Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Adult Attachment, and Threat

By

Tony Allen Feldmann

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Sociology and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

_____

David N. Smith

_____

Robert J. Antonio

_____

Ebenezer Obadare

Date Defended: 4/17/14

The Thesis Committee for Tony Allen Feldmann

certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Adult Attachment, and Threat

_____

David N. Smith

Date approved: 4/17/14

ABSTRACT

Despite the vast amount of research conducted on Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), there is still not consensus on what causes an individual to be more or less authoritarian. However, researchers have consistently found RWA to be strongly related to perceptions of threat. In the field of developmental psychology the concept of attachment style is thought to account for the differences between individuals in how they respond to perceived threats. The current study investigated whether or not adult attachment styles can account for why individuals are more or less authoritarian. This study assessed how attachment primes impacted scores on a measure of RWA, and whether or not RWA is related to attachment idealization. Results indicated that the attachment primes did not affect scores on RWA, but RWA was found to be positively related to attachment idealization. Possible models of the origins of RWA are discussed.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

Dictators may rule as violent oppressors, but they cannot do so without support form an overwhelming portion of the population. This fact raises several questions: why would someone support their own oppression? What would cause a person to want to follow a punitive leader? What are the roots of these authoritarian desires?

The set of social attitudes known as right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) may shed some light on these puzzling questions. Having been originally theorized by Eric Fromm (1941), the idea of RWA as a personality type did not attract significant scholarly attention until it was used by Adorno et al. (1950) to explain ethnocentrism. Despite the controversy around the idea of authoritarianism being a personality type, research has established its importance for not only understanding prejudice (Adorno et al. 1950; Altemeyer 1988, 1996, 1998, and 2007; Cribbs & Austin 2011; Smith 1996, 2006), but also for understanding more general trends in political attitudes (Hetherington and Weiler 2009) and culture (Doty, Peterson, and Winter 2004). However, the abundant research on RWA has yet to find a definitive origin for these attitudes.

Even though there is no consensus on the reasons why an individual holds RWA attitudes, there are important and consistent findings. One particularly interesting finding is the relationship between RWA and perceptions of threat. Though ample research has investigated the nature of this relationship, little research has been conducted to test the relationship between threat and other personality traits. Why are right-wing authoritarians (RWAs) so sensitive to threatening stimuli? What factors determine how threats are perceived? The concept of attachment style appears to be of particular relevance to such an investigation because researchers in developmental psychology have found attachment

to be intimately connected with perceptions of threat. The current study investigates the following question: is there a relationship between RWA and adult attachment style? By investigating this relationship this study looks to clarify the connection between threat and RWA, and, perhaps, point to what types and in what ways social relationships are relevant to the study of how individuals come to hold authoritarian attitudes.

Authoritarianism

There have been several theories of RWA, and each theory identifies threat as an important factor. Specifically, all theories of RWA argue that it is, at least to a certain extent, a type of defense against perceived threats. By understanding the role that threat plays in conceptions of authoritarianism, it is possible to recognize the theoretical relevance of attachment theory.

Authoritarianism was originally theorized by Erich Fromm (1941) who argued that it was a 'mechanism of escape' employed by modern people to overcome their moral isolation, or lack of meaningful relatedness to others. Fromm claimed that modern society, the world of industrialized capitalism, promoted moral isolation by limiting the individuals' ability to relate to the world in a productive and loving manner. In order to experience some form of meaningful relatedness individuals would engage in modes of relating that limited freedom for both themselves and others. Fromm called these modes of relating mechanisms of escape, with authoritarianism being one of the primary mechanisms. Thus, authoritarianism is a defense against powerlessness, helplessness, and isolation engendered by modern society.

Using Fromm's theory, Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950) expanded on the theory of authoritarianism to help explain the differences between prejudiced and unprejudiced individuals. In *The Authoritarian Personality,* RWA was seen as a syndrome consisting of two dispositions: a willingness to submit to authorities and a willingness to punish norm breakers. Adorno et al. argued that these two dispositions were produced by the combination of a weak ego and a strong punitive superego. This unique relationship between the ego and superego was thought to be the outcome of enduring punitive childrearing practices. It was argued that such practices limited the child's ability to self-regulate via the ego and produced ambivalence in the child where he/she felt both love and hatred towards her/his parents. In order to deal with this ambivalence the child idealized his/her parents, turned their anger and hatred towards more acceptable targets, and came to rely on a punitive super-ego for self-regulation. Adorno et al. argued that such children later in life would continue a similar process by adopting a strict black and white morality for self-regulation, idealizing authority figures, and expressing hatred towards "acceptable" targets, namely ethnic minorities.

More recently, Altemeyer (1996) has argued that Right-Wing Authoritarianism consists of the clustering of three attitudes: a tendency to hold conventional beliefs, a tendency to submit to authority, and a tendency to punish sanctioned deviants. Altemeyer saw these three attitudes as the product of parents teaching conventional values along with portraying those who violate such values as dangerous. If the child never has experiences that challenge these teachings, then, Altemeyer argues, once the child grows up they will come to possess a self-righteous view of themselves and an understanding of

the world as an inherently dangerous place. It is this combination of fear and self-righteousness that produces authoritarian attitudes.

Stenner (2005) developed another approach to understanding RWA. Stenner maintained that RWA is a "stable tendency" to promote attitudes and behaviors that "enhance sameness and minimize diversity of people, beliefs, and behaviors" (2005). This stable tendency is most strongly expressed when authoritarians feel threatened. Thus, Stenner perceived authoritarianism as a response tendency towards threat.

Finally, Duckitt and Sibley (2010) developed an interesting model of RWA that combines aspects of both Altemeyer and Stenner's theories. They argued that RWA is produced by the combination of certain personality traits, namely low openness to experience and high conscientiousness as well as the view of the world as a dangerous place. Thus, RWA is a mechanism for achieving a sense of societal security and stability. Like Altemeyer, Duckitt and Sibley argue that the belief that the world is a dangerous place is the product of childhood and adolescent experiences as well as socialization.

Looking across these different conceptions of RWA there are certain recurring themes. First, it is commonly agreed upon by all researchers that what authoritarians *do* is to submit to authorities and act aggressively towards perceived norm-breakers. Second, it is also generally agreed upon that the belief that the world is a threatening place plays an important role in the way RWAs think about the social world and the attitudes they hold toward it. Third, RWA attitudes are thought to be the product of socialization and other experiences during childhood and adolescence. Yet, despite the wide consensus on these points, uncertainty remains surrounding one essential question: what experiences in early life produce RWA?

4

A possible solution to this problem may lie within a better understanding of the relationship between RWA and threat. Altemeyer (1988) conducted several studies finding that individuals reported higher levels of authoritarianism when they thought the social and political order was under threat from radical political movements, especially left-wing movements. Furthermore, it has been found that authoritarians hold negative attitudes toward groups perceived as threatening (Weise et al. 2012) as opposed to groups that are seen as only being socially subordinate (Duckitt 2006). It has been found that authoritarians increase their support for military attacks when they perceive the target nation as threatening (McFarland 2005).

Proponents of Terror Management Theory (TMT) have provided a rich and intriguing literature on how individuals cope with threat by using a mortality salience (MS) prime (Pyszczynski, Solomon, and Greenberg, 2003). Priming is a common method employed by psychologists to investigate causal relationships between certain stimuli and psychological characteristics. Specifically, priming is a method where an individual is exposed to one stimulus and then assessed on a certain characteristic or behavior. If those who are exposed to the stimulus, or prime, produce significantly different results from a control group on a psychological measure, then it is thought that the stimulus, or prime, caused the difference. The MS prime is thought to induce a sense of threat, and has been incorporated into several studies on RWA with rather interesting findings.

Research has found RWAs to be less willing to consider alternative points of view when experiencing MS induced threat and to be more sensitive to threatening words (Lavine et al., 2002). In addition to this, high-scoring individuals find arguments more convincing when they emphasize threats (Lavine et al. 2002), and vote differently when

confronted with perceptions of threat (Lavine et al. 1999). Finally, perceptions of threat from terrorism increases and RWA's willingness to support surveillance policies and restrictions on civil liberties (Cohrs et al. 2005; Weise et al. 2012).

When juxtaposed with how those who score low on measures of RWA respond, it is apparent just how interesting findings on high scorers are. Some research has found that low scorers not only respond differently but in a completely opposite manner (Perrin 2005; Lavine et al. 1999). For instance, Weise et al. (2012) found that the MS prime caused those who scored high on RWA to report a more negative perception of an immigrant as compared to those who scored high on RWA but did not receive the MS prime. Importantly, it was also found that those who received the MS prime and scored low on RWA gave a more positive assessment of an immigrant as compared to those who scored low on RWA and were not primed with MS. In other words, the MS prime caused high and low scorers on RWA to respond in opposite manners. This research suggests that those who score high and low on authoritarianism may have different strategies for coping with threatening stimuli.

And while past research demonstrates the importance of threat to understanding authoritarianism, it fails to adequately address exactly why authoritarians are so sensitive to threatening stimuli. One possible explanation for this reaction is attachment theory.

Attachment

Attachment style is particularly interesting because it has been found to be important in understanding individual reactions to threatening stimuli, and this fact suggests that attachment is relevant to the study of authoritarianism. If attachment theory

6

can account for how individuals react to threatening stimuli, then perhaps it can account for why authoritarians are particularly sensitive to threats.

Attachment theory as originally developed by Bowlby ([1969]1982, 1973, 1980) who argued that the relationship between an infant and his/her primary caregiver had a significant role in the later development of certain behaviors including a range of psychological disorders. Specifically, Bowlby argued that individuals have a hardwired "attachment behavioral system" ([1969]1982) that causes infants to seek out proximity to their caregiver in times of distress or threat, and that this evolved behavioral system has the goal of providing the individual with a sense of security (Sroufe & Waters 1977). Bowlby argued that an individual's early experiences with threat and his/her caregiver creates an internal working model consisting of expectations, emotions, and behavioral strategies elicited by distressful/threatening stimuli, and that these working models are activated later in life by similar stimuli.

Ainsworth et al. (1978) took Bowlby's idea of internal working models a step further and argued that there are essentially three types of working models or attachment styles: secure, anxious, and avoidant. Each attachment style is the product of how physically and emotionally responsive close others - especially caregivers - are throughout infancy, childhood, and adolescence (Sroufe, Egeland, Carlson, & Collins, 2009). Secure attachment has been found to be the result of consistent physical and emotional responsiveness, and it is characterized in adulthood by the ability to communicate stress, to seek out support from others, and to employ constructive problem solving. Anxious attachment has been found to be the product of inconsistent physical and emotional responsiveness on the part of the caregiver, and in adulthood it is

7

characterized by an overdependence on others, unreasonable demands for attention, and an impaired ability to regulate negative emotions. Finally, avoidant attachment is the product of consistent physical and emotional unavailability of the caregiver, and it is characterized in adulthood as tendency to distance themselves from others, to deny or avoid negative emotions, and to have an inflated view of themselves leading them to downplay any sense of dependence on others. Thus, adult attachment styles can be understood as the "patterns of expectations, needs, emotions, and social behavior that result from a particular history of attachment experiences, usually beginning in relationships with parents" (Mikulincer & Shaver 2007:25).

Working models of attachment are activated in adulthood by threatening stimuli. This activation of a working model depends upon the presence of a threat, how the threat is appraised, and the type of attachment style possessed by the individual. The activation of the working model occurs on the preconscious level and it elicits mental representations of past attachment experiences (Mikulincer et al. 2000; Mikulincer, Gillath, & Shaver, 2002). Even though physical proximity to an attachment figure is seen as a normative attachment behavior it is understood that once an individual has reached adulthood they increasingly rely on their mental representations of attachment experiences (Wisman and Koole, 2003; Mikulincer and Shaver, 2007).

Past research has demonstrated that threats increase the desire for romantic intimacy (Hirschberger, Florian, & Mikulincer, 2003) and increase the amount of commitment to a romantic partner (Florian, Mikulincer, & Hirschberger, 2002). Importantly, research has found individuals score higher on attachment insecurity when primed with threat, and anxiously attached individuals are more sensitive to threat-related

8

words (Mikulincer and Florian, 2000). This research is one of many studies finding differences in attachment style and responses to threats. For instance, secure attachment is associated with higher self-esteem and more objective views of the self, whereas insecure attachment has been associated with distorted and exaggerated self- appraisals (Schmitt & Allik, 2005). When experiencing threat the self-appraisals of secure individuals do not change, but the self-appraisals of avoidant individuals become more positive and those of anxious individuals become more negative (Mikulincer, 1995; Mikulincer, 1998; Hart et al. 2005). These differences in perception also extend to differing assessments of others.

Research conducted by Priel and Besser (2001) found that those with insecure attachment use less positive, more ambivalent, and more punitive terms to describe their relationship with their parents. Furthermore, insecurely attached individuals have been found to be less trusting and accepting of others (Luke, Maio, & Carnelley, 2004**;** Cozzarelli, Hoekstra, and Bylsma, 2000). Finally, Mikulincer and Horesh (1999) found that insecurely attached individuals tend to project their own negative qualities onto others.

Attachment models not only influence how people behave in intimate relationships and how they think about themselves and others, but they also influence the extent to which a person holds prejudice attitudes. Mikulincer and Shaver (2001) found that anxiously attached individuals are more likely to assess members of various out-groups as more threatening. Furthermore, research shows that the activation of secure attachment mitigated the negative appraisals of minority groups. In other words, mental representations of secure attachment cause participants to express less prejudice attitudes

9

toward members of out-groups. Such findings suggest that attachment style may be related to attitudes that influence prejudice.

Attachment style has also been associated with political orientations. For instance, secure attachment has been associated with support for liberal candidates and insecure attachment has been associated with conservative candidates (Gillath & Hart, 2010; Weber and Federico, 2007; and Weise et al., 2008). Such findings make sense in light of research demonstrating conservatism to be partly motivated by the need to protect oneself from uncertainty and threats (Jost et al. 2003). On the one hand, secure attachment is almost exclusively associated with liberal attitudes and beliefs as well as personality traits associated with liberalism. On the other hand, anxious attachment has been strongly associated with covariates of conservatism while avoidant attachment has shown mixed relationships (for a review see Koleva and Rip, 2009). Weise et al. (2008) found that primed and dispositional attachment security are associated with lower levels of conservatism, decreased support for the use of military force, greater support for John Kerry, and less support for George Bush. Gillath and Hart (2010) found that secure attachment priming decreased an individual's willingness to support a charismatic leader as well as their willingness to support the U.S. war in Iraq. Furthermore, in both of these studies the secure attachment prime was found to completely mitigate the effects of the MS prime. This finding is very important because the MS prime has been widely and consistently found to induce defensive reactions in the form of intolerance towards groups and ideas that contradict or challenge one's own worldview (Jost et al 2007; Pyszczynski, Solomon, and Greenberg, 2003). These results suggest that secure attachment is negatively associated with RWA.

Authoritarianism and (In)Security

Theoretically, authoritarianism and attachment style should be strongly related. Every theory of authoritarianism has argued that authoritarianism is, at least in part, a defense against a certain type of threat: moral isolation (Fromm 1941), believing the world is a dangerous place (Altemeyer 1988; Duckitt 2010), or threatened social stability and security (Stenner 2005). Adult attachment styles consist of the patterns of expectations, emotions, and social behaviors caused by threatening stimuli (Mikulincer & Shaver 2007). Given that anxiously attached individuals are preoccupied with their security and that they tend to view members of out-groups negatively, there should be a positive relationship between authoritarianism and anxious attachment. However, the research conducted so far has had contradictory results, and the nature of the relationship between attachment style and authoritarianism is unclear.

In the series of books titled *Studies in Prejudice* (Horkheimer and Flowerman 1949) the researchers conducted many interviews that incorporated questions related to issues of security and relationships with close others. Frenkel-Brunswik in *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950) reports many findings suggesting that prejudiced individuals do not have secure attachment. For example, prejudiced subjects tended to idealize their parents while simultaneously reporting many negative childhood experiences, they are very emotional when they expressed hostility, and they sole comprise the subjects who had experienced the loss of a parent during childhood or adolescence. Ackerman and Jahoda (1950) analyzed case histories of anti-Semitic subjects they collected from practicing psychoanalysts. They found that these subjects

11

tended to experience generalized anxiety and felt rejected by either one or both of their parents. Similar relationships have been found with insecure attachment (Hesse 2008). Finally, Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950) interviewed 150 WWII veterans about their political beliefs, military experience, and their relationships with close others. Ethnic intolerance was found to be associated with feelings of unjust treatment on the part of the military, feelings of pessimism and insecurity about the future, childhood experiences of harsh discipline and little parental love, and an inability to internally cope with feelings of anxiety and hostility (or ego-weakness).

Hopf (1998) investigated the relationship between attachment and ethnocentrism by conducting 52 Adult Attachment Interviews (AAI). Secure attachment was associated with lower levels of ethnocentrism, and both anxious and avoidant attachment was associated with higher levels of ethnocentrism. This research is of particular interest for two reasons. First, Hopf used the AAI, which is considered by some attachment researchers as the best method to use when investigating adult attachment (Crowell and Treboux 1995). Second, Hopf's findings confirm several of Frenkel-Brunswik's original findings. For instance, Hopf also found that those who had lower levels of ethnocentrism have more objective assessments of their parents whereas those higher in ethnocentrism are more likely to idealize their parents.

Thornhill and Fincher (2006) conducted the first survey research into attachment and RWA. Secure attachment was found to be positively correlated with RWA. This finding was, to a certain extent, duplicated by Roccato (2008) when RWA was observed to be related to secure attachment via the importance of religion. Specifically, secure attachment increases the importance of religion, and the importance of religion increases

authoritarianism. These surprising findings appear to contradict the idea, as suggested by past research, that insecure attachment is positively associated with RWA. However, not all survey research has confirmed the findings from these two studies.

Weber and Federico's (2007) investigation of RWA and attachment found anxious attachment to increase RWA via belief in a dangerous world. In other words, anxious attachment increases the extent to which a person believes the world is a dangerous place, and that in turn increases a person's level of RWA. These findings are consistent with what is already known about attachment and RWA. Furthermore, the most recent research failed to find any relationship between attachment style and authoritarianism (Gormley and Lopez, 2013).

As illustrated above, the research put forth so far on RWA and security is divided. The original research performed in the *Studies in Prejudice* and the interviews performed by Hopf (1998) suggest a model where in RWA is, to a certain extent, the product of insecure attachment. However, the survey research has failed to confirm these findings. As such, this study looks to eliminate these inconsistent findings by overcoming the methodological limitations of past survey research.

METHODS

Current Study

The present study advances the study of RWA and adult attachment by incorporating three elements: attachment primes, a measure of general attachment, and items that assess hyper-security. The attachment prime used by Weber and Federico (2007) failed to have a measurable impact on RWA. However, they do not describe the

type of prime they employed nor do they cite any research demonstrating the effectiveness of the prime. The present study avoids this issue by using the secure attachment prime developed by Gillath and Hart (2010). An insecure attachment prime was constructed using this secure prime as a model (See Appendix I). Other than the research of Weber and Federico, there has not been an investigation into the effects that attachment primes have on RWA and SDO. The attachment prime was used for two reasons. First, RWAs have a stronger-than-average desire to appear as a "normal" person, which could cause them to respond to the attachment items less honestly (Altemeyer 1996). Second, if it is the case that RWAs idealize their parents, then it may be possible to get around this idealization by causing RWAs to experience feelings of insecurity.

The present study measures general attachment by incorporating items from the Experience in Close Relationships Scale (Brennan, Clark, Shaver 1998) and items from the Adult Attachment Scale (Collins, 1996). These items capture attachment with regard to parents, romantic partners, and close others. Past research has suggested that it is inappropriate to use an assessment of romantic attachment to measure attachment in general (Overall, Fletcher, & Friesen, 2003). The use of a measure of general attachment is significant given the fact that Thornhill and Fincher (2006), Weber and Federico (2007), and Gormley and Lopez (2013)used the romantic partner version of the Experience in Close Relationships Scale.

Finally, the current study incorporates three items assessing idealization. Past research has demonstrated that both those who score high on measures of prejudice and those who score high on anxious attachment tend to idealize their parents (Adorno et al., 1950; Hopf, 1998). In light of these findings it is surprising that past research has failed

to find a relationship between RWA and adult attachment. Perhaps the failure to find such a relationship is due to the absence of items capturing idealization in all attachment measures. Thus, three items were constructed for this research to assess idealization of attachment figures or *hyper-security*. Subjects who score high on these measures do not simply have strong attachment relationships, they have the best possible attachment relationships.

By overcoming these past methodological limitations this study predicts that it will find support for the following model of the origins of RWA: (1) unsupportive and unreliable close relationships cause insecure attachment styles; (2) those with insecure attachment styles will tend to develop RWA social attitudes in order to cope with feelings of insecurity; and (3) RWAs are hostile towards out-groups because they perceive them to be a threat to the leaders and values they depend upon to cope with insecurity. Using this model of RWA the current study tests the following hypotheses: (1) the secure attachment prime will decrease RWA, decrease SDO, decrease beliefs in a dangerous world (DW), decrease beliefs in a competitive world (CW), and decrease perceptions of a terrorist attack (TA); (2) the insecure attachment prime will increase authoritarianism, increase DW, increase CW, and increase (TA); and (3) RWA will be significantly and positively correlated with hyper-security.

Finally, if participants are idealizing their attachment relationships, then it is expected that they will agree with many of the secure attachment items. The past interview research has shown that individuals with insecure attachment tend to provide contradictory reports about their attachment relationships. Hyper-security should be unrelated to anxious and avoidant attachment as those participants who idealize their

relationships agree with some anxious and avoidant attachment items and disagree with others. Thus, it is predicted that hyper-security will be positively related to secure attachment and unrelated to anxious and avoidant attachment.

Participants. Three hundred seventy-three (257 female and 106 male) undergraduate students participated in this study. Overall, there were 290 White, 24 African-American, 16 Hispanic, 23 Asian, 4 Native American, and 5 Other participants. In the secure prime condition there were 118 participants (83 female and 33 male), in condition the insecure prime condition there were 108 participants (80 female and 28 male), and in control condition there were 141 participants (94 female and 45 male).

Procedure. Participants were told that they would be completing a survey concerned with interpersonal and social attitudes. Participants were put into one of three conditions: secure attachment prime, insecure attachment prime, or no prime. The primes asked the participants to take 3 to 5 minutes to describe a relationship possessing either secure or insecure attachment qualities. After the prime, participants engaged in a distraction task for 2 to 3 minutes where they explained what type of pet they preferred: a cat or a dog. Participants then answered the items from the 8 constructs. Finally, participants finished the survey by answering a set of demographic questions. Participants were given extra credit in an introductory to sociology course for completing the survey. The instructions, primes, distraction task, and the eight constructs are in Appendix 1.

Attachment Primes. The secure prime used was the same as used by Gillath and Hart (2010). The insecure prime was developed for this researched and based off of the secure prime. The primes ask the participants to write about a relationship possessing either secure or insecure attachment qualities.

Construct 1. The Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale (Altemeyer, 2007). This 15-item scale measures the extent to which individuals have right-wing authoritarian attitudes. Seven of the items are from Altemeyer's (2007) most recent version of the scale and were used because of their high reliability and because they reflect the central aspects of RWA. Two items expressing support for conventional beliefs (pro-conventionalism) and six items promoting compassion (anti-aggression) were constructed by Dr. Smith in order to balance the scale. Without these items the scale would only have three pro-aggression and four anti-conventionalism items. The scale asks participants to indicate how much they agree with each item on a likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = strongly agree). For example, one of the sample items was: "What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path."

Construct 2. The Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) Scale (Prato et al., 1994). The SDO scale was included because it, along with RWA, accounts for a significant amount of variance in prejudice and political attitudes. This 4-item scale measures the extent to which individuals have social dominance orientation attitudes. These four items were included because they have been shown to be highly reliable and they tap into the two dimensions of SDO: group dominance and opposition to equality (Kugler, Cooper, and Nosek, 2010). The scale asked participants to indicate how they feel towards each item on a likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = strongly agree). One of the sample items included was: "If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems."

Construct 3. The Belief in a Dangerous World Scale (Altemeyer 1998). Eight items from this scale were included, and these items measure the extent to which individuals find the world to be a dangerous and chaotic place. These items were included in order to measure perceptions of threat. Furthermore, Weber and Federico (2007) found anxious attachment to predict RWA via belief in a dangerous world. The measure asked participants to indicate how they feel towards each item on a likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = strongly agree). An example for this scale is: "I won't be surprised if, any day now, chaos and anarchy break out all around us."

Construct 4. The Competative-Jungle Scale (Duckitt 2001). Two items from this scale were included, and these items measure the extent to which individuals find the world to be a competitive rather than a cooperative place. These items were included because avoidant attachment has been found to predict SDO via belief in a competitive world (Weber and Federico, 2007). The measure asked participants to indicate how they feel towards each item on a likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = strongly agree). One of the items included was: "I would be cold blooded and vengeful if that's what it took to reach my goals."

Construct 5. Perceived Terrorist Threat Items (Huddy, Feldman, and Weber, 2007). This 4-item scale measures how concerned individuals are about the possibility of a terrorist threat. These items were included in order to measure perceptions of threat. The measure asked participants to indicate how they feel towards each item on a likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat

agree, 5 = strongly agree). An item included was: "I'm concerned that there will be another terrorist attack in the U.S. sometime soon."

Construct 6. Libertarianism Scale uses items from a survey circulated by the Libertarian Party in 2005. This 7-item scale measures the extent to which individuals possess libertarian political beliefs. Assessing the relationship between libertarianism and other political beliefs and attitudes was incorporated into this study because little research has been conducted so far on such relationships. The increased presence of self-identifying libertarians within the American political landscape raises questions about how libertarianism relates to other political attitudes and beliefs. The measure asked participants to indicate how they feel towards each item on a likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = strongly agree). An example item included was: "The federal government exercises too much power over our day-to-day lives."

Construct 7. The adult attachment scale uses a combination of items from the Experience in Close Relationships (ECR) Scale (Brennan, Clark, Shaver 1998) and the Adult Attachment Scale (Collins, 1996). These items were chosen because of their reliability and their ability to capture attachment towards several attachment relationships. This 20-item scale measures the extent to which individuals have secure, anxious, and avoidant attachment styles. The measure asked participants to indicate how they feel towards each item on a likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = strongly agree). One item included was: "I prefer not to show others how I feel deep down," and "I worry about being rejected or abandoned."

Construct 8. Hyper-security was measured by three items. These items were constructed to capture the extent to which individuals idealize their close relationships. The measure asks participants to indicate how they feel towards each item on a likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat agree, 5 = strongly agree). One item included was: "No one is closer to their parents than I am."

RESULTS

Exploratory factor analysis was performed on the RWA items to identify how the new items related to Altemeyer's items. Principle axis factoring extraction method was used with Oblimin rotation. The analysis yielded two main factors, see Table 2. The items not present in the one of these two factors have been excluded from the remaining analysis for two reasons: first, because they do not load strongly on one of the two factors, and second, because their exclusion does not significantly reduce the alpha coefficient of the Scale, see table 1.

It was predicted that the secure attachment prime would reduce RWA, SDO, TA, DW, and CW, and that the insecure attachment prime would cause the reverse. An F-test was conducted in order to test these hypotheses. Results found that there was not a significant, $F(2, 370) = .19$, p = .83, difference in RWA scores across the three conditions. Results also indicated that there was not a significant difference in SDO, $F(2, 370) = 1.08$, p = .34, DW, $F(2, 370) = .34$, p = .71, CW, $F(2, 370) = .71$, p = .49, or TA, $F(2, 370) = 1.22$, p = .24, between conditions, see Table 3. These results indicate that the attachment primes did not have the predicted effect. Furthermore, results found that there

was not a significant difference in scores on the four attachment styles between

conditions, see Table 4. These results suggest that, over all, the attachment primes did not

effect participants' responses to any of the measures.

Table 1. Alpha coefficients of constructs

Construct	α
RWA	.68
RWAF	.65
SDO	.66
Security	.63
Avoidance	.75
Anxious	.66
Hyper-Security	.35
Dangerous World	.46
Competitive World	.41
Terrorist Attack	.70
Libertarian	.54

Note: RWAF includes only those items indicated by exploratory factor analysis. Only libertarian items 2, 4, 5, and 6 were included in the libertarian scale because they had the highest inter-item correlations.

It was predicted that RWA would be positively correlated with hyper-security.

Given the extremely low alpha level of the hyper-security items, the relationship between

RWA and each hyper-security item was investigated. RWA was significantly correlated

with the first hyper-security item ($r = .24$, $p < .00$) and the second hyper-security item ($r

= .14$, $p < .01$). Interestingly, the first RWA factor was significantly positively correlated

with each hyper-security, but the second factor of RWA was not correlated with any of

these three items, see table 5.

Furthermore, RWA was significantly, positively correlated with secure attachment (r = .19, p < .00), DW (r = .24, p < .00), TA (r = .17, p < .01), and CW (r = .30, p < .00). RWA was unrelated to anxious (r = -.02, p > .05) and avoidant (r = -.07, p > .05) attachment. DW was significantly, positively correlated (r = .12, p < .05) with the first hyper-security item, and TA was significantly, positively correlated with the first (r = .10, p < .05) and second (r = .16, p < .01) hyper-security items. In regards to attachment style, SDO was only significantly, negatively correlated (r = -.12, p < .05) with avoidant attachment. Secure attachment was also significantly related to republican (r = -.15, p < .01) and conservative (r = -.20, p < .01) identifications. Whereas anxious attachment was significantly (r = .12, p < .05) related to liberal identification, and avoidant attachment was significantly related to both democrat (r = .19, p < .01) and liberal (r = .17, p < .05) identifications.

Finally, several gender differences were found. Results demonstrated that female as compared to male participants reported significantly higher levels on the following measures: avoidance, $t(368) = 3.10$, p < .01, DW, $t(368) = 3.21$, p < .01, and TA, $t(368) = 5.63$, p < .000. However, male participants agreed significantly, $t(368) = -5.29$, p < .000, more with the CW than female participants. Finally, there was no significant, $t(368) = -1.92$, p = .056, difference between male and female participants in SDO.

DISCUSSION

The exploratory factor analysis of the RWA items yielded intriguing results, see Table 2. The first factor consists of one conventionalism item (item 7), two authoritarian aggression items (items 13 and 14), and two items that tap into aggression and

Table 2. Summary of Exploratory Factor Analysis of RWA items

	Rotated Factor Loadings	
Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
1. There is no "ONE right way" to live; everybody should create their own way.	.07	-.10
2. America needs free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.	-.04	.01
3. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else.	.27	.00
4. Our country will be great again if we honor the ways of our forefathers, do what our leaders tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining things.	**.71**	.05
5. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.	-.02	.06
6. What America really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil and take us back to our true path.	**.63**	-.25
7. The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned values" still show the best way of life.	**.53**	-.10
8. People should always show respect for the majority by trying to fit in.	.12	.01
9. The highest moral path is to live up to the standards of the group, NOT to think that your own personal values are somehow superior.	-.04	-.02
10. What America really needs is a caring, compassionate public that will return us to the path of tolerance and forgiveness.	-.04	**.49**
11. We should put less energy into punishing people who commit crimes and try harder to rehabilitate them.	.14	**.30**
12. Citizens who protest abuses of authority are often more trustworthy than the authorities.	-.05	.18
13. Taxpayers should not have to support people who don't take care of themselves.	**.49**	.46
14. Self-respecting people work for what they get and would never take handouts.	**.58**	.20
15. If we want to ensure that everyone in society has an equal opportunity to succeed, we shouldn't allow any of our children to grow up poor.	-.06	**.29**
Eigenvalues	2.90	1.86
% of Variance	15.43	8.24
α	.72	.40

Table 3. Political attitudes as a function of priming condition

Political Attitudes

Prime	RWA M (SD)	SDO M (SD)	DW M (SD)	CW M (SD)	TA M (SD)
Secure	23.85 (4.81)	10.51 (3.24)	16.86 (3.20)	4.08 (1.68)	11.42 (3.05)
Insecure	23.92 (4.92)	9.96 (3.04)	16.99 (3.23)	4.14 (1.54)	12.05 (3.11)
No Prime	23.42 (4.33)	10.12 (2.71)	16.64 (3.71)	4.31 (1.67)	11.48 (3.35)

Table 4. Attachment as a function of priming condition

Attachment Style

Prime	Secure M (SD)	Anxious M (SD)	Avoidant M (SD)	Hyper-Secure M (SD)
Secure	25.85 (4.63)	14.76 (4.31)	21.81 (5.38)	10.38 (2.17)
Insecure	25.38 (4.13)	15.81 (4.40)	22.80 (5.10)	10.30 (2.20)
No Prime	25.76 (4.30)	15.80 (4.21)	22.50 (4.68)	10.10 (2.67)

Table 5. Correlations between RWA and Attachment Style

	RWA	RWAF1	RWAF2	SEC	ANX	AVO	HYP1	HYP2	HYP3
RWA	----								
RWAF1	.87***	----							
RWAF2	.57***	.15**	----						
SEC	.13*	.19***	-.03	----					
ANX	-.02	.02	-.09	-.44	----				
AVO	-.07	-.02	-.09	-.45	.45***	----			
HYP1	.24***	.30***	.00	.14**	-.03	.02	----		
HYP2	.14**	.17**	.02	.37***	-.31***	-.12*	.17**	----	
HYP3	.04	.12*	-.09	.23**	-.18**	.02	.15**	.14**	----

* p < .05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (Note: First factor of RWA (RWAF1), second factor of RWA (RWAF2), secure (SEC), anxious (ANX), avoidant (AVO), first hyper-security item (HYP1), second hyper-security item (HYP2), and third hyper-security item (HYP3).)

Table 6. Correlations between Perceptions of Threat, Competitive World Belief, and Attachment Style

	DW	TA	CW	SEC	ANX	AVO	HYP1	HYP2	HYP3
DW	----								
TA	.40***	----							
CW	.09	.01	---						
SEC	-.06	.00	-.04	----					
ANX	.11	.04	.12*	-.44**	----				
AVO	.09	.10	-.00	-.45**	.45**	----			
HYP1	.12*	.10*	.01	.14**	-.03	.02	----		
HYP2	.07	.16**	-.02	.37***	-.31***	-.12*	.17**	----	
HYP3	.03	-.01	-.11*	.23**	-.18**	.02	.15**	.14**	----

* p < .05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (Note: Secure (SEC), anxious (ANX), avoidant (AVO), first hyper-security item (HYP1), second hyper-security item (HYP2), and third hyper-security item (HYP3).)

Table 7. Correlations between RWA and Attachment Style

	SDO	LIB	Pol. Party	Pol. ID	SEC	ANX	AVO	HYP1	HYP2	HYP3
SDO	----									
LIB	.40**	----								
Pol. Party	-.43**	-.46**	----							
Pol. ID	-.46**	-.41**	.83***	----						
SEC	.07	.08	-.15**	-.20**	----					
ANX	-.08	-.07	.06	.12*	-.44**	----				
AVO	-.12*	-.13**	.19**	.17**	-.45**	.45**	----			
HYP1	-.01	-.00	-.06	-.10	.14**	-.03	.02	----		
HYP2	.07	.02	-.04	-.11*	.37***	-.31***	-.12*	.17**	----	
HYP3	-.01	-.00	.01	-.03	.23**	-.18**	.02	.15**	.14**	----

* p < .05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (Note: Social dominance orientation (SDO), libertarianism (LIB) Political Party (Pol. Party) asks how where participants stand in regards to the republican (1 = strongly republican) and democratic parties (7 = strongly democrat). Political Identity (Pol. ID) asks where participants stand in terms of conservatism (1 = strongly conservative) and liberalism (7 = strongly liberal) Secure (SEC), anxious (ANX), avoidant (AVO), first hyper-security item (HYP1), second hyper-security item (HYP2), and third hyper-security item (HYP3).)

Table 8. Correlations between Political Attitudes, Political Beliefs, and World Perceptions

	RWA	SDO	DW	TA	CW	LIB	Pol. Party	Pol. ID
RWA	----							
SDO	.53***	----						
DW	.24***	.10	----					
TA	.17**	.09	.40***	----				
CW	.30***	.32***	.09	.01	----			
Lib	.37***	.40***	.14*	.06	.18*	----		
Pol. Party	-.52***	-.43***	-.10	-.11*	-.19*	-.46***	----	
Pol. ID	-.54***	-.46***	-.10	-.11*	-.18*	-.41***	.83***	----

* $p < .05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p<.001$, (Note: Political Party asks how where participants stand in regards to the republican (1 = strongly republican) and democratic parties (7 = strongly democrat). Political Identity asks where participants stand in terms of conservatism (1 = strongly conservative) and liberalism (7 = strongly liberal).)

conventionalism (items 4 and 6). The second factor consists of three anti-authoritarian

aggression items (items 10, 11, 15), all of which were constructed by Dr. Smith.

Interestingly, items 8 and 9 do not load strongly on either of the two factors. These items

were construct to tap into authoritarian submission. This result indicates that RWA

consists primarily of conventionalism and authoritarian aggression. Furthermore, the

loading of the anti-aggression items onto a factor separate from the pro-aggression items

indicates that a willingness to punish is not diametrically opposed to showing

compassion. Furthermore, the strong loadings of items relating to authoritarian

aggression indicate the importance of punitiveness. RWAs don't want to submit to just

any leader, they want a punitive leader who will doll out the justice to the evil-doers and

the undeserving. This finding supports Adorno's thesis that the authoritarian has a

matching personality with the charismatic, authoritarian leader they follow (Adorno 1951).

Results indicated that the null hypothesis could not be rejected in regards to the first two hypotheses. There are two reasons why the primes may have failed to have any significant effects. First, it may be the case that attachment styles are not predictive of these political attitudes, but if the primes were effective we would expect to see a difference on the attachment measures. It could also be the case that the conditions under which the primes were administered mitigated the effects of the primes. Participants completed the study on a web-based platform at a time and place of their choosing. Participants could thus spend as little or as much time answering the prime as they pleased. Participants on average only wrote four sentences (M = 4.07, SD = 2.06) in response to the prime, and 65% wrote four or fewer sentences. However, these results are consistent with Weber and Federico (2007) who also failed to find an effect of an attachment prime on RWA.

Interestingly, only the first factor of RWA correlated positively with each hyper-security item whereas the second factor was unrelated to all three items. These findings indicate that as scores on the first factor of RWA increase, scores on the first two hyper-security items increase. Furthermore, the first hyper-security item was significantly, positively correlated with DW as well as TA, see Table 6. Importantly, DW and TA were unrelated to the other attachment measures. These findings contradict those of Weber and Federico (2007) who found DW to be positively correlated with anxious attachment, and CW to be positively correlated with avoidant attachment. These results are consistent with the third hypothesis by indicating that greater attachment idealization is associated

with higher levels of RWA, DW, and TA. Yet, the investigation into the relationships between hyper-security and the three attachment styles yielded inconclusive results in regards to the aspect of attachment measured by the hyper-security items.

Each hyper-security item was positively related to security. Exploratory factor analysis was performed on the combination of security and hyper-security items using principle axis factoring extraction method with Oblimin rotation. The analysis yielded one factor consisting of four of the security items. These results indicate that the hyper-security items may not simply be tapping into security and instead are, to a certain extent, measuring attachment idealization. Still, it may be the case that these items are simply poor security items. If the hyper-security items were measuring idealization then they should be unrelated to anxious and avoidant attachment styles. The second hyper-security item was negatively correlated with anxious and avoidant attachment, and the third hyper-security item was negatively correlated with anxious attachment. Interestingly, only the first hyper-security item was unrelated to anxious and avoidant attachment styles and it was the hyper-security item most strongly associated with RWA. However, these somewhat mixed findings do not provide clear support for the third hypothesis and lead to the conclusion that RWA is slightly, positively related to secure attachment. These findings are consistent with those of Thornhill and Fincher (2007).

Attachment security was found to be slightly, positively related to republican and conservative identifications. Furthermore, avoidant attachment was slightly, positively associated with democrat and liberal identification, see Table 7. These results are surprising given that most research suggests secure attachment is associated with liberal attitudes, beliefs, and personality traits (Koleva and Rip, 2009). However, research that

28

incorporates direct measures of political identification finds insecure attachment to be associated with liberal identification and secure attachment to be associated with conservative identification (Thornhill and Fincher, 2007; Dunkel and Decker, 2012).

How can these findings be explained? How is it a threat prime can cause those with insecure attachment to respond in a more conservative manner (Weise et al., 2008), but when asked directly about political identification security is associated with conservatism? Why are RWAs particularly sensitive to threats while reporting attachment security? One possibility is the use of surveys to assess attachment styles. Perhaps the most troubling finding within the vast literature on attachment is the lack of overlap between different assessments of adult attachment. Specifically, past research has shown almost no relationship between the attachment style assigned to participants using a survey and that assigned to them with the Adult Attachment Interview (Roisman et al. 2007). Such research raises questions about the validity of attachment scales. The inability of attachment surveys to yield theoretically predicted and/or consistent results in regards to political identities, beliefs, and attitudes indicates that further investigations into these relationships should use the Adult Attachment Interview. In order to not be too dismissive of attachment surveys, other explanations of the results of this study should be considered. Perhaps the model of RWA proposed in this study is unsupported because it is incorrect.

Oesterreich (2013) offers a different model of the development of RWA that may be able to account for these seemingly contradictory findings. Oesterreich claims that authoritarianism is a reaction to perceived threats, but Oesterreich's model differs from the one proposed in the current study in one important way. Oesterreich argues that

authoritarian dependency is a product of *overprotective* parenting rather than *unsupportive and unreliable* parenting. Oesterreich claims that authoritarians had parents who were so overprotective that they were not able to develop their own coping strategies and became dependent upon outside support. This model of RWA would, perhaps, provide predictions consistent with the findings of the current study. If RWAs had overprotective parents, then it would be expected for them to tend to agree with the secure attachment items. It would also be expected that they are more sensitive to threats given that their ability to cope with such stimuli is compromised. However, the research on the relationship between parenting style and attachment has shown authoritarian parenting styles, which are consistent with the overprotective parenting described by Oesterreich, to be associated with insecure attachment (Mejia, 2012; Neal and Frick-Horbury, 2001). Thus, Oesterreich's twist on the developmental origins of RWA is unsupported by past research.

Another possible explanation for the relationship between RWA and attachment security is provided by Koleva and Rip (2009) who make the distinction between attachment as a relational *need* versus a relational *habit*. Attachment security as a relational need conceptualizes attachment security as being necessary in order to cope with uncertainties and threats. Whereas the concept of secure attachment as a relational habit views security as an adaptation that causes individuals to be attracted to people and beliefs perceived to provide security. In the case of relational need attachment security should be associated with liberal beliefs, attitudes, and identifications. In the case of relational habit, secure attachment should be associated with conservative beliefs, attitudes, and identifications. However, Koleva and Rip (2009) provide no

recommendation on how the difference between need and habit are to be empirically measured. Thus, it is unclear whether current attachment scales, including the one used in this study, measure one or both of these conceptualizations of attachment. Still, this distinction may be helpful for future investigations into attachment styles and political attitudes.

Finally, it may be the case that attachment is not predictive of RWA. This possibility could account for the inconsistent and weak relationships found between attachment measures and RWA. Yet, if attachment is unrelated to RWA, then what accounts for the relationship between RWA and threat? One possibility is a rather dark hypothesis put forth by Adorno: authoritarian leaders are appealing because they let their followers participate in fantasies of hatred and violence (Adorno 2000). Perhaps it is the case that RWAs are not so much submitting to leaders and conventional values in pursuit of a sense of security, but rather these individuals and ideas are appealing because they allow them to express feelings of hostility. RWAs are sensitive to threats not because they are fearful, but because threats justify aggression. Yet, the validity of this possibility cannot be determined at this juncture.

Though the original model of RWA proposed by this study contended that RWA was a way of compensating for insecure attachment, the results of this study suggest that RWA is actually associated with secure attachment. The results of past research along with the weak and positive relationship between RWA and secure attachment found in this study indicate that attachment cannot account for why RWAs perceive the world to be especially dangerous or why they respond in such a reactive and prejudice way to

perceived threats. These surprising results were accompanied by a number of other interesting findings.

Libertarianism was found to be significantly correlated with party and political identification, see Table 8. Indicating that as republican and conservative identification increase, the acceptance of libertarian beliefs also increases. These results are predictable given that much of the ideological rhetoric of American conservatives and the Republican Party promotes limiting the size and scope of government. Interestingly, the libertarianism scale was significantly correlated with RWA and SDO. These results indicate that RWA and SDO social attitudes are associated with the acceptance of beliefs about limited government. Though this relationship may at first appear paradoxical, authoritarians supporting limited government, it isn't too surprising given that limited government is a staple of contemporary conservative rhetoric and the RWA tendency to hold conventional values. Furthermore, RWA and SDO are most strongly associated with the 5th libertarianism item, which states: Taxing the wealthy to finance programs for the poor is a valid function of government. This statement probably taps into authoritarian aggression given that it expresses a very similar sentiment as the 13th and 14th RWA items. It is also no surprise that SDOs are hostile towards this statement given that a central dimension of SDO is opposition to group equality (Kugler, Cooper, and Nosek, 2010). These results also support past research by demonstrating beliefs about limited government and individual liberty can go hand-in-hand with prejudice sentiments (Kinder and Sanders 1996).

A somewhat surprising result was the lack of a difference between male and female participants in SDO. However, this result was very close to being significant at

the 95% confidence level. Though it is unusual to not find males with a higher average SDO score than females it has been found before (Sidanius and Pratto, [1999]2001). There has also been much debate regarding the causes and stability of the differences between males and females in terms of SDO (Zakrisson, 2008; Wilson and Liu, 2003; Snellman, Ekerhammar, and Akrami, 2009; Foels and Pappas, 2004; Sidanius, Sinclair, and Pratto, 2006).

A number of other sex differences were also found. Female as compared to male participants reported significantly higher levels on avoidance, DW, and TA. Furthermore, male participants agreed significantly more with CW than female participants. These sex differences are surprising given that such differences have not been reported in past literature. An explanation of the sex differences in DW and TA cannot be provided by the current study because there were no sex differences on any theoretically relevant measures. The sex difference in CW is not surprising given that CW is associated with SDO, which males tend to score higher in. One possible explanation for the sex difference observed in avoidance is sampling bias. 70% of respondents were female, and, as Graph 1 shows, a very similar distribution between male and female participants on avoidant attachment was observed. However, there is a peak present in the female distribution between values 28 and 32 and we see increases in the number of men at values 28 and 30. The similarity of the changes in the distributions of male and female participants suggests that if a larger portion of males had been sampled the differences in the means may disappear.

Finally, an analysis of the types of relationships participants discussed when answering the primes found that the majority of participants did not mention a romantic

Graph 1. Distribution of scores on Avoidant Attachment by Sex.
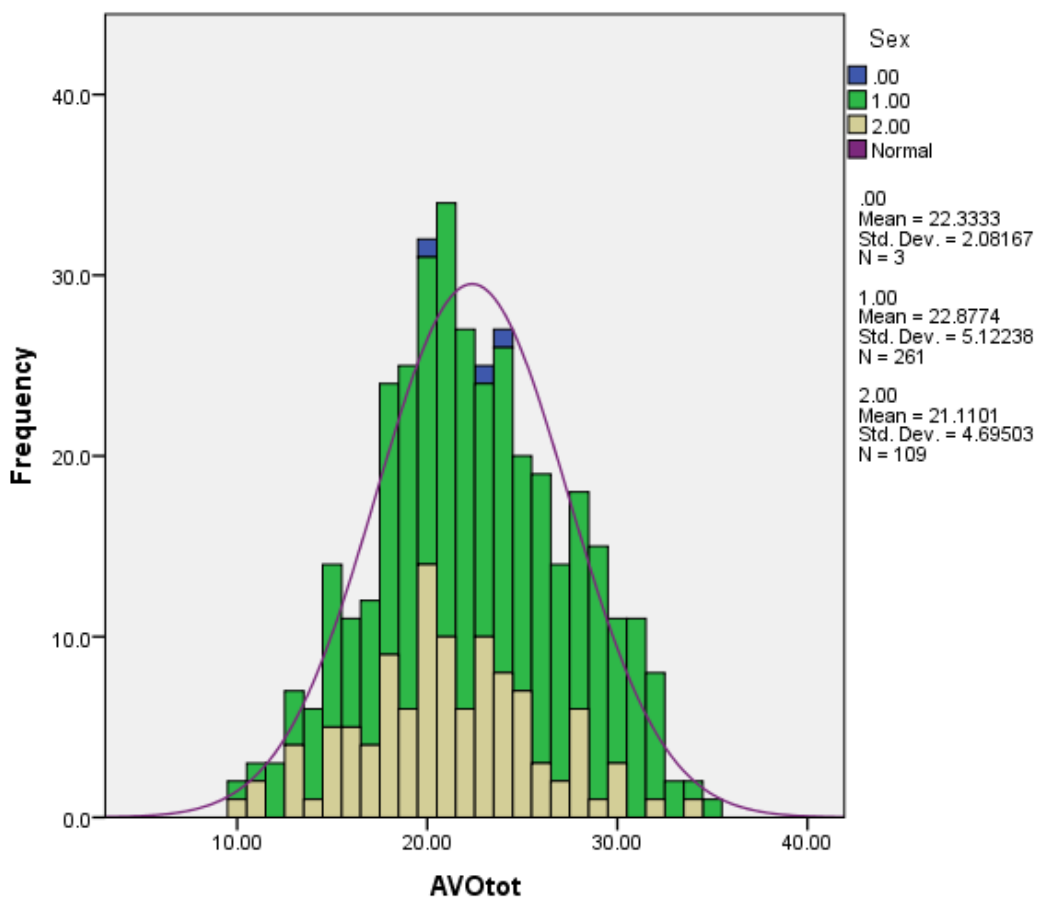
Note: 0 = Not identified, 1 = Female, 2 = Male

partner. Rather, most participants, 37%, discussed a past or current friendship while only

17% discussed a romantic relationship. This difference was greater for participants in the

insecure prime condition than for participants in the secure prime condition, see Table 9.

These results suggest that friendships are more important attachment relationships than

romantic relationships for college students. This is an important finding in terms of

attachment literature because the scales most often used to measure attachment only ask

about romantic relationships. This finding also confirms past literature by indicating that

34

only measuring one type of close relationship cannot capture attachment in general (Overall, Fletcher, & Friesen, 2003). The fact that romantic relationships don't come to mind when undergraduate students are asked about attachment relationships may account for the variation in the results of the different studies that have

Table 9. Frequency of the types of relationships discussed by prime condition

	Secure Prime		Insecure Prime		Both Primes	
	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)
Romantic Partner(s)	32	(27)	8	(7)	40	(17)
Friend(s)	31	(26)	56	(49)	87	(37)
Parent(s)	8	(7)	0	(0)	8	(3)
Sibling(s)	3	(2)	0	(0)	3	(1)
Relative(s)	3	(2)	1	(1)	4	(2)
Sorority or Fraternity Member(s)	9	(7)	6	(5)	15	(6)
Roommate(s)	11	(9)	17	(15)	28	(12)
More than one Type of Relationship	16	(13)	6	(5)	22	(9)
Didn't say Type of Relationship	5	(4)	21	(19)	26	(11)
Total	118	(100)	115	(100)	233	(100)

investigated attachment and political attitudes because most of these studies have used attachment measures asking exclusively about romantic partners.

CONCLUSION

This article investigated the origins of RWA social attitudes. Past research indicates that RWA is to a significant extent a defense against perceived threats. Adult attachment styles consist of the pattern of expectations, emotions, and social behaviors exhibited when a threat is perceived. Thus, it was hypothesized that certain attachment styles would be associated with RWA. Specifically, it was predicted that priming participants with secure and insecure attachment would alter their responses on measures of RWA and threat. It was also predicted that RWA would be associated with hyper-security or the idealization of attachment relationships. However, the results of the study were unable to support these three hypotheses.

The hyper-security items were related to RWA, DW, and TA in a manner consistent with the third hypothesis. However, the relationships between the hyper-security items and the other attachment measures made it unclear exactly what the hyper-security items were measuring. These results lead to the conclusion that RWA is associated with secure attachment. After considering alternative models of RWA this article concluded that attachment cannot account for the origins of RWA or the relationship between perceived threats and RWA. However, the distinction between attachment as a relational need versus relational habit may be a productive avenue for future researchers.

The central limitation of this study is the use of a convenience sample of undergraduate students and the possibility of selection bias. Students were given extra credit for their participation and they completed the study at the end of the semester. These factors made it more likely for those students who needed points to participate. Furthermore, undergraduate students are not the most representative group (Henrich,

Heine, and Norenzayan 2010), which is a limitation future research should look to avoid.

Another limitation was the use of a web-based platform to collect the data. This survey

method allowed participants to pick when and where they filled out the survey. The

results of this study may have been impacted by this survey method as environmental

conditions were not controlled. Finally, it was unclear whether or not the hyper-security

items were measuring idealization. Perhaps the development of a new set of idealization

items will have more statistically valid and reliable results.

In conclusion, the results of this study leave several questions unanswered while

raising new ones: why do RWAs perceive the world to be a dangerous place? Why do

RWAs respond in a reactive and prejudice way when they feel threatened? On the one

hand, if RWAs are not actually fearful, then is Adorno's (2000) assessment of the appeal

of authoritarian ideology accurate? Are RWAs seeking an avenue for expressing

hostility? On the other hand, if it is the case that RWA is a defense against perceptions of

threat, then the questions Fromm (1941) raised are still relevant today: how can

democratic freedom be promoted and maintained in a social system that produces

alienation, isolation, and feelings of helplessness? This study provides some assistance in

answering these important questions.

REFERENCES

Ackerman, Nathan W. and Marie Jahoda. 1950. *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation.* New York: Harber and Brothers.

Adorno, T. W.. 1951. "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda." Pp. 279-300 in *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences.* Vol. 3, edited by Geza Roheim. United States of America: International Universities Press.

Adorno, T. W.. 2000. *The Psychological Technique of Martin Luther Thomas' Radio Addresses.* Stanford University Press.

Adorno, T. W., & Fenkel-Brunswik, E., & Leveinson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N. 1950. *The Authoritarian Personality.* Oxford, England: Harpers.

Ainsworth, M. D. S., M. C. Blehar, E. Waters, & S. Wall. 1978. *Patterns of Attachment: Assessed in the Strange Situation and at Home.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Altemeyer, B. 1988. *Enemies of freedom: Understanding Right-Wing Authoritarianism.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Inc.

Altemeyer, B. 1996. *The Authoritarian Specter.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Altemeyer, B. 1998. "The Other "Authoritarian Personality." *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 30 : 47-92.

Altemeyer, b. 2007. *The Authoritarians.* As retrieved from: http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~altemey/

38

Bettelheim, Bruno and Morris Janowitz. 1950. *Dynamics of Prejudice: A Psychological and Sociological Study of Veterans.* New York: Harper & Brothers.

Bowlby, J. 1973. *Attachment and Loss:* Vol. 2. *Separation: Anxiety and Anger.* New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. 1980. *Attachment and Loss:* Vol. 3. *Sadness and Depression.* New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. [1969]1982. *Attachment and Loss:* Vol. 1. *Attachment.* New York: Basic Books.

Brennan, K. A., C. L. Clark, P. R. Shaver. 1998. "Self-report measurement of adult romantic attachment: an integrative overview. In J. A. Simpson and W. S. Rholes (Eds.), *Attachmetn Theory and Close Relationships* (pp. 46-76). New York, NY : Guilford Press.

Cohrs, J. Christopher, Sven Kielmann, Jurgen Maes, and Barbara Moschner. 2005. "Effects of Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Threat from terrorism on Restriction of Civil Liberties." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 5(1): 263-76.

Collins, Nancy L. 1996. "Working Models of Attachment: Implications for Explanation, Emotion, and Behavior." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71 (4): 810-832.

Cozzarelli, Cathrine, Steven J. Hoekstra, and Wayne H. Bylsma. 2000. "General Versus Specific Mental Models of Attachment: Are They Associated with Different Outcomes." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26 (5): 605-18.

Cribbs, Sarah E. and D. Mark Austin. 2011. "Enduring Pictures in Our Heads: The

    Continuance of Authoritarianism and Racial Stereotyping." *Journal of Black*

    Studies 42(3): 334-59.

Crowell, Judith A., and Dominique Treboux. 1995. "A Review of Adult Attachment

    Measures: Implications for Theory and Research." *Social Development* 4: 294-

    327.

Doty, Richard M., Bill E. Peterson, and David G. Winter. 1991. "Threat and

    Authoritarianism in the United States, 1978-1987." *Journal of Personality and*

    Social Psychology 61(4): 629-40.

Duckitt, John. 2001. "A Duel-Process Cognitive-Motivational Theory of Ideology and

    Prejudice." *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 33: 41-113.

Duckitt, John. 2006. "Differential Effects of Right Wing Authoritarianism and Social

    Dominance Orientation on Outgroup Attitudes and Their Mediation by Threat

    From and Competitiveness to Outgroups." *Personality and Social Psychology*

    Bulletin 32: 684-96.

Duckitt, John, and Chris G. Sibley. 2010. "Personality, Ideology, Prejudice, and Politics:

    A Dual-Process Motivational Model." *Journal of Personality* 78 (6) : 1861 – 94.

Florian, Victor, Mario Mikulincer, and Gilad Hirschberger. 2002. "Anxiety-Buffering

    Function of Close Relationships: Evidence that Relationship Commitment Acts

    as a Terror Management Mechanism." *Journal of Personality and Social*

    Psychology 82 (4): 527-542.

Foels, Rob and Christopher J. Pappas. 2004. "Learning and Unlearning the Myths We
    Are Taught: Gender and Social Dominance Orientation." *Sex Roles,* 50 (11-12):
    743-57.

Fromm, Erich. [1941]1965. Escape Fromm Freedom. New York, New York: Hearst
    Corp.

Gillath, Omri, and Joshua Hart. 2010. "The Effects of Psychological Security and
    Insecurity on Political Attitudes and Leadership Preferences." *European Journal
    of Social Psychology* 40 : 122-34.

Gillath, Omri, Joshua Hart, Erik E. Noftle, and Gary D. Stockdale. 2009. "Development
    and Validation of State Adult Attachment Measure (SAAM)." *Journal of
    Research in Personality* 43 : 362-73.

Gormley, Barbara, and Frekerick G. Lopez. 2010. "Authoritarian and Homophobic
    Attitudes: Gender and Adult Attachment Style Differences." *Journal of
    Homosexuality* 57 : 525–38.

Hart, Joshua, Phillip R. Shaver, and Jamie L. Goldenberg. 2005. "Attachment, Self-
    Esteem, Worldviews, and Terror Management: Evidence for a Tripartite Security
    System." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 88 (6): 999-1013.

Henrich, Joseph, Steven J. Heine, and Ara Norenzayan. 2010. "The Weirdest People in
    the World?" *Behavioral and Brain Sciences,* 33: 61-135.

Hesse, Erik. 2008. "The Adult Attachment Interview: Protocol, Method of Analysis, and
    Empirical Studies." Pp. 532-598 in The Handbook of Attachment, Second
    Edition: Theory, Research, and Clinical Applications, edited by Jude Cassidy and
    Phillip R. Shaver. New York: The Guilford Press.

Hetherington, Marc J., and Jonathan D. Weiler. 2009. *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics.* Cambridge University Press.

Hirschberger, Gilad, Victor Florian, and Mario Mikulincer. 2003. "Strivings for Romantic Intimacy Following Partner Complain or Partner Criticism: A Terror Management Perspective." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 20 (5): 675-87.

Hopf, Christel. 1998. "Attachment Experiences and Aggression Against Minorities." *Social Thought and Research* 21 (1/2) : 133-49.

Horkheimer, Max and Samuel H. Flowerman, eds. 1950. *Studies in Prejudice.*

Jost, John T., Jack Glaser, Arie W. Kruglanski, and Frank J. Sulloway. 2003. "Conservatism as motivated Social Cognition. *Psychological Bulletin* 129 (3): 339-75.

Jost, John T., Jamie L. Napier, Hulda Thorisdotter, Samuel D. Glosing, Tibor P. Palfai and Brian Ostafin. 2007. "Are Needs to Manage Uncertainty and Threat Associated with Political Conservatism or Ideological Extremity?" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.* 33: 989-1007.

Kinder, Donald R. and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals.* United States of America: University of Chicago Press.

Koleva, Spassena P. and Blanka Rip. 2009. "Attachment Style and Political Ideology: A Review of Contradictory Findings." *Social Justice Research* 22:241-58.

Kugler, Matthew B., Joel Cooper, and Brian Nosek. "Group-based Dominance and Opposition to Equality Correspond to Different Psychological Motives." *Social Justice Research* 23(2-3): 117-55.

Lavine, Howard, Milton Lodge, and Kate Freitas. 2005. "Threat, Authoritarianism, and

    Selective Exposure to Information." *Political Psychology* 26 (2) : 219-44.

Lavine, Howard, Milton Lodge, James Polichak, and Charles Taber. 2002. "Explicating

    the Black Box Through Experimentation: Studies of Authoritarianism and

    Threat." *Polticial Analysis* 10 (4) : 343-61.

Lavine, Howard, Diana Burgess, Mark Snyder, John Transue, John L. Sullivan, Beth

    Haney, and Stephen H. Wagner. 1999. "Threat, Authoritarianism, and Voting: An

    Investigation of Personality and Persuasion." *Personality and Social Psychology*

    Bullitin 25:337-47.

Luke, Michelle A., Gregory R. Maio, and Katherine B. Carnelley. 2004. "Attachment

    Models of the Self and Others: Relations with Self-Esteem, Humanity-Esteem,

    and Parental Treatment. *Personal Relationships* 11 (3): 281-303.

McFarland, Sam G. 2005. "On the Eve of War: Authoritarianism, Social Dominance, and

    American Students' Attitues Toward Attacking Iraq." *Personality and Social*

    Psychology Bulletin 31: 360-7.

Mejia, Robert P.. 2012. "Perceived Parenting Styles and Their Relationship to

    Attachment Dimensions Across the Lifespan. PhD dissertation, The California

    School of Professional Psychology, Alliant International University, San

    Francisco Campus.

Mikulincer, M. 1995. "Attachment style and the mental representation of the self."

    Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69: 1203-1215.

Mikulincer, M. 1998. "Adult attachment style and affect regulation" Strategic variations

    in self-appraisals." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 75: 420-35.

Mikulincer, M. and N. Horesh. 1999. "Adult attachment style and the perception of others: The role of projective mechanisms." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 76: 1022-34.

Mikulincer, Mario and Victor Florian. 2000. "Exploring Individual Differences in Reactions to Mortality Salience: Does Attachment Sytle Regulate Terror Management Mechanisms?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79 (2): 260-273.

Mikulincer, M., G. Birnbaum, D. Woddis, and O. Nachmias. 2000. "Stress and accessibility of proximity-related thoughts: Exploring the normative and intraindividual components of attachment theory." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 78: 509-23.

Mikulincer, M., O. Gillath, and P. R. Shaver. 2002. "Activation of the attachment system in adulthood: threat-related primes increase the accessibility of mental representations of attachment figures." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 83: 881-95.

Mikulincer, Mario, and Phillip R. Shaver. 2007. *Attachment in Adulthood: Structure, Dynamics, and Change.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Neal, Jennifer and Donna Frick-Horbury. 2001. "The Effects of Parenting Styles and Childhood Attachment Patterns on Intimate Relationships." *Journal of Instructional Psychology,* 28 (3): 178-83.

Overall, Nickola C., Garth J. O. Fletcher, and Myron D. Friesen. 2003. "Mapping the intimate relationship Mind: Comparisons between Three Models of Attachment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 29 (12): 1479-1493.

Perrin, Andrew J. 2005. "National Threat and Political Culture: Authoritarianism, Antiauthoritarianism, and the September 11 Attacks." *Political Psychology* 26(2): 167-94.

Pratto, Felicia, Jim Sidanius, Lisa M. Stallworth, and Bertram F Malle. 1994. "Social Dominance Orientation: A Personality Variable Predicting Social and Political Attitudes." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 67 : 741-63.

Priel, B. and A. Besser. 2001. "Bridging the gap between attachment and object relations theories: A study of the transition to motherhood. *British Journal of Medical Psychology,* 74: 85-100.

Pyszczynski, Tom, Sheldon Solomon, and Jeff Greenberg. 2003. *In the Wake of 9/11: The Psychology of Terror.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Roccato, Michele. 2008. "Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Social Dominance Orientation, and Attachment: An Italian Study." *Swiss Journal of Psychology* 67 (4) : 219-29.

Roisman, Glenn I., Ashley Holland, Keren Fortuna, R. Chris Fraley, Eric Clausell, and Alexis Clarke. 2007. "The Adult Attachment Interview and Self-Reports of Attachment Style: An empirical Raprochement." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 92(4): 678-97.

Schmitt, D. P. and J. Allik. 2005. "Simultaneous administration of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale in 53 nations: Exploring the universal and culture-specific features of global self-esteem." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 89: 623-42.

Sidanius, Jim and Felicia Pratto. [1999]2001. *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression.* United States of America: Cambridge University Press.

Sidanius, Jim, Stacey Sinclair, and Felicia Pratto. 2006. "Social Dominance Orientation, Gender, and Increasing Educational Exposure." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology,* 36 (7): 1640-53.

Smith, David Norman. 1996. "The Social Construction of Enemies: Jews and the Representation of Evil." *Sociological Theory*, 14 (3): 203-40.

Smith, David Norman. 2006. "Authority Fetishism and the Manichaean Vision: Stigma, Stereoptyping, and Charisma as Keys to 'Pseudo-Orientation in an Estranged Society'." Pp. 91-114 in The Evolution of Alienation: Trauma, Promise, and the Millennium, edited by Lauren Langman and Devorah Kalekin-Fishman. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Snellman, Alexadra, Bo Ekehammar, and Nazar Akrami. 2009. "The Role of Gender Identification in Social Dominance Orientation: Mediating or Moderating the Effect of Sex?" *Journal of Applied Social Psychology,* 39(4): 999-1012.

Sroufe, L. A., and E. Waters. 1977. "Attachment as an Organizational Construct. *Child Development* 48: 1184-99.

Sroufe, L. Alan, Byron Egeland, Elizabeth A. Carlson, and W. Andrew Collins. 2009. *The Development of the Person: The Minnesota Study of Risk and Adaptation from Birth to Adulthood.* Guilford Press.

Weber, Christopher, and Christopher M. Frederico. 2007. "Interpersonal Attachment and Patterns of Ideological Belief." *Political Psychology* 28 (4) : 389-416.

Weise, David R., Tom Pyszczynski, Cathy R. Cox, Jamie Arndt, Jeff Greenberg, Sheldon
    Solomon, and Spee Kosloff. 2008. "Interpersonal Politics: The Role of Terror
    Management and Attachment Processes in Shaping Political Preferences."
    Psychological Science 19 (5): 448-55.

Weise, David R., Thomas Arciszewski, Jean-Francois Verlhiac, Tom Pyszczynski, and
    Jeff Greenberg. 2012. "Terror Management and Attitudes Toward Immigrants."
    European Psychologist 17(1): 63-72.

Wilson, Marc Stewart and James H. Liu. 2003. "Social Dominance Orientation and
    Gender: The Moderating Role of Gender Identity." *The British Journal of Social
    Psychology,* 42: 187-198.

Wisman, A. and S. L. Koole. 2003. "Hiding in the crowd: Can mortality salience promote
    affiliation with others who oppose one's worldview." *Journal of Personality and
    Social Psychology,* 84: 511-27.

Zakrisson, Ingrid. 2008. "Gender Differences in Social Dominance Orientation: Gender
    Invariance May Be Situation Invariance." *Sex Roles,* 59: 254-63.

APPENDIX

Instructions Participants Received

The Sociology Department at the University of Kansas supports the protection of survey

respondents. Your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary, confidential, and

anonymous. When you respond to the questions below, in Blackboard, you will

automatically receive extra credit in SOC 104 but your name will NOT be linked to your

answers in any way. We won't know how you personally reply to these questions.

You will start by responding to an open-ended question followed by a small exercise.

You will then complete an 80-item survey that asks about your attitudes towards social

and personal issues of sociological interest. Please respond to these items -- which are

drawn mainly from standard polls and surveys -- as fully and candidly as possible. *Many

thanks for your participation!*

Secure Prime

> We want to know more about the different kinds of relationships that students

have during their college years. Please think of a close relationship you currently have

with someone who accepts you, loves you, and supports you in times of need. Describe

the relationship in detail. *(You may refer to both external events and actions and also to

your internal thoughts and feelings.)* After 3-to-5 minutes, please move on to the survey

questions below.

Insecure Prime

We want to know more about the different kinds of relationships that students have during their college years. Please think of a close relationship you have with someone who doesn't completely accept you, acts "hot and cold" towards you, or can't be counted on. Describe the relationship in detail. *(You may refer to both external events and actions and also to your internal thoughts and feelings.)* After 3-to-5 minutes, please move on to the survey questions below.

RWA Altemeyer Items

1. There is no "ONE right way" to live; everybody should create their own way.

2. America needs free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.

3. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else.

4. Our country will be great again if we honor the ways of our forefathers, do what our leaders tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining things.

5. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.

6. What America really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil and take us back to our true path.

7. The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned" values" still show the best way of life.

RWA Smith Conventional Items (contrait)

8. People should always show respect for the majority by trying to fit in.

9. The highest moral path is to live up to the standards of the group, NOT to think that your own personal values are somehow superior.

RWA Smith Aggression Items (contrait)

10. What America really needs is a caring, compassionate public that will return us to the path of tolerance and forgiveness.

11. We should put less energy into punishing people who commit crimes and try harder to rehabilitate them.

12. Citizens who protest abuses of authority are often more trustworthy than the authorities.

13. Taxpayers should not have to support people who don't take care of themselves.

14. Self-respecting people work for what they get and would never take handouts.

15. If we want to ensure that everyone in society has an equal opportunity to succeed, we shouldn't allow any of our children to grow up poor.

SDO

1. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.

2. Group equality should be our ideal.

3. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for everyone.

4. It's probably good that certain groups are at the top and others are at the bottom.

Dangerous World

1. Every time in history has its dangers, but our chances of living a safe, untroubled life

are better today then ever before.

2. I won't be surprised if, any day now, chaos and anarchy break out all around us.

3. People today are in high danger being attacked viciously on the street.

4. People talk a lot about violent street crime, but that's probably because of the media, not because violence is increasing.

5. People with guns are much safer than people who aren't armed.

6. People who take precautions are not very likely to be assault or murder victims, even in big cities.

Competitive World

1. I would be cold blooded and vengeful if that's what it took to reach my goals.

2. Compassion and consideration should be our guiding principles in daily life.

Terrorist Threat

1. I'm concerned that there will be another terrorist attack in the U.S. sometime soon.

2. I'm not worried that terrorists will attack us with chemical or biological weapons.

3. I'm worried that someone I know personally will be hurt by terrorists on U.S. soil.

4. Past terrorist attacks have not caused me to worry much about my own safety.

Libertarianism

1. Service in the American military should be entirely voluntary in all cases; there should never be a military draft.

2. We need laws that restrict gun ownership in America.

3. So-called "victimless crimes" -- illegal acts in which the only victim is the person who commits the act -- should not be illegal at all.

4. Our economy CANNOT function effectively without a significant amount of central direction from the federal government.

5. Taxing the wealthy to finance programs for the poor is a valid function of government.

6. The federal government exercises too much power over our day-to-day lives.

7. America needs the drone program to hunt down terrorists wherever they are.

Attachment

Secure

1. I find it relatively easy to get close to others.

2. My friends and family are always there for me.

3. I am comfortable depending on others and having others depend on me.

4. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me.

5. I seldom worry that someone will get too close to me.

6. I feel comfortable sharing my private feelings with people close to me.

7. My parents are also my friends.

Hyper-Secure

1. I would never be friends with someone who isn't 100% loyal.

2. No one is closer to their parents than I am.

3. A lot of people have Facebook friends. I have real friends.

Avoidant

1. I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others.

2. I find it difficult to trust others completely.

3. I find it difficult to allow myself to ask for help from others.

4. I get nervous when someone gets too close to me.

5. It is very important to me to feel independent and self-sufficient.

6. I prefer not to depend on others or to have others depend on me.

7. I'm not comfortable telling people how I feel deep down.

Anxious

1. I'm not sure who would stand by me in tough times.

2. Many people are closer to their parents than I am.

3. People I like are often reluctant to get as close to me as I would want.

4. When I'm in a relationship I often worry that my partner will leave me.

5. I often worry that the people closest to me don't really love me.

6. I wish my romantic partner's feelings were as strong as mine.

Political Ambivalence

1. Abortion?

2. Gay couples adopting children?

3. Allowing immigrants into the United States?

4. NSA wiretapping?

5. The death penalty?

6. Affirmative action for minorities?

7. Big business?

8. Gun control?

Political

1. Where do you stand with respect to the two major political parties?

    1 = Lean strongly toward the Republicans, 2 = Lean moderately toward the

    Republicans, 3 = Lean slightly toward the Republicans, 4 = Do not lean toward

    either major party, 5 = Lean slightly toward the Democrats, 6 = Lean moderately

    toward the Democrats, 7 = Lean strongly toward the Democrats

2. How do you see yourself politically?

    1 = Strongly conservative, 2 = Fairly conservative, 3 = Slightly conservative,

    4 = Neither, 5 = Slightly liberal, 6 = Fairly liberal, 7 = Strongly liberal

Demographic Questions

1. What's your sex? *1 = Female, 2 = Male*

2. How do you see yourself in class terms?

    1 = Upper class, 2 = Upper middle class, 3 = Middle class, 4 = Working class, 5

    Lower middle class

3. With which ethnicity do you primarily identify yourself?

    1 = White, 2 = African-American, 3 = Hispanic, 4 = Asian, 5 = Native American, 6 =

    Other

4. What's your religious background?

    1 = Protestant, 2 = Catholic, 3 = Jewish, 4 = Muslim, 5 = Other

5. Which of the following occupational categories best describes your father's job?

    1 = Manual labor, 2 = Assembly plant labor, machine operator, etc., 3 = Craft or trade, 4 = Service or sales, 5 = Clerical, 6 = Technical, 7 = Professional or managerial

6. Which of the following occupational categories best describes your mother's job?

    1 = Manual labor, 2 = Assembly plant labor, machine operator, etc., 3 = Craft or trade, 4 = Service or sales, 5 = Clerical, 6 = Technical, 7 = Professional or managerial

7. Which of the following best describes your childhood experience growing up?

    1 = I lived with both of my parents, 2 = I lived mainly with my mother, 3 = I lived mainly with my father, 4 = I took turns living with each of my parents, 5 = I was raised mainly by family members other than my parents, 6 = I was raised by others

8. Are your parents still living together? *1 = Yes, 2 = No*