

**POL618**  
**Psychological and Biological Bases of Political Ideology**

Wednesday 2:30-5:30  
SBS N705  
Stanley Feldman

This seminar is designed to introduce you to contemporary research in political psychology that attempts to account for variation in political ideology and attitudes. The topics and readings were chosen to provide a broad coverage of the frontiers of political psychology. While the focus of the course, and most of the readings, is on explaining variation in political ideology, the topics were chosen in part to illustrate a number of the major approaches that are being used in political psychology to account for a variety of political phenomenon. Readings are drawn from both political science and psychology. As you will see, there has been a great deal of research on these topics in the past few years. The assigned readings attempt to provide a broad survey of that research. There is thus a significant amount of reading for each week that must be carefully done.

Grading for the course will be based on three components: two short papers, a final research paper, and class participation. The two short papers should each be a critical discussions of one week's readings. These should not be summaries of the readings, but thoughtful discussions of issues raised by those readings. The final paper may be either an empirical analysis of the psychological basis of ideology or a detailed research design for studying some aspect of the psychology of ideology. Topics for the final papers must be approved by me. Since there are only two short papers and no exams in the course class participation will be critical. Much of the work we cover this semester is in its early phase; discussion will help to clarify the utility of this work and its future prospects. And it will be the major way I can assess your work in the course. Each of these three components will count toward one-third of your final grade.

**Topics and Assigned Readings:**

**1. Conceptual Issues and the Problem of Sophistication**

*Read:*

Gerring, J. (1997). Ideology: A definitional analysis. *Political Research Quarterly*, 50(4), 957-994.

Homer-Dixon, T., Maynard, J. L., Mildenberger, M., Milkoreit, M., Mock, S. J., Quilley, S., & Thagard, P. (2013). A Complex Systems Approach to the Study of Ideology: Cognitive-Affective Structures and the Dynamics of Belief Systems. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 1(1), 337-363.

Kinder, D. R. (2006). Belief systems today. *Critical Review*, 18(1-3), 197-216.

Goren, P. (2004). Political sophistication and policy reasoning: A reconsideration. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(3), 462-478.

Levendusky, M. S. (2011). Rethinking the role of political information. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 75(1), 42-64.

Highton, B. (2009). Revisiting the relationship between educational attainment and political sophistication. *The Journal of Politics*, 71(04), 1564-1576.

*Additional references:*

Converse, P. E. (1964). "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." *Ideology and discontent*, 206-61.

Friedman, J., & Friedman, S. (Eds.). (2012). *The Nature of Belief Systems Reconsidered*. Routledge.

Ansolabehere, S., Rodden, J., & Snyder, J. M. (2008). The strength of issues: Using multiple measures to gauge preference stability, ideological constraint, and issue voting. *American Political Science Review*, 102(02), 215-232.

Luskin, R. C. (1987). Measuring political sophistication. *American Journal of Political Science*, 856-899.

## **2. The Structure of Political Ideology**

*Read:*

Ashton, M. C., Danso, H. H., Maio, G. R., Esses, V. M., Bond, M. H., & Keung, D. K. Y. (2005). Two dimensions of political attitudes and their individual difference correlates: A cross-cultural perspective. In *Culture and social behavior: The Ontario symposium*. Vol. 10, pp. 1-29.

Treier, S., & Hillygus, D. S. (2009). The nature of political ideology in the contemporary electorate. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 73(4), 679-703.

Baldassarri, D., & Goldberg, A. (2014). Neither ideologues nor agnostics: Alternative voters' belief system in an age of partisan politics. *American Journal of Sociology*, 120(1), 45-95.

Swedlow, B., & Wyckoff, M. L. (2009). Value preferences and ideological structuring of attitudes in American public opinion. *American Politics Research*, 37(6), 1048-1087.

Feldman, S., & Johnston, C. (2013). Understanding the determinants of political ideology: Implications of structural complexity. *Political Psychology*. 35(3), 337-358.

Iyer, R., Koleva, S., Graham, J., Ditto, P., & Haidt, J. (2012). Understanding libertarian morality: The psychological dispositions of self-identified libertarians. *PloS one*, 7(8), e42366.

*Additional references:*

Evans, G., Heath, A., & Lalljee, M. (1996). Measuring left-right and libertarian-authoritarian values in the British electorate. *British Journal of Sociology*, 93-112.

Carmines, E. G., Ensley, M. J., & Wagner, M. W. (2012, October). Political Ideology in American Politics: One, Two, or None? In *FORUM-A JOURNAL OF APPLIED RESEARCH IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICS* (Vol. 10, No. 3).

Zumbrunnen, J., & Gangl, A. (2008). Conflict, fusion, or coexistence? The complexity of contemporary American conservatism. *Political Behavior*, 30, 199–221.

Swedlow, B. (2008). Beyond liberal and conservative: Two-dimensional conceptions of ideology and the structure of political attitudes and values. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 13(2), 157-180.

Achterberg, P., & Houtman, D. (2009). Ideologically illogical? Why do the lower educated Dutch display so little value coherence? *Social Forces*, 87(3), 1649-1670.

Ellis, C., & Stimson, J. A. (2012). *Ideology in America*. Cambridge University Press.

### **3. Motivational Bases of Ideology**

*Read:*

Jost, J. and Krochick, M. (2014). Ideological differences in epistemic motivation: Implications for attitude structure, depth of information processing, susceptibility to persuasion, and stereotyping. *Advances in Motivation Science*, 1, 181-231.

Duckitt, J. (2001). A dual-process cognitive-motivational theory of ideology and prejudice. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 33, 41-113.

Perry, R., & Sibley, C. G. (2013). A Dual-Process Motivational Model of Social and Economic Policy Attitudes. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 13(1), 262-285.

Malka, A., Soto, C., Inzlicht, M., and Lelkes, Y. (2014). Do needs for security and certainty predict cultural and economic conservatism? A cross-national analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 106(6), 1031-1051.

Van Prooijen, J. Krouwel, A., Boiten, M, and Eendeback, L. (2015). Fear among the extremes: How political ideology predicts negative emotions and outgroup derogation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 41(4), 485-497.

Burke, B. L., Kosloff, S., & Landau, M. J. (2013). Death goes to the polls: A meta-analysis of mortality salience effects on political attitudes. *Political Psychology*. 34(2), 183-200.

*Additional references:*

Jost, J. T., Glaser, J., Kruglanski, A. W., & Sulloway, F. J. (2003). Political conservatism as motivated social cognition. *Psychological bulletin*, 129(3), 339.

Crowson, H.M. (2009) Are all conservatives alike? A study of the psychological correlates of cultural and economic conservatism. *The Journal of Psychology* 143: 449–463.

Rock, M. S. & Janoff-Bulman, R. (2010). Where do we draw our lines? Politics, rigidity, and the role of self-regulation. *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 1(1):26–33.

Corr, P.J., Hargreaves-Heap, S., Tsutsui, K., Russell, A. & Seger, C. (2013), Personality and social attitudes: Evidence for positive-approach motivation. *Personality and Individual Differences* 55: 846-851.

Duckitt, J., Wagner, C., Du Plessis, I., & Birum, I. (2002). The psychological bases of ideology and prejudice: Testing a dual process model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 75-93.

Altemeyer R. (1998). The other “authoritarian personality”. In: Zanna, M.P., ed. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. San Diego: Academic Press. pp 47–92.

Castano, E, Leidner, B, Bonacossa, A, Nikkah, J., Perrull, R., Spencer, B. & Humphrey, N. (2011) Ideology, fear of death, and death anxiety. *Political Psychology* 32(4):601–21.

Tomkins, S. S. (1963) Left and right: A basic dimension of ideology and personality. In: *The study of lives*, ed. R. W. White, pp. 388–411. Atherton.

#### 4. Cognitive processes

*Read:*

Carraro, L., Castelli, L. & Macchiella, C. (2011). The automatic conservative: Ideology-based attentional asymmetries in the processing of valenced information. *PLoS ONE* 6(11): e26456.

Shook, N.J, and Fazio, R.H. (2009) Political ideology, exploration of novel stimuli, and attitude formation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 45: 995–998.

Caparos, S., Fortier-St-Pierre, S., Gosselin, J., Blanchette, I., and Brisson, B. (2015). The tree to the left, the forest to the right: Political attitude and perceptual bias. *Cognition*, 134, 155-164.

Talhelm, T., Haidt, J., Oishi, S., Zhang, X., Miao, F., & Chen, S. (2015). Liberals think more analytically (More “WEIRD”) than conservatives. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 41(2), 250-267.

Deppe, K. et al. (2015). Reflective liberals and intuitive conservatives: A look at the Cognitive Reflection Test and ideology. *Judgment and Decision Making*, 10(4), 314-331.

Onraet, E., Van Hiel, A., Roets, A., & Cornelis, I. (2011). The closed mind: ‘Experience’ and ‘cognition’ aspects of openness to experience and need for closure as psychological bases for right-wing attitudes. *European Journal of Personality*, 25(3), 184-197.

Perry, R., & Sibley, C. G. (2013). Seize and freeze: Openness to Experience shapes judgments of societal threat. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 47(6), 677-686.

*Additional references:*

Van Hiel, A., & Mervielde, I. (2004). Openness to experience and boundaries in the mind: Relationships with cultural and economic conservatism. *Journal of Personality*, 72, 659–686.

Webster, D. M., & Kruglanski, A. W. (1994). Individual differences in need for cognitive closure. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 67(6), 1049.

Critcher, C. R., Huber, M., Ho, A. K., & Koleva, S. P. (2009). Political orientation and ideological inconsistencies: (Dis)comfort with value tradeoffs. *Social Justice Research*, 22, 181–205.

Kahan, D. (2012). Ideology, Motivated Reasoning, and Cognitive Reflection: An Experimental Study.

Castelli, L. & Carraro, L. (2011) Ideology is related to basic cognitive processes involved in attitude formation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 47(5):1013–16.

Thórisdóttir, H., & Jost, J. T. (2011). Motivated closed-mindedness mediates the effect of threat on political conservatism. *Political Psychology*, 32(5), 785-811.

Nail, P. R., McGregor, I., Drinkwater, A. E., Steele, G. M., & Thompson, A. W. (2009). Threat causes liberals to think like conservatives. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45(4), 901-907.

Chirumbolo, A., Areni, A. & Sensales, G. (2004) Need for cognitive closure and politics: Voting, political attitudes, and attributional style. *International Journal of Psychology* 39(4):245–53.

Kossowska, M. & van Hiel, A. (2003). The relationship between need for closure and conservative beliefs in Western and Eastern Europe. *Political Psychology* 24(3):501–18.

Gervais, W. M. & Norenzayan, A. (2012) Analytic thinking promotes religious disbelief. *Science* 336:493–96.

Chirumbolo, A., Areni, A. & Sensales, G. (2004) Need for cognitive closure and politics: Voting, political attitudes, and attributional style. *International Journal of Psychology* 39(4):245–53.

Shook, N. and Clay, R. (2011). Valence asymmetry in attitude formation: A correlate of political ideology. *Social Psychological & Personality Science*, 2(6), 650-655.

Petersen, M. B., & Aarøe, L. (2013). Politics in the mind's eye: Imagination as a link between social and political cognition. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2).

Eidelman, S., Crandall, C. S., Goodman, J. A., & Blanchard, J. C. (2012). Low-effort thought promotes political conservatism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38(6), 808-820.

## 5. Physiological Processes

### Read:

Oxley D.R., Smith K.B., Alford J.R., Hibbing M.V., Miller .J.L., et al. (2008). Political attitudes vary with physiological traits. *Science* 321: 1667–1670.

Dodd, M. D., Balzer, A., Jacobs, C. M., Gruszczynski, M. W., Smith, K. B. & Hibbing, J. R. (2012) The political left rolls with the good; the political right confronts the bad. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Biological Sciences* 367(1589):640–9.

Joel, S., Burton, C. M., & Plaks, J. E. (2013). Conservatives anticipate and experience stronger emotional reactions to negative outcomes. *Journal of personality*.

Tritt, S. M., Inzlicht, M., & Peterson, J. B. (2013). Preliminary support for a generalized arousal model of political conservatism. *PLoS one*, 8(12), e83333.

Leone, L., & Chirumbolo, A. (2008). Conservatism as motivated avoidance of affect: Need for affect scales predict conservatism measures. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 42(3), 755-762

Renshon, J., Lee, J. J., & Tingley, D. Physiological Arousal and Political Beliefs. *Political Psychology*, forthcoming.

### Additional references:

Cohen, S. & Hamrick, N. (2003) Stable individual differences in physiological response to stressors: Implications for stress-elicited changes in immune related health. *Brain, Behavior, and Immunity* 17(6):407–14.

McLean, S. P., Garza, J. P., Wiebe, S. A., Dodd, M. D., Smith, K. B., Hibbing, J. R., & Espy, K. A. (2013). Applying the Flanker Task to Political Psychology: A Research Note. *Political Psychology*.

Dambrum , M., Despres, G. & Guimond, S. (2003) On the multifaceted nature of prejudice: Psychophysiological responses to ingroup and outgroup ethnic stimuli. *Current Research in Social Psychology* 8:187–206.

De Dreu, C. K. W., Greer, L. L., Van Kleef, G. A., Salvi, S. & Handgraaf, M. J. J. (2011) Oxytocin promotes human ethnocentrism. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108(4):1262–66.

Stanton, S. J., Beehner, J. C., Saini, E. K., Kuhn, C. M. & Labar, K. S. (2009) Dominance, politics, and physiology: Voters' Testosterone changes on the night of the 2008 United States presidential election. *PLoS ONE* 4(10):e7543.

## 6. Social Values

Read:

Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. *Advances in experimental social psychology*, 25(1), 1-65.

Schwartz, S.H., Caprara, G.V., & Vecchione, M. 2010. Basic personal values, core political values, and voting: A longitudinal analysis. *Political Psychology* 31, 421-53.

Piurko, Y., Schwartz, S. H., & Davidov, E. (2011). Basic Personal Values and the Meaning of Left-Right Political Orientations in 20 Countries. *Political Psychology*, 32(4), 537-561.

Schwartz, S. H., Caprara, G. V., Vecchione, M., Bain, P., Bianchi, G., Caprara, M. G., ... & Zaleski, Z. (2011). Basic personal values underlie and give coherence to political values: A cross national study in 15 countries. *Political Behavior*, 1-32.

Kulin, J. and Seymer, A. (2014). What's driving the public? A cross-country analysis of political attitudes, human values and political articulation. *Sociological Research Online*, 19(1).

Arikan, G., & Ben-Nun Bloom, P. (2014). Social values and cross-national differences in attitudes towards welfare. *Political Studies*.

Additional references:

Rohan, M. J. (2000). A rose by any name? The values construct. *Personality and social psychology review*, 4(3), 255-277.

Thorisdottir, H., Jost, J. T., Liviatan, I. & Shrouf, P. E. (2007) Psychological needs and values underlying left-right political orientations: Cross-national evidence from Eastern and Western Europe. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71(2):175–203.

Marietta, M., & Barker, D. C. (2007). Values as heuristics: Core beliefs and voter sophistication in the 2000 republican nomination contest. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 17(1), 49-78.

Popp, E., & Rudolph, T. J. (2011). A tale of two ideologies: Explaining public support for economic interventions. *Journal of Politics*, 73(3), 808-20.

Vecchione, M., Caprara, G., Dentale, F., & Schwartz, S. H. (2013). Voting and Values: Reciprocal Effects over Time. *Political Psychology*.

Feldman, S., & Zaller, J. (1992). The political culture of ambivalence: Ideological responses to the welfare state. *American Journal of Political Science*, 268-307.

Goren, P. (2001). Core principles and policy reasoning in mass publics: A test of two theories. *British Journal of Political Science*, 31(1), 159-177.

Jacoby, W. G. (2006). Value choices and American public opinion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(3), 706-723.

## 7. Moral values

*Read:*

Haidt, J., & Joseph, C. (2007). The moral mind: How five sets of innate intuitions guide the development of many culture-specific virtues, and perhaps even modules. *The innate mind*, 3, 367-392.

Suhler, C. L., & Churchland, P. (2011). Can innate, modular “foundations” explain morality? Challenges for Haidt's moral foundations theory. *Journal of cognitive neuroscience*, 23(9), 2103-2116.

Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B. A. 2009 Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *J Personality and Social Psychology* 96, 1029-1046.

Lakoff, G. (1995). Metaphor, morality, and politics, or, why conservatives have left liberals in the dust. *Social Research*, 177-213.

Frimer, J., Gaucher, D., and Schaefer, N. (2014). Political conservatives' affinity for obedience to authority is loyal, not blind. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 40(9), 1205-1214.

McAdams, D. P., Albaugh, M., Farber, E., Daniels, J., Logan, R. L., & Olson, B. (2008). Family metaphors and moral intuitions: how conservatives and liberals narrate their lives. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 95(4), 978.

*Additional references:*

Haidt, J. & Graham, J. 2007. When morality opposes justice: Conservatives have moral intuitions that liberals may not recognize. *Soc Justice Res* 20, 98-116.

Graham, J., Nosek, B. A., Haidt, J., Iyer, R., Koleva, S., & Ditto, P. H. (2011). Mapping the moral domain. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 101(2), 366.

Haidt, J., Graham, J., & Joseph, C. (2009). Above and below left–right: Ideological narratives and moral foundations. *Psychological Inquiry*, 20(2-3), 110-119.

Haidt, J. & Hersh, M. 2001 Sexual morality: The cultures of conservatives and liberals. *J of Applied Social Psychology* 31, 191-221.

Weber, C. R., & Federico, C. M. (2013). Moral foundations and heterogeneity in ideological preferences. *Political Psychology*, 34(1), 107-126.

Federico, C. M., Weber, C. R., Ergun, D., & Hunt, C. (2013). Mapping the connections between politics and morality: The multiple sociopolitical orientations involved in moral intuition. *Political Psychology*.



Weisberg, H. F. (2005). The structure and effects of moral predispositions in contemporary American politics. *Journal of Politics*, 67(3), 646-668.

Barker, D. C., & Tinnick, J. D. (2006). Competing visions of parental roles and ideological constraint. *American Political Science Review*, 100(2), 249.

## 8. Personality

*Read:*

McCrae, R. R., & John, O. P. (1992). An introduction to the five-factor model and its applications. *Journal of personality*, 60(2), 175-215.

DeYoung, C. G., Quilty, L. C., & Peterson, J. B. (2007). Between facets and domains: 10 aspects of the Big Five. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 93(5), 880.

DeYoung, C. G. (2010) Toward a Theory of the Big Five, *Psychological Inquiry: An International Journal for the Advancement of Psychological Theory*, 21:1, 26-33,

Gerber, A., Huber, G., Doherty, D., Dowling, C. M., & Ha, S. (2010). Personality and political attitudes: Relationships across issue domains and political contexts. *American Political Science Review*, 104(1), 111–150.

De Neve, J. (2013). Personality, childhood experience, and political ideology. *Political Psychology*.

McCrae, R. R. (1996) Social consequences of experiential openness. *Psychological Bulletin* 120(3):323–37.

Hirsh, J. B., DeYoung, C. G., Xu, X., & Peterson, J. B. (2010). Compassionate liberals and polite conservatives: Associations of agreeableness with political ideology and moral values. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36, 655-664.

*Additional references:*

Sibley, C. G., Osborne, D., & Duckitt, J. (2012). Personality and political orientation: Meta-analysis and test of a threat-constraint model. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 46, 664-677.

Fraley, R. C., Griffin, B. N., Belsky, J. & Roisman, G. I. (2012) Developmental antecedents of political ideology: A longitudinal investigation from birth to age 18 years. *Psychological Science*. 23(11): 1425-31.

Morton, R., Tyran, J. R., & Wengström, E. (2011). Income and Ideology: How Personality Traits, Cognitive Abilities, and Education Shape Political Attitudes. *Univ. of Copenhagen Dept. of Economics Discussion Paper*, (11-08).

Block, J. & Block, J. J. (2006) Nursery school personality and political orientation two decades later. *Journal of Research in Personality* 40:734–49

Digman, J. M. (1990). Personality structure: Emergence of the five-factor model. *Annual review of psychology*, 41(1), 417-440.

Gerber, A. S., Huber, G. A., Doherty, D., & Dowling, C. M. (2011). The big five personality traits in the political arena. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 14, 265-287.

Xu, X., Mar, R. A., & Peterson, J. B. (2013). Does Cultural Exposure Partially Explain the Association Between Personality and Political Orientation? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39(11), 1497-1517.

Carney, D. R., Jost, J. T., Gosling, S. D., & Potter, J. (2008). The secret lives of liberals and conservatives: Personality profiles, interaction styles, and the things they leave behind. *Political Psychology*, 29(6), 807-840.

Lee, K., Ashton, M. C., Ogunfowora, B., Bourdage, J. S., & Shin, K. H. (2010). The personality bases of socio-political attitudes: The role of Honesty–Humility and Openness to Experience. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 44(1), 115-119.

Chirumbolo, A., & Leone, L. (2010). Personality and politics: The role of the HEXACO model of personality in predicting ideology and voting. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 49(1), 43-48.

DeYoung, C. G., Peterson, J. B., & Higgins, D. M. (2005). Sources of openness/intellect: Cognitive and neuropsychological correlates of the fifth factor of personality. *Journal of personality*, 73(4), 825-858.

Corr, P. J., DeYoung, C. G., & McNaughton, N. (2013). Motivation and personality: A neuropsychological perspective. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 7, 158–175.

## 9. Behavioral Genetics

*Read:*

Medland, S. E., and P. K. Hatemi. 2009. Political science, biometric theory, and twin studies: A methodological introduction. *Political Analysis* 17:191–214.

Bouchard, T. J., and M. McGue. 2003. Genetic and environmental influences on human psychological differences. *Journal of Neurobiology* 54(1):4–45.

Alford, J. R., Funk, C. L., & Hibbing, J. R. (2005). Are political orientations genetically transmitted? *American Political Science Review*, 99(2), 153-167.

Hatemi, P. K., J. R. Hibbing, S. E. Medland, M. C. Keller, J. R. Alford, K. B. Smith, N. G. Martin, and L. J. Eaves. 2010. Not by twins alone: Using the extended family design to investigate genetic influence on political beliefs. *American Journal of Political Science* 54(3):798–814.

Kandler, C., Bleidorn, W., & Riemann, R. (2012). Left or right? Sources of political orientation: The roles of genetic factors, cultural transmission, assortative mating, and personality. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *102*(3), 633.

Verhulst, Brad, Lindon J. Eaves, and Peter K. Hatemi. 2012. Correlation not causation: The relationship between personality traits and political ideologies. *American Journal of Political Science* *56*(1):34–51.

Ludeke, S., Johnson, W., & Bouchard Jr, T. J. (2013). "Obedience to traditional authority:" A heritable factor underlying authoritarianism, conservatism and religiousness. *Personality and Individual Differences*.

*Additional references:*

Martin, N. G., Eaves, L. J., Heath, A. C., Jardine, R., Feingold, L. M. & Eysenck, H. J. (1986) Transmission of social attitudes. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* *15*:4364–68.

Ludeke, S. G., & Krueger, R. F. (2013). Authoritarianism as a personality trait: Evidence from a longitudinal behavior genetic study. *Personality and Individual Differences*.

Bouchard, T. J., N. L. Segal, A. Tellegen, M. McGue, M. Keyes, and R. Krueger. 2003. Evidence for the construct validity and heritability of the Wilson-Patterson conservatism scale: A reared-apart twins study of social attitudes. *Personality and Individual Differences* *34*(6):959–69.

McCourt, K., Bouchard, T. J., Jr., Lykken, D. T., Tellegen, A., & Keyes, K. (1999). Authoritarianism revisited: Genetic and environmental influences examined in twins reared apart and together. *Personality and Individual Differences*, **27**, 985–1014.

Bouchard, T. J. (2009) Authoritarianism, religiousness, and conservatism: Is "obedience to authority" the explanation for their clustering, universality and evolution? In: *The biological evolution of religious mind and behavior*, ed. E. Voland & W. Schiefenhövel, pp. 165–80. Springer.

Waller, N. G., B. A. Kojetin, T. J. Bouchard, D. T. Lykken, and A. Tellegen. 1990. Genetic and environmental influences on religious interests, attitudes, and values—a study of twins reared apart and together. *Psychological Science* *1*(2):138–42.

Bell, E., Schermer, J. A. & Vernon, P. A. (2009). The origins of political attitudes and behaviours: An analysis using twins. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* *42*(4):855–79.

Benjamin, D. L., Cesarini, D., Matthijs, J. H. M., Dawes, C. T., Koellinger, P. D., Magunsson, P. K. E., Chabris, C. F., Conley, D., Laibson, D., Johannesson, M. & Visscher, P. M. (2012) The genetic architecture of economic and political preferences. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* *109* (21):8026-31.

Bouchard, T. J. (2009) Authoritarianism, religiousness, and conservatism: Is "obedience to authority" the explanation for their clustering, universality and evolution? In: *The biological evolution of religious mind and behavior*, ed. E. Voland & W. Schiefenhövel, pp. 165–80. Springer.

Eaves, L. J., and P. K. Hatemi. 2008. Transmission of attitudes toward abortion and gay rights: Effects of genes, social learning and mate selection. *Behavior Genetics* 38(3):247–56.

Turkheimer, Eric. 2000. Three laws of behavior genetics and what they mean. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 9(5):160–4.

## 10. Genes, the Environment, and Ideology

*Read:*

Settle, J.E., Dawes, C.T., Christakis, N.A., & Fowler, J.H. 2010. Friendships moderate an association between the DRD4 gene and political ideology. *Journal of Politics* 2, 1189–98.

Ebstein, R., Monakhov, V., Lu, Y., Jiang, Y., Lai, P., and Chew, S. (2015). Association between the dopamine D4 receptor gene exon III variable number of tandem repeats and political attitudes in female Han Chinese. *The Royal Society, Proceedings B*. 282.

Terracciano, A., Sanna, S., Uda, M., Deiana, B., Usala, G., Busonero, F., & Villafuerte, S. (2008). Genome-wide association scan for five major dimensions of personality. *Molecular psychiatry*, 15(6), 647-656.

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