Chapter #7

PREDICTING SOCIO-POLITICAL ATTITUDES: INSIGHTS FROM THE 2015 FEDERAL ELECTION IN CANADA

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of personality and left-right wing affiliation in predicting attitudes on several socio-political topics (e.g. abortion, euthanasia). Participants completed a demographics questionnaire, a set of personality measures, and a contentious issues questionnaire (CIQ). Our final sample consisted of 267 participants. A total score on the CIQ was created and hierarchical linear regression found that left-right wing affiliation, openness, and private self-consciousness predicted higher total CIQ scores. Right wing affiliation predicted lower CIQ score. The results of this study suggest that that total CIQ score was measuring right-left wing attitudes on socio-political issues and could be a useful tool in predicting voting behaviour.

Keywords: political psychology, political attitudes, personality correlates, contentious social issues.

1. INTRODUCTION

Ideologies are sets of beliefs formed by groups of individuals to minimize in-group conflict by creating a consensus while conversely promoting superiority over another group (Sidanius, Pratto, Martin, & Stallworth, 1991). Political ideology, as studied in the field of psychology (Jost, 2006), is a social cognitive framework of ethical principles driven by individual needs and motivations. In turn, these cognitive frameworks of ethical principles likely drive attitudes on several socio-political topics, such as views on abortion, gun control, the legalization of marijuana, and the death penalty. It is unclear, however, whether attitudes about these specific issues are best explained by political party identification or whether other factors determine individual attitudes and opinions on the issues, which in turn, drives affiliation with a specific party. A meta-analysis on studies examining links between personality and political orientation demonstrated weak, but statistically significant, correlations between the personality traits of openness and conscientiousness and political conservatism (Sibley, Osborne, & Duckitt, 2012). This evidence seems to suggest that personality could offer an explanation as to why an individual might fell a certain way in regard to the specific contentious socio-political topics that often divide political ideologies. Additionally, researchers have suggested that an individual fulfills deeper psychological needs by adopting a specific political perspective that may, in turn, be influenced by their personalities. These models have recently been supported by twin studies suggesting that political beliefs may be inherited and related to primary human traits (Koenig & Bouchard, 2006; Ludeke, Johnson, & Bouchard, 2013).

Individual attitudes on socio-political topics are unlikely to be completely explained by personality. Identifying with a specific political party often means sharing many of the views and attitudes of that group. There is, however, a "chicken or the egg" problem. It is unclear whether individual beliefs and political attitudes lead to the adoption of a specific political party or whether political affiliation shapes beliefs and attitudes. Theories suggest that political party affiliation is influenced by deeply rooted beliefs and values that precede attitudes on socio-political issues (Gidengil, Nevitte, Blais, Everitt, & Fournier, 2012). In this respect, our political identity, or affiliation, to some extent, determines our attitudes on socio-political issues. For this reason, left-wing and right-wing political affiliation is another means to understand socio-political attitudes.

1.1. Liberalism and conservatism

Since the start of the French revolution in 1789, political beliefs have been viewed dimensionally as left-wing or right-wing within the majority of western cultures (Bobbio & Cameron, 1996). Political liberalism has become synonymous with left-wing views representing egalitarianism, social programming, and change (Jost, 2006). Contrarily, the right-wing or political conservatism is established on traditional values, supporting hierarchal institutions, authority, the status quo, and structure (Jost, 2006; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). It has been suggested that conservatives tend to have a greater concern for their in-group and have a lower sense of security rationalizing their acceptance of social inequality, and resilient opposition to change (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Jost, Fitzsimons, & Kay, 2004; Landau et al., 2004; & Jost, et al., 2007). Both belief systems essentially emphasize one of two basic human needs: protection (conservatism) and provision (liberalism) (Janoff-Bulman, 2009). However, because there are a variety of different societal issues that frame and thus cloud an individual's view of the two political dimensions they may be understood subjectively and should therefore be regarded as falling on a left-to-right-wing continuum.

Although Canada is a multi-party parliamentary system, there are three political parties that traditionally garner the majority of votes. These three parties are the New Democratic Party of Canada on the far left (NDP), the Liberal Party of Canada on the center-left, and the Conservative Party of Canada (PC) on the far right, respectively. In 1961, the NDP was founded as a socially democratic party and is typically viewed as the left-leaning "socialist" party. Although they have never been federally elected, they served as the official opposition to the PCs in the House of Commons in 2011 (Whitehorn, 2013). The Conservative and Liberal parties have been the only two parties in Canadian history to form the federal government. The Conservative party was the first political party to form government in Canada in 1867; traditionally they are viewed as right-wing economic stewards and military supporters (Harrison, 2011). Presently, the Liberals form government, the Liberal party usually forms a less socialist stance on issues than the NDP in the center-left, and the party's success could perhaps be attributed to its ability to at least partially reside in the center (McCall & Clarkson, 2012).

1.2. Personality and correlates of political attitudes

Although research has examined relationships between political affiliation and personality, the association between personality and attitudes towards socio-political issues has not been extensively researched. Although, some studies have successfully applied the Five-factor model of personality (e.g., Neuroticism, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, and Openness to Experience) to political attitudes, the results of these studies have incorporated these traits into the traditional liberal and conservative systems. It is

unsurprising that liberals score significantly higher on openness to experience scales than conservatives and that conservatives score similarly high on conscientiousness scales (Carney, Jost, Gosling, & Potter, 2008). Given that the trait of conscientiousness is related to a disposition for stability and order, this relationship is not unexpected (McCrae & Costa, 1997). Using the Big Five Aspect Scales (DeYoung, Quilty, & Peterson, 2007), Hirsh, DeYoung, Xu, and Peterson (2009) reported that agreeableness (specifically, compassion) was associated with liberal attitudes and politeness was associated with the orderliness aspect of conscientiousness. In addition, these researchers reported that the relationship between personality and political ideology may be mediated by the importance that individuals placed on certain moral values; specifically, a high aspiration for order and a low need for equality may predict conservatism and a high aspiration for equality and a low need for order may predict liberal values.

Self-Consciousness plays a role in the public expression of personal beliefs (Scheier, 1980). It could, therefore, also play a role in determining our socio-political political attitudes. Self-Consciousness is theorized to exist in two forms. The first is Public Self-Consciousness. This form of self-consciousness is concerned with a preoccupation in thinking about how one's self in viewed by others. The second form of self-consciousness is Private self-consciousness. This form of self-consciousness refers to a tendency to attend to aspects of the self that are not readily available to others such as one's privately held beliefs, values, and feelings. Therefore, it seems likely that the personality trait of private self-consciousness would contribute to an individual's socio-political attitudes.

1.3. Purpose of the current study

Given the growing research interest in social cognitive models of ethical principles (or political ideologies) and personality, the purpose of this study was to provide a better understanding of the relationship between personality characteristics and attitudes on socio-political topics in Canada. Although individuals typically identify with one political party, they often show a heterogeneous mix of views when considering different socio-political issues. One purpose of this study was to examine how well political party affiliation and personality predicts attitudes on socio-political topics.

2. METHODS

2.1. Participants

In total, 267 participants completed an online questionnaire. The average age of participants was 29.25 years (SD = 12.36); there were 189 females (M_{age} =27.56, SD=11.03) and 78 males (M_{age} =33.84, SD=14.57). The majority of participants were Canadian (93.3%) who were born in Canada (90.7%). In terms of the political party that participants most identified with, 12% identified with the Conservative Party, 49.8% identified most with the Liberal Party, 16.7% identified most with the NDP party, and 20.8% indicated that they identified with at least two parties.

2.2. Materials

Demographics. The demographics questionnaire asked respondents to provide age, gender, nationality, language, and country of birth. Participants were also asked to indicate on a 1 (Not at all) to 7 (Completely) point Likert-scale the degree to which they identified with the three most impactful Canadian political parties (i.e., the New Democratic Party, Liberals, Progressive Conservative/Conservative).

Contentious Issues Questionnaire. The contentious issues questionnaire (CIQ) was originally developed by the authors to measure an individual's attitudes on several individual social issues in isolation. Several of the issues were identified from previous research measuring attitudes on contentious social issues. Issues that were emphasized during the Canadian 2015 federal election were also added to the list of contentious issues. The questionnaire requires respondents to indicate the degree to which they agree or disagree with 22 statements about socio-political issues (e.g. "abortion should be legal"). Responses are given on a 1(strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) point Likert scale. Respondents are also asked to indicate how important their opinion is to them on each issue on a similar 1(very unimportant) to 7 (very important) point Likert-scale. This scale was originally designed to measure respondent attitudes on individual issues. However, in the present study, a method was developed such that a total score could be calculated in order to quantify the tendency towards left or right wing attitudes. Higher total scores on the CIQ indicated a tendency towards left-wing attitudes, whereas lower scores represented a tendency towards right-wing attitudes.

Big Five Inventory. The BFI consists of 44 characteristics (e.g. "Is inventive") that are rated on a 1(disagree strongly) to 5(Agree Strongly) point Likert-Scale. The BFI results in 5 scale scores: Extraversion, Neuroticism, Agreeableness, Openness, and Conscientiousness. Reliability alpha coefficients of the scales have been found range from .79 to .88, with and average reliability of .83 (John & Srivastava, 1999).

Eysenck Personality Questionnaire. The EPQ is comprised of 48 statements that may or may not be characteristic of the respondent. Each statements requires a "Yes" or "No" response. The EPQ results in 4 subscale scores: Extraversion, Neuroticism, Psychoticism, and a lie scale. Reliability alpha coefficients for the EPQ subscales have been found to range from .79 to .90 (Eysenck, Eysenck, & Barrett 1985).

Three Factor Self-Monitoring Scale. The Briggs, Cheek, and Buss Self-Monitoring Scale contains 20 questions requiring a response on a 1 (extremely uncharacteristic) to 5 (extremely characteristic) point Likert-Scale. It results in three subscale scores: "Extraversion", Other-directedness (e.g., a readiness to change to suit others), and Acting (e.g., skill and predilection for entertaining others in social settings). Reliability alpha coefficients for the subscales of the Three Factor Self Monitoring Scale range from .66 to .72 (Briggs, Cheek, & Buss, 1980).

Self Consciousness Scale. The Self Consciousness Scale (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975) has 23 items rated on a 1(extremely uncharacteristic) to 4 (extremely characteristic) Likert-point scale. It contains three subscales measuring Public Self-Consciousness, Private Self-Consciousness, and Social Anxiety. The reliability alpha coefficients for the subscales of the SCS range from .69 to .71 (Scheier & Carver, 1985).

Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding. The BIDR is a measure of desirable responding. It contains 40 statements requiring a response on a 1(Not true) to 7(Very True) point Likert-Scale. The BIDR results in two subscale scores: Self-deceptive enhancement and Impression management. Reliability of the BIDR subscales range from .68-.80 and .75-.86, respectively (Paulhus, 1991).

2.3. Procedure

This study received ethical approval through the University of New Brunswick's research ethics board. The study was advertised within the Psychology Department as well as through various social networking sites. All participants were provided with a link to complete the study using the online survey software, Qualtrics. If the participant was a student at the University of New Brunswick, they received one bonus mark towards their

class mark. Participants recruited through social media did not receive compensation for their participation. The questionnaire package took approximately 30 minutes to complete. The demographics and Contentious Issues Questionnaire always appeared first in the questionnaire package, but the order of the personality questionnaires were counterbalanced. After participants completed the study they were thanked for their time a debriefed.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Measuring socio-political attitudes

To measure tendencies towards left-right wing attitudes a total CIQ score was calculated by summing individual item scores. Initial analyses of the inter-item correlation matrices indicated that some of the variables on CIQ were not related to other items and, as a result, 8 items were dropped. Although the total number of participants was relatively small (n=267), the participant-variable ratio was quite high (26:1), and an exploratory factor analysis was conducted. To determine if factor analysis was appropriate for this data set, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett's test of sphericity were conducted. The KMO = .834 and Bartlett's χ^2 (45) = 549.89, p=.0001, indicating that factor analysis was appropriate for this data set. Following Costello and Osborne (2005), a maximum likelihood analysis with an oblique rotation was used. Based on an examination of the initial factor loadings and factor correlations, an additional item was dropped from the factor analysis. As a result, a two factor structure best represented the data. Based on this solution, reliability analyses were conducted on the two subscales and the total scale score. The coefficient alpha of Factor 1 was r = .701, indicating adequate internal reliability. With all items included, the coefficient alpha of the Factor 2 was r=.583but the internal reliability of both the Factor (r=.75) and the total scale score (r=.783)improved the reliability and thus an item was dropped. CIQ scores were constructed in such a way that higher scores represented a tendency towards traditionally left-wing attitudes and lower scores represented a tendency towards traditionally right-wing attitudes. To validate this interpretation of the total scores of the scale, differences in attitudes between primarily left wing and primarily right wing participants were examined. As both Liberal and NDP fall on the left-wing of the political spectrum, self-rated NDP and Liberal self-identification ratings were averaged together to create a left-wing affiliation score. To create a right-wing affiliation score, PC/Conservative scores were used. Participants were assigned to either left or right wing affiliation based on the scale in which they scored the highest. If they scored the same on both scales, then they were assigned to the "other" category. A multivariate analysis of variance was conducted with left or right wing political affiliation as the independent variable and agree-disagree Likert scale ratings on retained items within the CIQ as the dependent variable. The overall model was statistically significant (Roy's largest root=0.312, F(10, 243) = 7.581, p<0.001). The results of the one-way ANOVAS are presented in Table 1. Even using a conservative post hoc Scheffe test, statistically significant differences emerged on several of the issues. Left and right-wing respondents rated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with CIQ items differently. In fact, only two of the retained issues from the CIQ did not demonstrate significant differences in agreement/disagreement. Left and right wing affiliates did not differ in terms of their attitudes towards the death penalty or vaccinations. Both groups appeared to disagreed, to a similar extent, with the death penalty being legal and vaccinations being optional.

Table 1.

Mean Likert agree/disagree ratings of items on the contentious issues questionnaire.

	Right-Wing	Left-Wing	Other	ANOVA	Post hoc
FACTOR 1					
Global warming is scientific fact.	5.28	6.32	5.56	13.00	LW > RW
				(p < .0001)	& Other
We need to adopt stricter gun laws to	4.23	5.32	4.66	7.14	LW > RW
ensure public safety.				(p=.001)	
Evolution should be taught in high	5.33	5.98	5.33	5.34	LW > RW
school science class.				(p = .005)	
A 1 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11	5.01	5 .00	~ 41	5.20	
Addiction is a real disease.	5.21	5.99	5.41	5.28	LW > RW
771 1 d 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	2.70	2.20	2 22	(p = .006)	
The death penalty should be legal.	3.70	3.30	3.33	.70	
Vaccinations should be entioned	3.14	2.79	3.67	(p = .495) 2.38	
Vaccinations should be optional.	3.14	2.19	3.07	(p = .095)	
FACTOR 2				(p = .093)	
Abortion should be legal.	4.48	6.03	5.04	13.95	LW > RW
Abortion should be legal.	4.40	0.03	3.04	(p < .0001)	& Other
Assisted suicide (Euthanasia) should	4.09	5.76	4.56	21.55	LW > RW
` ,	4.07	3.70	4.50		
oc legal.				(p <.0001)	& Other
Same-sex marriage should be legal.	5.16	6.57	5.93	18.46	LW > RW
				(p < .0001)	
Using human embryos in stem cell	3.77	2.92	3.89	6.87	LW < RW
research is unethical.				(p = .001)	& Other
be legal. Same-sex marriage should be legal. Using human embryos in stem cell	5.16	6.57	5.93	(p <.0001) 18.46 (p <.0001) 6.87	& Other LW > RW LW < RW

NOTE: *RW = right-wing affiliation, LW = left-wing affiliation

3.2. Personality correlates to political ideology

To examine potential predictors of left-right wing attitudes as measured by the CIQ, a hierarchical linear regression was conducted. Age, gender, and nationality were entered in Block 1, degree of affiliation with left or right wing political parties was entered in Block 2, and the personality variables were entered in Block 3. Preliminary analyses suggested multicollinearity between some of the subscales of the personality questionnaires. The most psychometrically sound subscales were retained for subsequent analyses (see Table 2). The overall model was statistically significant, F(13,128)=9.15, p<.0001, and explained 42.9% of the variability. The effects of age, gender, and nationality were not statistically significant. The political party in which the respondent most strongly identified (Block 2 variables), accounted for a large proportion of the variance, and was statistically significant Self-reporting strong ties with right-wing parties was associated with lower CIQ scores and self-reporting stronger ties with left-wing parties was associated with higher CIQ scores. Block 3 personality variables were also statistically significant and, in this block, greater Private Self Consciousness (SCS) and Openness (BFI) was associated with higher CIQ Scores, which represent stronger left-wing attitudes.

Table 2. Results of hierarchical multiple regression predicting CIQ scores.

	В	SE(B)	β	t	ΔR^2
Step One					.03
Age	1.24	.565	.189	2.195	
Gender	19.42	15.462	.108	1.256	
Nationality	-5.295	12.320	036	430	
Step Two					.30***
Right-Wing Affiliation	-16.222	3.848	333***	-4.215	
Left-Wing Affiliation	18.501	4.603	.322***	4.019	
Step Three					.14***
Other-Directedness	1.215	.951	.089	1.277	
Private Self-Consciousness	2.769	1.330	.1571***	2.08	
Extraversion (BFI)	.823	.920	.065	.895	
Agreeableness	271	1.079	018	252	
Conscientiousness	1.381	1.053	.094	1.312	
Neuroticism	056	.916	005	062	
Openness	3.553	1.017	.264***	3.494	
EPQ Lie	-4.465	2.370	136	-1.884	

Note: *** p < .001

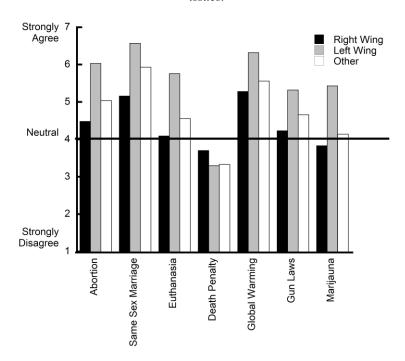
4. DISCUSSION

In this study, we examined the extent to which left-right wing affiliation and personality influenced views on controversial socio-political topics. We found that left and right-wing respondents differed in the extent to which they agreed with several statements on the CIQ (e.g. "abortion should be legal", "Same-sex marriage should be legal"). Figure 1 illustrates the mean scores of all three political categories on some contentious issues that were relevant in the 2015 Canadian federal election. The graph demonstrates that although differences were found, there was a general consensus on these issues in this Canadian sample. For instance, everyone agreed that same-sex marriage should be legal, but left-wing

affiliates agreed more strongly. Some issues, such as the adopting stricter gun laws and having abortion and euthanasia as legal medical procedures placed right wing respondents closer to the neutral point of "neither agree nor disagree", whereas left-wing respondents were clearly in favour of procedures. This may represent a desire to maintain the status-quo, which is characteristic of traditional right-wing views (Jost, 2006; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). These findings are also likely to be a characteristic of Canadian socio-political attitudes in general. The right and left wing political parties in the United States, for example, are likely to show more division on some of these issues than are Canadians. In the United States, for example, there is a clear polarization in gun-control attitudes, whereas this particular issue is less commonly debated in Canada, where strict gun-control legislation exists.

Figure 1.

Bar graph depicting the Likert Scale rating (1-7; strongly disagree to strongly agree) of self-reported political values in Canada with their overall mean ratings on contentious issues.



Using a hierarchical linear regression we were able to predict a substantial proportion of the variance in CIQ scores. Beta values suggested that left-wing affiliation was associated with higher CIQ scores and right-wing affiliation was associated with lower CIQ scores. This is important as the individual items were designed in such a way that higher scores represented traditional left-wing attitudes and lower scores represented traditional right-wing attitudes. This evidence suggests that not only did the total CIQ score represented tendencies toward right or left-wing attitudes, but that respondents who self-identify with a particular party do, in fact, have a tendency towards those traditional attitudes. In terms of personality, Private self-consciousness and openness were both found

to predict higher CIQ scores (a tendency towards left-wing attitudes). Given that liberals have traditionally scored higher on measures of openness (Carney et al., 2008), it is unsurprising that this particular personality construct would predict more left-wing attitudes. In this study, identifying more strongly with left-wing political parties was positively correlated with private self-consciousness. Private self-consciousness represents the tendency to introspect and examine the inner self and personal feelings (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975). Past research has demonstrated that Liberals evaluate their position on the issues more closely than conservatives (Bizer et al., 2004). Although we did not examine differences in levels of personality traits between left and right-wing affiliates, this could perhaps represent a psychological manifestation of higher levels of private self-consciousness in liberals.

Although we used the degree of left-right wing affiliation to predict attitudes on several socio-political topics, it is equally plausible that an individual's political attitudes serve to predict their left-right wing affiliation. It has been theorized, however, that political party affiliation is influenced by deeply rooted beliefs and values, and that both of these precede attitudes on socio-political issues (Gidengil et al, 2012). Additionally, the personality traits have been linked to political identity (Carney et al., 2008). All this suggests a fair amount of stability in the prediction of an individual's political affiliation. Attitudes on socio-political topics are likely to be more malleable, depending on the social climate, evidence supporting or refuting a particular position on a particular issue, and the particular relevance of the issue to society at any particular time. In support of this, we found that although differences in attitudes on several socio-political topics between right-wing and left-wing affiliates emerged, there was general consensus on most issues. This suggests that left and right-wing affiliates maintain similar positions on each issue, despite common beliefs that the parties falling on each end of the continuum would maintain polar opposite attitudes on at least some of these issues.

The timing of this study afforded us an interesting opportunity. The data was collected during the 2015 Canadian federal election when Canadians would have been considering at least some of these socio-political issues. There are, however, some limitations in the present research. The majority of our sample identified most strongly with the Liberal party, followed by the NDP, and then by the Conservative party. About 10 percent of the sample were labelled as "Other" when left-wing and right-wing affiliation scores were created. These individuals had identical scores in both categories and could not be assigned to either. This resulted in unequal sample sizes between primarily right-wing and left-wing respondents when those groups were created. The large discrepancy in sample sizes could simply reflect the outcome of the 2015 Canadian Federal election, in which the conservative government was defeated by the liberal party. On examination of the results on the MANOVA, the "Other" category were similar to Right-wing respondents in that they differed from Left-wing respondents on CIQ items and shared similar CIQ total scores with right wing respondents. The evidence suggests that they embraced Right-wing attitudes on the CIQ and, therefore, may have been torn between two political parties.

Future research should examine the role of other factors in determining socio-political attitudes. It is possible that other personality characteristics would play a larger role in determining socio-political attitudes. In addition to this, it would be interesting to determine whether the CIQ, or other instruments like it, are capable of predicting actual voter behaviour during elections. Such a tool would provide some insight into just how important a politician's stance on various socio-political issues are in determining whether they are elected.

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