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FREEDOM AND RESTRAINT: A SELF-CONTROL PERSPECTIVE ON POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

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Abstract

Within the United States the topic of political ideology is an evolving and complex matter. The goal of this thesis is to examine an understudied area within this topic – the impact that self-control has on political ideology, and how it may influence the formation, expression, and/or evolution of political beliefs. This study deploys a quantitative approach utilizing Multinomial Logistic Regression to examine the relationship between self-control and political ideology.

The research begins by establishing a theoretical framework examining the concept of Self-Control, nested within Social Control Theory. Drawing on existing literature, these theories offer a paradigm through which we can view political ideology, where the erosion of faith in the political system sometimes results in political deviance. While this research does not measure political deviance, the findings have both academic and practical implications. I found that as a main effect, self-control does not significantly impact on political ideology; however, when the moderating effects of sex and race are included, the effects of self-control on political ideology differ across race and class, suggesting self-control as a potential influence on the political views, and therefore potentially the political behavior, electorate. In terms of practical implications, this study can inform public policy, with the goal of mitigating and impacting impulsive decision-making motivated by political attitudes and behaviors, which in turn can aid in the development of targeted interventions to quell political deviance/violence that has been seen at elevated levels within the United States over the past decade.

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Introduction

In the complex interaction of human thought processes, the exchange between individual traits and the structure of the United States' political system shapes our understanding of the world and influences our beliefs and behaviors. Political ideology, as a cornerstone of our society's organization and structure, reflects the intricate fusion of personal values, experiences, and thought processes. This thesis investigates an underexplored dimension of these links, asking how the concept of self-control impacts political ideology by examining how self-control manifests within political ideology and subsequently how policy making decisions are impacted. Self-control, defined as the ability to regulate one's thoughts, emotions, and actions, is a fundamental aspect of human behavior. It plays one of, if not the most, important roles in our decision-making, impulse control, and formation of long-term goals (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Grasmick et al. 1993). While extensive research has dived into the psychological and social aspects of an individual's formation of political ideology, the influence of self-control on these ideological orientations remains an interesting but relatively unexplored area of research.

Understanding the impact of self-control on political ideology is crucial for several reasons. First, self-control is integral to the mental processes that trigger information processing and decision-making (Arneklev et al. 1993; Denson, DeWall, and Finkel 2012; Simons et al. 2011). How individuals manage and/or control impulses, process new information, and navigate conflicting perspectives may significantly shape their political beliefs. Second, an investigation into the relationship between self-control and political ideology has the potential to shed light on the individual processes that contribute to the widening ideological polarization within the U.S. electorate, and the formation of political echo chambers that perpetuate political ideals. Last, by

exploring the connections between self-control and political ideology, I aim to provide information to enable a "cool-down" of heated political rhetoric, which only furthers the increase in political polarization that is eroding the foundation of our system of democracy – leading me to the following research question: How does low self-control impact and/or predict political ideology?

The end goal of this research is to bridge the gap in existing literature by employing a quantitative approach, drawing on insights from Social Control Theory, Self-Control Theory, and theories on social deviance. By unraveling the connections between self-control and political ideology, I seek to provide a more detailed understanding of the foundations that contribute to the diversity of political beliefs within society. Further, I explore theoretical linkages between general deviance and political deviance (i.e. driving through a crowd of protesters, rioting, insurrection) via low self-control. This thesis aims to examine if general deviance is clustered to either end of the political ideological spectrum, and if it is related to low self-control.

The following sections will outline the theoretical framework from which I base my thesis, the research objectives and methodology utilized to analyze the data, and expected contributions from my findings, which pave the way for a comprehensive exploration of the impact of self-control on political ideology. Through this investigation, I aspire to contribute valuable insights that may inform both academic discourse and practical strategies for fostering a more informed and complete understanding of the political landscape within the United States.

Literature Review

When examining political ideology within the United States, the main body of literature focuses on some key areas of interest under study. In existing literature, the concept of self-control (within the context of political ideology) is circled, but not discussed in detail. The

predominant areas of focus, when studying political ideology, are traditionally age, race, education, and income (Carney et al. 2008; Hatemi, Crabtree, and Smith 2019; Karell et al. 2023; Sanders 1986; Wetherell, Brandt, and Reyna 2013). For the purposes of this essay when discussing social factors of political ideology (or PI), I will take an approach of discussing the previously mentioned aspects of PI individually.

Age, within this context, has a few components that explain its relationship with PI. The first of these components, simply put, is that of persons that are eligible to vote, younger individuals tend to lean towards a more liberal ideology, where as individuals that are older, tend to lean more conservatively (Foner 1974; Gallup 2011). Further, when age groups are stratified by generation, those who are on the younger end of the generation tend to lean more liberal compared to older members of the same generational group. The second component with age is how information is processed and operationalized by different voting age blocks. Typically, older voters rely on past voting practice or "fixed knowledge" to make decisions, regardless of updates to technology (computers, social media, etc.), information, etc., while younger voters tend to be more open to novel ideas, newer technologies ("green" tech, news from social media, etc.) and progressive concepts (Lau and Redlawsk 2008). The final component to age is the existence of a curvilinear effect when it comes to voting patterns and political ideology (Watts 1999). The research on this suggests that in line with much of the research, individuals lean liberal when younger, and more conservative at older ages, however, once retirement age is reached, the adoption or acceptance of more liberal policies begins to emerge.

Examining the intersection of race and politics, clear patterns emerge, with researchers noting that race and/or racial identity is heavily engrained in U.S. political ideology (Novkov 2008; Weaver 2012). The first of the pattern that appears, albeit one that seems obvious, is that

by and large, White individuals hold a conservative PI, while other racial groups (predominantly Black and Hispanic/Latinx) typically lean towards a liberal ideology (Mangum 2013). This notion is supported through multiple results in polling from election years, as well as further perpetuation in Black voters since election of Barack Obama in 2008 (Gonino 2017). Additionally, when considering race and political ideology, the patterns with age hold among racial groups in that when compared to White voters, Black and other racial groups tend to lean in a liberal direction, but older individuals within those groups are *more* conservative when set next to their younger counterparts (Form and Huber 1971; Mangum 2013; Weaver 2012). Essentially, racial minorities within the United States tend to lean liberal, regardless of age, however, older individuals within these groups may hold some conservative leaning views, while maintaining a liberal ideology.

Discussing the impact of education and/or educational obtainment on political ideology, two distinctive components are researched – political engagement and political views/ideology (Meyer 2017; Weiner and Eckland 1979; Willeck and Mendelberg 2022). First, the concept of political engagement or the involvement/participation of the electorate in the selection of the nation's leaders, policies, and laws (Willeck and Mendelberg 2022). Research in this area of education suggests that more educated individuals tend to have higher levels of political engagement, with little difference between different age groups, racial groups or different socioeconomic strata (Hillygus 2005). Further, research suggests that individuals with higher education (Bachelor's Degree or higher) have significantly higher rates of political engagement and/or voter turnout (Hillygus 2005; Meyer 2017; Willeck and Mendelberg 2022). When examining the role that education or educational obtainment has on political views and political ideology the research points heavily in a singular direction. The current research suggests that

once again regardless of age or racial group, those with higher levels of educational obtainment (Bachelor's and Graduate level degrees) typically lean towards more liberal views and land further to the left of the ideological spectrum when compared to individuals who have not obtained a Bachelor's degree or higher (Doherty, Kiley, and Johnson 2017; Meyer 2017; Weiner and Eckland 1979).

Reviewing the relationship that exists between gender (sex) and political ideology, the extant literature highlights two key items, gender differences *between* political ideologies, and differences *within* different ideological groups (Barnes and Cassese 2017; Paxton, Kunovich, and Hughes 2007). First, discussing the differences between ideologies (liberal and conservative) within the Unites States, the female electorate generally holds more liberal or progressive ideals compared to their male counterparts (Carney et al. 2008; Sanders 1986), and are registered as Democrats at higher levels than their male counterparts (Gallup 2011). The second component when discussing gender and political ideology is within groups. Generally speaking, women who are registered as Democrats and/or hold a liberal political ideology tend to be considerably more homogenous on their stance from issue to issue, and with their liberal male counterparts (Barnes and Cassese 2017). When observing the opposite end of the ideological spectrum, there is substantially more heterogeneity within the "Conservative" groups, especially when looking at females and males, with female conservatives leaning more towards moderate or ideals, or even liberal ideals on many political issues (Barnes and Cassese 2017; Carney et al. 2008; Sanders 1986). Current literature even suggests that while not as financially politically active, women are more politically active then men within the realm of physical political engagement such as protests, voting, and attending political rallies/meetings (Barnes and Cassese 2017; Feldman and Johnston 2014; Gallup 2011).

The final components of the current work regarding political ideology that needs to be discussed is income and its interplay with political ideology. The current research indicates that there is a high correlation between income and political efficacy, or an individual's trust and belief that they can impact and/or change the government by traditionally accepted means – and subsequently political engagement, party identification, and political views/ideological stances (Gelman, Kenworthy, and Su 2010; Stoneclash 2006). When discussing the concept of political efficacy, or the electorate's trust in the ability to impact change through voting, research suggests that individuals and/or households with higher incomes experience significantly higher levels of political efficacy and political engagement (Avery 2015; Form and Huber 1971). This concept lends itself to the other aspect of income, how it impacts party identification and political ideology. Research shows that as political efficacy dwindles with lower income households, that a chasm has emerges that gives way to individuals relying on other aspects of ideology (religion, moral codes, etc.) to form their ideological outlook (Dettrey and Campbell 2013), but even with this fissure, research on income and PI indicates that individuals/household which have higher levels of income and "very low" income levels tend to lean towards conservative political stances – likely due to business oriented policies and theological beliefs, respectively, while those who make up the "middle class" with closer to the average income within the United States tend to lean towards more liberal views – aligning with more worker/labor union friendly ideals (Dettrey and Campbell 2013; Gelman et al. 2010).

Theoretical Framework

Now that I have discussed the previous work examining political ideology, how it is formed and what impacts it, we move to the social theory the frames the analysis. We begin with social control theory as discussed by sociologist Travis Hirschi in his seminal work *Causes of*

Delinquency (1969). As the underlying theory from which self-control theory is nested, and from which theories of deviance derive, social control sets the background from which I will be working.

Social Control

The main argument for social control theory is that individuals who have strong social bonds are less likely to partake in antisocial, deviant, or criminal activity due to the investment that they have in the system, in this case the United States' political system. This connection to the socially accepted system is comprised of four distinct elements that combine to form a strong social bond that allows for society and its institutions to maintain control over the people it governs (Hirschi 1969). The four elements of the social bond as outlined by Hirschi are attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief, which I will discuss with a focus on political institution/behaviors below.

Attachment

This element asks the question, how much do individuals care what others (family, peers, etc.) think? The more the individual cares about what other members of the group thinks, the higher the level of attachment to a given institution.

Commitment

The hallmark of this element is the perception of loss that the individual has if they partake in behaviors that are not considered normative or socially acceptable in the context of the society/institution. The concept of commitment forces individuals to consider what they will lose (career, freedom, etc.) if they partake in socially unacceptable behavior.

Involvement

Socially acceptable and/or culturally approved activities define the aspect of involvement within social control theory. Members of a society partaking in peaceful protest, voting, and writing/contacting their elected officials as to air a grievance on policies, voting records, etc. Essentially, the individual is willing to be involved in the normative and accepted activities set by the institution that they are interacting with.

Belief

When considering the element of belief Hirschi (1969) notes that the individual "assumes the existence of a common value system" within a given institution (p. 23). In other words, individuals engaging in socially acceptable activity believe that this activity is conducive to perpetuating the system they are involved in. Once again, within the context of political ideology, voting, peaceful protest, and discourse with elected officials would set the standard of normative and/or socially acceptable behavior.

All the listed elements combined create a strong social bond to society and/or an institution; but when one, or all, of these elements are missing, an erosion in the social bonds that connect the individual to the institution takes place. As the bonds become increasingly eroded, a tipping point can be reached that allows for the increased likelihood of anti-social behavior to emerge, or persist. This leads us to the next component from the framework, self-control.

Self-Control

The concept of self-control theory is nested within, and simultaneously expands upon social control theory. Social theorists Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi (1990; 2020) discuss the concept of self-control, noting that it is defined as the "tendency to forego actions that provide immediate or near-term pleasure," which result in a higher likelihood of long-term goal obtainment and positive desired outcomes (p. 4-5). In other words, individuals that exhibit

a higher degree of self-control by putting of immediate gratification in preference of delayed gratification are more likely to obtain goals and have positive experiences when interacting with society. These works outline that self-control is established early in childhood and persists throughout the life – developing more successfully in families where there is high levels of parental involvement in monitoring behavior, recognizing issues with deviance, and correcting/punishing deviant behavior if observed. Taking these stable behaviors and attitudes into account then allows us to predict higher rates of harmful and/or deviant behavior for individuals with low levels of self-control across a multitude of sectors of life, and across the span of an individual's life course (Moffitt, Poulton, and Avshalom 2013).

With the definition of self-control given, and the interaction with society and its institution discussed, another issue arises, the ability to measure levels of self-control. This is where we turn to researchers Harold Grasmick, Charles Tittle, Robert Bursik, and Bruce Arneklev's (1993) work, where they test Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990; 2020) concept of self-control. In their research, Grasmick et. al. operationalized Gottfredson and Hirschi's concept of self-control ("Grasmick Scale"). This series of questions is a 23-item scale, which allows for analyzing the six identified areas of self-control as described by Gottfredson and Hirschi: impulsivity, completion of simple tasks, risk seeking behavior, physical activity, self-centered or self-centric behavior, and an individual's temper. The 23 questions within the "Grasmick Scale" consist of Likert Scale answers where respondents either strongly agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or strongly disagree, with higher scores reflecting lower levels of self-control (Grasmick et al. 1993). The theory of Self-Control has been used across multiple realms of sociological study, such as medical sociology to predict health outcomes (Adler 2015; Moffitt et al. 2013); criminology as a predictor of crime and criminal behavior (Akers 1991; Gottfredson

and Hirschi 1990; Hirschi 1969; Mears, Cochran, and Beaver 2013); the sociology of deviance as an explanation of deviant behavior; and the focus of this thesis in political sociology, as well as many interdisciplinary fields such as social psychology (Bakker 2017; Baumeister, Vohs, and Tice 2007; Neve 2015) and psychology as a predictor for individual aggression (Denson et al. 2012; Neve 2015); as well as political science (Hillygus 2005; Willeck and Mendelberg 2022). By measuring an individual's level of self-control both attitudinally – through Grasmick et al.'s (1993) measurement items, as well as behaviorally – through Marcus's (2003) Retrospective Behavioral Self-Control scale (RBS), which is based off of a battery of questions about past behaviors across three different samples or timeframes - researchers are able to have a tangible metric to examine a holistic view of self-control, allowing for the examination of individual level factors to explain a wide range of behaviors and outcomes. When relating this concept to the overarching theory of social control, self-control allows us to set the stage for the final component of the framework from which I will be conducting this study, deviance.

Deviance

When discussing the concept of deviance, or social deviance, the simple definition can be thought of as behavior that is non-normative, offensive, unacceptable or even criminal (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990, 2020; Wells 1978). This definition extends to all aspects of social life, and its subsequent institutions, such as the political system within the United States. As such, when deviance or deviant behavior is described, it is merely a social construct in that the institution that is impacted makes the decision whether the behavior is or is not acceptable, and what the consequences of said behavior will be. With this in mind, within the context of political ideology, this would be behaviors that are viewed as unacceptable in achieving political goals and policies (Goode 2004).

Political protests, discourse, and policy are discussed in the media on what appears to be an infinite loop. Political deviance and the subsequent political violence, is highlighted on an almost daily bases, with individuals that hold liberal ideology being declared low self-control children that simply cannot help themselves from "misbehaving" in the eyes of the politically conservative. On the other end of the spectrum, anecdotally, we observe a rash of politically deviance and violent behavior that can be observed through instances such as the January 6th, 2021 insurrection at the United States Capital Building in Washington, D.C., or the "Unite the Right Rally" rally in Charlottesville, VA and the subsequent killings that took place when a right-wing anti-protestor ran over pro-social protestors. All these actions and responses led me to my research question, asking how does low self-control impact and/or predict political ideology?

Methods

Data.

Data for this study comes from the Self-Control and Deviance Study 2014, conducted by YouGov, an international internet-based research company. YouGov conducted interviews with 1,390 respondents, in the United States, who were matched to a dataset sample size of 1,300 individuals. YouGov notes that respondents were matched to a sampling frame including gender, age, race, education, political party identification, and political ideology. The frame that YouGov utilized in this dataset was completed by stratified sampling from the 2010 American Community Survey (ACS), with selection within strata by weighted sampling with replacements. YouGov then matched the data on voter registration status, utilizing the November 2010 Current Population Survey. Information on political party and political ideology were matched to the frame by utilizing the 2007 Pew Religious Life Survey. The final dataset that I will use for this

study includes 1,148 individuals, which I reduced from the original 1,300, by dropping 152 respondents who were lacking political ideological information.

Variables.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable that I am examining in this study is political ideology. Political Ideology is a categorical variable, which consists of the categories "Very Liberal" (1), "Liberal" (2), "Moderate" (3), "Conservative" (4), and "Very Conservative" (5). The categories within Political Ideology are self-reported by the survey respondents, and categorized in such a way to encapsulate the entire spectrum of the American political ideological spectrum. For all the analysis predicting ideology, "Moderate" is the reference category.

Independent Variable

To measure the impact of self-control on political ideology, the independent variable *Low Self-Control* is comprised of two components – attitudinal (Grasmick Scale) and behavioral (the Retrospective Behavioral Self-Control Scale). The attitudinal measure is derived from 24 questions (e.g., I make spur of the moment decisions; I don't devote much thought to future) outlined by Grasmick et al. (1993), which are grouped into the six elements of low self-control, (impulsivity, simple tasks, risk seeking, physical activities, self-centeredness, and temper) as discussed by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), and can be seen in Appendix A. The responses to the 24 questions are answered on a five (5) point Likert scale with responses ranging from "Strongly Agree" (1) to "Strongly Disagree" (5). All the items measuring self-control were coded so that higher scores indicate lower self-control.

I completed a principal component factor analysis (PCA) on the 24 listed items, which resulted in five components with eigenvalues at or above 1.0. The results showed a sizable gap

between the first factor (7.13), and the following four factors, with factors two through five being 2.4, 1.9, 1.5 and 1.2, respectively. I ran the PCA again due to the sizable difference between the first and subsequent factors, forcing the analysis to one factor and dropping questions 9, 14, 15 and 16 due to the factor loading scores on the listed items being under .40. This did not produce substantial changes to the eigenvalue of the first component (7.13 compared to 6.89) or explanation of the variance of the first component (47% compared to 44%). When comparing the α of both, the PCA with all 24 items has an alpha of .891 and the PCA with 20 of the 24 items returned an alpha of .896 – virtually no difference. In line with the previous literature outlined in Grasmick et. al. (1993), I will move forward with the singular component with all 24 Grasmick items listed, which resulted in a minimum value of -3.98, mean value of 0, and maximum value of 1.96.

The second component of my measure for *Low Self-Control* uses past behaviors of respondents, using questions from Marcus's (2003) Retrospective Behavioral Self-Control Scale (RBS). The RBS scale entails multiple questions regarding previous behavior, grouped into three separate time periods of an individual's life – ages 8-13 (childhood), 14-18 (adolescence) and 19-25 (young adult). The childhood group comprises of 19 past behavior questions, while the adolescence group comprises of 11 questions, and the young adult group is made up of 14 questions – all of which have responses on a seven-point Likert scale with responses ranging from "Never" (1) to "Always" (7). All questions and their respective groupings can be observed in Appendix B.

As with the above-described attitudinal items, I completed the PCA on all groups within the RBS measures. For the *childhood* group (RBSA), the PCA produced four components with an eigenvalue at or above 1.0 – with again a large gap existing between the first component

(7.18) and the subsequent three components (1.62, 1.21 and 1.07, respectively). Proceeding with the first component, an alpha of .90 returned, with a minimum value of -1.07, a mean of 0, and a maximum value of 6.21. When examining the PCA results on the *adolescence* group (RBSB), two components with an eigenvalue above one are observed at 5.41 and 1.04. respectively. In line with Grasmick et al. (1993), I proceeded with a singular component due to the large gap between the first and second components. An alpha of .89 returned, with a minimum value of -.93, mean value of 0 and maximum value of 5.51. The PCA of the final group - *young adult* (RBSC) - is observed to have one component with an eigenvalue above 1.0 (5.57). As before, I proceed with the singular factor, which returned an alpha of .89, a minimum value of -1.18, mean value 0, and maxim value of 5.71[1].

Once I completed the PCA and Factor Analysis of the attitudinal (Grasmick) and all behavioral (RBS) components, they were combined into a singular variable through summation[2], which yields the single measure of *Low Self-Control* utilized in this study, having a minimum value of -7.16, mean value of .06, maximum value of 12.8. When factor analysis was run on all items listed there was virtually no difference, indicating that that whether self-control is measured attitudinally (Grasmick Scale) or behaviorally (RBS), the fundamental concept for a measurement of self-control is similar. As mentioned above, for the final variable *Low Self-Control*, lower values indicate ***higher*** levels of self-control, while higher values indicate ***lower***

[1] All items within the Self-Control measure (Grasmick, RBSA, RBSB and RBSC) were standardized, producing in mean(s) of 0. Standardization completed as one of the core assumptions of PCA is that the data is normally distributed.

[2] A singular variable through summation is utilized to capture both attitudinal and behavior components of self-control as a sole measure, compared to two different measures that partially examine self-control. Previous literature on self-control offers no evidence that combining the listed components impact analysis and subsequent results.

levels of self-control, with any value being one or more standard deviation above the mean indicating low self-control in the analyses exploring self-control as moderator.

Control Variables

The control variables I utilized are Age, Sex, Race, Education, Household Income, Region of Residence, Religion, Marital Status, and Political Party Identification. Age, which is a continuous variable, ranges from 18 to 98. Sex, is treated as a nominal variable, which I coded dichotomously as "Male" (0), and "Female" (1) in line with traditional categories. Race consists of three categories - "White: (1), "Black" (2) and "Other Race" (3). These three categories were collapsed from an original eight categories as follows: White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, Mixed, Middle Eastern, and "Other". The categories of Asian, Native American, Mixed, Middle Eastern, and "Other" were collapsed into "Other Race" due to only 60 of the original 1300 respondents identifying as one of the listed groups. Education is treated as an ordinal variable, with categories listed as follows: "No High School" (1), "High School Graduate" (2), "Some College" (3), "2 Year Degree Obtained" (4), "4 Year Degree Obtained" (5), and "Post-Graduate" (6). Marital Status, a nominal variable, with dichotomous categories of "Married" (1) and "Not Married" (0). Household income, an ordinal variable, which I coded into eleven (11) categories "Less than $10,000" (1), "$10,000 - $19,999" (2), "$20,000 - $29,999" (3), "$30,000 - $39,999" (4), "$40,000 - $49,999" (5), "$50,000 - $59,999" (6), "$60,000 - $69,999" (7), "$70,000 - $79,999" (8), "$80,000 - $99,999" (9), "$100,000 or more" (10), and "Prefer not to say" (11). The variable Region consists of five categories, I coded as "Southeast" (1), "Northeast" (2), "Midwest" (3) "Southwest" (4), and "West" (5). This variable was created by grouping the respondents state of residence into the listed regions in accordance with the US Census regional outline. Religion originally consisted of the categories "Protestant," "Roman

Catholic," "Mormon," "Easter/Greek Orthodox," "Jewish," "Muslim," "Buddhist," "Hindu," "Atheist," "Agnostic," Nothing in Particular," and "Something Else." These categories were condensed into "Protestant" (1), "Jewish" (2), "Muslim" (3), "Buddhist" (4), "Other Religion" (5), and "Atheist/Agnostic/Non-Religious" (6) due to the low respondents in listed categories. The final control variable I utilize in this study is Political Party Identification, which consists of four categories – "Democrat" (1), "Republican" (2), "Independent" (3), "Other/Unsure" (4). All variables that I utilized within this study can be seen listed in Table 1.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

Analytical Strategy[3].

For this study, due to the categorical (nominal) nature of the independent variable Political Ideology, I will utilize a Multinomial Logistic Regression model to examine the relationship between *Political Ideology* and *Self-Control* with following model:

$$ln\left(\frac{pr(y = m|x)}{pr(y = b|x)}\right) = \beta m|b(\chi m|b)\ for\ m = 1\ to\ J$$

Where *y* is the dependent variable "Political Ideology" *m* and *b* are the examined categories of "Very Liberal," "Liberal," "Conservative," and "Very Conservative" in reference to "Moderate," and where *x* is the independent variable of "Self-Control."

The first model examines the relationship between Political Ideology and Low Self-Control, with, Age, Sex, Race, Education, Household Income, Region of Residence, Religion, Marital Status, and Political Party Identification treated as controls. The second model contains

[3] YouGov provides variable WEIGHT_COMBINED, which I utilized in my regression models to address the oversampling of Black respondents.

the same variables as the first model, but includes an interaction of "Low Self-Control" and "Sex." The third model mirrors the first and second models, but examines the interaction between "Low Self-Control" and "Race."

Results

Before examining the relationship between *Political Ideology* and *Low Self-Control*, I first examined the effects that my control variables have on political ideology. The first model shows that virtually every control variable within the model has a significant effect on political ideology, as can be seen in Table. 2. Observing *Sex*, the model predicts that Females have -.407 log odds of identifying as "Conservative." Put another way, Females have a decrease in predicted probability of -.07, or 28.4% of identifying as "Conservative," compared to Males.

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

When observing the variable *Race*, the model predicts that for Black individuals and for people that identify as an "Other" racial group, when compared to their White counterparts, those individuals have .80 log odd of identifying as "Liberal," -.78 log odd of identifying as "Conservative" and -.87 log odd of identifying as "Very Conservative." For individuals identifying as an "Other" racial group, the only political ideology that holds statistical significance compared to White individuals is "Very Conservative," which has a log odd of -.85. To make this a bit more concrete, compared to Whites, Blacks individuals have an increase in predicted probability of identifying as "Liberal" of 15.4%, and a decrease in predicted "Conservative" or "Very Conservative" of 34.1% and 8.2%, respectively. Examining individuals that identify as an "Other" racial group, compared to White individuals, we can observe a decrease in the predicted probability of identifying "Very Conservative" of 3.8%. Additional factors that impact political ideology through my initial analysis include Education – generally

speaking, the higher the level of education the more liberal leaning ideology an individual has; Age – where we can see that older individuals tend to identify as conservative more than their younger counter parts, and Marital Status – where married individuals, in general, tend to identify more liberal compared to their unmarried counterparts.

Once the main effect of *Self-Control* is included in the model we can observe some changes to the impact of the listed control variables. As an example, for Black people with lower levels of self-control and similar other characteristics, we see the log odds of identifying as "Liberal" change to -.83, or a decrease in predicted probability of 10.1%, and the log odds of identifying as "Conservative" and "Very Conservative" change to -.86 and -1.195, respectively. This equates to a decrease in the predicted probability of a Black individual identifying as "Conservative" and "Very Conservative" at 21% and 4.3%, respectively, when compared to White individuals. The log odds of identifying as "Very Liberal," becomes significant, with the log odds of identifying as "Very Liberal" being .69 when examined next to White people, or a predicted probability of 2.7% compared to White individuals having a predicted probability of identifying as "Very Liberal" of 3.5%, relative to a "Moderate" political ideology. An interesting finding is that once *Self-Control* is included in the model, independently, *Self-Control* does not have a significant effect on political ideology. From the initial analysis, we can see that self-control does not produce significant results in relation to political ideology. This led me to ask how other factors might interact with low self-control to potentially impact or predict ideology, specifically looking at an individual's sex and race - as these are two of the most common metrics that typically indicate a person's political ideology. While no results were produced when examining self-control's impact on political ideology, significant results were produced when these interactions were introduced into the model.

When examining the results of the model that includes the interaction between self-control and sex in Table 3, two key results are observed. First, that *Low Self-Control* becomes significant, with a log odd of identifying as "Conservative" relative to "Moderate" being .12, or put plainly, once the interaction term *Sex* is introduced, the model predicts that low self-control individuals, similar on other characteristics, have a 14.2% increased predicted probability of identifying as "Conservative" compared to 'Moderate." The second key finding in this model comes when we examine the differences in "Conservative" political ideology between females and males. This model predicts that females, similar on all other characteristics, have a log odd of -0.199 of identifying as "Conservative" compared to males and relative to a "Moderate" ideology. Stated another way, as can be observed in Figure 1, females who have lower levels of self-control have a predicted probability of 26.7%, compared to their male counterparts predicted probability of 35.0% of identifying as "Conservative" relative to "Moderate," meaning that the effects of low self-control on identifying as a conservative are weaker for woman than for men – i.e., low self-control women are less likely to identify as conservative compared to their male counterparts.

[INSERT TABLE 3 AND FIGURE 1 HERE]

Shifting our focus from the interaction between *Low Self-Control* and *Sex* to *Low Self-Control* and *Race*, I refer to Table 3. As there are two key findings in the previous model, two key results were produced in this model as well. The first of these results can be observed when looking at low self-control individuals that identify as being in an "Other" racial category. From the model we can predict that these individuals, similar on all other characteristics, have a log odd of identifying as "Very Liberal" of -.352 compared to their White counterparts, and relative to a "Moderate" political ideology. In other words, the model produces a decrease in the

predicted probability of 6.2% for an individual, similar on all other characteristics that identifies as an "Other" racial group holding a "Very Liberal" ideology, compared to White individuals and relative to a "Moderate" political ideology, as observed on Figure. 2. The second of these results is observed within the "Conservative" ideology category. From this model, we can predict that Black individuals identified as having lower levels of self-control and similar on all other characteristics, have a -.380 log odd of identifying as "Conservative" compared "Moderate" when compared to White individuals. As observed in Figure 2, this translates to a decrease in the predicted probability of low-self-control Black individuals identifying as "Conservative" of 17.6%, compared to 32.2% for their White counterparts, and relative to a "Moderate" ideology[4]. As was the case with women compared to men, the effects of low self-control on the predicted probability of identifying as conservative is weaker for Blacks than for their White counterparts. Low self-control Blacks are ***less*** likely to identify as conservative than are low self-control Whites.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

Discussion

The vast majority of literature examining self-control utilizes it as a predictor of criminal and/or deviant behavior. One of the essential components of Self-Control Theory is that self-control, particularly low self-control, manifests across a multitude of attitudes and behaviors (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990, 2020). When put in the context of political theater and political ideology, I sought to shed light on deviant political behavior as a condition of political ideology, such as the rioting that occurred in Minneapolis, MN after the murder of George Floyd and

[4] A quaternary model that included a triple interaction between *Self-Control, Sex, and Race* was ran with no significant results produced, the table for this model can be observed in Appendix C.

subsequent protests, and the January 6th insurrection that followed former President Trump's political rally.

Analyzing data from a nationally representative sample from adults within the United States, some key findings were produced through examination of the data. First, independently, *Low Self-Control* does not have a significant impact on political ideology. For self-control to impact ideology in a meaningful way, it needs to be coupled with a moderating variable. Second, when including the moderation effects of *Sex* with *Low Self-Control*, the model supports previous literature that in general, even low self-control females tend to lean more liberal than their male counterparts. The third and final key finding is related to race. Once again in supporting previous literature, low self-control Black individuals are significantly less likely to identify as "Conservative" compared to their White counterparts. An interesting finding when considering race is that for low self-control individuals that identify as a racial group other than Black or White, those individuals are *less* likely to identify as "Very Liberal" compared to their White counterparts.

Within the context of my original hypotheses, the findings illuminate a few things. First, the model produced no significant results indicating that *Low Self-Control* can be used as a predictor of political ideology. It is not until *Low Self*-Control interacts with other variables (such as *Sex* and *Race*) that any significant results are produced. While the significant findings do indicate that lower levels of self-control cluster around a "Conservative" ideology, no significant findings were produced to suggest that they also cluster around a "Very Conservative" ideology, or the converse, that high self-control individuals cluster around a "Liberal" or "Very Liberal" political ideology. Additionally, the data show that a moderate portion of individuals holding a "Liberal" ideology are shown to have lower levels of self-control as well. With these

results in mind, I believe it is important to note this does not mean that the factor of self-control is not important in regards to political ideology. On the contrary, I believe that it sheds light on an important fact – that individuals with both high and low levels of self-control span the political ideological spectrum, and are of different racial groups, genders, and other walks of life, illustrating that one side of the spectrum simply does not contain individuals that exhibit low self-control more than the other.

From my analysis, three limitations and/or topics of further research have presented themselves. First, the concept of "race" is potentially skewing results. I believe this to be the case due to the multitude of racial groups that needed to be collapsed into the "Other" racial category. While this category is predominantly comprised of individuals that identify as Hispanic, it includes several other racial groups that have differing cultural values that may be altering results in an unforeseen way.

Second, with events that have recently transpired within the political arena of the United States, capturing the Make America Great Again (MAGA) political movement is something that I believe to be key for future studies of the role that self-control plays on political ideology. The emergence of this conservative splinter ideology in the mid 2010's has evolved into a separate and powerful entity that has effectively made the most extreme wing of the conservative end of the ideological spectrum a mainstream ideology (Lee 2017). Due to this, a reconceptualization of political ideology is needed to account for this in future analysis, as MAGA was virtually non-existent at the time of data collection. Obtaining more up-to-date data that encapsulates the MAGA phenomenon may not produce a strong or significant direct relationship between self-control and political ideology, but given the ever-increasing proliferation of this ideology, the ramping up of polarizing and violent rhetoric, as well as the events of January 6th – further

exploration may lead to a substantial change in the relationship between self-control and political ideology.

The final limitation is that my thesis brings about a larger discussion - the concept of locus of control, or the notion that events such as political elections are left in the hands of destiny, or at a minimum out of the control of the individual(s) experiencing them, and the subsequent behavior or actions (Rotter 1966) vs the idea that individuals have complete agency in the decision-making process, and their subsequent behaviors or actions, or in other words, self-control.

Conclusion

Political Ideology has a far reaching and significant impact on the everyday lives of American citizens. Policies such as Oklahoma's House Bill 1674, which allows individuals to drive through a political protest if they "feel" threatened, or South Dakota's SB 176 that limits the number of participants of protests, and enables the government to trespass citizens from public property – are a direct consequence of assumptions made by conservative state legislators that the opposing ideology lacks the self-control necessary to participate in acceptable political behaviors. When considering the impact that self-control has on political ideology, it paints a clear picture in that the data suggests that if there is a difference in low self-control between political ideologies, that conservatives generally cluster towards the lower end of the self-control spectrum.

While the analyses presented in this thesis focus on the relationship between self-control and political ideology, this relatively narrow question can be contextualized within a broader framework utilizing the theory of "Coleman's Boat," (Ylikoski 2021) as seen in Appendix D. As applied to self-control and political violence, at the macro level, or level "A," the individual experiences attachment to the political system, where they ask if others around them are viewing

their political views and behaviors in a positive light or as acceptable within the political arena. From there, the individual proceeds with a cost benefit analysis, weighing the pros and cons of their behavior, if it is conducive to their end political goals or if it will ultimately cost them something, which is represented by the intermediate step. When the cost benefit analysis is completed, they participate in normalized and sanctioned political behavior (peaceful protests, public debates, voting, etc.) to achieve the political goals that they have set, which can be represented by the end level, or level "D" – where individual holds a belief that "the process" works, their voice will be heard and can be a catalyst for change. When one or more of these elements disappears or breaks down, an erosion in the political system takes places, which can have a negative impact on individuals with low levels of self-control, as represented by level "B." With this erosion comes an increased likelihood in anti-social or deviant behavior for individuals to reach their political goals, represented by step 2. When individuals who have low self-control experience the erosion of faith in the political system and its normative processes of achieving political goals, this opens the path for unacceptable or deviant behavior to take place, such as rioting (level "C"), culminating in political change, once again at the end level – "D". The Coleman Diagram on micro/macro level processes, or "Coleman's Boat" illustrates how macro level processes can have both macro and micro level influences. These influences can directly impact macro level results, such as approved or normative political behavior, while simultaneously influencing micro level behaviors, such as low self-control, which can also impact and/or influence macro level end results. Future research should strive to explore these micro-macro linkages in more detail.

My goal for this research was to allow for a more in-depth analysis of politics within the United States, serve as a context for educated policy development, and more equitable

implementation of said policies. The aim of this study is to add to the larger body of work that exists on political ideology, with the examination of the effect that self-control has on political ideology, serving the function of providing the electorate more in depth information for making voting decisions on who our political leaders are, what potential ramification exist for placing these individuals in highly influential positions of power, and how decision-making processes are affected by political ideology.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics: Political Ideology and Self Control

Variable	Summary (N = 1,148)
Ideology	
Very liberal	146 (11.2%)
Liberal	207 (15.9%)
Moderate	436 (33.6%)
Conservative	239 (18.4%)
Very conservative	120 (9.2%)
Not sure	151 (11.6%)
Self-Control	0.035 (2.338)
Age	47.442 (16.138)
Sex	
Male	566 (43.6%)
Female	733 (56.4%)
Race	
White	697 (53.7%)
Black	420 (32.3%)
Other Race	182 (14.0%)
Education	
No HS	73 (5.6%)
High school graduate	496 (38.2%)
Some college	290 (22.3%)
2-year	118 (9.1%)
4-year	211 (16.2%)
Post-grad	111 (8.5%)
Household Income	
Less than $10,000	145 (11.2%)
$10,000 - $19,999	122 (9.4%)
$20,000 - $29,999	150 (11.5%)
$30,000 - $39,999	136 (10.5%)
$40,000 - $49,999	105 (8.1%)
$50,000 - $59,999	95 (7.3%)
$60,000 - $69,999	75 (5.8%)
$70,000 - $79,999	69 (5.3%)
$80,000 - $99,999	96 (7.4%)
$100,000 or more	152 (11.7%)
Prefer not to say	154 (11.9%)
Region	
Southeast	396 (30.5%)
Northeast	263 (20.2%)
Midwest	227 (17.5%)
Southwest	123 (9.5%)
West	290 (22.3%)
Religion	
Protestant	556 (42.8%)
Catholic	211 (16.2%)
Jewish	20 (1.5%)
Muslim	18 (1.4%)
Other Religion	94 (7.2%)
Atheist/Agnostic/Non-Religious	400 (30.8%)
Marital Status	
Married	606 (46.7%)
Not Married	693 (53.3%)
Political Party ID	
Democrat	591 (45.5%)
Republican	226 (17.4%)
Independent	346 (26.6%)
Other/Unsure	136 (10.5%)

Source: Self-Control and Deviance Study 2014 N = 1,148

Table 2. Multinomial Logistic Regression of Self-Control on Political Ideology – Controls and Full Model

Model w/ Controls no Main Effect

	Very Liberal		**Liberal**		**Conservative**		**Very Conservative**	
	β	(SD)	*β*	(SD)	*β*	(SD)	*β*	(SD)
Age	-0.013	(0.008)	-0.005	(0.007)	0.013*	(0.006)	-0.001	(0.008)
Female[1]	0.153	(0.247)	0.024	(0.219)	-0.407*	(0.199)	-0.387	(0.247)
Black[1]	0.562	(0.293)	0.798**	(0.252)	-0.781**	(0.256)	-0.872*	(0.375)
"Other" Race[1]	0.370	(0.335)	0.116	(0.300)	-0.156	(0.278)	-0.845*	(0.345)
Education Level	0.207*	(0.099)	0.135	(0.073)	0.063	(0.067)	-0.126	(0.090)
Household Inc.	0.044	(0.045)	0.071*	(0.034)	0.037	(0.031)	-0.035	(0.038)
Region	0.067	(0.077)	0.055	(0.075)	0.105	(0.063)	-0.001	(0.079)
Religion	0.295***	(0.056)	0.148**	(0.048)	-0.241***	(0.052)	-0.281***	(0.069)
Marital Status	0.721**	(0.279)	0.611**	(0.233)	-0.154	(0.211)	-0.266	(0.268)
Political Party	-1.010***	(0.172)	-0.949***	(0.148)	0.213*	(0.100)	0.170	(0.136)
Intercept	-2.061*	(0.856)	-0.504	(0.686)	-0.963	(0.599)	-0.045	(0.770)
N	1148							
AIC	2969.141							
BIC	3191.155							

Model w/ Controls and Main Effect

	Very Liberal		**Liberal**		**Conservative**		**Very Conservative**	
	β	(SD)	*β*	(SD)	*β*	(SD)	*β*	(SD)
Age	-0.012	(0.009)	-0.004	(0.008)	0.019**	(0.007)	-0.004	(0.009)
Female[1]	0.052	(0.276)	0.303	(0.239)	-0.341	(0.228)	-0.322	(0.268)
Black[1]	0.690*	(0.341)	-0.829**	(0.291)	-0.861**	(0.311)	-1.195**	(0.458)
"Other" Race[1]	0.632	(0.356)	0.021	(0.340)	0.016	(0.300)	-0.739*	(0.367)
Education Level	0.140	(0.110)	0.115	(0.079)	0.064	(0.074)	-0.114	(0.098)
Household Inc.	0.069	(0.050)	0.068	(0.038)	0.014	(0.035)	-0.069	(0.042)
Region	0.078	(0.084)	0.019	(0.083)	0.110	(0.070)	-0.010	(0.083)
Religion	0.309***	(0.064)	0.160**	(0.053)	-0.239***	(0.058)	-0.259***	(0.074)
Marital Status	0.809**	(0.304)	0.464	(0.255)	-0.331	(0.231)	-0.449	(0.291)
Political Party	-1.075***	(0.183)	-0.937***	(0.162)	0.242*	(0.114)	0.023	(0.142)
Self-Control	-0.049	(0.055)	0.053	(0.051)	0.049	(0.047)	-0.002	(0.065)
Intercept	-2.002*	(0.935)	-0.543	(0.774)	-1.270	(0.668)	0.658	(0.820)
N	1148							
AIC	2468.564							
BIC	2700.704							

Source: Self-Control Study 2014

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ [1]Reference categories are Male, White, and "Moderate"

Table 3. Multinomial Logistic Regression of Political Ideology by Self-Control - Full and Interaction Models

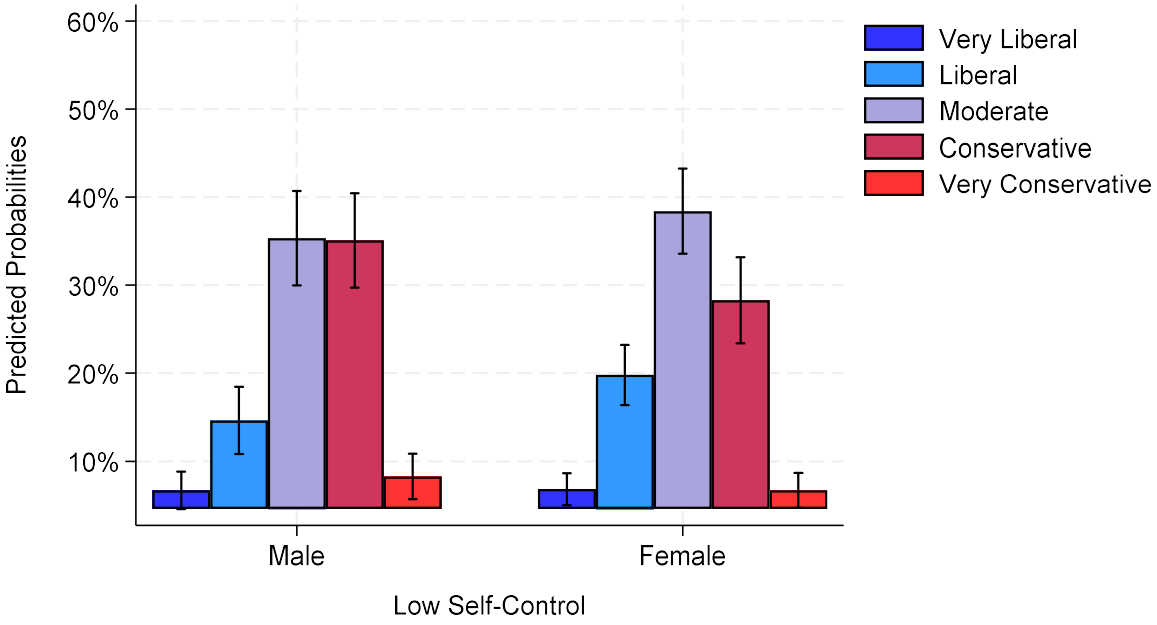
	Full Model		Self-Control x Sex		Self-Control x Race	
	β	(SD)	*β*	(SD)	*β*	(SD)
Very Liberal						
Self-Control	-0.049	(0.055)	-0.007	(0.075)	0.076	(0.083)
Female x Self-Control			-0.094	(0.103)		
Black x Self-Control					0.023	(0.125)
Other Race x Self-Control					-0.352**	(0.121)
Intercept	-2.002*	(0.935)	-2.030*	(0.935)	-1.963*	(0.927)
Liberal						
Self-Control	0.053	(0.051)	0.114	(0.079)	0.148	(0.076)
Female x Self-Control			-0.128	(0.098)		
Black x Self-Control					-0.188	(0.110)
Other Race x Self-Control					-0.193	(0.120)
Intercept	-0.543	(0.774)	-0.595	(0.764)	-0.548	(0.770)
Conservative						
Self-Control	0.049	(0.047)	0.124*	(0.062)	0.097	(0.061)
Female x Self-Control			-0.199*	(0.097)		
Black x Self-Control					-0.380*	(0.168)
Other Race x Self-Control					-0.042	(0.102)
Intercept	-1.270	(0.668)	-1.359*	(0.677)	-1.384*	(0.686)
Very Conservative						
Self-Control	-0.002	(0.065)	0.090	(0.080)	0.082	(0.081)
Female x Self-Control			-0.242	(0.140)		
Black x Self-Control					-0.291	(0.176)
Other Race x Self-Control					-0.218	(0.163)
Intercept	0.658	(0.820)	0.521	(0.827)	0.593	(0.816)
N	1,148		1,148		1,148	
AIC	2468.564		2468.375		2466.228	
BIC	2700.704		2719.861		2737.058	

Source: Self-Control Study 2014

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

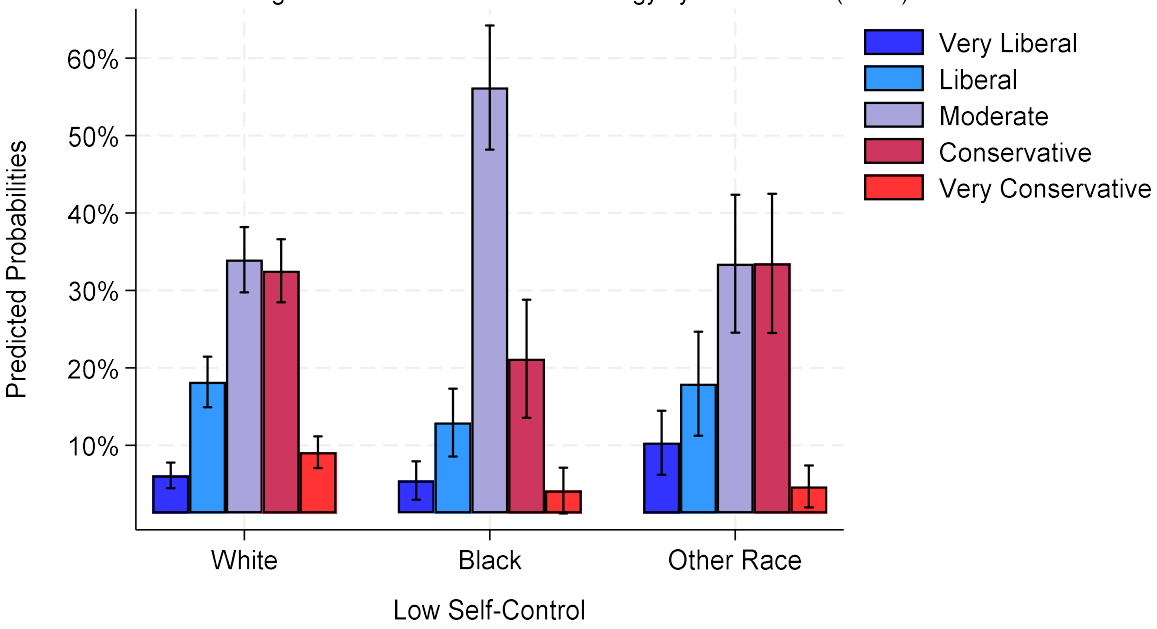
Control Variables: Age, Sex, Race, Education Level, Household Income, Region of Residence, Religion, Marital Status, Political Party ID

Figure 1. Predicted Political Ideology by Low Self-Control (Sex)



Low Self-Control defined as one or more standard deviations above the mean

Figure 2. Predicted Political Ideology by Self-Control (Race)



Low Self-Control defined as one or more standard deviations above the mean

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APPENDIX A

Grasmick Self Control Questions

Questions	Summary (N=1,149)
Impulsivity	
I often make spur of the moment decision	3.622 (1.194)
I do not devote much thought to future	3.767 (1.200)
I do whatever brings pleasure here and now	3.667 (1.164)
I am more concerned with short run than long run	
Simple Tasks	3.570 (1.211)
I avoid projects that are difficult	3.439 (1.197)
I quit when things get complicated	3.783 (1.169)
The easiest things in life bring me the most pleasure	3.161 (1.126)
I dislike hard tasks	
Risk Seeking	3.638 (1.167)
I like to test myself by doing something risky	2.778 (1.203)
I take risks for the fun of it	3.325 (1.276)
I find it exciting to do things that I might get in trouble for	3.900 (1.222)
Excitement and adventure are more important to me than security	
Physical Activities	3.996 (1.097)
I would rather do something physical rather than mental	3.343 (1.146)
I feel better on the move	2.761 (1.148)
I like to get out more and do things than contemplate ideas	2.986 (1.174)
I have more energy than most people my age	
Self-Centered	3.038 (1.232)
I look out for myself first	3.716 (1.191)
I am not sympathetic to others	3.883 (1.264)
When people are upset, it is their problem, not mine	3.764 (1.168)
I try to get what I want	
Temper	4.098 (1.080)
I lose my temper easily	3.799 (1.216)
When I am angry with people, I feel more like hurting them	4.046 (1.196)
When I am angry, people better stay away from me	3.652 (1.282)
I find it hard to talk calmly about disagreement with someone	3.344 (1.266)

Source: Self-Control and Deviance Study 2014 N = 1,149

Responses on Liker Scale: Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neither Agree or Disagree (3), Disagree (4), Strongly Disagree (5)

APPENDIX B

Retrospective Behavior Questions

Questions	Summary (N=1,149)
Childhood (8-13 years)	
I was well prepared for exams	4.929 (1.762)
I got involved in fights	2.033 (1.332)
Teachers criticized my behavior	1.996 (1.358)
I kept borrowed things	1.609 (1.078)
I cheated at games	1.806 (1.173)
I asked for extra pocket money	1.978 (1.455)
I could not follow lessons	2.038 (1.383)
I did homework on time	5.428 (1.652)
I played dirty tricks on people	1.699 (1.187)
My teachers wrote to my parents	1.822 (1.311)
I gave teachers a hard time	1.663 (1.267)
I pestered younger and/or weaker children	1.499 (1.083)
I was in an accident	1.700 (0.992)
I spent allowance long before my next one	2.305 (1.688)
I copied homework from classmates	1.834 (1.196)
I annoyed animals	1.395 (0.953)
I pretended to be ill	2.143 (1.366)
I viewed extra homework as punishment	
Adolescent (14-18 years)	1.624 (1.189)
I would have been better if I was taken seriously	2.834 (2.013)
I skipped school when the weather good	1.890 (1.338)
I went out and about with bad company	2.048 (1.501)
I would do something else when it was time to do homework	2.409 (1.593)
I get tired of hobbies quickly	2.149 (1.446)
I drank so much I had a blackout	1.417 (1.017)
I would spend my time at night at parties, clubs, or the bar	1.965 (1.509)
I was late for school because I was out too late	1.664 (1.248)
I made dates and/or appointments and I did not show up	1.514 (1.041)
I stayed out later than arranged with my parents	2.232 (1.562)
I have ended a friendship because of a romance	
Young Adult (19 -25 years)	1.431 (0.947)
I am/way frequently late for important appointments	1.801 (1.161)
I have passed on info that I promised to keep to self	2.116 (1.286)
I could have saved myself trouble if I watched what I said	2.690 (1.533)
I have drunk more than I could handle	2.415 (1.546)
I have took/taken higher dose of meds than recommended	1.703 (1.254)
I have bought things on the spur of moment	2.902 (1.440)
I have been responsible for a road accident	1.446 (0.888)
I have said things to my partner that hurt them badly	2.415 (1.378)
I have spent all my vacation money before the vacation was over	1.549 (1.106)
If in a bad mood, I have insulted people without cause	1.906 (1.259)
I have no longer cared for old friends	2.067 (1.415)
I am not tactful in disagreements with authority	2.055 (1.422)
I have bought something without comparing prices	2.398 (1.475)
I have borrowed things and never returned them	1.524 (0.996)

Source: Self-Control and Deviance Study 2014 N = 1,149

Responses on Likert scale: Never (1), Once (2), Two or Three Times (3), Many Times (4), Often (5), Very Often (6), Always (7)

APPENDIX C

Table. 4. Triple Interaction - Self-Control x Sex x Race

	Triple Interaction Model			
	Very Liberal	Liberal	Conservative	Very Conservative
	β (SD)	*β* (SD)	*β* (SD)	*β* (SD)
Female x Black	0.0590 (0.24)	0.163 (0.76)	-0.208 (-0.65)	0.396 (1.40)
Female x "Other" Race	-0.268 (-1.02)	-0.156 (-0.58)	-0.236 (-1.02)	-0.197 (-0.57)
Intercept	-2.009* (-2.11)	-0.538 (-0.68)	-1.395* (-1.99)	0.347 (0.42)
N	1,148			

Source: Self-Control Study 2014

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Control Variables: Age, Sex, Race, Education Level, Household Income, Region of Residence, Religion, Marital Status, Political Party ID

APPENDIX D

The Coleman Diagram – “Coleman’s Boat”

