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Relational Variables Associated with Self-Reported Political Ideology

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Relational Variables Associated with Self-Reported Political Ideology

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Presented to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Clinical Psychology

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Relational Variables Associated with Self-Reported Political Ideology

by

Dalton Young

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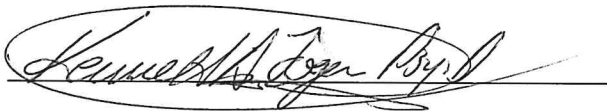
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Abstract

This dissertation examined the relationship between self-reported political ideology and the relational variables of attachment, shame, and grace. Previous research on political ideology has focused on conservatism, as well as morality and personality differences across the political spectrum. This study combined two samples of 155 adult participants gathered through Qualtrics and 79 undergraduate students. Each participant completed a demographics questionnaire, Attachment Style Questionnaire (ASQ; Feeney et al., 1994), Dimensions of Grace Scale (DGS; Bufford et al., 2017), Duke University Religion Index (DUREL; Koenig et al., 1997), and Internalized Shame Scale (ISS; Cook, 1988). Additionally, 19 of the undergraduate students completed the Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame (TCTS; Thurston & Cradock, 2009). Prior to analysis participants were grouped into five categories based on self-reported social political ideology (GSPI): Very Liberal, Liberal, Neither Liberal nor Conservative, Conservative, and Very Conservative. Internal consistency was evaluated for each measure used and correlations were calculated to examine the relationship among GSPI, select demographic variables, and each measure. Next, a regression analysis was conducted and established that shame and attachment characteristics do not account for a significant amount of variance in GSPI. However, this study found that age, education, and religiosity did account for significant variance in GSPI. Following this, an ANOVA was completed and found significant between group differences for DGS: Experiencing God's Grace, DGS: Costly Grace, DGS: Grace from Others, DGS: Grace to Others, ASQ: Avoidance, DUREL: Organizational Religiosity, DUREL: Non-organizational Religiosity, and DUREL: Intrinsic Religiosity. Significant within group differences were also discovered across each of the measures, with the exception of ASQ: Avoidance. Lastly, a cluster analysis was conducted and established that political ideology can be viewed from a two, three,

six, or eight-cluster perspectives, with eight clusters likely providing the most accurate depiction of group differences. Results of the study indicate that individuals across the political spectrum do not differ in shame and attachment characteristics and do display significant differences in religiosity and grace. In addition, political ideology may be more accurately represented as eight clusters rather than a liberal-conservative dichotomy that is used in much of political ideology research.

Keywords: political ideology, shame, grace, attachment, religiosity

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Relational Variables Associated with Self-Reported Political Ideology

Chapter 1

Current Political Polarization in the U.S.

The United States is continually becoming more divided across political beliefs and parties. Since the 1970s, political polarization has continued to increase and intensify (Gaziano, 2017). Political parties have never been fond of one another; however, negative feelings have increased, especially since the early 2000s, with implicit biases across political parties resembling that of implicit bias across races (Lukianoff & Haidt, 2015). There has been an increase in hostility towards people of differing political ideologies and parties, resulting in a rise in public expressions of anger. The divide is to the point where moderates and people crossing over to a different political party are often unwelcomed (Haidt, 2016).

Within the field of psychology itself, there is a sharp divide in political ideologies. In 1990 the ratio of Liberals to Conservatives was 4:1 and has been exponentially increasing to around 14:1. Psychology is losing political diversity within the field and has led to increased vulnerability for conservatives to be discriminated against (Haidt, 2016). While this may seem unimportant or irrelevant, it will have a tremendous impact on research, especially research around political ideology. With a ratio of 14:1, many conservatives feel as though they have no voice in the field, or that they do not feel safe enough to speak up (Haidt, 2016). This unfairly promotes research being conducted from a one-sided perspective – a liberal perspective. One-sided research, and lack of a conservative voice, has in the past, and may in the future, lead to a tendency to pathologize conservatives, which then may reinforce hostility and division between political ideologies. However, balanced and insightful research across the political spectrum can

bring to light similarities and differences amongst political ideologies and hopefully create movement in healing the political divide.

History of Political Ideology Research

Research on political ideology began in 1950 in response to the fascism of Germany during World War II. Adorno et al., (1950) began the research with *The Authoritarian Personality*. Adorno et al. (1950) described the “authoritarian personality” as an extreme version of conservatism that has admiration for authority and elevated levels of contempt for weakness. While Adorno et al. (1950) were studying a specific and extreme subset of conservatism, it set the path for political ideology research and “the practice of singling out political conservatives for special study (Jost et al., 2003a).” Jost et al. (2003a) reports that conservatism was originally referred to as the “conservative attitude syndrome.” This “syndrome” was thought of as a genetic predisposition that makes the individual prone to anxiety, low intelligence, and unattractive in combination with parental coldness, rigidity, inconsistency, low social status, and low self-esteem (Jost et al., 2003a). All of these factors combined are what researchers have used to define and describe conservatives. What started as a study of an extreme group of conservatives has led to a generalization to all conservatives.

Many studies use a self-report Likert scale, ranging from one to five or one to seven, from *Strongly (or Very) Liberal* to *Strongly (or Very) Conservative*. Yet results are presented as a liberal and conservative dichotomy, instead of parsing out the extreme conservatives from the more moderate within the spectrum initially conceived in the question design. In some studies, extreme liberals will be isolated and reported differently than more moderate liberals, because the more extreme liberals share similar characteristics as extreme conservatives (Baldner et al., 2018). Jost et al., (2003b), in reply to Greenberg and Jonas, acknowledge that both the left and

right extremes are more rigid than people identifying in more moderate ideologies, whether liberal or conservative. Research by van Prooijen and Krouwel (2019) suggests that some psychological characteristics that were originally associated with the political right, may actually be more accurately depicting characteristics of political extremes, both on the right and left. The four psychological features that van Prooijen and Krouwel (2019) suggest are found across both political extremes are: psychological distress, cognitive simplicity, overconfidence, and intolerance. While van Prooijen and Krouwel's (2019) research indicates a potential shift from looking at differences between conservatives and liberals to looking at differences of those who identify with a political extreme and those that fall more in the middle, whether conservative or liberal, the research on political ideology so far has mainly focused on morality (Baldner et al., 2018; Graham et al., 2009) and personality differences (Graham et al., 2009; Block & Block, 2006; Young, Bagozzi et al., 2019; McAdams et al., 2008; Panno et al., 2018; Gaziano, 2017; Diemer et al., 2019) between liberals and conservatives examined as a dichotomy.

Morality

Morality is an area where liberals and conservatives have some similarities, yet people often view the two as vastly different. Liberals and conservatives have been compared across two moral domains: individualizing foundations and binding foundations (Graham et al., 2009). Liberals score higher on what is referred to as individualizing foundations, in which the primary concern and focus of well-being are on the individual, whereas conservatives score high on both individual and binding foundations. Binding foundations refers to the primary concern and priority of well-being on the group, while individual foundations center around the concern and well-being of the individual (Baldner et al., 2018). Since conservative score high on both individual and binding foundations, this suggests there is an overlap between liberals and

conservatives in the arena of morality. The overlap is often overlooked, with most discussions suggesting that liberals predominantly rely on individualizing foundations while conservatives primarily rely on binding foundations, though conservatives rely on individualizing foundations as well. While conservatives are presented as distinctive because they utilize both binding and individualizing foundations, there is evidence to suggest that far-left political groups engage in binding foundations as well, since an emphasis on group well-being can increase group efficiency and is beneficial for task completion (Baldner et al., 2018). Further, it is not clear to what extent binding foundations extend over the conservative spectrum.

Conservatism and religiosity are positively correlated, with religiosity being a significant predictor of conservative ideology (Gaziano, 2017), while liberalism and religiosity, defined by self-reported degree of religiousness, are inversely related (Rowatt, 2019). In part to this, Graham et al. (2009) reported that morality within conservatism is viewed more within the lens of religion and the community, resembling moral beliefs of non-western cultures instead of more individualistic cultures. In these cultures, topics such as sex, clothing, prayer, and gender roles are viewed as morally controversial even when there is no explicit harm done to a person. Liberals emphasize, and are more concerned with, explicit harm to people, equality, and fairness. The moral guidelines for liberals are based on consequences the individual will face. There is a large distinction between individual and binding foundations for people who identify as liberal. Conservatives emphasize and are concerned with issues regarding the ingroup dynamics, authority, and maintaining purity, while also still concerned with explicit harm to people, equality, and fairness. The moral guidelines for conservatives are often based on religious principles or handed down from previous generations and authority figures. The more strongly a

person identified as conservative, the more equal the individual and binding foundations are viewed (Graham et al., 2009).

Graham et al. (2009) and Baldner et al. (2018) both reported that liberals and conservatives have overlap within the domain of morality, but also have some stark contrasts. These contrasts can lead to conflict. Hutcherson and Gross (2011) studied emotional response toward different moral violations presented in questionnaires through a social-functionalist theory. When there is a violation within the community, disrespect towards authority or disruption in hierarchy, people tend to respond with contempt. Violations of individual rights and autonomy tend to result in an emotional response of anger. Lastly, violations of religion, such as disrespecting God and the laws He set forth, tend to result in disgust (Hutcherson & Gross, 2011). The response of these three emotions: contempt, anger, and disgust, to moral violations is what Matsumoto et al. (2016) believe leads to intergroup hostility.

Personality

Differences in personality have received ample attention within the study of political ideology. The personality difference highlighted most is that liberals are more open to experience than conservatives (Young, Bagozzi et al., 2019; McAdams et al., 2008; Graham et al., 2009). The trait of being open to experience does not predetermine someone's political ideology but does appear to lead people to be drawn more to one side or the other. Conservatives tend to prefer structure and organization, while liberals are more tolerant of ambiguity and uncertainty (Young, Bagozzi et al., 2019). Within this domain of tolerance to ambiguity, conservatives score higher on the need for cognitive closure, suggesting these people are drawn to conservative ideology because it usually leads to a more stable and predictable future (Baldner et al., 2018). If change is to occur, conservatives prefer slow, gradual change and desire to adhere to preexisting

social norms. Due to these factors, conservatives are considered more fearful than liberals; however, both groups score similarly on the trait of neuroticism (Jost et al., 2003a).

Block and Block (2006) conducted an extensive study on personality traits associated with liberals and conservatives as young children and young adults. The liberal men when in nursery school were viewed as resourceful, independent, prideful, confident, and self-involving by their teachers. As adults, liberal young men were viewed as nonconforming, introspective, and over-complicating simple things. Liberal women in nursery school were reported to be assertive, talkative, dominating, curious, open in expressing negative feelings, teasing and aggressive towards others, competitive, judgmental, and having high standards. As adults, liberal young women were viewed as interpersonally oriented and actively trying to escape passivity. Conservative young men in nursery school were reported to be defiant, feeling unworthy, easily offended, anxious around uncertainty, distrustful, and rigid by their teacher. These men are viewed as conventional, moralistic, and uneasy with uncertainty as young adults. Conservative young women in nursery school were viewed as indecisive, victimized, inhibited, fearful, adult-seeking, shy, organized, and compliant by their teachers and dependent on social expectations as young adults (Block & Block, 2006). Block and Block (2006) reported that teachers described conservatives in a much more negative light. Yet, there seems to be critical negative attributes labeled in the liberal children that Block and Block (2006) conveniently gloss over and pay no attention to, except to bury within a list of positive attributes. Examples of seemingly negative attributes ignored by Block and Block (2006) are prideful, self-involved, aggressive towards others, and judgmental.

While Block and Block (2006) studied personality styles among young children across political orientations, Gaziano (2017) studied a different developmental construct, attachment

and political ideology. Gaziano (2017) conducted two studies and found in the first study that secure attachment was a significant predictor of liberal ideology and in the second study secure attachment was unrelated to ideology in a general population sample and was a significant and positive predictor of conservatism in a conservative sample. These results indicate that both liberals and conservatives are capable of secure attachments (Gaziano, 2017).

Potential Impacting Factors

While political ideology research has a long and extensive history, shame has been given little attention as an underlying emotion across the political spectrum. Shame can prompt defensiveness and avoidance (Beduna & Perrone-McGovern, 2019; Muris et al., 2014), two qualities not helpful in repairing interpersonal and political conflict. One proposed antidote to shame, is grace (Smedes, 1993), which could be an important theory to consider with increasing levels of political polarization within the United States (Gaziano, 2017; Lukianoff & Haidt, 2015). Grace is a construct that has only recently begun to be researched within the field of psychology and is yet to be touched on within the realm of political ideology. Shame and grace are both constructs that take place within the context of relationships. Another relational construct that receives a great deal of attention within psychology is attachment. However, attachment and political ideology are very seldom studied together. Considering attachment styles have a tremendous impact on future development (Beduna & Perrone-McGovern, 2019; Prunas et al., 2019; Thompson, 2008; Allen, 2008; Roisman et al., 2007), research on attachment characteristics across the political spectrum may give insight into similarities and differences among different political ideologies. Further research around these topics indicate that they could play an underlying role within the increasing political polarization. Matsumoto et al. (2016) suggested that anger, contempt, and disgust are the three primary emotions that fuel intergroup

hostility. Studying shame, grace, and attachment characteristics may provide insight into what is fueling anger, contempt, and disgust as these emotions fuel the ever-growing divide between political ideologies. These constructs can also highlight more factors on which liberals or conservatives differ, or potentially identify common ground among them.

Shame

Shame has a variety of similar definitions throughout psychology, with the most common being that shame is a global negative evaluation of the self. This definition is often used when shame is being compared to guilt, which is often defined as a negative evaluation of a behavior (Sullivan et al., 2019). Shame has also been defined as feelings of inferiority and worthlessness which leads to defensiveness and avoidance (Beduna & Perrone-McGovern, 2019) and a self-conscious emotion that results from a violation of internalized standards, rules, or goals (Young, Razavi et al., 2019). Kim et al. (2011) proposed that shame is an evolutionary trait that is designed to alert people of the possible threat of social rejection or low social status and is necessary for survival within a social environment. Hejdenberg and Andrews (2011) addressed shame's evolutionary purpose as a signal to threats of social status as a way to protect one's place within the social hierarchy. While shame has an evolutionary, or biological function, it also appears to involve a developmental process. Dyer, et al. (2017) stated that shame proneness emerges from early childhood relationships and attachment. In essence, shame is a negative emotion about the quality of the self that plays a social role, has evolved over generations, and is developed through the lifespan.

Much of the research on shame is completed in conjunction with research on guilt. Guilt is viewed as better because it is a negative evaluation of behavior that often leads to a reparative behavior, whereas shame often leads to withdrawal (Lickel et al., 2014). Guilt helps to maintain

social relationships, while shame focuses more on social status and inferiority. Shame often results in self-blame and avoidance but can, on some occasions, result in reparative behaviors (Allpress et al., 2014). Leach and Cidam (2015) reported that shame can motivate people to change their behavior based on whether the shameful event is reparable or not and if reparative behavior will restore a positive social image, which is more representative of state shame. However, dispositional, or trait, shame is negatively correlated with prosocial behaviors (Tignor & Colvin, 2017). Shame has also been positively correlated to neuroticism and negatively correlated with extroversion (Muris et al., 2018).

Freud first introduced the idea of defense mechanisms as a way for the unconscious to protect against unbearable emotional experiences and guard the ego (Prunas et al., 2019). Shame is a physically and emotionally painful emotion that is difficult to tolerate, and thus activates ego defenses. Some such defenses are to ruminate in anger or displace aggression. By ruminating, the mind focuses on the injustice of the shameful event instead of on the pain of shame, thus allowing the person to focus on experiencing anger instead of the shame. Additionally, through displacing aggression, a person can project the blame of the shameful event onto others, alleviating the weight of the shame (Peters et al., 2014). Another common response to shame is that people will withdraw from the situation that caused the shame response or fall into denial surrounding the event (Sullivan et al., 2019). Withdrawal and avoidance are viewed as passive methods of dealing with shame, whereas anger and aggression are active methods of reducing shame (Schoenleber & Berenbaum, 2012). Shame has also been linked to disgust, in which it is directed at the person who caused the shame as an attempt to encourage that person to withdraw from the situation (Giner-Sorolla & Espinosa, 2011). Căndea and Szentagotai-Tătar (2018)

reported that internalized shame directs anger and contempt at oneself, while external shame leads to concerns about being criticized or rejected.

Gotten (2019) described shame as politically linked. Shame highlights that everyone has certain ideals and values that they strive for. The proposal that shame is attached to ideals and values leads to shame being used as cultural capital as a way of pointing out flaws in members of other groups. Gotten (2019) uses the example of progressives utilizing shame as a way of appearing good in comparison to everyone else who is less progressive. Given that shame appears to be a powerful tool within the political polarization of the United States, it could play an influential role in intergroup hostility between liberals and conservatives. Smedes (1993) stated “Many of us feel shame not for our too-badness but for our not-good-enoughness” (p. 116). This quote falls in line with what Gotten (2019) reported; shame as cultural capital does not point out “too-badness,” but instead points out the “not-good-enoughness” in other groups. Smedes (1993) also declared that the healing of shame begins with grace.

Grace

Grace within the field of psychology has received little attention, yet, especially within theological circles, is viewed as foundational to well-being (Emmons et al., 2017). Grace is a freely given gift of salvation from God. Grace cannot be earned. It is the enactment of God’s love (Greggs, 2017). Outside of theology, grace is shown by any other who freely and compassionately cares for someone (Safran, 2016). Grace cannot be accidentally given, nor can someone be forced to give grace. Within grace people accept the fact they have been accepted (Emmons et al., 2017). Vacek (2015) describes grace as the emotion of love and that experiencing grace is an affective experience. Grace is a common concept in many religions, not only to Christianity. It can be found in Islam, Judaism, and Buddhism with each having similar

constructs (Judd et al., 2020). Other religions have similar constructs such as self-compassion (Bufford et al., 2017). Overall, grace is relational and social. It requires knowingly violating social obligation or social expectations for the benefit of an undeserving person (Emmons et al., 2017). It is voluntary acceptance from an unobligated other (Graves, 2017). In addition, grace is an offering that requires a response. The individual receiving grace must decide whether to accept the offering of grace or reject the offering (Vacek, 2015).

The current method of measuring grace within the field of psychology is the Dimensions of Grace Scale (DGS), which has been used to establish correlations between grace and other psychological constructs (Bufford et al., 2017). The DGS measures five dimensions of grace: experiencing God's grace, costly grace, grace to self, grace *from* others, and grace *to* others. Experiencing God's grace and costly grace are related to God and address aspects of divine grace, while grace to self, grace from others, and grace to others are based on human interactions and enacted grace. Adverse child experiences had a significant negative correlation with grace to self and grace from others, while having a positive correlation with costly grace. It accounted for 15 % of the variance on grace from others. Experiencing God's grace significantly predicted scores on measures of religious coping, spiritual and religious well-being, gratitude, and life satisfaction. Costly grace significantly predicted scores on measures of negative religious coping, gratitude, spiritual and religious well-being, and internalized shame. Grace to self also significantly predicted scores on measures of religious coping, internalized shame, and spiritual well-being, as well as, life satisfaction. Lastly, grace from others significantly predicted scores on measures of negative religious coping, gratitude, internalized shame, and life satisfaction (Bufford et al., 2017).

In a second study, grace from others only predicted scores for negative religious coping and adverse childhood experiences. Grace to others significantly predicted scores on measures of negative religious coping, internalized shame, and spiritual well-being. All but experiencing God's grace had a significant relationship with internalized shame (Bufford et al., 2017). Marlowe-Crown Social Desirability has a significant correlation with experiencing God's grace and grace to self (Bufford et al., 2018). In sum, grace has a positive correlation with self-esteem and mental health and an inverse relationship with shame, psychological distress, and childhood adversity (Emmons et al., 2017), concepts that are often involved in the ability to engage with apparent contradictory ideologies.

While grace has been demonstrated to have exceptionally positive outcomes, there are still people who question the use of grace. Nutt (2016) discussed how Kant believed that grace can be morally harmful when used as a way to avoid having to do good deeds. Kant's view of morally harmful grace is not true grace, yet this idea is still present. Religious legalism has taken grace to the opposite extreme in response to Kant's concern. In legalism, the emphasis is placed on good works instead of grace. In other words, salvation is to be earned. Legalism has also been correlated with shame (Judd et al., 2020). Smedes (1993) wrote "To be accepted whether or not we deserve to be accepted has always been an outrage to careful and rigid moralists (pg. 110)." With the steady increase in political polarization reported by Gaziano (2017), grace, theoretically, must not be present between political ideologies. The emphasis appears to be on earning the other side's acceptance through actions and compromise. While compromise is not inherently bad, it is not a component of grace. Each side is resistant to accepting the other because grace violates typical social rules and standards. Also, grace requires a response (Vacek, 2015), which then puts the one offering it in a position to be rejected by the potential recipient.

Grace requires a relationship; it has to be offered and accepted by the two sides. Therefore, for grace to be effective within political polarization, each end of the political spectrum must be willing to offer *and* receive it.

Attachment

According to Bowlby (1982) attachment theory is one of the best supported theories of socioemotional development. It is an internal motivation of behavior equally as crucial to survival as food and sex (Bowlby, 1982). Attachment involves the need to maintain proximity to another, distress upon separation, joy upon return, and grief at loss. Also, attachment provides security and comfort when moving away from a secure base (Ainsworth, 1989). Attachment behavior is a combination of biology, an innate desire to bond and maintain proximity to a caregiver, and relational experience (Christian et al., 2017). Attachment figures are the organizers of their children's emotional and relational lives. A secure attachment provides a safe, relational, and organized space in which the child can learn to self-regulate (Pallini et al., 2019). By adolescence, a single attachment style has developed, displays stability, and can predict future behavior and functioning (Allen, 2008). Approximately 60 % of infants have been found to be securely attached within western societies (Van Ijzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz, 2008). Securely attached children have parents who are warm, affectionate, quick to respond, and sensitive to their child's needs (Koehn & Kerns, 2018). These bonds require a safe place for the infant to return when distressed and a secure base from which the infant is able to explore the surrounding environment (Searle & Meara, 1999). On the other hand, insecurely attached children have parents who respond to their child's needs inconsistently or harshly (Koehn & Kerns, 2018) or may not be responsive at all (Kobak & Madsen, 2008). The main threats to attachment described by Kobak and Madsen (2008) are disrupted communication, physical

inaccessibility, and lack of responsiveness. While these concepts have never been applied to political ideology research, communication, physical accessibility, and responsiveness seem to be necessary components to repair the rupture of political divide and establishing healthier interpersonal and inter-political relationships.

Searle and Meara (1999) described four attachment styles: secure, preoccupied, dismissing, and fearful. Within a secure attachment the person has a positive view of self and others. Preoccupied attachment has a positive view of others but a negative view of self. Dismissive attachment has a positive view of the self but a negative view of others. Lastly, a fearful attachment style has a negative view of the self and of others (Searle & Meara, 1999).

Secure attachment predicts extraversion, openness to experience, and is negatively associated with neuroticism (Belsky & Pasco Fearon, 2008). It is also significantly associated with emotional health, self-esteem, agency, self-confidence, positive affect, ego resilience, social competence, cooperation, compliance, and constructively managing anger (Thompson, 2008). In addition, secure attachment is correlated with more self-compassion, joy, sadness, interest, fear, and anger, lower levels of contempt and shame (Beduna & Perrone-McGovern, 2019).

Attachment anxiety is related to neuroticism, while attachment avoidance (dismissive attachment) is negatively related to extroversion and agreeableness (Roisman et al., 2007).

Those with insecure attachment styles regulate emotions through avoidance and anxiety (Beduna & Perrone-McGovern, 2019). Children with avoidant attachment styles will rigidly fixate on the environment when emotionally distressed, whereas children with anxious attachment styles will upregulate and rigidly attend to caregivers by crying and clinging when distressed (Pallini et al., 2019). This demonstrates that avoidant attachments utilize deactivating emotional regulation strategies by repressing emotional experiences and evade seeking support from others.

Children with anxious attachment styles employ hyperactivation regulation strategies by exaggerating or intensifying distress to emphasize helplessness in order to gain attention and care from an attachment figure (Prunas et al., 2019).

Children with insecure attachments have low self-worth due to parental inconsistency and a lack of trust in others (Beduna & Perrone-McGovern, 2019). Also, insecure attachments are associated with low levels of empathy, compassion, willingness to help others, and increased aggression (Christian et al., 2017).

Within the context of religion, people may have the same attachment style with God as they did with their parental figure (correspondence) or may develop the opposite attachment style (compensation). People who view themselves as unworthy of love can turn to God because He can care for them through unconditional love or love can be earned through good deeds and prayer. Insecure attachment styles are linked to increasing religiousness over time, while secure attachment is linked to higher religiousness at a given time (Granqvist & Kirkpatrick, 2008).

While Gaziano (2017) identified that secure attachment was unrelated to political ideology, attachment styles have a tremendous impact on overall social and emotional development. Secure attachment is related to compliance and cooperation (Thompson, 2008), yet there is increasing conflict and polarization between political ideologies. Attachment may not have direct implications on the development of specific political ideology; however, it likely indirectly affects how persons from differing ideologies relate to one another. To fully understand political ideology, it takes more than studying personality differences and whether or not liberals and conservatives can both have secure attachments. A more detailed analysis of specific attachment characteristics across the political spectrum is key to further understanding similarities and differences between political groups.

Purpose of the Study

This study desires to look into the influence of attachment, grace, shame, and religiosity on political ideology. The first goal of this study is to determine whether de-pathologizing of conservatives within the field of psychology and within the literature might be warranted. Since Adorno et al. (1950), conservatives have commonly been presented in a negative light, and especially within psychology. The second goal of this study would be to highlight similarities and differences across the entire political spectrum, not just a liberal, conservative dichotomy. Political ideology, morality, shame, grace, and attachment are all social and relational constructs. Without relationships, none of these constructs would exist or matter. Yet research has not looked into the relationships among these variables. This study intends to answer the question of whether differences in shame, grace, and attachment characteristics relate to, or even account for some of the variance in, certain political ideologies.

My hypotheses are as follows:

H1: Shame will account for a significant amount of the variance across the political spectrum.

H2: Attachment characteristics will account for a significant amount of the variance across the political spectrum.

H3: A curvilinear relationship will be found, such that participants who identify in the middle of the ideology range (3, 4=Neither liberal nor conservative, 5) will demonstrate lower levels of shame, more secure attachment characteristics, and higher levels of grace than those at either extreme.

H4: Cluster analysis will show common themes in shame, attachment, and grace across political ideologies.

Chapter 2

Methods

The independent variables include: (a) the shame response on: the Internalized Shame scale, which includes a Total Shame scale and a Total Self-Esteem scale, and (b) the Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame, whether no shame, direct shame, or indirect shame; (c) grace as assessed on the Dimensions of Grace scale; (d) attachment characteristics assessed on the Attachment Style Questionnaire, and (e) religiosity as measured by the Duke Religion Index. The dependent variable will be self-identified social political ideology.

Participants

The study consisted of two different samples; however, both samples were combined during data analysis. The individual breakdown of detailed demographic information for each sample can be found in Appendix J. The first sample invited students from a private Christian university to participate in the study. All participants were involved on a voluntary basis. A total of 89 students started the survey with 79 participants included in the data analysis. Of the 79, 71 completed the survey in full, while the remaining seven complete at least the demographics and one additional measure. Students were invited to participate in the study through the university Sona System, in which the undergraduate participants are able to view research opportunities and document their involvement. IRB approval proceeded data collection (GFU 2201138). The sample included 22 male, 55 female, one gender fluid, and one declined to answer. The ages ranged from 17 to 39 years, with a mean age of 20 ($SD = 2.78$). The ethnic identities of the participants are as followed: 77.2% White, 8.9% Hispanic or Latino, 5.1% Black or African American, 5.1% Asian/Pacific Islander, 1.3% Native American/American Indian, 1.3% Biracial, and 1.3% declined to answer. Self-reported social political ideology consisted of: 14 Very

Liberal, 27 Liberal, 4 Neither Liberal nor Conservative, 17 Conservative, and 13 Very Conservative.

The second sample included 155 adult participants collected through Qualtrics. The participants were evenly spread throughout five self-reported social political ideology (31- Very Liberal; 31- Liberal; 31- Moderate; 31- Conservative; 31- Very Conservative). The age ranged from 19 to 88 years, with a mean age of 49 ($SD = 17.60$). The ethnicity, or race, of participants included: 86.5% White, 7.1% Black or African American, 3.2% Hispanic or Latino, and 2.6% Asian/Pacific Islander. Participants completed an informed consent prior to involvement in the study, in which they agreed to participation in the study by clicking “I consent” prior to being able to proceed with the survey. In addition, the study was approved by the IRB prior to collecting data.

Instruments

The study measures included an informed consent, demographic questionnaire, and self-report measures including the Internalized Shame Scale (ISS; Cook, 1988); the Dimensions of Grace Scale (DGS; Bufford et al., 2017); Duke University Religion Index (DUREL; Koenig et al., 1997); and the Attachment Style Questionnaire (ASQ; Feeney et al., 1994); the Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame (TCTS; Thurston & Cradock, 2009), a projective shame assessment was also completed by a subtest of participants in Sample 1.

Demographics.

Demographic items for the undergraduate participants obtained age, gender identity, ethnicity, class standing, religiosity, social class of parents, economic political ideology, social political ideology, and voting involvement in the 2020 election. Demographic items for the Qualtrics participants obtained age, gender identity, ethnicity, level of education, religiosity,

social class, economic political ideology, social political ideology, and voting involvement in the 2020 election. Previous studies on political ideology (Rowatt, 2019; Panno et al., 2018 & Graham et al., 2009) have included only male and female in the results. While the demographics questionnaire intended to be more inclusive regarding gender identity, the sample only included two individuals that identified outside of the Male-Female dichotomy. The demographics questionnaire also included single items used to establish religiosity, spirituality, and self-identified social and economic political ideology.

Design.

Participants' scores on the ASQ, DGS, DUREL, ISS, and TCTS served as predictors across the political spectrum. Self-reported political ideology within the demographics, "In general, how liberal (left-wing) or conservative (right-wing) are you on social issues?" (1=Very Liberal, 4= Neither liberal nor conservative, 7=Very conservative, 8=Do not know, 9=Cannot pick one label) (Crawford et al., 2017), served as a criterion.

Attachment Style Questionnaire (ASQ). The ASQ consists of 40 items on a six-point continuum from *Totally Disagree* to *Totally Agree*. The measure assesses five separate dimensions: Discomfort with closeness (10 items), Relationships as Secondary (seven items), Need for Approval (seven items), Preoccupation with Relationships (10 items), and Confidence (eight items), as well as two overarching dimensions: attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety (Feeney et al., 1994). Of the 40 items, 29 were scored to obtain attachment scores on attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety, with seven of the items reversed scored. It was expected to take participants 5-10 minutes to complete the ASQ.

Roisman et al. (2007) reported that personality and social psychology rely on the use of self-report measures of attachment related thoughts and feelings. It has adequate construct

validity based on correlations with Hazan and Shaver's (1987) forced-choice measure and concurrent validity based on canonical correlation analysis with the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (Feeney et al., 1994). Karantzas et al., (2010) report results of factor analysis supporting the five-factors and two-dimensional structure of the ASQ. The two overarching domains have strong internal consistency as well: Attachment Avoidance ($\alpha = .83$) and Attachment Anxiety ($\alpha = .85$). The ASQ has strong internal consistency across all five domains: Discomfort with closeness ($\alpha = .84$), Relationships as Secondary ($\alpha = .76$), Need for Approval ($\alpha = .79$), Preoccupation with Relationships ($\alpha = .76$), and Confidence ($\alpha = .80$). Test-retest reliability across an undergraduate sample was found to range from .67 to .78 across 10 weeks.

Feeney et al. (1994) found that securely attached individuals, based on Likert scales derived from Hazan and Shaver's forced-choice measure of attachment styles, scored significantly higher on the Confidence scale and significantly lower on the Discomfort scale. Individuals with an anxious/ambivalent attachment style scored significantly higher on the Preoccupation scale and the Need for Approval scale. Those with an avoidant attachment style scored significantly higher than those with a secure attachment on the Relationships as Secondary scale (Feeney et al., 1994).

A review by Ravitz et al. (2010), the ASQ, has previously been used in research to analyze the relationship between attachment and social support, coping with stressful events, relationship satisfaction, and depression and anxiety. Additionally, the ASQ was used to help identify that attachment predicts pain and depression in chronic pain patients (Ravitz et al., 2010). The avoidant and anxious attachment scales were found to be negatively related to hope and sense of coherence. The anxious attachment was also negatively related to subjective well-being. Both were also positively related to anxiety and emotional distress, with the anxious

attachment having a higher correlation than the avoidant (Iwanaga et al., 2018). The factor structure of the ASQ can vary across samples, ranging from two to five factors (Feeney et al., 1994; Karantzas et al., 2010; Chui & Leung, 2016; Iwanaga et al., 2018). For this study, the two-factor structure comprised of the anxious and avoidant subscales, was used. Alpha was .875 and .775 for anxious and avoidant subscales respectively, with an alpha of .929 for the Attachment Style Questionnaire as a whole.

Dimensions of Grace Scale (DGS). The DGS consists of 36 items; responses are made on a seven-point continuum from 1= *Strongly Disagree* to 7= *Strongly Agree*. It includes five sub-scales of grace: God's Grace, Costly Grace, Grace to Self, Grace from Others, and Grace to Others. Each of the dimensions have seven items, with the exception of God's Grace, which has eight. Of the 36 items, 22 are reverse scored (Bufford et al., 2017). The responses were scored to obtain grace scores on each of the five dimensions. It was expected to take five to ten minutes for participants to complete.

The DGS has internal consistency ranging from .71 (Grace to Others) to .98 (Experiencing God's Grace). Evidence for construct validity of the DGS comes from several sources. First, items were constructed by four separate research groups based on perceived item content (Bufford et al., 2017). In comparing the DGS to other measures, 86.7% of the correlations were significant in the expected direction. Two independent factor studies yielded the same factors (Bufford et al., 2017). Each factor of grace was also found to have independent contribution to the variance of grace, with the five factors accounting for 49.49% of the total variance (Bufford et al., 2017). The test-retest reliability was found to be .90 after six weeks (Bufford et al., 2018). Alpha for each of the five factors are as follows, from Factor 1 to Factor 5:

.924, .894, .608, .854, and .777. The alpha of all the items on the Dimensions of Grace Scale is .837.

Duke University Religion Index (DUREL). The Duke University Religion Index consists of five items and three dimensions: organizational religiosity (one item), non-organizational religiosity (one item), and intrinsic religiosity (three items) (Koenig et al., 1997). It was designed to measure religiosity in Western religions (Koenig & Büssing, 2010). The single item dimensions (organizational and non-organizational religiosity) are rated on a six-point Likert-type scale, while the Intrinsic Religiosity (IR) is rated on a five-point Likert-type scale. The scores on the IR has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.75 and is strongly correlated to the Hoge's intrinsic religiosity scale ($r = 0.85$) in a medical inpatient sample, ages 60 years and over. The IR was moderately correlated with the organizational religiosity ($r = 0.40$) and non-organizational religiosity ($r = 0.42$) subscales. The DUREL was found to have high test-retest reliability over a two-week period (intra-class correlation coefficient of 0.91) (Koenig & Büssing, 2010). It was expected to take participants approximately 2 minutes to complete.

In addition to the DUREL, religiosity will be identified by asking participants "Do you consider yourself to be a religious person?" (1=Not at all religious, 2=Slightly religious, 3=Moderately religious, 4=Very religious). This item was used to facilitate comparisons with prior studies (e.g., Rowatt, 2019). Alpha for the Duke Religion Index is .880, with an alpha of .886 for the Intrinsic Religiosity items.

Internalized Shame Scale (ISS). The Internalized Shame Scale is a self-report measure comprised of 30 items, designed to measure trait shame (del Rosario & White, 2006). Based on the design of the measure it is considered to be face valid. The seven-point Likert-type scale allows the measure to assess underlying experiences of shame. In the 30-item version, the ISS is

comprised of a 24-item subscale that results in a “Total Shame” score and a six-item subscale that produces a “Total Self-esteem” score (del Rosario & White, 2006). The Shame scale is comprised of negatively worded items, while the Self-esteem scale is comprised of positively worded items (Matos et al., 2012). Higher scores on the measure are representative of higher levels of shame (Cook, 1988). The factor structure of the ISS has varied some between samples but is often presented as one-dimensional for the Shame scale and one-dimensional for the Self-esteem scale (Cook 1994, 2001; del Rosario & White, 2006; Matos et al., 2012; Rybak & Brown, 1996). A significant positive correlation was established between the Shame scale of the ISS and anxiety, depression, and hostility as measured by the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List-Revised and a significant negative relationship between shame on the ISS and positive affect on the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List-Revised (Rybak & Brown, 1996).

In an undergraduate sample, Cronbach’s alpha of .90 for the Self-esteem scale and .97 for the Shame scale were found (Rybak & Brown, 1996). High levels of internal consistency ($\alpha = .95$) have been shown on a variety of samples on the 35-item version of the ISS, as well as test-retest reliability of .81 with a student sample over six- and eight-week intervals (Cook, 1988). In an undergraduate sample the shame subscale was found to have a coefficient alpha of .95 at initial test and .96 at re-test 14 weeks later. The self-esteem subscale was found to have a coefficient alpha .89 at initial test and .88 at re-test 14 weeks later. Both the shame and self-esteem subscales were found to have high and significant stability correlations (shame: $r = .81$, self-esteem: $r = .75$) (del Rosario & White, 2006). It was expected to take participants 5-10 minutes to complete. The ISS has an alpha of .951 with all 30-items and an alpha of .978 and .879 for the Total Shame and Self-Esteem items respectively.

Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame (TCTS). The TCTS (Thurston & Cradock, 2009) uses 10 stimulus cards that picture individuals engaged in ambiguous activities in order for the participant to provide an open-ended response with a beginning, middle, and end, about the characters' thoughts and feelings, as well as the events taking place in each picture (Thurston & Cradock, 2009). The stories were recorded utilizing a speech to text program and behavioral observations were noted, with an estimated 30-minute completion time. Each participant's responses was scored for shame (direct or indirect), shame defenses they used (deflation, aggression, inflation/contempt), resolution of their stories (highly adaptive, adaptive, unresolved/ambivalent, maladaptive, highly maladaptive), and the participant's response style during administration (personalization, laughter, word production). The TCTS has established a structured and detailed scoring system in order for scores to be consistent and quantifiable (Thurston & Cradock, 2009). O'Friel (2007) found interrater reliability to be, on average, .96 for the presence or absence of shame and .80 on the type of resolution to the story. Rote (2002) established strong construct validity by establishing significant correlations between the TCTS and the 16PF Adolescent Personality Questionnaire. In the present study shame was scored for direct or indirect shame and shame defenses used.

Criterion

The political ideology questions are based on Rowatt (2019) and Crawford et al. (2017). Graham et al. (2009) reported that implicit political identity has been strongly correlated with self-reported identity ($r = .63$, $p = .001$). Political ideology will be identified based on two separate demographics questions, one for social and one for economic ideology. Participants will be asked "In general, how liberal (left-wing) or conservative (right-wing) are you on social [economic] issues?" (1=Very liberal, 4=Neither liberal nor conservative, 7=Very conservative,

8=Do not know, 9=Cannot pick one label). The intent in providing an anchor for only one, four, and seven is to limit bias associated with political ideology labels, specifically using *neutral* as a mid-point instead of *moderate*. While there was a high correlation between economic and social political ideology ($r = .769$), due to the relational nature of the variables in the study, social political ideology was used when analyzing group similarities and differences. Prior to data analysis, the self-reported social political ideology responses were converted into five groups: Very Liberal, Liberal, Neither Liberal nor Conservative, Conservative, and Very Conservative. Individuals that endorsed 2 and 3 were grouped into a Liberal group and 5 and 6 were grouped into a Conservative group, whereas 1 continued to be Very Liberal, 4 Neither Liberal nor Conservative, and 7 Very Conservative. This grouping created the most evenly distributed group sizes (Very Liberal = 45, Liberal = 58, Neither Liberal nor Conservative = 35, Conservative = 48, Very Conservative = 44).

Procedure

The first sample was comprised of undergraduate students at a private, Christian university. The students were sent a Survey Monkey link via Sona to their student email. Prior to beginning the survey, students were asked to read an informed consent, provide their name and contact information, and read a disclaimer informing the students that their answers will not be anonymous but would remain confidential. Within the disclaimer, the students were also be informed that they will be asked to participate further in the study at a later date and in person. Those who provided their personal information were considered to have completed the informed consent and continued with the survey.

The survey contained a demographics questionnaire, the ASQ, the DGS, the DUREL, and the ISS. It took approximately 20-30 minutes to complete. The Survey Monkey responses were

exported to SPSS for scoring and analysis. All scores were input into a data sheet on a two-password protected computer. Identifying information was removed once responses to the TCTS data were entered. De-identified data were used for the analysis.

Participants that complete the self-report by Survey Monkey were asked, via email, to participate further in the study. Each of the 71 participants who completed the survey in full were asked to further participate in completing the TCTS. Of the 71, 19 completed the TCTS. These participants were invited to a small conference room within the Graduate School of Clinical Psychology Department to complete the TCTS. Prior to beginning the TCTS the participants completed another informed consent, informing them that the stories will be recorded. The participants viewed the 10 stimulus cards from the TCTS and were prompted to tell a story that has a beginning, middle, and end, as well as what each character is thinking and feeling. The TCTS was administered and transcribed by trained graduate students who were blind to the hypothesis of the study. The completion of the TCTS took approximately 30 minutes. Different trained graduate students, blind to the hypothesis, scored the de-identified TCTS transcriptions.

The trained students administering the TCTS committed to not sharing or revealing any identifying information. The recording for the TCTS was stored on a two-password protected computer until scoring was finalized. After scoring, recordings were deleted. All participants were given an ID code that was used to match TCTS scores with survey responses. Different trained students scored the TCTS using the ID codes without access to identifying information. Consent forms and any other documentation with identifiable information was kept separately and securely. After participants completed the TCTS, ISS, DGS, DUREL, and ASQ, they were debriefed on the purpose of the TCTS and provided with the researcher's contact information to follow up on any questions or comments regarding the study.

The second sample was an adult community sample collected through Qualtrics. The participants were gathered via the Qualtrics system. Prior to beginning the survey, participants completed an informed consent. No identifying information was collected from this sample. The survey consisted of a demographics questionnaire, the ASQ, the DGS, the DUREL, and the ISS. It took participants approximately 10-20 minutes to complete. Participants were financially compensated through Qualtrics for their involvement in the study. Completed Qualtrics responses were exported to SPSS to be scored. While these data had no personally identifying information, all scores were input into a data sheet on a password protected computer.

Data Analysis

Prior to beginning data analysis, the Qualtrics and undergraduate samples were combined with self-reported social political ideology grouped into five categories: Very Liberal (1 on the demographics questionnaire), Liberal (2 and 3 on the demographics questionnaire), Neither Liberal nor Conservative (4 on the demographics questionnaire), Conservative (5 and 6 on the demographics questionnaire), and Very Conservative (7 on the demographics questionnaire). Individuals that identified 8 (Do not know) or 9 (Cannot pick one label), were excluded from the analysis.

Data analysis began with descriptive results and internal consistency for each of the study measures. Bar graphs were created to look for a curvilinear relationship between self-reported political ideology and shame, grace, and attachment characteristics. Next a correlation among grouped social political ideology and each measure and select demographic variables were conducted. Following this, regressions were run with grace, shame, and attachment as dependent variables to evaluate the extent demographic variables and grouped social political ideology account for the variance in each measure. An Analysis of Variance was completed next,

evaluating within and between group differences of grouped social political ideology across each measure. Lastly, an exploratory cluster analysis was conducted to determine the most appropriate number of clusters using shame and attachment as the basis of the clustered groups. The clusters that were successfully grouped with under ten iterations were then followed with an analysis of covariance using demographic variables and the scale measures to evaluate group differences. Additionally, crosstabulation and symmetric measures of the clusters were completed as well.

Chapter 3

Results

Responses were gathered using Survey Monkey for the undergraduate sample and Qualtrics for the general sample, with a total of 244 responses, of which 230 were useable for aspects of the analysis and 222 were completed in full. See Appendix J for further details regarding demographic breakdown of participants. Participants were divided into five groups based on self-reported social political ideology: Very Liberal = 45, Liberal = 58, Neither Liberal nor Conservative = 35, Conservative = 48, Very Conservative = 44. Prior to evaluating the hypotheses, internal consistency was calculated for each measure, and the scales within each measure. Cronbach's alpha was calculated for the DGS and each of the five factors, the ASQ and avoidance and anxious attachment styles, the ISS and total shame and self-esteem, and the DUREL and intrinsic religiosity. Internal consistency was .608 for DGS: Grace to Self and ranged from .775 (Avoidance on the ASQ) to .978 (Total Shame on the ISS) for the remaining scales. See Appendix Table K1 for each individual Cronbach's alpha calculated.

Following the evaluation of internal consistency, Pearson correlations were calculated to examine the relationship among Grouped Social Political Ideology (GSPI) and each of the measures. DGS: Experiencing God's Grace and DUREL: Organizational Religiosity was

positively correlated with GSPI at a $r = .142$ ($p < .05$). DUREL: Nonorganizational Religiosity and DUREL: Intrinsic Religiosity were positively correlated with GSPI at $r = .175$ ($p < .01$) and $r = .198$ ($p < .01$). The other measures: ISS Shame, ISS Self-Esteem, DGS Costly Grace, DGS Grace to Self, DGS Grace from Others, DGS Grace to Others, ASQ Avoidance, and ASQ Anxious, were not significantly correlated with GSPI. See Appendix Table K2 for more information regarding the Pearson Correlations. Spearman's Rho Correlations were calculated to evaluate the relationship among GSPI and demographic variables. Age and religiosity were positively correlated with GSPI at $r = .140$ ($p < .05$) and $r = .161$ ($p < .05$). Ethnicity, economic political ideology, and social political ideology (prior to being grouped) were positively correlated with GSPI at $r = .202$ ($p < .01$), $r = .765$ ($p < .01$), and $r = .990$ ($p < .01$). The other demographic variables were not significantly correlated with GSPI. See Appendix Table K3 for more information regarding the Spearman's Rho Correlations.

Hypotheses 1 & 2

A regression analysis was completed to evaluate the amount of variance demographic variables, ISS: Shame, ASQ: Avoidance, and ASQ: Anxiety accounted for within GSPI to address the hypotheses that shame and attachment characteristics will account for a significant amount of the variance across the political spectrum. The regression analysis failed to reject both the first and second null hypotheses, as ISS: Shame ($\beta = .048$, $t = .738$, $p = .462$), ASQ: Avoidance ($\beta = -.002$, $t = -.023$, $p = .981$), and ASQ: Anxiety ($\beta = -.002$, $t = -.029$, $p = .977$) failed to account for a significant amount of the variance in GSPI.

ISS: Shame, as seen in Appendix Table L1, accounted for only .002 of the total variance within GSPI, while demographic variables accounted for .168 of the variance. Within this model, age ($\beta = .204$, $t = 2.897$, $p = .004$), ethnicity ($\beta = .132$, $t = 2.051$, $p = .041$), education ($\beta = -.269$,

$t = -3.544, p \leq .001$), and religiosity ($\beta = .321, t = 3.898, p \leq .001$) each accounted for a significant amount of variance within GSPI; together they accounted for 16.8 % of the variance in GSPI.

ASQ: Avoidance and ASQ: Anxiety, as seen in Appendix Table L2, accounted for .000 of the total variance within GSPI, while demographic variables accounted for .165 of the variance. Within this model, age ($\beta = .192, t = 2.715, p = .007$), education ($\beta = -.289, t = -3.763, p \leq .001$), and religiosity ($\beta = .315, t = 3.800, p \leq .001$) each accounted for a significant amount of variance within GSPI; together they accounted for 16.5 % of the variance in GSPI. See Appendix Table L1 (ISS: Shame Variance) and Table L2 (ASQ Variance) for more information regarding the coefficients of the regression analysis.

Given the significance of religion on variance within demographic variables on GSPI, a regression analysis was conducted to evaluate the variance of DGS: Experiencing God's Grace and the DUREL items on GSPI. Together, DGS: Experiencing God's Grace, DUREL Intrinsic Religion, DUREL Organizational Religiosity, and DUREL Non-organizational Religiosity accounted for 1.6 % of the variance within GSPI. This suggests that the DGS: Experiencing God's Grace and DUREL items do not significantly impact the variance of GSPI beyond the variance captured by self-report religiosity within the demographics, which together account for 17 % of the variance in GSPI. See Appendix Table L3 for more information regarding the coefficients of the regression analysis.

Hypothesis 3

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to evaluate between-group differences to identify if a curvilinear relationship is present, such that individuals who identify in the middle of the political ideology range demonstrate lower levels of shame, more secure attachment characteristics, and higher levels of grace than those at either extreme. While a curvilinear

relationship was found regarding aspects of grace, the results ultimately failed to reject the null hypothesis, as the curvilinear relationships found were inconsistent with the proposed direction of the relationships.

An initial ANOVA was completed to evaluate between group differences across the five GSPI groups. Significant differences between groups were discovered for DGS: Experiencing God's Grace ($F_{4,222} = 4.266$; $p = .002$; $\eta^2 = .071$), DGS: Costly Grace ($F_{4,222} = 4.790$; $p = .001$; $\eta^2 = .079$), DGS: Grace from Others ($F_{4,221} = 6.392$; $p \leq .001$; $\eta^2 = .104$), DGS: Grace to Others ($F_{4,222} = 4.038$; $p = .004$; $\eta^2 = .068$), ASQ: Avoidance ($F_{4,217} = 2.788$; $p = .027$; $\eta^2 = .049$), DUREL: Organizational Religiosity ($F_{4,218} = 3.135$; $p = .016$; $\eta^2 = .054$), DUREL: Non-organizational Religiosity ($F_{4,218} = 3.592$; $p = .007$; $\eta^2 = .062$), and DUREL: Intrinsic Religiosity ($F_{4,218} = 2.922$; $p = .022$; $\eta^2 = .051$). These effect sizes are all small except for Grace from Others, which was medium.

See Appendix Table M1 for more information regarding the non-significant between groups differences and Appendices Table M2, Table M3, and Table M4 for nonsignificant within group differences on the ISS: Shame, TCTS: Direct Shame, and TCTS: Indirect Shame. ASQ: Avoidance displayed significant between-group differences, while ASQ: Avoidance (see Appendix Table M5) and ASQ: Anxious (see Appendix Table M6) exhibited no significant within groups difference.

Scheffe Post Hoc tests identified significant between group differences on four of the five factors on the DGS: Experiencing God's Grace (Figure 1), Costly Grace (Figure 2), Grace from Others (Figure 4), and Grace to Others (Figure 5). DGS: Grace to Self had no significant between group differences, shown in Figure 3 (see Appendix Table M7). For DGS: Experiencing God's Grace (see Appendix Table M8), Very Conservatives scored significantly higher than

Liberals ($p = .006$). DGS: Costly Grace (see Appendix Table M9) indicates that Very Conservatives scored significantly lower than Liberals ($p = .003$). Within DGS: Grace from Others (see Appendix Table M10) Very Liberals scored significantly lower than Liberals ($p = .006$) and Conservatives ($p = .002$) and Very Conservatives scored significantly lower than Conservatives ($p = .046$). Lastly, Very Liberals scored significantly lower than Liberals on DGS: Grace to Others ($p = .048$; see Appendix Table M11). Figures 2 (DGS: Experiencing God's Grace), 3 (DGS: Costly Grace), 4 (DGS: Grace from Others), and 5 (DGS: Grace to Others) display these between-group differences.

Figure 1

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests for Between Groups Differences for Dimensions of Grace Scale (DGS): Experiencing God's Grace and Grouped Social Political Ideology

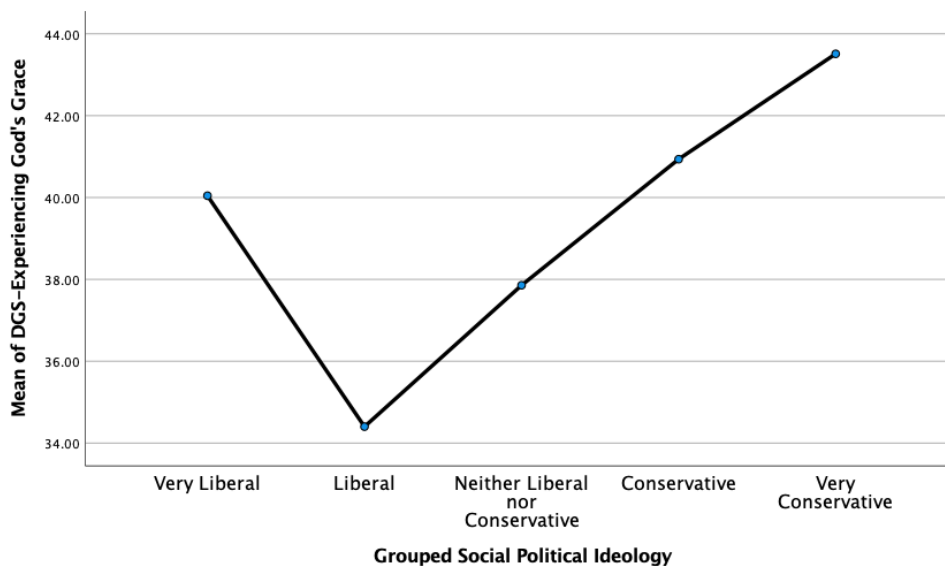
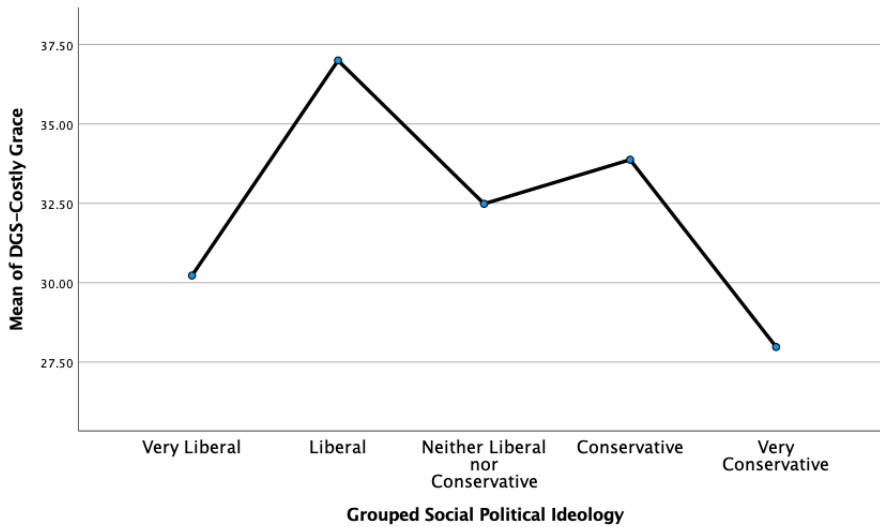


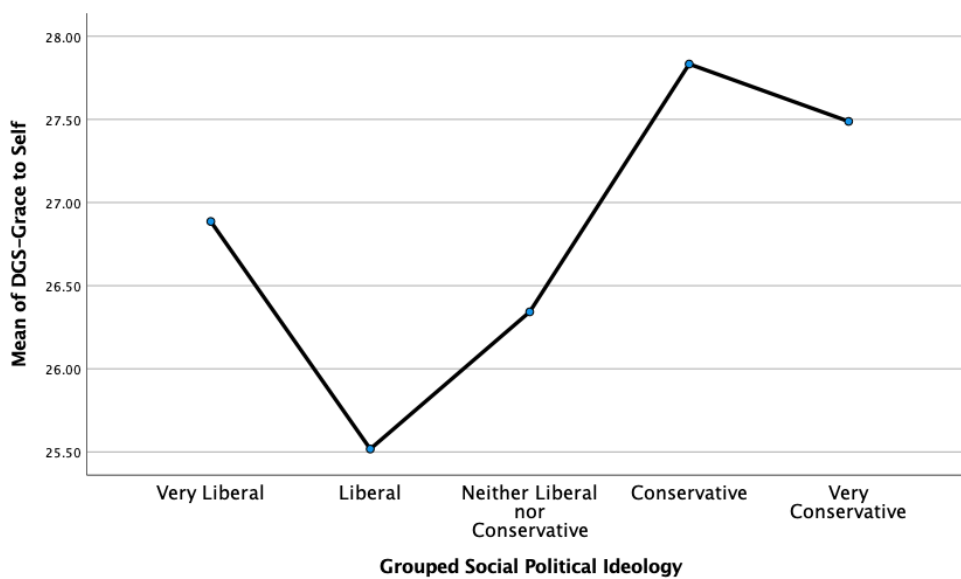
Figure 2

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests for Between Thin Groups Differences for Dimensions of Grace Scale (DGS): Costly Grace and Grouped Social Political Ideology

**Figure 1**

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests for Between Groups Differences for Dimensions of Grace Scale (DGS):

Grace to Self and Grouped Social Political Ideology

**Figure 2**

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests for Between Groups Differences for Dimensions of Grace Scale (DGS):
Grace from Others and Grouped Social Political Ideology

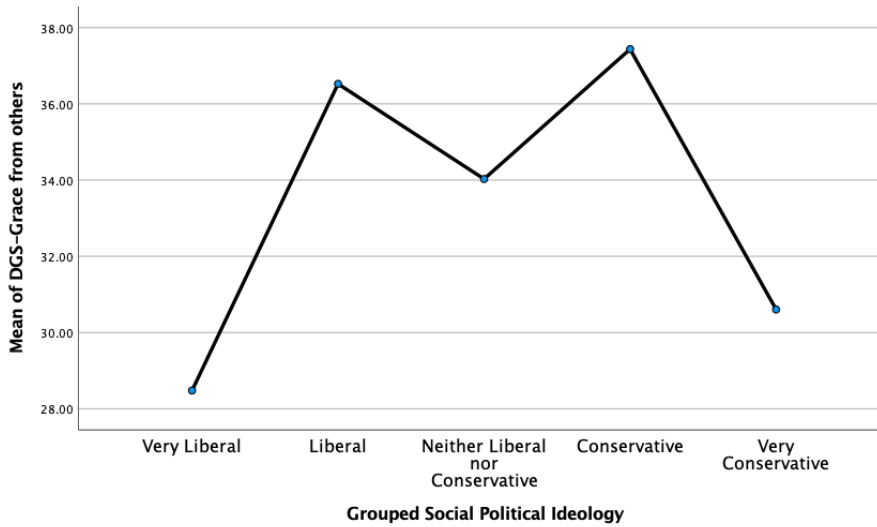
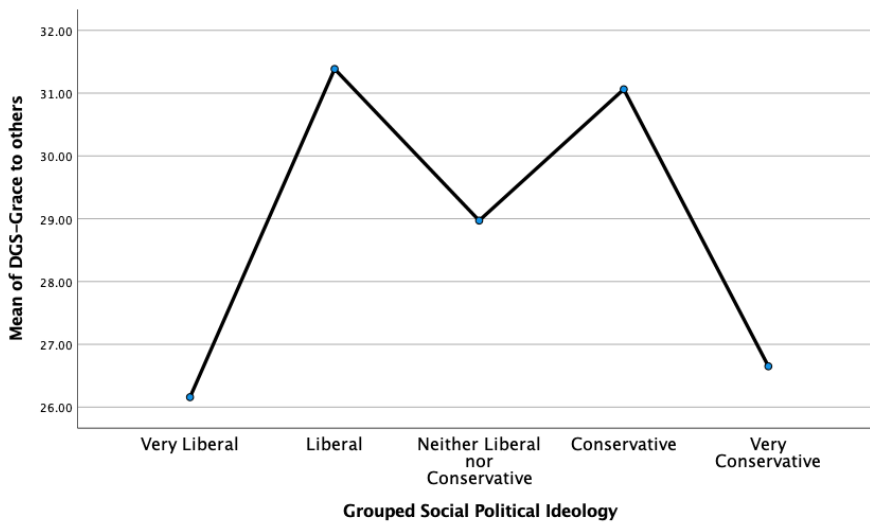


Figure 3

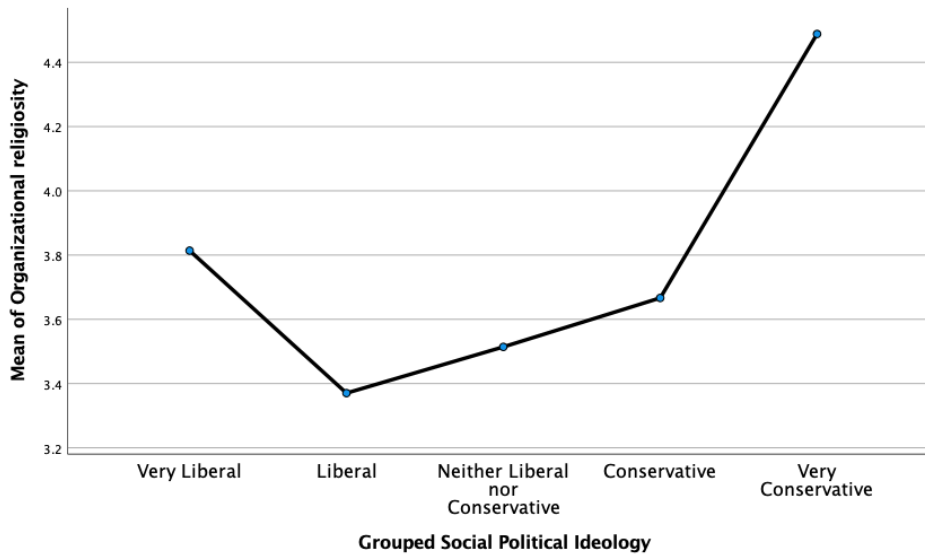
Scheffe Post Hoc Tests for Between Groups Differences for Dimensions of Grace Scale (DGS):
Grace to Others and Grouped Social Political Ideology



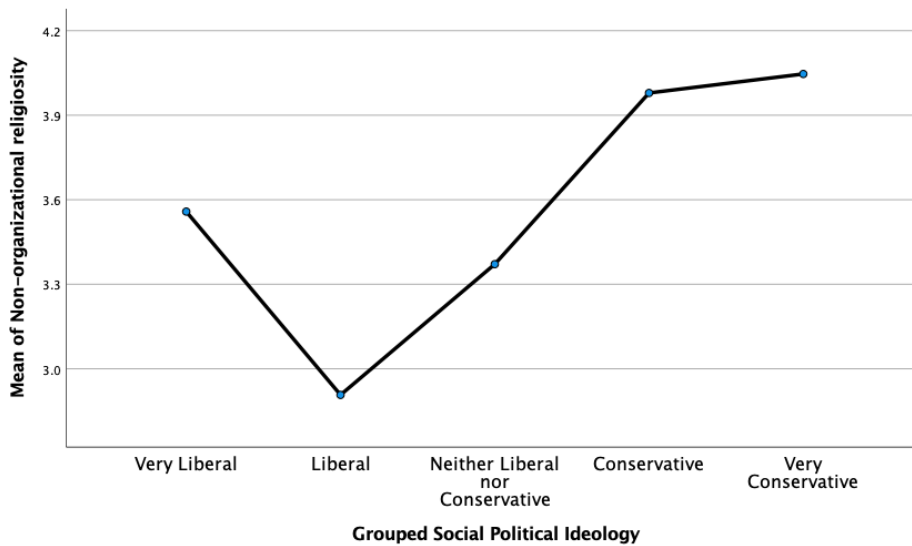
Scheffe Post Hoc tests identified significant between group differences on each of the DUREL scales. Within DUREL: Organizational Religiosity, shown in Figure 6 (see Appendix Table M12), significant differences were identified between Very Conservatives and Liberals ($p = .027$) with Very Conservatives scoring significantly higher. DUREL: Non-organizational Religiosity, displayed in Figure 7 (see Appendix Table M13), found that Liberals score significantly lower than Conservatives ($p = .047$) and Very Conservatives ($p = .037$). DUREL: Intrinsic Religiosity, shown in Figure 8 (see Appendix Table M14), identified that Liberals score significantly lower than Very Conservatives ($p = .035$).

Figure 4

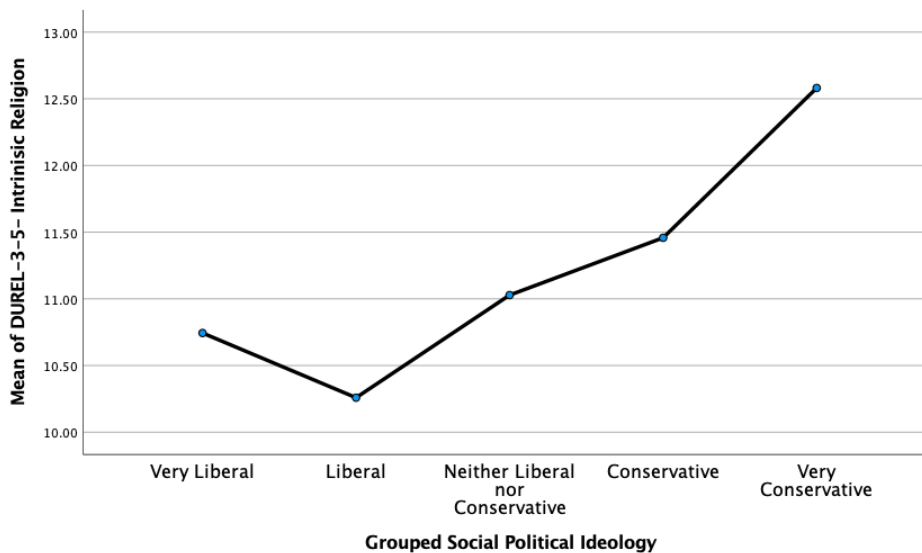
*Scheffe Post Hoc Tests Between Groups Differences for Duke University Religion Index:
Organizational Religiosity and Grouped Social Political Ideology*

**Figure 5**

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests Between Groups Differences for Duke University Religion Index: Non-organizational Religiosity and Grouped Social Political Ideology

**Figure 6**

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests Between Groups Differences for Duke University Religion Index (DUREL): Intrinsic Religiosity and Grouped Social Political Ideology



Hypothesis 4

In response to Hypothesis 4, two cluster analyses were conducted. The first examined whether demographic factors might account for differences in political ideology, while the second examined whether scores on the shame, attachment, and grace scales did so. Cluster analyses were calculated for two through eight clusters for both demographic variables and scale measures to determine the number of clusters that best fit group differences. Clusters that failed to converge after 10 iterations were excluded from further analysis. An ANOVA was calculated for cluster analyses that converged prior to ten iterations to examine significant differences across demographic variables and scale measures.

Demographic Clusters. Results from the cluster analysis and the ANOVA of the demographic variables can be seen in Appendix Table N1. Clusters of four, five, and seven failed to converge after 10 iterations. Two clusters converged after five iterations, with the ANOVA

identifying significant differences in age ($F_{1,220} = 5.819, p = .017$) and gender ($F_{1,220} = 10.208, p = .002$). Three clusters also converged after five iterations, with significant differences in age ($F_{2,219} = 4.474, p = .012$), gender ($F_{2,219} = 6.119, p = .003$), education ($F_{2,219} = 13.068, p = <.001$), and religiosity ($F_{2,219} = 3.125, p = .046$). In addition, six clusters converged after five iterations, with significant differences in age ($F_{5,216} = 3.517, p = .004$), gender ($F_{5,216} = 4.100, p = .001$), education ($F_{5,216} = 4.895, p = <.001$), and social status ($F_{5,216} = 2.952, p = .013$). Eight clusters converged after seven iterations, with significant differences in age ($F_{7,214} = 2.111, p = .044$), gender ($F_{7,214} = 2.909, p = .006$), education ($F_{7,214} = 4.866, p = <.001$), ethnicity ($F_{7,213} = 4.155, p = <.001$), and social status ($F_{7,214} = 3.782, p = <.001$). Based on the results of the cluster analyses and ANOVAs with demographic variables, eight clusters captured the most group differences.

Scale Clusters. Results from the cluster analysis and the ANOVA of the scale measures: ISS-Total Shame, ASQ-Avoidance, ASQ-Anxious, DGS: Experiencing God's Grace, DGS: Costly Grace, DGS: Grace to Self, DGS: Grace from Others, and DGS: Grace to Others, can be seen in Appendix Table N2. Similar to the demographic variables, four, five, and seven clusters failed to converge after 10 iterations.

Two clusters converged after five iterations and identified significant differences across each measure of shame (ISS: Total Shame- $F_{1,220} = 562.076, p = <.001$), attachment (ASQ: Avoidance- $F_{1,220} = 38.924, p = <.001$; ASQ: Anxious- $F_{1,220} = 178.396, p = <.001$), and grace (DGS: Experiencing God's Grace- $F_{1,220} = 6.883, p = .009$; DGS: Costly Grace- $F_{1,220} = 11.786, p = <.001$; DGS: Grace to self- $F_{1,219} = 30.992, p = <.001$; DGS: Grace from Others- $F_{1,219} = 43.006, p = <.001$; DGS: Grace to Others- $F_{1,220} = 24.425, p = <.001$).

Three clusters also converged after five iterations. Within three clusters each of the scale measures have a significant difference of $p = <.001$, with the exception of DGS: Experiencing God's Grace, which did not have a significant difference ($F_{2,219} = 2.949, p = .054$). Six clusters resulted in the same outcome as three clusters, with five iterations and significant differences across scale measures at a $p = <.001$, with the exception of DGS: Experiencing God's Grace ($F_{5,216} = 1.842, p = .106$).

Eight clusters converged after seven iterations and displayed similar results to two clusters with significant differences across each measure of shame (ISS: Total Shame- $F_{7,214} = 941.347, p = <.001$), attachment (ASQ: Avoidance- $F_{7,214} = 28.997, p = <.001$; ASQ: Anxious- $F_{7,214} = 63.933, p = <.001$), and grace (DGS: Experiencing God's Grace- $F_{7,214} = 3.310, p = .002$; DGS: Costly Grace- $F_{7,214} = 9.452, p = <.001$; DGS: Grace to self- $F_{7,213} = 9.014, p = <.001$; DGS: Grace from Others- $F_{7,213} = 14.545, p = <.001$; DGS: Grace to Others- $F_{7,214} = 13.053, p = <.001$).

Given clusters were based on shame and attachment measures, significant differences on these measures are expected. However, given the F values for ISS: Shame, ASQ: Avoidance, and ASQ: Anxious actual group differences seem strongly confirmed. The results of the cluster analyses and ANOVAs suggest either two clusters or eight clusters likely best describe group differences. Given that demographic differences are likely best explained in eight clusters, eight clusters may provide the most comprehensive explanation of group differences within this sample.

Following the cluster analyses and ANOVAs, crosstabulations of cluster groups two, three, six, and eight were calculated to look at the breakdown of GSPI in each cluster (see Appendix Table N3). Additionally, symmetric measures were calculated to evaluate the

differences across GSPI in each cluster (see Appendix Table N4). GSPI did not differ significantly within two clusters ($p = .577$), with a relatively even distribution of each of the political groups in the two clusters. GSPI did display significant differences within three clusters ($p = .003$), with cluster two containing noticeable differences, with a lower number of Liberal and Conservative individuals in comparison to cluster one and cluster three. Six clusters also exhibited a significant difference across GSPI ($p = .015$), with a high number of Liberals in cluster five and no Conservatives in cluster three. Lastly, GSPI displayed significant differences within eight clusters ($p = .012$), with a high number of Conservatives comprising cluster four, a high number of Liberals comprising cluster eight, and cluster five comprised of predominately Very Liberals and Very Conservatives.

Again, within the crosstabulation, eight clusters appear to best highlight group differences, with indications the Very Liberals and Very Conservatives have similarities, with more fluctuations and differences within the Liberal and Conservative groups. The Neither Liberal nor Conservative group appear to have less variability and differences than the Liberal and Conservative groups but do not clearly fit in with the Very Liberal and Very Conservatives either.

Supplementary Analyses

Additional regression analyses were completed to evaluate the variance of demographic variables: age, gender, ethnicity, education, social status, residence, self-reported religiosity, self-reported spirituality, and GSPI accounted for within each of the measures.

ISS. Within ISS: Shame (see Appendix Table L4), age ($p = .01$) is the only variable that accounted for a significant amount of the variance, with demographic variables and GSPI accounting for .074 of the total variance. Within ISS: Self-Esteem (see Appendix Table L5),

gender ($p = .011$) and religiosity ($p = .002$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance, with demographic variables and GSPI accounting for .228 of the total variance.

DGS. Social status ($p = .024$), religiosity ($p \leq .001$), and spirituality ($p \leq .001$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance within DGS: Experiencing God's Grace (see Appendix Table L6), with demographic variables and GSPI accounting for .459 of the total variance.

Within DGS: Costly Grace (see Appendix Table L7), gender ($p = .036$), education ($p = .006$), residence ($p = .001$), and religiosity ($p = .023$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance, with demographic variables and GSPI accounting for .289 % of the total variance.

Age ($p = .014$), gender ($p = .004$), and religiosity ($p = .033$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance within DGS: Grace to Self (see Appendix Table L8), with demographic variables and GSPI accounting for .170 of the total variance. Demographic variables and GSPI accounted for .121 of the total variance of DGS: Grace from Others (see Appendix Table L9), with education ($p = .008$) and residence ($p = .007$) accounting for a significant amount of the variance. Within DGS: Grace to Others (see Appendix Table L10), residence ($p = .002$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance, with demographic variables and GSPI accounting for .137 of the total variance.

ASQ. Demographic variables and GSPI did not account for a significant amount of the variance within ASQ: Avoidance (see Appendix Table L11), with these variables accounting for .036 of the total variance. Within ASQ: Anxious (see Appendix Table L12), age ($p = .001$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance, with demographic variables and GSPI accounting for .116 of the total variance.

DUREL. Age ($p \leq .001$), education ($p = .011$), residence ($p = .009$), and religiosity ($p \leq .001$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance within DUREL: Organizational

Religiosity (see Appendix Table L13), with demographic variables and GSPI accounting for .551 of the total variance. Demographic variables and GSPI accounted for .403 of the total variance within DUREL: Non-organizational Religiosity (see Appendix Table L14), with religiosity ($p = .001$), spirituality ($p \leq .001$), and GSPI ($p = .034$) accounting for a significant amount of the variance. Lastly, within DUREL: Intrinsic Religiosity (see Appendix Table L15, religiosity ($p \leq .001$) and spirituality ($p \leq .001$) accounted for a significant amount of the variance, with demographic variables and GSPI accounting for .470 of the total variance.

Chapter 4

Discussion

Political polarization is continuing to intensify, as it has been on the rise since the 1970s (Gaziano, 2017). Individuals can no longer sit comfortably in the middle but are being forced to choose a political ideology and stay with it (Haidt, 2016). The field of psychology has fallen prey to this divide. Haidt (2016) identifies that there is a 14:1 ratio of liberals to conservatives within psychology, a ratio that has likely continued to grow, as conservative voices are often unwelcome within the field. The results of this study hope to highlight similarities and differences in attachment, shame, grace, and religiosity across political ideologies through a more nuanced lens, rather than approaching political ideology from the lens of the “Conservative attitude syndrome” that was originally proposed at the onset of political ideology research with Adorno et al (1950).

The first two hypotheses proposed that shame and attachment characteristics have a significant impact on individuals’ political ideology. The results of the study found no support for the hypothesis that shame and attachment characteristics significantly contribute to social political beliefs. However, within this sample, age, education, and religiosity were found to have

a significant relationship with social political ideology. This aligns with well documented research that religiosity is related to political ideology (Rowatt, 2019). In addition, research has shown that education and age are also related to political beliefs (Desilver, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2016). Young, Bagozzi et al. (2019) discuss that personality characteristics may lead people towards a certain political ideology but does not predetermine political beliefs. This, in conjunction with the results of the study, further highlights the complex, multifaceted structure of political ideology that is likely ultimately influenced by multiple factors such as personality, culture, socialization, religious beliefs and attitudes, and generational factors.

The third hypothesis proposed that individuals within the middle of the political spectrum would report lower levels of shame, more secure attachment characteristics (i.e., lower avoidant and anxious attachment characteristics), and higher levels of grace than political extremes. The findings of the study did not fully produce this pattern across the political spectrum. There were no significant differences across political ideologies regarding shame and attachment characteristics. This supports the results of a study completed by Gaziano (2017) which found no evidence that attachment is related to political ideology and that individuals across the political spectrum differ in their degree of secure attachments. It is also important to note that research by Pace and Bufford (2018) identify that self-report measures of attachment may miss key characteristics of attachment styles that interview measures of attachment are more suited to capture. Thus, there may be nuanced differences in attachment styles and characteristics across political ideology that are not captured by self-report measures.

Muris et al. (2018) highlight that shame is highly correlated to neuroticism and considering Jost et al. (2003a) report that liberals and conservatives score similarly on the personality trait of neuroticism it is not surprising that liberals and conservatives reported similar

levels of shame within this study. However, given research by van Prooijen and Krouwel (2019) who report that political extremes exhibit four psychological features that differ from more moderate ideological beliefs: psychological distress, cognitive simplicity, overconfidence, and intolerance, it is surprising that individuals who identify as Very Liberal or Very Conservative did not report higher levels of shame. This may be due to the face valid nature of the ISS, in which political extremes overconfidence and cognitive simplicity may mask their psychological distress on a self-report measure. The TCTS may have provided a more nuanced analysis of shame across the political spectrum, as it is not face valid and thus able to avoid self-biases that may be present on the ISS. However, given the small number of participants, limited to an undergraduate sample who completed the TCTS, group differences are limited.

Given grace is largely viewed as a religious, primarily Christian, construct, it is unsurprising that there are group differences, considering religiosity accounts for a significant amount of variance within social political ideology in this study. The one factor of grace in which there were no group differences is Grace to Self. The Grace to Self factor is inversely related to shame (Bufford et al., 2017). Since there were no significant difference between groups regarding shame, it is expected that Grace to Self would not have any group differences as well. Experiencing God's Grace, Costly Grace, Grace from Others, and Grace to Others all had group differences.

Experiencing God's Grace displayed that Very Conservatives endorse the highest amount of God's grace, while Liberals endorse the lowest. Very Liberals, Neither Liberal nor Conservatives, and Conservatives fall in between, in which they display similarities to both Liberals and Very Conservatives in how they view God's grace. Considering that Experiencing God's Grace is the most explicitly religious factor of the DGS, it is understandable that Very

Conservatives score significantly higher than Liberals, as research points to religiosity and conservatism being correlated (Rowatt, 2019), a finding supported in the present data. The inverse relationship was discovered for Costly Grace, in which Liberals endorsed the highest amount of Costly Grace, whereas Very Conservatives endorsed the lowest amount. This also aligns with the results of Experiencing God's Grace, as Costly Grace is the belief that one must earn grace (Bufford et al., 2017). Those that feel they experience God's grace, do not then believe they have to earn grace (i.e., Costly Grace).

Grace from Others most closely aligns with the hypothesized curvilinear relationship of individuals in the middle scoring higher on grace than those on the extremes. This suggests that Liberals and Conservatives feel that they experience more grace from others than those on the political extremes, either Very Liberal or Very Conservative. Interestingly, the Neither Liberal nor Conservative group falls in-between in their experience of grace from others. This may speak to Haidt's (2016) comment that those in the middle are often unwelcome by different political parties, which may lead to a perceived lower level of grace from others.

Grace to others also aligns with the hypothesized curvilinear relationship, although the only significant difference is that Liberals endorse higher levels of Grace to Others than Very Liberals. While this is the only significant difference, the results show a theme of Liberals and Conservatives offering the most grace, Very Liberals and Very Conservatives being the least gracious, and Neither Liberals nor Conservatives falling in the middle. This is consistent with results of van Prooijen and Krouwel (2019) research on the four characteristics of political extremes: psychological distress, cognitive simplicity, overconfidence, and intolerance. These features may increase conflicts and reduce cooperation and adaptive relationships between

groups (van Prooijen & Krouwel, 2019). This increased conflict and reduced cooperation could lead to lower levels of grace to others.

In addition to attachment, shame, and grace, religiosity measured by the DUREL was also analyzed across the political spectrum. Results were similar to the findings of *Experiencing God's Grace*, with Very Conservatives endorsing significantly more organized religiosity, non-organized religiosity, and intrinsic religiosity than Liberals, and Conservatives endorsed more non-organized religiosity than Liberals. This also supports previous research that religiosity is related to political ideology, specifically with individuals on the conservative side of the political spectrum often identifying as more religious than those on the liberal side (Gaziano, 2017; Rowatt, 2019).

The fourth hypothesis focused on themes of shame, attachment, and grace across the political spectrum using a cluster analysis. The cluster analysis resulted in two, three, six, and eight clusters. Crosstabulations and symmetric measures identified that an eight-cluster analysis of self-reported social political ideology is likely the best fit for this sample. Most research thus far has focused on a liberal-conservative dichotomy, with making each identified ideology fit into one of these categories (Baldner et al., 2018; Block & Block, 2006; Diemer et al., 2019; Gaziano, 2017; Graham et al., 2009; McAdams et al., 2008; Panno et al., 2018; Young, Bagozzi et al., 2019). On the other hand, van Prooijen and Krouwel (2019) suggest that political ideology may be better viewed as extreme versus moderate, as many individuals on the political extremes share similarities, as also acknowledged by Jost et al. (2003b). While this study provides support to the utility of a two-cluster grouping (i.e., liberal-conservative dichotomy), research by Pew Research Center (2021) suggests a more nuanced approach to evaluating political differences. Pew Research Center (2021) completed a study that divides political typology into nine groups

based on values and attitudes, four more liberal oriented (Progressive Left, Establishment Liberals, Democratic Mainstays, Outsider Left), four more conservative oriented (Ambivalent Right, Populist Right, Committed Conservatives, Faith and Flag Conservatives), and one without a clear political orientation (Stressed Sideliners). The eight-cluster analysis that is the best fit for this sample provides support for Pew Research Center's (2021) perspective.

While this study looked at five self-reported political ideologies (Very Liberal, Liberal, Neither Liberal nor Conservative, Conservative, Very Conservative), the cluster analysis and Pew Research Center (2021) suggest that these five labels do not fully capture the current political groupings in the United States. While the Neither Liberal nor Conservative option was designed to be a middle ground between Liberal and Conservative, Pew Research Center (2021) highlighted that the three middle ideologies (Stressed Sideliners, Outside Left, and Ambivalent Right) still lean towards a political ideology and actually have little in common. This may suggest that the Neither Liberal nor Conservative option is not actually capturing individuals with a shared belief system or similarities that may be seen in individuals that self-identify as liberal or conservative. This is further highlighted in the fact that the Neither Liberal nor Conservative group did not differ significantly from any of the other groups within the study, indicating that this group shares characteristics with Very Liberals, Liberals, Conservatives, and Very Conservatives.

Supplementary analysis was also done to evaluate the impact of demographic variables, specifically GSPI, on each of the measures used. The only measure in which GSPI accounted for a significant amount of the variance was the DUREL: Non-organizational Religiosity scale. Other demographic variables such as age, gender, education, religiosity, spirituality, and area of residence accounted for variance across the other measures in the study. This suggests that

individual's political ideology was unrelated to how they responded to measures of shame, grace, and attachment. Additionally, some measures of religiosity (Organizational Religiosity and Intrinsic Religiosity) were not significantly associated with political ideology, whereas Non-organizational Religiosity was. Non-organizational Religiosity evaluates individual's private religious activities which indicates that political ideology is more strongly related to how people privately engage in their personal beliefs than their public engagement. As mentioned before, political polarization has made it to where individuals are not welcome to cross over to different political parties (Haidt, 2016), which may help explain why GSPI accounts for significant variance in Non-organizational Religiosity but not Organizational Religiosity. Political polarization has required people to join with whatever group most closely aligns with their values and avoid groups that oppose or disagree with their beliefs. When interacting with their chosen group, the values shared by the group are the only ones expressed, while any differing values must be suppressed and kept private (Heltzel & Laurin, 2020). This is similar to religiosity, in which individuals find the denomination that best fit their values, while being willing to put up with aspects of the denomination they do not particularly like or agree with, such as worship style (Reardon, 2016).

Limitations

While this study found no evidence that the political ideologies in the United States differ significantly in shame and attachment characteristics, results showed they differ in their beliefs about grace. But the study is not without limitations. Most notably, the study uses primarily self-report measures of political ideology, shame, attachment, and grace, with the exception of the projective shame measure (TCTS), which only had 19 participants, thus limiting its utility and generalizability. While research shows that self-reported political ideology is relatively accurate

(Graham et al., 2009), the other measures may have been answered less honestly or in a more guarded way. Specifically, based on van Prooijen's and Krouwel's (2019) research, those affiliated with political extremes are often overconfident and strive for cognitive simplicity, which may have resulted in filtered responses to their actual shame dynamics, attachment characteristics, and beliefs about grace. While this cannot be confirmed, it may have resulted in data that does not accurately portray the political extremes within the United States.

An additional limitation is that the study specifically used self-reported social political ideology based on the relational nature of the variables being measured. While this was done for a specific reason, economic beliefs do impact political ideologies. While the study found a high correlation between social and economic self-reported political ideology, eliminating this variable from the study may have had slight implications on group differences.

Lastly, the study used a combination of undergraduate participants and a Qualtrics sample. While the Qualtrics sample does support more generalizability than an undergraduate sample, there are still limitations within the sample. Specifically, the sample is limited to individuals with easy access to technology to complete the survey. Also, the sample is primarily White and disproportionally educated in comparison to the general public (with 31% having a college degree and 32% having a graduate degree within the Qualtrics sample). While the study provides a relatively even distribution of participants across the political spectrum, the generalizability of the results will be limited due to the demographics of the sample.

Future Directions

Based on the findings of this study, the field may consider further evaluating the research of van Prooijen and Krouwel (2019) and take an extreme versus moderate approach to political ideology research moving forward. Another approach would be to build on the research of Pew

Research Center (2021) and take a more nuanced approach of evaluating more specific political ideologies rather than generalizing information into a liberal-conservative dichotomy. Another strategy to explore is approaching political ideology as a multidimensional construct that includes liberal-conservative, moderate-extreme, and perhaps other dimensions such as the degree of social and economic importance. In addition, future research should strive for an equal number of participants across each political ideology being researched, as much of the past research has been done in university settings that contain a higher number of liberal participants.

Another area of future research that could provide further insight into the political polarization within the United States would be to continue to research the use of shame and attachment in implementing society values and beliefs. The use of interview measures of these constructs could be illuminating. This could provide further information as to whether shame and attachment are being utilized by people across political ideologies to modify and implement societal values and beliefs in differing ideological groups. As this study used self-report of political ideology, shame, grace, and attachment, a study evaluating these variables in political extremist groups may provide more accurate data on political extremes in comparison to individuals who self-report as Very Liberal or Very Conservative. However, this research should be done with extreme caution as psychology is a liberal field and may have selection bias in what constitutes a politically extreme group, which could lead to further over-pathologizing conservatives, while ignoring attributes of liberal ideologies. Lastly, political ideology research moving forward may benefit from focusing on understanding and repairing polarization within the United States more so than highlighting political differences.

Conclusion

Overall, the results of the study provide no evidence that individuals across the political spectrum differ in shame and attachment characteristics. While the similarities in attachment characteristics are not surprising due to previous research by Gaziano (2017), the similarity in shame is a surprise. Previous research has highlighted that shame is an evolutionary trait to alert people of possible social rejection (Kim et al., 2011). Suhay (2015) discusses the possible role of self-conscious emotions in political conformity and polarization. Individuals experience a sense of pride when they fully align with in-group values, while they are shamed by other group members when they deviate from in-group norms and expectations. The experiences of pride and shame result in norms and expectations becoming internalized values over time that further increase in-group conformity and out-group polarization, with the idea that the more an individual conforms to the in-group the more polarized they are towards the out-group (Suhay, 2015). In addition, Stearns (2020) stated that shame is a method of expressing and implementing group values and beliefs when all other methods have failed, such as the use of law. This perspective on the use of shame in expressing and implementing values, in conjunction with the increasing political polarization since the 1970s, may indicate the United States is experiencing elevated shame as a method of attempting to implement values and beliefs in areas they have felt the government has failed to do so with laws. This may offer an explanation as to why there are no group differences in shame within this study. It is possible that the increased polarization has resulted in an increase in both expressing and receiving shame across the political spectrum as a method of “shaming” competing political ideologies to conform to certain values.

The results of the study also provide support that religiosity is related to conservatism. However, there are some indications that Very Liberals share similar religious practices and

beliefs as that of conservatives and very conservatives, which provides limited support to Baldner et al. (2018), in which extreme liberals are grouped with conservatives and very conservatives.

The study provides some support for an extreme versus moderate divide hypothesized by van Prooijen and Krouwel (2019). Specifically, Liberals and Conservatives endorsed higher levels of Grace from Others and Grace to Others than Very Liberals and Very Conservatives. This offers limited support that political extremes may be less tolerant than those within more moderate political ideologies. Additionally, this study provides emerging evidence for the de-pathologizing of conservatives within psychology. Conservative and Very Conservatives do not differ in shame and attachment characteristics in comparison to Liberals and Very Liberals. Additionally, Conservatives, Very Conservatives, and Very Liberals have a higher belief in grace being freely given, which is related to life satisfaction, higher levels of gratitude, and higher levels of spiritual and religious well-being (Bufford et al., 2017). Liberals, on the other hand, have a greater belief that grace must be earned, which is related to adverse childhood experiences, shame, lower levels of gratitude, and lower levels of religious and spiritual well-being (Bufford et al., 2017). Conservatives reported similar levels of receiving grace from others as Liberals, endorsing significantly higher levels of grace received than both Very Liberals and Very Conservatives. Also, Conservatives and Very Conservatives reported to be as gracious to others as Liberals and Very Liberals.

Interestingly, the Neither Liberal nor Conservative group did not significantly differ from any of the other political ideologies on any measure, suggesting that this group shares similar characteristics with each of the other political groups. This may be a result of there not being a clear, unified belief system within the Neither Liberal nor Conservative group in which some

may lean more liberal, some more conservative, and others may desire nothing to do with politics all together. Alternatively, this group may include individuals who align with elements in both conservative and liberal ideologies. Lastly, the results of this study suggest that there is support and utility to a two-cluster analysis of political ideology; however, an eight-cluster approach likely provides a more accurate and nuanced evaluation of differences across the political spectrum.

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Appendix A**Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame Sample**

Card Descriptions

1. Female Looking in the Mirror
 2. *Children in Classroom doing math on board (Males highlighted)
 3. *Coach & Player interacting on the sidelines (player figure androgynous)
 4. Boys walking down bus aisle
 5. Girl playing with cat (color)
 6. *Child receiving spanking (Male child, female adult)
 7. Person walking through doorway into room with others (androgynous figure)
 8. *Baseball game (male players)
 9. *Family on porch w/gang in yard (color)
 10. Boys walking by woman in alley with dog
- *Explicit shame content in card

Appendix B

Internalized Shame Scale

DIRECTIONS: Below is a list of statements describing feelings or experiences that you may have from time to time or that are familiar to you because you have had these feelings and experiences for a long time. Most of these statements describe feelings and experiences that are generally painful or negative in some way. Some people will seldom or never have had many of these feelings. Everyone has had some of these feelings at some time, but if you find that these statements described the way you feel a good deal of the time, it can be painful just reading them. Try to be as honest as you can in responding.

Read each statement carefully and circle the number to the right of the item that indicates the frequency with which you find yourself feeling or experiencing what is described in the statement. Use the scale below. PLEASE DO NOT OMIT ANY ITEM.

	Never						Almost Always
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. I feel like I am never quite good enough.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I feel somehow left out.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I think that people look down on me.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a success.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I scold myself and put myself down.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I feel insecure about others' opinions of me.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Compared to other people, I feel like I somehow never measure up.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I see myself as being very small and insignificant.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I feel I have much to be proud of.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. I feel intensely inadequate and full of self-doubt.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. I feel as if I am somehow defective as a person, like there is something basically wrong with me.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. When I compare myself to others I am just not as important.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. I have an overpowering dread that my faults will be revealed in front of others.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. I feel I have a number of good qualities.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. I see myself striving for perfection only to continually fall short.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. I think others are able to see my defects.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. I could beat myself over the head with a club when I make a mistake.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. I would like to shrink away when I make a mistake.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. I replay painful events over and over in my head until I am overwhelmed.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. I feel I am a person of worth at least on an equal plane with others.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. At times I feel like I will break into a thousand pieces....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. I feel as if I have lost control over my body functions and my feelings.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Sometimes I feel no bigger than a pea.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. At times I feel so exposed that I wish the earth would open up and swallow me.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. I have this painful gap within me that I have not been able to fill.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. I feel empty and unfulfilled.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. I take a positive attitude toward myself.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. My loneliness is more like emptiness.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. I feel like there is something missing.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix C

Dimensions of Grace (V 1.0)

		Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree			
1.	I don't get mad at people, I get even -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2.	One of my parents could stay mad at me for days sometimes -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3.	Because of God's work in my life I feel I have more self-control. My emotions are more likely to be appropriate. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4.	I need to see remorse before I offer forgiveness. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5.	The more obedient I am, the more God loves me. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6.	Others must earn my forgiveness. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7.	When I do something wrong I just can easily forget it. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8.	Because of grace bestowed to me, I am able to forgive others. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
9.	If someone wrongs me, they need to make it right. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10.	People who do bad things deserve what they get. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
11.	Because of God's work in my life I feel I have more self-control. My actions are more likely to be appropriate -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
12.	I find it hard to accept help or gifts from others. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
13.	If I work harder, I need less grace. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
14.	I must work hard to experience God's grace and forgiveness. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
15.	I seldom feel shame. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
16.	I am able to forgive others when they hurt me. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
17.	I tend to be hard on myself. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
18.	I strive to do good because of God's acceptance of me not in order to earn His love. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
19.	As a child one parent tended to withhold love when I misbehaved. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
20.	I accept my shortcomings. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
21.	I seldom get very upset with myself when others are angry with me. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
22.	As a child, one of my parents often used the "silent treatment" with me when upset with me. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
23.	The harder I work, the more I earn God's favor. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
24.	My Dad seldom said thank you. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
25.	God cares more about what I do than who I am. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
26.	My behavior does not matter since I've been forgiven. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
27.	My mother or father keeps bringing up my past failures -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
28.	Sometimes when I pray for something I really want, I find that I end up with something even better. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
29.	I tend to dwell on my faults. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
30.	My beliefs about grace encourage me to be forgiving of others. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
31.	As a child I was confident that at least one of my parents loved me no matter what. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
32.	God is in the process of making me more like Jesus. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
33.	My parents always remember my mistakes. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
34.	Those who sin less than others require less grace. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
35.	I generally give people what I get from them. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
36.	When offended or harmed by others I generally find it easy to forgive them. -----	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Appendix D

Attachment Style Questionnaire

(Feeney, Noller, & Hanrahan, 1994)

Show how much you agree with each of the following items by rating them on this scale: 1= totally disagree; 2= strongly disagree; 3= slightly disagree; 4= slightly agree; 5= strongly agree; 6= totally agree

	Totally Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree	Totally Agree
1. Overall, I am a worthwhile person.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. I am easier to get to know than most people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. I feel confident that people will be there for me when I need them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. I prefer to depend on myself rather than other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. I prefer to keep to myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. To ask for help is to admit that you're a failure.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. People's worth should be judged by what they achieve.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Achieving things is more important than building relationships.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Doing your best is more important than getting on with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. If you've got a job to do, you should do it no matter who gets hurt.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. It's important to me that others like me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. It's important to me to avoid doing things that others won't like.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. I find it hard to make a decision unless I know what other people think.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. My relationships with others are generally superficial.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. Sometimes I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. I find it hard to trust other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. I find it difficult to depend on others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. I find it relatively easy to get close to other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. I find it easy to trust others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. I feel comfortable depending on other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. I worry that others won't care about me						

	as much as I care about them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	I worry about people getting too close.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24.	I worry that I won't measure up to other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25.	I have mixed feelings about being close to others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26.	While I want to get close to others, I feel uneasy about it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27.	I wonder why people would want to be involved with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28.	It's very important to me to have a close relationship.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29.	I worry a lot about my relationships.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30.	I wonder how I would cope without someone to love me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31.	I feel confident about relating to others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32.	I often feel left out or alone.	1	2	3	4	5	6
33.	I often worry that I do not really fit in with other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34.	Other people have their own problems so I don't bother them with mine.	1	2	3	4	5	6
35.	When I talk over my problems with others, I generally feel ashamed or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5	6
36.	I am too busy with other activities to put much time into relationships.	1	2	3	4	5	6
37.	If something is bothering me, others are generally aware and concerned.	1	2	3	4	5	6
38.	I am confident that other people will like and respect me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
39.	I get frustrated when others are not available when I need them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
40.	Other people often disappoint me.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix E

Duke University Religion Index

(1) How often do you attend church or other religious meetings? (ORA)

1 - Never; 2 - Once a year or less; 3 - A few times a year; 4 - A few times a month; 5 - Once a week; 6 - More than once/week

(2) How often do you spend time in private religious activities, such as prayer, meditation or Bible study? (NORA)

1 - Rarely or never; 2 - A few times a month; 3 - Once a week; 4 - Two or more times/week; 5 - Daily; 6 - More than once a day

The following section contains 3 statements about religious belief or experience. Please mark the extent to which each statement is true or not true for you.

(3) In my life, I experience the presence of the Divine (*i.e.*, God) - (IR)

1 - Definitely *not* true; 2 - Tends *not* to be true; 3 - Unsure; 4 - Tends to be true; 5 - Definitely true of me

(4) My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life - (IR)

1 - Definitely *not* true; 2 - Tends *not* to be true; 3 - Unsure; 4 - Tends to be true; 5 - Definitely true of me

(5) I try hard to carry my religion over into all other dealings in life - (IR)

1 - Definitely *not* true; 2 - Tends *not* to be true; 3 - Unsure; 4 - Tends to be true; 5 - Definitely true of me

Appendix F**Demographics Undergraduates**

1. What is your gender?
 - ☐ Male
 - ☐ Female
 - ☐ Trans-male
 - ☐ Trans-female
 - ☐ Non-binary
 - ☐ Rather not say
 - ☐ Other
2. What is your age: _____
3. Which class/level most closely describes you?
 - ☐ Freshman
 - ☐ Sophomore
 - ☐ Junior
 - ☐ Senior
4. Ethnicity origin (or Race): Please specify your ethnicity.
 - ☐ Asian/Pacific Islander
 - ☐ Black or African American
 - ☐ Hispanic or Latino
 - ☐ Middle Eastern
 - ☐ Native American or American Indian
 - ☐ White
 - ☐ Other _____
5. In terms of education and income, would you say your parents are?
 - ☐ Upper class
 - ☐ Upper-middle class
 - ☐ Middle class
 - ☐ Lower-middle class
 - ☐ Working class
 - ☐ Decline to answer
6. What model of high school did you attend?
 - ☐ Public
 - ☐ Private-Religious affiliated
 - ☐ Private-Non-religious affiliated
 - ☐ Homeschooled
7. What region of the country did you grow up in?
 - ☐ Northeast
 - ☐ Southeast
 - ☐ Midwest
 - ☐ Southwest
 - ☐ West
 - ☐ Northwest
 - ☐ Other _____
8. Did you grow up in a rural or urban area?
 - ☐ Rural
 - ☐ Suburban
 - ☐ Urban
 - ☐ Other _____
9. Do you consider yourself to be a religious person?
 - ☐ Not at all religious
 - ☐ Slightly religious
 - ☐ Moderately religious
 - ☐ Very religious
10. Do you consider yourself to be a spiritual person?
 - ☐ Not at all spiritual
 - ☐ Slightly spiritual
 - ☐ Moderately spiritual
 - ☐ Very spiritual

11. In general, how liberal (left-wing) or conservative (right-wing) are you on economic issues?

- 1) Very liberal
- 2)
- 3)
- 4) Neither liberal nor conservative
- 5)
- 6)
- 7) Very conservative
- 8) Do not know
- 9) Cannot pick one label

12. In general, how liberal (left-wing) or conservative (right-wing) are you on social issues?

- 1) Very liberal
- 2)
- 3)
- 4) Neither liberal nor conservative
- 5)
- 6)
- 7) Very conservative
- 8) Do not know
- 9) Cannot pick one label

13. Did you vote in the 2020 Election?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not Eligible

14. What political party do you identify with?

- ☐ Constitutional
- ☐ Democratic
- ☐ Green
- ☐ Libertarian
- ☐ Reform
- ☐ Republican
- ☐ Socialist
- ☐ Do not identify with a political party
- ☐ Other_____

Appendix G

Demographics Qualtrics

1. What is your gender?
 - ☐ Male
 - ☐ Female
 - ☐ Trans-male
 - ☐ Trans-female
 - ☐ Non-binary
 - ☐ Other
 - ☐ Rather not say
2. What is your age: _____
3. What is your highest level of education?
 - ☐ Less than high school
 - ☐ Completed high school
 - ☐ Some college
 - ☐ College degree
 - ☐ Graduate degree
4. Ethnicity origin (or Race): Please specify your ethnicity.
 - ☐ Asian/Pacific Islander
 - ☐ Black or African American
 - ☐ Hispanic or Latino
 - ☐ Middle Eastern
 - ☐ Native American or American Indian
 - ☐ White
 - ☐ Other _____
5. In terms of education and income, how would you describe your social status?
 - ☐ Upper class
 - ☐ Upper-middle class
 - ☐ Middle class
 - ☐ Lower-middle class
 - ☐ Working class
 - ☐ Decline to answer
6. Did you currently live in a rural or urban area?
 - ☐ Rural
 - ☐ Suburban
 - ☐ Urban
 - ☐ Other _____
7. Do you consider yourself to be a religious person?
 - ☐ Not at all religious
 - ☐ Slightly religious
 - ☐ Moderately religious
 - ☐ Very religious
8. Do you consider yourself to be a spiritual person?
 - ☐ Not at all spiritual
 - ☐ Slightly spiritual
 - ☐ Moderately spiritual
 - ☐ Very spiritual
9. In general, how liberal (left-wing) or conservative (right-wing) are you on economic issues?
 - 1)Very liberal
 - 2)
 - 3)
 - 4)Neither liberal nor conservative
 - 5)
 - 6)
 - 7)Very conservative
 - 8)Do not know
 - 9)Cannot pick one label
10. In general, how liberal (left-wing) or conservative (right-wing) are you on social issues?
 - 1)Very liberal
 - 2)
 - 3)
 - 4)Neither liberal nor conservative

- 5)
6)
7)Very conservative
8)Do not know
9)Cannot pick one label
11. Did you vote in the 2020 Election?
☐ Yes
☐ No
12. What political party do you identify with?
- ☐ Constitutional
☐ Democratic
☐ Green
☐ Libertarian
☐ Reform
☐ Republican
☐ Socialist
☐ Do not identify with a political party
☐ Other_____

Appendix H

Qualtrics Informed Consent

Relational Variables Associated with Self-Reported Political Ideology

Informed Consent:

Thank you for participating in this survey. Your feedback is important. Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. These questions contain demographics, religiosity, personal feelings and experiences, personal beliefs and view towards grace, and individual relational and attachment patterns.

I do not anticipate that taking this survey will contain any risk or inconvenience. Furthermore, participation is strictly voluntary and you may withdraw participation at any time. For the survey to be considered complete, you must fill in at least 95 percent of the items. The approximate total time of your involvement will be 20 minutes to complete the survey. No personal identifying information will be collected during the survey.

The responses and information collected will be used only for research and will be kept confidential. There will be no connection to you specifically in the results or in future publication of the results.

This study follows the ethical guidelines of the American Psychological Association and has been approved by the George Fox Institutional Review Board. Once the study is completed, I would be happy to share the results with you if you desire. In the meantime, if you have any questions please ask or contact:

Dalton Young

dyoung18@georgefox.edu

By clicking “I consent” you are verifying that you have read the explanation of the study, and that you agree to participate. You also understand that your participation in this study is strictly voluntary.

Questions and comments may be addressed to Rodger Bufford, Ph.D., Graduate School of Clinical Psychology, George Fox University, 414 N Meridian St. Newberg, OR, 97132; 503-554-2374, rbufford@georgefox.edu

Appendix I

Survey Monkey Informed Consent- Undergraduate

Relational Variables Associated with Self-Reported Political Ideology

Informed Consent:

Thank you for participating in this survey. Your feedback is important. Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. These questions contain demographics, religiosity, personal feelings and experiences, personal beliefs and view towards grace, and individual relational and attachment patterns.

I do not anticipate that taking this survey will contain any risk or inconvenience. Furthermore, participation is strictly voluntary and you may withdraw participation at any time without penalty. The approximate total time of your involvement will be 20-30 minutes to complete the survey.

Those that complete the survey will be asked to complete an additional verbal narrative assessment at a later date that will take approximately 30 minutes. Participation in this is also strictly voluntary and you may withdraw participation at any time without penalty.

The responses and information collected will be used only for research and will be kept confidential. There will be no connection to you specifically in the results or in future publication of the results.

This study follows the ethical guidelines of the American Psychological Association and has been approved by the George Fox Institutional Review Board. Once the study is completed, I would be happy to share the results with you if you desire. In the meantime, if you have any questions please ask or contact:

Dalton Young

dyoung18@georgefox.edu

By providing your name and email and clicking "Next" you are verifying that you have read the explanation of the study, and that you agree to participate. You also understand that your participation in this study is strictly voluntary.

Questions and comments may be addressed to Rodger Bufford, Ph.D., Graduate School of Clinical Psychology, George Fox University, 414 N Meridian St. Newberg, OR, 97132; 503-554-2374, rbufford@georgefox.edu

Appendix J**Demographic Characteristics***Demographic Characteristics of Participants*

Demographic Variables	Qualtrics Sample		Undergraduate Sample	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Gender				
Female	59	38.1	55	69.6
Male	96	61.9	22	27.8
Gender Fluid	0	0.0	1	1.3
Decline to Answer	0	0.0	1	1.3
Ethnicity				
Asian/Pacific Islander	4	2.6	4	5.1
Black or African American	11	7.1	4	5.1
Hispanic or Latino	5	3.2	7	8.9
Native American/American Indian	1	0.6	1	1.3
Indian				
White	134	86.5	61	77.2
Biracial	0	0.0	1	1.3
Decline to Answer	0	0.0	1	1.3
Education Level				
Completed High School	22	14.2	-	-
Some College	35	22.6	-	-
College Degree	48	31.0	-	-
Graduate Degree	50	32.3	-	-
Class Level				
Freshman	-	-	36	45.6
Sophomore	-	-	15	19.0
Junior	-	-	13	16.5
Senior	-	-	15	19.0
Social Status				
Upper Class	20	12.9	0	0.0
Upper-middle Class	17	11.0	30	38.0
Middle Class	63	40.6	30	38.0
Lower-middle Class	26	16.8	14	17.7
Working Class	26	16.8	4	5.1
Decline to Answer	3	1.9	1	1.3
Residence				
Rural	34	21.9	28	35.4
Suburban	54	34.8	41	51.9
Urban	67	43.2	9	11.4
Decline to Answer	0	0	1	1.3
Religious				
Not at all religious	22	14.2	7	8.9

Demographic Variables	Qualtrics Sample		Undergraduate Sample	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Slightly religious	33	21.3	16	20.3
Moderately religious	51	32.9	36	45.6
Very religious	49	31.6	20	25.3
Spirituality				
Not at all spiritual	17	11.0	7	8.9
Slightly spiritual	27	17.4	16	20.3
Moderately spiritual	61	39.4	36	45.6
Very spiritual	50	32.3	20	25.3
Political Ideology (Social)				
1) Very liberal	31	20.0	14	17.7
2)	17	11.0	18	22.8
3)	14	9.0	9	11.4
4) Neither liberal nor conservative	31	20.0	4	5.1
5)	17	11.0	5	6.3
6)	14	9.0	13	16.5
7) Very conservative	31	20.0	12	15.2
8) Do not know	0	0	2	2.5
9) Cannot pick on label	0	0	1	1.3
Political Ideology (Economic)				
1) Very liberal	28	18.1	8	10.1
2)	14	9.0	12	15.2
3)	14	9.0	13	16.5
4) Neither liberal nor conservative	33	21.3	6	7.6
5)	15	9.7	9	11.4
6)	17	11.0	15	19.0
7) Very conservative	33	21.3	9	11.4
8) Do not know	0	0	4	5.1
9) Cannot pick on label	1	0.6	3	3.8
Grouped Political Ideology (Social)				
Very liberal	31	20.0	14	17.7
Liberal	31	20.0	27	34.2
Neither liberal nor conservative	31	20.0	4	5.1
Conservative	31	20.0	17	21.5
Very conservative	31	20.0	13	16.5
Decline to answer	0	0.0	4	5.1
Political Party				
Constitutional	0	0.0	0	0.0
Democratic	82	52.9	21	26.6
Green	3	1.9	0	0.0
Libertarian	4	2.6	4	5.1

Demographic Variables	Qualtrics Sample		Undergraduate Sample	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Reform	0	0.0	0	0.0
Republican	41	26.5	24	30.4
Socialist	0	0.0	3	3.8
Do not identify w/ political party	25	16.1	27	34.2

Appendix K

Internal Consistency and Correlations

Table K1

Internal Consistency of Measures

Measures	N items	Cronbach's α
Dimensions of Grace Scale	36	.837
Factor 1	8	.924
Factor 2	7	.894
Factor 3	7	.608
Factor 4	7	.854
Factor 5	7	.777
Attachment Style Questionnaire	40	.929
Avoidance	16	.775
Anxious	13	.875
Internalized Shame Scale	30	.951
Total Shame	24	.978
Self-Esteem	6	.879
Duke University Religion Index	5	.880
Intrinsic Religiosity	3	.886

Table K2

Pearson Correlations

Measures	Grouped Social Political Ideology	
	N	Pearson Correlation
ISS: Shame	226	-.032
ISS: Self-Esteem	229	.028
DGS: Experiencing God's Grace	227	.169*
DGS: Costly Grace	227	-.103
DGS: Grace to Self	226	.077
DGS: Grace from Others	226	.061
DGS: Grace to Others	227	.004
ASQ: Avoidance	222	-.038
ASQ: Anxious	222	-.072
DUREL: Organizational Religiosity	223	.142*
DUREL: Nonorganizational Religiosity	223	.175**
DUREL: Intrinsic Religiosity	223	.198**

Note. ISS = Internalized Shame Scale; DGS = Dimensions of Grace Scale; ASQ = Attachment Style Questionnaire; DUREL = Duke University Religion Index.

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

**. Significance at the 0.01 level

Table K3

Spearman's Rho Correlations

Demographic Variables	Grouped Social Political Ideology	
	<i>N</i>	Correlation Coefficient
Age	230	.140*
Gender	230	-.109
Ethnicity	229	.202**
Education	230	-.108
Social Status	230	-.047
Residence	229	-.106
Religiosity	230	.161*
Spirituality	230	.024
Economic Political Ideology	230	.765**
Social Political Ideology	230	.990**

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

**. Significance at the 0.01 level

Appendix L**Regressions****Table L1***Regressions: Dependent Variable Grouped Social Political Ideology- Shame Variance*

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Model 1					
Age	.204	2.897	.004		
Gender	-.123	-1.736	.084		
Ethnicity	.132	2.051	.041		
Education	-.269	-3.544	<.001		
Social Status	-.068	-0.943	.347		
Residence	-.048	-0.710	.479		
Religiosity	.321	3.898	<.001		
, Spirituality	-.085	-1.078	.282		
Model 1 Variance				.168	.168
Model 2					
Age	.212	2.976	.003		
Gender	-.129	-1.812	.071		
Ethnicity	.131	2.034	.043		
Education	-.276	-3.604	<.001		
Social Status	-.070	-0.972	.332		
Residence	-.053	-0.781	.435		
Religiosity	.322	3.908	<.001		
Spirituality	-.086	-1.088	.278		
ISS: Shame	.048	0.738	.462		
Model 2 Variance				.170	.002

Table L2*Regressions: Dependent Variable Grouped Social Political Ideology- Attachment Variance*

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Model 1					
Age	.192	2.715	.007		
Gender	-.127	-1.760	.080		
Ethnicity	.118	1.810	.072		
Education	-.289	-3.763	<.001		
Social Status	-.088	-1.209	.228		

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Model 1					
Residence	-.033	-0.478	.633		
Religiosity	.315	3.800	<.001		
Spirituality	-.090	-1.135	.257		
Model 1 Variance				.165	.165
Model 2					
Age	.192	2.609	.010		
Gender	-.127	-1.739	.084		
Ethnicity	.118	1.802	.073		
Education	-.289	-3.704	<.001		
Social Status	-.088	-1.198	.232		
Residence	-.033	-0.471	.638		
Religiosity	.315	3.755	<.001		
Spirituality	-.090	-1.126	.261		
ASQ: Avoidance	-.002	-0.023	.981		
ASQ: Anxious	-.002	-0.029	.977		
Model 2 Variance				.165	.000

Note. ASQ = Attachment Style Questionnaire.

Table L3

Regressions: Dependent Variable Grouped Social Political Ideology- Dimensions of Grace Scale (DGS)- Experiencing God's Grace and Duke University Religion Index (DUREL)

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Model 1					
Age	.178	2.535	.012		
Gender	-.116	-1.624	.106		
Ethnicity	.118	1.840	.067		
Education	-.291	-3.837	<.001		
Social Status	-.109	-1.517	.131		
Residence	-.043	-0.632	.528		
Religiosity	.334	4.082	<.001		
Spirituality	-.101	-1.294	.197		
Model 1 Variance				.170	.170
Model 2					
Age	.186	2.568	.011		
Gender	-.102	-1.420	.157		
Ethnicity	.106	1.642	.102		
Education	-.306	-3.945	<.001		

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Social Status	-.106	-1.443	.151		
Residence	-.037	-0.540	.590		
Religiosity	.276	2.857	.005		
Spirituality	-.158	-1.884	.061		
DGS: Experiencing God's Grace	-.013	-0.119	.906		
DUREL Intrinsic Religion	.032	0.288	.773		
DUREL Organizational Religiosity	.016	0.156	.876		
DUREL Non- organizational Religiosity	.146	1.645	.101		
Model 2 Variance				.186	.016

Table L4

Regressions: Dependent Variable Internalized Shame Scale- Shame

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Age	-.196	-2.582	.010		
Gender	.144	1.909	.058		
Ethnicity	.012	0.178	.859		
Education	.161	1.954	.052		
Social Status	.051	0.675	.500		
Residence	.110	1.552	.122		
Religiosity	-.042	-0.463	.644		
Spirituality	.023	0.280	.780		
Grouped Social Political Ideology	.053	0.738	.462		
Total Variance				.074	.074

Table L5

Regressions: Dependent Variable Internalized Shame Scale- Self Esteem

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Age	.096	1.399	.163		
Gender	-.174	-2.551	.011		

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Ethnicity	.035	0.561	.576		
Education	.127	1.694	.092		
Social Status	-.114	-1.659	.099		
Residence	-.099	-1.528	.128		
Religiosity	.250	3.076	.002		
Spirituality	.047	0.626	.532		
Grouped Social	-.067	-1.027	.305		
Political Ideology					
Total Variance				.228	.228

Table L6

Regressions: Dependent Variable Dimensions of Grace Scale- Experiencing God's Grace

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Age	.019	0.331	.741		
Gender	.001	0.020	.984		
Ethnicity	.021	0.400	.689		
Education	.058	0.913	.362		
Social Status	-.131	-2.266	.024		
Residence	-.074	-1.354	.177		
Religiosity	.433	6.308	<.001		
Spirituality	.218	3.407	<.001		
Grouped Social	.072	1.310	.192		
Political Ideology					
Total Variance				.459	.459

Table L7

Regressions: Dependent Variable Dimensions of Grace Scale- Costly Grace

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Age	-.119	-1.793	.074		
Gender	.140	2.107	.036		
Ethnicity	-.030	-0.508	.612		
Education	-.201	-2.771	.006		
Social Status	.100	1.499	.135		
Residence	-.207	-3.330	.001		
Religiosity	-.179	-2.282	.023		

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Spirituality	.020	0.275	.784		
Grouped Social	-.059	-0.938	.350		
Political Ideology					
Total Variance				.289	.289

Table L8

Regressions: Dependent Variable Dimensions of Grace- Grace to Self

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Age	.177	2.476	.014		
Gender	-.209	-2.920	.004		
Ethnicity	-.012	-0.193	.848		
Education	.048	0.615	.539		
Social Status	-.072	-1.002	.318		
Residence	.074	1.092	.276		
Religiosity	.183	2.144	.033		
Spirituality	-.031	-0.386	.700		
Grouped Social	-.005	-0.070	.944		
Political Ideology					
Total Variance				.170	.170

Table L9

Regressions: Dependent Variable Dimensions of Grace Scale- Grace from Others

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Age	-.034	-0.455	.650		
Gender	-.050	-0.672	.502		
Ethnicity	-.090	-1.342	.181		
Education	-.217	-2.680	.008		
Social Status	.040	0.542	.589		
Residence	-.190	-2.742	.007		
Religiosity	.005	0.060	.952		
Spirituality	-.048	-0.586	.559		
Grouped Social	.037	0.526	.599		
Political Ideology					
Total Variance				.121	.121

Table L10*Regressions: Dependent Variable Dimensions of Grace Scale- Grace to Others*

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				R^2	ΔR^2
	Standardized β	t	Significance			
Age	-.046	-0.629	.530			
Gender	.077	1.060	.290			
Ethnicity	-.095	-1.439	.151			
Education	-.143	-1.791	.075			
Social Status	.062	0.847	.398			
Residence	-.214	-3.124	.002			
Religiosity	-.056	-0.652	.515			
Spirituality	.074	0.912	.363			
Grouped Social	.017	0.239	.811			
Political Ideology						
Total Variance					.137	.137

Table L11*Regressions: Dependent Variable Attachment Style Scale- Avoidance*

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				R^2	ΔR^2
	Standardized β	t	Significance			
Age	-.022	-0.284	.777			
Gender	-.038	-0.491	.624			
Ethnicity	.005	0.067	.947			
Education	.139	1.621	.106			
Social Status	-.018	-0.227	.821			
Residence	.048	0.643	.521			
Religiosity	-.137	-1.478	.141			
Spirituality	.065	0.755	.451			
Grouped Social	-.003	-0.046	.964			
Political Ideology						
Total Variance					.036	.036

Table L12*Regressions: Dependent Variable Attachment Style Scale- Anxious*

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				R^2	ΔR^2
	Standardized β	t	Significance			
Age	-.241	-3.247	.001			

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Gender	.081	1.086	.279		
Ethnicity	.035	0.514	.608		
Education	.135	1.650	.100		
Social Status	-.127	-1.684	.094		
Residence	.063	0.894	.372		
Religiosity	-.082	-0.922	.358		
Spirituality	.039	0.477	.634		
Grouped Social	-.003	-0.049	.961		
Political Ideology					
Total Variance				.116	.116

Table L13

Regressions: Dependent Variable Duke University Religion Index- Organizational Religiosity

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Age	-.186	-3.522	<.001		
Gender	-.077	-1.445	.150		
Ethnicity	.000	0.002	.999		
Education	.149	2.561	.011		
Social Status	-.140	-2.621	.009		
Residence	.047	0.932	.353		
Religiosity	.474	7.553	<.001		
Spirituality	.079	1.352	.178		
Grouped Social	.083	1.637	.103		
Political Ideology					
Total Variance				.551	.551

Table L14

Regressions: Dependent Variable Duke University Religion Index- Non-organizational

Religiosity

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Age	-.066	-1.080	.281		
Gender	-.074	-1.209	.228		
Ethnicity	.068	1.233	.219		
Education	.126	1.873	.062		

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Social Status	.004	0.061	.952		
Residence	-.017	-0.298	.766		
Religiosity	.237	3.275	.001		
Spirituality	.357	5.307	<.001		
Grouped Social	.124	2.134	.034		
Political Ideology					
Total Variance				.403	.403

Table L15

Regressions: Dependent Variable Duke University Religion Index- Intrinsic Religiosity

Demographic Variables	Coefficients				
	Standardized β	t	Significance	R^2	ΔR^2
Age	.000	-0.008	.994		
Gender	-.032	-0.546	.585		
Ethnicity	.014	0.268	.789		
Education	-.021	-0.332	.740		
Social Status	-.055	-0.947	.345		
Residence	-.062	-1.129	.260		
Religiosity	.427	6.254	<.001		
Spirituality	.290	4.565	<.001		
Grouped Social	.095	1.723	.086		
Political Ideology					
Total Variance				.470	.470

Appendix M

Analysis of Variance

Table M1

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)- Between Groups

Measures	Between Groups			
	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	Significance	η^2
DGS: Experiencing God's Grace	4	4.266	.002	.071
DGS: Costly Grace	4	4.790	.001	.079
DGS: Grace to Self	4	0.864	.486	.015
DGS: Grace from Others	4	6.392	<.001	.104
DGS: Grace to Others	4	4.038	.004	.068
ISS: Shame	4	2.286	.061	.040
ISS: Self-Esteem	4	1.724	.146	.030
ASQ: Avoidance	4	2.788	.027	.049
ASQ: Anxious	4	2.186	.072	.039
DUREL: Organizational Religiosity	4	3.135	.016	.054
DUREL: Non-organizational Religiosity	4	3.592	.007	.062
DUREL: Intrinsic Religiosity	4	2.922	.022	.051
TCTS: Direct Shame	4	0.498	.738	.124
TCTS: Indirect Shame	4	0.416	.794	.106

Note. DGS = Dimensions of Grace Scale; ISS = Internalized Shame Scale; ASQ = Attachment Style Questionnaire; DUREL = Duke University Religion Index; TCTS = Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame.

Table M2

Scheffe Post Hoc Test- Within Groups: Internalized Shame Scale- Shame

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.345
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.562
	Conservative	.216
	Very Conservative	.997
Liberal	Very Liberal	.345
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	1.000
	Conservative	.997
	Very Conservative	.580
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.562
	Liberal	1.000

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Conservative	Conservative	.992
	Very Conservative	.768
	Very Liberal	.216
	Liberal	.997
	Neither Liberal	.992
Very Conservative	Very Conservative	.407
	Very Liberal	.997
	Liberal	.580
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.768
	Conservative	.407

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M3

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame- Direct Shame

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.821
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.991
	Conservative	.843
Liberal	Very Conservative	.975
	Very Liberal	.821
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.986
	Conservative	1.000
	Very Conservative	.991
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.991
	Liberal	.986
	Conservative	.982
Conservative	Very Conservative	1.000
	Very Liberal	.843
	Liberal	1.000
	Neither Liberal	.982
Very Conservative	Very Conservative	.988
	Very Liberal	.975
	Liberal	.991
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	1.000
	Conservative	.988

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M4

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame Indirect Shame

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.877

Liberal	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.899
	Conservative	.866
	Very Conservative	.866
	Very Liberal	.877
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	1.000
	Conservative	.999
	Very Conservative	.999
	Very Liberal	.899
Conservative	Liberal	1.000
	Conservative	1.000
	Very Conservative	1.000
	Very Liberal	.866
Very Conservative	Liberal	.999
	Neither Liberal	1.000
	Very Conservative	1.000
	Very Liberal	.866
	Liberal	.999
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	1.000
	Conservative	1.000

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M5

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Attachment Style Questionnaire- Avoidance

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.417
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.729
	Conservative	.103
	Very Conservative	1.000
Liberal	Very Liberal	.417
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.998
	Conservative	.936
	Very Conservative	.546
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.729
	Liberal	.998
	Conservative	.846
	Very Conservative	.828
Conservative	Very Liberal	.103
	Liberal	.936
	Neither Liberal	.846
	Very Conservative	.162
Very Conservative	Very Liberal	1.000
	Liberal	.546
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.828
	Conservative	.162

* Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M6

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Attachment Style Questionnaire- Anxious

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.930
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.525
	Conservative	.181
	Very Conservative	.998
Liberal	Very Liberal	.930
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.910
	Conservative	.583
	Very Conservative	.988
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.525
	Liberal	.910
	Conservative	.990
	Very Conservative	.709
Conservative	Very Liberal	.181
	Liberal	.583
	Neither Liberal	.990
	Very Conservative	.327
Very Conservative	Very Liberal	.998
	Liberal	.988
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.709
	Conservative	.327

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M7

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Dimensions of Grace Scale- Grace to Self

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.920
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.998
	Conservative	.981
	Very Conservative	.997
Liberal	Very Liberal	.920
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.990
	Conservative	.593
	Very Conservative	.753
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.998
	Liberal	.990

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Conservative	Conservative	.923
	Very Conservative	.972
	Very Liberal	.981
	Liberal	.593
	Neither Liberal	.923
Very Conservative	Very Conservative	1.000
	Very Liberal	.997
	Liberal	.753
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.972
	Conservative	1.000

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M8

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Dimensions of Grace Scale- Experiencing God's Grace

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.223
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.954
	Conservative	.998
Liberal	Very Conservative	.755
	Very Liberal	.223
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.758
	Conservative	.093
	Very Conservative	.006*
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.954
	Liberal	.758
	Conservative	.845
	Very Conservative	.348
Conservative	Very Liberal	.998
	Liberal	.093
	Neither Liberal	.845
	Very Conservative	.895
Very Conservative	Very Liberal	.755
	Liberal	.006*
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.348
	Conservative	.895

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M9

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Dimensions of Grace Scale- Costly Grace

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.058

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Liberal	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.937
	Conservative	.647
	Very Conservative	.924
	Very Liberal	.058
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.464
	Conservative	.722
	Very Conservative	.003*
	Very Liberal	.937
Conservative	Liberal	.464
	Conservative	.988
	Very Conservative	.526
	Very Liberal	.647
Very Conservative	Liberal	.722
	Neither Liberal	.988
	Very Conservative	.173
	Very Liberal	.924
	Liberal	.003*
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.526
	Conservative	.173

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M10

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Dimensions of Grace Scale- Grace from Others

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.006*
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.242
	Conservative	.002*
	Very Conservative	.922
Liberal	Very Liberal	.006*
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.871
	Conservative	.995
	Very Conservative	.095
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.242
	Liberal	.871
	Conservative	.707
	Very Conservative	.722
Conservative	Very Liberal	.002*
	Liberal	.995
	Neither Liberal	.707
	Very Conservative	.046*
Very Conservative	Very Liberal	.922
	Liberal	.095
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.722

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
	Conservative	.046*

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M11

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Dimensions of Grace Scale- Grace to Others

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.048*
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.695
	Conservative	.097
	Very Conservative	.999
Liberal	Very Liberal	.048*
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.768
	Conservative	1.000
	Very Conservative	.099
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.695
	Liberal	.768
	Conservative	.865
	Very Conservative	.827
Conservative	Very Liberal	.097
	Liberal	1.000
	Neither Liberal	.865
	Very Conservative	.178
Very Conservative	Very Liberal	.999
	Liberal	.099
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.827
	Conservative	.178

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M12

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Duke University Religion Scale- Organizational

Religiosity

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.781
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.958
	Conservative	.996
	Very Conservative	.459
Liberal	Very Liberal	.781
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.997
	Conservative	.934
	Very Conservative	.027*

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.958
	Liberal	.997
	Conservative	.996
	Very Conservative	.150
Conservative	Very Liberal	.996
	Liberal	.934
	Neither Liberal	.996
	Very Conservative	.226
Very Conservative	Very Liberal	.459
	Liberal	.027*
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.150
	Conservative	.226

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M13

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Duke University Religion Scale- Non-organizational

Religiosity

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.495
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.994
	Conservative	.853
	Very Conservative	.787
Liberal	Very Liberal	.495
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.820
	Conservative	.047*
	Very Conservative	.037*
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.994
	Liberal	.820
	Conservative	.644
	Very Conservative	.568
Conservative	Very Liberal	.853
	Liberal	.047*
	Neither Liberal	.644
	Very Conservative	1.000
Very Conservative	Very Liberal	.787
	Liberal	.037*
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.568
	Conservative	1.000

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Table M14

Scheffe Post Hoc Tests- Within Groups: Duke University Religion Scale- Intrinsic Religiosity

Political Ideology	Comparison Political Ideology	Significance
Very Liberal	Liberal	.977
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.998
	Conservative	.918
	Very Conservative	.208
Liberal	Very Liberal	.977
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.905
	Conservative	.561
	Very Conservative	.035*
Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Very Liberal	.998
	Liberal	.905
	Conservative	.989
	Very Conservative	.435
Conservative	Very Liberal	.918
	Liberal	.561
	Neither Liberal	.989
	Very Conservative	.674
Very Conservative	Very Liberal	.208
	Liberal	.035*
	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	.435
	Conservative	.674

*. Significant at the 0.05 level

Appendix N**Cluster Analysis****Table N1***Cluster Analysis and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) of Demographic Variables*

Number of Clusters	Iterations	Demographic Variables	<i>F</i>	Significance
2	5	Age	5.819	.017
		Gender	10.208	.002
		Education	0.072	.789
		Ethnicity	0.715	.399
		Social Status	0.001	.978
		Religious	0.639	.425
		Spiritual	0.118	.731
		Residence	1.010	.316
3	5	Age	4.474	.012
		Gender	6.119	.003
		Education	13.068	<.001
		Ethnicity	1.042	.354
		Social Status	0.474	.623
		Religious	3.125	.046
		Spiritual	1.277	.281
		Residence	2.792	.064
4	>10	ANOVA was not conducted due to failed convergence after 10 iterations		
5	>10	ANOVA was not conducted due to failed convergence after 10 iterations		
6	5	Age	3.517	.004
		Gender	4.100	.001
		Education	4.895	<.001
		Ethnicity	1.737	.127
		Social Status	2.952	.013
		Religious	1.705	.135
		Spiritual	1.051	.388
		Residence	1.381	.233
7	>10	ANOVA was not conducted due to failed convergence after 10 iterations		

Number of Clusters	Iterations	Demographic Variables	<i>F</i>	Significance
8	7	Age	2.111	.044
		Gender	2.909	.006
		Education	4.866	<.001
		Ethnicity	4.155	<.001
		Social Status	3.782	<.001
		Religious	1.575	.144
		Spiritual	0.803	.586
		Residence	1.178	.317

Table N2

Cluster Analysis and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) of Scale Measures

Number of Clusters	Iterations	Scales	<i>F</i>	Significance
2	5	ISS- Total Shame	562.076	<.001
		ASQ-Avoidance	38.924	<.001
		ASQ-Anxious	178.396	<.001
		DGS- Experiencing God's Grace	6.883	.009
		DGS- Costly Grace	11.786	<.001
		DGS- Grace to Self	30.992	<.001
		DGS- Grace from Others	43.006	<.001
		DGS- Grace to Others	24.425	<.001
3	5	ISS- Total Shame	791.144	<.001
		ASQ-Avoidance	30.936	<.001
		ASQ-Anxious	110.350	<.001
		DGS- Experiencing God's Grace	2.949	.054
		DGS- Costly Grace	17.006	<.001
		DGS- Grace to Self	25.722	<.001
		DGS- Grace from Others	44.958	<.001
		DGS- Grace to Others	24.014	<.001
4	>10	ANOVA was not conducted due to failed convergence after 10 iterations		
5	>10	ANOVA was not conducted due to failed convergence after 10 iterations		
		ISS- Total Shame	738.021	<.001
		ASQ-Avoidance	36.281	<.001
		ASQ-Anxious	88.303	<.001

Number of Clusters	Iterations	Scales	<i>F</i>	Significance
6	5	DGS- Experiencing God's Grace	1.842	.106
		DGS- Costly Grace	10.242	<.001
		DGS- Grace to Self	11.020	<.001
		DGS- Grace from Others	18.058	<.001
		DGS- Grace to Others	13.844	<.001
7	>10	ANOVA was not conducted due to failed convergence after 10 iterations		
		ISS- Total Shame	941.347	<.001
		ASQ-Avoidance	28.997	<.001
		ASQ-Anxious	63.933	<.001
8	7	DGS- Experiencing God's Grace	3.310	.002
		DGS- Costly Grace	9.452	<.001
		DGS- Grace to Self	9.014	<.001
		DGS- Grace from Others	14.545	<.001
		DGS- Grace to Others	13.053	<.001

Note. ISS = Internalized Shame Scale; ASQ = Attachment Style Questionnaire; DGS = Dimensions of Grace Scale

Table N3

Case Crosstabulation of Clusters

Clusters	Cases		Very Liberal	Liberal	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Conservative	Very Conservative	Total
Two Clusters	Cluster 1	<i>N</i>	19	33	18	26	23	119
		%	16.0	27.7	15.1	21.8	19.3	100
	Cluster 2	<i>N</i>	23	20	17	21	19	100
		%	23.0	20.0	17.0	21.0	19.0	100
Three Clusters	Cluster 1	<i>N</i>	13	28	14	22	17	94
		%	13.8	29.8	14.9	23.4	18.1	100
	Cluster 2	<i>N</i>	17	8	5	2	11	43
		%	39.5	18.6	11.6	4.7	25.6	100
	Cluster 3	<i>N</i>	12	17	16	23	14	82
		%	14.6	20.7	19.5	28.0	17.1	100
	Cluster 1	<i>N</i>	6	4	3	4	6	23
		%	26.1	17.4	13.0	17.4	26.1	100
	Cluster 2	<i>N</i>	10	7	7	9	5	38
		%	26.3	18.4	18.4	23.7	13.2	100
		<i>N</i>	7	5	1	0	7	20

Clusters	Cases		Very Liberal	Liberal	Neither Liberal nor Conservative	Conservative	Very Conservative	Total
Six Clusters	Cluster 3	%	35.0	25.0	5.0	0.0	35.0	100
	Cluster 4	<i>N</i>	9	9	12	13	12	55
	Cluster 5	%	16.4	16.4	21.8	23.6	21.8	100
	Cluster 6	<i>N</i>	6	21	4	9	9	49
	Cluster 1	%	12.2	42.9	8.2	18.4	18.4	100
	Cluster 2	<i>N</i>	4	7	8	12	3	34
	Cluster 3	%	11.8	20.6	23.5	35.3	8.8	100
	Cluster 4	<i>N</i>	9	4	3	2	4	22
	Cluster 5	%	40.9	18.2	13.6	9.1	18.2	100
	Cluster 6	<i>N</i>	6	9	6	5	8	34
	Cluster 7	%	17.6	26.5	17.6	14.7	23.5	100
	Cluster 8	<i>N</i>	3	4	2	1	2	12
Eight Clusters	Cluster 1	%	25.0	33.3	16.7	8.3	16.7	100
	Cluster 2	<i>N</i>	6	9	10	18	8	51
	Cluster 3	%	11.8	17.6	19.6	35.3	15.7	100
	Cluster 4	<i>N</i>	5	1	0	0	5	11
	Cluster 5	%	45.5	9.1	0.0	0.0	45.5	100
	Cluster 6	<i>N</i>	4	6	8	11	3	32
	Cluster 7	%	12.5	18.8	25.0	34.4	9.4	100
	Cluster 8	<i>N</i>	5	4	3	3	5	20
	Cluster 9	%	25.0	20.0	15.0	15.0	25.0	100
	Cluster 10	<i>N</i>	4	16	3	7	7	37
	Cluster 11	%	10.8	43.2	8.1	18.9	18.9	100

Table N4*Symmetric Measures*

Clusters	Nominal by Interval Eta Grouped Social Political Ideology Dependent	Nominal by Interval Eta Cluster Number of Case Dependent	Contingency Coefficient Approximate Significance	Kappa Approximate Significance
Two Clusters	.028	.115	.577	.097
Three Clusters	.141	.107	.003	.379
Six Clusters	.113	.203	.015	.711

Clusters	Nominal by Interval Eta Grouped Social Political Ideology Dependent	Nominal by Interval Eta Cluster Number of Case Dependent	Contingency Coefficient Approximate Significance	Kappa Approximate Significance
Eight Clusters	.169	.155	.012	<.001

Appendix O

Curriculum Vitae

Education

Doctor of Psychology in Clinical Psychology May 2020-Present
Anticipated Graduation May 2023
George Fox University (APA Accredited)

Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology August 2018-May 2020
George Fox University (APA Accredited)

Bachelor of Arts in Psychology August 2014-December 2017
MidAmerica Nazarene University
 Graduated Summa Cum Laude
 Minored in Business Administration

Supervised Clinical Experience

Rural Child and Adolescent Psychological Services
Assessment & Research Coordinator September 2021-June 2022
 Supervised by Dr. Elizabeth Hamilton

- Conduct psycho-educational assessments for elementary through high school aged students and present the findings within an IEP meeting
- Provide peer supervision of assessment interpretation and integrated report writing
- Participate in research of archival assessment data to further knowledge regarding best practices in psycho-educational assessment within a rural school district

Behavioral Health Center
Clinical Lead & Pediatric Liaison January 2021-May 2022
 Supervised by Dr. Julie Oyemaja

- Work collaboratively with a pediatric clinic to maintain a waitlist of pediatric patients in need of psychological assessment and therapy services
- Administer comprehensive psychological assessments, write integrated reports, and provide feedback to patients and families
- Provide evidenced based therapy services across the lifespan
- Work collaboratively with other clinicians and an operations manager to integrate the assessment and therapy clinics to provide more efficient and holistic care to the community
- Provide peer supervisor of therapy and assessment cases

360 Pediatric Assessment Clinic

Doctoral Practicum Clinician

February 2021-August 2021

Supervised by Dr. Tabitha Becker & Dr. Erika Doty

- Score and interpret assessment data of clients ranging from ages 5-21.
- Write integrated reports utilizing the assessment data and provide feedback to families

West Hills Healthcare Center*Behavioral Health*

August 2020-June 2021

Supervised by Dr. Joy Mauldin

- Work side-by-side with primary care physicians to provide holistic support and help patients work towards their medical goals
- Psychodynamic supervision with experience in conceptualizing patients from a psychodynamic framework while implementing behavioral interventions within a medical setting
- Administer a variety of assessments (personality, projective, behavioral, and cognitive), write reports, and provide feedback and recommendations to patients

Rural Child and Adolescent Psychological Services*School Counselor*

September 2019-June 2020

Supervised by Dr. Elizabeth Hamilton

- Develop therapeutic skills and techniques working with high school students
- Conduct psycho-educational assessments for elementary through high school aged students
- Write assessment reports and present the findings within an IEP meeting
- Meet with school faculty to provide consultation for students' growth and development

George Fox University, Graduate Dept. of Clinical Psychology*Student-Therapist*

February 2019-April 2019

Supervised by Dr. Glena Andrews

- Develop skills within a Person-Centered framework with college-aged students
- Build skills in record keeping, scheduling sessions, and constructing case conceptualizations with a clinical team

Professional Teaching Experience

Projective Assessment*Teaching Assistant*

September 2021- December 2021

Taught by Dr. Nancy Thurston

- Aid in the teaching, practice, and interpretation of projective assessments, including the Rorschach Performance Assessment System, House-Tree-Person, Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame, Thematic Apperception Test, Rotter Incomplete Sentences Blank, and Tell-Me-A-Story
- Grade and provide feedback on the administration, scoring, interpretation, and report write-up of projective assessments

Child and Adolescent Assessment*Teaching Assistant*

June 2021-July 2021

Taught by Dr. Christabel Léonce

- Lead small groups in developing skills in administering and interpreting a variety of assessments
- Provide de-identified case examples for students to practice scoring and interpreting assessment results
- Grade and provide feedback on assessment reports

Child and Adolescent Cognitive Assessment*Teaching Assistant*

January 2021-April 2021

Taught by Dr. Amber Nelson

- Aid in the teaching and practice of individualized assessments of intellectual and other selected cognitive functions (i.e., WISC-V and WIAT-4)
- Grade and provide feedback on the administration, scoring, interpretation, and report write-up of the WISC-V and WIAT-4
- Attend weekly meetings with the course professor and other teaching assistants to address student concerns and course components

Psychodynamic Psychotherapy*Lab Leader*

January 2021-April 2021

Taught by Dr. Nancy Thurston

- Lead small group discussions regarding psychodynamic concepts and coursework

Child and Adolescent Assessment*Teaching Assistant*

June 2020-July 2020

Taught by Dr. Elizabeth Hamilton

- Lead small groups in developing skills in administering and interpreting a variety of assessments
- Provide de-identified case examples for students to practice scoring and interpreting assessment results
- Grade and provide feedback on assessment reports

Ethics for Psychologist*Teaching Assistant*

September 2019-December 2019

Taught by Dr. Rodger Bufford

- Provide academic assistance and feedback to students within the course
- Grade papers in a timely manner

Poster Presentations

Young, D., Larson, K., Wilbur, J., & Hamilton, E. *An Exploratory Examination of Correlations between the BASC-3 and Roberts-2 Scales across Multiple Raters.* To be presented at the American Psychological Association 130th Annual Convention.

Wilbur, J., Larson, K., **Young, D.,** & Hamilton, E. *Relationship of Cognitive Skills to Youth's Performance on the Roberts-2.* To be presented at the American Psychological Association 130th Annual Convention.

Lange, M., James, E., Mendenhall, W., Thurston, N., & **Young, D.** (2022, March). *Examining the Relationships Among Religion, Grace, and Shame in Undergraduates.* Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Christian Association for Psychological Studies, Virtual Conference.

Hanks, B. D., Bufford, R.K., **Young, D.E.,** & Wilbur, J.K. (2022, March). *Political Polarization: Organized Religion, Spiritual Practices, Beliefs, and Other Factors.* Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Christian Association for Psychological Studies, Virtual Conference.

Young, D., Hamilton, E., Flores, M., van Asselt, A., & Wingerter, R. (2021) *Analysis of BASC-3 Profiles for Trauma Exposed, Rural Youth Compared to Unexposed Peers.* Poster presented at the American Psychological Association 129th Annual Convention, Division 16, Virtual Conference, August 2021.

Young, D., Hamilton, E., van Asselt, A., & Flores, M. (2021) *Cognitive Profiles on the WJ-IV for Youth with Specific-Learning Disorders or Trauma Exposure.* Poster presented at the American Psychological Association 129th Annual Convention, Division 16, Virtual Conference, August 2021.

Young, D., Flores, M., Tissell, P., Hamilton, E., & Gathercoal, K. (2020) *Culturally Relevant Intelligence Assessment in Rural, Latinx Youth.* Poster presented at the 128th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.

Workshops

Intractable Conflict in Families and Society: What Do We Know About Healing the Rifts

Wendy Bourg, Ph.D

February 2022

Demystifying Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) Screening

Leslie Carter, Ph.D

October 2021

Erotic Transcendence: Integrating Faith with What's New in Sex Research

Elisabeth Wilson, Ph.D

October 2021

Gender Diverse Clients: Therapy and Intervention Readiness Assessments

Cloe Ackerman, PsyD

March 2021

Saying “Yes” to Your Embodied Life: An Invitation for Psychotherapists

Janelle Kwee, PhD

February 2021

Projective Assessment Seminar

Nancy Thurston, PsyD

December 2020

- Qualitative interpretation of the Rorschach, House-Tree-Person, and Incomplete Sentence Test
- Scoring and interpretation of the Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame and Thematic Apperception Test
- Case conceptualization and interpretation of de-identified case studies

Diagnostic Overview of PTSD

Jason Steward, PhD

November 2020

Examining the Role of Neuropsychology within the Pediatric Cancer Setting

Justin Lee, PhD

October 2020

Child Adverse Events to Adults with Substance Use Problems

Amy Stoeber, PhD

February 2020

Intercultural Communication

Cheryl Forster, PsyD

October 2019

Promoting Forgiveness

Everett Worthington Jr., PhD

September 2019

Opportunities in Forensic Psychology

Diomaris Safi, PsyD & Alexander Milkey, PsyD

February 2019

Old Pain in New Brains

Scott Pengelly, PhD

October 2018

Spiritual Formation and the Life of a Psychologist: Looking Closer at Soul-Care

Lisa Graham McMinn, PhD & Mark McMinn, PhD

September 2018

Related Work Experience

Behavioral Health Center, Newberg, OR

June 2021-September 2021

Administrative Assistant

- Manage the clinic’s phone, email, and waitlist
- Coordinate with clinicians to assign and schedule individuals on the waitlist
- Transfer paper documentation and records onto the clinic’s online database (i.e., Therapy Notes)

Applied Learning Processes, Kansas City, KS

May 2017-August 2017

Clinical Staff, Rachel Libick

- Collaborated with a clinical team to assist elementary through high school aged students develop strategies to establish and strengthen visual-verbal and visual-motor skills

Clinical Interests

- Comprehensive services with patients across the lifespan, with an emphasis in pediatric assessment
- Providing psychotherapy and assessments to underserved, rural populations
- Providing education and support to developing psychologists
- Conducting psychological evaluations and providing feedback and recommendations to children with possible in-utero substance exposure
- Autism evaluations across the lifespan and within marginalized communities

Research Interests
Dissertation Research

George Fox University, Graduate School of Clinical Psychology

Committee Chair: Rodger Bufford, PhD

Other Committee Members: Nancy Thurston, PsyD and Kenneth Logan, PsyD

Title: Relational Variables Associated with Self-Reported Political Ideology

Topic: Comparing similarities and differences in shame, grace, attachment characteristics, and religiosity across self-reported political ideology

Preliminary Proposal Defense: Completed November 3rd, 2020

Final Defense: TBD

Optimizing Assessment Strategies for Children and Adolescents

Rural Child and Adolescent Psychological Services

Supervisor: Elizabeth Hamilton, PhD

Topics:

Differential diagnosis utilizing the Roberts-2

Multi-informant concordance and incremental validity using the BASC-3

Multicultural application of the BASC-3 in rural communities

Application of BASC-3 Content Scales in comprehensive assessment

Applications of the Thurston-Cradock Test of Shame and Dimensions of Grace Scale

George Fox University, Graduate School of Clinical Psychology

Supervisor: Nancy Thurston, PsyD

Topic: Relationship between shame defenses and outcome resolutions on the TCTS and the DGS

Membership

- American Psychological Association (Student Affiliate) 2019-Present

