
Couples should not move in together unless they are legally married	Social	Conservative	
Drug addicts should be punished for breaking the law.	Social	Conservative	
Everyone is treated fairly in this country because of the Constitution.	Social	Conservative	
Everything would be better if people agreed with me.	Social	Conservative	
I believe that gender is determined by biology	Social	Conservative	
I believe that less government makes for a better society.	Social	Conservative	
I believe that many people will play the victim whenever possible.	Social	Conservative	
It should be the women's responsibility to raise the children	Social	Conservative	X
Keeping things the same is out of my control.	Social	Conservative	
Labor unions create more problems than the fix.	Social	Conservative	

Our strong justice system upholds national values.	Social	Conservative	
People overreact over social issues.	Social	Conservative	
People should be less concerned about the problems of others.	Social	Conservative	
People should take care of themselves.	Social	Conservative	
People who feel oppressed have every opportunity to improve their circumstances.	Social	Conservative	
The public overreacts to reported cases of police violence.	Social	Conservative	
There are a lot of people who take advantage of the government systems.	Social	Conservative	
Tradition is very important to me	Social	Conservative	
Universities are elitist institutions.	Social	Conservative	
A revolution is needed to fix America's social issues.	Social	Liberal	
Being a teacher is a noble profession.	Social	Liberal	
Communities have to help each other.	Social	Liberal	
Criminals are often victims of a society that has failed them.	Social	Liberal	
Equality is a level playing field.	Social	Liberal	
I support the use of safe spaces on college campuses.	Social	Liberal	
I think everyone should have fair access to a job	Social	Liberal	
Inequality is a major cause of societal violence.	Social	Liberal	
Intolerance should not be tolerated.	Social	Liberal	
It is great to see more women becoming the primary breadwinner for a household.	Social	Liberal	X
It is important to help those who cannot help themselves.	Social	Liberal	
More women need to be represented in political office.	Social	Liberal	X
Most criminals are social and economic victims.	Social	Liberal	

Most homeless people are victims of our national societal issues.	Social	Liberal	
Parents should be more nurturing than strict	Social	Liberal	
Teachers are some of the most valuable members of society.	Social	Liberal	
The government needs to help people who are marginalized.	Social	Liberal	
The poor are often victims of circumstances beyond their control.	Social	Liberal	
We need to continue to fight for equal pay for women	Social	Liberal	X
We should help criminals integrate back into society	Social	Liberal	
A good parent needs to be strict.	Social	Neutral	
All is done for each.	Social	Neutral	
Dogs should be obedient to their owners.	Social	Neutral	
Freedom is more important than equality.	Social	Neutral	
Government is the backbone to any society.	Social	Neutral	
Human beings can be morally improved through social programs	Social	Neutral	
I believe children should be taught to be self-reliant	Social	Neutral	
I believe that there are good and bad people in the world.	Social	Neutral	
I enjoy being judged.	Social	Neutral	
I enjoy judging people.	Social	Neutral	
I'm tired of people who use excuses to justify their bad behavior.	Social	Neutral	
It is better to be right than nice.	Social	Neutral	
It is important to hold people accountable for their actions.	Social	Neutral	
It should be up to the states to determine social programs, not the federal government.	Social	Neutral	

It takes a village.	Social	Neutral
Not all reasons are good reasons.	Social	Neutral
Others beliefs influence their opinions on others decisions	Social	Neutral
Parents need to teach their children right from wrong.	Social	Neutral
People compromise on their beliefs due to life circumstances.	Social	Neutral
People will hurt you if you give them the opportunity	Social	Neutral
Social entrepreneurship is the future	Social	Neutral
The police do not get enough credit for their work.	Social	Neutral
Without honor and a sense of duty you are nothing.	Social	Neutral

Appendix F: Convergent and Discriminant Validity Scales

Right Wing Authoritarianism (Funke, 2005)

#	Item	Reverse Code	Sub facet
1	People should develop their own personal standards about good and evil and pay less attention to the Bible and other old, traditional forms of religious guidance.*	R	Conventionalism
2	What our country really needs instead of more "civil rights" is a good stiff dose of law and order.		Aggression
3	The days when women are submissive should belong strictly in the past. A "woman's place" in society should be wherever she wants to be.*	R	Submission
4	The withdrawal from tradition will turn out to be a fatal fault one day.		Conventionalism
5	There is no such crime to justify capital punishment.*	R	Aggression
6	Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn.		Submission
7	Homosexual long-term relationships should be treated as equivalent to marriage.*	R	Conventionalism
8	What our country really needs is a strong, determined Chancellor which will crush the evil and set us on our right way again.		Aggression
9	It is good that nowadays young people have greater freedom "to make their own rules" and to protest against things they don't like.*	R	Submission
10	Being virtuous and law-abiding is in the long run better for us than permanently challenging the foundation of our society.		Conventionalism
11	It is important to protect the rights of radicals and deviants in all ways.*	R	Aggression
12	The real keys to the "good life" are obedience, discipline, and virtue.		Submission

Social and Economic Conservatism scale (Everett, 2013)

#	Item	Sub facet
1	Abortion	Social
2	Religion	Social
3	Gun Ownership	Economic
4	Traditional Marriage	Social
5	Traditional Values	Social
6	The Family Unit	Social
7	Patriotism	Social
8	Military and National Security	Social
9	Limited Government	Economic
10	Fiscal Responsibility	Economic
11	Business	Economic
12	Welfare Benefits	Economic

Systems Justification Scale Kay & Jost, 2003)

#	Item	Reverse Code
1	In general, you find society to be fair	
2	In general, the American political system operates as it should	
3	American society needs to be radically restructured	R
4	The United States is the best country in the world to live in	
5	Most policies serve the greater good	
6	Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness	
7	Our society is getting worse every year	R
8	Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve	

Age Universal Religious Orientation scale Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989)

#	Item	Sub facet
1	I enjoy reading about my religion	Intrinsic Religion
2	It is important to me to spend time in private thought and prayer.	Intrinsic Religion
3	I have often had a strong sense of God's presence	Intrinsic Religion
4	I try hard to live all my life according to my religious beliefs.	Intrinsic Religion
5	My whole approach to life is based on my religion.	Intrinsic Religion
6	Although I believe in my religion, many other things are more important in life.	Intrinsic Religion
7	Although I am religious, I don't let it affect my daily life.	Intrinsic Religion
8	It doesn't matter much what I believe so long as I am good.	Extrinsic Religion
9	I attend religious services because it helps me to make friends.	Extrinsic Religion
10	I attend religious services mainly because I enjoy seeing people I know there.	Extrinsic Religion
11	I pray mainly to gain relief or protection.	Extrinsic Religion
12	What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble or sorrow.	Extrinsic Religion
13	Prayer is for peace and happiness.	Extrinsic Religion
14	I attend religious services mostly to spend time with friends.	Extrinsic Religion

Risk of Future Events scale (Lerner, 2003)

#	Item
1	Being hurt in a terror attack
2	Having trouble sleeping because of the situation with terror
3	Traveling less than usual
4	Screening mail carefully for suspicious items
5	Taking antibiotics against anthrax
6	Getting the flu
7	Being the victim of violent crime (other than terror)
8	Dying from any cause (crime, illness, accident)

*Respondents are asked to judge the likelihood of events occurring in the US

Affect Intensity Scale (Larsen, 1984)

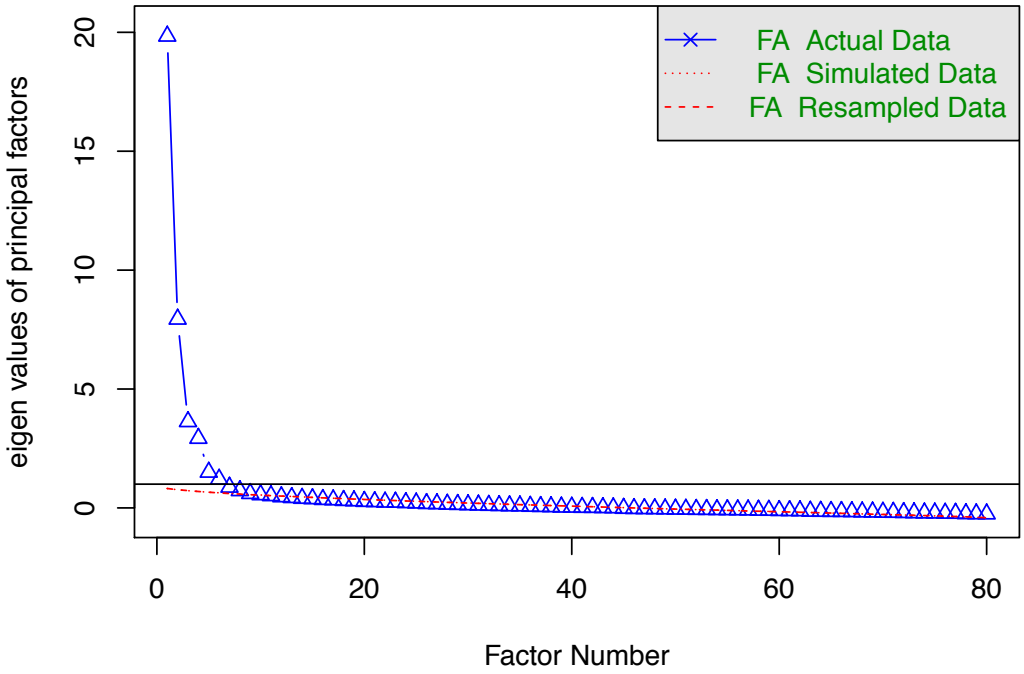
#	**Item**
1	When I feel happiness, it is a quite type of contentness
2	When a person in a wheelchair cant get through a door I have strong feelings of pity
3	I get upset easily
4	when I succeed at something my reaction is calm contentment
5	I get really happy or really unhappy
6	I am a fairly quiet person
7	when I am happy I feel very energetic
8	seeing a picture of a violent car accident in the news paper makes me feel sick to my stomach
9	when I am happy I feel like I am bursting with joy
10	I would be very upset if I got a traffic ticket
11	Looking at beautiful scenery really doesn't affect me much
12	The weather doesn't affect my mood
13	others tend to get more excited about things then I do
14	I am not an extremely enthusiastic individual
15	"Calm and cool" could easily describe me
16	when I am feeling well it is easy for me to go from being in a good mood to being really joyful
17	When I worry it is so mild that I hardly notice it
18	I get overly enthusiastic
19	My happy moods are so strong I feel like I am in heaven
20	When something bad happens, others tend to be more unhappy than I.

The Big Five (Goldberg, 1980)

#	Item	Reverse Code	Sub facet
1	Is talkative		Extraversion
2	Tends to find fault with others	R	Agreeableness
3	Does a thorough job		Conscientiousness
4	Is depressed, blue		Neuroticism
5	Is original, comes up with new ideas		Openness
6	Is reserved	R	Extraversion
7	Is helpful and unselfish with others		Agreeableness
8	Can be somewhat careless	R	Conscientiousness
9	Is relaxed, handles stress well	R	Neuroticism
10	Is curious about many different things		Openness
11	Is full of energy		Extraversion
12	Starts quarrels with others	R	Agreeableness
13	Is a reliable worker		Conscientiousness
14	Can be tense		Neuroticism
15	Is ingenious, a deep thinker		Openness
16	Generates a lot of enthusiasm		Extraversion
17	Has a forgiving nature		Agreeableness
18	Tends to be disorganized	R	Conscientiousness
19	Worries a lot		Neuroticism
20	Has an active imagination		Openness
21	Tends to be quiet	R	Extraversion
22	Is generally trusting		Agreeableness
23	Tends to be lazy	R	Conscientiousness
24	Is emotionally stable, not easily upset	R	Neuroticism
25	Is inventive		Openness
26	Has an assertive personality		Extraversion
27	Can be cold and aloof	R	Agreeableness
28	Perseveres until the task is finished		Conscientiousness
29	Can be moody		Neuroticism
30	Values artistic, aesthetic experiences		Openness
31	s sometimes shy, inhibited	R	Extraversion
32	Is considerate and kind to almost everyone		Agreeableness
33	Does things efficiently		Conscientiousness
34	Remains calm in tense situations	R	Neuroticism
35	Prefers work that is routine	R	Openness
36	Is outgoing, sociable		Extraversion

37	Is sometimes rude to others	R	Agreeableness
38	Makes plans and follows through with them		Conscientiousness
39	Gets nervous easily		Neuroticism
40	Likes to reflect, play with ideas		Openness
41	Has few artistic interests	R	Openness
42	Likes to cooperate with others		Agreeableness
43	Is easily distracted	R	Conscientiousness
44	Is sophisticated in art, music, or literature		Openness

Appendix G: Scree plot, factor loadings and correlations for 4 factor EFA on the top 80 Items



Factor loadings for 4 factor EFA on top 80 items

Item	F2	F1	F4	F3
PVSC9	-0.08	0.74	0.18	-0.11
PVSC12	0.02	0.66	0.15	-0.06
PVSC16	-0.09	0.64	0.18	-0.06
PVSC11	-0.24	0.60	0.21	0.00
PVSC20	-0.11	0.58	0.27	-0.05
PVSC17	-0.05	0.60	0.17	-0.01
PVSN3	-0.11	0.77	-0.01	-0.13
PVSC23	-0.22	0.53	0.27	0.06
PVSN13	-0.03	0.70	0.03	-0.09
PVSC13	-0.05	0.59	0.12	0.00
PVSL16	0.56	-0.26	0.14	-0.02
PVSL8	0.57	-0.10	0.00	-0.09
PVSL18	0.58	-0.03	0.12	0.03
PVSL13	0.57	-0.48	0.19	0.04
PVSL15	0.59	-0.09	0.12	-0.05
PVSL19	0.55	-0.46	0.20	0.02
PVSL11	0.50	0.04	-0.05	-0.12

PVSL10	0.50	-0.58	0.25	0.00
PVSL5	0.53	-0.22	0.20	0.07
PVSL4	0.54	0.03	-0.03	0.16
PVFN26	0.07	0.05	0.60	0.01
PVFC13	-0.16	0.07	0.64	0.04
PVFC4	0.07	0.02	0.67	0.05
PVFC25	-0.20	0.11	0.63	-0.03
PVFC21	0.05	0.16	0.56	0.02
PVFC24	-0.26	0.16	0.56	0.00
PVFC19	0.10	0.07	0.55	0.01
PVFC22	-0.07	0.07	0.58	-0.03
PVFC15	-0.07	-0.14	0.71	0.09
PVFC18	-0.03	0.27	0.42	-0.02
PVFL10	0.68	0.07	-0.23	0.03
PVFL7	0.66	0.00	-0.14	-0.03
PVFL23	0.70	-0.22	0.10	0.06
PVFL18	0.69	-0.06	0.03	0.02
PVFL9	0.70	-0.18	0.15	0.00
PVFL21	0.66	-0.01	-0.04	0.06
PVFL22	0.65	-0.14	-0.02	0.02
PVFL19	0.55	0.01	0.00	-0.18
PVFL12	0.50	0.16	-0.22	0.03
PVFL17	0.49	0.14	-0.16	-0.18
PVSoC3	-0.05	0.29	0.43	0.07
PVSoC14	-0.07	0.34	0.18	0.15
PVSoC15	-0.04	0.18	0.45	0.04
PVSoN21	0.13	0.38	0.26	0.00
PVSoC5	-0.32	0.17	0.41	0.04
PVSoC8	-0.02	-0.02	0.33	0.53
PVSoC4	-0.16	0.46	0.20	-0.10
PVSoC10	-0.05	0.18	0.42	-0.04
PVSoC9	-0.28	0.24	0.35	-0.07
PVSoC19	0.04	0.43	0.06	0.24
PVSoL2	0.64	-0.06	-0.02	-0.05
PVSoL18	0.60	-0.01	-0.05	-0.17
PVSoL15	0.65	0.03	-0.10	-0.05
PVSoL20	0.54	0.08	-0.19	-0.10
PVSoL19	0.40	0.13	0.01	-0.34
PVSoL7	0.65	-0.16	0.04	0.07
PVSoL16	0.49	0.22	-0.31	0.12

PVSoL14	0.53	0.05	-0.26	0.06
PVSoN15	0.49	0.08	-0.11	0.06
PVSoL17	0.44	0.27	-0.24	0.09
PVRN19	0.21	0.21	-0.04	0.42
PVRN18	0.19	0.23	0.04	0.57
PVRC8	0.29	0.11	0.11	0.27
PVRC7	0.19	0.17	0.06	0.42
PVRN20	0.11	0.25	0.14	0.52
PVRN10	0.25	0.05	0.19	0.38
PVRN16	0.18	0.15	-0.02	0.65
PVRN2	0.14	0.48	-0.02	0.13
PVRN13	0.18	0.36	-0.14	0.20
PVRC18	0.14	0.26	0.12	0.57
PVRL10	0.37	0.16	0.09	-0.55
PVRL15	0.22	0.17	0.14	-0.63
PVRC16	-0.07	0.16	0.11	0.59
PVRL6	0.17	0.22	0.04	-0.55
PVRC13	-0.09	0.16	0.23	0.55
PVRC14	-0.08	0.33	0.02	0.49
PVRL5	0.27	0.22	0.13	-0.54
PVRN17	0.08	-0.03	0.20	0.69
PVRL4	0.30	-0.19	0.38	-0.44
PVRL11	0.14	0.17	-0.02	-0.39

Factor correlations for 4 factor EFA on top 80 items

	F1	F4	F3
F2	-0.18	-0.35	-0.16
F4	1.00	0.41	0.47
F3		1.00	0.31

Appendix H: ANOVA and Tukey's between PVS Dimensions and Voter Affiliations

Voter affiliation and PVS Collective ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Voter Affiliation	131.88	4	32.9	31.67	<.0001
Error	784.773	754	1.04		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between voter affiliation and Collective

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Democrat	Republican	0.98	0.09	0.74	1.22	<.0001
Other	Republican	0.66	0.26	-0.04	1.36	0.08
Democrat	Unaffiliated	0.60	0.15	0.18	1.01	0.00
Democrat	Independent	0.54	0.10	0.26	0.82	<.0001
Independent	Republican	0.44	0.11	0.15	0.73	0.00
Unaffiliated	Republican	0.39	0.15	-0.04	0.81	0.09
Democrat	Other	0.32	0.25	-0.37	1.02	0.71
Other	Unaffiliated	0.27	0.28	-0.50	1.05	0.87
Other	Independent	0.22	0.26	-0.50	0.93	0.92
Independent	Unaffiliated	0.06	0.16	-0.39	0.50	1.00

Voter affiliation and PVS Security ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Voter Affiliation	141.83	4	35.45	28.1	<.0001
Error	951.28	754	1.26		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between voter affiliation and Security

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Republican	Other	1.22	0.28	0.45	1.99	0.00
Republican	Unaffiliated	1.03	0.17	0.57	1.50	<.0001
Republican	Democrat	0.94	0.10	0.67	1.21	<.0001
Republican	Independent	0.76	0.12	0.44	1.08	<.0001
Independent	Other	0.45	0.29	-0.33	1.24	0.51
Democrat	Other	0.28	0.28	-0.49	1.04	0.86
Independent	Unaffiliated	0.27	0.18	-0.22	0.76	0.57

Unaffiliated	Other	0.19	0.31	-0.67	1.04	0.98
Independent	Democrat	0.18	0.11	-0.13	0.49	0.52
Democrat	Unaffiliated	0.09	0.17	-0.37	0.55	0.98

Voter affiliation and PVS Accountability ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Voter Affiliation	181.4	4	45.3	32.03	<.0001
Error	1067.3	754	1.41		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between voter affiliation and Accountability

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Republican	Democrat	1.14	0.10	0.86	1.42	<.0001
Republican	Unaffiliated	0.99	0.18	0.49	1.48	<.0001
Republican	Other	0.83	0.30	0.01	1.65	0.04
Republican	Independent	0.73	0.12	0.38	1.07	<.0001
Independent	Democrat	0.41	0.12	0.09	0.74	0.01
Other	Democrat	0.31	0.30	-0.50	1.12	0.83
Independent	Unaffiliated	0.26	0.19	-0.26	0.78	0.65
Unaffiliated	Democrat	0.16	0.18	-0.33	0.64	0.91
Other	Unaffiliated	0.16	0.33	-0.75	1.06	0.99
Independent	Other	0.10	0.30	-0.73	0.94	1.00

Voter affiliation and PVS Religiosity ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Voter Affiliation	149.15	4	37.28	20.83	<.0001
Error	1349.62	754	1.8		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between voter affiliation and Religiosity

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Republican	Unaffiliated	1.27	0.20	0.72	1.83	<.0001
Republican	Democrat	0.95	0.12	0.63	1.26	<.0001
Republican	Other	0.91	0.34	0.00	1.83	0.05
Independent	Unaffiliated	0.65	0.21	0.06	1.24	0.02
Republican	Independent	0.62	0.14	0.24	1.01	0.00

Other	Unaffiliated	0.36	0.37	-0.66	1.38	0.87
Democrat	Unaffiliated	0.33	0.20	-0.22	0.87	0.47
Independent	Democrat	0.33	0.13	-0.04	0.69	0.11
Independent	Other	0.29	0.34	-0.65	1.23	0.92
Other	Democrat	0.03	0.33	-0.88	0.95	1.00

Mother Affiliation and PVS Collective ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Mother Affiliation	35.3	5	7.05	6.03	<.0001
Error	881.4	753	1.17		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between mother affiliation and Collective

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Democrat	Republican	0.46	0.10	0.17	0.76	<.0001
Democrat	Unknown	0.46	0.10	0.17	0.75	<.0001
Democrat	Independent	0.35	0.16	-0.10	0.80	0.22
Unaffiliated	Republican	0.26	0.20	-0.33	0.84	0.81
Democrat	Other	0.25	0.45	-1.02	1.53	0.99
Unaffiliated	Unknown	0.25	0.20	-0.33	0.83	0.82
Other	Republican	0.21	0.45	-1.07	1.49	1.00
Democrat	Unaffiliated	0.21	0.20	-0.36	0.78	0.90
Other	Unknown	0.21	0.45	-1.07	1.49	1.00
Unaffiliated	Independent	0.14	0.24	-0.53	0.82	0.99
Independent	Republican	*0.11*	*0.16*	*-0.35*	*0.58*	*0.98*
Independent	Unknown	0.11	0.16	-0.36	0.58	0.98
Other	Independent	0.10	0.46	-1.23	1.42	1.00
Unaffiliated	Other	0.05	0.48	-1.33	1.42	1.00
Unknown	Republican	0.00	0.11	-0.31	0.32	1.00

Mother Affiliation and PVS Security ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Mother Affiliation	38.1	5	7.62	5.43	<.0001
Error	1055.01	753	1.4		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between mother affiliation and Security

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Republican	Other	1.10	0.49	0.14	2.06	0.03
Independent	Other	0.66	0.51	-0.34	1.66	0.19
Unaffiliated	Other	0.66	0.53	-0.37	1.69	0.21
Unknown	Other	0.61	0.49	-0.36	1.57	0.22
Democrat	Other	0.58	0.49	-0.38	1.54	0.23
Republican	Democrat	0.52	0.11	0.30	0.74	<.0001
Republican	Unknown	0.49	0.12	0.25	0.73	<.0001
Republican	Unaffiliated	0.44	0.22	0.00	0.88	0.05
Republican	Independent	0.44	0.18	0.09	0.79	0.01
Independent	Democrat	0.08	0.17	-0.26	0.42	0.64
Unaffiliated	Democrat	*0.08*	*0.22*	*-0.35*	*0.50*	*0.73*
Independent	Unknown	0.06	0.18	-0.29	0.41	0.75
Unaffiliated	Unknown	0.05	0.22	-0.39	0.49	0.82
Unknown	Democrat	0.02	0.11	-0.19	0.24	0.83
Independent	Unaffiliated	0.00	0.26	-0.50	0.51	0.99

Mother Affiliation and PVS Accountability ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Mother Affiliation	78.06	5	15.61	10.04	<.0001
Error	1170.6	753	1.55		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between mother affiliation and Accountability

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Republican	Other	1.01	0.52	-0.01	2.02	0.05
Republican	Democrat	0.79	0.12	0.56	1.02	<.0001
Independent	Other	0.74	0.54	-0.31	1.79	0.16
Republican	Unknown	0.61	0.13	0.36	0.86	<.0001
Unaffiliated	Other	0.56	0.55	-0.52	1.65	0.31
Independent	Democrat	0.53	0.18	0.17	0.88	0.00
Republican	Unaffiliated	0.45	0.24	-0.02	0.91	0.06
Unknown	Other	0.40	0.52	-0.62	1.41	0.44
Unaffiliated	Democrat	0.35	0.23	-0.10	0.80	0.13
Independent	Unknown	0.34	0.19	-0.02	0.71	0.07
Republican	Independent	*0.27*	*0.19*	*-0.11*	*0.64*	*0.16*

Democrat	Other	0.22	0.51	-0.79	1.23	0.68
Unknown	Democrat	0.18	0.12	-0.04	0.41	0.11
Independent	Unaffiliated	0.18	0.27	-0.35	0.72	0.51
Unaffiliated	Unknown	0.16	0.23	-0.30	0.63	0.49

Mother Affiliation and PVS Religiosity ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Mother Affiliation	77.6	5	15.53	8.23	<.0001
Error	1421.1	753	1.89		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between mother affiliation and Religiosity

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Other	Unknown	0.96	0.57	-0.16	2.08	0.09
Other	Unaffiliated	0.87	0.61	-0.33	2.07	0.15
Other	Democrat	0.85	0.57	-0.27	1.96	0.14
Republican	Unknown	0.77	0.14	0.49	1.05	<.0001
Republican	Unaffiliated	0.68	0.26	0.17	1.19	0.01
Republican	Democrat	0.66	0.13	0.40	0.91	<.0001
Independent	Unknown	0.62	0.21	0.21	1.02	0.00
Independent	Unaffiliated	0.53	0.30	-0.06	1.12	0.08
Independent	Democrat	0.50	0.20	0.11	0.90	0.01
Other	Independent	0.34	0.59	-0.82	1.50	0.56
Other	Republican	*0.19*	*0.57*	*-0.93*	*1.31*	*0.74*
Republican	Independent	0.15	0.21	-0.26	0.56	0.47
Democrat	Unknown	0.11	0.13	-0.14	0.36	0.38
Unaffiliated	Unknown	0.09	0.26	-0.42	0.59	0.74
Democrat	Unaffiliated	0.03	0.25	-0.47	0.52	0.92

Father Affiliation and PVS Collective ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Father Affiliation	41.42	5	8.28	7.12	<.0001
Error	875.23	753	1.16		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between father affiliation and Collective

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Democrat	Republican	0.55	0.10	0.27	0.84	<.0001
Democrat	Unknown	0.44	0.10	0.14	0.73	0.00
Democrat	Independent	0.37	0.15	-0.06	0.81	0.13
Unaffiliated	Republican	0.34	0.21	-0.27	0.95	0.62
Other	Republican	0.30	0.41	-0.88	1.49	0.98
Democrat	Other	0.25	0.41	-0.93	1.43	0.99
Unaffiliated	Unknown	0.22	0.22	-0.40	0.83	0.91
Democrat	Unaffiliated	0.22	0.21	-0.38	0.82	0.91
Other	Unknown	0.19	0.42	-1.00	1.37	1.00
Independent	Republican	0.18	0.15	-0.26	0.62	0.85
Unaffiliated	Independent	*0.16*	*0.24*	*-0.54*	*0.85*	*0.99*
Other	Independent	0.12	0.43	-1.10	1.35	1.00
Unknown	Republican	0.12	0.11	-0.19	0.43	0.89
Independent	Unknown	0.06	0.16	-0.39	0.51	1.00
Unaffiliated	Other	0.03	0.45	-1.27	1.33	1.00

Father Affiliation and PVS Security ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Father Affiliation	47.8	5	9.56	6.88	<.0001
Error	1045.3	753	1.38		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between father affiliation and Security

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Republican	Other	0.82	0.45	-0.07	1.70	0.07
Republican	Unaffiliated	0.65	0.23	0.20	1.11	0.01
Republican	Democrat	0.56	0.11	0.34	0.77	<.0001
Republican	Unknown	0.55	0.12	0.32	0.78	<.0001
Republican	Independent	0.48	0.17	0.15	0.81	0.00
Independent	Other	0.34	0.47	-0.59	1.26	0.47
Unknown	Other	0.27	0.45	-0.62	1.16	0.56
Democrat	Other	0.26	0.45	-0.63	1.15	0.57
Independent	Unaffiliated	0.18	0.26	-0.34	0.69	0.51
Unaffiliated	Other	0.16	0.50	-0.81	1.13	0.75
Unknown	Unaffiliated	*0.11*	*0.24*	*-0.36*	*0.57*	*0.65*

Democrat	Unaffiliated	0.10	0.23	-0.35	0.55	0.67
Independent	Democrat	0.08	0.17	-0.25	0.40	0.64
Independent	Unknown	0.07	0.17	-0.27	0.41	0.69
Unknown	Democrat	0.01	0.11	-0.21	0.23	0.95

Father Affiliation and PVS Accountability ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Father Affiliation	95.02	5	19	12.4	<.0001
Error	1153.68	753	1.5		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between father affiliation and Accountability

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Republican	Unknown	0.80	0.12	0.45	1.16	<.0001
Republican	Democrat	0.80	0.11	0.48	1.13	<.0001
Republican	Unaffiliated	0.63	0.25	-0.07	1.33	0.11
Republican	Other	0.60	0.48	-0.76	1.96	0.80
Independent	Unknown	0.44	0.18	-0.08	0.96	0.14
Independent	Democrat	0.44	0.17	-0.06	0.93	0.12
Republican	Independent	0.36	0.18	-0.14	0.87	0.32
Independent	Unaffiliated	0.26	0.28	-0.53	1.06	0.94
Independent	Other	0.24	0.49	-1.17	1.65	1.00
Other	Unknown	0.20	0.48	-1.16	1.56	1.00
Other	Democrat	*0.20*	*0.47*	*-1.15*	*1.55*	*1.00*
Unaffiliated	Unknown	0.18	0.25	-0.53	0.89	0.98
Unaffiliated	Democrat	0.18	0.24	-0.52	0.87	0.98
Other	Unaffiliated	0.02	0.52	-1.47	1.51	1.00
Democrat	Unknown	0.00	0.12	-0.34	0.34	1.00

Father Affiliation and PVS Religiosity ANOVA

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Father Affiliation	76.85	5	15.37	8.13	<.0001
Error	1421.92	753	1.89		

Tukey's HSD comparing means between father affiliation and Religiosity

Level	- Level	*Difference*	*Std Err Dif*	*Lower CL*	*Upper CL*	*P-Value*
Other	Unknown	1.21	0.53	-0.30	2.72	0.20
Other	Unaffiliated	1.19	0.58	-0.46	2.85	0.31
Other	Democrat	1.08	0.53	-0.43	2.58	0.32
Other	Independent	0.79	0.55	-0.78	2.35	0.70
Republican	Unknown	0.75	0.14	0.36	1.15	<.0001
Republican	Unaffiliated	0.74	0.27	-0.04	1.52	0.07
Republican	Democrat	0.62	0.13	0.26	0.98	<.0001
Other	Republican	0.45	0.53	-1.06	1.96	0.96
Independent	Unknown	0.42	0.20	-0.15	0.99	0.29
Independent	Unaffiliated	0.40	0.31	-0.48	1.29	0.78
Republican	Independent	*0.34*	*0.20*	*-0.23*	*0.90*	*0.53*
Independent	Democrat	0.29	0.19	-0.26	0.84	0.67
Democrat	Unknown	0.13	0.13	-0.25	0.51	0.92
Democrat	Unaffiliated	0.12	0.27	-0.65	0.89	1.00
Unaffiliated	Unknown	0.01	0.27	-0.77	0.80	1.00

Appendix I: Dissertation Proposal

ABSTRACT

SALL, ENGLISH GREY The Development of a Political Viewpoints Scale. (Under the direction of Dr. Lori Foster and Dr. Mark A. Wilson).

The Development of a Political Viewpoints Scale

by
English Grey Sall

A dissertation proposal submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
North Carolina State University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Psychology

Raleigh, North Carolina
2020

APPROVED BY:

_____	_____
Dr. Lori Foster Committee Co-Chair	Dr. Mark A. Wilson Committee Co-Chair
_____	_____
Dr. S. Bartholomew Craig	Dr. Shevaun Neupert

The Development of a Political Viewpoints Scale

Political viewpoints are preferences about how society should be organized, how power in society should be allocated, the goals that society should aim to achieve, and the methods by which to achieve those goals. Research suggests that understanding political viewpoints may provide insight into human behavior in a variety of different contexts including in workplace and organizational settings. Accordingly, a number of scales and measures have been developed and used to quantify people's political views (Chin, Hambrick & Trevino, 2013; Everett, 2013; Fried et al., 2001; Henningham, 1995; Matthews, Levin and Sidanius, 2009; Middendorp, 1978). While prior measures have enhanced our understanding of the antecedents and consequences of political views and ideology, they do not fully capture political viewpoints as they exist today. The purpose of this study is to develop and validate a comprehensive, up-to-date, multi-dimensional political viewpoints scale for a United States context. This manuscript begins with examples of previous research demonstrating the importance of understanding people's political views in life and at work. Next, an overview of prior attempts to measure political views and ideology is provided, followed by a critical assessment of shortcomings with currently available measures. This manuscript then moves to a description of the present study, which develops a new measure informed by prior research and addresses the gaps identified. The prediction is a final instrument that produces four scores, one per facet; however, the data will guide whether four facets and scores are justified and whether there is basis for optionally and additionally rolling this up into one overarching score.

Consequences of Political Views and Ideologies

People's political views have been shown to predict a range of attitudes and behaviors including but not limited to the following five examples: trust in government (Syed, 2016); trust in false information (Samore et al., 2018); attitudes towards moral transgressions (Smith et al., 2019); pronunciation of words (Jaggers, 2018, 2019); and intent to vote (Bennett & Bennett, 1989). First, an empirical linkage has been established between political views and individuals' levels of political trust, or trust in government (Syed, 2016). Political viewpoints predict which politicians and government actors individuals trust and how much trust they have in those politicians and government actors. When an individual's political viewpoints align with positions that the government holds and the values that the government operationalizes, then trust in government is heightened (Syed, 2016). Political trust has been touted as a key indicator of how people relate to political actors, which impacts how individuals behave with respect to their interaction with government, for example their propensity to pay taxes (Syed, 2016).

Political views also shape how people interpret or react to different government actions, such as government spending. In a study examining the role of political trust and ideology on public support for government spending, Rudolph and Evans (2005) emphasize that political ideology is a predisposition that "plays a large role in shaping the formation of policy attitudes" (p. 662). Rudolph and Evans measured ideology by asking people to state their political affiliation and found that levels of political trust are different between liberals and conservatives with respect to different actors and issues. The results indicated that political ideology moderates the effect of political trust on attitudes toward government spending. Specifically, the level of political trust amongst conservatives had a larger impact on government spending

attitudes, suggesting that political trust increases the demand for government intervention, especially among conservatives (Rudolph & Evans, 2005).

Second, political views relate to people's propensity to trust false information (Samore et al., 2018). Samore et al. (2018) assessed political views by asking 500 respondents to indicate whether or not they agree with 30 politically charged issues such as gay marriage and abortion. Respondents were also asked to evaluate the truth of 16 statements, two of which were false statements. Results showed that those with more conservative views on political issues were more likely to view the false statements as correct. This research suggests that political viewpoints may relate to trust in messages about danger and threatening information (Samore et al., 2018).

Third, political viewpoints have been shown to predict attitudes about others who commit moral transgressions (Smith et al., 2019). In a study published in 2019, Smith and colleagues found that those who hold more liberal political ideologies dislike a person more when that person has "transgressed against moral foundations of care and fairness" (p. 789). They also found that those who identify with more conservative ideologies dislike an individual more when that individual has committed transgressions against foundations of loyalty, purity, and authority. These findings suggest that defining and measuring political viewpoints can shed light on attitudes about and perhaps relationships with other people.

A fourth example is more behavioral in nature. Recent research suggests that political ideology correlates with how people pronounce certain words (Jaggers, 2018, 2019). A qualitative linguistics study conducted by Jaggers (2018) found that those who identify as Democrat pronounced words in a way that native speakers might pronounce them, for example the word "spiel" which comes from German lexicon, was pronounced "shpeel" by most

Democrats, which is more closely related to how it is pronounced in Germany. Meanwhile, most Republicans pronounced it as “speel”. Jaggers (2019) highlights the importance of these findings, as the pronunciation of words relates to people’s attitudes, noting that “People tend to speak more like others when they have more positive attitudes towards them (p. 5). Jaggers (2019) reasons that Republicans often ascribe to more nationalist perspectives and may also have a more negative view of diversity. In turn, those identifying as Republican may be less inclined to value speaking in a way that signals respect to other cultures (Jaggers, 2019). Understanding the relationship between political viewpoints and the way that people speak can shed light on the intention and meaning behind behaviors that may seem relatively small.

A fifth example illustrates the relationship between political views and a behavioral intention widely seen as important: intent to vote (Dunn & Thorton, 2016). Strong democracies require people to vote, yet voter participation is often disappointingly low (Desilver, 2018). Research by Dunn and Thorton (2016) suggests that beliefs about democracy impact an individual’s intent to vote. Dunn and Thorton (2016) examined responses provided by U.S. participants of the fifth wave of the World Values Survey and found differential views of many “essential” aspects of democracy; these differences predicted voting intent among individuals. Dunn and Thorton (2016) found that those who were more likely to view democracy as a form of government that preforms civil liberties and the redistribution of wealth were more likely to vote for Democratic candidates and policies endorsed by Democrats. Those who reported stronger associations between democracy and religious interpretations of laws were more likely to vote for Republican candidates and polices endorsed by Republicans. Other research has examined how political views predict voter turnout, voter behaviors, and attention to issues that determine voting behavior (Bennett & Bennett, 1998; Dunn & Thorton, 2016; Mondak, 1999; Sances

2017). Recently, Pavlovic and Todosijevic (2018) considered the effect of party identification and political knowledge on voter turnout. Results showed that the effect of political knowledge on voter turnout is highly dependent on the presence of party identification. Overall, there is extensive evidence to suggest a relationship between political views and voter behaviors.

The five examples above suggest that understanding political viewpoints can provide insight into how someone will think and behave. Of special interest to organizational scholars is the importance of political viewpoints to organizational research and practice. Past research has pointed to a number of interesting ways in which political views influence workplace functioning. Examples, described next, fall into two general categories. Some research looks specifically at the effects and correlates of leaders' political views, while other research examines how the political views of the workforce more broadly relate to organizational functioning.

At the top level, research has shown interesting results pertaining to corporate social responsibility (CSR). Leaders substantially influence an organization's CSR strategy and activities, which are shaped by leaders' political ideologies (Chin, Hambrick & Trevino, 2013; Gupta, Briscoe & Hambrick, 2017). Research conducted by Chin et al. assessed the CSR profiles of 1500 firms with newly appointed CEOs. First, they measured the extent to which the political donations during the 10 years before the leader became CEO supported the Democrat and Republican parties in the United States. Chin et al. then looked at the annual CSR profile during each year in which the CEO was in office. Ultimately, results showed that CEOs who were more financially supportive of the Democrat party were more likely to lead organizations engaging in CSR initiatives, irrespective of company performance. CEOs more supportive of the Republican party tended to engage in CSR on a more contingent basis, depending on overall company

performance. In other words, CEOs deemed more conservative tended to engage in CSR when the company was performing well and had extra profit. Chin et al.'s data also showed that a CEO's political ideology has a large impact on his or her company's political action committee (PAC) allocations.

More recent research has shown relationships between a CEO's political viewpoints and top management teams' decision-making processes. Research conducted by Chin et al., (2018) found that top management teams with more socially liberal CEOs engage in more extensive information search processes, which are negatively related to corporate entrepreneurship. Corporate entrepreneurship in this context refers to a value-generating focus on developing new tools, products, and frameworks inside an organization. Results also showed that top management teams with fiscally liberal CEOs tend to embark on more cooperative decision-making processes, which are positively related to corporate entrepreneurship (Chin et al., 2018). Overall, this study lends support to the idea that the political viewpoints of CEOs impact strategic behaviors within an organization.

Some literature also suggests that CEOs' political viewpoints affect the values they hold concerning diversity and equality in the workplace (Kalogeraki, Georgakakis & Greve, 2019). Research conducted by Kalogeraki et al. found that CEOs who hold more conservative political viewpoints embed fewer egalitarian values within the organization and experience more diversity-related litigation. This means that more corporate discrimination lawsuits are filed against organizations with conservative CEOs (Kalogeraki, Georgakakis & Greve, 2019).

While leaders' political viewpoints clearly influence organizational outcomes, the political viewpoints of workers throughout an organization also matter. Some investigations have shown that political viewpoints are related to workers' views about affirmative action and

workplace discrimination. Research conducted by Fried et al. (2001) suggested that individuals who hold more egalitarian political viewpoints, and view fairness in terms of group equality, were more supportive of affirmative action. This finding was moderated by whether or not individuals had themselves experienced discrimination (Fried et al., 2001). In other words, those with egalitarian political views were more likely to support workplace affirmative action, especially if they had personally experienced discrimination at work in the past.

Research has also examined how political views affect organizational retention, suggesting that turnover can occur due to lack of political viewpoint alignment. Sekou and Roy (2018) looked at workers in private equity firms. They used a spectrum-like measure to get a better understanding of workers' liberal and conservative views and to identify prevailing views as well as outliers. These data were examined alongside turnover rates within the firms employing the study sample in order to assess whether being a "political misfit" may be incentive to leave a firm. Results showed that when an individual was a conservative misfit in an environment primarily comprised of liberals, that individual was more likely to leave a firm. Alternatively, liberal misfits surrounded by conservative coworkers were more likely to stay at the job (Roy & Sekou, 2018). This is an important finding as it relates to person-job fit literature and how political viewpoints impact turnover.

There is reason to believe political viewpoints could also affect levels of inclusion and collaboration at work. Social identity theory has been shown to play a role in political in-group preferences and political affiliation (Devine, 2015). Moreover, there is a clear relationship between social identity and trust in others. This relationship is emphasized in the work of Tanis and Postmes (2005), who highlighted the notion that interpersonal trustworthiness increases expectations of reciprocity and therefore increases trust within in-groups. Trust is key for

successful collaboration, which is an important component of organizational success (Harrell-Cook, Ferris & Dulebohn, 1999; Hill, 2017). This suggests that under some circumstances, conflicting political viewpoints within a workgroup may adversely affect cohesion and lead to undesirable work outcomes such as relationship conflict and loss of productivity (Johnson & Roberto, 2018).

In sum, there is clear value in understanding political viewpoints because people's political views predict and shape important attitudes and behaviors, not only in their personal lives, but also at work. However, understanding and researching political viewpoints requires a valid and robust measure. As described next, a range of different measures have been used over the years to assess political ideology and related constructs in various ways.

Historical Measures of Political Views and Ideologies

For much of the last 50 years, scientists have been attempting to understand, define, and assess political ideologies – at times with increasing confusion and an increasing saturation of measures. Scholars continually develop new measures of ideology to examine a wide range of political phenomena (Brimhall & Otis ,1948; Burden 2004; Carson & Oppenheimer 1984; Gage & Shimberg, 1949; Groseclose, Levitt & Snyder 1999; Hill, Hannah & Shafquat, 1997; Krehbiel, 1986; Levitt ,1996; MacRae,1958; Poole & Rosenthal, 1985). While an exhaustive listing of every existing measure is beyond the scope of this manuscript, Appendix A details various measures that have been created over the years, several of which are described below.

As illustrated earlier, some researchers have measured political views by looking at patterns of donation behavior (Chin, Hambrick & Trevino, 2013; Gupta, Briscoe & Hambrick, 2017). This is limiting because such data are not always available to researchers, and not everyone

donates money to causes. Another approach involves looking at past voter behavior and making assumptions about political viewpoints (Keeter, Igielnik & Weisel, 2014). This is limited by the fact that not everyone votes. In addition, voting behavior is influenced by a variety of factors, including who happens to be on the ballot; voters may opt for candidates who do not share all of their viewpoints.

A number of researchers have measured political ideology by simply asking people whether they identify as Democrat, Republican, or with another political party (Devine, 2015). Similar measures explicitly ask respondents whether they identify as conservative or liberal (e.g., Keeter, Igielnik & Weisel, 2014). For example, research conducted by Graham, Haidt, and Nosek (2009) examined the different moral foundations of liberals and conservatives. The authors measured liberal and conservative ideology with a single item where individuals rated themselves on a 7-point scale anchored by *strongly liberal* and *strongly conservative* with *moderate* at the midpoint.

Matthews, Levin and Sidanius (2009) conducted a longitudinal study examining how a model of conservatism as motivated by social cognition relates to systems justification. To test this model, the authors measured political conservatism with two items. One item "How would you describe your general political outlook?" was presented alongside a 7-point scale ranging from 1= Very Liberal to 7=Very Conservative. The other item, "How would you describe your own political party preference?" was presented alongside the following response options:

1 = Strong Democrat

2 = Weak Democrat

3 = Independent, Leaning more Democrat

4 = Independent

5 = Independent Leaning more Republican

6 = Weak Republican

7 = Strong Republican

More recently, Hasson et al. (2018) assessed political viewpoints by asking participants to rate their ideology in general and with respect to social, economic, and security issues specific to their country of origin. The response scale ranged from 1 (*very conservative/rightist*) to 7 (*liberal/leftist*). Individuals who rated themselves in the 1-3 range were categorized as conservative and individuals who rated themselves in the 5-7 range were categorized as liberal. The midpoint, 4, was a neutral anchor considered to be neither conservative nor liberal.

The examples above are overt in that they explicitly ask respondents to report their political affiliation, leaning, or ideology. While quick and easy, this approach is limited given the likely range of political viewpoints within each political party or category. In addition, this approach requires a certain amount of self-awareness on the part of respondents, who are expected to know and express how conservative or liberal they are. Other measures are less overt. At the other extreme of the continuum, researchers have attempted to assess people's political views through implicit associations which respondents themselves may not even be aware of. For example, Graham, Haidt and Nosek, (2009) measured implicit political identity with Implicit Association Tests, which were administered to people who identified as liberals and conservatives. This approach used pictures of well-known liberal and conservative political figures in the United States. Respondents were asked to look at these images and identify as quickly as possible whether each image relates more to themselves or to a referent other.

Many if not most measures of political views and ideology fall between the overt and implicit extremes suggested above; they assess individuals' explicit attitudes without overtly asking people about their political party or orientation. Instead of asking respondents to report whether they are Republican or conservative, for example, many measures ask people how they feel about different issues and then draw conclusions about political views based on these responses. Many such measures, described on the following pages, are rooted in work conducted nearly 70 years ago.

Psychologists, political scientists, and others have long recognized the need for a nuanced, psychometrically sound way to measure political views and ideologies. Early efforts can be traced back to the Michigan Model, which is a theory developed in the 1950s at Michigan State University. The Michigan Model states that voter choice is based largely on sociological factors and party identification (Visser, 1998). It primarily looked at explaining voter behaviors as a function of psychological attachment to a party affiliation. There were three major contributions of the Michigan model to political psychology according to Visser (1998). First, this was the first theory that had a true emphasis on measuring attitudes, perceptions, and general motives, which grew out of Likert's work on scale and measurements. Second, national probability samples, instead of quota samples, were used to develop the model. Third and finally, the research conducted to develop this model used open interview questions verses fixed answer questions, which allowed for more spontaneous responses (Likert, 1951; Visser, 1998). The Michigan Model drove much of the political voting research during the two decades following its publication. It became "mainstream" in social psychology-orientated voting research and was the catalyst for much of the political ideology voting measures in use today (Visser, 1998).

As noted, frequently used measures for understanding political ideologies or viewpoints assess conservatism, liberalism, or both by asking people how they feel about different issues corresponding to conservative and liberal views. An example is the Wilson-Patterson conservatism scale, which was first published in 1968. It categorizes conservatism as an attitude. This tool's main innovation pertains to the item format. Items are presented as single words or phrases such as "horoscopes" or "conventional clothes" instead of full sentences for an individual to respond to. Participants are then instructed to respond with "yes" or "no" according to whether or not they agree with the term or topic. The history of the Wilson-Patterson Scale points to a debate on whether the scale is unidimensional or comprises three dimensions: religiosity, racialism, and prurient sexuality (Stacey, 1978). The original Wilson-Patterson scale consisted of 50 items but has developed into a shortened version consisting of 12-items (Henningham, 1995).

Using a similar approach, Henningham's (1969) social conservatism scale is a 12-item measure that considers the following terms and or phrases:

1. Death Penalty;
2. Multiculturalism;
3. Stiffer jail terms;
4. Voluntary euthanasia;
5. Bible truth;
6. Gay rights;
7. Pre-marital virginity;
8. Asian immigration;

9. Church authority;
10. Legalized abortion;
11. Condom vending machines;
12. Legalized prostitution.

Each item stated above is assumed to be associated with a socially conservative or liberal attitude, with items 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9 reflecting conservatism and items 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11 and 12 reflecting liberalism. Individuals are asked to give a "yes" or "no" response to each word or phrase. To score the measure, items are coded in a conservative direction such that higher scores indicate higher levels of conservatism. Three points are assigned to each endorsement of a conservative phrase, and one point is assigned to the endorsement of each liberal word or phrase.

The Middendorp Cultural Conservatism scale is a 12-item measure that addresses beliefs and values about education, work ethic, position of women in society, abortion, and euthanasia (Middendorp, 1978). This measure uses a 7-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*); higher levels of agreement produce higher scores, which reflect greater levels of conservatism. Lower levels of agreement produce lower scores, which suggest greater levels of liberalism. The Middendorp Economic Conservatism Scale measures individuals' responses to issues that relate to impact of trade unions, level of state intervention in regulating the economy, and income differences (Middenorp, 1978). This measure also uses a 7-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*); higher levels of agreement produce higher scores, which reflect greater levels of conservatism. Lower levels of agreement produce lower scores, which suggest greater levels

of liberalism. The format and mechanics of this scale are similar to many of the other scales used to assess conservative and liberal views (Crowson, 2009; Middendorp, 1978).

Conservatism, which appears to be one of the most measured and studied aspects of political viewpoints to date, has been an evolving and shifting construct. Some scholars have proposed that conservatism is a multi-faceted structure. However, exactly which facets exist has not been universally agreed-upon. Nicol and France (2016) delineate two facets of conservatism: Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation. Others have specified different aspects of conservatism, such as social conservatism and fiscal or economic conservatism. For example, Everett (2013) created a measure of social and economic conservatism. This is a 12-item scale that consists of the following terms and phrases:

1. Abortion (Social)
2. Welfare benefits (reverse scored) (Economic)
3. Limited government (Economic)
4. Military and national security (Social)
5. Religion (Social)
6. Gun ownership (Economic)
7. Traditional marriage (Social)
8. Traditional values (Social)
9. Fiscal responsibility (Economic)
10. Business (Economic)
11. The family unit (Social)
12. Patriotism (Social)

The order of the items presented is randomized. Participants rate how positively or negatively they feel about each word or phrase on the scale of 0 to 100 where 0 represents very negative and 100 represents very positive attitudes.

Fried et al., (2001) provide another useful example of how political viewpoints measure have historically been measured. Fried et al., (2001) created a 15-item measure of "egalitarian political ideology". Respondents rated their level of agreement to these items on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 9 (strongly disagree).

1. All things considered, most people get just what they deserve out of life. (R)
2. Maybe its not their fault but most people were brought up without ambition. (R)
3. Most poor people don't have the ability to get ahead. (R)
4. Many poor people simply don't want to work hard. (R)
5. Those who are well off in this country should be obligated to help those who are less fortunate.
6. If the government must go deeper in debt to help people, it should do so.
7. We need public policies to reduce inequality between talented and less talented people who try equally hard.
8. There are too many people who are getting something for nothing in this society. (R)
9. Anyone receiving welfare in this country should be made to work for the money they get. (R)
10. It is not right for people to go hungry in this country.
11. Basic services such as healthcare and legal assistance should be provided to everyone by the government, free of charge.
12. Compassion for others is the most important human value.

13. Because of their grater economic power, the rich have an unfair advantage over the poor.
14. Despite barriers to success such as discrimination, almost anybody can succeed if he or she tries hard enough. (R)
15. In this society, individuals' failures are often the result of the unfairness are the result of the economic, political or judicial systems.

Similar to other historical measures and the measure being created in this research, it asks respondents to use a scale to assess agreement with full statements rather than single word/phrase issues (such as Everett, 2013). Peretz, Levi, & Fried (2015) developed this scale by merging two other scales, as well as adding some of his/her own items. In the scale above items 1,2,3,4,8,9,10,11 and 12 are items from Raskin (1978), items 7 and 14 are from Taylor (1991) and items 5,13 and 15 were items developed by Fried et al., (2001) for this study. Items were scored so that higher scores represent higher levels of egalitarianism. This this scale was not fully validated and had a lower than desired coefficient alphas (.63 in sample 1 and .69 in sample 2 respectively) (Fried et al., 2001; Peretz, Levi, & Fried, 2015). However, this effort on behalf of Fried (2001) demonstrates a unique process of scale creation and lends further knowledge to the space of measuring political viewpoints.

Other research has shed light on the dimensionality of conservatism by examining how different facets of conservatism connect to theoretically related constructs. An example is Crowson's (2009) study examining differences in the beliefs and motives of cultural/social and economic conservatives. According to Crowson (2009), cultural/social conservatism refers to the "preservation of the ancient moral traditions of humanity" and includes the assumption that "political problems, at bottom, are religious and moral problems" (pp. 449-450). Economic

conservatism is characterized by concerns regarding governmental involvement in and regulation of private enterprise and the economic lives of its citizens. The goal of Crowson's research was to address whether cultural/social and economic conservatives in the United States differ with respect to psychological functioning. To accomplish this aim, Crowson asked respondents to complete the Middendorp (1978) economic and cultural conservatism scales described previously along with seven other scales, such as the Personal Need for Structure Scale (Neuberg & Newsom, 1993) and the Need for Cognition scale (Cacioppo, Petty & Kao, 1984). Results showed cultural conservatism to be positively associated with: dogmatism; the belief that knowledge was certain; personal need for structure; need to evaluate; and fear of death. Cultural conservatism was negatively associated with need for cognition. Meanwhile, economic conservatism was positively associated with: dogmatism; the belief that knowledge is certain; and fear of death.

Efforts to better understand the underpinnings and characteristics of political views such as conservatism continue to evolve. Some research combines different measures of conservatism to get a better picture of the overall phenomenon. For example, Leone and Chirumbolo (2008) measured right wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and support for conservative policies to assess conservatism. Their research conceptualized conservatism as a manifestation of the motivation to avoid emotions. Conservatism, according to Leone and Chirumbolo (2008), is concerned with managing uncertainty and ego-control, and is driven by a motivation to avoid emotions. To examine this hypothesis, the authors asked survey respondents to complete a 13-item Need For Affect Scale alongside their three measures of conservatism: a 30-item Right Wing Authoritarianism scale; a 16-item Social Dominance Orientation scale; and a Support for Conservative polices scale, which was created by Leone and

Chirumbolo and asked respondents to rate their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale with 5 conservative polices: “Reducing government spending for retirement plans”; “Reducing the number of public servants employed by the government”; “Reducing government spending for public health programs”; “Pre-emptive war against threatening regimes”; “Use of military strikes to protect democracy”. Leone and Chirumbolo’s results demonstrated a relationship between emotional avoidance and conservative measures.

Leone and Chirumbolo’s (2008) study is by no means the only study to assess Right-Wing Authoritarianism in relation to conservatism. A significant amount of research concerning political views has focused on constructs such as Moral Reasoning, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, and Systems Justification (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2013; Matthews et al., 2009; Nicol & France, 2016). In some cases, conservatism is conceptualized as a dimension of Right-Wing Authoritarianism. For example, in a study examining the multi-dimensionality of Right-Wing Authoritarian (RWA) attitudes, Duckitt and Bizumic (2013) measured the RWA dimensions of authoritarianism, conservatism, and traditionalism, along with social dominance orientation. The three RWA dimensions of authoritarianism, conservatism, and traditionalism were found to be reliable and factorially distinct. An example item from the authoritarianism scale is: “What our country really needs is a strong determined leader who will crush evil and set us on the right way again.” An example from the conservatism scale is: “Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.” Finally, an example from the traditionalism scale is: “The ‘old-fashioned ways’ and ‘old-fashioned values’ still show the best way to live.”

A number of studies assessing conservatism have done so in service of a larger program of research designed to better understand the underpinnings of this political orientation. For example, the Matthews et al. (2009) study mentioned previously, which used two items to overtly ask people to report their political party affiliation and level of conservatism, measured additional constructs including threat perceptions, social dominance orientation, and systems justification. Results indicate that political ideology is a response to motivated social cognition (Matthews et al., 2009). This suggests that feelings of fear, threat, and uncertainty stimulate ideological, epistemic, and existential motives, and these motives influence political conservatism.

A more recent study conceptualizes conservatism as a "syndrome." Stankov (2017, 2018) suggests the existence of a conservative syndrome consisting of three main constructs: religiosity; nastiness/social dominance; and social awareness/morality. Stankov (2017) emphasizes that conservative syndrome is considered as a network or aggregation of psychological traits and dispositions from various psychological domains. Specifically, Stankov (2009) defined conservative syndrome as:

> "a person who attaches particular importance to the respect of tradition, humility, devoutness and moderation (i.e., traditional values) as well as to obedience, self-discipline and politeness (i.e., conformists values) social order, family, national security (security values) and has a sense of belonging to and pride in a group with which he or she identifies" (p. 300).

Stankov further identifies the general structure of conservative syndrome based on an Exploratory and Confirmatory Factor Analyses which identified religiosity, nastiness/social

dominance, and social awareness/morality to be the core facets that cover the different domains of conservative syndrome (Stankov, 2017). The conceptualization of conservatism syndrome as a factor is proposed to be driven by traits like fear and uncertainty (Stankov & Lee, 2018).

In sum, while the examples described above and shown in Appendix A are not exhaustive, they provide a snapshot of the range of ways in which political views, ideologies, conservatism, and related constructs have been conceptualized and measured over the years. Measures range from questions overtly and explicitly asking people to report their party affiliation and level of conservatism to those tapping implicit beliefs. Many measures fall somewhere between these two extremes, asking people to rate the extent to which they agree with certain attitudes, values, or policies and then determining respondents' political views or ideologies based on the kinds of attitudes and issues they do and do not endorse. In addition to measuring political views, a number of studies have sought to understand the psychological underpinnings of certain views, such as conservatism. In some cases, views such as conservatism seem to have been pathologized, as illustrated by the notion of a conservative syndrome.

Limitations of Prior Work

Clearly, there is no shortage of studies looking at and measuring political orientation and ideology. At the same time, improvement to the measures of political views is necessary (Everett, 2013). At present, no existing instruments adequately measure political viewpoints as conceptualized here. The purpose of the present study is to develop and validate a new measure that provides a nuanced assessment of political viewpoints. This effort is intended to overcome four limitations that characterize existing assessments, which are described next. While some

scales have overcome one or more of these limitations, no existing scale has addressed all four simultaneously.

Value bias. Researchers' own values appear to have influenced the development of some measures and studies of political views. There is a need for a measure that is values free. Everett (2013) employs the term "Value Free Measures" to reflect the need for assessments to be free from bias that can often occur in the construction or deployment of a measure (Everett, 2013; Haidt, 2013). Haidt has referenced certain imposing values influencing measures of political ideology. For example, conservatism has at times been considered a syndrome. Such an approach can lead to limited and skewed coverage of the construct of political ideology (Haidt, 2013). One of the main issues that Haidt (2013) as well as Inbar and Lammers (2012) have illuminated is the lack of neutrality that occurs during "typing" (liberal vs. conservative) due to the ways in which we define and measure politic viewpoints (Graham, Noeks, & Haidt, 2009; Inbar & Lammers, 2012). For example, Haidt and Graham (2007) highlight that often when researchers ask individuals to state their affiliation such as liberal or conservative, and then associate that self-reported affiliation with other constructs such as cognitive ability, a lack of neutrality can occur (Haidt & Graham, 2007). There is a need to accurately define and create measures that are as objective as possible and that are not driven by opinions of which political viewpoint is healthier or better.

Dated content. Some existing measures are dated. For example, Henningham's (1969) social conservatism measure asks respondents to rate the degree to which they endorse "stiffer jail terms," "Pre-marital virginity" and "Asian Immigration." Responses to such items may not be as meaningful or predictive as they once were in the late 1960s when this scale was developed. Like any survey instrument, scales measuring political views can become out of date as words and

figures of speech become uncommon or obsolete. They can also become out of date as socio-technical-political changes render societal and governmental practices and issues more and less relevant. There is a need for a measure that reflects modern language and issues, as well as a framework for developing and evaluating such a measure, which can guide updates as times change.

Psychometric deficiency. Many indices of political ideology lack psychometric underpinnings. This especially pertains to simple overt survey questions. As noted, many prior research studies have measured political ideology by directly asking people how liberal or conservative they are. This approach is limited for at least three reasons. First, it requires candor, and some people may not always feel comfortable admitting their true nature on a survey. Second, it requires self-awareness. Some people with conservative and liberal leanings may indeed lean reliably in one direction or the other, but they may not be aware of it and/or they may not use terms such as liberal and conservative to describe their beliefs and values. As Jost (2006) states, "most people do not recognize their abstract nature and certainly don't use them as scientists do" (p. 5). Perhaps this is one of the reasons Inbar and Lammers' (2012) research showed a stark disconnect between individuals' overt self-report ideology (declaring liberal or conservative) and their preferences and viewpoints on specific polices or political issues.

In thinking about this issue, it is perhaps useful to consider other constructs measured in the social and behavioral sciences, such as the personality trait of extraversion. Researchers would rarely if ever measure extraversion by using a single item that asks people to rate how introverted or extroverted, they are on a scale of 1 to 5. Instead, subjects are typically asked to consider and rate the degree to which many different statements such as "I am the life of the party" describe them. Response patterns are then used to make inferences about where respondents stand on the

overall construct of extroversion, and sometimes its sub-facets. In a similar manner, when measuring political viewpoints, we advocate a more psychometrically sound and nuanced, multi-item assessment.

Incomplete construct coverage. In 2013, Everett developed a 12-item social and economic conservatism scale, which successfully addressed the limitations described above. Everett's scale is values-free, relatively up-to-date, and constructed in a psychometrically sound manner. However, as its title suggests, this measure was designed to specifically assess two dimensions of conservatism. This is narrower than the aim of the current study, which focuses on political viewpoints more broadly. In addition, whereas Everett prioritized the development of a brief measure of conservatism that can be administered quickly, the current study prioritizes full coverage of the political viewpoints construct, with a secondary objective of developing as brief a measure as possible without sacrificing construct coverage.

Full construct coverage is important in order to achieve the nuanced assessment of political viewpoints needed for research. It is quite possible that two people who report themselves to be conservative, for example, hold substantially different views about relevant issues. Too often, self-reports assume unidimensional symmetry in attitude construction and assume that liberals are opposites of conservatives (Conver & Feldman, 1981; Wood & Oliver, 2012). As noted in recent literature, a unidimensional model does not provide a complete basis from which to study political ideology (Feldman & Johnston, 2014). This is an important limitation to overcome in order to truly measure the entirety of the political viewpoints construct as well as address issues with temporal stability, meaning the ability to address the content of reports across time that consider intervening events (verses random cognitive errors) (Wood & Oliver, 2012). Existing measures do not allow for the possibility that an individual may simultaneously subscribe to a

variety of viewpoints often categorized as liberal, conservative, authoritarian, socialist, and so forth. There is a need for a framework and measure capable of capturing intra-individual variation across dimensions and time.

Proposed Definition and Measurement Framework

The purpose of the present study is to expand the conceptualization and measurement of political viewpoints beyond the left-right dimensions, and beyond the facets of social and economic conservatism. Political viewpoints will be measured in a way that allows for the possibility that people hold numerous perspectives at once, each of which falls along a continuum. Specifically, we propose the existence of a spectrum of political viewpoints pertaining to four facets: Fiscal, Security, Social, and Religiosity. These four facets are defined as follows: Fiscal refers to relating to public money or other financial matters (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020); Security refers to freedom from danger or risk (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020); Social refers to relating to society and the interaction of the individual or group (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2020); and Religiosity refers to strong religious feelings or beliefs and the view of religious practice as an avenue to a social or personal end (Allport & Ross, 1967; Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

To our knowledge these four facets have not been studied together in one scale. Economic or fiscal and social facets have been considered together in previous measures such as Everett's Social and Economic Conservatism Scale (2013). While items pertaining to "threat" and "need to manage uncertainty" have appeared in prior research (e.g., Jost et al., 2007), prior work has not sufficiently explored the possibility that views on security may comprise a distinct facet. Concerning religiosity, prior research has linked religiosity measures to political ideology but again, not as a distinct facet that exists alongside fiscal, security, and social views (Duriez,

2003). There is a long history of studying religiosity and spirituality in the social sciences (King & Crowther, 2004). In some works, the terms of Religion and Spirituality have been interchangeable, but distinct in others (King & Crowther, 2004). The same difficulty has been seen with the terms Religion and Religiosity, and there has also been a lack of clear operational definitions of these constructs (King & Crowther, 2004; Slater et al., 2001). The conceptualization of intrinsic verses extrinsic religion has been an important factor in the study and measurement of religion in the social sciences (Allport, 1950). Allport delineates intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity by defining intrinsic orientation as those who view their practice of religion as a goal in itself and extrinsic orientation by those who view it instrumentally (Allport & Ross, 1967). This implies that if an individual is more intrinsically orientated, this individual would be considered to be a true believer in religious practice for its own sake. On the other hand, to be high extrinsic is to view religious practice as an avenue to a social or personal end (e.g., comfort, acceptance). Political viewpoints as conceptualized in the present study focuses on the extrinsic aspect of religiosity.

The present study is a scale development and validation effort designed to consider whether these four facets exist as unique factors and if so, how are they inter-related. Less than ten years ago, Everett (2013) justified the need for social and economic (i.e., fiscal) facets by citing the fact that a contemporary conservatism scale requires a measure that taps into ideological beliefs. This justification remains true for the present effort as well. In addition to social and fiscal facets, the present study also conceptualizes political viewpoints as comprising religiosity and security concerns. “Religion” regularly appears as an item or term in many of the conservatism scales, including the original Wilson and Patterson scale (Stacey, 1978). In addition, “Security” and certain perspectives on security have been included in many definitions and scales of

conservatism (Stankov, 2017). However, it is quite possible that the items developed for previous measures assumed religion and security to be an aspect of social conservatism rather than fully exploring them as distinct facets. For example, when developing the Social and Economic Conservatism Scale, Everett (2013) asked subjects to respond to fourteen items. The items "military and national security" and "religion" were ultimately assigned to the social conservatism facet. However, a closer look at the scale development research shows that "military and national security" is the weakest loading item on the social conservatism facet. In addition, it originally loaded onto a distinct third factor alongside "patriotism," which was also ultimately considered part of social conservatism. Meanwhile, "gun ownership" was the second highest loading factor on the economic conservatism facet, while "business" was the lowest loading factor. These patterns suggest the need for research designed to determine the possibility of a more multifaceted reality. Testing a greater number of more nuanced items during scale development will help determine whether aspects of what has previously been considered elements of social and economic conservatism stand alone as distinct facets.

The present study will develop an expansive item base to test for the existence of a spectrum of political viewpoints pertaining to fiscal, security, social, and religiosity matters. Taking each of the hypothesized facets into consideration, items will be developed to capture preferences about: (a) how society should be organized; (b) how power in society should be allocated; (c) the goals that society should aim to achieve; and (d) the methods by which to achieve these goals.

Method

Item Generation

Hinkin (1998) states that the key to successful item generation is a solid theoretical foundation and a true understanding of the content domain. A field scan of similar constructs and

scales was conducted (e.g., political conservatism scales and scales that measured levels of collectivism) to aid in the generation of the definition of the construct and the sub-facets that the SMEs were provided when they were asked to generate items. This was an important step for this research, first because it enabled us to better understand similar constructs and how they were measured. A broad range of items was generated using an inductive method by asking subject matter experts (SMEs) to provide items. 10 SMEs were asked to write items that they considered more or less liberal and more or less conservative. The intent of the items generated was to adequately assess the facets of the construct that were intended to be measured. The SME's generated an initial list of items based on best practices (writing items that cover the content domain and wording the items carefully, so they are interpreted as intended; Hinkin, 1998). The guidelines provided by Dillman (2000) were followed to improve item quality, such as: writing the items using simple wording to avoid confusion, keeping the statements brief and precise to avoid unintended interpretations, using complete sentences devoid of any inflammatory or biased language, and avoiding double barreled questions (questions that ask about two different things at once; e.g. "I like dogs and cats"). In total, the 225 items shown in Appendix B were generated. The generated items were declarative in nature and asked specifically about individual feelings on certain actions, decisions, and beliefs. Some of these items were written to require reverse coding rather than written negatively (Hinkin, 1998).

After initial item generation, SME's will be asked to sort the 225 items into the four facets described in this manuscript, Social, Fiscal, Security and Religiosity. SME's will be given definitions of these facets and asked to sort items using the Qualtrics survey. Finally, using the same Qualtrics survey, SME's will be asked to sort items into categories specifying if the item seemed more liberal, more conservative, or neutral. Once this process is completed, the first

author and an additional SME will write more items to address gaps or areas where there seemed to be too few liberally or conservatively oriented items in a given dimension. A 4X 3 matrix will be added to this document that details how many liberal, conservative and neutral items existed in the political viewpoints scale before and after other items we supplemented. This will detail a report on how many new items were added and to which sub facets.

Measures. The measure will be comprised of the newly developed Political Viewpoints scale items consisting of four sub facets, Fiscal, Security, Social, and Religiosity. A comprehensive list of the initial items generated by SMEs can be found in Appendix B.

Assessing Construct Validity

After generating the initial list of items, all items will be assessed for content validity, as suggested by Hinkin (1998). The virtue of assessing content validity is that it involves a "rational examination of the manner in which the performance domain is sampled by the predictor" (Binning & Barret, 1989, p. 482). Lawshe's method for measuring content validity (1975) will be used, which entails having a group of SMEs independently rate the items in terms of how essential each is to the measurement of the construct. More specifically, each SME will rate whether the item was essential, useful but not essential, or not necessary. Ratings will be collected from all eight SME's, and then a content validity ratio will be computed for each item using Lawshe's content validity ratio formula CVR=(n_e-N/2)/(N/2), where n_e represents the number of times an item was rated as essential, and N represents the total ratings for that item. According to Lawshe, a negative CVR means that fewer than half of the raters indicate the item as essential, whereas a positive CVR means that more than half of the raters indicate the item as essential (Lawshe, 1975). X items had a positive CVR value. This will result in a total of X items

being retained, which will be marked with an asterisk in Appendix B. These remaining X items will then be reviewed to see if there is any redundancy in how the items were worded. Based on this review, X items will be eliminated, resulting in a total of X preliminary items (XX Table).After Lawshe's CVR process is conducted there will be a final sorting by the first author and another SME into liberal vs conservative items within the four sub-facets to ensure adequate coverage. These items will inform the first part of a questionnaire developed for data collection, which will include the item pool along with additional scales, described next, to later test for convergent and discriminant validity.

Measures of Convergent and Discriminant Validity

Evidence for the construct validity of a construct is provided when scores on that construct relate to scores on theoretically similar constructs (convergent validity) and are unrelated to theoretically independent constructs (discriminant validity) (Binning & Barrett, 1989). To provide evidence of convergent validity the data collection survey will include measures of Right-Wing Authoritarianism (Funke, 2005), Systems Justification (Kay & Jost, 2003), Social and Economic Conservatism scale (Everett, 2013), Age Universal Religious Orientation scale (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989), and Risk of Future Events scale (Lerner, 2003). These measures have been shown to have a relationship with political ideology and the sub facets of the current proposed measure. (Everett, 2013; Funke, 2005; Jost et al. 2003.). These scales can be found in Appendix C. All alphas cited below are from previous studies and should be considered place holders at this time.

Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). Authoritarian beliefs were measured with a shortened 12-item scale (Funke, 2005), including statements such as “Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn”. Participants will express their agreement on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). The scale proved reliable (alpha= .75)

Systems justification (Kay & Jost, 2003). This is an 8-item scale measuring fairness, legitimacy, and justifiability of the prevailing social system. An example item includes “American society needs to be radically restructured”. Participants will be asked to state their level of agreement on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).The scale provided a reliable alpha =.87.

Social and economic conservatism scale (Everett, 2013). This is a 12-item scale measuring social and economic conservatism. Scale items include 12 terms or phrases that reflect certain political issues. Individuals will be asked to rate their level of agreement on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).. An example item is as follows “Traditional Marriage”. This scale provided a reliable alpha = .88.

Age Universal Religious Orientation scale (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989). This is a 14-item scale that considers both intrinsic and extrinsic levels of religiosity. Participants will be asked to rate their level of agreement on a 5-point Likert scale for each statement, ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). . An example items is as follows, “My whole approach to life is based on my religion”. This scale provided a reliable alpha of XX. (No alpha listed in study, only CFA results).

Risk of Future Events (Lerner et al., 2003). This is an 8- item scale measuring an individuals' perceived likelihood that an average American will experience risky events and take precautionary actions. Participants are asked to judge the likelihood of future events on a scale of 1 (very likely) to 5 (not likely). An example item is as follows, "Getting the flu". This scale provides a reliable alpha= .73.

To provide evidence of discriminant validity we will use measures of Affect Intensity (Larsen, 1984) and The Big Five (Goldberg, 1993). These constructs are not expected to relate to political viewpoints as it is defined in this research. A comprehensive list of these scales can be found in Appendix C.

Affect Intensity Scale (Larsen, 1984). This is a 20-item scale that measures emotional reaction to typical life events. Participants are asked to rate their frequency on a 6-point scale (1=never, 5=almost always). An example item is, "when I get nervous I get shaky all over". This scale indicates how strongly, or weakly individuals tend to experience emotion in their everyday life. This scale provided a reliable alpha =.88.

The Big Five (Goldberg,1992). Goldberg's Big Five Inventory (BFI) is 44-item inventory that measures an individual on the Big Five Factors (dimensions) of personality (Goldberg, 1992). These personality factors include: Neuroticism (8 items, $\alpha = .82$), Extraversion (8 items, $\alpha = .79$), Openness to experience (8 items, $\alpha = .77$), Agreeableness (9 items, $\alpha = .76$), and Conscientiousness (9 items, $\alpha = .83$) (Goldberg, 1993). Participants will be as to rate how well they thought a given item described them using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (describes me extremely well) to 5 (does not describe me). The participant was asked to complete the following sentence: "I see myself as someone who…". Example items for each of this measure's five factors are as follows: (1) Neuroticism: "Is depressed, blue"; (2) Openness:

"Is original, comes up with new ideas"; (3) Extraversion: "Is talkative"; (4) Agreeableness: "Is helpful and unselfish with others"; and (5) Conscientiousness: "Does a thorough job."

Finally, we also measured participants' overt self-reported ideology by asking them to overtly self-report their political affiliation, Liberal, Conservative, or neither. The approach used in Everett et al., 2020 will be employed. A 5-point Likert scale will be used, 1=extremely liberal, 5=extremely conservative, and participants will be asked to rate themselves on the following items:

1) Economic issues

2) Social Issues

3) Foreign Policy Issues

4) Security Issues

5) Religious issues

6) In general I am

Demographic data will also be collected. Participants will be asked to indicate their age, gender, race, education level, employment status and political affiliation.

Three instructed-response items (i.e., "Select strongly agree for this item") was included in the survey to screen for careless responding. The final survey will be between 300 and 350 items, based on the content validation process of the political viewpoints scale. It will take participants on average, 30 to 40 mins to complete this survey based on estimates provided be the Qualtrics survey platform.

Participants. A total of 1000+ participants will attempt to complete the study online and the survey itself was set up through a survey platform called Qualtrics. Participants will be recruited by Qualtrics, Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform and through social media and email. Participants recruited from the Qualtrics panel will be paid amounts ranging from $12.00 to $20.00. Participants recruited on Mechanical Turk will be paid $1.50. Participants recruited from social media and email will consent to volunteer their time to participate in the survey. The survey will be anonyms. Participants will be able to complete the survey on any device including computers, phones and tablets. Participants will be required to be at least 18 years of age, residents of the United States and be fluent in the English language. This sample will also mirror the demographics of the current U.S. voting population.

Data screening. The initial sample size will be 1000+ including all participants who submitted a completed survey on Qualtrics. A total of XX people will be removed from the sample for missing these items, reducing the sample size to XXX. Next, data will be screened for response time. Response time is a commonly utilized data screening technique to check for careless responding, as unusually fast survey response times likely indicate that respondents did not engage in the necessary cognitive processing to answer items carefully. A rule of thumb that will be utilized that required a minimum response time of at least 15 minutes, based on the estimated response time generated from Qualtrics, for inclusion in the sample, which will remove XX people. Finally, I will screen for the Maximum LongString careless response indicator which identifies strings of consecutive responses in the data. Johnson (2005) recommends an approach that was also used in Mead and Craig (2012) where the index, termed *Longstring*, is computed as the maximum number of consecutive items on a single page that a respondent answered with the same response option, for example answering with a "2" for six or

seven responses in a row. At extremely high values, this variable indicates that participants are likely not responding with regard for item content. A cut score of XX exact responses in a row or more will result in removal from the dataset. This will remove XX participants leaving us with a final sample size of XXX.

The final sample will consist of XXX participants, Female (XX%). The mean age of participants will be XX (standard deviation XX) with a minimum age of XX and a maximum age of XX. The distribution of race will be XX% white (XX), XX% black (XX), XX% Asian/Pacific Islander (XX), XX% Hispanic/Latino (XX), XX% Native American/American Indian (XX), and XX% "other" (X).

Proposed Analysis

First, the sample will be split randomly with the sizes of each sample being even with 500 participants in each sample in order to conduct an exploratory factor analysis on one sample and a confirmatory factor analysis on another. All analysis will be conducted using R or JMP unless otherwise noted. An Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) will be conducted on the XX items that measured Political Viewpoints. The demographics of sample #1 will consist of XXX participants, Female (XX%). The mean age of participants will be XX (standard deviation XX) with a minimum age of XX and a maximum age of XX. The distribution of race will be XX% white (XX), XX% black (XX), XX% Asian/Pacific Islander (XX), XX% Hispanic/Latino (XX), XX% Native American/American Indian (XX), and XX% "other" (X). A representation of this sub sample will be found in Appendix D.

This analysis will be guided by the best practices recommended in the literature (Cabrera-Nguyen, 2010; Hinkin 1998; Worthington & Wittaker, 2006). The factorability of the scale in its entirety will be the first to be examined. Tests for multicollinearity will be conducted. An oblique oblimin rotation of 1-, 2-, 3- and 4- factor solutions will be tested to the data. Following recommendations made by Hinkin (1998), the scree plot will be examined, variance explained, eigenvalues, factor loadings, and interpretability when assessing how each model fit the data. The results of a parallel analysis will be examined for each tested model. The interpretability of the various factor structures will be examined. Reliability analysis will be conducted for each subscale revealing and Cronbach's alpha's will be reported. Levels of skewness and kurtosis will be investigated. Acceptable levels of skewness and kurtosis fall within (-2)-(+2) (West et al.,1995). Models will also be assessed on interpretability and parsimony. The model that is the most parsimonious will be selected as the best fitting model.

Next, a Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) will be conducted on subsample #2, on the same xx items. The demographics of sample #2 will consist of XXX participants, Female (XX%). The mean age of participants will be XX (standard deviation XX) with a minimum age of XX and a maximum age of XX. The distribution of race will be XX% white (XX), XX% black (XX), XX% Asian/Pacific Islander (XX), XX% Hispanic/Latino (XX), XX% Native American/American Indian (XX), and XX% "other" (X). A representation of this subsamples will be found in Appendix D.

Fit indices, chi square (X^2), TLI, CFI, and RMSEA of the scale will be examined. A lower Chi Square (as long as it is not less than 1) implies a better fitting model (Kenny & McCoach, 2003). The TLI depends on the average size of the correlations of the data and should be considered in conjunction with the RMSEA. The CFI is based on non-centrality of the

measure and will incur a penalty for each parameter estimated. The value should be taken into consideration with the other fit indices (Kenny & McCoach, 2003). The RMSEA is an absolute measure of fit based on the non-centrality parameter. Kenny suggests 0.01, 0.05 and 0.08 to indicate excellent, good and mediocre fit, 0.10 suggests poor fit (Kenny & McCoach, 2003). The factor structure of the sub facets (Fiscal, Security, Social and Religiosity) will then be assessed. If the results of the exploratory factor analysis reveal an optimal structure other than the hypothesized four factor structure, then both the four-factor structure and optimal structure reveled by the exploratory factor analysis will be tested using a confirmatory factor analysis.

Scale scores will then be created for each factor by averaging items for each factor to be used in further analyses to test for convergent and discriminant validity.

Assessing Convergent and Discriminant Validity

Correlations will then be assessed using sample #2 amongst the scales to determine the degree of convergent and discriminant validity of the Political Viewpoints scale. While there is no standard value for discriminant validity a correlation value of less then .85 suggests that discriminant validity exists (Hensler, Ringel, & Sarstedt, 2014).

Table xx will present the means, standard deviations, coefficient alphas, and inter-correlations for all scales. Inter-scale correlations will be examined to determine the extent of convergent and discriminant validity evidence. To test for convergent validity of the scale the following scales will be considered, Right-Wing Authoritarianism (Funke, 2005), Lack of Control in the Political Domain (Korzeniowski 1999), Uncertainty in the Political Domain Korzeniowski 1999), Systems Justification (Kay & Jost, 2003), Social and Economic Conservatism scale (Everett, 2013), Resistance to Change (Oreg, 2003), Social Dominance

Orientation (Pratto et al 1994), Age Universal Religious Orientation scale (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989), General Fear Scale (Chadee & Ng Ying, 2013) and Risk of Future Events scale (Lerner, 2003).

DeVellis (2012) discussed in depth the question of how strong a correlation should be to infer convergent validity, the answer that he proposes was that there is no true answer that defines construct validity. Based on a brief landscape analysis of other scale validation studies, a general rule of thumb suggests that convergent validity is present with correlation values of .70 or above. In order to test for the discriminant validity of the scale and test the hypotheses that political viewpoints would have no relationship with Affect Intensity (Larsen, 1984), and The Big Five (Goldberg, 1993).

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Appendix A Historical Measures of Political Views and Ideologies

APA citation	Name of construct or scale	Number of items	Names of sub-facets or sub-dimension (if any)
Crowson, H. M. (2009). Are all conservatives alike? A study of the psychological correlates of cultural and economic conservatism. The Journal of Psychology, 143(5), 449-63. doi:http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/10.3200/JRL.143.5.449-463	Conservatism	12	Economic and Cultural Conservatism
Duckitt, J., & Bizumic, B. (2013). Multidimensionality of right-wing authoritarian attitudes: Authoritarianism-conservatism-traditionalism. Political Psychology, 34(6), 841-862. doi:10.1111/pops.12022	Right Wing Authoritarian Attitudes	16	Authoritarianism, Conservatism, and Traditionalism (ACT) and the ACT-SDO(social dominance orientation) Scale
Everett, J. A. C. (2013). The 12 item social and economic conservatism scale (SECS). PloS One, 8(12), e82131. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0082131	Conservatism	12	Economic conservatism Social conservatism
Fried, Y. L., Levi, A. S., Billings, S. W., & Browne, K. R. (2001). The relation between political ideology and attitudes toward affirmative action among African Americans: The moderating effect of racial discrimination in the workplace. *Human Relations*, *54*(5), 561–584. doi: 10.1177/0018726701545002	Egalitarian Political Ideology	15	None
Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B. A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96(5), 1029-1046. doi:10.1037/a0015141	Political and Moral Ideology	1	None
Henningham, J. P. (1996). A 12-item scale of social conservatism. Personality and Individual Differences, 20(4), 517-519. doi:10.1016/0191-8869(95)00192-1	Social Conservatism (SECS)	12	None
Jost, J. T., Blount, S., Pfeffer, J., & Hunyady, G. (2003). fair market ideology: Its cognitive-motivational underpinnings. Research in Organizational Behavior, 25,	FMI or Fair Market Ideology	25	None

53-91. doi:10.1016/S0191-3085(03)25002-4			
Jost, J. T., Glaser, J., Kruglanski, A. W., & Sulloway, F. J. (2003). Political conservatism as motivated social cognition. Psychological Bulletin, 129(3), 339–375. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.129.3.339	Political Conservatism	11	None
Matthews, M., Levin, S., & Sidanius, J. (2009). A Longitudinal Test of the Model of Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition. Political Psychology, 30(6), 921-936. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/25655430	Political Conservatism	4	None
Middendorp, C. (1978). Progressiveness and conservatism: The fundamental dimensions of ideological controversy and their relationship to social class. Mouton.	Political Conservatism	12	None
Yee, C. M., Master, S. L., Amodio, D. M., & Jost, J. T. (2007). Neurocognitive correlates of liberalism and conservatism. Nature Neuroscience, 10(10), 1246-1247. doi:10.1038/nn1979	Conservatism	1	None
Leone, Luigi, and Antonio Chirumbolo. "Conservatism as Motivated Avoidance of Affect: Need for Affect Scales Predict Conservatism Measures." Journal of Research in Personality, vol. 42, no. 3, 2008, pp. 755–762., doi:10.1016/j.jrp.2007.08.001.	Conservatism	13	None
Malka, A., Lelkes, Y., & Soto, C. (2019). Are Cultural and Economic Conservatism Positively Correlated? A Large-Scale Cross-National Test. British Journal of Political Science, 49(3), 1045-1069. doi:10.1017/S0007123417000072	Conservatism	14	Cultural and economic conservatism

Appendix B

Political Viewpoints Scale Items

1. It is okay to temporarily take on debt in order to gain more in the future.
2. Taking risks is a necessary part of a good future.
3. Minimizing risks is a necessary part of a good future.
4. Paying bills on time is a societal responsibility.
5. The government balance sheets should balance.
6. It is better to save than to spend in every occasion.
7. I do not share money with those in need.
8. I do not share money with friends in need.
9. I pay debts back as soon as possible.
10. Running large deficits is stealing from the future.
11. You should always pay your bills.
12. There is no reward without taking risk.
13. You appreciate those things you earn more than those that are given to you.
14. Borrowing more than you can pay off is wrong.
15. Financial struggles usually result from lack of personal responsibility.
16. Medical expenses should be paid by individuals, not society.
17. It should be up to the states to determine social programs, not the federal government.
18. Anyone can succeed in life if they work hard.
19. Tax cuts for the wealthy benefit everyone.
20. Regulations will prevent another fiscal crisis.
21. Financial regulations protect citizens from another financial crisis.
22. I am in favor of government spending on social programs.
23. Regulations are harmful to the economy.
24. I support free trade.
25. I support fair trade.
26. I believe Americans should pay lower taxes
27. I believe the economy functions best when there is minimal government influence
28. I believe the government should not decide how much money doctors make
29. We should make lowering the national debt a top priority
30. Saving money for the future is better than spending money on fun things you want now
31. Pay bills on time
32. Spending money before you have it is wrong
33. Prefer to live beyond my means
34. Would never cheat on my taxes
35. People should not spend more than they have.
36. People ought to live within their means.
37. Countries that spend more than they have are headed for trouble.
38. There is nothing wrong with credit card debt.
39. Our national currency is at risk due to the size of the federal deficit.
40. Debt leads to failure.
41. Debt is a sign of weakness.
42. People with large amounts of debt lack self-control.

43. National debt is a necessary part of investing in our country's future.
44. Buying things on credit makes people lose the motivation to earn.
45. A person's credit score says a lot about their character.
46. Running large deficits is stealing from the future.
47. Social entrepreneurship is the future
48. Capitalism is immoral.
49. You should always pay your bills.
50. Banks are not set up to help the underdog
51. The majority of wealth is held by the hardest working
52. The wealth disparity is the cause of poverty.
53. If you work hard, being financially sustainable is easy.
54. There is no reward without taking risk.
55. You appreciate those things you earn more than those that are given to you.
56. Borrowing more than you can pay off is wrong.
57. The way you spend your money is how you show your priorities.
58. When I am in a situation, I can easily perceive the possible dangers.
59. It is important to always have protections on your resources from everyone, even friends.
60. I am always ready to defend what I have.
61. It is important to always negotiate from a position of strength and certainty.
62. It is important to enter uncertain and dangerous situations from a position of strength.
63. The world is a dangerous place.
64. if you are not prepared to defend what you care for you may lose it.
65. Talk is great but it's no substitute for strength.
66. Peace is gained by strength.
67. If you can't backup your threats with force you are likely to lose.
68. Peace is gained through compassion.
69. Compassion is as much of a strength as physical force.
70. Peace is stagnant.
71. Freedom is more important than safety.
72. Without freedom we do not have choice.
73. Keeping things the same is out of my control.
74. Our military must show force if the country is to be safe.
75. Our military should remain in countries we view as threats if we don't want those threats to come to our country.
76. Our country should not take the chance of letting in people from dangerous countries.
77. The police do not get enough credit for their work.
78. The police do not receive enough resources to work effectively.
79. The public overreacts to reported cases of police violence.
80. Border Patrol needs to be increased if we are to remain safe.
81. Increasing immigration is a threat to national security.
82. Our nation spends too much on national security.
83. Police officers are some of the most valuable members of society.
84. Our military strength key to the strength of our nation.
85. Gun ownership is critical to personal safety.
86. Inequality is a major cause of societal violence.
87. The government needs to take aggressive action against national threats.

88. Humans can't exist without war.
89. We should protect our freedom at any cost
90. It is important to increase border protection
91. I believe we have the best military in the world
92. Without investment in security, we will lose our power as a country
93. Countries without a strong military leave themselves vulnerable
94. Laws should be upheld with force
95. People will hurt you if you give them the opportunity
96. An effective army keeps us all safe.
97. I owe a lot to the people who fought for my freedom.
98. There will never be peace without military force.
99. A strong police force is key to keeping communities safe.
100. National security should be the government's top priority.
101. The military causes more harm than good in this world.
102. My vote goes to leaders who keep our country safe.
103. The world is a dangerous place.
104. If you are not prepared to defend what you care for you may lose it.
105. Talk is great but it's no substitute for strength.
106. Peace is gained by strength.
107. If you can't backup your threats with force you are likely to lose.
108. Being a "superpower" sometimes means not exhibiting force.
109. War is never the answer.
110. The problems in other countries are not our responsibility.
111. We must protect our freedoms.
112. Spending money on security is always the right thing to do.
113. Our military is the foundation of our society.
114. Federal government should not tell states what to do
115. Everyone is fully morally responsible for their behavior no matter the circumstances.
116. Bad behavior is the result of a weak moral compass..
117. One day, we will all have to be accountable for the actions that we have chosen in life.
118. I see the events of the world in terms of good and evil.
119. There is a constant battle in the world between good and evil.
120. I believe that there are good and bad people in the world.
121. The choices you make determine whether you are a good person.
122. Moral relativism is at the heart of a lot bad behavior.
123. There really is evil in the world that has to be confronted.
124. Without honor and a sense of duty you are nothing.
125. I'm tired of people who use excuses to justify their bad behavior.
126. One day we will have to account for our actions.
127. There is a reason for everything.
128. Not all reasons are good reasons.
129. It is better to be right than nice.
130. I enjoy judging people.
131. I enjoy being judged.
132. People overreact over social issues.
133. I believe that many people will play the victim whenever possible.

134. People should take care of themselves.
135. People should be less concerned about the problems of others.
136. Everyone is treated fairly in this country because of the Constitution.
137. I believe children should be taught to be self-reliant
138. Parents should be more nurturing than strict
139. A revolution is needed to fix America's social issues.
140. I support the use of safe spaces on college campuses.
141. Labor unions create more problems than the fix.
142. Our strong justice system upholds national values.
143. A good parent needs to be strict.
144. The institution of marriage is outdated.
145. Teachers are some of the most valuable members of society.
146. Being a teacher is a noble profession.
147. I believe that less government makes for a better society.
148. Most homeless people are victims of our national societal issues.
149. Dogs should be obedient to their owners.
150. Universities are elitist institutions.
151. Intolerance should not be tolerated.
152. Freedom is more important than equality.
153. Most criminals are social and economic victims.
154. I believe the government should only help those who help themselves.
155. Equality is a level playing field.
156. I think everyone should have fair access to a job
157. I believe that marriage should only be between a man and a woman
158. I believe that life begins at conception
159. I believe that businesses should be free to operate without the government interfering
160. I believe that gender is determined by biology
161. We should limit the number of immigrants that come to this country
162. It is unfair that we have to use our taxes to pay for people on welfare
163. Laws should be strictly enforced
164. We should help criminals integrate back into society
165. Couples should not move in together unless they are legally married
166. Couples should not have children unless they are legally married
167. Welfare is robbing people of the motivation to work.
168. Giving too many resources to the homeless (or unemployed) prevents them from moving forward.
169. Welfare benefits hold people back.
170. The government needs to help the less fortunate.
171. Accepting things for free is demeaning.
172. A social safety net is sometimes needed for people who fall on hard times.
173. Welfare benefits provide a necessary cushion for those experiencing unexpected hardship.
174. Poverty is a choice.
175. Criminals are often victims of a society that has failed them.
176. Drug addicts should be punished for breaking the law.
177. People who feel oppressed have every opportunity to improve their circumstances.
178. The poor are often victims of circumstances beyond their control.

179. The government needs to help people who are marginalized.
180. It is important to hold people accountable for their actions.
181. The government's role is to help those who help themselves.
182. It is important to help those who cannot help themselves.
183. I am concerned about our country’s loose moral values.
184. Life begins at inception.
185. There are a lot of people who take advantage of the government systems.
186. Getting government handouts means you are not successful.
187. Communities have to help each other.
188. It takes a village.
189. Government is the backbone to any society.
190. My beliefs are the primary way I make decisions.
191. I have done a lot of work to come to my current beliefs.
192. It would be very difficult for someone to alter my current beliefs.
193. I have engaged in multiple debates regarding a difference in beliefs with others.
194. I am very confident in my current beliefs.
195. I have a strong desire to share my beliefs with others.
196. I think it is right to share my beliefs with others in order to help them live better lives.
197. I identify with a specific religion
198. I consider myself to be committed to my religious beliefs
199. My beliefs influence my opinion of other decisions
200. Others beliefs influence their opinions on others decisions
201. Others should have the same beliefs as me
202. All is done for each.
203. It is better to be in an organized religion rather than to practice by yourself.
204. Everything would be better if people agreed with me.
205. People always act in ways determined by their beliefs.
206. People compromise on their beliefs due to life circumstances.
207. I would vote or not vote for someone based on their religion
208. Religious beliefs of public figures play in to my thoughts and beliefs about them.
209. Some religions hold dangerous ideologies.
210. Abortion is murder
211. I believe the history of the institution of marriage should be maintained.
212. Human beings can be morally improved through social programs
213. My beliefs are shaped by my direct community
214. Others could learn a lot from my beliefs
215. I believe right is right and wrong is wrong
216. I believe there is one true religion
217. If others believed what I believed the world would be a more peaceful place
218. Parents need to teach their children right from wrong.
219. Religious people tend to be narrow minded.
220. Sunday worship helps children become responsible adults.
221. Families that pray together stay together.
222. A life without belief is empty
223. My beliefs guide me in my choices
224. Belief in a higher power is what keeps morality in check

225. Tradition is very important to me

Appendix C Convergent and Discriminant Validity Scales

Right Wing Authoritarianism (Funke, 2005)

#	Item	Reverse Code	Sub facet
1	People should develop their own personal standards about good and evil and pay less attention to the Bible and other old, traditional forms of religious guidance.*	R	Conventionalism
2	What our country really needs instead of more "civil rights" is a good stiff dose of law and order.		Aggression
3	The days when women are submissive should belong strictly in the past. A "woman's place" in society should be wherever she wants to be.*	R	Submission
4	The withdrawal from tradition will turn out to be a fatal fault one day.		Conventionalism
5	There is no such crime to justify capital punishment.*	R	Aggression
6	Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn.		Submission
7	Homosexual long-term relationships should be treated as equivalent to marriage.*	R	Conventionalism
8	What our country really needs is a strong, determined Chancellor which will crush the evil and set us on our right way again.		Aggression
9	It is good that nowadays young people have greater freedom "to make their own rules" and to protest against things they don't like.*	R	Submission
10	Being virtuous and law-abiding is in the long run better for us than permanently challenging the foundation of our society.		Conventionalism
11	It is important to protect the rights of radicals and deviants in all ways.*	R	Aggression
12	The real keys to the "good life" are obedience, discipline, and virtue.		Submission

Social and Economic Conservatism scale (Everett, 2013)

#	Item	Sub facet
1	Abortion	Social
2	Religion	Social
3	Gun Ownership	Economic
4	Traditional Marriage	Social
5	Traditional Values	Social
6	The Family Unit	Social
7	Patriotism	Social
8	Military and National Security	Social
9	Limited Government	Economic
10	Fiscal Responsibility	Economic
11	Business	Economic
12	Welfare Benefits	Economic

Systems Justification Scale Kay & Jost, 2003)

#	Item	Reverse Code
1	In general, you find society to be fair	
2	In general, the American political system operates as it should	
3	American society needs to be radically restructured	R
4	The United States is the best country in the world to live in	
5	Most policies serve the greater good	
6	Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness	
7	Our society is getting worse every year	R
8	Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve	

Age Universal Religious Orientation scale Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989)

#	Item	Sub facet
1	I enjoy reading about my religion	Intrinsic Religion
2	It is important to me to spend time in private thought and prayer.	Intrinsic Religion
3	I have often had a strong sense of God's presence	Intrinsic Religion
4	I try hard to live all my life according to my religious beliefs.	Intrinsic Religion
5	My whole approach to life is based on my religion.	Intrinsic Religion
6	Although I believe in my religion, many other things are more important in life.	Intrinsic Religion
7	Although I am religious, I don't let it affect my daily life.	Intrinsic Religion
8	It doesn't matter much what I believe so long as I am good.	Extrinsic Religion
9	I attend religious services because it helps me to make friends.	Extrinsic Religion
10	I attend religious services mainly because I enjoy seeing people I know there.	Extrinsic Religion
11	I pray mainly to gain relief or protection.	Extrinsic Religion
12	What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble or sorrow.	Extrinsic Religion
13	Prayer is for peace and happiness.	Extrinsic Religion
14	I attend religious services mostly to spend time with friends.	Extrinsic Religion

Risk of Future Events scale (Lerner, 2003)

#	Item
1	Being hurt in a terror attack
2	Having trouble sleeping because of the situation with terror
3	Traveling less than usual
4	Screening mail carefully for suspicious items
5	Taking antibiotics against anthrax
6	Getting the flu
7	Being the victim of violent crime (other than terror)
8	Dying from any cause (crime, illness, accident)

*Respondents are asked to judge the likelihood of events occurring in the US

Affect Intensity Scale (Larsen, 1984)

#	**Item**
1	When I feel happiness, it is a quite type of contentness
2	When a person in a wheelchair cant get through a door I have strong feelings of pity
3	I get upset easily
4	when I succeed at something my reaction is calm contentment
5	I get really happy or really unhappy
6	I am a fairly quiet person
7	when I am happy I feel very energetic
8	seeing a picture of a violent car accident in the news paper makes me feel sick to my stomach
9	when I am happy I feel like I am bursting with joy
10	I would be very upset if I got a traffic ticket
11	Looking at beautiful scenery really doesn't affect me much
12	The weather doesn't affect my mood
13	others tend to get more excited about things then I do
14	I am not an extremely enthusiastic individual
15	"Calm and cool" could easily describe me
16	when I am feeling well it is easy for me to go from being in a good mood to being really joyful
17	When I worry it is so mild that I hardly notice it
18	I get overly enthusiastic
19	My happy moods are so strong I feel like I am in heaven
20	When something bad happens, others tend to be more unhappy than I.

The Big Five (Goldberg, 1980)

#	Item	Reverse Code	Sub facet
1	Is talkative		Extraversion
2	Tends to find fault with others	R	Agreeableness
3	Does a thorough job		Conscientiousness
4	Is depressed, blue		Neuroticism
5	Is original, comes up with new ideas		Openness
6	Is reserved	R	Extraversion
7	Is helpful and unselfish with others		Agreeableness
8	Can be somewhat careless	R	Conscientiousness
9	Is relaxed, handles stress well	R	Neuroticism
10	Is curious about many different things		Openness
11	Is full of energy		Extraversion
12	Starts quarrels with others	R	Agreeableness
13	Is a reliable worker		Conscientiousness
14	Can be tense		Neuroticism
15	Is ingenious, a deep thinker		Openness
16	Generates a lot of enthusiasm		Extraversion
17	Has a forgiving nature		Agreeableness
18	Tends to be disorganized	R	Conscientiousness
19	Worries a lot		Neuroticism
20	Has an active imagination		Openness
21	Tends to be quiet	R	Extraversion
22	Is generally trusting		Agreeableness
23	Tends to be lazy	R	Conscientiousness
24	Is emotionally stable, not easily upset	R	Neuroticism
25	Is inventive		Openness
26	Has an assertive personality		Extraversion
27	Can be cold and aloof	R	Agreeableness
28	Perseveres until the task is finished		Conscientiousness
29	Can be moody		Neuroticism
30	Values artistic, aesthetic experiences		Openness
31	s sometimes shy, inhibited	R	Extraversion
32	Is considerate and kind to almost everyone		Agreeableness
33	Does things efficiently		Conscientiousness
34	Remains calm in tense situations	R	Neuroticism
35	Prefers work that is routine	R	Openness
36	Is outgoing, sociable		Extraversion

37	Is sometimes rude to others	R	Agreeableness
38	Makes plans and follows through with them		Conscientiousness
39	Gets nervous easily		Neuroticism
40	Likes to reflect, play with ideas		Openness
41	Has few artistic interests	R	Openness
42	Likes to cooperate with others		Agreeableness
43	Is easily distracted	R	Conscientiousness
44	Is sophisticated in art, music, or literature		Openness