

# The Origins of Attitudes

## Genetic Bases and Acquisition

Course: Attitudes and social judgement

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# I. The Heritability of Attitudes

How do genes influence behavior and especially attitudes?

nature and nurture

# 1. Introduction

- common view: attitudes are environmentally caused
- heredity and environment are closely linked
- impossible to determine the extent of the genetical cause

# Twin studies

DZ Twins

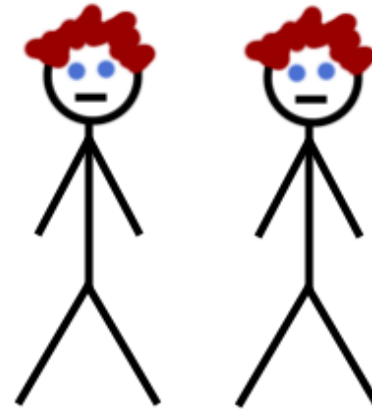


Different DNA  
Same Environment

If intelligence is the **same** it must be due to the **environment**.

If intelligence is **different** it must be due to **genetics**.

MZ Twins



Same DNA  
Different Environment

If intelligence is the **same** it must be due to **genetics**.

If intelligence is **different** it must be due to the **environment**.

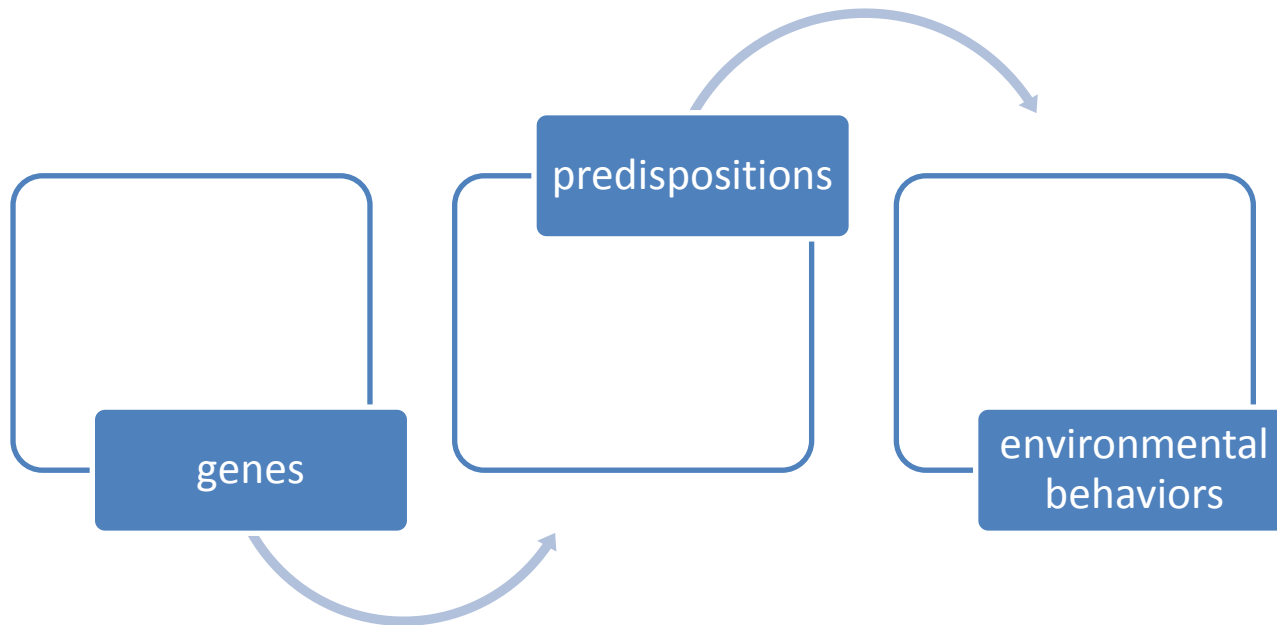
## 2. A Study of Twins

- James M. Olson, Philip A. Venon, Julie Harris and Kerry L. Jang

### Goals:

- Confirm past findings
- Explore mediators of genetic effects
- Examine thesis of Tesser (1993)
  - If attitudes are heritable it is more difficult to change them

# Assumption



➔ forming an attitude / like or dislike

# Procedure

- 195 monozygotic, 141 dizygotic pairs of twins
- questionnaire with 30 targets (scale -3 to 3)
- 2 additional questions for each target:
  1. How important is this attitude to you?
  2. How strongly do you hold this attitude?
- Self-rating on 20 personality skills
- also took unshared and shared environmental factors into account



# Results

- 26 of 30 attitudes yielded high heritability coefficients
- identified 9 attitude factors – 6 of them yielded high heritability coefficients
- No one to one connection: gene-attitude **but** apart from learning attitudes depend on biological factors

Table 1

## Genetic Analyses of Individual Attitude Items

Attitude	Correlations		Best fitting model		Estimates			
	MZ	DZ	Model	Fit	a <sup>2</sup>	c <sup>2</sup>	e <sup>2</sup>	d <sup>2</sup>
Doing crossword puzzles	.46	.11	ADE	$\chi^2(3) = 1.47, ns$	.02		.55	.43
Death penalty for murder	.45	.33	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 5.61, ns$	.50	.00	.50	
Sweets	.36	.23	ACE	$\chi^2(3) = 1.41, ns$	.22	.12	.65	
Open-door immigration	.47	.20	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 2.18, ns$	.46		.54	.00
Doing athletic activities	.41	.26	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 2.18, ns$	.44	.00	.56	
Voluntary euthanasia	.45	.21	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 2.29, ns$	.44		.56	.00
Smoking	.49	.38	ACE	$\chi^2(3) = 2.51, ns$	.31	.21	.48	
Being the center of attention	.31	.14	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 5.52, ns$	.28		.71	.00
Separate roles for men and women	.27	.26	CE	$\chi^2(4) = 2.54, ns$	.00	.26	.74	
Education	.30	.14	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 11.64, p < .02$	.32		.68	.00
Making racial discrimination illegal	.37	-.01	ADE	$\chi^2(3) = 4.71, ns$	.00		.66	.34
Loud music	.53	.49	ACE	$\chi^2(3) = 1.15, ns$	.11	.43	.46	
Getting along well with other people	.20	.19	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 19.61, p < .001$	.28	.00	.72	
Capitalism	.41	.19	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 4.67, ns$	.39		.61	.00
Playing organized sports	.52	.10	ADE	$\chi^2(3) = 0.46, ns$	.00		.48	.52
Big parties	.44	.30	ACE	$\chi^2(3) = 2.14, ns$	.32	.13	.54	
Playing chess	.38	.22	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 2.76, ns$	.38	.00	.62	
Looking my best at all times	.42	.14	ADE	$\chi^2(3) = 3.13, ns$	.10		.55	.35
Abortion on demand	.53	.28	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 1.00, ns$	.54	.00	.46	
Public speaking	.34	.26	ACE	$\chi^2(3) = 1.91, ns$	.20	.15	.65	
Playing bingo	.37	.33	CE	$\chi^2(4) = 7.07, ns$	.00	.33	.65	
Wearing clothes that draw attention	.38	.28	ACE	$\chi^2(3) = 2.39, ns$	.24	.15	.61	
Easy access to birth control	.24	.27	CE	$\chi^2(4) = 5.35, ns$	.00	.25	.75	
Exercising	.35	.17	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 2.77, ns$	.36		.64	.00
Organized religion	.43	.21	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 3.17, ns$	.45		.55	.00
Being the leader of groups	.40	.08	ADE	$\chi^2(3) = 2.13, ns$	.00		.59	.41
Reading books	.55	.24	ADE	$\chi^2(3) = 4.31, ns$	.37		.43	.20
Castration as punishment for sex crimes	.39	.29	ACE	$\chi^2(3) = 0.48, ns$	.17	.21	.62	
Being assertive	.28	.27	CE	$\chi^2(4) = 4.00, ns$	.00	.28	.72	
Roller coaster rides	.50	.31	AE	$\chi^2(4) = 2.82, ns$	.52	.00	.48	

Note. Estimates of .00 mean that the component was tested but did not account for a significant amount of variance. MZ = monozygotic twins; DZ = dizygotic twins; A (a<sup>2</sup>) = additive genetic variance; E (e<sup>2</sup>) = nonshared environmental variance; D (d<sup>2</sup>) = nonadditive genetic variance; C (c<sup>2</sup>) = shared environmental variance.

**additive and nonadditive genetic effects form heritability coefficients**

Table 3  
*Factor Analysis of Individual Attitude Items*

Attitude	Factor								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Doing crossword puzzles	-.01	-.11	-.06	.05	<b>.55</b>	-.05	-.03	.16	<b>.44</b>
Death penalty for murder	.07	-.06	.04	-.01	-.11	-.17	.06	<b>.74</b>	.06
Sweets	.11	.01	.09	-.13	-.04	.11	.08	-.08	<b>.73</b>
Open-door immigration	-.20	.15	-.16	.03	-.07	<b>.46</b>	-.13	-.33	.20
Doing athletic activities	<b>.85</b>	.08	.05	.11	.05	-.05	.05	-.03	.03
Voluntary euthanasia	.01	.08	<b>.71</b>	-.03	.06	.15	-.06	.21	.11
Smoking	-.35	-.03	.11	<b>.57</b>	.09	-.10	-.01	.24	-.09
Being the center of attention	-.01	<b>.72</b>	.01	.15	-.12	-.08	.15	-.04	.16
Separate roles for men and women	.03	.05	-.25	-.05	-.03	<b>-.56</b>	-.01	.14	.08
Education	.17	-.10	-.07	-.17	<b>.44</b>	.37	.30	.05	-.06
Making racial discrimination illegal	-.02	.07	.00	-.01	.05	<b>.73</b>	-.02	.04	.08
Loud music	.12	.02	.02	<b>.78</b>	-.12	.04	.04	-.10	-.04
Getting along well with other people	.22	.05	.00	-.02	-.05	<b>.40</b>	<b>.44</b>	.17	.02
Capitalism	.03	.08	-.09	-.01	<b>.48</b>	-.29	.29	.06	-.21
Playing organized sports	<b>.68</b>	.06	-.06	.21	.13	-.03	-.02	.20	.15
Big parties	.21	.32	.10	<b>.46</b>	-.10	.06	.34	-.03	.06
Playing chess	.08	.22	.08	-.06	<b>.55</b>	-.06	-.15	-.13	.04
Looking my best at all times	.06	.02	-.03	-.04	-.01	-.08	<b>.79</b>	.11	.02
Abortion on demand	.02	.05	<b>.73</b>	.08	.13	-.09	.05	-.06	.15
Public speaking	.14	<b>.58</b>	-.10	.03	.30	.12	-.10	-.01	-.12
Playing bingo	-.12	-.10	.04	.36	.13	-.04	.06	.29	<b>.43</b>
Wearing clothes that draw attention	-.08	.38	.10	.21	-.15	-.05	<b>.50</b>	-.12	.26
Easy access to birth control	-.01	-.06	<b>.62</b>	.10	.07	.28	.26	-.06	-.07
Exercising	<b>.79</b>	.13	.04	-.04	.00	.01	.12	-.04	-.11
Organized religion	-.02	-.01	<b>-.62</b>	-.12	.23	.07	.19	.00	.11
Being the leader of groups	.12	<b>.81</b>	.02	.00	.09	.00	-.04	.05	-.02
Reading books	-.01	.05	.10	-.12	<b>.62</b>	.21	-.09	-.15	-.01
Castration as punishment for sex crimes	.00	.08	.00	-.02	-.03	.06	.05	<b>.74</b>	-.03
Being assertive	.09	<b>.52</b>	.17	-.13	.10	.11	.19	.03	-.25
Roller coaster rides	.22	.04	.09	<b>.52</b>	-.10	.03	-.09	-.05	.02

- 1** : Attitudes toward Athletics
- 2**: Leadership
- 3**: Preservation of Life
- 4**: Sensory Experiences
- 5**: Intellectual Pursuits
- 6**: Equality
- 7**: Outward Appearance
- 8**: Treatment of Criminals
- 9**: Sweets and Games

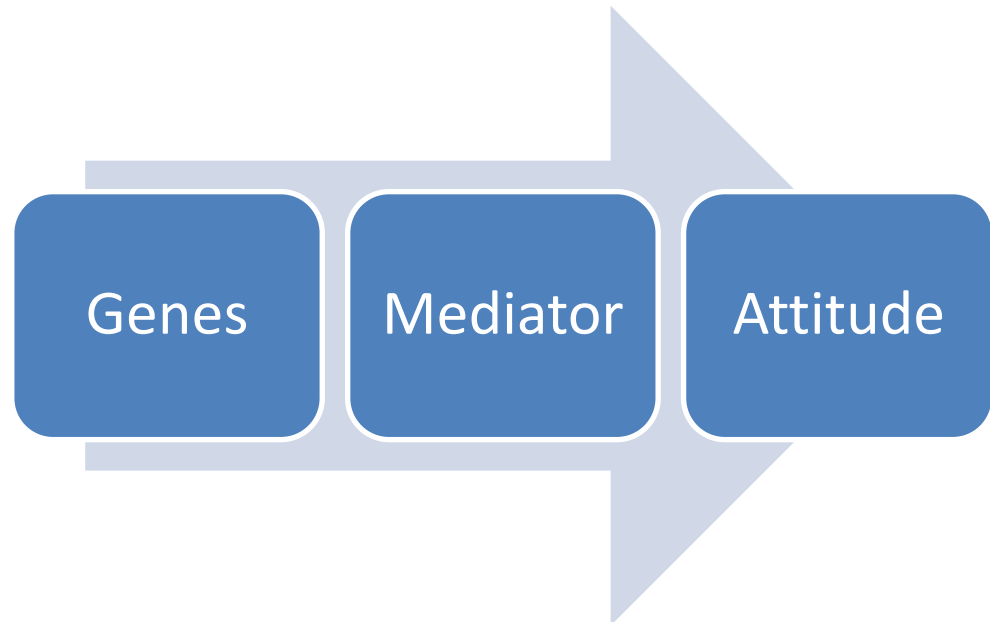
Note. Loadings greater than .40 are presented in boldface.

Table 9

*Genetic and Environmental Correlations Between Attitudes and Potential Mediators*

Attitudes factor and mediator	$h^2$	Genetic correlation	Environmental correlation
Athleticism	.54		
Aggressiveness	.43	-.03	.06
Sociability	.47	.03	.19
Persistence	.38	<b>.25</b>	.11
Athleticism	.61	<b>.63</b>	<b>.30</b>
Attractiveness	.54	.10	.09
Academic ach.	.56	.17	.04
Leadership	.41		
Aggressiveness	.43	<b>.41</b>	<b>.37</b>
Sociability	.47	<b>.43</b>	.02
Persistence	.38	<b>.26</b>	.09
Athleticism	.61	.10	.15
Attractiveness	.54	<b>.55</b>	.01
Academic ach.	.56	<b>.22</b>	-.03
Preservation of Life	.66		
Aggressiveness	.43	-.13	.10
Sociability	.47	<b>.21</b>	-.10
Persistence	.38	.11	.03
Athleticism	.61	.05	.05
Attractiveness	.54	<b>.22</b>	-.02
Academic ach.	.56	-.04	.00
Sensory Experiences	.36		
Aggressiveness	.43	<b>.33</b>	.08
Sociability	.47	<b>.41</b>	.07
Persistence	.38	<b>-.28</b>	.14
Athleticism	.61	<b>.28</b>	<b>.20</b>
Attractiveness	.54	.14	.07
Academic ach.	.56	-.05	-.13
Equality	.55		
Aggressiveness	.43	-.19	-.17
Sociability	.47	<b>.44</b>	-.01
Persistence	.38	.17	.04
Athleticism	.61	.00	-.06
Attractiveness	.54	.11	-.08
Academic ach.	.56	<b>.24</b>	<b>-.24</b>
Outward Appearance	.45		
Aggressiveness	.43	.01	.04
Sociability	.47	<b>.36</b>	<b>.34</b>
Persistence	.38	-.11	.03
Athleticism	.61	-.09	.08
Attractiveness	.54	<b>.27</b>	<b>.21</b>
Academic ach.	.56	-.04	.06

Note. Correlations presented in boldface are significant at  $p < .005$  (two tailed).  $h^2$  = heritability coefficients; ach. = achievement.



## Largest heritability components (greater or equal .50)

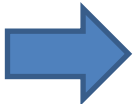
- Attitudes toward reading books
- abortion on demand
- playing organized sports
- rollercoaster rides
- the death penalty for murder
  
- **Personality items:** humble, ambitious, exhibitionistic, aesthetic, friendly

## Smallest genetic components:

- attitudes toward roles for men and women
- playing bingo
- easy access to birth control
- being assertive
  
- **personality items:** neat, obliging, inconsistent

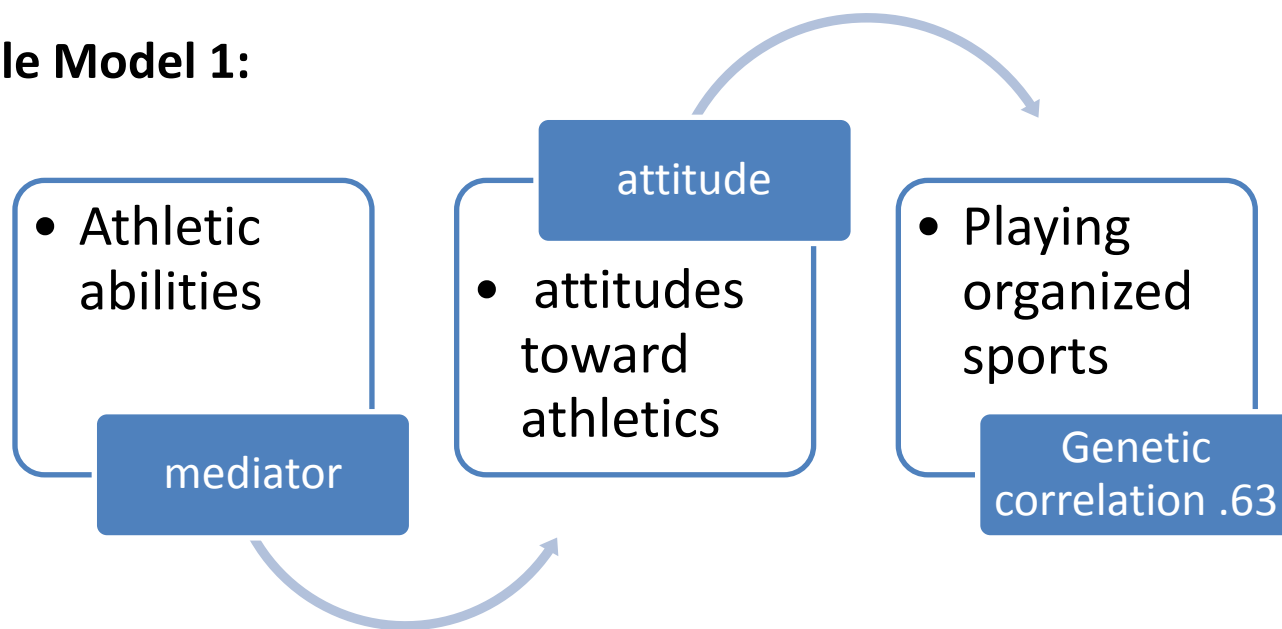
# 3. Interpretation and Discussion

- generally consistent with past studies
- covered new attitude topics
- only few attitude topics yielded heritability estimates close to zero

 differences between individuals' attitudes are genetically determined

- several potential mediators were identified
- 2 models: *mediator causes attitude* versus the *attitude causes mediator*

**Example Model 1:**





- results support Tesser's hypothesis (1993):
  - mean important and mean strength scores were strongly related to heritabilities of attitude factors
  - highly heritable attitudes are held stronger
  - biological basis may make change more difficult

- 35 % of attitudinal variance was due to genetics
- largest number of variances in attitudes was caused by nonshared environmental factors (individual experiences of twins)



**Nature and Nurture**

# **II. Evaluative Conditioning and the Spreading Attitude Effect**

*A Study of Eva Walther  
University of Heidelberg*

# 1. Terms of conditioning

- Neutral stimulus (NS) causes an unspecific reaction
- Unconditioned stimulus (US) automatically triggers a response
- Conditioned stimulus (CS) is an originally neutral stimulus that, after becoming connected with an US, causes a conditioned response

# 2. Classical and Evaluative Conditioning

## Classical Conditioning

- Training NS+US  $\rightarrow$  unconditioned response  
Result NS=CS  $\rightarrow$  conditioned response
- Consious if-then relationship between US and CS
- Strict contingency rarely occurs in reality

# Evaluative Conditioning

- An unconscious „transfer of value“ (Hammerl& Grabitz, 1996)
- CS acquires the attributes of the US
- No personal experience and awareness necessary

# 3. The Spreading Attitude Effect

A phenomenon of Evaluative Conditioning

## Assumptions

Affective evaluation spreads to objects that are preassociated with the CS

- Associative chain
- No direct link
- Unconscious mechanism

# The Study

- 5 experiments
- Participants rated on a graphic rating scale pictures of white male faces
- Computer categorised neutral rated photos as NS and most liked ones as US



## **Preconditioning phase:**

- Presentation of pairs of neutral stimuli

Difference:

- Experimental group: N1 paired with N2  
N4 paired with N5
- Control group: N1 paired with N3  
N4 paired with N5

## **Conditioning phase:**

Both groups: N2-US pairings

N5-N6 pairings

## **Test phase:**

- Participants judged visual stimuli again
- Open ended test to check awareness

# Results

- Conditioning phase:

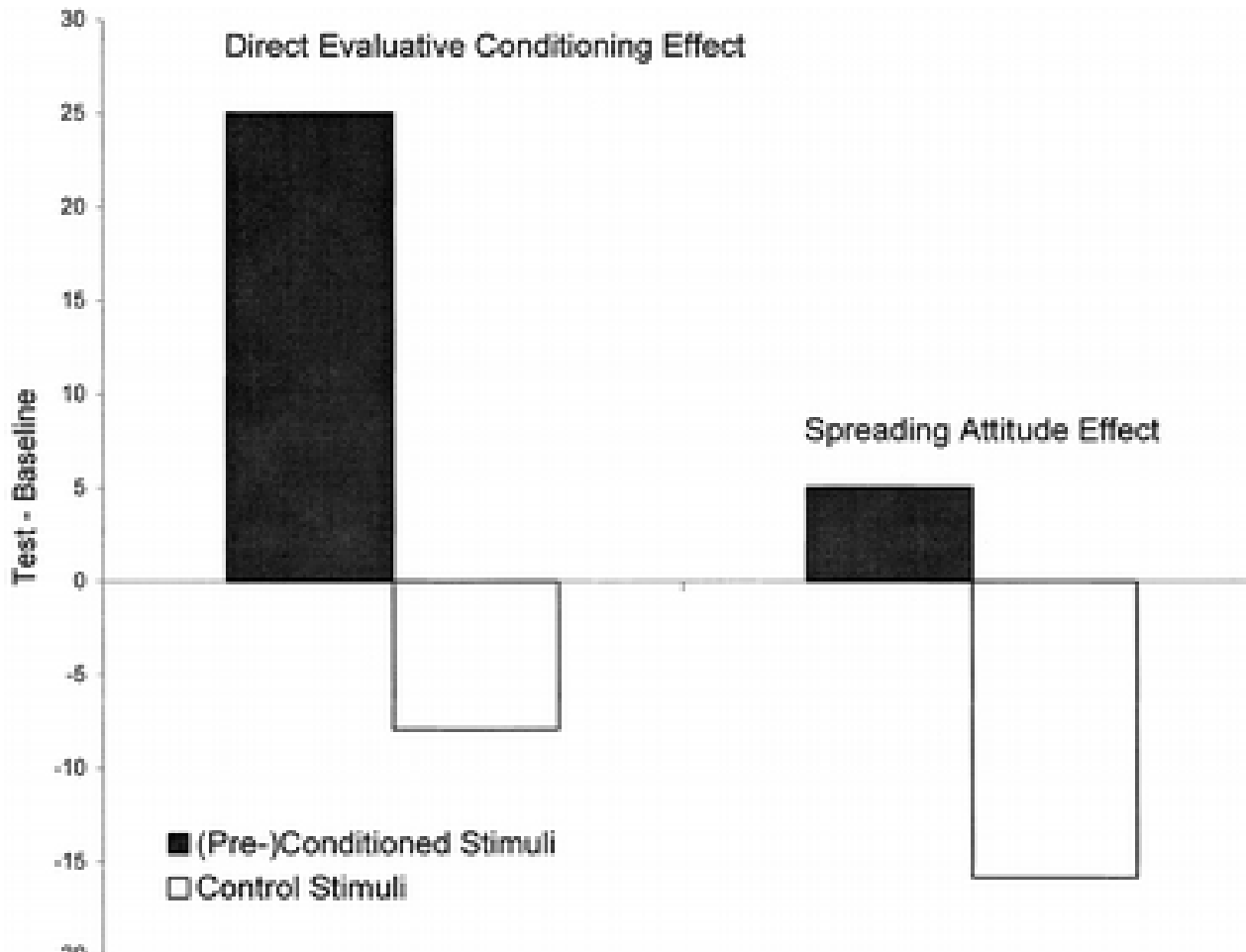
Both groups rated N2 more positively than N5

→ Connecting N2 with an CS caused a shift of evaluation

- Preconditioned phase:

Experimental group rated N1 more positively than N4

→ Preassociation of N1 with N2 resulted in a change of evaluation



**Figure 1**

Study 1. Direct evaluative conditioning effect and spreading attitude effect in an appetitive evaluative conditioning paradigm.

- Second experiment: NS combined with an negative stimuli
- Third experiment: extinction phase inserted
- Fourth experiment: conditioning and preconditioning phases reversed
- Fifth experiment: load manipulation

# 4. Interpretation

- A liked or disliked US does not only affect the evaluation of the CS, but also other objects preassociated with it.

This is called the spreading attitude effect.

- The effect also works forward.
- It is resistant to extinction.
- It doesn't depend on mental resources and awareness.

Formation of attitudes is not dependent on the direct experience but can work through associative chains.

→ Consumer research

→ Treatment of phobias

# III. Conclusion

- Genes influence the forming of attitudes via special mediators
- Attitudes with a genetic basis are held stronger
- Attitudes are also formed by (often) unconscious associative chains.
- Impossible to untangle nature and nurture



# References

- James M. Olson, Philip A. Venon, Julie Atiken Harris, Kerry L. Jang (2001). The Heritability of Attitudes: A Study of Twins, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* , 80, 845-860.
- Walther, Eva (2002). Guilty by Mere Association: Evaluative Conditioning and the Spreading Attitude Effect, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 919-934.
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