

A MODEL OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND PERSON-
ORGANIZATION FIT IN THE
WORKPLACE

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Abstract: The following research examines a proposed model in which political ideology is examined as a potential value that could be considered when examining the relationship of perceived fit between the individual and their environment and its effect on organizational commitment and job satisfaction. Results revealed that consonance between the individual and their perception of fit with the environment mediated the relationship between political ideology and the outcome variables. This could be of increasing interest given the ever widening gap between the ideological right and left.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On July 3, 2012 Dan Cathey, president of Chick-Fil-A, was interviewed by a small North Carolina Baptist online news journal (The Biblical Press) and provided his candid thoughts on marriage equality. This interview was later picked up by the Baptist Press on July 13th of the same year. Cathey's comments were an affirmation that his organization supported the biblical definition of marriage, and supported what he viewed as the "traditional family unit". His comments continued, "We are a family-owned business, a family-led business, and we are married to our first wives. We give God thanks for that" (CNN, July 27, 2012).

While it is widely known that Chic-Fil-A is an organization that clearly espouses a Christian values system in its business practices, these comments sparked a firestorm of debate and controversy across the country. Mayors in Chicago and Boston were quick to condemn Cathey's perspective and were both quoted as discouraging Chic-Fil-A's plans to expand to their respective cities.

Beyond just the talk of marriage equality, Cathey, the son of the founder of Chick-Fil-A, also funded groups who actively fought marriage equality at the state and national level. According to the LGBT advocacy group Equality Matters, Chick-Fil-A donated in excess of \$3 million to such initiatives between 2003 and 2009, and almost \$2 million in 2010 (CNN, July 27, 2012). While these donations were made to fight marriage equality for homosexual couples, other business leaders were providing funding for the opposing side of this ongoing argument.

Jeff Bezos, the founder and CEO of the online retailing giant Amazon reported a \$2.5 million dollar donation to support a law in Washington state that would legalize same sex marriage (Yahoo! News, July 27, 2012). In a similar story, Microsoft founder Bill Gates, and President Steve Ballmer each donated \$100,000 to the same cause (The Huffington Post, July 2, 2012). Google employees also posted a pointed video supporting marriage equality.

While the marriage equality question is fundamentally a social and religious issue, it has seized upon by political parties and candidates as a key platform issue in many states. This raises a question regarding politics and the work environment. When a key leader within an organization espouses certain political views, how does this impact those that work within that organization? This question can be addressed specifically with the previous example and the issue of marriage equality, but the support of political candidates by business leaders is a common practice that transcends their support of just specific issues.

This is true for both the Republican and Democratic parties and their supporters. Harold Simmons, owner of Conran, Corp. and Valhi, Inc. (#49 on Forbes' list of the richest individuals) was quoted as saying "I have lots of money, and can give it legally now, just never to Democrats" (Rolling Stone, May 24, 2012). The Citizens United decision by the Supreme Court allows unlimited donations to political action committees (PACs), thus freeing up business leaders to openly support their candidates of choice. But, these "mega-donors" are certainly not exclusive to a single political party.

In July of 2011 Bloomberg.com provided a partial list of President Barack Obama's donors, and the list included the multiple high-end donors. Former Goldman Sachs CEO Jon Corzine, Comcast executive David Cohen, and John Rogers chairman of Ariel Investments LLC all provided significant and public donations to the President's reelection campaign (Bloomberg.com, July 15, 2011). This open and oppositional support of not only specific issues, but of specific political candidates from both parties drives the fundamental question for this study.

How would an individual with a liberal political ideology fare at a company or organization whose leader/CEO/president and the majority of the staff support what are considered conservative sides of political issues? Could an employee survive as the only (or as a numeric minority) liberal at Chick-Fil-a or Koch Industries? Relatedly, how would an individual in the reverse position experience and perform in the workplace? How would an individual with a conservative ideology enjoy the atmosphere and coworkers at EBay, Amazon, or Google?

There is a growing body of research that points to the idea that our country is becoming more ideologically bifurcated along liberal and conservative lines. In 2006 a science fiction writer named Orson Scott Card published a novel whose setting was at the onset of the next American civil war. In this battle the sides were not the historically established boundaries of north vs. south, but an ideological war where the lines were drawn on a red vs. blue state distinction (*Empire*, 2006). While this work of fiction was an extreme perspective, the idea of an America where political ideologies have polarized to the extent of bloodshed is compelling. While the idea of violence based on political ideology is repugnant, less violent forms of conflict are predicated by differences in political ideology here in the United States.

This addresses the underlying issue alluded to earlier. Does the support of specific political issues or political candidates by executives or organizations create a repressive culture in the workplace? This research focuses on conflict in the workplace culture stemming from perceptions of fit between the individual workers and their coworkers, supervisors, and the organization itself. Primarily, I am interested in the possibility that political ideology or political identification are a source of social and workplace categorization that could become an issue.

Consistent and ongoing research on discrimination is primarily focused on the protected categories established by the Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and is so prevalent that it would take meta-analytic techniques just to approach the multitude of meta-analyses available on various topics associated with the variables on which we can base discrimination. As our society attempts to decrease the salience of gender, race, national

origin, and disability in the workplace, I begin to wonder if new categories of recognized discrimination such as political ideology will, or should, emerge.

An example of political ideology creating problems in the workplace was raised in 2010 in the case of politicized hiring in the federal government. The idea of politicized hiring was brought to the forefront during the administration of President George W. Bush.

Ideological and loyalty hiring in politics is certainly not a new phenomenon, indeed it dates to the presidency of Andrew Jackson, but since that time the use of political ideology as a hiring criteria has become strictly forbidden by government policy and law in the United States.

Under Bush the number of cases and departments charged with unethical hiring policies was unprecedented. Many of these violations are outlined by Moynihan and Roberts (2010). They point out that politicized hiring was rampant during Bush's tenure and a matter of common knowledge. Politicization in selection was identified in the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), the U.S. Attorney's office, the Department of Justice (DOJ, both the Civil Rights Division and DOJ Honors Program), selection of immigration judges, and the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA, the agency charged with the rebuilding of Iraq after the war).

In all of these examples clear evidence was found that selection and other workplace decisions were made based on political ideology, identification, or policy preference rather than rationality or qualification (Moynihan & Roberts, 2010). This example may be an exercise in *reductio ad absurdum*, but they provide the background and justification for further investigation.

As a direct result of the politicized hiring practices in the DOJ under President Bush and Attorney General Alberto Gonzalez, a lawsuit was filed by some of the applicants to the DOJ's Honors Program (*Gerlich et al v. United States Department of Justice cv-08-1134*). The suit claimed that hiring officials violated the federal law that prohibits the use of political ideology or identification as a selection tool for career positions in the government. The case was eventually dismissed, but new policies were implemented to protect candidates from future violations (Mears, 2011).

Another compelling reason for the current research is the reality of the polarized nature of United States at this moment in time. Not specifically in this, the most recent²³ election year, but the growing difference in policy and ever expanding chasm between the ideological left and right. Abramowitz and Saunders (2005) found that between 1972 and 2004 the gap between Democrats and Republicans in terms of their ideological self-placement has more than doubled. These results were based on National Election Study (NES) results and provided a broad view of the electorate.

While Fiorina and Abrams (2008) might disagree regarding the source of extremism in the political process, other evidence exists in the form of election results based on a county by county evaluation. Based on that analysis from 1948 – 2000 journalists at the *Austin American Statesman* found that even though the 2000 presidential race was essentially a 50/50 split in terms of the popular vote there was very little contention in individual districts or counties. This prompted Bill Bishop to write “the fastest-growing kind of segregation in the United States isn't racial. It is the segregation between Republican and Democrat.” (2004, recovered online). This supports the findings of Abramowitz and Sanders (2005) who reported that the average margin of victory in the

presidential elections from 1960 – 2004 had increased from 8% to almost 15% in a county by county analysis of the United States.

This geographic homophily in terms of political ideology and identification and witnessed by voting behavior creates environments in which dissenting political views may be at a disadvantage. In states that are recognized as “red” or “blue” rather than any shade of purple, are individuals not in the political majority at risk of disparate treatment or impact?

Problem Statement

Can political ideology and identification be an influence on perceived organizational fit within the workplace? Anecdotal evidence previously cited would answer with a resounding yes, but given that the example provided was in a specific, highly politicized environment and location, the question persists. Empirical evidence by Gardham and Brown (2001), showed that differential group outcomes, in the form of rewards, could be explained by manipulating groups based on something as meaningless as an individuals’ preference in artists (Klee vs. Kandinsky). If this is the case, a meaningful difference in selection and adherence to political ideology and doctrine could create a real and lasting barrier to rational and objective decision making in the workplace when it comes to dealing with members of opposing political ideologies or parties. Does political ideology impact perceptions of person-environment or person-organization fit, and if it does, what is the impact on commonly measured organizational outcomes such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment?

Rationale for the Study

Based on social categorization (Allport, 1954), it is common for individuals to create ingroups and outgroups to define their surroundings. These ingroup/outgroup distinctions can be made based on any categorical variable, be they legitimate or completely arbitrary.

As shown by the politicized hiring problems experienced in the Bush administration, hiring and other workplace decisions have been made in the past based on candidate's or employee's political affiliation and ideology. A gap in the research exists in relation to the exploration of this concept in the context of the workplace in general rather than the politically charged environment of Washington D.C. Using person-environment fit metrics could we find relationships between an individuals' political ideology, their perception of organizational fit, and job satisfaction and organizational commitment?

The use of any discriminatory heuristics for decision making limits the rationality and inclusivity of those decisions and has the potential to lead to socially and morally destructive outcomes. In addition, even the perception of discrimination can have detrimental impacts on the victims of that discrimination (Ensher, Grant-Valone, & Donaldson, 2001; Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001).

Definition of Terms

Discrimination – Unfair behavioral biases perpetrated against individuals who are, or who are perceived to be different

Job Satisfaction – “...a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one’s job or job experiences” (Locke, 1976, pg. 1304).

Organizational Commitment – “...relative strength of an individual’s identification with and involvement in a particular organization (Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979, pg. 224)

Person-Environment Fit – “... the degree of compatibility or match between individuals and some aspect of their work environment” (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011, pg. 3)

Person-Organization Fit – “the congruence between the norms and values of organizations and the values of persons” (Chatman, 1989, pg. 339)

Political Ideology – I will use a definition by Jost that was adapted from Tedin’s (1987, cf. Jost, 2006) work, “an interrelated set of moral and political attitudes that possesses cognitive, affective, and motivational components” (Jost, 2006, pg 653).

Political Identification – Political identification refers to the recognized political party to which an individual either belongs to, or identifies with in some meaningful way.

Self-Categorization Theory – Theory that suggests people will have a tendency to conform to perceived or stereotypical norms within their ingroups because in doing so they are able to obtain subjectively true and valid evidence about their external environment (Turner, 1985; Hogg, Turner, & Davidson, 1990).

Social Categorization – A theory that individuals divide their environments into groups (ingroups and outgroups) that help them distinguish between similar and dissimilar others. Ingroups are those collections of individuals to which someone belongs, while outgroups are those collections to which the individual does not belong. These

distinctions are most salient when making comparisons between groups that are conflicted in some meaningful fashion. Although multiple sources are cited, Allport (1954) is largely credited for this theory.

Social Identity Theory – A theory that posits that individuals' identity is in large part based on the groups to which that person belongs (Brown, 2000).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Ideology

The first use of the term *ideology* is attributed to Antoine Destutt de Tracy (Jost, 2006), who used the term to describe the science of ideas. Napoleon Bonaparte adopted the term to then denigrate his political opponents by transforming the meaning to something closer to ideologues, which had the added connotation of referring to these individuals as the academic elitists of the time (Jost, 2006). The term maintained this negative implication until the term was adopted by Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels (Mannheim, 1929).

The new interpretation of ideology described the term as any abstract, internally comprehensible system of beliefs and meaning; or a propagandistic system of beliefs that are partial and warped by an organized effort. These new definitions departed from both the de Tracy and Bonaparte uses by moving away from the “science” aspect and replacing the negative association with a more value-neutral assessment (Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). But, these two latter definitions appear to be at odds. The first definition, which is more commonly accepted in the social sciences, views ideology as the result of logical and political sophistication and typified by stability. The second definition would express a justification for supporting or opposing an existing system, and contains an

undercurrent of manipulation and control by those in power. This may cause some confusion. Is ideology the result of, or the reason for political or social action, or both? John Gerring (1997) performed a definitional analysis for ideology citing the “semantic promiscuity” common in discussions of the topic. In his (Gerring’s) analysis he identified several issues that arise in defining ideology. The first issue is the operationalization of the term given the context in which it is studied. Should different definitions be utilized for different research purposes? Terminological reshuffling is another issue discussed. This is based on the fact that there are a copious number of definitions available and many of them tread closely to synonyms such as “belief-system”. However, because ideology is an established term in both the academic and lay discourse of politics and society, it should not be abandoned because of the semantic differences in definitions. Even Milton Rokeach (1968) took a stab at defining the elusive term in his *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values*. Rokeach distinguished ideology from belief systems by stating “an ideology is an organization of beliefs and attitudes – religious, political or philosophical in nature – that is more or less institutionalized or shared with others, deriving from external authority” (Rokeach, 1968, pg 123-124).

A third issue is the intellectual history behind the term ideology. Gerring (1997) notes that ideology is used by academics in multiple disciplines, and based on these differing purposes the meaning may be manipulated to fit the purpose. Etiology is the fourth issue raised. Although I will discuss many new theories and research related to the cause or antecedents of political ideology, because of the complex nature of cognition and social construction, these explanations may be inadequate to explain the true source of ideology.

The next problem lies in the multivocality of the attempts to define ideology. This could be considered a strength rather than a problem from the perspective of receiving multiple points of view in the interpretation of the term, but there remains little agreement based on the multiple disciplines that utilize the term; and although this problem is more related to etymology, in the effort to draw a “good” definition from the mass of options we run the risk of missing important elements of ideology. The final issue raised by Gerring (1997) is that it is a new approach to an old topic. So many definitions already exist, that it is counterproductive to try and formulate new ones only to satisfy any one researcher’s particular need. Therefore, we should endeavor to limit the field of definitions by adopting those already established. This last issue raised by Gerring’s analysis is discussed further by Knight (2006).

For the centennial issue of the *American Political Science Review* Kathleen Knight (2006, Vol. 100, No.4) studied the use and definition of the term ideology over one hundred years of research in the aforementioned journal, and developed three key elements that are stable within all of the uses and applications. Those three elements of ideology are: coherence, contrast, and stability. “Ideology can be defined as the way a system – a single individual or even a whole society – rationalizes itself” (Knight, 2006 pg. 619). It [the ideology] may be idiosyncratic (Lane, 1962 cf. Knight, 2006), unreasonable, or borderline insane, but they share the three elements identified.

Coherence refers to the “set of idea elements that are bound together” (Gerring, 1997, pg. 980). Contrast is the differentiation between the principles of divergent ideologies and the effects these principles might have on government and society. Contrast is an important element because it leads to conflict (Schattschneider, 1960 cf. Knight, 2006)

that then generates more attention to those issues. Contrast requires at least two alternatives and ability to distinguish between them (Knight, 2006). The final element shared across definitions is stability. Stability is expressed in terms of temporal space. That ideology stable over time, and while beliefs may change over long periods, ideologies are stable. While many academics, philosophers, and politicians may differ on the minutiae of the definition, these three elements seem to pervade them all.

Because the word [ideology] was coined by Destutt de Tracy, an existential philosopher and survivor of the French Revolution, its original meaning has changed substantially. As previously discussed, there are multiple definitions, but for use in this work I will operate from a definition that is closely tied to the idea that ideology is a web of beliefs and attitudes, that it is relatively stable over time, and influences behavior. Rokeach (1968) defined ideology in a similar way, but failed to describe it as an antecedent to behavior and included an institutional or societal aspect of being shared by others.

Since most of the literature I will review to explore this concept comes from the political science and political psychology fields, ideology becomes indistinguishable from political ideology (rather than religious or philosophical ideologies) and will be viewed as an individual level variable. From this point on I will use ideology and political ideology interchangeably. Jost adopted Tedin's rather simple definition (Tedin, 1987, cf Jost, 2006) that explained ideology as "an interrelated set of moral and political attitudes that possesses cognitive, affective, and motivational components" (Jost, 2006, pg 653). I will also embrace this description because the definition includes the "cognitive, affective, and motivational components" that are important to this research.

The end of ideology debate

The study of ideology is not without its detractors. Although the term has been in wide use for hundreds of years, not all academics have agreed upon the definition of the term or even its relevance in research. “Ideological distinctions, it was suggested were devoid of social and psychological significance for most people, especially in the United States” (Jost, 2006, pg 651). During the 1950s and 60s four primary arguments were made against using the construct of ideology in research. These points came primarily from the work of Shils (1958/1968b), Aron (1968), Bell (1960 / 2000), Lipset (1960), and Converse (1964). The work of these men coincided with the movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s to discount dispositional variables (e.g. personality or attitudes) in favor of focusing emphasis on situational cues to best determine behavior causes. This confluence of ideas (the discounting of ideology and individual level differences) led to the abandonment of ideological research for almost two decades until it was revived in the eighties (Jost, 2006).

As discussed earlier, definition has always been an issue in ideological research. An early attack on ideology research was undertaken by redefining the term in a fashion that would make it almost impossible for anyone to have an ideology that met the rigors of the meaning. Shils (1968a, cf Jost 2006), in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* defined ideology in such a way that it was required to meet nine different criteria. While the motive behind this definition was to clearly demarcate the concept of ideology from any other closely related ideas or constructs, the narrow definition created such stringent demands be met that few would qualify as having an ideology. I have already outlined what should be an acceptable definition for ideology, and while it is

admirable to try and achieve a discriminant definition, a more broad and inclusive definition is widely accepted as noted earlier.

It is necessary to examine the four claims that effectively stopped research on ideology during the “disco era”, so that we can understand why such a rich vein of investigation was abandoned. To this end, I would reference the work of Phillip Converse (1964) that contended that ideology did not work as an individual level variable for all people because the “masses” lacked the political sophistication to formulate consistent ideological beliefs that overcame the inconsistencies, and occasional hypocrisies, inherent in the political system. In fact, Converse strays from the very term “ideology” and instead refers to “belief systems” when discussing politics. He distinguishes the “masses” from the “elite political actors” as he describes the “cone of top leadership”. The masses themselves do not strictly have an ideology or belief system; instead their belief system is dictated by the political elite that determine party politics. This assumes the “everyman” as being manipulated in the process, and incapable of ideological thought by themselves because they lack the ability to recognize the “ideological frames of reference” that separate them (the masses) from the political elite that utilize ideology for their own purpose (Converse, 1964). Further, Converse would argue that the masses are not concerned with all of the issues that might be tied to a specific ideology, but instead focus on individual issues. These descriptions when taken together provide some of the basis for the argument that most individuals are not ideological, but only hold specific beliefs regarding specific issues because they do not possess an adequate level of political sophistication to make the connection to a coherent and consistent ideology.

Although Converse's arguments are persuasive, there are some important facts to consider when pondering the implications. First, the work was done during the relatively stable and conservative decade of the 1950s. In the years before the civil rights movement of the sixties and the contentious presidential run by Nixon in the seventies, and following the ideological battles against fascism and communism, many individuals simply did not have strong connection to ideology and therefore were more easily swayed by the political elite that Converse describes. Second, another "end of ideology" theorist's work would seem to contradict Converse's assertion. Raymond Aron, a French sociologist and philosopher, contended that beginning of ideological politics began with the French revolution because up to that point politics were not the purview of the masses but only of the political elite or ruling parties (Aron, 1968). But, in the same publication Aron also argues that the source of ideological tenets are disseminated from a bourgeoisie class. In the case of the French Revolution the bourgeoisie were the intellectuals rather than the aristocracy. So while it is acknowledged that the masses can assume an ideology, that ideology will be conceived by individuals rather than the collective. Later I will argue that in today's political environment the apathy that may have existed in the fifties has been replaced by a different animal in the over half century since the publication of this work.

In his article *Ideology and Civility: on the politics of the individual* Edward Shils (1958) argued that the age of ideological politics had passed. In the wake of the decline of Marxism and the moderation witnessed in American politics, ideology seemed to no longer drive political movements. This argument is in large part driven by the conception that ideological movements are at their core antiestablishment and that "ideological

politics are alienative politics” (Shils, 1958, pg 451). By his assertions only today’s Tea Party, Green Party, or Libertarian activists would be considered ideological in American politics.

Ideological politics by this definition must operate outside the existing system and rebel against those in power. But, if we consider the term “alienative”, would anyone argue that democrats and republicans consistently alienate each other with their incendiary attacks on the opposing party. Shils would acknowledge the ideologies of Marxism, Nationalism, and Communism, but would discount the divide between liberals and conservatives in the United States as being ideological.

Concurrent claims (in the fifties) of a “conservative ideology” were being made by journals such as the *National Review*, but this idea was dismissed by Shils and others because it was being greeted with “moderation, reasonableness, and prudence” rather than the fervor that greeted true ideological politics by this definition. This view of the “end of ideology” was in part based on an age of civility. In the post-World War II / Korean War era an unprecedented time of peace and prosperity was sweeping the nation. The passions necessary to precipitate ideological politics and action were not in evidence and therefore signaled an end to this tumultuous time in history. Jost (2006) summarized the work of Aron (1957/1968), and Bell (1960), and Shils (1958) by noting that these scholars held that the end of ideology was marked not by the ideological passions of extremists, but by “pragmatic moderates” (pg 657). To contradict these assertions we need only to pick up a recent newspaper and witness the ongoing fear of terrorism, the passionate pleas of both conservatives and liberals, listen to the rhetoric of daily talk-

show hosts, or examine the disdain with which both sides of the political spectrum view the term “moderate”.

Closely related to the work of Shils (1958) was an essay composed by S.M. Lipset (1960) titled *The End of Ideology?*. Within this work the author dismisses the differences between liberal and conservative ideologies as basically meaningless in Western democracies. Lipset (1960) noted that “the ideological issues dividing left and right had been reduced to a little more or a little less government ownership and economic planning” (pg 404). His argument continues by stating that “this change in in Western political life reflects the fact that the fundamental political problems of the industrial revolution have been solved: the workers have achieved industrial and political citizenship; the conservatives have accepted the welfare state; and the democratic left has recognized that an increase in over-all state power carries with it more dangers to freedom than solutions for economic problems” (pg 406). To support his suppositions Lipset cites the Harvard sociologist Barrington Moore, Jr., who said that “...as we reduce economic inequalities and privileges, we may also eliminate the sources of contrast and discontent that put drive into genuine political alternatives” (1958, pg 183 cf Lipset, 1960).

It is interesting that Lipset uses this argument because of the current and growing economic disparities that exist in the United States in the 21st century. This could help explain why ideology is seen as more important now than during the relative milquetoast years of the late fifties and early sixties. A similar statement that would previously discredit ideology and would now strengthen the argument was the assumption of Stimson Bullitt (1959) who stated that “the economic class system is disappearing ... that

redistribution of wealth and income ... has ended economic inequality's political significance" (pg 177, *To Be a Politician*). While Lipset's contention for the "end of ideology" is also based on conformity and creativity, much of the argument is based in the disappearing class distinctions that accompanied that time period. Thus it could be argued that the polarization of right-left ideologies is in part related to the reemergence of distinct economic classes.

Daniel Bell's *The end of ideology* was named one of the 100 most influential books since World War II by the Times Literary Supplement. In this work the author postulates the end of ideology from the perspective that the end of Marxism and socialism mark an end to a specific era in human history (Bell, 2000). While Bell does not dismiss the concept of ideology completely, his arguments point to the demise of larger overarching ideologies and the emergence of more religious or regional ideologies that could develop. In reference to American politics and their related ideologies Bell (1960) notes that from the inception of the United States the political parties have been divided by social and economic interests. The Federalists (later Republicans) were the merchant and business class, while the Democrats were primarily the agrarian base (Bell, 1960). One of the arguments in Bell's book, is that the difference between the left and right is not so much ideological, but instead the result of the individual interests of those in power.

In 1950, *The Authoritarian Personality* attempted to elucidate the relationship between personality and a multitude of political, economic, and socially relevant variables, including ethnocentrism (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). Although the work has been roundly criticized from methodological and ideological perspectives, it was a precursor to much of the political psychology research on ideology

that followed. Shils in particular condemned the work. Part of the criticism may have been based on the burgeoning behaviorist movement and the discounting of individual level variables in favor of a social constructionist view of behavior. The dismissal of the research by Adorno et al may not be totally undeserved. However, the underlying theme that political ideology has personality determinants is not without merit.

The end of the end of ideology

In 1968 Chaim Waxman published a collection of arguments titled *The End of Ideology Debate*. This work contains many of the articles (ibid) previously cited in this document, as well as reactions by academics that did not agree that ideology was no longer a suitable area of study. Within Waxman's collection is an essay by Donald Hodges that bears the name *The End of "The End of Ideology"*. Hodges (1968) attacks the work of Bell, Aron, and Lipsett on a philosophical level and uses events of the 1960s as anecdotal evidence that the death of ideology has been declared too soon. Borrowing Hodges' title, John Jost (2006) published a piece in *American Psychologist* that attacked the "end of ideology" theorists not only on a philosophical and anecdotal basis, but from a theoretical and empirical perspective as well. Utilizing this and other recent literature from psychology, sociology, and political science I will demonstrate why ideology is a relevant and important variable that should be investigated. These points will be formatted to contradict each of the "end of ideology" arguments that were examined in the previous section.

The arguments made by Converse (1964) centered on the assumption that individuals were not politically sophisticated and instead were dependent on the political elite to

drive their ideologies. To contradict this claim I would reiterate the time period in which the data were collected to support Converse's concept. Subsequent events in American history such as the Viet Nam War, the civil rights movement, the Nixon – McGovern presidential race, and other issues drove citizens' ideology as much as the political elite. The current political atmosphere is as partisan as at any time since the Civil War.

From an empirical perspective data analysis done by Jost (2006) showed that over seventy-five percent of the American population, and ninety percent of college students, could place themselves on a scale of liberal and conservatism. Other work has shown that contrary to the belief that individuals depend on the political elite to determine their ideology, that in fact the general population can indeed place themselves on a spatial scale of conservatism and liberalism, and do so in a fashion that is consistent with their values and beliefs about specific issues (Evans, Heath, & Lalljee, 1996; Noelle-Nuemann, 1998).

The concept of political sophistication is dependent on the definition of such individuals as more informed and educated than the "masses". Thus, as the education level in the United States increases, so does the number of individuals that might fit this definition (Tedin 1987 cf Jost, 2006). Alex Richards (2011) recently published figures in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that stated that from 1940 to 2011 the percentage of individuals with bachelor's degrees has increased from 5% to 28%. Using the previous argument, we would infer an increase in the level of political sophistication commensurate with the increase in education. This assumed increase in political sophistication would indicate that dependence on elite political actors would decrease as individuals are capable on synthesizing information and coming to their own conclusions.

Another of Converse's criticisms of ideology that is closely related to the aspect of political sophistication is the assumption that individuals are issue driven rather than having an overarching belief system or ideology. His assertion was that while individuals might place themselves in a liberal or conservative camp, that they had little consistency between the ideology and specific issues (Converse, 1964). Work by Peffley and Hurwitz (1985) contradicted this assumption by testing a hierarchical model using LISREL that showed strong evidence of attitude consistency between position on liberalism/conservatism dimension, general policy beliefs, and specific policy attitudes. Jost and his colleagues (2003a, 2003b) similarly showed that liberals and conservatives were separated more by "core" than "peripheral" issues.

A final argument against the work of Converse takes aim at the theoretical congruence of political sophistication and ideology. "people can be both highly ideological and generally uninformed" (Jost, 2006, pg 657). Individuals can convey ideological bias without being generally informed on the topics they are discussing (you only have to visit an internet message board to know that this is true). When we include the perspectives of selective attention, cognitive dissonance, and other psychological theories we can conclude that individuals do not need to be fully cognitively engaged to form an opinion or voice a conviction. Instead they depend on heuristics, which in the scope of politics, is based on ideology (Knight, 2006).

Shils' (1958) arguments that ideology did not motivate action were in large part driven by a rise in political moderation and a faith in the growing pragmatic nature of the electorate. This perspective is similar to that of Converse when we consider the time frame.

Unfortunately, this moderate revolution never arrived in full force. Instead, driven by the

proliferation of biased commentators on both sides of the ideological divide, the general public has been witness to a polarization of political views. Part of this could be traced to rise of the conservative movement over the last 30 years. The defection of white southern voters, the partnership of economic conservatives and religious fundamentalists, and the rise of conservative think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation have helped fuel the aforementioned movement (Jost, 2006). Shils and Converse did not foresee these events.

Additionally, the consistent messages from conservative talk show hosts (e.g., Rush Limbaugh, Sean Hannity, Ann Coulter), and their liberal contemporaries (e.g., Al Franken, Michael Moore, Keith Olbermann) fuel the partisan fires. The availability of confrontational and inflammatory rhetoric is undeniable, and pervasive in today's information age. "There are over 17,000 political Web sites maintained by at least 25 million Americans" (Jost, 2006). The sheer volume and ferocity with which the two sides in American politics attack each other makes a case for continuation of the ideological divide. But how does this division relate to action?

Study of the results for presidential elections in the years 1972-2004 revealed that when correlated to self-reported liberal or conservatism, political ideology explained 85% of the variance in voting behavior (Jost, 2006). This result, when combined with the growing divide between parties, provides strong evidence that ideology is a driving (i.e., motivating) factor in at least one aspect of behavior.

Much of the reasoning behind the devaluation of the liberal/conservative divide was driven by the assumption that economic equality had been achieved in the 1950s and that

this relative equality would be the new rule rather than a momentary exception (Bullitt, 1959; Lipset, 1960). Unfortunately that was not to be the case. The current realities and trends for income and wealth distribution are in fact skewing toward a much more uneven allocation. For the year 2007 the top 1% of households in the United States held 34.6% of the nation's wealth, the next 19% held 50.5%, which leaves 15% of the nation's wealth to be divided by the other 80% of households (Domhoff, 2011). In addition, while in 1980 the average CEO made around 40 times as much as the average worker; by 2010 the average CEO made 100, 300, or 550 times as much as the average worker depending on whether you are adjusting for all industries, companies in the Standard & Poors 500, or the Dow Jones Industrial Average respectively (Jost, 2006; Domhoff, 2011). Based on this trend and the preceding arguments by the "end of ideology" theorists, it could be concluded that if the decrease in difference between the parties was based on the equality between economic classes that a reversal in that trend would lead to more acrimony between the two groups.

Moreover, when we combine the arguments for ideology as a motivational variable, we see a core distinction between liberal and conservative ideologies that is posited not to exist. The fundamental difference between liberal and conservative appear to lie in a disposition toward change or the status quo respectively. Ambrose Bierce (1911) summarized this quite nicely in his *Devil's Dictionary* by defining it this way "CONSERVATIVE, n. A statesman who is enamored of existing evils, as distinguished from the Liberal, who wishes to replace them with others" (pp. 54-55). To test this core difference researchers used the implicit association test developed at Harvard, and found that comparing such value continuums as stable/flexible, tradition/progress, and

traditional values/feminism for individuals that self-reported on a political orientation scale that there were significant relationships between conservatism and values such as tradition and stability while liberals related more to flexibility and progress (Jost, Nosek, and Gosling, 2008). A second facet on which conservatives and liberals are suggested to differ is in their underlying beliefs regarding egalitarianism, which closely relates to the valuing of existing hierarchical social structures (status quo) or change.

Although I am skeptical of the work by Adorno (1950) and his colleagues, there is ample empirical evidence to support a psychological aspect to political ideology. Research has linked ideology to psychological variables such as: fear of death / mortality, system threat, openness to experience, conscientiousness, uncertainty avoidance, needs theories, and self-esteem (Jost, 2003a). I will engage in a more detailed discussion of the link between ideology and personality at this point as I probe the determinants and correlates of political ideology.

Determinants of Political Ideology

Based on the prior arguments from scholars of political science and political psychology, I have primarily discussed ideology as a dispositional variable, but like most other individual level traits there are situational interactions to consider. Therefore, I will shift focus towards illuminating the determinants of political ideology from both a situational and dispositional perspective.

Evidence suggests that there is a situational influence on individual's political ideology. Most of this research focuses on the relationship between threatening events, images, or priming and more conservative ideological preferences (Bawn, 1999; Jost et al, 2003;

Jost, 2006). These results suggest that when individuals are subjected to situations in which there is uncertainty or threat, they will migrate to a more conservative ideology that supports stability over change. An anecdotal example would be the approval rating of President George W. Bush which went from 55% on September 9, 2001 to 86% on September 13, 2001 (Washington Post – ABC News poll cited in Willer, 2004). The confusion and fear that accompanied this horrific event in American history lead many individuals to show strong support of the status quo even among more liberal voters. Specific studies that have supported this assumption include Robb Willer's (2004) analysis that examined the government issued terrorism threat levels and the associated rise in presidential approval ratings. Based on a time series analysis this work showed that every time the government raised the threat level, there was a consistent and positive relationship to President Bush's approval ratings between 2001 and 2004. Greenberg (1992) and his colleagues found that priming subjects with thoughts of their own mortality and death also led to support of conservative or status quo value systems. While these threatening situational cues have been found to impact individuals' preference for more conservative ideology, the majority of research on the determinants of political ideology has focused on individual level variables or dispositional factors. These studies have investigated the relationship between ideology and heredity, biological factors, cognitive structure and functioning, moral foundations, regulatory focus, , needs, and of course personality.

In May of 2005 an article appeared in the *American Political Science Review* that had a counterintuitive title. It asked the question "Are political orientations genetically transmitted?" (Alford, Funk, & Hibbing, 2005, pg 153). This research concentrated on

uniting the recent literature on heredity and attitude formation with findings regarding political attitudes and ideology. The result, which was a surprise to the authors, was that political attitudes did contain a significant genetic influence and that this influence was pervasive across multiple political attitude domains (Alford et al, 2005). This result is consistent with the findings of Martin and his colleagues (1986), and Tesser and Crelia (1994; 1996) regarding the heritability of attitudes. An examination of preschool children revealed that childhood personality profiles successfully predicted political affiliation twenty years later (Block & Block, 2006). More recent research investigated the relationship between the DRD4-7R “novelty gene” and liberalism using number of adolescent friendships as a moderator (Settle, Dawes, Christakis, & Fowler, 2010). Although Alford and Hibbing (2008) do discuss possible reservations to this line of research, there is a call for more cross disciplinary study into the genetic basis for political ideology in the future.

Other research has found that political attitudes are related to differences in physiology. Results showed that individuals having liberal and conservative ideologies differed significantly in their physiological reactions to “startling” stimuli of both an auditory and visual nature (Oxley, Smith, Alford, Hibbing, & Miller, 2008). Conservatives tended to react much more vigorously to threatening stimuli than did liberals.

Based on the previous research in genetics and physiology there is also an ongoing effort to examine if there is indeed a difference in the underlying cognitive functioning for liberals and conservatives. In some initial studies scientists found a difference in anterior cingulate cortex activity which is the part of the brain activated in regards to conflict and self-regulation (Amodio, Jost, Master, & Yee, 2007). There is also evidence that areas of

the brain such as the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex which is responsible for cognitive control, and the insula and anterior temporal poles which is associated with emotion are activated when viewing images of political figures not associated with the viewers' political affiliation (Kaplan, Freedman, & Iacoboni, 2007).

In addition to differences in cognitive functioning, other scholars have examined differences in cognitive style (the way in which people conceptually organize information). Phillip Tetlock (1983) examined the cognitive styles of liberal, conservative, and moderate politicians in the United States Senate. Using voting behavior and controlling for a number of variables results showed that conservative senators used a more simple system of evaluation that hinged on a good vs. bad continuum, while moderate and liberal senators relied on more holistic approaches (Tetlock, 1983). Alternative hypotheses do exist to explain this difference. Some would argue that the absence of strong ideologues in the liberal group could skew these research findings and that extremists or dogmatists in either the liberal or conservative camps would use this same oversimplified approach to dealing with political issues (Rokeach, 1956).

As early as the 1960s research was undertaken to understand the link between morality and political ideology. Multiple studies were conducted in response to the free speech movement at the Berkeley, and results showed a link between participation in activism and moral reasoning (Haan, Smith, & Block, 1968; Haan & Block, 1969a, 1969b; Haan, 1972, all cf Fishkin, Keniston, & McKinnon, 1973) Later research on undergraduates found a further link between Kohlberg's stages of moral development and adoption of political ideology (Fishkin et al, 1973). Graham, Haidt, and Nosek (2009), operating from

their earlier work on moral foundations theory (see Haidt & Graham, 2007; Haidt & Joseph, 2004), found that liberals and conservatives operate under different systems. While liberals focus on the foundations of harm/care and fairness/reciprocity, conservatives have a tendency to use all five of the foundations posited by this theory. These results were supported by the qualitative research by Dan McAdams (2008) and colleagues through life-narrative interviews conducted with highly religious and politically active adults.

An unpublished, but interesting thesis, posits a further difference between liberals and conservatives (Pattershall, 2008). This work draws on the work of Higgins' (see Higgins 1989; 1996) regulatory focus theory to draw a connection between political ideology and either a promotion or prevention focus. Based on regulatory focus theory those individuals with a promotion focus would have a predilection towards liberal ideology, while those with a prevention focus would be more inclined to adopt a conservative ideology. Results of data were relatively weak, but this is an interesting conception combining these two disparate topics and it deserves more study based on the underlying values of the political parties identified earlier in this work.

Conservatism has been related to opposition to change (Jost et al, 2008). Closely related to that opposition are needs to reduce uncertainty and threat (Jost, Napier, Thorisdottir, Gosling, Palfai, & Ostafin, 2007). Using structural equation modeling Jost (2007) and his colleagues tested multiple models that showed that needs to reduce uncertainty and threat were consistent predictors of conservatism, but not for extremists of either political affiliation. Use of system justification theory and motivated social cognition would posit

that ideology reflects and reinforces relational, epistemic, and existential needs (Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009).

The individual level variable that has received the most attention in reference to political ideology is personality. As I briefly discussed earlier in this work, Adorno (1950) is widely cited as beginning this line of inquiry with his book *The Authoritarian Personality*. While this book has received its share of criticism and disdain, it did spawn a legacy of similar research into the link between personality and political ideology.

When comparing political ideology to the “Big 5” personality framework, consistent and convergent evidence from multiple studies showed that two of the “Big 5” personality traits were associated with political ideology (Carney, Jost, Gosling, & Potter, 2008). Notably, conscientiousness and openness to experience were correlated to conservatism and liberalism respectively. When examined in more detail, another study found that the trait of agreeableness, also part of the “Big 5” taxonomy, could be deconstructed into two different aspects and correlated to our conservative/liberal dichotomy. When deconstructed into compassion and politeness, the two different aspects related to liberalism and conservatism respectively (Hirsh, DeYoung, Xu, & Peterson, 2009). The authors noted that these results were in a manner consistent with the previously discussed value systems wherein conservatism is characterized by resistance to change and acceptance of inequality, while liberalism is described as embracing change and egalitarianism. Not simply satisfied with comparisons to the “Big 5”, additional studies have examined political ideology in relation to the “Big 6” or HEXACO model, and found similar results to those already discussed (Hilbig & Zettler, 2011). But, in addition

to using this expanded model Hilbig and Zettler (2011) included the additional construct of altruism and found that it related significantly to liberal ideology in an online sample.

Other scholars have found these associations overly simplistic and challenge the nature of the relationship between personality and political ideology. Their primary assertion is that previous work has implied that personality determines political ideology, while they themselves contend that the relationship is not causal but simply correlational (Verhulst, Hatemi, & Martin, 2010; Verhulst, Eaves, & Hatemi, 2012). This line of reasoning has led these investigators to the conclusion that political ideology is in fact caused by the underlying genetic factors that were discussed earlier (Verhulst et al, 2010; 2012).

Differential outcomes based on ideology

Just as important as the determination of political ideology is its ability to predict individuals' behavior. Studies have examined such disparate outcomes as voting behavior, consumer choice, stock ownership, and corporate policies of managers.

Perhaps one of the most obvious and implicit behaviors attached to political ideology are the voting behaviors of the electorate. The correlation between self-placement on a liberal/conservative scale and voting behavior has been measured at .90 (Jost, 2006).

Individuals that reported themselves as "conservative" or "very conservative" reported voting republican 80% of the time. Similarly subjects that self-reported as "liberal" or "very liberal" voted democratic 80% of the time (Jost, 2006).

Closely related to ideology, the environmental movement has seen an upsurge in political relevance and survey results show that individuals who adopt an environmental ideology

are more likely to utilize public transportation and purchase more “environmentally friendly” automobiles (Kahn, 2007).

Political ideology has even been measured in conjunction with stock ownership and financial decisions. One study found that more liberal investors were 17 – 20% less likely to invest in the stock market because of a bias towards the established system (Kaustia & Torstila, 2010). Hong and Kostovetsky (2012) found that political ideology also impacted the types of stocks that fund managers held in their portfolios. Analysis utilizing a socially responsible investing index showed that fund managers that donated to Democratic candidates held more stocks from “socially responsible” corporations and fewer from industries like tobacco, firearms, or defense contractors when compared to their moderate or republican counterparts (Hong & Kostovetsky, 2012).

From a strategic management perspective, an unpublished paper by Hutton, Jiang, and Kumar (2010) found that corporate managers with a conservative ideology tended to have corporate policies that matched this political ideology. This included less risky decisions that are geared toward profit maximization and lower expenditures on research and development (Hutton et al, 2010).

Dimensionality and measurement of political ideology

With a firm understanding of the construct and despite Converse’s (1964) claim that “what is important to study cannot be measured and what can be measured is not important to study” (pg 1) it is necessary to this research that I discuss the dimensionality and measurement of political ideology. This is also important because of ongoing disagreement regarding these two elements (Jost et al, 2009).

The traditional use of the left-right continuum dates back to the seating arrangements in the French Assembly hall during the revolution. Those attendants that supported the status quo sat on the right while those in favor of change sat on the left. This change vs. status quo dichotomy when referring to the difference between left and right has been in frequent and common use since 1789 (Jost et al, 2009).

As I discussed earlier, there is a very strong correlation between political identification (in terms of party affiliation) and voting behavior with self-reported political ideology on a liberal-conservative continuum. This use of a single item to measure the construct is in common practice (Benoit & Laver, 2006; Bobbio, 1996 cf Jost et al 2009), is parsimonious, and holds up well under theoretical and empirical scrutiny (Jost et al, 2009).

Although a single item measure of political ideology is accepted in many circles, it is not without its detractors. When discussing political ideology people often use the lay terms social and economic to describe two different aspects of ideology. The question is, does this supposed distinction between two different aspects truly exist, or is a single factor (or even item) sufficient to describe individuals' ideological differences?

In a working paper from Stony Brook University, Feldman and Johnston (2009) argue that a unidimensional scale for describing ideology is oversimplified and does not capture the differences between multiple distinct groups that are posited to exist. Jost and his colleagues would argue that while people may in fact have incompatible or inconsistent views on social and economic policies, that there is an underlying psychological factor

that causes the two areas to be related (Jost et al, 2009), namely those needs for order and stability versus change that were discussed earlier.

Factor analytic results have shown a distinct pattern that differentiates the social and economic factors within ideology (Feldman & Johnston, 2009), but these factors are not orthogonal. Other theories have arisen to explain the relatively small percentages of the population that are socially liberal and economically conservative and vice versa. These two theories, social dominance and right wing authoritarianism, have been shown to have relationships to economic and social views respectively.

A further issue of note in the dimensionality of political ideology is the concept of symbolic versus operational aspects of political ideology. Ellis and Stimson (2007) identify that individuals may self-report their political ideology for purely symbolic purposes, while holding the opposite views on many issues. In other words, a person may identify as a democrat, but hold social or political views that are more in line with Republican Party platforms.

Person-Environment Fit

A second important element of my model is the concept of person-environment (P-E) fit. As defined in chapter 1 of this text P-E fit is "...the degree of compatibility or match between individuals and some aspect of their work environment (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011, pg. 3). This set of interrelated theories and propositions describes how the aforementioned aspect of political ideology could create issues within a work environment.

Person-environment fit is a concept that permeates psychological research and has been used in a multitude of both quantitative and qualitative studies. Indeed B. Schneider (2001) went as far as to say that no other issue in psychology has been more pervasive. However, the proliferation of research in this area has given rise to multiple perspectives, theories, and measurement approaches when addressing this concept of the fit between an individual and their environment. Because of the many interpretations and applications of P-E fit, it is necessary to describe the concept in general terms and then discuss with a relatively high level of specificity the way in which this issue will be utilized in this research (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011). Part of this necessity is merited by the conflicting views regarding the conditions under which we measure the construct.

One school of thought regarding fit requires that the concept be measured both at the individual and group level so that a determination can be made as to the proximity of the individual to the organization or group (Caplan, 1987; Edwards, 2008 cf Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011). However, B. Schneider (2001) disagrees with this assertion because it requires the researcher to “anthropomorphize” organizations or environments, imbuing human traits or characteristics on the group. These arguments address the interaction between the person and the environment and how it is interpreted. This is still being debated in the literature.

Similarly, the understanding of what actually constitutes “fit” is also a source of disagreement among academics. Some would contend that fit only exists when there is an exact match (correspondence) between the individual and the environment on the variable of interest (Edwards, 2007 cf Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011). This first view of fit would be considered highly conservative and would consider any deviation from an

identical match between the individual and the environment to constitute a “misfit” between the two. This first understanding of fit was referred to by Kristof-Brown and Guay (2011) as *exact correspondence*. A less restrictive interpretation by these same authors is referred to as *commensurate compatibility*. Rather than interpretation as a fit (exact match) or degree of misfit (distance from exact), this second approach allows fit to fall within a range of acceptable P-E levels with misfit falling outside this range. The final approach discussed in the same literature is the least restrictive of the three approaches. The *general compatibility* approach allows the measurement of the P and E variables to be noncommensurate and simply conceptually related. This final approach allows for proxy measurements of environmental variables in analysis. When considered on a continuum of most to least restrictive or conservative, the first outlook on fit allows a clear definition of fit while the last would allow any collection of P and E values that correspond to be construed as fit (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011). Harrison (2007) warns of this least restrictive approach, by stating that fit is not simply the coherence of attributes between the person and the environment.

This is important, especially when using fit to predict outcome variables or consequences. The assumption being that better fit will result in more favorable outcomes for the individual. But, research has shown that strong fit between the individual and the environment can have detrimental effects in certain contexts. Strong fit has been shown to lead to excessive homogeneity, groupthink, rigidity, and an inability to adapt to new situations (Harrison, 2007). Misfit can also be a positive force for learning and development (Chatman, Wong, & Joyce, 2008 cf. Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011). However, the preponderance of the research points to the more intuitive conclusion that

higher (stronger) levels of fit lead to better (more desirable) outcomes. This literature and the important outcome variables will be discussed later in this review.

Another important distinction to make when reviewing the P-E fit literature is the distinction between supplementary and complementary fit. The work of Muchinsky and Monahan (1987) describes these relationships. Supplementary is the congruence of the person and the environment. In other words the individual has the same values, personality, interests, or other characteristics that are posited to exist in the environment. This idea of supplementary fit is the basis for Holland's (1976; 1977) theory of vocational choice, Chatman's (1989) person-organization fit, and B. Schneider's (1987) attraction-selection-attrition model. While supplementary fit looks at similarity, complementary fit is described as a relationship in which the person and the environment fit together like the pieces of a puzzle (Harrison, 2007). This description infers that the individual and the environment fit together to form a "whole", that the characteristic of the individual complements the existing characteristic of the environment and provides something that did not exist in satisfactory quantity before (Muchinsky & Monahan, 1987). Unlike the two previous aspects of fit, the distinction between supplementary and complementary fit coexist nicely and both have been shown to offer unique contributions to outcomes and the perception of fit (Cable & Edwards, 2004; Piasentin & Chapman, 2007 cf. Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011).

The definition mentioned previously, is the broadest interpretation of the P-E concept and subsumes multiple lines of inquiry and understanding. Within this definition and conception, research has often focused on more specific aspects of fit with the environment rather than attempt to measure environment as a whole. Previous research

utilizing P-E fit has included examinations of the match between: interests and vocation, individual values and organizational culture, individual preferences and organizational systems, individual knowledge, skills, and abilities and job demands, individual needs and work-provided supplies, goal similarity, and personality compatibility for individuals and their coworkers and supervisors. These various streams of investigation obviously focus on disparate aspects of the environment. As such, the concept of PE fit has been divided into multiple types of fit that can be described as “fit to” (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011). “Fit to” is described as the aspects of the environment under consideration and is distinguished from the concept of “fit on” which describes the content dimension (in this research political ideology).

The first of these “fit to” aspects is also the broadest. The person-vocation (P-V) fit is described as “the match between an individual’s needs, abilities, and interests with the demands and supplies of various vocations or career paths” (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011, pg. 8). This PV fit is the conceptual basis for much of the vocational counseling that takes place today. Related to this but conceptually distinct is person-job (P-J) fit. The distinction between these aspects lies in specificity. While P-V fit might examine if John Doe would be a good fit as an accountant, P-J fit would determine if John Doe would experience a high level of fit as an accountant at a specific firm or company. DeRue and Morgeson (2007) also referred to P-J fit as person-role fit since the job we perform is one of many roles we occupy in our daily lives.

Another “fit to” category is that of person-organization (P-O) fit. This line of research is credited as beginning with Tom (1971) who hypothesized that when individuals and the organization shared characteristics (specifically personality) that those individuals would

experience more success. Studies utilizing -PO fit have focused on personality and organizational climate congruence (Ryan & Schmit, 1996), congruence of values between the individual and the organization (Chatman, 1989), and goal congruence between the same (Witt & Nye, 1992). This line of inquiry can be done considering the organization as a collection of the individuals that comprise it, or as a separate entity (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011).

We can also consider the person-group (P-G) fit. Also referred to as person-team fit, this aspect focuses on the interpersonal relationships and compatibility between the individual and their peers (Jansen & Kristof-Brown, 2005). This is the most recent and evolving of the P-E “fit to” categories and “little research has emphasized how the psychological compatibility between coworkers influences individual outcomes in group settings (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011, pg. 9). Much of the research in this area focuses on the demographic variables (gender, race, etc.) rather than psychological constructs. However, based on a more specific definition of P-E fit these studies would not technically be considered fit studies.

The final part of the “fit to” group is the study of the relationships between a person and significant others in the organization. This is referred to as person-individual (P-I) fit. Studies in this area have examined the relationships between coworker dyads, applicants and recruiters, mentors and protégés, and supervisors and subordinates (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011). The research on leader-member personality similarity and manager-employee goal congruence would be subsumed under this idea of P-I fit.

As previously mentioned, “fit to” recognizes the different aspects of the environment while “fit on” refers to the content dimension (Ostroff & Schulte, 2007). Kristof-Brown and Guay (2011) compiled a list of content dimensions that have been studied recently, and it includes: needs, preferences, values, personality, goals, and knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs). There is a connection between the “fit to” and “fit on” components of P-E fit. For example, the P-J approach is commonly associated with KSAs and PO fit usually examines values. While I have provided specific content dimension that have been studied, researchers have included multiple dimensions. Edwards and Shipp (2007) provide a continuum of possible content domains that stretch from global to facet level. This scale of possibilities would allow for measurements of multiple content domains down to a single facet of larger construct. Ostroff and Schulte (2007) described fit as being compositional or compilational. From this perspective the levels of analysis can be described as coming from the individual level (compositional) or utilized to create a higher order construct (compilational). While this is similar to the supplementary and complementary distinction, it is important because it allows more combinations of the various P and E elements for multiple levels of analysis (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011).

Theories that underlie Person-Environment Fit

P-E fit is not a theory in and of itself, but is instead a collection of theories that contribute to its understanding. Observations regarding what we call P-E fit date back to Aristotle (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011) and Plato (Edwards, 2008). Both of these classical scholars identified that individuals were drawn to similar others and influenced by situational factors, and this reflection is mirrored by other scholars that advance our understanding of the concept. The earliest academic writing on the P-E fit concept is

traced to Parsons' matching model (1909 cf. Edwards, 2008) that attempts to describe the fit between individual attributes and the characteristics of various vocations. I will forgo the quotations that are often included when describing Parsons' initial foray into vocational psychology, and instead summarize by pointing to the previous description and adding that much of what Parsons was attempting to show foreshadowed a good deal of the later research into demands-ability fit and needs-supplies fit, both of which are important components of P-J fit. He additionally identified some of the possible outcomes that can be affected by the correspondence of the individual with the vocation, specifically: enthusiasm, love of work, superior product, efficient service, and good pay (Parsons, 1909 cf. Edwards, 2008). These outcomes may have different terminology in today's literature but the sentiment expressed is still of importance.

Another of the theories that supports the P-E fit concept is Murray's Needs Press Model (1938, 1951 cf. Edwards, 2008). This work posits that needs (physiological and psychological; latent or manifest) could be met or thwarted by press from the environment. This press could be expressed as alpha (reality) and beta (perception). The match between these needs and press could then predict affect, behavior, and well-being. While Edwards (2008) acknowledges the contribution of Murray to P-E fit through a description of needs and that the "press" could refer to a corresponding content area, he points out that Murray made no attempt to elucidate why match would influence outcomes or consider how the theory would work in different contexts.

Lewin's Field Theory (1935, 1951 cf. Edwards, 2008) is another of the theories that is cited as influencing our understanding and study of P-E fit. Lewin's impact on psychology is extraordinary and his assertion that behavior is a function of the person and

the environment [$B = F(B, E)$] rather than either of these components alone is the intuitive jump that is the cornerstone of all P-E research. Although Lewin is highly cited in the P-E fit literature, Schneider (2001) points out that Lewin did not suggest that behavior was the result of “fit”, but instead hypothesized that behavior was impacted by both the individual and the environment jointly without explaining the exact nature of this interaction. Additionally, while Field Theory is utilized in multiple streams of research, Lewin never specified the conditions under which the theory was applicable, so its utility in advancing P-E fit is limited to the conjecture that the person and the environment jointly influence behavior (Edwards, 2008).

Byrne’s similarity-attraction paradigm (1971) is another important theory, particularly for supplementary fit. As Kristof-Brown and Guay (2011) point out, “supplementary fit is the notion that similarity provides a meaningful form of compatibility” (pg. 11). The similarity-attraction paradigm would suggest that people are attracted to similar others because those interactions reinforce beliefs and choices that are already held (Byrne, 1971).

Homophily is the concept that people are drawn to similar others and that they will have interactions with similar others at a much higher rate than with those that are dissimilar.

This notion of homophily is often attributed to Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954 cf McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), but Aristotle and Plato commented on the phenomena in *Rhetoric* and *Phaedrus* respectively (McPherson et al, 2001). The idea that “Birds of a feather flock together” is seemingly self-explanatory and assumed under conventional wisdom, but multiple studies have found far reaching effects in the context of social network analysis and workplace outcomes.

This perceived similarity by which people associate with others can be based on demographic characteristics such as sex, age, race, education, or class as well as psychological variables like intelligence, attitudes, and aspiration (Bott, 1929; Loomis, 1946; Almack, 1922; Richardson, 1940 all cf. McPherson et al, 2001). Results of analysis have shown homophilous relationships exist in marriage, advice, friendship, support, and awareness networks (McPherson, 2001). Important for this research is a statement made by McPherson (2001) and colleagues that notes the findings of Verbrugge (1977, 1983), Knoke (1990), and Huckfedlt and Sprague (1995). “There is a considerable tendency for adults to associate with those of their own political orientations” (McPherson et al, 2001). While they make it clear that these associations may not be solely based on political ideology or identification but on correlated psychological variables, the findings are interesting and provide more evidence for possible favoritism to occur.

Optimal distinctiveness theory is similar to homophily while at the same time balancing the social identity theories with the individual level needs for differentiation from others (Brewer, 1991). According to this theory and the results of associated research depersonalization and group size impact the strength of social identification. In other words, an overly inclusive group can create a need for the creation of subgroup differences to differentiate a smaller group of similar individuals within the larger context (Hornsey & Hogg, 1999).

Also related is Holland’s Theory of Vocational Choice (1976). From supplemental fit perspective this research is important because of the supposition that individuals are drawn to careers and vocations that performed by people that they identify as being

similar to themselves. Although various iterations of this theory examined KSAs, goals, values, preferred roles and activities, aversions, self-concept, outlook on life, perceptual skills, aptitudes, achievements, and personal background, it was narrowed to life goals and values, self-beliefs, and problem-solving style (Edwards, 2008). This simplified version is important because of its partial focus on values and belief congruence.

Related to Holland's theory is the attraction-selection-attrition (A-S-A) framework developed by Schneider (1987). A primary difference between the theories is that rather than focusing on the vocation, as Holland did, Schneider instead examines specific organizations. Similar to Holland, Schneider proposes that it is the individual that is attracted to similar others, but as stated previously, at the organizational level rather than the vocational level. Once a match has been identified the individual is then "selected" into the organization. Finally, attrition is the intent to leave an organization by those individuals who have found that they do not "fit" within the environment. Originally A-S-A theory was proposed to explain differences between organizations, in other words the level of analysis was not the individual but the organization (Schneider, 1987). However, A-S-A theory was instrumental in the development of person-organization (P-O) fit.

Chatman's (1989) work on defining P-O fit is significant to this research because of her assertion that we focus on value congruence, because individual personality traits could not be anthropomorphized to the organizational level. Original work on P-O fit focused on the longitudinal P and E interactions, but this work has been seminal in the development of supplementary fit research (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011). Edwards and Cable (2009) examined the mechanisms by which this congruence of values was related

to outcomes such as job satisfaction. The four explanations offered by this article included ease of communication, improved prediction of decisions and events within the organization, increased interpersonal attraction, and increased trust. Results showed that trust and communication were the best predictors of job satisfaction, organizational identification, and intent to stay with the organization (Edwards & Cable, 2009).

Person-Environment Fit and Political Ideology

Because of the conflicting views surrounding P-E fit, Kristoff-Brown and Guay (2011) suggest that researchers clearly identify how they are utilizing the construct in their studies. To that end it is important to clearly connect political ideology to the concept of fit and explain how they work together for the purposes of this inquiry.

Based on the previous discussion of political ideology and the definition utilized in this research we assume that political ideology is an interrelated set of beliefs and attitudes. If this is the case, we then assume that these beliefs and attitudes are driven by an underlying set of values (Rokeach, 1968). If the assumption that political ideology is at its core influenced by the values embraced by an individual then it would logically follow that this research would embrace the fit approach that is most closely related to the supplementary approach. This would imply that a congruence between the individuals political ideology and their perception of the ideology that held by coworkers, supervisors, and the organization as a whole would lead to more positive outcomes.

Harrison (2007) referred to this perceived fit as consonance. It is important to note that I

am not attempting to imbue the organization itself with a political ideology, but imply that by examining the perceptions of ideology by those within the organization we can identify this consonance.

The overarching concept of person-environment fit is not wholly applicable, but instead the aspects previously described as person-organization and person-group fit. Because there will be no attempt to measure the organization as a whole and instead the consonance of the individual within the work context these aspects of the “fit to” dimension are more appropriate to this research. This approach is reinforced by the nature of P-O fit and the fact it focuses on the similarity between the individual and the organization. I would eschew the complementary view because of the ideological rift that exists and that neither side feels the other has anything to offer. I will also include aspects of the person-group fit approach, in that most of an individual’s daily interactions are with their coworkers and so the consonance between the person and the group within which they function is an important consideration.

While P-E fit provides a rational basis for examining potential positive outcomes it is also important to consider theories that could explain possible negative outcomes for individuals that do not fit within their environments. While Schneider (1987) would most likely say that potential candidates that are significantly different would never be selected or retained within the organization, I feel it is an important consideration due to the fact a link between political ideology and the P-E fit construct has yet to be established. In other words, what mechanisms at work for those individuals whose ideologies are significantly different from their coworkers or supervisors?

Discrimination and In-group / Out-group Distinctions

Discrimination and the related topics of prejudice, attitude, and stereotyping provide the basis for potential negative outcomes for outgroup members in the workplace. For this research ingroup and outgroup are distinguished by political ideology or recognized political identification rather than the more traditional perspectives in this vein of research which primarily focus on protected categories as defined by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and related research on sexual orientation and gender identity.

Although referenced in chapter 1 of this work, I will briefly revisit the operational definitions for these terms. Prejudice is conceived as bias toward outgroup members based on attitudes and affect (Dipboye & Colella, 2005). This definition may be somewhat redundant, in that attitudes are conceived to have both a cognitive and affective basis in formation. Cognitively, attitudes are based on the grouping of individuals and the generalizations that are made regarding these groups. Affectively, we consider the feelings and emotions related to the stimuli (Hebl & Dovidio, 2005). The ABC model of attitudes also includes a behavioral element that in this case is represented by the discriminatory behavior.

Stereotypes are attributions and beliefs based on a cognitive bias. Additionally, stereotypes hold some value laden component that adds meaning to these attributions and beliefs, meaning that stereotypes can be either positive or negative. Stereotypes and prejudice have been conceived as sharing several functional characteristics (Hebl & Dovidio, 2005). Both contain “enduring human characteristics, have automatic aspects, have a degree of social utility, are mutable, and are influenced by other social structures”

(Hebl & Dovidio, 2005 pg 14). Discrimination is the behavioral element that is based on prejudice and stereotyping of outgroup members (Dipboye & Colella, 2005).

From an individual difference perspective there are several theories that attempt to help describe people's tendency toward discriminatory behavior. The work of Adorno and colleagues (1950) has been mentioned previously in the section covering political ideology, but his theory regarding the authoritarian personality was initially created as a construct to measure discriminatory patterns of behavior toward Jewish individuals. This personality type is now what is broadly conceived as ethnocentrism.

This conception of the authoritarian personality has not been abandoned however and was instead adopted into a new theory of right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) (Altemeyer, 1996 cf Dovidio & Hebl, 2005). People that score high on the RWA scale are more likely to justify discriminatory practices or prejudicial beliefs (Dovidio & Colella, 2005).

Closely related to both the authoritarian personality and RWA is the concept of social dominance orientation (SDO) (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). The prevailing view of those with a high SDO score is toward a society in which social distinctions are inevitable and that the resulting hierarchy is appropriate part of culture. These individuals have a tendency toward more prejudicial attitudes, while those with a low SDO are more oriented toward tolerance and egalitarian ideals (Pratto et al, 1994).

The two preceding theories (RWA and SDO) are more closely related to more overt forms of discrimination and "old fashion" racism. With the increase in prosecution of workplace discrimination, these forms of overt prejudice have been steadily declining. Instead they have been replaced by aversive, modern, and symbolic forms of racism

(Dovidio & Hebl, 2005). Because I am more interested in the general theories of discrimination rather than the specific nature of racial or gender discrimination I will refrain from the discussing the latter theories.

From a group perspective there are three notable theories on which I would support an argument for discrimination based on political ideology. The first is the social categorization perspective. Although this is not attributable to a single work or academic, multiple citations are offered in relation to this perspective. When discussing the concept, Perdue and his colleagues (1990) mention Allport (1954), Hamilton and Trier (1986), Hogg and Abrams (1988), Tajfel (1969), and Tajfel and Turner (1986) just to name a few. So while I cannot identify a single source to which I can attach this theory, it is obvious that it has gained wide acceptance.

The most common usage is in the context of ingroup and outgroup studies. This outlook posits that individuals quickly classify others as belonging to a similar or different group using themselves as a referent. This classification into ingroup/outgroup clusters can be based on any number of factors or can be completely arbitrary (Dovidio & Hebl, 2005). Results from this research show that ingroup members receive more favorable treatment in terms of rewards, help, and positive attributions. But, it is unclear if this is due to ingroup favoritism or outgroup discrimination (Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman, & Tyler, 1990).

Part of the reason for this may lie in the fact that there is a tendency to minimize ingroup differences between members while the differences between groups are inflated. It is also important to note that there is an asymmetry between positive and negative outcomes

based on discrimination. Discrimination most often results in more positive outcomes for ingroup members while not necessarily leading to negative outcomes for the outgroup (Gardham & Brown, 2001). These results become important for this research if ingroup and outgroup identification is made based on political ideology or political identification. Tajfel & Turner's (1979, 1986) social identity theory (SIT) is closely derived from these ingroup and outgroup distinctions, but takes the concept one step further in examining the motivations to belong to one's ingroup. This theory is classified as sociological because rather than focusing on interpersonal interactions it is directed at group situations. SIT starts from an assumption that social identity in large part is derived from group memberships (Brown, 2000). These group memberships allow individuals to compare themselves to members of relevant outgroups, and through positive evaluation of that difference boost self-esteem (Brown, 2000).

There are three classes of variable that determine the differentiation between groups. First, the ability to identify individuals with a group; second, evaluation between the groups should be possible; third, other groups should be adequately comparable so that pressure to be distinct should increase with the comparability (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). One of SIT's major contributions to our understanding of intergroup conflict is this aforementioned tendency for comparison and the underlying belief that the ingroup that one belongs to is superior to the comparable outgroups (Brown, 2000). This is another piece in understanding how differences based on political ideology could become a problem in the workplace.

The third theory of discrimination from a group perspective is that of self-categorization theory (SCT) (Turner, 1985). This is distinguished from SIT in that while SIT is used to broadly explain intergroup differences, SCT is more concentrated on intergroup behaviors such as stereotyping, polarization, social influence, and leadership (Turner, 1999 cf Brown, 2000). SCT introduces the concept of depersonalization in the context of group membership. Through this process, individuals' adopt the normative behaviors or beliefs of their ingroup because by agreeing with these similar others they are provided with evidence regarding the external world (Hogg, Turner, & Davidson, 1990).

The amount of agreement or depersonalization depends on three factors or levels of self-categorization important to self-concept. The first, is the very broad or "superordinate" level of the self as a human being, meaning how much do we relate to other living beings versus animals or non-life. The second, "intermediate" level is based on social similarities and difference based on ingroup and outgroup associations. The final level is "subordinate" in which comparisons are made to other ingroup members as a unique individual (Turner, 1985).

The preceding theories and findings provide a strong basis for positing that members of different political affiliations or ideologies might use these ingroup/outgroup distinctions to drive discriminatory behavior, thus reducing consonance. The differences based on group membership have also been utilized in organizational theories such as attraction-selection-attrition (A-S-A) (Schneider, 1987), which was discussed earlier, and a social cognitive career theory (SCCT) (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). We can also apply Kanter's (1977) tokenism hypothesis which illustrates the consequences of being a numeric minority.

Job Satisfaction

It is necessary at this point to discuss the outcome variables studied in this research, namely job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Beginning with job satisfaction I will provide a brief summary of the construct, its dimensions, and its measurement.

Job satisfaction is the most widely studied variable in organizational behavior (Spector, 1997), and a complete summary of findings would require a complete volume. Very simply, job satisfaction is “the degree to which people like their jobs (Spector, 1997, pg. vii), however, Schleicher, Hansen, and Fox (2011) would contend that while the construct appears quite simple in fact the definition is much more complex. They point out that there are two primary approaches to dealing with job satisfaction. The first is a view of job satisfaction as an affect or emotion that stems from the fulfillment of values (Locke, 1969 cf. Schleicher, Hansen, & Fox 2011), or an emotional state that results from a comparison of actual and desired outcomes (Cranny, Smith, & Stone, 1992 cf. Schleicher, Hansen, & Fox, 2011). The second approach to job satisfaction instead looks at the construct as an attitude rather than emotional state, meaning that it contains affective, cognitive, and behavioral elements. This second viewpoint subsumes the first by including an affective reaction, but includes the other two elements of Rosenberg and Hovland’s (1960) tripartite model. This second approach has become more accepted in recent organizational behavioral literature (Schleicher et al, 2011).

A second issue in the understanding of job satisfaction is whether to utilize a global or facet level measurement for evaluation. The global approach assesses employees general satisfaction with all aspects of job simultaneously, while the second method breaks the

job into relevant categories (pay, coworkers, opportunities, etc.) with which an employee may express satisfaction independent of the others. The debate vis-à-vis global or facet is yet unresolved and a recent overview of the literature provided no endorsement for one over the other as being implicitly superior (Schleicher et al, 2011). Instead, the conventional wisdom is to clearly define the type of job satisfaction measurement being used for the research and justify its inclusion.

The inclusion of job satisfaction in research focusing on P-E or P-O fit is well established with mean a ρ value of .49 over multiple studies (Schleicher et al, 2011). Kristof-Brown and Guay (2011) noted that P-J fit had the highest predictive value for job satisfaction, but P-O and P-G have provided statistically significant results. For this research a global measure that focuses on emotion rather than the full range attitude will be utilized. A description of the measure is included in chapter 3.

Organizational Commitment

In addition to job satisfaction, organizational commitment is another important outcome variable included in this research. Organizational commitment research began in the 1950's and 1960's because of rampant and costly turnover that was occurring during that period (Schleicher et al, 2011). Porter, Steers, and Mowday (1979) developed a definition that has gained wide acceptance in the literature. This is the same definition cited in chapter 1, "...relative strength of an individual's identification with and involvement in a particular organization" (Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979, pg. 224). There is a sentiment that this definition is oversimplified, but it has not yet been supplanted as the primary citation.

Organizational commitment has shown average correlations between .49 and .69 with job satisfaction in multiple studies (Schleicher et al, 2011), but unlike the job satisfaction which uses the contentment with the job as a referent, organizational commitment examines the connection between the individual and the organization as a whole. Similar to job satisfaction, there is some debate regarding the precise makeup and measurement of the organizational construct, and Meyer and Allen (1991) developed a hierarchical model that examined three facets that they posited to exist within the higher order construct of organizational commitment. These three aspects are affective (the desire to continue employment), continuance (the need to continue employment), and normative (the obligation to continue employment). Although academics are still debating the utility of a multi-level model of organizational commitment, for this research a single factor approach is being utilized. This is justified because the proposed participants will not be coming from a single organization and thus will not necessarily share similar experiences.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

For this research a sample of 375 participants was collected. This sample size is deemed appropriate given that analysis for this dissertation is a structural equation model and SEM is a large sample procedure (Kline, 2010). According to Kline (2010) sample sizes between 200 and 400 subjects are routinely utilized for the type of path model using a maximum likelihood estimation that is being employed in this research.

Subjects were contacted via a snowball sampling methodology. A link to the online survey was distributed via email and social network (facebook and linkedin.com) to attract potential participants. Those that filled out the survey were then asked to forward the attached link to contacts in their own social networks. As an incentive, four \$50 gift cards were offered for completion of the survey.

Because this research is specifically interested in the potential workplace outcomes based on political ideology it is important that all participants be gainfully employed at the time of the survey administration. Industry and position are of interest, but no specific occupational, gender, or racial profile is required for the purposes of this study.

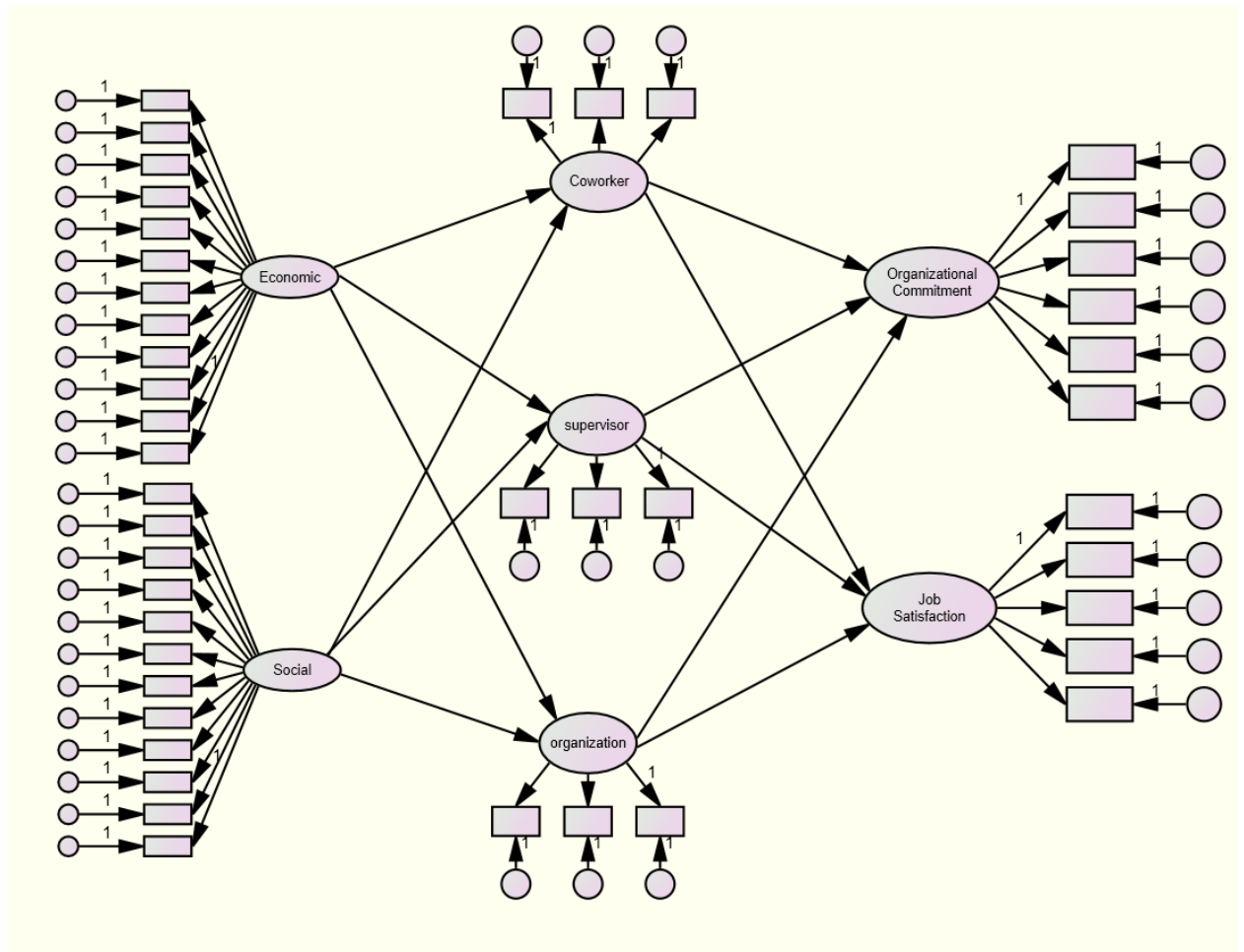
Of the 375 responses collected 331 provided complete data. For analysis purposes, data imputation was utilized for missing responses. However, demographic characteristics for the 331 respondents were as follows: 46% male, 54% female; 27.5% single, 62.4% married, 2.8% in a domestic partnership or civil union, .9% legally separated, and 6.4% divorced; 2.5% reported being of Latino or Hispanic origin; 89.1% White, .6% Black or African American, 2.7% American Indian or Alaskan Native, 1.2% Asian, .6% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and 5.2% Multiple races; 40.6% reported obtaining a bachelor's degree, 44.8% reported a graduate degree, 14.6% reported receiving an associate's degree or less; 75.6% had household incomes of \$75,000 or less, 24.4% reported household incomes of \$75,000 or more; 34.9% reported their political affiliation as Democrat, 29.6 % Republican, 5.6% Libertarian, 17.1% independent, and 8.3% did not report their political affiliation; 6.7% reported being very liberal in their political ideology, 18.1% liberal, 12% somewhat liberal, 23.2% middle of the road, 15.5% somewhat conservative, 13.1% conservative, 3.7% very conservative, and 7.7% did not respond. Participants responded from 35 states within the United States of America, and all participants were currently working in those states. All responses came from individuals working 35 hours or more per week. Graphical representations of demographic distribution for all participants are included in Appendix C.

Design of the Study

Because this research is interested in the unobserved variables defined in chapter one, for analytic purposes a latent variable path model was utilized to test a model of the relationship between political ideology, perceived fit and the outcome variables (job

satisfaction and organizational commitment). The path diagram representing the conceptual model of the proposed relationships is pictured in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Path Diagram for the Relationship between PI, Organizational Fit, and Outcomes



As you can see in Figure 3.1, a model is being tested in which an economic and social issue measure of political ideology will predict perceived levels of fit at the coworker (P-G), supervisory (P-G, P-I), and organizational levels (P-O) which in turn will predict organizational commitment and job satisfaction. All variables of interest are unobserved

(or latent) and will be measured via the survey items, noted by the connecting arrows, to each named variable.

Measures

Issue based political ideology – The measure of political ideology is collected via two formats. The first is a single item measure of ideological self-placement on a seven point scale ranging from 1 (extremely conservative) to 7 (extremely liberal). This will be used primarily for validation and comparison for the accompanying issue based measure. The second instrument is modified from the National Election Study from the year 2000. It is an issue based measure that focuses on both economic and social concerns. Questions regarding economic matters include: welfare, social security, government services, public school spending, and tax policy. Social topics include: death penalty, abortion, gay marriage, gay adoption, and immigration policy. Twenty four items evenly divided between social and economic issues will be used for this purpose. All responses are measured on a seven point Likert scale with anchors 1 (strongly disagree) and 7 (strongly agree). Factor analytic results and reliabilities are not available for this scale, as the results were published as percentages and in relation to ideological self-placement.

Perceived P-O Fit – Individuals' perception of organizational fit based on political ideology is measured by nine items that focus on the concept of fit between the employee and coworkers, supervisor, and at the organizational level. Items were developed for this scale based on relevant research on racial and gender discrimination (Ensher, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001) as well as the work of Cable and DeRue (2002) from their

validation of subjective person-organization fit measures. Each supposed factor is measured by three items centering on known support of political candidates and issues, statements and emails, and overt statements to subjects made on the basis on ideological differences. All items are measured on a seven point likert scale with anchors 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). When using a similar instrument reliabilities between .65 and .90 were reported. For evidence of convergent and discriminant validity see Cable and DeRue (2002).

Organizational commitment – Measurement of organizational commitment is done with an abbreviated version of the Organizational Commitment Questionnaire developed by Mowday, Steers, and Porter (1979). Six items are used in this research. Sample items include “I really care about the fate of this organization”, “I am proud to tell others that I am part of this organization”, and “I talk up this organization to my friends as a great organization to work for”. All items are measured using a seven point Likert scale with anchors 1 (strongly disagree) and 7 (strongly agree). This instrument has been widely utilized and cited with reliabilities greater than .80 reported. In addition to strong internal consistency, Ferris and Aranya (2006) found that the Porter scale had strong predictive validity when measuring variables such as intent to leave.

Job satisfaction – To measure job satisfaction a shortened version of the Brayfield-Roth Job Satisfaction Index (JSI) (1951 cf. Judge, Bono, & Locke, 2000) measure was utilized. The five items (original instrument contains 18 items) that are included focus on general job satisfaction rather than on the specific areas that are common in other scales.

Examples include “I feel fairly satisfied with my present job” and “Each day at work seems like it will never end” (reverse scored). All items are measured on a Likert scale with anchors ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). This shortened version of the Brayfield-Roth Job Satisfaction Index (JSI) was utilized by Judge, Bono, and Locke (2000), who reported internal consistency of .89. Brayfield and Roth reported criterion-related, content, and context validity in the *Journal of Applied Psychology* in 1951, and subsequent studies have shown evidence for convergent validity as well.

Demographic information – So that chi square tests could be conducted to check for participant representativeness of the population a number of categorical variables were included (see Appendix C for distributions). Gender was measured as male or female, age by the number of years since birth, and ethnicity by the categories utilized by the U.S. Census Bureau. Other categorical data that were collected included political affiliation (republican, democrat, independent, libertarian), marital status (single never-married, married, divorced), sexual orientation (heterosexual, homosexual), and education (last degree completed). Finally occupational data to include job title, geographic location, industry, and salary were collected and coded by the researcher.

Procedures

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) for all latent variable scales was first conducted to examine the measurement models in Figure 3.1. The structural model in Figure 3.1 was tested for fit using the diagram previously described in this section. Both CFAs and path analysis were conducted utilizing AMOS statistical software.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

This section begins with a discussion of each of the four measurement models. For each measure, the following issues will be discussed: rationale for inclusion in the study, changes to the original instruments based on empirical findings and factor analyses, examination of the factor loadings, and assessment of the model fit. Following this account of the measurement models, a full description and report of the structural models will conclude with a comparison of multiple models tested in this research.

All results are based on a sample of 375 individuals that responded to repeated requests for participation. Of this initial sample, 291 completed surveys were used to impute the missing values found in 22% of all surveys that were started or partially completed. A regression method of data imputation utilizing AMOS 20 was performed to allow all 375 surveys to be utilized in structural equation modeling. All analyses were conducted using AMOS version 20 maximum likelihood modeling.

Measurement Models

Political Ideology Measurement Model

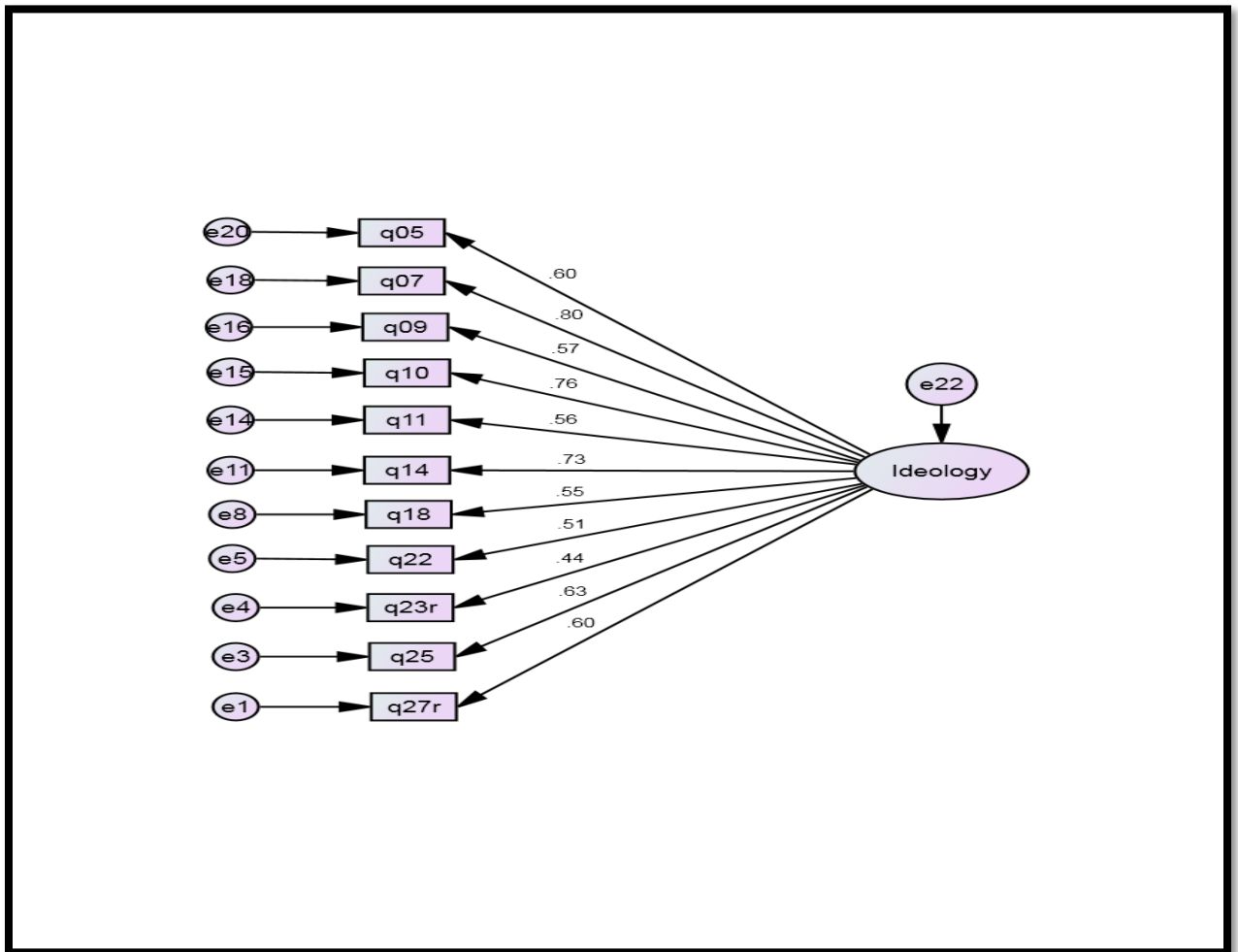
Treier and Hillygus (2005) discussed the limitations of using factor analytic techniques on an ideological measure, but despite these warnings an initial 24 item (see Appendix D for a complete list of items) measure was utilized to gauge political ideology. Half of the items were determined to address the social aspect of political ideology, while the other half of the items concentrated on the economic factor that was posited to exist. The aforementioned measurement model was hypothesized to have the structure exhibited in Figure 3.1 (pg. 53). At the conclusion of data collection the first step was the examination of item total correlations for the proposed scale. This initial review of the data revealed that items q17, q19, and q24 had corrected item-total correlations of .17, .38, and .33 respectively. Due to the low correlations, these items were dropped in an effort to improve the Cronbach's alpha for the scale.

The remaining 21 items (9 social, 12 economic) were tested for model fit. This model resulted in a chi-square to degrees of freedom ratio (CMIN/df) of 21.46 and a RMSEA = .23. Because of the lack of understanding regarding how these items fit together, an exploratory factor analysis was performed to examine other possible models. This analysis provided evidence of single factor solution.

This single factor measurement model provided an initial fit with a CMIN/df = 9.33, a CFI = .63, and a RMSEA = .15. While this is an improvement over the initial hypothesized model, these values are unacceptable. Employing the modification indices a series of changes were made to the model to address poorly fitting items that contained

significant overlaps in content, ambiguous language, or conditional statements (double-barreled wording) within the item. A step-by-step discussion of these changes and the accompanying improvements to the political ideology measurement model can be seen in Appendix G. The subsequent model contains 11 items that load on a single political ideology factor and provide model fit of CMIN/df = 5.68, CFI = .86, and RMSEA = .11. While not ideal, the modifications provide significantly better fit. The resulting model can be seen in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 – Political Ideology Measurement Model

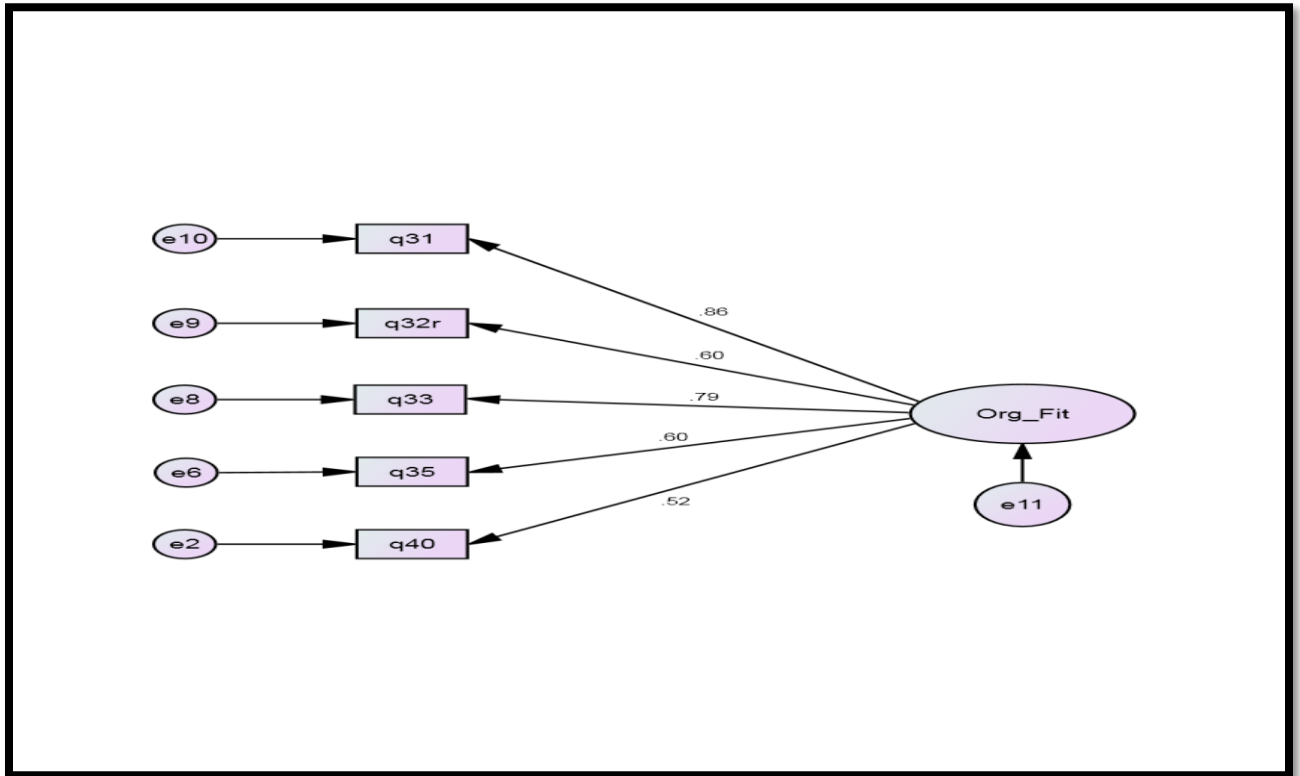


Organizational Fit Measurement Model

The perceived organizational fit scale was modified from an existing instrument developed by Ensher, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson (2001) that addressed organizational fit from a racial and gender bias perspective. Wording was changed to express organizational fit from an ideological (political) perspective. Again, the interpretation of item-total correlations revealed that items q37 and q42 had small relationships with the total scores (.17 and .12 respectively), and were dropped from the analysis.

The remaining items were also subjected to exploratory factor analysis which suggested a single factor solution similar to the political ideology scale. The resulting measurement model provided initial fit statistics of CMIN/df = 14.68, CFI .75, and RMSEA = .19. Modification indices were consulted and after consideration it was determined that the inclusion of items that referred to a match between individuals' candidates of choice and items that referred to specific behaviors did not fit well with items that focused on the perception of ideological fit between employees and their coworkers, supervisors, and the organization as a whole. The resulting model contained 5 items that yielded a much better fit and parsimonious view of the construct. Modifications, justifications, and associated change in the model fit are detailed in Appendix I. The modified model (Figure 4.2) resulted in CMIN/df = 2.97, CFI = .984, and RMSEA = .07.

Figure 4.2 – Organizational Fit Measurement Model

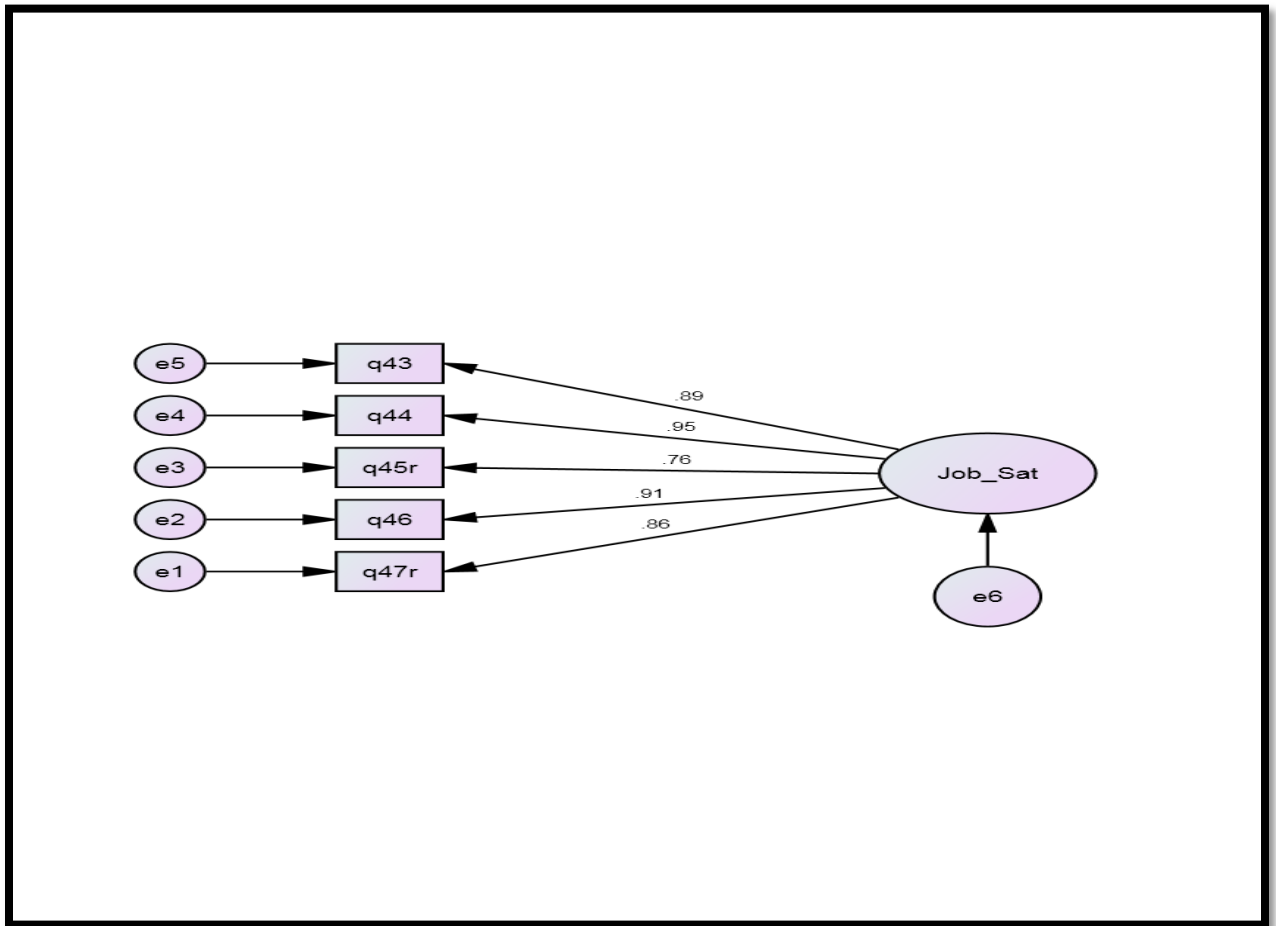


Job Satisfaction Measurement Model

Job satisfaction is a common outcome variable in organizational research, and there are multiple scales with which to measure this construct. For this research a shortened version of the Brayfield-Roth (1951) job satisfaction survey utilized in prior research by Judge, Bono, & Locke (2000) was deemed adequate.

Item-total correlations for all questions were strong. The five items yielded fit statistics of CMIN/df = 3.18, CFI = .99, and RMSEA = .08. No modification was deemed necessary. The measurement model is included as Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3 – Job Satisfaction Measurement Model

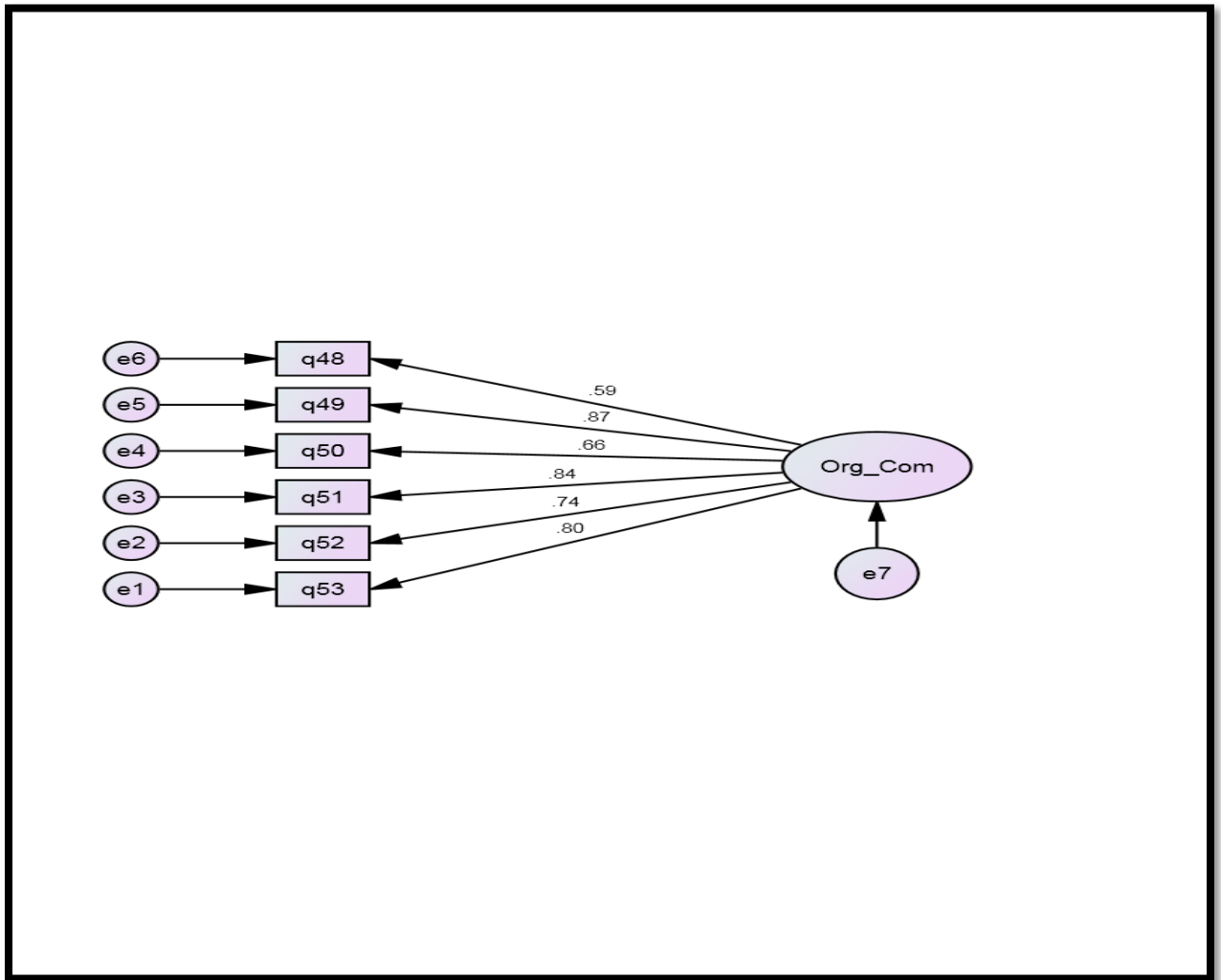


Organizational Commitment Measurement Model

The measurement of organizational commitment was accomplished with an abbreviated version of an existing instrument developed by Mowday, Steers, & Porter (1979).

Similar to the job satisfaction measure, item-total correlations were good, and no modifications were necessary. Results of the confirmatory factor analysis provided adequate fit $CMIN/df = 4.46$, $CFI = .97$, and $RMSEA = .10$. The measurement model is included as Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4 – Organizational Commitment Measurement Model



Ideological Extremism Measurement Model

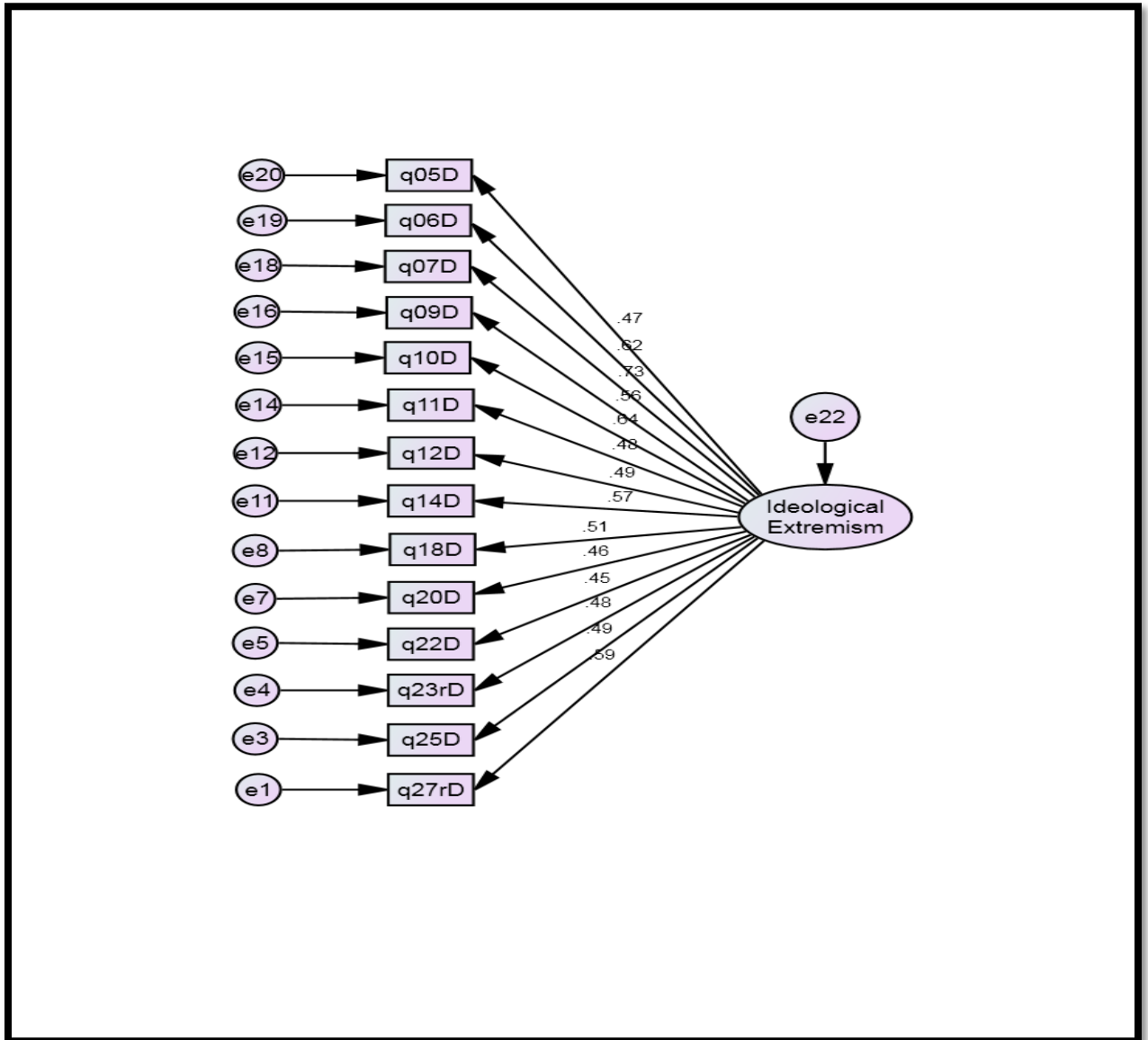
During the course of analysis it was proposed that opposed to the liberal/conservative spectrum it might be the degree of ideological extremism that could create issues in the workplace. It is possible that extremism in political ideology, at either end of the political spectrum, could have a deleterious effect on organizational fit. This is

conceptualized as a U-shaped relationship between political ideology and organizational fit such that the extremes of either conservative or liberal ideology would experience a lower perceived fit within the organization. To examine this associated issue, all political ideology item responses for each participant were compared to the average score on each item. This allowed a deviation scores to be calculated and the resulting deviations to be analyzed as a separate scale.

Based on earlier results, items q17, q19, and q24 were not included in this analysis. Further examination of the item-total correlations for the remaining items showed that q21 was also a poor fit (.38), and was thus thrown out. The deviation scores for the other twenty items were then examined using confirmatory factor analysis assuming a unidimensional structure as measured in the political ideology construct. The initial results provided fit statistics $CMIN/df = 6.07$, $CFI = .66$, and $RMSEA = .12$. After consulting the modification indices offered by AMOS, six items were subsequently dropped from the measurement model. The justifications and associated changes to the model fit statistics can be found in Appendix H. Excluding these items provided a fourteen item scale with an $\alpha = .85$ and better fit statistics: $CMIN/df = 4.56$, $CFI = .803$, and $RMSEA = .10$.

While this scale was not used for the primary structural model, it was deemed a necessary step to include in exploring all possible relationships and explanations. The resulting measurement model is shown as Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5 – Ideological Extremism Measurement Model

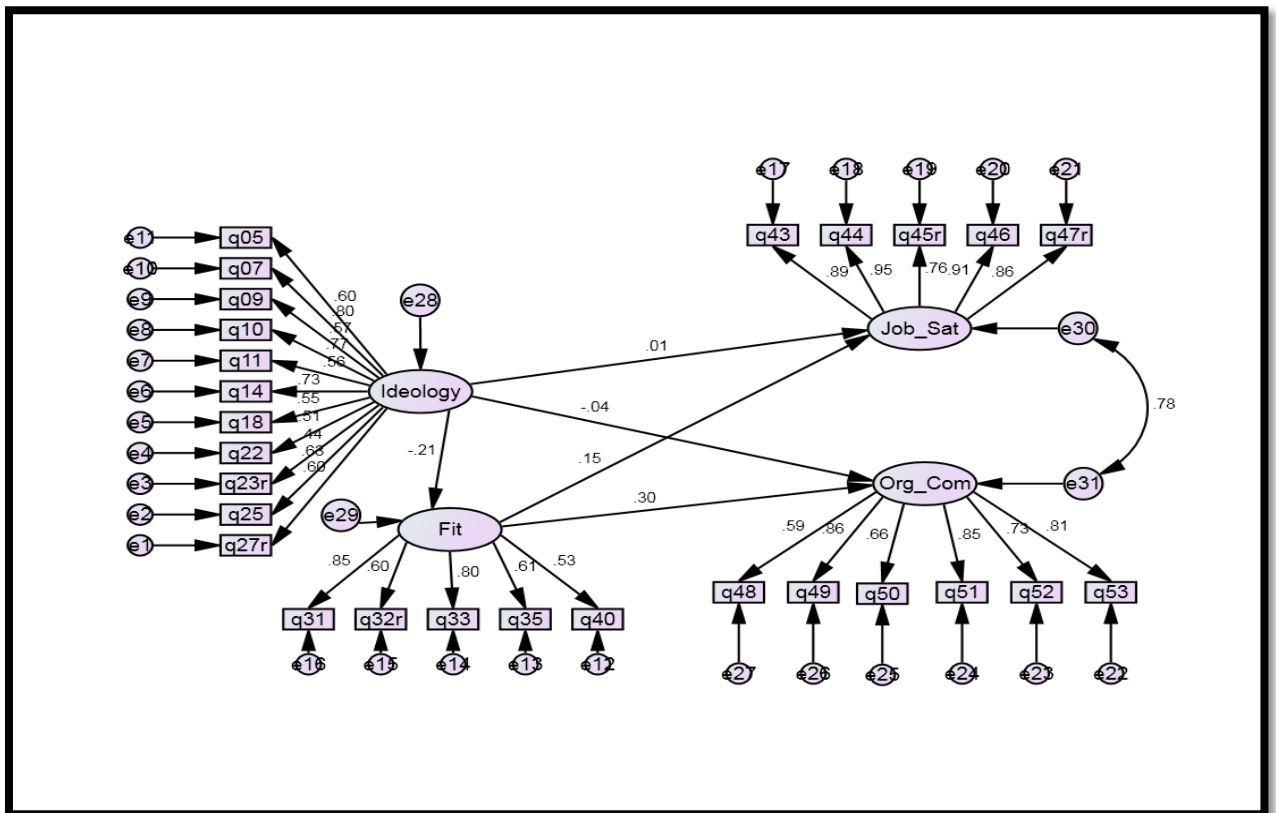


Political Ideology Structural Model

Once the confirmatory factor analyses had been completed on all measurement models, the models were combined to examine the structural model for the relationships between political ideology, perceived organizational fit, and the outcome variables (job satisfaction and organizational commitment).

The resulting structural model is shown in Figure 4.6. The associated fit statistics show CMIN/df = 2.64, CFI = .91, and RMSEA = .07. The Sobel's test for the mediation of perceived organizational fit on the relationship between political ideology and job satisfaction was significant ($z = -1.97, p = .05$), as was the test for mediation of the relationship between political ideology and organizational commitment ($z = -2.70, p < .01$). However, path C between political ideology and both job satisfaction and organizational commitment was almost nonexistent ($\beta = .01$ and $\beta = -.04$, respectively). This makes intuitive sense and will be discussed further in chapter 5. Although the results of statistical analysis for mediation revealed significance, the substantive significance is negligible.

Figure 4.6 – Political Ideology Structural Model



One alteration was made to the initial structural model. Job satisfaction and organizational commitment were allowed to correlate due to the fact that these two variables have been found to share significant variance and are commonly used together in organizational studies.

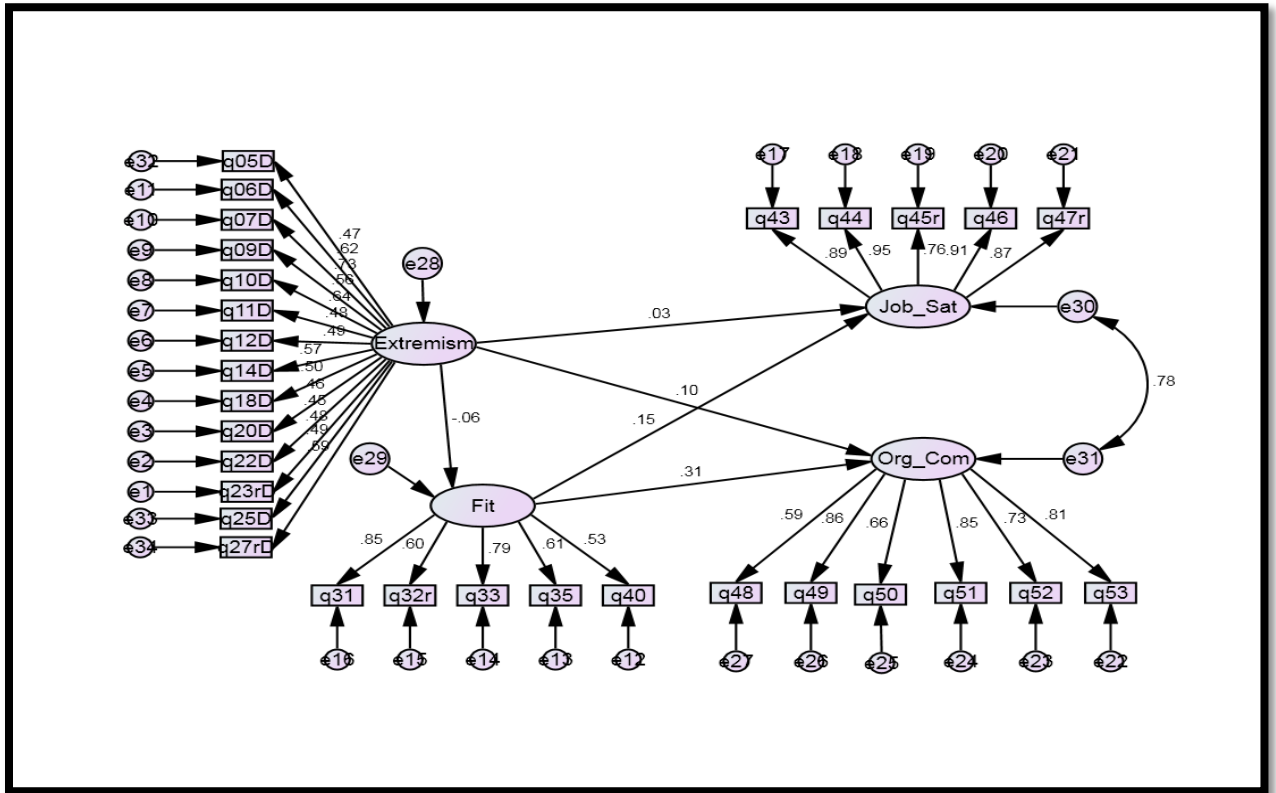
Political Extremism Structural Model

As previously mentioned, the calculation of deviation scores for the political ideology scale provided a proxy for an ideological extremism scale. Based on differences in the confirmatory factor analysis, a separate structural model was constructed to examine if the variables exhibited a different relationship when modeled using this extremism scale rather than the political ideology scale that was originally applied.

The political extremism structural model is included as Figure 4.7. The examination of this model revealed fit statistics: CMIN/df = 2.41, CFI = .90, and RMSEA = .06. While this model provides a better ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom ($\Delta = .23$) and RMSEA ($\Delta = .01$), as well as a comparable CFI, the Sobel's test of mediation for perceived organizational fit was non-significant in the relationship between extremism and both job satisfaction and organizational commitment ($z = -.93$, n.s. and $z = -.98$, n.s., respectively). This is primarily due to the weak path A coefficient between extremism and perceived organizational fit ($\beta = -.06$).

Interestingly the path coefficient between extremism and organizational commitment is stronger than that of political ideology and the same construct. This deserves further discussion and will be addressed in Chapter 5.

Figure 4.7 – Political Extremism Structural Model



CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Findings

In this section I will discuss the measurement model findings, issues associated with the measurement of political ideology and the related concept of ideological extremism, and the results of the structural model under consideration. I will then compare my results to the extant literature and other findings before discussing the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research on this topic.

The measurement issues and multiple conceptualizations of several of the constructs under consideration in this research were exposed during the course of this analysis. This was clearly illustrated in the measurement of political ideology. An a priori measurement was utilized that contained 24 items split evenly between what were considered social and economic issues (see Appendix D for a full list of political ideology items).

However, analysis clearly showed that the proposed two-factor solution did not exist in this sample. Item-total correlations and CFA revealed a simplified single factor structure that contained eleven items with an $\alpha = .87$ (Figure 4.1). The retained items focused on:

marriage equality, government health care, affirmative action, welfare, spending on public schools, taxation, abortion, gun control, the death penalty, environmental protection, and immigration with one item representing each of these issues.

The perceived fit of the individual within the context of the environment / organization was also a bit muddled. The survey initially administered contained twelve items that were split evenly among three hypothesized facets. These were: fit with coworkers (P-G), fit with supervisors (P-G, P-I), and fit within the organization as a whole (P-O) (see Appendix D for a full listing of these items). Unfortunately, the basis for this scale was taken from the discrimination literature rather than strictly from the organizational behavior literature and as such didn't fully represent the content domain for person-environment, person-group, or person-individual fit. As such it also contained items that examined behaviors in addition to values. Although political ideology is a combination values, cognitive, and behavioral elements, the cognitive aspect was not examined and the behavioral questions did not contribute to the model.

The analysis of responses to these queries eliminated the items that contained behavioral elements by revealing a single factor structure that did not include those items. The resulting five item scale utilized three of the coworker items and one item from the supervisor and organizational subscales. This operationalization for the measure becomes a bit muddled in that rather than focusing solely on a single element (coworkers, supervisor, organization) within the P-E fit literature, the measure is instead an amalgamation of what could be conceived of as disparate elements that may have differential impacts. As such, the person-group, person-individual, and person-

organization effects that might exist will be hopelessly entangled. The resulting measurement model that was included in the structural model had an $\alpha = .81$ (Figure 4.2).

While measurement issues existed with the two prior scales, the instrumentation for the outcome variables exhibited strong reliabilities. Job satisfaction is the most widely used outcome variable in the organizational science literature and as such there are highly reliable instruments available for its measurement. The abbreviated (five item) Brayfield & Roth (1951, cf. Judge, Bono, & Locke, 2000) scale that was administered in this case provided an $\alpha = .94$ with no change or modification to the original items (Figure 4.3).

The responses to the organizational commitment items also demonstrated a simple structure. While this research utilized a simple global measure rather than an affective, normative, or continuance commitment approach called for by some scholars, the six items resulted in an $\alpha = .88$, once again with no alteration or editing of the source material (Figure 4.4).

The final measurement model that needs to be discussed is one that was not initially hypothesized, but none the less became an issue during the study. During the course of this analysis it became apparent that the relationship between political ideology and perceived organizational fit (consonance) might have a significant departure from linearity and instead be an inverse U-shaped distribution. It was deemed possible that the bipolar liberal/conservative continuum that was being related the perceived fit construct might actually be suppressing the relationship because of the aforementioned nonlinear relationship. This new conceptualization of the relationship was not based on political ideology but instead what is referred to as political extremism. This was considered as

existing when an individual held an ideological view that was significantly different from the average, in either direction.

Based on this postulation it was determined that a subsequent transformation should be made that examined this ideological extremism. To this end all items were averaged and the deviation between each individual's score and the average score for all participants was calculated. This provided a proxy of the extremism variable assumed to exist. These deviation scores were then analyzed for item-total correlation and exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was performed. EFA was deemed the correct technique because while these items had been factor analyzed using the likert type scale of measurement, significant differences might exist when utilizing a deviation score. Results showed a possible two factor solution, with the second factor having an eigenvalue that was higher than one, but deemed insignificant for inclusion. The single factor solution was then subjected to CFA, with poor fitting items being eliminated. The resulting measurement model contained 14 items. These correlated with the items in the political ideology scale with the addition of items q06, q12, and q20. These additional items dealt with the government providing a good standard of living, government spending on social security, and a second item dealing with abortion.

The resulting scale (ideological extremism) had an $\alpha = .85$ (Figure 4.5). This political extremism measurement model was then substituted for the political ideology measurement model in the structural model to examine possible differences in the path coefficients. The results of this analysis will be reviewed following a discussion of the originally hypothesized structural model.

The initial proposed model to be tested in this research was altered when it was discovered that two of the constructs (political ideology and organizational fit) did not have the proposed multidimensionality. Instead, the empirical evidence points to both of these variables being unidimensional as measured by the instruments administered. The new model can be seen in Figure 4.6.

The original hypothesis for this research is that political ideology is related to organizational commitment and job satisfaction through the perceived fit of the individual and their environment (organization). The revised structural model that tested this hypothesis revealed that there is a statistically significant mediation of the relationship between political ideology and both job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and that this result is stronger for organizational commitment than it is for job satisfaction. The overall model offered adequate, but not exceptional fit to the data.

Examination of the path coefficients shows non-significant direct effects between political ideology and both job satisfaction ($\beta = .01$) and organizational commitment ($\beta = .04$), and that these relationships are stronger when mediated by the perceived fit of the individual's political ideology and the ideology of coworkers, supervisors, and the organization as a whole (the environment). The small path coefficients between political ideology and job satisfaction and organizational commitment are important, because a contrary finding would insinuate that being liberal or conservative would have a direct effect on the outcomes measured. This was not the case. Instead analysis revealed that statistically, the mediated relationship or indirect effect described above did, in fact, exist. This was in due in part to the large relationship between the perception of fit

(consonance) between the individual and their environment with both job satisfaction (β

= .15) and organizational commitment ($\beta = .31$), while the path coefficient between political ideology and consonance was $\beta = -.21$. The coefficient between these two constructs suggests that those with a more conservative ideology had a higher perception of fit between their own beliefs and those of their coworkers, supervisors, and the organization.

While these results showed statistical significance the products of the path coefficients, -.06 from political ideology to organizational commitment and -.03 to job satisfaction indicate that while statistically significant, they may not be practically significant. The much more interesting and compelling results came from the path b coefficients between perceived fit and organizational commitment and job satisfaction. Both of these results allude to an important relationship that exists between these constructs. This would match other research that has suggested that consonance of values impacts both job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

The second structural model that was tested was included based on the concept of political extremism that I have already reviewed in this chapter. The model that resulted from substituting the extremism construct for the political ideology construct provided the same path b coefficients, but the direct effects of extremism on job satisfaction and organizational commitment (path c') as well as the relationship between extremism and the perception of fit (path a) were different than the model that included political ideology.

The path c', direct effects, were both stronger for extremism than political ideology for job satisfaction ($\Delta\beta = .02$), and for organizational commitment ($\Delta\beta = .14$). But, the

extremism construct provided a weaker relationship to the perception of organizational fit ($\Delta\beta = .15$). For these differences I have very little explanation. The intuitive explanation would be for more extreme individuals to experience a lower perception of organization fit and this was the case, but to a much lesser extent than originally thought. One possible explanation could involve self-monitoring which I will discuss in the next section.

Discussion

Some of the findings discussed in the previous section were congruent with the extant literature and expectations for this research, but there were findings that represented slight departures. Beginning with the use of an issue based measure of political ideology, the findings supported Jost and his colleague's (2003a, 2003b) assertion that individuals did indeed have a coherent belief system that could be related to a self-report of liberal/conservative ideology. The results of this study showed a correlation of .77 between the ideology scale administered and the single item that asked for participants to place themselves on a liberal/conservative continuum. This was contrary to Converse's (1964) statement that there is little consistency between ideology and specific political issues. This was further illustrated by the fact that every issue based item used in the scale had a statistically significant correlation to every other item. The dimensionality of the ideology measure was another point of contention in the literature and despite the findings of Feldman and Johnson (2009), the social and economic distinction in political ideology did not reveal itself. Instead concurrent with other findings (e.g. Jost et al, 2009), the results of this study found strong relationships between the items that resulted in a single factor structure.

There was an additional finding in this study that contradicted the findings of Ellis and Stimson (2007) in that while they postulated that there might be a difference between individuals' symbolic versus operational belief systems vis-à-vis political ideology, a one way analysis of variance showed that there were significant differences between the political ideology scale scores of individuals that self-reported as Democrats, Republicans, and Independents [$F(4,339) = 51.71, p < .00$]. The post hoc tests showed that there were highly significant differences among all three of these self-reported categories ($p < .01$) except for Libertarian and Republican which were not significantly different. Regression analysis also showed that self-reported political affiliation was a significant predictor of scores on the political ideology scale [$F(1,342) = 25.01, p < .00$]. This would suggest congruence between the political party a person affiliates with and their feelings about political issues.

In the previous section there was a mention of the small path c' coefficients between political ideology and the outcome variables; this outcome should be intuitively gratifying in that it shows being liberal or conservative does not have a direct relationship to either job satisfaction or organizational commitment. The data suggest however that a consonance between individual and the environment is important. The path b coefficients that represent the relationship between perceived fit and job satisfaction and organizational commitment were consistent with previous findings regarding both of these relationships.

Previous studies examining the associations between P-E, P-O, and P-G fit and job satisfaction have shown significance for all of these relationships (Arthur et al, 2006; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005; Verquer et al, 2003, all cf. Kristof-Brown

& Guay, 2011). However, the relationship found in this research was of a lesser magnitude than those found in other studies. This may be related to the direct, subjective, and atypical measurement instrument used to assess the P-O fit construct. This problem may be significant given a lack of clear definition as to what is being measured (e.g. P-O, P-G, or P-I fit). As such, what is being measured may not actually be job satisfaction, but instead what Edwards and his colleagues (2006) referred to as a report of satisfaction with the organization or the composite elements rather than the job.

Organizational commitment is the outcome that is most strongly associated with P-O fit (Kristof-Brown & Guay, 2011). The findings of this research are in line with those previous reports. Again, the measurement of consonance in this research, being of a direct, subjective, and possibly inadequate nature, could threaten the results. More importantly however is the possibility that organizational commitment actually mediates the relationship between perceived fit and job satisfaction. A *ex post facto* model modification was performed allowing the path for this mediation and while the model fit statistics did not change, the new path suppressed the mediation of perceived fit between ideology and job satisfaction and showed clear evidence of the relationship described above (see Appendix F for the modified model).

An interesting finding regarding these path coefficients is that those with a more conservative ideology experience higher perceptions of fit with the organization. This may be related to the findings that individuals that had a more conservative political outlook also had an aversion to change (Jost et al, 2008) and a need to reduce uncertainty (Jost, 2007). Individuals with a more conservative outlook may find comfort in stability

and through some psychological mechanism relate this to stronger feelings of connection to their respective organizations.

The relationship between ideological extremism and perceived fit is also curious. The intuitive expectation would be that more extreme individuals would experience significantly lower fit. While the path coefficient showed that indeed this was the relationship, it is by no means significant. A possible explanation could be considered by applying the concept of self-monitoring behavior. Kilduff and Day (1994) found that individuals that are low self-monitors, or individuals that have a hard time adjusting their behavior to fit the situation, were much more likely to stay with organizations or have longer tenures than those that were high-self monitors. This research suggested that low-self monitors were not as good at creating social networks and were thus stuck in their current positions. Rather than blame themselves for a lack of mobility, these individuals might then increase their loyalty to their organizations and thus ignore any misfit that might exist.

A final finding that should be discussed is the practical significance of the mediation effect and why a larger effect was not identified. Given the arguments provided and the evidence of a growing divide in the political ideology in the United States, there was an expectation for a large effect of ideology on workplace affect and attitudes (e.g. job satisfaction and organizational commitment). While the statistical results did in fact show that perceptions of ideological fit between themselves and their environments is relevant. The question persists, is it important (based on the relatively small effect size)?

This small effect size could be addressed or interpreted in many different ways, but there are two that I will mention here. The first and most parsimonious explanation is that political ideology is simply not that salient in the workplace and that people are capable of separating or suppressing political beliefs while at the workplace. A second possible explanation could be made via Schneider's (1987) attraction-selection-attrition (A-S-A) model. The model, which is an offshoot of the person-environment fit research suggests that organizations attract and select employees that share important individual level characteristics that exist within the organization, and that individuals then self-select out or are pushed away based on success of that match. This alternative explanation might suggest that employees are selected based on political ideology subconsciously or as a result of the psychological factors that are posited to underlie ideology. Just as possible, however, is the prospect that more salient characteristics supply a stronger basis on which individuals judge their job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Limitations to the Study

The single largest limitation to this research was the instrumentation utilized to gather data. Beginning with the measure of political ideology, it was noted that although originally thought to be multidimensional, in this sample the construct contained a single factor. However, if more items were included that represented a larger content area from the possible universe of content; this may not have been the case. It was also suggested that there may be a higher order factor at work, and that a hierarchical approach could be utilized.

The measurement of person-environment fit also left much to be desired. As stated multiple times in this chapter, the multiple conceptions of P-E fit were most likely inadequately measured and a different instrument would have been more appropriate to investigate this construct. This includes a lack of a measure for the organization itself. Comparison between the individual and the organization is not possible due to the lack of an organizational level measure. As stated earlier, what is being measured is only a perception of each individual and not based on any objective difference.

These measurement issues also point to the need for inclusion of an instrument that addresses organizational culture. Discovery of an overall culture of liberalism or conservatism within a workplace could enhance the understanding of the underlying issues. While this would require the use of larger samples from a single workplace to be effective, it would be an important extension of this line of inquiry.

Similarly, the measurements of both organizational commitment and job satisfaction were highly simplified. From the organizational fit perspective a simple global measure was administered while many scholars call for a differentiation between normative, affective, and continuance aspects of commitment. For job satisfaction a similar simplified scale was used that did not investigate the multiple subcategories of satisfaction that are posited to exist. Results of this study could be limited based on these factors.

These measurement issues could be said to arise from a systemic oversimplification of constructs or gross misrepresentation. This is especially troubling in the case of P-E fit which is poorly defined and ignores much of the extant literature on the topic by using

such a simplified measure. Edwards (1991) warned of this existing problem within much of the P-O and specifically in the P-J literature. It is suggested that an objective measure that addresses the person and the organization separately and from different sources is a more accurate assessment of this construct.

The research may also be limited by the fact that this study is cross sectional. Consistent with Schneider's A-S-A theory, the individual level difference I am considering might have consequences at the attraction, selection, and attrition points in the timeline of employment. The approach utilized here simply examines a moment in time (and a different moment for each participant), it is in essence a polaroid of a speeding bus and thus does not examine how ideology impacts the employment relationship over time. A longitudinal approach might be necessary to understand this limitation fully.

The use of self-report measures is always a contentious issue based on the litany of possible problems that can arise. These might include but are not limited to: efforts by the respondent to paint themselves in the best possible light, providing responses they think the researcher wants to hear, inability to distinguish between responses to items, and an inability to interpret items correctly. This is just the tip of the iceberg in terms of potential threats to the validity of the study based on this issue, but a secondary consideration could also be the order of the items and possible priming effects.

A final limitation of note was the nature of the sample. A quick inspection of the demographic data provides a glaring problem. The sample is overwhelmingly white and educated. As reported in Chapter 2 of this work approximately 25% of U.S. citizens have achieved a bachelor's degree, while 84% of this sample has achieved that level of

education. The racial demographics for this sample are also significantly skewed from the overall characteristics of the population of interest.

Suggestions for Future Research

This research has opened up multiple possibilities for future investigation of this topic. The first of which is a continuing effort to develop an adequate and reliable measure of political ideology. Results of this study suggest that with an improvement in content domain and careful construction, an issue based measure of political ideology could be developed. Once a suitable instrument is constructed, or the current instrument has been improved, testing of measurement invariance in samples known to be conservative or liberal could provide excellent information for continuation of this line of inquiry. This could include applications of this model to organizations known to have a relatively conservative (e.g. Chick-fil-a, Koch Industries) or relatively liberal (EBay, Amazon, Google) corporate culture.

That opens up another line of questioning that would relate to corporate climate research. Is there a perception of a liberal or conservative climate in organizations and how does that relate to the other climate research that has been conducted? If politically charged climates could be identified the current research could be applied within these contexts to see if the current results might hold.

It might also be interesting to run the tests of moderation for the various demographic variables included in this study. As previously mentioned, the sample in this study would not be adequate for study of moderation based on race or education, but variables such as organizational size and industry, gender, and age could be found in this data. Do any of

these variables moderate the relationships that were found? This would represent a mediated moderation model that could examine the conditional indirect effects that might exist.

The evaluation of the political extremism concept should also be an area of further interest. While the results of this investigation did not lead to significant findings; there could be a wealth of relevant studies that use an “extremist” approach to the evaluation of political ideology. The possible multidimensionality of the extremism variable could provide some interesting results, as well as investigation of a cluster analysis of the respondents. The previously mentioned hierarchical model of political ideology would be interesting as well; and of course the further investigation of the differences between political ideology and ideological extremism.

While results of this study could be viewed as corresponding to previous research regarding a difference between liberals and conservatives and their perceptions of fit. The mechanism that underlies this difference deserves closer scrutiny. Why do conservatives have a higher perception of fit within their current organization? Inclusion of other outcome variables such as intention to leave, and qualitative examination of specific subjects in specific contexts could be used to more closely evaluate this finding.

These suggestions are only a few of the questions that were raised during the course of this dissertation, and while some of these queries might be answered through a closer look at the existing data, a larger scale investigation could provide stronger support for the findings contained herein.

Conclusions

The purpose and design of this research was to examine the relationships between political ideologies, perceptions of person-organization fit based on that ideology, and the common outcome variables job satisfaction and organizational commitment. By gathering these data I hoped to illuminate an important individual level difference that exists in the workplace and that could be problem if not addressed or at the very least acknowledged to be present.

A major finding for this research include the fact that people do in fact have cohesive political ideologies, and that despite some claims to socially liberal and fiscally conservative (or vice-versa) mixing of ideologies, that was not the case in this sample. Individuals held cohesive views that related to a either a conservative or liberal ideology, and scaling of these items could clearly distinguish between ideological self-placement on a Republican/Democrat/Independent item. Another was that the perception of person-organization fit was higher for those that held a more conservative ideology. Most importantly, the perception of fit was significantly related to both job satisfaction and organizational commitment with the latter having a much stronger relationship. While the mediated model tested in this study was statistically significant, the practical significance was found to be negligible.

There are important remaining questions regarding the nature of the difference between conservatives and liberals on the perceptions of person-organization fit. The best measurement approach to both political ideology and person-organization fit is also a relevant issue that deserves further consideration, which would include the suggested

existence of an ideological extremism aspect. Finally, the evaluation of liberal or conservative organizational cultures that might exist should be examined in more detail.

Improvement of the measurement instruments would be the first step in improving the current research, but many questions would still remain. While this study was a first step in my evaluation of these variables, the results open doors to new lines of inquiry and provide the impetus to pursue related questions that incorporate political ideology into the study of organizational behavior.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Participant Information Sheet

Political Ideology in the Workplace

R. Evan Davis, Oklahoma State University; Dr. Dale Fuqua, Oklahoma State University

The purpose of this research study is to examine the existing relationships between political ideology and potential workplace implications. In this effort you, a gainfully employed individual over the age of 18, are being asked to participate in data collection. The following survey should take approximately 20 minutes to complete. Questions are designed to measure your feelings towards certain social and economic issues currently being debated at the national and state level, as well as, attitudes toward your workplace environment.

When you have finished, please press the submit button. There are no known risks associated with this project which are greater than those encountered in daily life. All information you provide is anonymous, and no names or telephone numbers will be recorded on this survey. All results will be reported as aggregate data and no individual responses will be reported. Data will be stored in a secure electronic file that only the principal investigator will have access to. This information is being collected through the surveymonkey.com data collection service which is password protected and your responses will not be made available to anyone other than the investigators involved in this research.

Your participation in this research study will afford you the opportunity to earn one of five (5) \$50 Wal-Mart gift cards. These enticements will be awarded via random number generation and winners will be contacted through the email address, or other contact information, provided at the end of the survey. After completion you will be redirected to a second web page for the collection of personal information, this ensures the anonymity of all participants. If you do not wish to be eligible for the drawing or do not wish to leave an email address, you may leave alternative contact information or freely forgo any future contact. Be assured that just as your responses are held in the strictest confidence, your email address, and other contact information, will be subject to the same security and will not be shared, duplicated, or distributed in any form or fashion.

If you have any questions regarding this research feel free to contact R. Evan Davis at 405-744-3746 / Robert.Evan.Davis@okstate.edu or Dr. Dale Fuqua at 405-744-9443 / dr.fuqua@okstate.edu . If you have questions about your rights as a research volunteer, you may contact Dr. Shelia Kennison, IRB Chair, 219 Cordell North, Stillwater, OK 74078, 405-744-3377 / irb@okstate.edu.

Your participation in this project is appreciated and completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate at any time without any penalty or problem. Completing this online survey indicates your willingness to participate in this study.

Appendix B

Recruitment Message

Hello!

As the nation prepares for the Democratic and Republican National Conventions and the election to follow, more and more news agencies are reporting on the polarizing nature of today's political environment. It has occurred to many scholars that this bifurcation of the nation may not only be happening in Washington D.C. and local state legislatures, but among the general American population.

In partial fulfillment of my PhD, I am conducting research regarding personal political ideology and potential complications in the workplace. I would be grateful if you would participate in this research. Additionally, it would be helpful if you could help me identify others that might be interested participating in this study. As an enticement, I am offering a chance to win one of five (5) \$50 Wal-Mart gift cards.

If you are interested in participating, please copy and paste the following URL into your web browser and complete the online survey (it should take approximately 20 minutes to complete). Responses are completely anonymous, and greatly appreciated. Please feel free to share this URL with anyone who is over the age of 18, a current resident of the United States, and employed full time. Because of the "Red State / Blue State" divide in our country, I am attempting to gather data from all across our nation. If you could share this link with people in other states it would help make the information gathered applicable across the U.S. rather than just to my own restricted geographic region.

Again, thank you for your time and efforts on my behalf!

Regards,

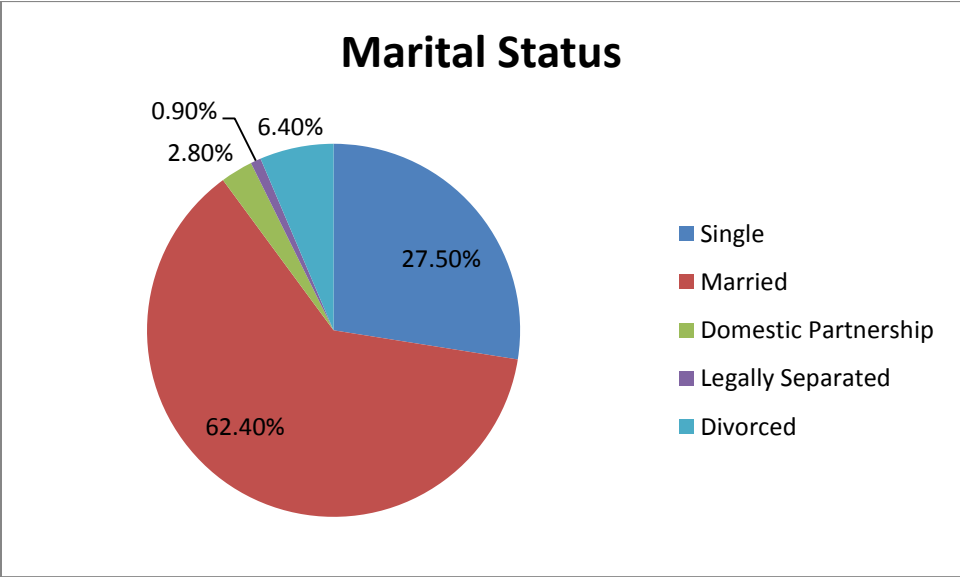
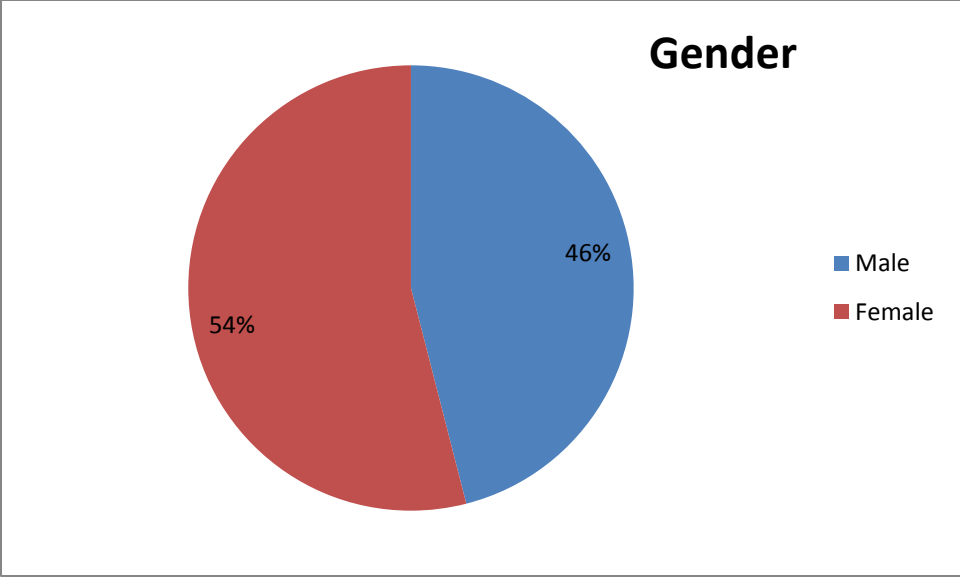
R. Evan Davis

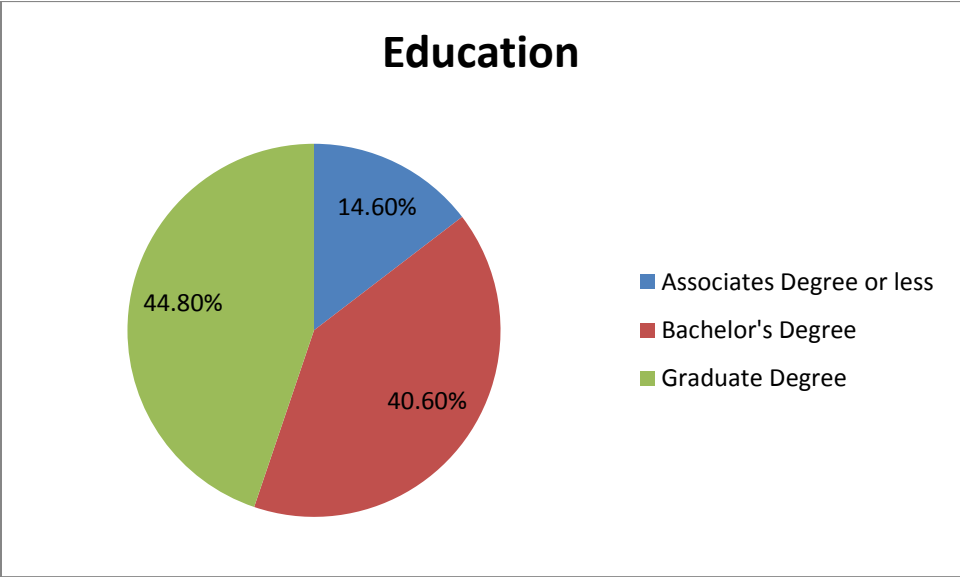
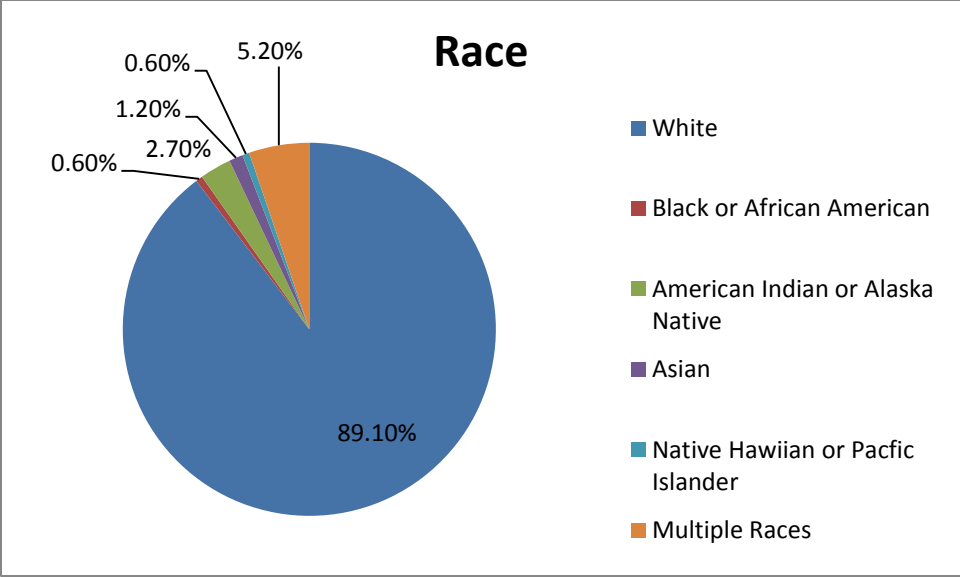
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<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/2S6JXZG>

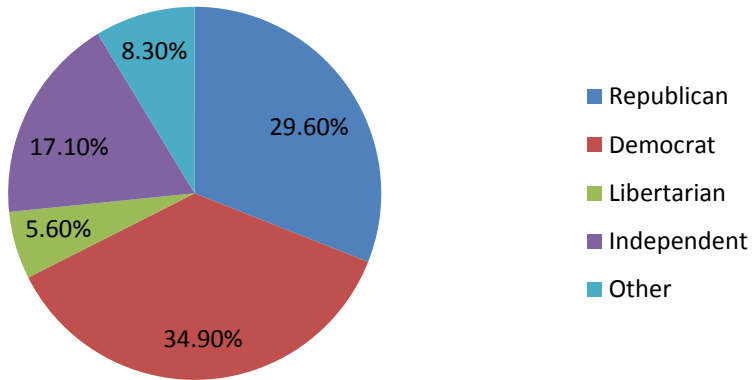
Appendix C

Participant Demographic Data

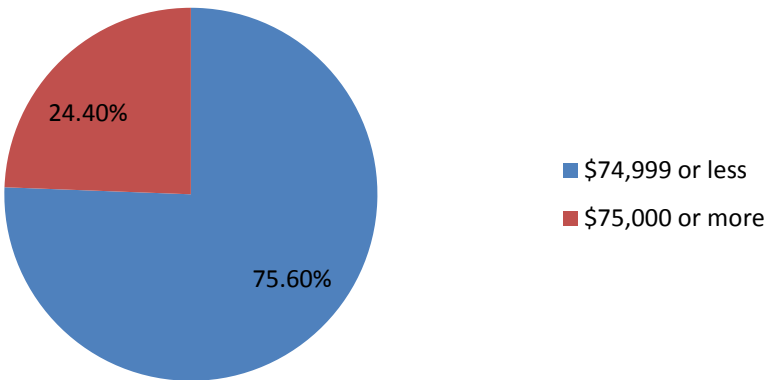




Political Affiliation



Household Income



Appendix D

Complete List of Survey Items and Possible Responses

| Question Label | Scale | Item Content | Possible Responses |
|-----------------------|--------------|---|---|
| Q2 | D | What is your age (as of today)? | < 18 |
| Q3 | D | Are you currently a resident of the United States? | Yes / No |
| Q4 | PI | Gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1-7) |
| Q5 | PI | Gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to marry. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q6 | PI | The government should see to it that all persons have a job and a good standard of living. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q7 | PI | The government should be responsible for ensuring that all persons have a health care insurance plan | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q8 | PI | Persons should be responsible for providing their own health care insurance plan without the government’s intrusion | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q9 | PI | If a company has a history of discrimination against blacks, then they should be required to have an affirmative action program that gives blacks preference in hiring. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q10 | PI | Should federal spending on welfare programs be increased, decreased, or remain constant? | Increased significantly – Decreased significantly (1-7) |
| Q11 | PI | Should federal spending on public schools be increased, decreased, or remain constant? | Increased significantly – Decreased significantly (1-7) |
| Q12 | PI | Should federal spending on social security be increased, decreased, or remain constant? | Increased significantly – Decreased significantly (1-7) |
| Q13 | PI | Should federal spending on aid to the poor individuals be increased, decreased or remain constant? | Increased significantly – Decreased significantly (1-7) |
| Q14 | PI | Taxes on the wealthiest citizens in the United States should be increased. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q15 | PI | By law, abortion should never be permitted. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q16 | PI | The law should permit abortions only in the case of rape, incest, or when the woman’s life is in danger. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q17 | PI | The law should permit abortion for reasons other than, rape, incest or danger to the woman’s life, but only after the need for the abortion has been | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |

| | | | |
|-----|-----|--|---|
| | | clearly established. | |
| Q18 | PI | By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q19 | PI | Teenage girls under the age of 18 should be required to obtain their parents’ or guardians’ permission before obtaining an abortion. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q20 | PI | Late term, sometimes called partial birth abortions, should be legal. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q21 | PI | Homosexuals should be allowed to serve openly in the United States Armed Forces. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q22 | PI | Should the federal government make it more difficult or easier for people to buy a gun, or should the rules stay the same? | Much more difficult – Much easier (1 – 7) |
| Q23 | PI | People convicted of murder should be subject to the death penalty. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q24 | PI | Women and men should have equal places in the home and in the workplace. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q25 | PI | Tougher regulations on businesses should be implemented to protect the environment. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q26 | PI | The federal government should spend more money on restricting immigration into the United States. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q27 | PI | Illegal immigrants pose a substantial threat to the economic stability of the United States. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q28 | N/A | How do you view your overall political ideology? | Very liberal – Very conservative (1 – 7) |
| Q29 | D | What is your political affiliation? | Democrat, Republican, Libertarian, Independent, other |
| Q30 | N/A | Are you currently employed at a position over 35 hours per week? | Yes / No |
| Q31 | FIT | Most of my coworkers feel the same way I do about contentious social and political issues. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q32 | FIT | My coworkers sometimes make political statements I find contrary to my beliefs. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q33 | FIT | I agree with my coworkers on most economic policy issues regarding the federal government. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q34 | FIT | I try to avoid politically oriented conversations with my coworkers because my opinions are very different from most of theirs. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |

| | | | |
|-----|-----|---|--|
| Q35 | FIT | My supervisor or manager feels the same way I do about contentious social and political issues. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q36 | FIT | My supervisor or manager sometimes makes political statements I find contrary to my beliefs. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q37 | FIT | I agree with my supervisor or manager’s political and social opinions just to avoid problems. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q38 | FIT | I think that my manager or supervisor votes for the same political candidates that I do. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q39 | FIT | My organization clearly supports a political ideology that I believe in. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q40 | FIT | My organization clearly supports a political ideology that I believe in. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q41 | FIT | I try to avoid political discussions at work because my political affiliation is contrary to the values and policies of the company or organization for which I work. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q42 | FIT | I see organizational communications (i.e. emails or flyers) at work that support political candidates I would never vote for. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q43 | JS | I feel fairly satisfied with my present job. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q44 | JS | Most days I am enthusiastic about my work. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q45 | JS | Each day at work seems like it will never end. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q46 | JS | I find real enjoyment in my work. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q47 | JS | I consider my job to be rather unpleasant. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) <i>Reverse Scored</i> |
| Q48 | OC | I am willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in order to help this organization be successful. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q49 | OC | I talk up this organization to my friends as a great organization to work for. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q50 | OC | I find my values and the organizations values are very similar. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q51 | OC | I am proud to tell others that I am part of this organization. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q52 | OC | I really care about the fate of this organization. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |
| Q53 | OC | For me this is the best of all possible organizations for which to work. | Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree (1 – 7) |

| | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|
| Q54 | D | What is your gender? | Male / Female |
| Q55 | D | Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin? | Yes / No |
| Q56 | D | Are you White, Black or African-American, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific islander, or some other race? | Included |
| Q57 | D | What is your marital status? | Single, Married, Domestic Partnership or Civil Union, Legally Separated, Divorced |
| Q58 | D | What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? | Less than high school, High school degree, Some college, Associate degree, Bachelor degree, Graduate degree |
| Q59 | D | Which of the following best describes your current occupation? | Classifications from the government |
| Q60 | D | In which industry does your current company operate (e.g. education, financial, construction, etc.)? | Open Response |
| Q61 | D | Approximately how many people work for your organization? | 1, 2-10, 11-20, 21-99, 100-500, 501-5000, 5000+ |
| Q62 | D | What is your approximate household income? | \$0 – 24999 \$25000 – 49999 \$50000 – 74999 \$75000 – 99999 \$100000 – 124999 \$125000 – 149999 \$150000 – 174999 \$175000 – 199999 \$200000 and up |
| Q63 | D | In what ZIP code is your home located? | 00000 - 99999 |

Appendix E

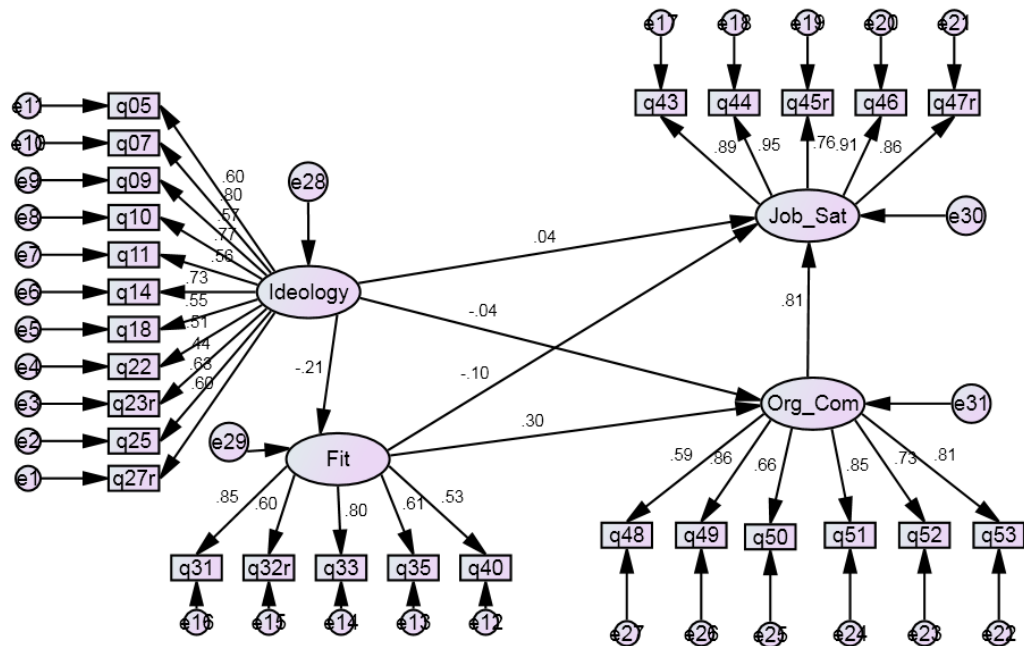
Participant Location by State

| State | Number of Responses | % of Responses |
|-------|---------------------|----------------|
| AR | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| AZ | 6 | 1.6 |
| CA | 11 | 2.933333333 |
| CO | 17 | 4.533333333 |
| CT | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| DNR* | 49 | 13.066666667 |
| FL | 51 | 13.6 |
| GA | 3 | 0.8 |
| HI | 2 | 0.533333333 |
| IA | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| ID | 3 | 0.8 |
| IN | 2 | 0.533333333 |
| KS | 2 | 0.533333333 |
| LA | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| MA | 2 | 0.533333333 |
| MD | 2 | 0.533333333 |
| MI | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| MN | 9 | 2.4 |
| MO | 3 | 0.8 |
| NC | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| NE | 3 | 0.8 |
| NH | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| NM | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| NV | 3 | 0.8 |
| NY | 2 | 0.533333333 |
| OK | 141 | 37.6 |
| OR | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| PA | 17 | 4.533333333 |
| SC | 2 | 0.533333333 |
| TX | 21 | 5.6 |
| UT | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| VA | 2 | 0.533333333 |
| WA | 4 | 1.066666667 |
| WI | 4 | 1.066666667 |
| WV | 3 | 0.8 |
| WY | 1 | 0.266666667 |
| Total | 375 | 100 |

*DNR – Did not respond to this item

Appendix F

Ex Post Facto Structural Model Modification



This model provides the same fit statistics as the initially tested model, but there is an important change that should be noted. Allowing the path for analysis of mediation of organizational commitment for the relationship between organizational fit and job satisfaction shows that the mediation of fit between ideology and job satisfaction is insignificant, and is instead further mediated by organizational commitment.

Appendix G

Political Ideology Measurement Model Modifications

| Mod. | M.I. Value | Cmin/df | CFI | RMSEA | Action & Justification |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------|------------|--------------|--|
| 0 | N/A | 9.326 | .634 | .149 | Original Model Fit |
| 1 | 196.583 | 8.484 | .670 | .141 | Items q04 & q05 both deal with the rights of homosexuals and are highly correlated. Dropping Item q04 which has the lower factor loading of the two. |
| 2 | 153.228 | 7.767 | .705 | .135 | Items q15r & q18 both focus on the issue of abortion, and ask the exact same question in reverse form. q15r has the lower factor loading and is being dropped. |
| 3 | 136.245 | 7.32 | .738 | .130 | Items q16r & q18 are again both centered on the issue of abortion (too many abortion items in the survey). q16r is being dropped because not only does it have the lower loading, but it could be considered “double barreled” because the wording asks about abortion under certain conditions. |
| 4 | 129.387 | 6.731 | .773 | .124 | q26r & q27r are the two political ideology items that deal with illegal immigrants. Dropping q26r that has the lower loading. The dropped question also doesn't distinguish between “immigration” and “illegal immigration” which would be an important part of the question. |
| 5 | 87.775 | 6.523 | .797 | .122 | Items q04 & q21 again both deal with the rights of homosexuals. q21 has the lower factor loading. |
| X | 80.734 | | | | The next modification was skipped because the two items do not have a significant overlap in content area. |
| 6 | 69.548 | 5.98 | .814 | .115 | Items q10 & q13 ask essentially the same question regarding spending for “welfare” (q10) or “the poor” (q13). Because “welfare” is an easily recognizable buzz word in politics whereas aid to the poor is synonymous with “charity” as well, I am dropping q13. |
| 7 | 54.625 | 5.945 | .817 | .115 | Items q07 & q08r both ask about the government's role in health care |

| | | | | | |
|----|--------|-------|------|------|---|
| | | | | | insurance. These items are redundant and as such I will drop item q08r because of a lower loading and a less concise structure of the question. |
| X | 44.442 | | | | This modification was skipped because a lack of content overlap. |
| 8 | 43.359 | 5.931 | .836 | .115 | Items q18 & q20 again both ask about the abortion issue. Dropping q20 because it has a lower loading and asks about a sub-question regarding “late-term abortions”. A single item regarding abortion will most likely be sufficient. |
| 9 | 32.744 | 5.594 | .862 | .111 | Items q11 & q12 deal with federal spending for “public schools” (q11) or “social security” (q12). The social security item is closely related to the q10 item on welfare. As such, I would keep the item regarding education and eliminate the item that overlaps visa-vi government spending on social entitlements. |
| 10 | 34.825 | 5.682 | .864 | .112 | Items q06 & q07 ask questions about the government’s responsibility for “a good standard of living” (q06) and “health care insurance” (q07). It is easy to see how these items are related in the minds of many participants and q06 is being dropped because of the ambiguous nature of the underlying premise behind “a good standard of living”. |

Appendix H

Ideological Extremism Measurement Model Modifications

| Mod. | M.I. Value | Cmin/df | CFI | RMSEA | Action & Justification |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------|------------|--------------|--|
| 0 | N/A | 6.073 | .661 | .116 | Original Model Fit |
| 1 | 138.581 | 5.77 | .707 | .108 | Items q04 & q05 both deal with the rights of homosexuals and are highly correlated. Dropping Item q04 which has the lower factor loading of the two. |
| 2 | 90.282 | 4.974 | .740 | .103 | Items q15r & q18 both focus on the issue of abortion, and ask the exact same question in reverse form. q15r has the lower factor loading and is being dropped. |
| 3 | 77.262 | 4.923 | .751 | .102 | q26r & q27r are the two political ideology items that deal with illegal immigrants. Dropping q26r that has the lower loading. The dropped question also doesn't distinguish between "immigration" and "illegal immigration" which would be an important part of the question. |
| 4 | 62.00 | 4.792 | .759 | .101 | Items q10 & q13 ask essentially the same question regarding spending for "welfare" (q10) or "the poor" (q13). Because "welfare" is an easily recognizable buzz word in politics whereas aid to the poor is synonymous with "charity" as well, I am dropping q13. |
| 5 | 56.818 | 4.643 | .765 | .099 | Items q07 & q08r both ask about the government's role in health care insurance. These items are redundant and as such I will drop item q08r because of a lower loading and a less concise structure of the question. |
| 6 | 49.511 | 4.555 | .784 | .097 | Items q16r & q18 are again both centered on the issue of abortion (too many abortion items in the survey). q16r is being dropped because not only does it have the lower loading, but it could be considered "double barreled" because the wording asks about abortion under certain conditions. |
| X | 48.499 | | | | The next modification was skipped |

| | | | | | |
|---|--------|-------|------|------|--|
| | | | | | because the two items do not have a significant overlap in content area. |
| X | 43.692 | | | | The next modification was skipped because the two items do not have a significant overlap in content area. |
| 7 | 41.931 | 4.577 | .803 | .098 | Items q05 & q21 again both deal with the rights of homosexuals. q21 has the lower factor loading. |
| X | 25.125 | | | | This modification was skipped because a lack of content overlap. |
| X | 22.221 | | | | This modification was skipped because a lack of content overlap. |

Appendix I

Organizational Fit Measurement Model Modifications

| Mod. | M.I. Value | Cmin/df | CFI | RMSEA | Action & Justification |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------|------------|--------------|---|
| 0 | N/A | 14.678 | .746 | .191 | Original Model Fit |
| 1 | 149.405 | 11.725 | .809 | .169 | Items q39 & q40 both ask questions regarding the match between the individual and the organization regarding “candidates” (q39) and “political ideology” (q40). Because the ideological question is important to this study, I am dropping the item regarding candidates (q39). |
| 2 | 84.438 | 9.892 | .846 | .154 | Similar to the previous modification, items q35 & q38 relate to the fit between the individual and the supervisor/manager on the same “candidate” (q38) and “ideology” (q35) distinction. Based on the same logic as before, I will drop q38 and retain the item with content that underlies my research questions. |
| 3 | 60.915 | 8.185 | .894 | .139 | Items q35 & q36r ask the same question regarding individual and supervisor ideological fit from a forward and reverse score. Dropping q36r. |
| 4 | | 2.966 | .984 | .072 | Dropped item q34r & q41r because both items referred to individual behaviors rather than the latent construct of organizational fit. |

Appendix I

IRB Approval Letter

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Monday, May 14, 2012
IRB Application No ED1290
Proposal Title: A Model of Perceived Discrimination Based on Political Ideology in the Workplace
Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 5/13/2013

Principal Investigator(s):
Robert Evan Davis ✓ Dale Fuqua
109 Hanner 444 Willard
Stillwater, OK 74078 Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Beth McTernan in 219 Cordell North (phone: 405-744-5700, beth.mcternan@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,



Shelia Kennison, Chair
Institutional Review Board

VITA

Robert Evan Davis

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: A MODEL OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND PERSON-
ORGANIZATION FIT IN THE WORKPLACE

Major Field: Educational Psychology

Biographical:

Education:

Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Psychology at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in May, 2013.

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Completed the requirements for the Bachelor of Science in Business Administration at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in 1999.

Experience:

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Statistics Tutor and Consultant, College of Education and Department of Institutional Diversity August 2010 – August 2011

Graduate Teaching Assistant, College of Education August 2010 – Present

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American Educational Research Association