

Foreign Policy in American Presidential Elections

A Study of Five Presidential Elections Between 1992 and 2008

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1. Introduction

American voting is a subject that has attracted considerable academic attention because of its importance and complexity. The voting decision and its related elements are studied by a range of disciplines, one of them being political science. The goal has been to figure out what goes on in voters' minds before their final choice at the ballot box. The number and diversity of the research questions and different variables that have been used employing widely different models of the voting decision, is staggering and the variety research methods used to analyze them have been equally impressive.

The scope of the different works in this field varies between comprehensive efforts to construct all-encompassing models of American voting in the degree that is possible, known from "The American Voter" series of books¹, to other more focused studies which turn their attention to the impact of a small group of variables in a single election. A lot of different factors have been used to explain voter choice in the United States and elsewhere. They range from social characteristics such as gender, race, religion, education and class, political loyalties inherited from parents or created by other means, macro-level variables which are expected to make an impression on voters such as economic growth on the national level or the number of dead soldiers in a conflict, opinions on different questions dealing with how the society should be organized and what means should be employed to reach these goals, and opinions on the political candidates themselves. Each of these possible factors mentioned are incredibly complex on their own with a lot of possibility for variety. When these factors are combined with selection of which elections to study, the number of possible research questions to investigate is impressive.

One of the most widespread ways to study American voting has been to see how voters' opinions on various policy areas affect their voting in elections. The underlying logic is simple: people will vote for the candidate who has a platform closest to their own views. This assumption oversimplifies the voting decision to some degree; therefore some precautions are made, resulting in inclusion of other types of variables. Studies of policy preferences in association with voting can have different types of goals, for example identifying which preferences actually help determine voting and how strong they are relative to each other. As domestic and foreign policy are generally viewed as fundamentally different parts of politics because of the degree of remoteness, several scholars have tried to understand the relative

¹ Campbell et al. (1960), Nie, Verba and Petrocik (1976), Miller and Shanks (1996), and Lewis-Beck et al. (2008).

strength between domestic and foreign policy in deciding people's voting decision and thereby the final outcome.

Seen from the outside, American presidential elections seem to be relatively weakly affected by foreign policy issues, especially considering the huge influence the nation wields in international politics. This is of course in no way a unanimous or necessarily widespread opinion, but it does have some merit, albeit only on the anecdotal level. Even in times when the United States has soldiers in war zones, some presidential elections apparently have been dominated by other issues, the best examples being questions related to economic governance and morality. Such questions surrounding the role of foreign policy in presidential elections has created a small but distinct subfield under the greater umbrella of general studies of why people vote the way they do in the United States. This research field made its debut with the ascent of survey research in the wake of World War II (Holsti 2004: 23-28).

Understanding of the role of foreign policy in American presidential elections is essential as foreign policy is given considerable attention by politicians and the media. Opinions related to foreign policy obviously also has the potential to alter elections and thereby the conduct of American foreign policy. As the President is left with extensive powers in directing the foreign policy, presidential elections are the most interesting events to study in relation to voters' opinions on foreign policy. The choice of presidential elections is also the most widespread solution in the existing literature. Although there are exceptions, most of the studies of voting in presidential elections end up examining only two or even one election at once because of the complexity of the models they employ. This presents big challenges when it comes to comparisons and it makes it difficult to extract interesting results showing trends over time. A problem with this kind of research design is that the results can say more about the exact chosen time period than about the role of foreign policy in presidential elections in general.

With this background I want to research the following questions: (i) *how important is opinions on foreign policy values and issues for American voters when determining their final vote in the general elections* and (ii) *How has this changed over time since in the period between 1992 and 2008?* The second research question aims to uncover any trends over time and it represents a comparative effort in time period not previously covered in the literature. The reason for the choice of this time period is that it in many ways represents a new era in American foreign policy. The gradual fall of communism in Eastern Europe culminating with the collapse of the Soviet Union heralded a major change in international politics as the

former bipolar world order almost overnight changed into a unipolar order with the United States as the sole super power. This situation was further changed by the earth-shattering events on September 11 2001. This analysis will uncover how opinions on foreign policy have influenced presidential elections in this new world order.

This work follows a pretty conventional structure. Chapter 2 will present relevant research and theory. Section 2.1 will present a short review of the existing literature on foreign policy and presidential elections. Section 2.2 will define the components of the following voting model. Section 2.3 will present the model in its entirety and discuss some of the related causal aspects. The general goal of this chapter is to situate this analysis in the greater picture and provide a background for the analysis itself.

Chapter 3 will deal with providing a historical context and generating hypotheses. Section 3.1 will present a short narrative of each election based on previous research with the focus on foreign policy. Section 3.2 will use the insights gained in chapter 2 and section 3.1 to generate the hypotheses that will set the objectives for the analyses.

Chapter 4 will concern methodological considerations. Section 4.1 will focus on the data used and possible problems. Section 4.2 contains a presentation and discussion of factor analysis and linear regression followed by definitions of validity and reliability. Section 4.3 presents the variables to be included in the regression analyses with focus on problematic aspects. Section presents a detailed description of the standard and alternative models that will be employed in chapter 5.

Chapter 5 will contain both factor analyses used to identify policy dimensions and the main analysis using linear regression. Section 5.1 will present the results from the factor analyses and detail the appropriate recoding of variables with the goal of simplifying the main analyses. Section 5.2 presents the results from the regressions chronologically. Section 5.3 connects the loose ends and evaluates the results by using the devised hypotheses. This section will also comment on interesting findings unrelated to the hypotheses and discuss the degree of validity achieved by this study. Chapter 6 will summarize the most important results and make a status report of the research field.

2. Previous research and theory

This chapter aims firstly to describe development of research into the role of foreign policy since its dawn in post-war USA, and summarize the main findings from the most important contributions to this field. Secondly, it will dive into the relevant concepts previously devised and used for this kind of research. Central issues will be understanding of important components of the voting decision and how they relate to each other. These deliberations will lead into a model of voting which will form the foundation for the later analyses. The goal is to treat each part of the model separately before the relationship between them is discussed and clarified.

2.1 A short review of the existing literature

The amount of research done in the field of American presidential elections is enormous. Questions related to explaining the outcome of elections forms a distinct part of this field. The analyses differ in their focus and only a part focuses specifically on foreign policy as determinant of election outcomes. There exists a solid theoretical groundwork concerning voting models and related concepts, but the foundation is much weaker when it comes to theories and concepts directly related to the studies of the role of foreign policy issues in presidential elections. The previous research relevant to my analysis, fall into two groups. The first group consists of ambitious analyses of every thinkable factor connected to the final voting decision from social background variables to candidate evaluations. These studies usually treat foreign policy briefly if it is mentioned at all. The other group consists of more restricted analysis trying to extract the importance of foreign policy as an issue area or some concrete part of the foreign policy from the greater picture.

In his book “American People and Foreign Policy”, Gabriel Almond (1960) aimed to describe the way foreign policy made its impression on the American public and how they reacted in terms of attitude formation. Although Almond was not concerned with directly the same questions as the ones in this analysis, i.e. how issues concerning foreign policy affects voting, he raised some issues which were highly relevant for later work in this field. First and foremost, Almond (1960: 5-6, 80-84) points out that the knowledge of United States foreign policy and foreign affairs is at best insufficient and in many cases non-existent, the reason being the complexity and the remoteness of the issues in question. The result is that more intimate issues get the voters attention and by extension guides their voting decisions (Almond 1960: 70-71). Almond emphasizes that the line of voters attention do not go between

domestic and foreign issues but between intimate and non-intimate issues. The evidence Almond presents is comprised of Gallup polls going back to 1935 which simply asks what issues voters believe are the most important, not necessarily in connection with presidential elections. The results show that public interest in foreign affairs is extremely dependent on dramatic events and national crisis and that even in such time the pull of domestic politics is considerable. The American people even turn away from foreign policy issues when they are confronted by what they see as tedious, threatening and frustrating relationships with other nations (Almond 1960: 71-80). This in turn leads to people not acquiring information about central foreign issues and the central actors in forming and initiating foreign policy. The view that foreign policy did not play a significant role in presidential elections was widely held by researchers of presidential voting for decades, with the result that studies connecting public opinion and voting tended to focus exclusively on domestic issues (Aldrich, Sullivan and Borgida 1989: 123).

The single contribution to this field most similar in focus to this analysis is an article by Aldrich, Sullivan and Borgida (1989) in "The American Political Science Review". This article deals thoroughly with the role of foreign policy in the 1980 and 1984 presidential elections. The starting point of their analysis is the assertion by Almond (1960)² and other authors that most voters knew very little about foreign policy issues, and that domestic issues with immediate consequences on their own lives, played the dominant role in elections. The authors noted that presidential candidates consistently spent a lot of time and resources on foreign policy proposals and asked themselves the question whether the candidates were "waltzing before a blind audience". In many ways, this analysis serves as a continuation of their work. They employ a model including foreign policy issues, domestic policy issues, party identification and candidate evaluation and end up with a result that in a large way falsifies Almond's (1960) theories. Both the 1980 and 1984 elections were apparently influenced by foreign policy opinions and in 1984 foreign policy even played a larger role than domestic policy issues in determining the election outcome. The study is on the other hand relatively narrow in its discussion of exactly why there are variations in the importance of foreign policy issues.

The classic and pivotal book "The American Voter" by Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes (1960) barely touches the issue of foreign policy as

² Aldrich, Sullivan and Borgida refer to the 1950 edition of the book. I refer to the 1960 edition of the book, which is identical except for a new introduction.

voting determinant. They employ a measure of degree of internationalism among voters and through a cross table analysis find that in five different categories of political identification ranging from “strong democrat” to “strong republican”, the distribution of people in the three different strata of internationalism (high, medium and low) was nearly identical. This result seemed to corroborate the thesis of foreign policy as a weak determinant of voting (Campbell et al. 1960: 198). However, they also found that Dwight D. Eisenhower managed to attract attention from almost every voter concerned over foreign affairs in the 1952 and 1956 presidential election, most likely because of a clearly defined desire among the electorate to stay out of armed conflicts in the rest of the world and the subsequent conclusion of a vast majority of those concerned by this issue that Eisenhower was most likely to achieve this objective.

The first major revisit of the matter created in “The American Voter” was done by Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba and John R. Petrocik (1976) in “The Changing American Voter”. They focus on the elections between 1956 and 1972 which implies an overlap with the original analysis done in “The American Voter”. The authors conclude that issues connected to the Cold War, like nuclear disarmament, relationship with the Soviet Union, and the related Vietnam War, was fairly prominent among voters but find it hard to assert how strong these opinions were. They point to other research showing that except for issues with wide-ranging domestic consequences like the Vietnam War, foreign policy issue opinions are weaker than the case is for other issue types and that they rarely divides the voters into opposing groups (Nie, Verba and Petrocik 1976: 104). This resonated with the theories developed by Almond (1960). They also present a graph based on the correlation between foreign policy issue attitudes and voting in the different elections. Their results show that the correlation is pretty low until the 1960 presidential election before it rises dramatically in the 1964 election and remains high in the 1968 and 1972 elections (Nie, Verba and Petrocik 1976: 187-189). They explain this trend with divisions between voters from the New Deal era, who were mostly preoccupied with issues concerning size of government, welfare and redistribution, and the voters in the new era formed during the sixties who turned their attention to foreign policy issues and racial issues (Nie, Verba and Petrocik 1976: 189, 191-192). In other words, the authors paint a picture of generational changes in issue voting determined by the issues’ differing impact on the voters’ lives.

Warren E. Miller and J. Merrill Shanks (1996) made another update of “The American Voter” in the book “The New American Voter”. This book mainly focuses on the 1992 presidential

election with occasional analysis of the 1980, 1984 and 1988 presidential elections. Their starting point for the analysis of the impact of foreign policy issues in the elections was the widely held belief prior to the 1992 election that the end of the cold war would herald a time when foreign policy issues would take the back seat when people decided whom they were voting for (Miller and Shanks 1996: 308). However, their analysis revealed that an isolationist sentiment and views of military service under the Vietnam War³ had an impact on the voting. They used a pretty advanced model controlling for party identification, social background variables and a set of other policy attitudes, an approach that is similar to the one that will be applied in this analysis.

Michael S. Lewis-Beck, William G. Jacoby, Helmut Norpoth and Herbert F. Weisberg (2008) offers in “The American Voter Revisited” an updated version of the research done by Campbell et al. (1960) in “The American Voter”. The authors of the revision treat foreign policy much in the same way as their predecessors. The 1952 and 1956 presidential elections are replaced by the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections as events of interest. In contrast to the results in “The American Voter”, Lewis-Beck et al. (2008: 236) finds that foreign policy attitudes is correlated to partisanship, with republicans being more positive to military action. They do however employ slightly more advanced methodology in studying the effect of foreign policy issues on the final vote. Through multiple regression analysis they find that foreign issues slightly favored George W. Bush in the 2000 election while they presented a disadvantage for Bush in the 2004 election. The calculated effect is fairly small, accounting for less than a percentage point change of voting in either direction. This analysis differs from the one employed here, mostly because of the choice of variables and the primary focus on the candidates instead of opinions and party identification.

In addition the works mentioned above, there is an abundance of other works related to this field. One of those is a chapter by Andrew Bennett and Troy White (2002) in the book “The Election of the Century”. Bennett and White describe the role of foreign policy in the three elections from 1992 to 2000 with the main focus on the 2000 election. Their study almost exclusively relies on qualitative methodology, which makes it an interesting counterpart to this analysis. In addition there is a wealth of studies concerning the role of foreign policy or a certain foreign policy issue in one specific election. These kinds of studies lack the cross-

³ The specific question being: “Do you think that most men who tried to avoid the military service during the Vietnam War should have served regardless of their personal beliefs?” Miller and Shanks (1996: 308) connects the Vietnam service issue to the election because of the highly publicised accusations against Bill Clinton regarding his supposed avoidance from the draft.

election dimension which is central to my analysis, but they serve as useful supplement to the results this analysis will provide.

2.2 Relevant concepts

2.2.1 Values and issue attitudes

According to Clyde Kluckhohn (1951: 395), values imply “a code or a standard which has some persistence through time, or, more broadly put, which organizes a system of action.” People use this code or standard to sort things, acts, behavior and goals into the “approval-disapproval continuum”. He goes on to define a value as a “conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action” (Kluckhohn 1951: 395). This definition is then broken into five parts for further clarification. First of all, the definition points to values as an ideological construct not directly observable. A value is also a preference for what is desired and not desired for an individual or a group of individuals. The desirable value-based goals then form the foundation for selection further action (Kluckhohn 1951: 395-397). In short, the definition consists of three elements: affective, cognitive, and conative. In other words, both logic (cognitive) and emotion (affective) in interplay can lead to a selection of action (conative) (Kluckhohn 1951: 395). Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961: 4-10) elaborates on this discussion.⁴ They view the conative element as the most important for the concept of values opposed to earlier research which mainly focused on the cognitive and affective elements and the relationship between them. They argue that focus on the conative element is more productive because it integrates the total value system and its continuity through time.

Schwartz and Bilsky (1987: 551) developed a definition of values summarizing a wealth of previous research into the matter. According to them, values are comprised of five parts: “(a) concepts or beliefs, (b) about desirable end states or behaviors, (c) that transcends specific situations, (d) guide selection or evaluation of behavior, and (e) are ordered by relative importance”. They then explored the creation of values in individuals, how they can be categorized and how they are prioritized. Their study is placed well within the field of psychology, but it yields some interesting insights relevant to understanding the voting decision. According to their theory, values are cognitive representations of three requirements: biological needs, interactional requirements for interpersonal coordination and

⁴ The authors use the same three elements as Kluckhohn did, but renamed “conative” to “directive”.

social demands for group welfare and survival. They then connect these requirements to eight different motivational domains that different values can be placed in. The relationship and prominence of each value domain varies between countries. Among them is the security domain which comprises the wish for individual safety, national safety and a world at peace and which presumably plays a central role in the creation of foreign policy opinions (Schwartz and Bilsky 1987). In a later work Schwartz (1992) expands the number of domains to eleven, security being one of them. Schwartz (1992: 9) defines the security domain as a value type where the motivational goal is “safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self”. In a cross-national survey Schwartz finds that security indeed is an identifiable value dimension across the samples. He also finds that people distinguish slightly between individual safety and the society they are a part of. This can be taken as a sign of two distinct security domains, one collective and one individual (Schwartz 1992: 41).

Schwartz’ research on value domains is the basic step for a connection between values and politics. Political values can be defined as “prescriptive beliefs, which individuals would like to see implemented in the political system, and include the forms of political participation by which individuals seek to influence politics” (Knutsen and Kumlin 2005: 125). In other words, these are values which can be connected with some sort of wish for the political system that potentially can result in political action. Goren (2005: 881) points out that political values, as the broader group of variables, need to be viewed as abstract. He also operates with a slightly wider definition encompassing both values directed at humanity and society in general in addition to the political system. One could argue that values directed at humanity and society is necessary to direct political considerations, but on the other hand these additions seem to form a broader perception of what constitutes political values.

Political values can be arranged into value dimensions grouping related values together and creating a continuum where individuals can be placed. Knutsen and Kumlin (2005: 125-126) connects Lipset and Rokkan’s (1967) research on revolutions and the creation of social cleavages to the creation of political value dimensions. They connect the national and industrial revolutions central to Lipset and Rokkan’s work to two important value conflicts in European politics, respectively the conflict between secular and religious values and the conflict between economic left-right materialist values. The first deals with the role of Christian values in politics while the other deals with the government’s prioritization of creating equality or efficiency. These two value conflicts, which together are termed as “old politics”, are supplied with a third revolution and value conflict. The revolution in question is

the “silent revolution” and the new group of value conflicts is termed “New Politics”. This new addition was proposed by Ronald Inglehart (1977) in his influential book “The Silent Revolution”. Inglehart theorized a split between materialist and post-materialist values where the post-materialist values became more and more widespread. Materialist values such as self-sustenance and safety are to be gradually overtaken by values related to belonging, self-expression and quality-of-life (Knutsen and Kumlin 2005: 126). More specifically, this new revolution contains two distinct but related dimensions: the environmental versus growth values and libertarian versus authoritarian values. These three revolutions and following value conflicts are chronologically connected to different eras in developed countries: pre-industrial (moral value conflicts), industrial (economic left-right value conflicts) and post-industrial (materialist/post-materialist value conflicts). Inglehart (Inglehart 1984: 26-33) sees the progression as a move from a class-based to a value-based political polarization. These considerations will be commented further in connection with the attitude structures.

According to Fishbein (1963: 233), attitudes are the mediating evaluative responses people associate with the beliefs they have about any given object. This concept has since been discussed in several disciplines, even rendering definitions that are not especially suited for survey research. The more recent research tends to focus on two parts of the concept of attitudes: the cognitive part, i.e. what does the individual know about the object, and the affective feelings that arise from the cognition (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008: 187).

A group of different but related attitudes can form an attitude structure. An attitude structure has an underlying element which influences the way individuals react to different political issues. The underlying element is often a central value which influences a range of potential issues, for example the preferred degree of government intervention (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008: 203). Attitudes can be complicated and filled with opposing considerations.

Craig, Kane and Martinez (2002, 2005) have shown that many American voters have ambivalent attitudes, i.e. positive and negative at the same time, toward central political issues. Ambivalence can be found in all parts of the mass public, but it may be most prevalent among the most sophisticated voters as they are familiar with both pros and cons in different issues and is able to weigh them against each other. Ambivalence in attitudes towards different issues is important because it can lead to less consistent attitude structures and ambivalent attitudes tend to be less stable because they are more open to persuasion (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008: 251-252).

Measuring attitudes in survey research can also be a daunting task. A wealth of different factors can potentially lead respondents to profess other attitudes than they originally held. Among these are avoiding to appear ignorant, desire to cooperate with the interviewer, ambivalence about the questions, the race of the interviewer and social desirability pressures. In other words social interaction plays a crucial role in determining the results of survey research (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008: 188).

The relationship between values and attitudes needs to be clarified as it can be quite vague and confusing. First of all it can be difficult to connect certain values with corresponding attitudes. Similar attitudes can have a foundation in different values between different people and attitudes can be created by a combination of values (Rokeach 1973: 96). The main defining difference between values and attitudes is that attitudes are an “organization of several beliefs around a specific object or situation”, whereas values “refer to a single belief of a very specific kind” (Rokeach 1973: 18). Furthermore, Rokeach (1973: 18) describes values as desirable modes of behavior with a transcendental quality that guides actions attitudes and judgments. These definitions uncover several important differences between the concepts. A value is a single belief and an attitude is an organization of several beliefs that are focused on an object or situation. These definitions have a number of implications. The most obvious are that attitudes are organizations of beliefs and concern objects and situations. The number of values a person has equals the number of learned desirable modes of conducts, while the number of attitudes equals the number of objects and situations an individual has made direct and indirect contact with, this fact leads to the creation of roughly dozens of values and thousands of attitudes. Values works as standards in guiding behavior while attitudes do not and a relatively low number of values is used to evaluate different attitudes. Lastly, values are the motivational factor while attitudes are merely the organization of these motivations (Rokeach 1973: 18-19; Rokeach 1970: 157-8, 160). The causal relationship between values and attitudes will be discussed further below.

2.2.2 Dimensional voting

So where does all this lead? As mentioned, Lewis-Beck et al. (2008: 203-241) uses the term “attitude structure” to describe issues which are strongly related to each other and an underlying common element, i.e. a value. These attitude structures can never be directly observed as similar opinions can be a result of different types of reasoning.⁵ Therefore they

⁵ An example provided by Lewis-Beck et al. (2008) is opposition to welfare programs, which can be explained by an opposition to the resulting tax burdens or a more general scepticism against government intervention.

are often theoretically based with resulting expectations to correlations between the different variables. In other words, a lot depends on the subjective reasoning that connects the clear-cut correlations and what the final attitude structure actually encompasses. (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008: 205). Lewis-Beck et al. (2008: 201-253) identifies three attitude structures using Guttman scaling: foreign policy, lifestyle and social welfare. Their foreign policy dimension is comprised of four American National Election Studies (ANES) items included in the 2004 ANES studies. The items are concerned around views of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars and general level of defense spending. The implied dimension is a span between those who doubt the effectiveness of military action and those who prefer military action. The social welfare dimension is comprised of items related to government spending, government versus private health insurance, and assistance to African Americans. They also identify a lifestyle dimension where views on women as workers or homemakers, governmental funding of abortion and gay marriage. Three related underlying values, general preference for diplomatic or military means in foreign policy, feelings about morality, and feelings about the government, each connected with the three attitude structures. The relationship between attitude structures and their related values is not termed, in this analysis this phenomenon will be known as a “policy dimensions”. There are no watertight walls between these dimensions. Some of the values can be said to be part of two or more dimensions, but their placement is based on a belief of where they will have the strongest connection.

Hurwitz and Peffley (1987) studied the existence of foreign policy dimensions with more detailed data than the case is with the ANES. They identified the relationship between two core values (ethnocentrism and morality of war), three so-called general postures (militarism, anticommunism and isolationism) and five issues (defense spending, military involvement, nuclear arms, Soviet relations, and international trade). Only three of these elements are present in all of the ANES surveys in the selected time period, namely isolationism, defense spending, and international trade. Correlation analysis showed a significant bivariate relationship between isolationism on the one side and defense spending and international trade on the other (Hurwitz and Peffley 1987: 1105). Although correlated with other parts of the model, this will be seen as an independent dimension in my model. In the United States this has been one of the preeminent dimensions on how to secure the safety of the nation in the best possible way going a long way back (Hurwitz and Peffley 1987: 1108)⁶. The values related to, and the issues arising from this dimension have played an important role in United

⁶ See also Walter Russell Mead’s treatment of the Jeffersonian tradition in American foreign policy in his book “Special Providence” (Mead 2002: 174-217).

States politics since its creation. For a long time the isolationist bloc held the upper hand, only to be pushed slightly back under World War I before the great upheaval under Franklin Delano Roosevelt in World War II. After 1945 The United States has been an active player on the world stage with support from a majority of its citizens (Gaddis 2004). Although isolationism in its purest form is rare, opinions calling for less international involvement are still widespread, and even rising in times with economic hardships (Pew Research Center 2009). Hurwitz and Peffley (1987) cites research by Watts and Free (1978) that found the idea of isolationism and internationalism as opposites on a single dimension to be questionable, because of this they prefer to focus on the degree of isolationism as a scale on its own with no defined counterparts. It might be useful to keep this in mind when interpreting the results from the later analyses.

Given the latest development in American politics, it would be interesting to see if there is a “New Politics” dimension comprised of environmental and libertarian/authoritarian values as described by Inglehart (Inglehart and Flanagan 1987). Inglehart connects authoritarian and materialist values on the one side and libertarian and post-materialist on the other side. There exists a correlation between these pairs of value orientations, but Flanagan suggests that these two dimensions should be split because the conflicts between Old and New Politics and between New Left and New Right can be separately identified (Inglehart and Flanagan 1987: 1303-1318). Brown and Carmines (1995) studied the theorized rise of post-materialism in American presidential elections from 1976 to 1992. They found evidence that there was a connection between opinions on post-materialist issues and vote choice, but that this connection was independent from positions on the related values. In other words, both materialists and post-materialists used post-materialist issues to decide which candidate to vote for. As their post-materialist concept is similar to the broad single dimension proposed by Inglehart it serves as an interesting study of the role of New Politics in presidential elections. Their findings make it even more important to include New Politics in the research model.

This analysis includes other value dimensions to provide a counterweight to the foreign policy dimension, the relationship between the other dimensions is of lesser importance. Therefore the materialist/post-materialist and authoritarian/libertarian dimensions will be grouped together for the sake of simplicity.

2.2.3 Party identification

Party identification can be defined as the positive and negative associations individuals have to the different parties with the result of the parties acting as powerful organizing mechanisms for the individuals' political cognition (Franklin and Jackson 1983: 957). According to Johnston (2006: 331), party identification is characterized as “a simple loyalty, learned early and largely unimpaired by subsequent learning”. Lewis-Beck et al. (2008: 138-141) show that the formation of party identification is strongly connected to the partisanship of the parents. Their findings show that it is overwhelmingly likely that a person will adopt the party identification of the parents if they belong to the same party. The identification is close to random if the parents have no consistent partisanship. This connection is stronger in families where politics is discussed regularly. The formation of party identification begins in childhood and early adolescence, long before the age of voting.

2.3 Presentation of the model and discussion of causalities

Both “The American Voter” and “The American Voter Revisited” serves as the main theoretical foundation for this analysis. These works constitute the most thorough analyses for voting in American presidential elections as they create a comprehensive model for voter behavior in the United States. Especially their development of an electoral model and discussion of the causal relationships inside this model is of great relevance to this analysis. Lewis-Beck et al. (2008: 198) notes that although they employ a model with specified causalities, many of their assumptions are subject to extensive discussions among scholars.

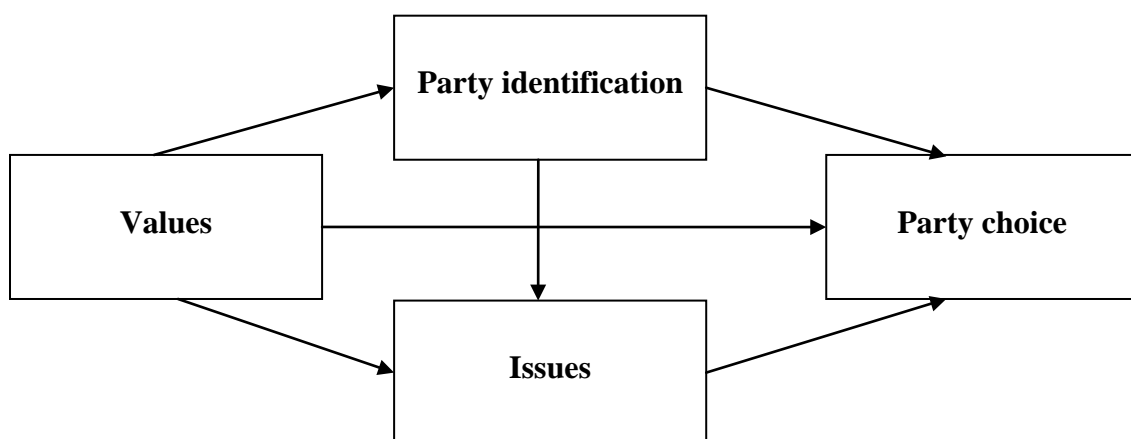


Figure 2.1: Model of voting in presidential elections

Lewis-Beck et al. does not present a graphic presentation of these variables and the causalities between them in their discussion, but it would look something like the figure shown above.

The relationship between the different parts of the model will be discussed in the sections below.

2.3.1 The role of values in the voting model

The research literature shows that the causality and connection between values and the other variables has been subject to some controversy. This applies to the relationship between values and political identification to a great degree. As mentioned, Lewis-Beck et al. (2008) thinks core values affect political identification and not vice versa. They follow the reasoning that attitude structures should be ordered hierarchically so that the most specific opinions are a result of less specified opinions ending up with the broadest value orientations on the top (Lewis-Beck 2008: 204). They employ this logic when they study the relationship between core values, political identification and issue attitudes and because of this hierarchical thinking they see political identification as mostly a product of existing core values.

Goren (2005) opposes this view, which he labels as value-based influence as opposed to partisan-based influence. In an analysis of ANES panel studies from the 1990s, he finds that the respondents' party identification has actually been more stable than their position on a selection of values. This leads to the conclusion that if it is the case that causes are more stable than effects, party identification is indeed influencing value opinions and not the other way around. Goren does not include foreign policy values in his analysis, but his results are baffling nonetheless. These results are corroborated by the experimental study done by Goren, Federico and Kittilson (2009). A central issue concerning these findings is whether the value changes are temporary or not, something the authors acknowledge. This complicates the matter somewhat, but even temporary value changes will play a role for issue attitudes and voting during an election. It is a difficult task to take sides in this kind of theoretical dispute when both sides seem to have strong arguments for their cause. Goren's (2005) article does not seem to have created a strong impression on the rest of the research field, it is even considered as an extreme view by Johnston (2006:337). Because Goren's view has not made an impact on voting studies yet, this analysis will concentrate on the causality suggested by Lewis-Beck et al. (2008).

Values are an essential part of politics as they create competition between different groups battling for the prominence of their values in the community, because of this they have predictive potential on societies (Schwartz 2007: 169). Attitudes and behavior normally concerns several values at once, so the internal ranking of the values plays an important role in how values affect attitude formation (Schwartz 2007: 171). Although the security

dimension described by Schwartz is complicated and comprised of two partly interchangeable parts, this research is a strong indication that foreign policy values really exist. Such values will potentially lead to opinions on foreign policy issues and therefore play a crucial role in the final voting.

2.3.2 The role of party identification in the voting model

Johnston (2006: 337-338) discusses whether party identification is a mover or not. The views range from party identification only playing a role for voting when information is scarce, something which hardly is the case in presidential elections, to being an important factor in determining issues positions, even “warping political cognition”, and consequently strongly influencing the final vote. The relationship between party identification and substantive opinions is also potentially another example of complex causality. The evidence suggests that party identification is partly influenced by issue opinions, but party identification seems to exert a much stronger influence on issue positions, especially low-salient issues and novel issues in general. The effect of party identification can in some cases be extremely strong, with some baffling results. Johnston (2006: 337) points to research done by Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee (1954) which showed that voters who held issue positions contradicting the position of the preferred candidate, tended to misperceive or not even know the position the preferred candidate held. There has been a gradual weakening of party ties over time in the United States, but few scholars think that this will turn into a complete dissolution of party identification altogether as predicted by the thesis of dealignment (Lewis-Beck 2008: 157).

2.3.3 The role of issues in the voting model

Issue attitudes are products of certain political questions which are central in determining voting as voters are more likely to vote for the candidate that holds issue positions close to their own. This last assumption is fairly logical, but it has spawned something of a research field on its own, namely the question of rationality in voting. As mentioned above, party identification has the potential of blinding voters because the voters are not in the possession of enough information. Part of the relationships between values and issue positions and party identification and issue positions have been discussed previously in section 2.2.1, but the role of issues in elections need to be further clarified. The case of attitude formation plays a central role in Aldrich, Sullivan and Borgida (1989). This complex phenomenon is also studied by social psychologists that have provided insight down to the cerebral level, i.e. how the brain

connects attitudes and perceptions, judgments, and behavior. Two central concepts are availability and accessibility:

“Availability refers to whether a construct or category is stored in memory, while accessibility refers to the readiness with which a stored construct like an attitude is retrieved from memory or is used in stimulus encoding.” (Aldrich Sullivan and Borgida 1989: 125)

Aldrich, Sullivan and Borgida points to Fazio’s (1986) model of attitude accessibility and its thesis that the degree of availability and accessibility of attitudes determine their predictive power of perceptions, judgments and behavior. The degree of accessibility of constructs is determined by how often they are activated. These assumptions lead to the conclusion that campaigning on foreign policy issues will make them more accessible in voters’ minds, and thereby strengthening their importance for the voters’ final decision. When it comes to the proximity of experiences, only the accessibility is affected. Although this traditionally has led to the conclusion of foreign policy issues being less accessible than domestic policy issues, Aldrich, Sullivan and Borgida (1989: 126) argues that voters feel the effects of foreign policy as strongly as domestic policy, exemplified by the citizens’ experiences under the World Wars, the Vietnam War and the Cold War. These events have the potential of forming the attitudes of the public years and decades after they occurred.⁷ This conclusion leads to the next step in the role of issue opinions in determining voting.

Campbell et al. (1960: 170) lists three necessary conditions that needs to fulfilled if an issue is going to have an effect on a person’s vote decision:

1. The issue must be cognized in some form.
2. It must arouse some minimal intensity of feeling.
3. It must be accompanied by some perception that one party represents the person’s own position better than do the other parties.

This means that the issue cognition is only the first step towards influencing voting. The issue also needs to arouse some feelings in addition to a perceived difference between the candidates so that voters see the point of choosing one over the other. Even if the conditions are simple, large portions of the population fails to meet the criteria in a range of important issues (Campbell et al. 1960: 170-171). It is easy to overstate the level of issue familiarity

⁷ A difference in accessibility will on the other hand occur if a person has been involved in activity demanding a greater degree of consciousness connected to the issue like discussing the issue with other people, taking a public stance, canvassing, signing petitions et cetera.

considering how often people are in contact with the news media, but the fact is that people's mind tend to be highly selective.

The interesting thing is that the research done in the 1960s (Campbell et al. 1960: 174), the 1980s (Aldrich, Sullivan and Borgida 1989: 128), and the first decade in the new millennium (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008: 170) show that people are about equally comfortable in placing themselves and the parties on both domestic policy scales and foreign policy scales throughout the period. The same results also show that, albeit the numbers differ between the different issues, that about 50-60 percent of the respondents felt confident enough to place both their own position and the parties' position on the different scales in the 60s and 80s, but the numbers rose to about 80 percent in the last study. Judging from these numbers, there seems to have been a rise in issue familiarity and perceptions since the end of the Cold War. The question concerning the intensity of feeling has been subject to debate in the research literature. Several works have come up with the slightly counterintuitive conclusion that issue attitudes that individuals rank as important does not play a central part in candidate preference formation (Krosnick 1988: 196). However, Krosnick (1988) comes to the opposite conclusion and also finds that extreme attitudes toward issues are a stronger determinant than more moderate attitudes.

2.3.4 Other considerations

In addition to the above mentioned parts of the model, this analysis will include a set of structural variables to control for the effect of social groups in the rest of the voting model. As these groups are a result of genetic and social interaction that forms the basis of the creation of opinions, they will be included prior to all the other variables in the model. A wealth of different social characteristics has been connected to voting, including race, religion, class and gender (Manza and Brooks 1999: 33-39; Lewis-Beck 2008: 309, 340). There will not be any generation of hypotheses based on the relationship between the structural variables and the rest of the model because this falls outside the objective of this analysis.

One potential part of the model that has been left out is candidate evaluations. Candidate evaluations concern a range of different characteristics such as the candidates' experience, their previous political record, intelligence, personality, competence and trustworthiness. Admittedly, these have played a central role in studies of American presidential elections. However, most of these studies aim to explain every aspect of voting in the United States, featured most prominently in "The American Voter" and its successors. If candidate evaluations were to be included in the model shown above, they would constitute an

intervening variable between issue opinions and the final vote as values, party identification and issue positions most likely influence candidate evaluations and not vice versa. Inclusion of candidate evaluation would increase the explaining power of the model, but not provide any new insights into the relationship between opinions on foreign policy and voting.

The discussion above of the different parts of the model shows that voting is indeed a complex phenomenon. It is hard enough to treat the subject satisfyingly in a book, and the constraints of this thesis necessitate painful choices of which factors and considerations to include and not to include. Nevertheless, this model will be able to answer the central research questions to a satisfying degree.

3. Historical context and hypotheses

This chapter will start with providing a historical context for the rest of this thesis. Each election will be presented chronologically starting with a short presentation of the main characteristics of the race followed by previous relevant research into the voting dynamics of each election. It must be noted that the treatment of each election has been highly dependent on the amount of previous research and therefore the size and apparent thoroughness of will vary to some degree. This review will together with the theoretical groundwork laid out in chapter 2 form the basis of the generation of hypotheses in section 3.2. The focus will be on the role of foreign policy, but the importance of the other policy areas will be commented where applicable. The hypotheses will in turn form the basic analytic framework for the analyses in chapter 5.

3.1 Historical context

3.1.1 1992 presidential election

The 1992 presidential election pitted the incumbent republican George H. W. Bush against the up and coming democrat Bill Clinton and the independent billionaire Ross Perot in a rare three-way race. Bush had they year before emerged from the Gulf War as a highly competent and strong leader in foreign affairs and was even considered unbeatable by some potential Democratic candidates (Miller and Shanks 1996: 399).

Miller and Shanks (1996) provides a useful basis for understanding and analyzing the 1992 election. They confronted the belief that the end of the cold war would yield immediate effects in the 1992 election with a greatly reduced impact of foreign policy opinions on the election outcome. Central to their argument were the discussions around what place USA should take, being the only remaining superpower in the new unipolar system in international relations and the related Persian Gulf War of 1991 and how these events contradicted the originally quite sensible post-Cold War hypothesis (Miller and Shanks 1996: 308). The selection of relevant issues on the other hand changed dramatically leading to a different election dynamic than the one seen in the 1980s which orbited around the Soviet Union and how to deal with it. Their analysis does however show that foreign policy had to make way for economic policy, the most important battlefield of the election (Miller and Shanks 1996: 399).

Bush was haunted by the notorious statement “read my lips: no new taxes” he made at the Republican National Convention in 1988 when he accepted the nomination as the Republican

candidate in the general election later that year. The four-year period between 1988 and 1992 was marked by low wage growth and a small recession, but the situation improved somewhat before the election (Alvarez and Nagler 1995: 715; Hetherington 1996: 372-374).

Perot focused relentlessly on reducing the budget deficit, he also injected foreign policy into the economic debate by railing against the NAFTA agreement and the fear of job losses to Mexico (Rosenstone et al.1996: 237, 267).

Rachel L. Holloway (1994) gives some attention to foreign policy in her analysis of the 1992 campaign, but it mostly serves as a backdrop for what she sees as the most important questions, namely the ones related to the stagnant economy. Most of the focus related to foreign policy is set on the incumbent George H. W. Bush and his treatment of the end of the Cold War and what it meant for the United States. Bush argued that after the Cold War, the rest of the world trusted the United States and their handling of their suddenly unequalled power. He further argued that the American people should leave him with the same degree of trust, implying that he considered his past achievements abroad as successful and that the voters should support the more internationalist line he had set out (Holloway 1994: 139).

As Bush before the election had a 63 percent approval rating on foreign policy, and only 30 percent approval rating on the economy, Clinton mostly avoided foreign policy in his campaign. When Clinton mentioned the big changes on the world scene, it served as a point of departure for more general arguments that changes on this scale should be counterweighted by equally prominent changes at home, but mostly related to domestic policy and governance. Clinton also belittled Bush' previous foreign policy achievements by unfavorably contrasting it with his less successful attempts at remedying the economy, implying that success abroad accounts for nothing as long as the economy is not in order (Holloway 1994: 143). Clinton's views on foreign policy in the 1992 election are quite elegantly summarized by himself in his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention in 1992:

“We meet at a special moment in history, you and I. The Cold War is over. Soviet communism has collapsed. And our values – freedom, democracy, individual rights, free enterprise – they have triumphed all around the world. And yet, just as we have won the Cold War abroad, we are losing the battles for economic opportunity and social justice here at home. Now that we have changed the world, it's time to change America.” (Wolley and Peters 2010)

The infamous phrase “it’s the economy stupid”, originally coming from Clinton’s campaign headquarters and becoming one of the most defining quips in the 1992 election, strongly signaled that Bill Clinton would not put much emphasis on foreign policy (Walt 2000: 63).

3.1.2 1996 presidential election

The 1996 election produced yet another three-way race with Bill Clinton as incumbent against the republican challenger Bob Dole and a repeated effort from Ross Perot. The race was not as tight as in 1992 and the challenge from Perot was considerably weaker.

The 1996 election is something of a black hole in American elections studies, especially with respect to the role of foreign policy. The main reason for this is the general impression that foreign policy played little to no role in the election as economic issues took the center stage once again (Alvarez and Nagler 1998). Neither the mainstream media nor the candidates themselves focused on foreign policy and the differences between the candidates on these issues were perceived as limited (Bennett and White 2002: 19-20). Pomper (1997: 189) attributes the lack of foreign policy focus to “the end of open international conflicts” after the Cold War. Wanniski (1999: 113-129) directs his attention to why this was the case.⁸ He states that this was not a result of a lack of critical foreign policy issues. According to him, the lack of foreign policy focus in the election originated from certain characteristics of the candidates. Bob Dole is described as an old-school conservative from rural Kansas who viewed the President as the undisputed commander-in-chief and that he should command public support regardless of what foreign policies he initiated. Clinton on the other hand came into the White House in 1993 directly from the position of governor in Arkansas and had at the time little or no distinct views when it came to foreign policy. He therefore let more experienced Democrats greatly influence the formation of foreign policy in his first period. These Democrats had been quite tightly knit to their Republican counterparts in the last part of the Cold War through the House and Senate committees on foreign relations and the Council of Foreign Relations (Wanniski 1999: 113-114). Because of this intriguing connection, Clinton’s positions on foreign policy were situated quite close to the positions of the Republican establishment.

The only foreign policy issue to receive some degree of attention was an American bombing strike in Iraq ordered by Clinton one month before the election. This previous research

⁸ Jude Wanniski is a former associate editor of the Wall Street Journal and a conservative commentator. His account is slightly biased, but he provides interesting argumentation and his claims fit well with the rest of the literature.

suggests that foreign policy issues in the 1996 election failed the third of the criteria Campbell et al. (1960: 170) thought necessary to be influential on an individual's voting decision, namely that there has to be some perceived difference between the alternatives that makes one of the alternatives preferred over the others.

3.1.3 2000 presidential election

The 2000 election was apparently a return to normalcy with the two main parties dominating the campaign with George W. Bush challenging Clinton's vice president Al Gore, but the independent challenger Ralph Nader most likely had a crucial impact in the extremely close election. In the run-up to the 2000 election, policymakers somewhat mistakenly interpreted voters' attitude toward foreign policy as taking an isolationist turn. More precisely, many voters were in a state of "apathetic internationalism", generally favoring an active participation in world affairs by the United States, but unwilling to make significant sacrifices (Bennett and White 2002: 20). Prior to this election many different interest groups worked hard to fill the gap left by the redundancy of the Cold War strategy. This led to the media and the candidates themselves using considerable time and resources covering foreign policy issues (Bennett and White 2002: 23). Gore focused on poverty alleviation, global environmental issues, peacemaking and stopping governments in hurting their own citizens. Bush on the other hand focused on increasing military spending in the United States and its allies. Both candidates focused on free trade and democratization of other countries (Anand and Krosnick 2003: 14-16).

Evidence suggests that a large part of the electorate used one or more foreign policy issues when determining their candidate preferences (Anand and Krosnick 2003: 68). According to Gerald M. Pomper (2001) foreign policy was not the most prominent policy area in the election. It was however clear that Bush commanded larger trust in handling world affairs, on Election Day he commanded a lead of 14 percentage points when voters were asked which candidate they thought would do the best job. World affairs were in addition tax management only two of seven policy areas where Bush had larger trust (Pomper 2001: 216). Pomper (2001: 219) also saw the 2000 election as a step towards further weakening of the role of foreign policy in American presidential elections, a prediction which would be rendered meaningless by later events.

3.1.4 2004 Presidential Election

The situation underlying the 2004 election was vastly different than in 2000. The attack on the United States on September 11 2001 and the subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq created a world apart from the election only four years earlier. The scale and the emotional aspects of the conflicts led to a situation probably not seen since the Vietnam War.⁹ The United States went from a situation in the 1990s where, although there were many international crisis such as the Balkan Wars, the peacekeeping operations in Somalia, and the genocide in Rwanda among others, the United States felt more safe than perhaps before in its history to a situation where the homeland was directly attacked with the grave possibility of more to come. This relates to Aldrich, Sullivan and Borgida's (1989: 126) notion that the citizens of the United States regularly experiences the reality of the outside world which in turn is expected to make its impression in the ballot boxes. The evaluation of the actions carried out by the Bush-administration after September 11 formed the central issue.

Interestingly, evidence suggests that the issue split the population right down the middle and none of the candidates gained a decisive advantage because of it (Lewis-Beck 2008: 34-35). Wlezien and Erikson (2005) support this perspective by concluding that the Iraq war did not hurt Bush' electoral performance. This is contradicted by several other studies. James E. Campbell (2004) argues that Bush' final vote tally was lower than it would have been without the Iraq War. Gelpi, Reifler and Feaver (2007) studied the effect of the Iraq war on the vote choice. They found out that opinions on whether the invasion was a right thing to do and opinions on the future success of the occupation was a strong determinant of the vote. They also conducted several surveys which showed that voters increasingly named foreign policy issues as the most important for vote choice the closer they came to Election Day. In the week before the election 30 % of the respondents named foreign policy issues as the most important (Gelpi, Reifler and Feaver 2007: 159). It is also possible that casualties in the Iraq War depressed the final vote tally for Bush with about two percentage points. These casualties weakened the widespread opinion that Bush in the immediate wake of the September 11 attacks had tackled the terrorist threat in a satisfactory way (Karol and Miguel 2007). Two analyses found out that compared to other issues, foreign policy played an important role for vote choice, even compared to economy and moral issues (Hillygus and Shields 2005: 207; Guth et al. 2006).

3.1.5 2008 presidential election

⁹ This was the first time since Pearl Harbor that the United States had been attacked directly and the first time since the War of 1812 the mainland United States was attacked by an external enemy.

The 2008 election could have been yet another election where the foreign policy set out by Bush after September 11 was the central issue. This prospect was somewhat derailed by the financial crisis which was catapulted onto the main stage when the bank Lehman Brothers filed for bankruptcy on September 15 2008, barely three weeks before the election. The central issue became how to stop a financial collapse and how to limit the job losses stemming from the effects of the problems in the finance sector. The Iraq War still played an important role as the republican candidate John McCain had supported the war from the onset while Barack Obama had been a vocal critic of the attack.

This election is still pretty fresh in the academic sense and major analyses of this election have not made their debut yet. The 2008 election is vaguely reminiscent of the 1992 election in the sense that irregular economic cycles lead to foreign policy taking the back seat in the elections when they potentially could have been dominant. On the other hand the situations could not have been more different considering the level of national safety and the degree of international military involvement.

3.2 Hypotheses

The hypotheses that will be outlined below are tightly connected with the model presented in section 2.3 and the historical context in the previous section. The main focus will be the existence of different policy dimensions and how the foreign policy related parts of the model, i.e. the issues and attitudes connected to foreign policy, relates to the rest of the model with respect to relative strength in determining voting and changes in this relationship over time. The factor analysis will provide insight into the true relationship between the different values and issues. All hypotheses will be analyzed in chapter 5.

Foreign policy issue dimension: Based on the argument above and the results of Hurwitz and Peffley's (1987) research, I expect that there exists one foreign policy issue dimension throughout the period (hypothesis 1) representing a dimension spanning between the wish for an isolationist foreign policy or a wish for a more internationalist foreign policy.

Domestic policy dimensions: I expect the economic variables to form an economic left-right dimension expressing opinions on the degree of government intervention in all elections (hypothesis 2.1), the New Politics variables to form a dimension expressing opinions on social structure and social equality in all elections (hypothesis 2.2 and) the religious variables to form a dimension expressing the degree of religious influence in politics in all elections (hypothesis 2.3).

Effect of foreign policy value: I expect that opinions on whether the United States should involve itself in international affairs or not, will exert an influence on the final vote in all elections except for the 1996 election (hypothesis 3). The review of the existing research on this election suggested that this year was a special case regarding the role of foreign policy.

Effect of foreign policy issues: Based on Aldrich Sullivan and Borgida's (1989) results, I believe foreign policy issues will at least make some impact most of the elections. Therefore I expect significant effects of foreign policy issue attitudes on voting in all elections except 1996 (hypothesis 4). As the case was in the previous point, this is an expectation brought on by the existing research.

Trend: I expect that the foreign policy issues will have a varying effect on the different elections given the changing political climates in the time period; the same applies to the foreign policy value (hypotheses 5.1 and 5.2). I also believe that the foreign policy issues will see the same trends as the foreign policy value as it is difficult to find any reason why they should part (hypothesis 5.3). Given the discussion above, foreign policy will have the greatest effect in the 2004 election (hypothesis 5.4) followed by the 2008 and 2000 elections (hypothesis 5.5), compared to other elections. This hypothesis is deeply intertwined with the attacks on 9/11 and the following events in Afghanistan and Iraq. I would have expected an equal or even stronger effect of foreign policy opinions in the 2008 election if it had not been for the ruckus related to the financial crisis.

Relative importance of foreign policy: I expect that the foreign policy issues will have a larger impact on the voting in the 2004 presidential elections than each of the other domestic policy issues and that this will be the only election where this is the case (hypothesis 6.1 and 6.2). This hypothesis is related to the previous point, but it concerns the relationship between the foreign policy dimension and the other issue dimensions rather than the relationship between the foreign policy dimensions of the different elections.

Foreign policy versus party identification: Mirroring the results from Aldrich, Borgida and Sullivan (1989), I expect the effect of foreign policy issues on voting to be smaller than the impact from party identification in all elections (hypothesis 7.1). The previous research shows that although foreign policy issues can take the center stage in an election, party loyalties still play a larger role. I also believe that the effect of the foreign policy value will be smaller than the party identification (hypothesis 7.2).

4. Data and research methodology

This chapter will discuss the data that will form the basis of the analysis before it delves into the choice of specific methods of analyzing the data. It will touch subjects such as comparing different types of analysis methods, the problems arising from missing values and the properties of statistical research in general.

4.1 Data

This analysis will use survey data from the American National Election Studies (ANES). These surveys go back to the presidential election in 1948 and have served as a backbone for studies of American voting ever since. The ANES studies are comprehensive as they cover a wide range of questions and provide possibilities for studying changes over time. These advantages are somewhat limited by the ever-changing nature of the survey questions which complicates studies over time. As a result of this, most of the analyses of American voting using ANES are limited to two elections. In this case the foreign policy questions are lacking stability in the chosen time period between 1992 and 2008. The surveys from 1996 and 2000 are especially limited when it comes to foreign policy questions, which complicates the analysis. Some of the surveys include questions asking respondents to rank different policy areas after importance. Although they include some interesting information, a problem with such questions is that they do not convey the strength of attitudes held by the respondent or if they even care at all (Nie, Verba and Petrocik 1976: 98). Therefore these types of items have not been included in this analysis. One last concern is the fresh nature of the 2008 ANES at the time of analysis. Two of the social background variables that have been included in the other elections were still confidential at the time of analysis resulting in no indication of whether the respondent lived in a rural or urban environment and a greatly reduced detail of the class variable with the only distinction being between employers and employed.

Table 4.1: Number of total respondents in each survey and number of respondents who voted for the Democratic or Republican candidate in the corresponding presidential election.

Election survey	Total N	Voting N
1992:	2,485	1,357 (1,658)
1996:	1,714	1,034 (1,116)
2000:	1,807	1,120
2004:	1,212	811
2008:	2,323	1,539

Note: Numbers in parenthesis indicates the total number of voters including Perot voters.

As the table shows, the number of units in the final analyses will be smaller because of missing values, mainly represented by the voting variable itself as this analysis only includes the respondents that actually voted. Nevertheless, the size of the samples and the rigidity in the selection makes the sample size satisfactory for the following analyses. The issue of missing variables will be discussed further below. The usage of ANES data also strengthens comparisons with other studies as they generally use the same kind of data either exclusively or in combination with other surveys. When the data come from the same source, any differences in results come from somewhere else such as the choice of models and variables.

4.2 Research methodology

4.2.1 Factor analysis

The first task laid out by the previous chapters is to identify possible value and issue dimensions in American politics. The identification of these dimensions will be done with factor analysis, a method often employed in these cases. Factor analysis refers to several statistical methods aiming to reduce a number of variables into a smaller number of hypothetical variables (Kim and Mueller 1978a: 9). The method originated from psychology and it aims to identify underlying similarities between variables by checking the interrelationships between them (Lawley and Maxwell 1962: 209; Kim and Mueller 1978a: 9). This thesis will utilize semi-confirming factor analyses. This means that the number of expected components are defined beforehand based on theoretical assumptions, but that each variables' association to the component are not. The semi-confirmatory factor analyses are

run as they would have in an explanatory analysis, but only the number of defined components with the highest eigenvalues are used, regardless if they are higher than 1 as is required by the Kaiser criterion.

A central problem in this case is that the ANES studies have not laid the ground for straightforward factor analysis. Therefore some additional considerations need to be made. There has been a debate about which variable measurement levels are compatible with factor analysis. Factor analysis is traditionally used on variables on the interval level, the controversy surrounds dichotomous variables as well as variables on the ordinal level. Shapiro, Lasarev and McCauley (2002) found that randomly generated data in a series of dichotomous variables led to a relatively large explained variance and factor loadings. Kim and Mueller (1978b: 73-75) are skeptical against the inclusion of dichotomous variables in factor analyses, but they conclude that if the variables are indicators of underlying continuous variables for which the factor analysis models apply, and if the correlations are under .7 and lower, dichotomous variables can be used in factor analysis if the sole object is to find clustering in the data. Larry Percy (1976) cites research from Peabody (1962) and Cronbach (1950) which argued that Likert-type ratings are more about direction than strength and that Likert-scales that are collapsed into dichotomies can be used in factor analyses. Part of the argument comes from Jacoby and Mattell (1971), whose analysis showed that the degree of validity and reliability was independent from the number of scale points in the Likert-scale. From this it can be inferred that dichotomous Likert-scale items can be utilized the same way.

4.2.2 Choice of regression method

Although logistic regression is the standard choice in models with dichotomous dependent variables, some argue that linear regression can be used with great success. According to Hellevik (2009: 59-60) the main arguments against linear analysis with dichotomous dependent variables is the risk of meaningless results and that the statistical significance tests for linear analyses are inappropriate for dichotomous dependent variables. However, Hellevik (2009) argues that these arguments are overblown and shows with a set of analyses that the difference in significance probabilities between the two methods are nearly non-existent and that impossible results using linear analysis will only occur in extreme cases. The main reasons for preferring linear analysis according to Hellevik (2009: 73), is the more intuitive results. In addition, linear analysis provides a sense of how strong the model is through measures such as R and R^2 and standardized beta coefficients makes it easier to evaluate the relative strength of the included variables. Judging from duplicate logistic analysis of the

same material as the linear regressions, the differences are relatively small and unimportant for this analysis. Because of this, this analysis will solely focus on Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression.

The regressions of the models will be sequential because of the causalities presumed in the model. Sequential regressions allow control of the significance for each part of the model and it also gives the most optimal results given the model specification. The choice of sequential regression also facilitates the use of effect change analysis as described by Hellevik (1988: 71-81). This method makes it possible to break down bivariate correlations into different components identifying spurious effects, indirect effects and direct effects. This makes it possible to acquire greater understanding of each of the variables' effect on voting and how they relate to each other. The central element of this method is that the first step a variable is included in a model yields the total causal effect as the variable is controlled for the underlying variables but not the intervening variables. The last step of the model returns all the direct effects as the coefficients are controlled for all underlying and intervening variables. As causal effects equal the sum of direct and indirect effects, the indirect effects of variables can be extracted with simple subtractions.

As always is the case with survey research, the issue of missing values on different values is a central problem. The more variables included in the model, the greater the problem of missing values and therefore excluded respondents if certain measures are not taken. As this analysis will use a great number of variables ranging from different social characteristics to greatly differing issue attitudes, the potential for a great loss of units is present, a fact which demands further consideration. If a unit lacks a value on a variable, essentially two things can be done: exclude the unit or create a new value based on assumptions or an average value. When dealing with variables describing social characteristics, the only choice is to exclude units as there is no meaningful way of creating new values. The same is the case for party identification. When it comes to group of variables with a degree of relation to each other, it is possible to construct a new value based on other the variables or even use the average of the other respondents. Regardless of the method chosen in handling missing values, the explanatory power of the model is weakened, either because of the lower number of units or because creation of values closer to the average of the respondents other answers or the survey in general.

The nature of the first two elections in 1992 and 1996 necessitates additional analyses. The relative success of the third-party challenger Ross Perot suggested that he made a sizeable

impact on the voting decision. In the analyses of these two elections two extra regressions using dichotomized dependant variables including voting for Perot and each of the two main candidates will be included. The choice of this method over the multinomial logistic alternative will lead to easier comparison between the analyses. This will be something of a supplement to the main analysis as these results will be difficult to incorporate into the time dimension.

4.2.3 Validity and reliability

Statistical analysis has some advantages and weaknesses compared to other types of research methods. The concepts of validity and reliability are usually used in such comparisons between different methods. Each of these concepts covers a certain area of concern when it comes to the viability and the usefulness of research. Validity generally “concerns the crucial relationship between concept and indicator” (Carmines and Zeller 1979: 12). There are several types of validity, but there are widespread perceptions of how many types there are and what to label them.

Adcock and Collier (2001) created a set of three validity concepts under the umbrella of “measurement validity” aimed for both qualitative and quantitative research. The concepts of “content validity”, “convergent/discriminant validity”, and “nomological/construct validity” covers several aspects connecting four different levels of research describing the transition from broad theoretical concepts through systematization of these ideas, to measurable scores of the chosen indicators.

“Content validity” concerns the relationship between the systemized concepts and the chosen indicators, i.e. the operationalisation of the theoretical concepts. The central question is in what degree the chosen indicator fits with the systemized concept, the possible problem being that the indicator does not cover enough of the systemized concept, too much, or both.

“Convergent/discriminant validity” concerns the relationship between the scores from the different indicators employed to measure a common systemized concept. This type of validity can be two-sided as the absence of expected convergence between the score can serve as a new basis for theoretical discussion why the results did not confirm the expectations with possible modifications following. Alternatively the lack of convergence can lead to a conclusion that the indicators indeed measures different systemized concepts. Adcock and Collier (2001: 540-541) emphasize that lack of expected convergence does not dictate

conceptual choices. The researcher has a considerable degree of freedom when dealing with underlying concepts as long as they are sound theoretical reasons to do so.

“Nomological/construct validation” deals with the relationship between the results from the analysis and reasonably established causal relationships from previous research. If the results correspond to existing beliefs, they are considered valid. A criticism leveled against this type of validity is that some areas of research do not have the kind of solid foundation required for this kind of validity considerations (Adcock and Collier 2001: 543). This partly applies to this analysis as although the relationships between the different variables are quite defined, their relative strength and relationship will most likely change over time. Because of this, different results in this analysis will potentially be sign of a changing political climate rather than being weakly connected to the existing research.

In addition to the measurement validity described by Adcock and Collier, it is productive to include other types of validity described by Cook and Campbell (1979). Cook and Campbell (1979: 37-94) divides validity estimation into four parts: statistical conclusion validity, internal validity, construct validity and external validity. The construct validity described by Cook and Campbell is quite confusingly very similar to the content validity described by Adcock and Collier (2001).

Statistical conclusion validity is connected to the evaluation of the degree of covariation between the independent and dependent variables. Three central questions must be asked (Cook and Campbell 1979: 39): (1) Is the study sensitive enough to detect covariation? (2) Do the results indicate covariation? (3) If there covariation exists, how strong is it?

If solid statistical conclusion validity is established, internal validity comes into play. Internal validity deals with in which degree an existing covariation can be said to explain a causal relationship or to what degree a non-existing covariation can be said to represent absence of causality (Cook and Campbell 1979: 37).

The last useful addition provided by Cook and Campbell is external validity. External validity is judged by what degree the results arising from the analysis can be generalized to other settings and times including the use of other measures (Cook and Campbell 1979: 37, 70-73). Together, Adcock and Collier, and Cook and Campbell provide a comprehensive understanding of validity that is useful when evaluating the strength of this study.

Reliability can be defined as the “extent that to which an experiment, test, or any measuring procedure yields the same results on repeated trials” (Carmines and Zeller 1979: 11). As this

definition indicates, reliability concerns different levels of analyses. When judging the reliability of an analysis as a whole, the central question is whether it will yield the same results when performed again. Statistical survey analysis as a whole such as this one, are generally considered as very reliable as they are founded on definite scores and rigid mathematical principles. If a survey analysis is repeated using the same data and method, it will yield identical results. Both validity and reliability is a matter of degree (Carmines and Zeller 1979: 13).

Achieving complete validity and reliability is an ideal but unachievable end goal which serves as a yardstick for research. The central question is whether the methodological choices made lead to a satisfying degree of validity and reliability and thereby creating valid scientific conclusions.

4.3 Variables

The least complicated variables included in the analyses are the ones concerning social structure. They are a set of dummy variables extracted from broad categorical variables in the dataset. The choice of variables is inspired by the research conducted by Manza and Brooks (1999), Lewis-Beck et al. (2008) and Knutsen (2004). The included variables cover social divisions such as gender, age, race, education, religious denomination, religiosity, urban or rural habitat, region and class.¹⁰ Few of these variables will have significant effects in all elections, but their inclusion will insure that the rest of the analysis will not include effects that can be ascribed to social characteristics. The party identification variable in the different surveys is standardized and pretty straight-forward. The respondents are divided into seven different categories ranging from “strong republican” to “strong democrat”.

Regarding the variables related to the different policy areas, some of them need further introduction and discussion as to why they have been chosen. First of all, three variables representing foreign policy have been chosen: *stay at home*, *import limits*, and *defense spending*. They are practically the only variables existing in all five surveys measuring opinions on foreign policy. The *stay at home* variable is a dichotomous variable crudely measuring whether voters are isolationist or internationalist with respect to foreign policy, and it is interpreted as a measure of an underlying foreign policy-related value. This variable encapsulates the essence of the theorized foreign policy dimension, but the dichotomous nature is less than satisfactory.

¹⁰ See Appendix I for a more detailed overview of the specific variables.

Import limits and *defense spending* have been chosen as examples of foreign policy issues. As both of these issues can be said to be economic variables in a sense, they need some further explanation. The question of import limits is certainly connected to concerns surrounding unemployment and job creation, but it is clearly distinguished from other economic issues as it concerns the relationship between the United States and the rest of the world. For example, history has shown that the creation of trade barriers often leads to retaliation, something that can hurt the standing of the United States in the rest of the world. This is related to the isolationist-internationalist dimension as it measures an underlying issue of “self-sustainment” versus “cooperation”, in other words isolationism versus internationalism. Defense spending also has strong connections to economy as spending of this type constitutes a big part of the total federal spending in the United States. But this spending is also inextricably connected American activity abroad. As the world’s only superpower, American activity abroad includes military activity which in turn creates a need for defense spending. Because of this, internationalists is expected to favor a high degree of defense spending whereas isolationists favor decreased defense spending as they will focus on the defense of the United States itself. They are both quite specific and have strong connections to the theorized foreign policy dimension, both therefore serves as good representative of foreign policy in the later analyses. The three additional foreign policy variables, *foreign aid*, *nuclear*, and *democracy*, each measure which degree of importance the respondent gives to federal spending on foreign aid, stopping nuclear proliferation and spreading of democracy to other countries. These have all been important issues in discussions concerning American foreign policy, but since they are only included in the 1992, 2004, and 2008 surveys, they will only be included in extended analyses of these elections.

The economic variables, *insurance plan*, *social security*, *government spending*, and *government activism* are more straightforward with respect to the strong connection to the theorized economic left-right dimension as all of the measure opinions on the degree of government spending in one way or another. However, there is a problem regarding one of the chosen values, namely *government spending*. According to Schwartz and Bilsky's (1987: 551) definition of values mentioned in chapter 2, values are “concepts or beliefs about desirable end states or behaviors that transcends specific situations”. The problem with the *government spending* variable is that they do not measure opinions on end states that transcends situations, but rather which direction and strength of this direction the current situation should be changed. On the other hand Kluckhohn (1951: 395) emphasizes that the code or standard has

“some persistence through time” and that it “organizes a system of action”. The *government spending* variable is way to general to be considered as an issue as it covers a wealth of possible economic-related issues such as the two chosen. The question of changing the level of government spending and persistence through time is dependent on the stability of such spending. Opinions on this question can certainly be said to organize other questions into an “approval-disapproval continuum” as described by Kluckhohn. This leads me to conclude that the *government spending* variable can not be considered a measure of a value in its purest form as described by Schwartz and Bilsky, but that it encompasses important components associated with values, such as the function of organizing underlying issue attitudes.

“New politics” is measured by *death penalty*, *immigration*, and *social equality*. The *death penalty* variable is included to give a sense of the respondents’ perspective on punishment with supporters of death penalty forming the authoritarian end of the dimension. Immigration is an issue related to the hierarchical-egalitarian dimension as it in a way relates differing view on other nationalities and races. The last variable under the “New Politics” umbrella is *social equality*. This variable measures directly views related to equal treatment and equal rights in society, creating a span between those who are not concerned with people being treated different and people who are.¹¹ The views on social equality form an important basis for forming related attitudes such as death penalty and immigration. In addition to these variables two environmental variables will be included in the 1996, 2000, and 2008 elections. *Environment vs. jobs* measure how the respondents value environmental protection and job creation, and *environmental spending* measure what level of federal spending on environmental protection the respondent prefers.

The religious dimension is measured by *abortion*, *gays in military* and *morality*. Abortion has been one of the most important issues in American politics the last decades, especially concerning vote choice between the Republican and Democratic candidates. It has also been an issue greatly influenced by religious reasoning containing notions to God and the sanctity of life. The other chosen issue is the question of the inclusion of gay people in the military.

¹¹ When checked for internal consistency with factor analysis, these six variables part into two identical components in all five surveys, suggesting that the variables measure different underlying concepts. However, the split is not consistent with the subject matter of the questions, but rather how they are asked. The three questions which present equality as something positive (e.g. “If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems”) load together on the same component and their negative counterparts (e.g. “This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are”) loads together on the other component. This indicates that the variables measure the same thing, but the nature of the questions tricks the respondents into changing their views. Because of this, the six variables still will be indexed and treated as one.

Although directly religious reasoning is rarely used to justify a standpoint in this specific, it contains the underlying issue of the position of gay people in society which in turn is greatly influenced by religious values. The last variable is the *morality* variable which measures different views on morality and tolerance.¹² The table below provides a clear and systemized overview of the selected variables.

Table 4.2: Overview of the selected policy variables to be included in the analyses

	Foreign policy	Economic left-right	New Politics	Religious
Values	- Stay at home	- Government spending - Government activism	- Equality - (Environment vs. jobs)	- Morality
Issues	- Import limits - Defense spending - (Foreign aid) - (Nuclear) - (Democracy)	- Insurance plan - Social security	- Death penalty - Immigration - (Environmental spending)	- Abortion - Gays in military

Note: Variables in parentheses will only be included in some of the elections.

The table shows that there are thirteen standard policy variables to be included in all the standard analyses. The alternative foreign policy and environmental models will include sixteen and fifteen variables, respectively. The policy variables will be recoded, depending on the results of the factor analyses in the next chapter. Together with the party identification variable and the social background variables, a total of approximately 30 variables will form the basis in each analysis, depending on the model employed and the election that is analyzed.

Some recoding of the variables has been necessary and an explanation of some of these choices is in order. Firstly, many of the questions in the survey had “haven’t thought much about this” as one of its mentioned alternatives, resulting in large missing values for the variables concerned. Because of this, the respondents giving this as an answer have consistently been placed in the middle of each scale. Respondents who have not thought much about the issue can be said to have a lot in common with those in the middle of the scales as

¹² These variables consistently load together on the same component.

they do not have a defined direction in their opinion. In the import limits variable this group has been used to create a new value, transforming a dichotomy into a continuous variable with three possible values.

As mentioned, the lack of continuity in the variables between the surveys is a great challenge because some inconsistencies exist. The variables chosen are essentially identical across the surveys, but small differences in wording of the questions and the scales can be found. The most serious outlier is the 2000 election where part of the survey was an experimental version carried out over telephone. The problem is that some of the seven-point scales¹³ have been reduced to five-point scales in the telephone interviews in addition to slightly different wording of the questions.¹⁴ This has been solved by recoding the five-point scales into the seven-point scales to preserve the standard of reference with the other elections. None of the differences have been judged to be so large that the variables are incomparable across surveys.¹⁵

4.4 Plan for the analyses

First, results from the factor analyses aiming to identify the theorized policy dimensions will be commented. This will hopefully lead to a solid dimensional structure and a reduction of the included variables in the main analyses. After the appropriate recoding of variables have been specified, it is time to analyze the specified models. As it became clear under the selection of variables, there is a standard selection of variables common for all elections, and an extended set to be included in separate analyses in the election surveys where they are available. For the sake of clarity, the model in figure 2.1 will be reprised with the three separate types of variable inclusions, shown in figure 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3. The results from the extended models will not be shown in the text as they are not the main focus, but they will be commented in the degree they are interesting for the research question and hypotheses. Where specified, they are available in the appendix. In addition to these extended analyses, the 1992 and 1996 elections will feature two additional regression analyses including respondents that voted for Ross Perot and each of the two main candidates.

¹³ This concerns the *defense spending*, *insurance plan*, *government activism*, and *environment vs. jobs* variables.

¹⁴ E.g. “Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?” versus “Which is closer to the way you feel or haven't you thought much about this?” when the respondent is presented with a scale.

¹⁵ Details on the recodings can be found in Appendix I.

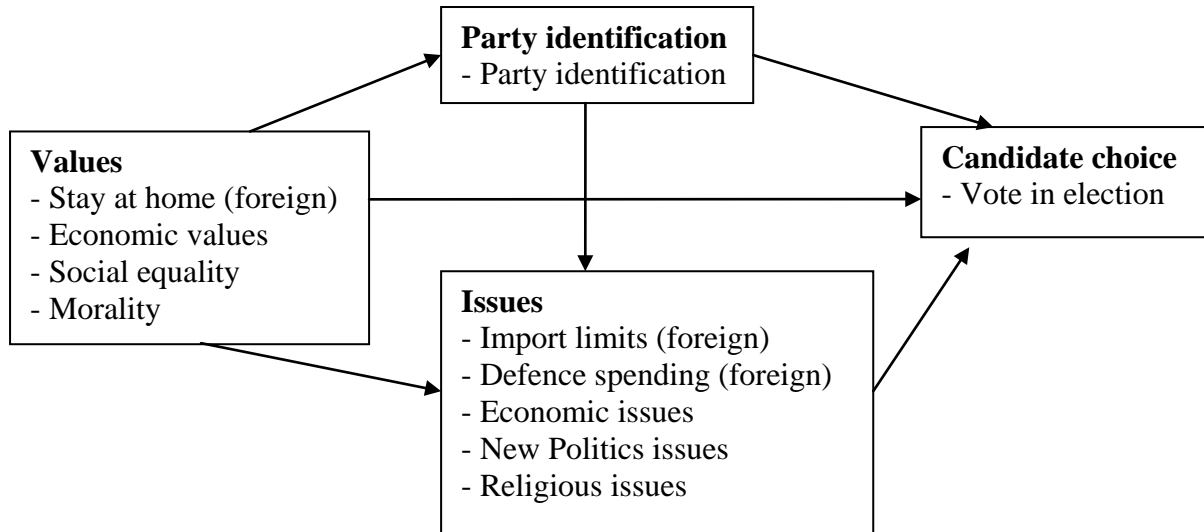


Figure 4.1: Standard selection of variables included in all elections.

Figure 4.1 shows the causalities and included variables in the standard model. This model is common for all elections and the tables from these analyses will be the basis for judging the variable coefficients in relation to the hypotheses.

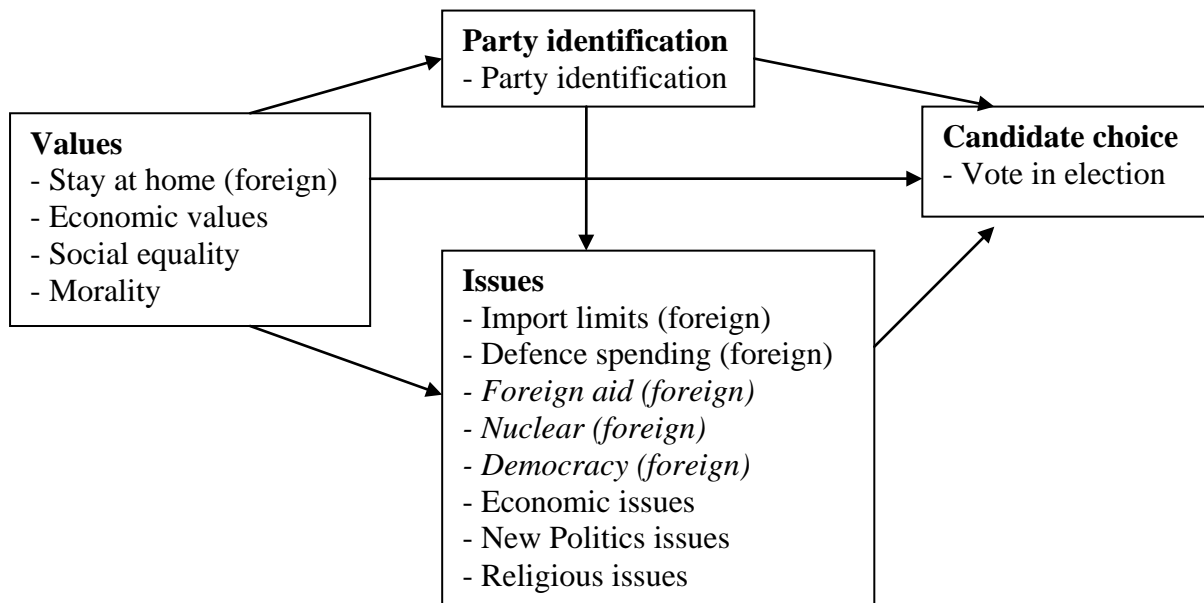


Figure 4.2: Model with three extra foreign policy issues available in the 1992, 2004, and 2008 surveys.

Figure 4.2 shows the additional analyses that will be performed for the 1992, 2004, and 2008 elections. The difference from the standard model lies in the three additional foreign policy variables included in the issue step of the model. The result from these analyses will mostly

tell about the specific elections as they are not comparable to the whole period. As a result of this, these results will not play a role in evaluating the hypotheses, but rather help with interesting insights into the concerned elections.

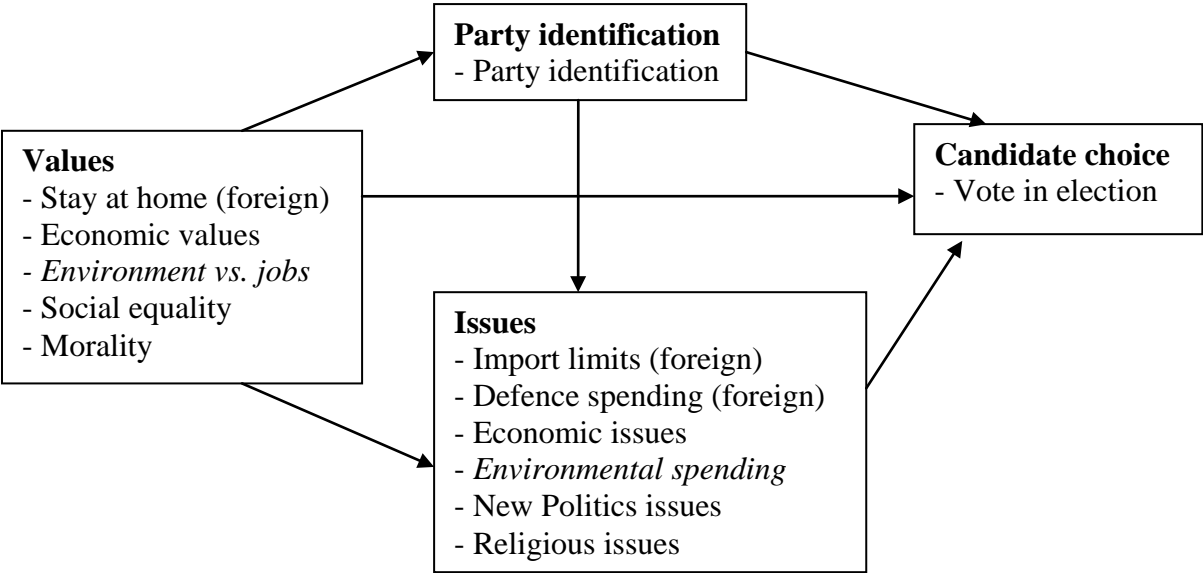


Figure 4.3: Model with two extra environmental variables available in the 1996, 2000, and 2008 surveys.

Figure 4.3 shows the addition model including the environmental variables. The two variables are included in the value and issue parts of the model. These analyses function mostly as a check of whether environmental policy plays a role in the concerned presidential elections. If they do, this will reveal a weakness of the standard model that has to be kept in mind when interpreting it. The results are not interesting in themselves as environmental policy is not the focus of thesis. Because of this, the results will not be shown in the text or the appendix.

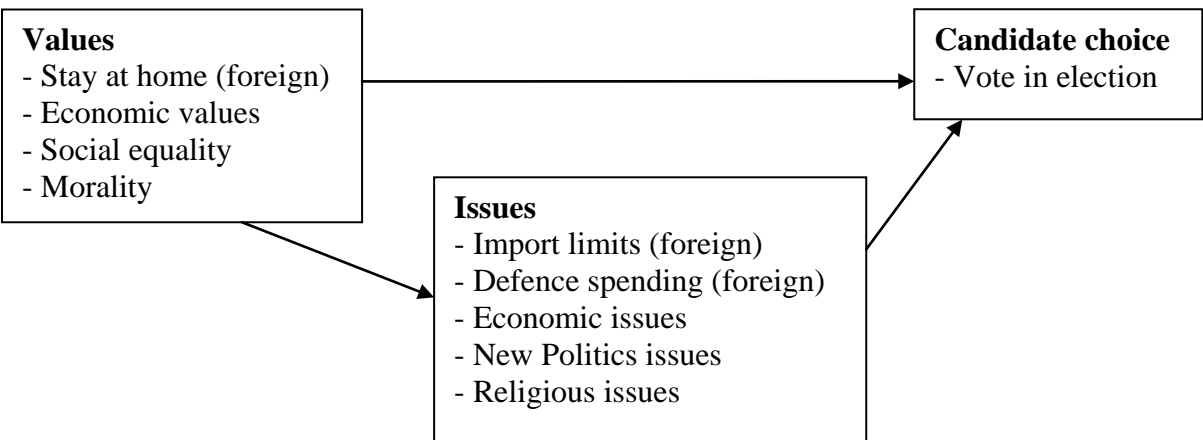


Figure 4.4: Additional model excluding party identification.

The following analyses will show that the party identification variable has a major impact in all elections, a fact that confounds some of the most interesting results, i.e. the relative importance of foreign policy values and issues relative to the other policy areas. Because of this, a fourth model excluding party identification as shown in figure 4.4 on the previous page is needed. The results arising from this model will not be part of the hypotheses evaluation, but they will serve to illustrate the massive impact of party identification in presidential elections.

5. Analyses

5.1 Identification of policy dimensions

A series of factor analysis in each election has been carried out, and the results can be viewed in appendix 2. The goal of these factor analyses is to check if the chosen variables are related in an expected way following the dimensional structure laid out previously. The foreign policy variables and the domestic policy variables have been split into two separate factor analyses as the foreign policy variables are of prime interest whereas the domestic policy variables serves as an addition. Three additional foreign policy factor analyses have been performed for the elections with additional foreign policy variables.

Interestingly, the factor analyses of the five elections shows that no stable foreign policy dimension exist on the basis of the chosen variables. The three variables never load together on the single factor that was theorized. When the three additional foreign policy variables are included, the lack of a foreign policy dimension becomes even clearer. This fact makes it impossible to speak of a clear foreign policy dimension as theorized previously and as a result they will have to be kept as they are in the final analyses.

The domestic policy variables are mostly related as one could expect. Both the economic and religious variables form a distinct dimension, confirming the expectations. Only the *social equality* variable, the value part of the theorized New Politics dimension defies what one could expect as its loadings are evenly distributed between all dimensions. It does in fact corroborate the findings of Brown and Carmines (1995) mentioned in section 2.2.2 that there are no clear connections between New Politics values and issue attitudes. However, as social equality can be considered an important part of opinion formation in American politics it will be included in the final analyses anyway.

Reviewing the previously devised hypotheses, hypothesis 1 predicted that there would be one foreign policy dimension throughout the period. As this is not the case, hypothesis 1 is not confirmed. Hypothesis 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 expected economic left-right, New Politics and religious dimensions throughout the period. Hypothesis 2.1 and 2.3 are confirmed as the factor analysis showed stable economic left-right and religious dimensions. Regarding the New Politics dimension, the lack of connection between the issue and value components makes it difficult to speak of a clear New Politics dimension as theorized; therefore hypothesis 2.2 is not confirmed.

Although both the factor loadings of the economic and religious variables warrants a complete combination of both the value and issue variables into a single variable, the values and issues will be kept separate for the sake of the model. Test analyses using the creation of comprehensible policy dimensions where possible, does not add any more interesting insights than the standard model laid out here. Therefore the two economic issue variables will be combined together into an economic issue variable, the two economic values into an economic value variable, and the two religious issues into a religious issue variable. This is defensible as none of the independent variables are more than moderately correlated.

5.2 Regression analyses

The analyses will be presented chronologically. The tables of the standard model will be shown in the text and commented. The other models presented in the previous chapter will be commented and discussed, but the corresponding tables will only be shown in appendix 3. The reason for this is to keep the number of tables at a level that makes the analysis easy to follow. The standard model is chosen because it is the most telling and the only one comparable across all elections.

First, each table will be presented and commented following a common structure: total explanatory power of the model, the correlation between the independent variables and voting, the level of explanatory power of each step in the model, and last but not least the effects of the independent variables with focus on foreign policy variables. When this is done, the analysis of the alternative models will be commented. After this, the results will be used to confirm or falsify the hypotheses. The dependant variable is coded so that a vote for the Republican candidate is coded '0' and a vote for the Democratic candidate is coded '1'. Each model contains four steps, but step 1 including social background variables is removed for clarity. Step 2 includes values, step 3 includes party identification and step 4 includes issues. The adjusted R^2 for step 1 is shown in parenthesis under step 2.

5.2.1 1992 presidential election

Table 5.1: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Clinton (1) in the 1992 presidential election (N = 1,356).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	-0.152**	-0.086	-0.010**	-0.036	-0.004*	-0.038	-0.005*
Economic values	0.423**	0.186	0.043**	0.057	0.013**	0.056	0.013**
Social equality	0.448**	0.243	0.058**	0.112	0.027**	0.094	0.022**
Morality	0.422**	0.263	0.057**	0.140	0.030**	0.095	0.021**
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.742**			0.592	0.134**	0.571	0.129**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	-0.087**					0.007	0.001
Defense spending	-0.245**					-0.027	-0.006
Economic Issues	0.366**					0.005	0.001
New Politics issues	0.204**					0.010	0.002
Religious issues	0.385**					0.122	0.019**
Adjusted R ²		(0.158)	0.377	0.607		0.615	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The model explains 61.5 % of the variance in voting in the 1992 presidential election.

All the independent variables correlate significantly with vote choice. *Party identification* has the strongest correlation with voting followed by the three domestic policy value variables.

The values correlate stronger with vote choice than the issue variables except for *stay at home*. Looking at the relationship between foreign and domestic policy, the domestic policy variables generally correlate stronger with voting than the foreign policy variables. The sole exception is *defense spending*, which correlates stronger with voting than the New Politics issues.

When looking at the explanatory power of each part of the model, the values explains 21.9 % of the variance, party identification 23 % of the variance, and the issue attitudes with 0.8 % of the variance. Judging from these numbers it is pretty clear that underlying values and party identification played a vastly more important role in influencing than opinions on different issues in the 1992 presidential election.

Table 5.1 shows that of only the stay at home variable has a significant effect on voting of the foreign policy variables. The total causal effect of -0.086 is fairly weak compared to the other values and especially the very strong effect of party identification. The direction of the coefficient shows that people with an internationalist outlook on foreign policy tended to vote for Bush. Using the effect change method, the direct effect of stay at home equals -0.038 whereas the indirect effect accounts for -0.048. Practically all of the indirect effect of stay at home goes through party identification. Substantively this means that the stay at home variable exerts influence both directly and through the party identification and that one can conclude that people who have a generally internationalist outlook tended to identify more with the Republican party during this election. It does not, however, influence voting through the issue path as the indirect effect through the issues amounted to only a beta of 0.002. It is also interesting to note that the issue variables excluding import limits correlates more strongly with voting than the stay at home variable, but their effect on voting disappears when it is controlled for the prior variables. This does not apply to the religious issue variable which has a fairly strong effect on voting, even controlling for values and party identification.

If *party identification* is taken out of the equation some changes occur¹⁶. All the coefficients predictably strengthen and *defense spending* and *economic issues* achieve significance. The explanatory power of the model weakens to 41.4 %. With a beta of -0.091, the *defense spending* variable is not especially strong, but it is quite obvious that opinions along this issue were aligned with both party identification and the final vote choice.

None of the additional foreign policy variables achieve significance when they are included in the model, the reason for this is that none of the variables correlate significantly with voting to begin with¹⁷.

When studying the vote choice between Ross Perot and each of the two main candidates, the picture is somewhat different. Comparing the Bush and Perot voters, all three foreign policy

¹⁶ See table A3-1 in the appendix.

¹⁷ See table A3-2 in the appendix.

variables have significant effects¹⁸. *Stay at home* has a causal effect of -0.067, slight weaker than in the previous model, but relatively stronger compared to the other value variables. This variable loses its significance once party identification is introduced into the model, suggesting that most or all of its effect is indirect through party identification. The direction of the coefficient is the same as before; people with internationalist view of foreign policy tended to prefer Bush over Perot. Judging from the *import limits* and *defense spending* variables, they have causal effects of -0.069 and -0.083, respectively. The direction suggests that voters who wanted fewer import limits and a larger degree of defense spending on average preferred Bush over Perot. The coefficients are not especially impressive on their own, but their combined effect on voting compares favorably with the other parts of the model. In addition to party identification, only values related to social equality and morality has a larger impact than foreign policy and only the religious dimension has a larger impact than the theorized foreign policy dimension in this model. These results do suggest that foreign policy played an important part in the vote distribution between George H. W. Bush and Ross Perot.

The vote choice between Bill Clinton and Ross Perot has very different characteristics¹⁹. In this comparison none of the foreign policy variables has significant causal effects. Their correlations with vote choice are very weak to start with, so it is not an issue of the effect being controlled away by the other variables. It seems like the vote choice between Clinton and Perot was mostly determined by the three domestic value variables and New Politics issues with the government-friendly, libertarian and secular voters on average preferring Clinton over Perot.

So what does all this mean? Judging from this model with only one significant foreign policy variable, the effect of foreign policy in this election was dwarfed by especially party identification, but also the other policy areas. Compared to the religious dimension, the total effect of foreign policy of -0.086 is meager compared to the massive combined effect of 0.385 coming from the religious values and religious issues.

¹⁸ See table A3-3 in the appendix.

¹⁹ See table A3-4 in the appendix.

5.2.2 1996 presidential election

Table 5.2: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Dole (0) and Clinton (1) in the 1996 presidential election (N = 1,030).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	0.007	0.024	0.003	0.012	0.001	0.016	0.002
Economic values	0.509**	0.269	0.069**	0.079	0.018**	0.048	0.011
Social equality	0.428**	0.159	0.038**	0.063	0.015**	0.048	0.012*
Morality	0.387**	0.171	0.041**	0.043	0.010	0.004	0.001
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.770**			0.655	0.141**	0.615	0.113**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	-0.067*					-0.021	-0.003
Defense spending	-0.248**					-0.031	-0.007
Economic Issues	0.430**					0.062	0.013*
New Politics issues	0.180**					0.001	0.000
Religious issues	0.419**					0.124	0.020**
Adjusted R ²		(0.154)	0.360	0.620		0.633	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The standard model explains 63.3 % of the variance of the voting in the 1996 election. This is slightly higher than in 1992, but this difference is negligible.

In this analysis every independent variable except for *stay at home* correlates significantly with vote choice. This is very different from the different election where *stay at home* correlated fairly strongly with voting. *Import limits* and *defense spending* have similar correlations with vote choice as in 1992. The significant correlations are over all slightly higher than in 1992 with *party identification* once again having the strongest correlation. Opposed to the last election, there is no clear pattern that values have stronger correlations

than the issues as two of the issue variables have very strong correlations. The relative strength of vote correlation between the different policy areas resembles the situation in 1992 where the domestic policy variables had stronger correlation with vote choice than the foreign policy variables, once again the only exception being *defense spending* versus *New Politics issues*.

The general pattern of the explained variance of each part of the model is similar to the one seen in 1992. The value step now explains 20.6 % of the variance in voting, party identification 26 %, and the issue step 1.3 %. Party identification and issues have strengthened slightly while the values have weakened slightly.

In this election none of the foreign policy variables have a significant effect on voting. As mentioned, both *import limits* and *defense spending* correlates significantly with voting, but as in 1992 neither of them has significant effects controlled for the other variables. Instead it is all three domestic policy value variables and economic and religious issues that played the central role in the election. The economic left-right dimension was strongest, followed by the religious dimension.

The exclusion of party identification from the model does not help the *stay at home* variable, but *import limits* and *defense spending* turn significant²⁰. Together they have roughly the same influence on voting as economic issues in this model. As in 1992 this can be taken as a sign of these variables being strongly connected to party identification and that it therefore has no effect on the voting itself. This model explains 41.8 % of the variance in vote choice, similar to the result from 1992. The inclusion of the two environmental variables does not change anything as none of them achieves significance.

Not surprisingly the results for the foreign policy variables are mirrored in the two analyses including Perot, i.e. they played no role for the vote choice²¹. It must be said that both models are quite weak and that only party identification and a handful of the value variables achieves significance. This may be caused by the relatively small number of Perot voters, around 80, in the data.

²⁰ See table A3-5 in the appendix.

²¹ See tables A3-6 and A3-7 in the appendix.

5.2.3 2000 presidential election

Table 5.3: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Gore (1) in the 2000 presidential election (N = 1,117).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	0.042	0.002	0.000	0.018	0.002	0.013	0.002
Economic values	0.467**	0.299	0.060**	0.096	0.019**	0.089	0.018**
Social equality	0.400**	0.161	0.042**	0.024	0.006	0.009	0.002
Morality	0.343**	0.203	0.046**	0.072	0.016**	0.047	0.011*
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.771**			0.660	0.150**	0.633	0.143**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	-0.017					-0.006	0.000
Defense spending	-0.324**					-0.042	-0.008*
Economic Issues	0.361**					0.009	0.002
New Politics issues	0.236**					0.035	0.007
Religious issues	0.332**					0.077	0.013**
Adjusted R ²		(0.137)	0.343	0.620		0.625	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The standard model explains 62.5% of the variance in vote choice in the 2000 presidential election. This lies between the explained variances in 1992 and 1996, a fact that is beginning to confirm the stability of this model.

In this election two of the variables do not correlate significantly with vote choice, those are *stay at home* and *import limits*. This fact strengthens the pattern of the foreign policy variable having generally weaker correlations than the domestic policy variables. This does however not apply to the correlation between *defense spending* and voting, as it has strengthened both in absolute and relative terms compared to the other issue variables.

The stability seen in the total explained variance is reflected in the relative explained variance of each part of the model. In this model, values explain 20.6 %, party identification 27.7 %, and issues 0.5 %. Changes from the 1996 election are small with party identification further strengthened and the issue part with the weakest explained variance yet.

In the 2000 election only *defense spending* has a significant effect on voting of the foreign policy variables. The coefficient is at a mere -0.047, but it turned out to be more important than the non-significant results for economic and New Politics issues. Both *stay at home* and *import limits* are weakly correlated from the beginning, so their lack of impact is not caused by the other variables in the model. When it comes to the other policy areas, religion once again shows its importance and all the three value variables prove their strength as they have done in the previous two elections. The impact of party identification is massive as it was in 1996.

A model excluding party identification shows that all the issue variables excluding import limits are significant and they have a fairly strong impact on voting²². The total explained variance in this model sinks to 39.1 %. Inclusion of the two environmental variables shows that opinions on the environment versus job creation achieves significance, but that most of it is an indirect effect going through party identification. This last inclusion did not change the coefficients for the foreign policy variables.

²² See table A3-8 in the appendix.

5.2.4 2004 presidential election

Table 5.4: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Kerry (1) in the 2004 presidential election (N = 789).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	-0.121**	-0.077	-0.011**	-0.021	-0.003	-0.014	-0.002
Ec. Values	0.497**	0.254	0.059**	0.091	0.021**	0.079	0.018**
Social equality	0.435**	0.147	0.038**	0.056	0.014*	0.042	0.011
Morality	0.450**	0.323	0.069**	0.106	0.023**	0.070	0.015*
<u>Party id</u>							
Party id.	0.781**			0.627	0.141**	0.592	0.133**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	-0.070*					-0.023	-0.003
Defense spending	-0.431**					-0.083	-0.018**
Ec. Issues	0.343**					0.006	0.001
NP issues	0.351**					0.052	0.010*
Rel. issues	0.317**					0.040	0.007
Adjusted R ²		(0.147)	0.417	0.644		0.651	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The explained variance of the standard model is 65.1 %, higher than the three previous elections. This is yet another confirmation of the stability of the model.

This analysis marks a return to the situation in 1992 in that all the independent variables correlate significantly with vote choice. Of special note is that *defense spending* correlates very strongly with vote choice, and is at the same level as the domestic value variables. The two other foreign policy variables on the other hand are by far the weakest when it comes to correlations. Excluding *defense spending*, the values once again have noticeable higher correlation with vote choice than the issue attitudes.

The explained variance of the different steps in the model differs from the pattern described before. Values explain 27 % of the variance, party identification 22.7 % and issues 0.7%. In other words, values and party identification have switched places regarding the degree of explained variance and the role as the most important part of the model.

In the 2004 election two of the three foreign policy variables achieve significance for the first time. *Stay at home* has a causal effect of -0.077 which is dwarfed by the other value dimensions. The causal effect of *stay at home* in 2004 is not much weaker than in 1992, but in 2004 the direct effect is not significant. This means that most of the effect of stay at home goes through party identification. *Defense spending* is one of two significant issue variables and the strongest one with a good margin to *New Politics issues*. The coefficient does not measure up to the domestic policy value variables, but its effect is fairly strong compared to the other issue variables in this and the other elections.

Analysis of the model without party identification shows that *defense spending* strengthens considerably, and with a causal effect coming in only by the economic and religious values²³. The explained variance for this model is 46.3 %.

Using the expanded model with three additional foreign policy variables, the *democracy* variable achieves significance and a causal effect of -0.050, meaning that people who rated democratization of other countries as an important foreign policy goal preferred Bush over Kerry²⁴.

²³ See table A3-9 in the appendix.

²⁴ See table A3-10 in the appendix.

5.2.5 2008 presidential election

Table 5.5: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between McCain (0) and Obama (1) in the 2008 presidential election (N=1,468).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	-0.105**	-0.054	-0.006**	-0.008	0.000	-0.003	0.000
Economic values	0.330**	0.124	0.034**	0.022	0.006	0.018	0.005
Social equality	0.453**	0.225	0.054**	0.092	0.022**	0.081	0.020**
Morality	0.358**	0.215	0.047**	0.107	0.023**	0.084	0.018**
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.746**			0.582	0.128**	0.565	0.124**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	0.011					0.021	0.003
Defense spending	-0.295**					-0.074	-0.013**
Economic issues	0.227**					0.010	0.002
New Politics issues	0.159**					0.008	0.002
Religious issues	0.223**					0.035	0.007
Adjusted R ²		(0.275)	0.406	0.609		0.614	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The explained variance of the standard model in 2008 is 61.4 %, down a few percentage points from 2004.

All the variables except for *import limits* have significant correlations with vote choice. *Defense spending* has the strongest correlation of the issue variables as in 2004. The value variables except for *stay at home* have stronger correlations than the issue variables. It is also interesting to see that *social equality* has by far the strongest correlation of the policy variables.

Regarding the relative explained variance from the different parts of the model, the 2008 election departs from the previous results. As shown in the table, step 1 including the social background variables suddenly amounts to 27.5 % of the explained variance, over 10 percentage points higher than the previous elections. As mentioned in section 4.1, this step is reduced in this specific election because of unattainable variables. Fewer social background variables should in theory yield lower explained variance, but the case is the exact opposite. The strength of the social background variables eats into the explained variance of values, which drops to only 13.1 %. This means that social background was much more important for vote choice than values in 2008. Party identification explains 20.3 % of the variance and issue attitudes 0.5 %. The sudden strength of the first step in this model is the greatest single change in an otherwise stable model in the chosen time period. This can help to explain the relatively smaller coefficients in this analysis compared to the previous ones.

The results from the 2008 analysis are similar to the ones in 2004, especially with the foreign policy variables in mind. *Stay at home* and *defense spending* is significant as they were four years earlier. Both have weakened somewhat according to their betas, but this is not necessarily true when compared to the other policy variables. *Defense spending* was the only significant issue variable and the domestic policy value variables have seen a weakened joint impact on the same degree as the *stay at home* variable.

Exclusion of party identification from the model shows that only *defense spending* and *religious issues* has a significant influence on the vote choice²⁵. The explained variance for this model is 40.3 %.

Inclusion of the three additional foreign policy variables returns one new significant variable, namely opinions on how important it is to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons²⁶. At -0.036 its causal effect is very weak, but as it is the only significant issue in addition to *defense spending* and *religious issues* which turned significant in this expanded model, it is noteworthy. Inclusion of the environmental variables shows that *environment vs. jobs* achieves significance as in 2000. This inclusion does not change the coefficients of the foreign policy variables.

²⁵ See table A3-11 in the appendix.

²⁶ See table A3-12 in the appendix.

5.3 Summary of the results and discussion of the main trends

The hypotheses devised in section 3.2 require that the results from the different elections are seen together. Because of this it is useful to comprise the most important numbers into a more intuitive and well-arranged table. Table 5.6 shows the significant causal effects from the different elections. The non-significant coefficients are removed for clarity. The table shows both the b and betas of each variable because betas are most suited for comparing coefficients in each election while the unstandardized b is best suited for comparisons across elections. In other words, both types of coefficients need to be kept in mind when the hypotheses are evaluated.

Table 5.6: Significant causal effects of independent variables on vote choice between the two main party candidates across elections.

Variables	1992		1996		2000		2004		2008	
	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
Stay at home	-0.086	-0.010**					-0.077	-0.011**	-0.054	-0.006**
Ec. Values	0.186	0.043**	0.269	0.069**	0.299	0.060**	0.254	0.059**	0.124	0.034**
Soc. equality	0.243	0.058**	0.159	0.038**	0.161	0.042**	0.147	0.038**	0.225	0.054**
Morality	0.263	0.057**	0.171	0.041**	0.203	0.046**	0.323	0.069**	0.215	0.047**
Party ID	0.592	0.134**	0.655	0.141**	0.660	0.150**	0.627	0.141**	0.582	0.128**
Import limits										
Def. spend.					-0.042	-0.008**	-0.083	-0.018**	-0.074	-0.013**
Ec. Issues			0.062	0.013*						
NP issues							0.052	0.010*		
Rel. issues	0.122	0.019**	0.124	0.020**	0.077	0.013**				

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

As the table shows, the domestic policy values and party identification have formed the most stable and strong parts of the model in the chosen period while the other variables have seen a considerable degree of instability between the elections.

5.3.1 Discussion of the hypotheses

Looking at the previously devised hypotheses reveals that these results defy many of the expectations that were raised beforehand. Hypothesis 3 predicted that the chosen foreign policy value would have a significant effect on voting in all elections except for 1996. As table 6.6 shows, this variable did not achieve significance in 2000. Although the coefficients for this variable are weak, the results from the separate analysis show an interesting trend. As predicted, the end of the Cold War caused some soul-searching regarding the United States' place in the world. The previous literature painted a picture of George H. W. Bush focusing on his own successes abroad and that the American people should support such forays in the future, while Clinton almost exclusively focused on the economy, thereby implicitly favoring a less internationalist American foreign policy. The concern among a part of the electorate on this value and the fact that the candidates had distinctly different views on the matter together seems to have affected the voting, though not in a game-changing degree. As expected, this value had no effect in 1996. Neither did it in 2000, which is slightly more surprising. It looks as if the 2000 election followed the trend from 1996. The picture changes in the two last elections, presumably because of September 11 and later events. Questions related to American activity abroad had apparently been the subject of resurrected attention among voters. It must be noted that in the 2004 and 2008 the significant causal effect of the stay at home variable have an exclusively indirect component going through party identification, in other words people tended to identify with one of the parties based on their position on this value. Because of the non-significant effect of the variable in 2000, hypothesis 3 is not confirmed.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that foreign policy issues would have significant effects on voting in all elections except for 1996. The most eye-catching outcome of the foreign policy issue analyses is that import limits did not have a significant effect in any of the elections except for the vote choice between Bush and Perot in 1992. This is quite surprising as international trade is a widely discussed and controversial issue in American politics. Perot branded himself as a strong skeptic of free trade, something that actually made an impact in 1992. A question arising from these results is whether this can be taken as a sign of the main parties having too similar views on this issue in the voters' eyes, or the voters just not care much about it when voting. This analysis is not equipped to answer this, but it would be an interesting subject for further study.

Attitudes toward defense spending, on the other hand, have significant effects on voting in three elections. Table 5.6 shows that this specific issue made its impact first in 2000 and in the two subsequent elections. Why this was not the case in 1992 can only be speculated. It should be noted that the analysis excluding party identification showed that the issue of defense spending was suppressed by party identification in this election. This means that there was some connection between views on defense spending and voting, but that this connection followed the party lines. Interestingly enough, also the defense spending helped explain the vote choice between Bush and Perot. In the three latest elections defense spending had a significant effect on voting with 2004 as the peak with a b of -0.018. One could argue that the size and importance of the Perot challenge in 1992 is important enough to include it in the evaluation of this hypothesis as Perot was able to collect some voters from Bush based on foreign policy issues, thereby influencing the election totals. But as this analysis is mostly preoccupied with the vote choice between the main party candidates, it would be a stretch to do this, hypothesis 4 is therefore not confirmed.

Hypotheses 5.1 and 5.2 predicted that there would be a degree of variation in the importance of the foreign policy value and issues throughout the period. Both hypotheses are confirmed as the variations have been even stronger than expected with the variables ranging from insignificance to fairly strong influence in the different elections.

Hypothesis 5.3 encapsulated an expectation that the foreign policy value and issues would follow each other in the variations over time. This has not been the case at all. The results in table 5.6 show that the three foreign policy variables represent three different phenomena, although one can argue about the extent of the differences. Attitudes toward import limits were insignificant through the period except for the additional analysis of voting for Bush and Perot. If one looks at the two other variables, the picture is more compatible with the hypothesis. The 1992 election is interesting in that the foreign policy value influenced the vote choice between Bush and Clinton while the issues influenced vote choice between Bush and Perot, thereby splitting foreign policy in two different pairs. If the role of defense spending in the choice between Bush and Perot is accepted as an equivalent of the other elections, the pattern between the stay at home and defense spending variables is quite similar, except for the small but significant effect of defense spending in 2000. Despite this, hypothesis 5.3 is not confirmed based on these results.

Hypothesis 5.4 predicted that foreign policy would play the largest role in the 2004 election. If the significant foreign policy betas are added together, 2004 indeed comes out on top with a

total causal effect of -0.160 if the betas for *stay at home* and *defense spending* are added together. Their respective b coefficients are also the largest across the elections. Hypothesis 5.4 is therefore confirmed.

At last, hypothesis 5.5 predicted that the 2004 election would be followed by the 2008 and 2000 elections with respect to importance of foreign policy. The 2008 election has by far the second largest combined beta of -0.128. This is corroborated by the b coefficients. But the surprisingly weak effect of foreign policy in 2000 falls short of the effect in 1992, therefore hypothesis 5.5 is not confirmed.

Turning to the relative prominence of issues, hypothesis 6 predicted that in the 2004 foreign policy issues would be more important than each of the other domestic policy issues and that this election was the only one where this would be the case. Indeed, the effect of defense spending outmatched the only other significant issue variable in 2004, but it was also the only significant issue variable in 2008. Because of this last fact, hypothesis 6 is not confirmed.

The last two hypotheses concerned the relationship between the foreign policy variables and party identification, where hypothesis 7.1 predicted that the foreign policy issues would have a weaker effect on voting than party identification and hypothesis 7.2 predicted the same for the foreign policy value. Both hypotheses are strongly confirmed as the power of party identification has been on a totally different level than the foreign policy variables with betas several times larger in each election.

5.3.2 Other related findings

The alternative models provided some insights into the role of foreign policy but not necessarily directly related to the commented hypotheses. The most important was the additional analyses excluding party identification. These analyses showed that party identification decreased the effects of several issue variables in each election, with the obvious conclusion that although those issues correlated with vote choice, they also correlated with party identification. This shows that issues attitudes not only have to differ significantly from the underlying values if they are to influence vote choice, but also the huge impact of party identification. This was reflected by the stepwise changes of R^2 in the models; social background variables, values and party identification amounted to more than 10 % of the explained variance each while the issue segment lingered between 0.5 and 1.3 % of the explained variance. The models excluding party identification had around 20 percentage points lower explained variance than the standard models.

The analyses including Perot in 1992 and 1996 showed how the effect of foreign policy can turn out in three-way races. The results from 1996 showed the same as the main analyses, which was the total exclusion of foreign policy from the voters' minds. The analyses of the 1992 elections showed an interesting situation where foreign policy played a far more important role in the vote choice between Bush and Perot than the vote choices including Clinton. What this exactly means is a complicated question. It can be taken as a sign that both candidates in a vote choice need to inhibit some characteristics related to foreign policy to let this policy area have an impact. If one of the candidates fails these criteria, such as apparently Clinton did in 1992, the policy area will not make an impact. The reason for this can be found in Clintons apparently successful quenching of foreign policy in his campaign described in section 3.1.1. One could on the other hand be forgiven for thinking that such a strategy made a candidate open for attacks profiting on perceived naivety and inability to be commander-in-chief. The answer may lay in the special conditions of the 1992 election where the economic situation made it possible to ignore foreign policy.

As a side note it is interesting to point out the total inability of opinions about import limits to explain vote choice. The sole exception was between Bush and Perot in 1992, but the correlations between this variable and vote choice was far too low to make significant impacts. The models including the two additional environmental variables did not change any results relevant for the hypotheses, but opinions on whether to prioritize environmental concerns or job creation had significant results on the vote choice in 2000 and 2008, suggesting that environmental concerns is making an impact in presidential elections.

5.3.3 Discussion of validity

So how valid are these results? Chapter 4 introduced a set of different ways to evaluate validity. These are useful to evaluate the limitations of this study. Starting with the different types of measurement validity described by Adcock and Collier (2001) there can be raised some concerns judging from some of the results in this study. The factor analyses showed that there was a non-existing relationship between the foreign policy variables, suggesting both low construct validity and convergent validity of the theorized foreign policy dimension. This has led not to critical problems for this study as the objective was to understand the general influence of foreign policy in presidential elections. However, it would have been preferable to have a better understanding of which parts of foreign policy this study really incorporated. As briefly mentioned in chapter 4, the nomological/construct validity concept is not really useful for research in this specific field. The relative short time span incorporated in

each previous related study and resulting lack of wide-ranging and stable theories makes it hard and even partly irrelevant to compare these results with previous ones.

Cook and Campbell's (1979) set of validity concepts concerns other parts of this study. The questions related to statistical conclusion validity have been mostly covered previously in this chapter. The statistical results from these analyses should be considered fairly solid as they are the product of generally accepted statistical methods.

Moving on to the question of inner validity, the situation is a little bit more complex. As the presentation of research related to the different parts of the model in chapter 2 showed, the causality between the different variables is widely discussed and no real standard is accepted. This comes from the immense complexity of the voting decision with a vast number of variables and a great number of different ways to order them. The coefficients gained from studying the relationship between the independent variables does with an overwhelming probability reflect a degree of real causality, but they might be confounded by less than perfect assumptions. Therefore the validity of the coefficients is inextricably linked to the strength of the original model. It is hard to pass any judgment on the internal validity of this study, but it is based on the most fitting and logical assumptions related to presidential voting in the United States.

The question of external validity is also a problematic one given the subject matter. It would not make much sense to try and generalize these results geographically as The United States is very unique regarding the political climate and the position it occupies in international politics. Generalizing in time is also problematic for the same reason that nomological/construct validity was problematic. The Cold War was for instance a very different period than the one following it with vastly distinctly different problems and considerations. In short, this study mostly tells about the chosen period. Of course, the results have shown that the role of foreign policy is changing through time. This is an important insight, but it is not sufficient to make any detailed predictions about what is to come.

6. Conclusion

So what are the main contributions of this analysis to the study of foreign policy in American presidential elections? The first research question raised in the introduction focused on how important foreign policy was for the vote choice of American voters. Aldrich, Sullivan and Borgida (1989) coined the phrase “waltzing before a blind audience” to describe the previously prevailing view of the mismatch between the amount of time and energy presidential candidates used on foreign policy in the campaign, and the public’s inability and unwillingness to care about such distant matters. This study has shown that voters certainly are not blind to the candidates’ waltzing; but that it can happen that the candidates choose not to waltz at all.

Opposed to the findings of Aldrich Sullivan and Borgida (1989), this analysis has shown that foreign policy can not compete with domestic policy regarding the importance for determining the vote choice. In all elections, the three domestic policy values had a lot stronger influence on vote choice than the foreign policy variables combined. This is most probably the result of different methodical approaches. This analysis has added another dimension by using a sequential model with a split between values and issue attitudes. The results showed that the underlying values are generally far more important for vote choice than the related issues when analyzed after expectations about causality. The case is a little bit more complex for the foreign policy variables included as they were not related in the expected way based on Hurwitz and Peffley’s (1987) research. This analysis has not investigated the characteristics of foreign policy dimensions further, but it is clear that this policy area is a bit more complicated with respect to dimensional thinking than the domestic policy areas included here.

Although this analysis has not covered the topic of voters’ level of information, it seems clear that it has further weakened the notion proposed by Almond (1960) that American voters find foreign policy questions too remote and complex to decide their vote choice. American voters have opinions on foreign policy and will use them to choose who to vote for if they find them important enough.

The second research question asked how the importance of foreign policy had changed in the chosen time period. What this study first and foremost tells us is that the role of foreign policy in presidential elections is a highly dynamic phenomenon. The time period between 1992 and 2008 contained a wide variation of the importance of foreign policy for the voting decision

ranging from quite important in 2004 to completely unimportant in 1996. The 1996 presidential election is an interesting case as it seems to have formed an extreme point in that foreign policy played no role for the election outcome. In 2004, the election where foreign policy made the greatest impact in this analysis, foreign policy had about the same effect on vote choice as views on social equality, in other words a sizeable influence but by no means dominant. The unpredictable nature of foreign policy in the elections studied serves as another confirmation of the difficulty in understanding all the dynamics of this phenomenon.

Judging from the occurrence of important international events in the chosen time period, the voters do seem to be influenced by events abroad which directly influence The United States itself. This might be the best predictor of the varying strength of foreign policy influence in elections, but this must be seen in connection with the domestic situation. There is a wealth of other possible variables that decides which events that will make a domestic impact.

It should be noted that this analysis has focused on the more on the stable characteristics of foreign policy by excluding election-specific items for comparability. This can be viewed as a weakness as foreign policy discussions are often heavily influenced by specific events with shorter time spans than domestic policy. Still, it is likely that such issues also will be heavily influenced by underlying values and therefore they will have less independent effects on vote choice.

The employed method of analysis has functioned admirably and as mentioned added some dimensions to this research field. The use of linear regression despite the dichotomous dependent variables has been successful and yielded interesting results. No critical shortcomings were found and the use of sequential regression analysis should be considered as a valuable alternative in this kind of voting research.

Regarding the ANES surveys' treatment of foreign policy in the selected period, it left much to be desired. If ANES wants to facilitate research on foreign policy in elections, they need to establish a more comprehensive, stable and detailed set of items related to views on foreign policy. The surveys used and previous ones have showed that the number of foreign policy items fluctuate widely and are dominated by current affairs which only measures specific views on American action abroad, and not underlying perspectives which might influence voters just as strongly. The surveys should include more items measuring foreign policy values, generally stable issues and issues brought forward by current affairs during the election campaign. Only then can these surveys provide for analysis that will yield a fully satisfactory analysis of the role of foreign policy in presidential elections.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 – Detailed description of chosen variables

Social background variables

- **Gender:** Female coded '1', male '0'.
- **Age:** Kept as it is, ranging from 17 to 97.
- **Blacks:** Blacks coded '1', rest '0'.
- **Hispanics:** Hispanics coded '1', rest '0'.
- **Urban-rural:** Living in places with less than 10,000 inhabitants outside the big cities coded '1', rest coded '0'.
- **South:** Living in census region "south" coded '1', rest '0'.
- **Catholics:** Catholics coded '1', rest coded '0'.
- **Conservative Protestants:** Conservative Protestants coded '1', rest coded '0'.
- **Non-religious:** Non-religious coded '1', rest coded '0'.
- **Core religious:** Attending religious service "almost every week" or more often coded '1', rest coded '0'.
- **Marginal religious:** Attending religious service "a few times a year" or "once or twice a month" coded '1', rest coded '0'.
- **Self-employed:** Self-employed and both self-employed and employed by someone else coded '1', rest coded '0'.
- **Higher non-manuals:** Employed executives and professional specialists coded '1', rest coded '0'.
- **Other non-manuals:** Employed technicians, salespeople, administrative support, protective service and other services coded '1', rest coded '0'.
- **Workers:** Employed farmers, machinists, transporters, cleaners and soldiers coded '1', rest coded '0'.
- **Higher education:** Achieved college degree or higher education coded '1', rest coded '0'.

Foreign policy variables

Stay at home – I am going to read you a statement about U.S. foreign policy and I would like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree. This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world. “Agree” or “disagree”.

Import limits – Some people have suggested placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs. Others say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. Do you favor or oppose placing new limits on imports, or haven’t you thought much about this? “Favor new limits”, “oppose new limits” or “haven’t thought much about this”.

Defense spending – Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven’t you thought much about this? Seven point scale ranging from “greatly decrease defense spending” to “greatly increase defense spending”, and “haven’t thought much about this”.

Foreign aid – Should federal spending on foreign aid be increased, decreased, or kept about the same? “Increased”, “decreased” or “same”.

Nuclear – I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one, please say how important you think it should be? (How about...) Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons? “Very important”, “somewhat important” or “not important at all”.

Democracy – I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one, please say how important you think it should be? Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations? “Very important”, “somewhat important” or “not important at all”.

Economic policy variables

Insurance plan – There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans.

Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? Seven point scale ranging from "government insurance plan" to "private insurance plan".

Social security – Should federal spending on social security be increased, decreased, or kept about the same? "Increased", "decreased" or "same".

Government spending – Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? Seven point scale ranging from "Government provide many fewer services, reduce spending a lot" to "government provide many more services, increase spending a lot", and "haven't thought much about this".

Government activism – Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? Seven point scale ranging from "government see to jobs and good standard of living" to "government let each person get ahead", and "haven't thought much about this".

New Politics variables

Death penalty – Do you favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder strongly or not strongly? Do you oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder strongly or not strongly? Four point scale including "favor strongly", "favor not strongly", "oppose not strongly", and "oppose strongly".

Immigration – Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a little, increased a lot, decreased a little, decreased a lot, or left the same as it is now? Five point scale ranging from "increase a lot" to "decrease a lot".

Environmental spending – Should federal spending on environmental protection be increased, decreased, or kept about the same? "Increased", "decreased" or "same".

Environment vs. jobs – Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale, at point number 1.) Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point number 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5 or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? Seven point scale ranging from "protect environment, even if it costs jobs, standard of living" to "jobs, standard of living more important than environment", and "haven't thought much about this."

Social equality – Six items containing a statement:

- Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.
- We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.
- This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.
- It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.
- If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.
- One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.

Five point scale ranging from "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly".

Religious variables

Abortion – There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose. Four responses: "by law, abortion should never be permitted", "the law should only permit abortion in case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger", "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 clearly established", and "by law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice".

Gays in military – Do you feel strongly or not strongly that homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces? Do you feel strongly or not strongly that homosexuals should not be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces? Four responses: “Feel strongly should be allowed”, “feel not strongly should be allowed”, “feel not strongly should not be allowed”, and “feel strongly should not be allowed”.

Morality – Four items containing a statement:

- The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.
- We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards even if they are very different from our own.
- This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.
- The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.

Five point scale ranging from “agree strongly” to “disagree strongly”.

Vote choice – Who did you vote for? Varying number of candidates. Of the two included candidates in each analysis, the presumptive most leftist candidate is coded ‘1’. In other words, the Democratic candidate is always assigned the value ‘1’, in the additional analyses of the 1992 and 1996 elections, Perot is assigned the value ‘1’.

Appendix 2

Factor analysis of issue and value variables in the 1992 presidential election

All analyses have been made using the principal components method and varimax rotation. Factor loadings under 0.4 have been removed to make the results easier to interpret.

Table A2-1: Factor analysis of standard selection of foreign policy variables in the 1992 presidential election. (N = 2,479).

	Component
	1
Import limits	.755
Defense spending	-.719
Stay at home	
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	<i>1.096</i>
<i>Explained var.</i>	<i>36.5%</i>

Table A2-2: Factor analysis of extended selection of foreign policy variables in the 1992 presidential election. (N = 2,480).

	Component
	1
Import limits	
Defense spending	.583
Foreign aid	
Nuclear	.573
Democracy	
Stay at home	.639
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	<i>1.146</i>
<i>Explained var.</i>	<i>19.1%</i>

Table A2-3: Factor analysis of the domestic policy variables in the 1992 presidential election. (N = 2,485).

	Components		
	1	2	3
Insurance plan	.656		
Social security	.634		
Government spending	.672		
Government activism	.658		
Death penalty			.731
Immigration			.687
Social equality		.411	
Abortion		.778	
Gays in military		.681	
Morality		.702	
<i>Eigenvalues</i>	2.494	1.416	1.150
<i>Explained var.</i>	24.9 %	14.2 %	11.5 %

Factor analysis of issue and value variables in the 1996 presidential election

Table A2-4: Factor analysis of standard selection of foreign policy variables in the 1996 presidential election. (N = 1,713).

	Component
	1
Import limits	.730
Defense spending	
Stay at home	.757
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	1.109
<i>Explained var.</i>	37.0%

Table A2-5: Factor analysis of the domestic policy variables in the 1996 presidential election. (N = 1,714).

	Components		
	1	2	3
Insurance plan	.640		
Social security	.671		
Government spending	.702		
Government activism	.714		
Death penalty			.679
Immigration			.737
Social equality	.466		.402
Abortion		.780	
Gays in military		.656	
Morality		.678	
<i>Eigenvalues</i>	2.797	1.374	1.135
<i>Explained var.</i>	28.0%	13.7%	11.4%

Factor analysis of issue and value variables in the 2000 presidential election

Table A2-6: Factor analysis of standard selection of foreign policy variables in the 2000 presidential election. (N = 1,805).

	Component
	1
Import limits	.760
Defense spending	
Stay at home	.750
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	1.141
<i>Explained var.</i>	38.0%

Table A2-7: Factor analysis of the domestic policy variables in the 2000 presidential election. (N = 1,807).

	Components		
	1	2	3
Insurance plan	.657		
Social security	.608		
Government spending	.682		
Governmentt activism	.686		
Death penalty			.681
Immigration			.749
Social equality	.515		
Abortion		.777	
Gays in military		.681	
Morality		.669	
<i>Eigenvalues</i>	2.430	1.462	1.180
<i>Explained var.</i>	24.3%	14.6%	11.8%

Factor analysis of issue and value variables in the 2004 presidential election

Table A2-8: Factor analysis of standard selection of foreign policy variables in the 2004 presidential election. (N = 1,212).

	Component
	1
Import limits	.485
Defense spending	.511
Stay at home	.811
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	1.155
<i>Explained var.</i>	38.5%

Table A2-9: Factor analysis of the extended selection of foreign policy variables in the 2004 presidential election. (N = 1,212).

	Component
	1
Import limits	
Defense spending	.537
Foreign aid	.597
Nuclear	
Democracy	.464
Stay at home	.606
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	1.389
<i>Explained var.</i>	23.2%

Table A2-10: Factor analysis of the domestic policy variables in the 2004 presidential election (N = 1,211).

	Components		
	1	2	3
Insurance plan	.676		
Social security	.622		
Government spending	.690		
Government activism	.721		
Death penalty			.710
Immigration			.739
Social equality	.561		
Abortion		.838	
Gays in military		.638	
Morality		.694	
<i>Eigenvalues</i>	2.779	1.495	1.149
<i>Explained var.</i>	27.8%	15.0%	11.5%

Factor analysis of issue and value variables in the 2008 presidential election

Table A2-11: Factor analysis of the standard selection of foreign policy variables in the 2008 presidential election. (N = 2,319).

	Component
	1
Import limits	.736
Defense spending	.650
Stay at home	
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	1.049
<i>Explained var.</i>	35.0%

Table A2-12: Factor analysis of extended selection of foreign policy variables in the 2008 presidential election. (N = 2,320).

	Component
	1
Import limits	
Defense spending	.483
Foreign aid	
Nuclear	.604
Democracy	.697
Stay at home	
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	1.226
<i>Explained var.</i>	20.4%

Table A2-13: Factor analysis of the domestic policy variables in the 2008 presidential election. (N = 2,321).

	Components		
	1	2	3
Insurance plan	.723		
Social security			
Government spending	.728		
Government activism	.751		
Death penalty			.683
Immigration			.681
Social equality	.423		
Abortion		.657	
Gays in military		.632	
Morality		.655	
<i>Eigenvalues</i>	2.166	1.342	1.127
<i>Explained var.</i>	21.7%	13.4%	11.3%

Appendix 3

Tables from analysis of alternative models in the 1992 presidential election

Table A3-1: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Clinton (1) in the 1992 presidential election excluding the party identification variable. (N = 1,356).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>					
Stay at home	-0.152**	-0.086	-0.010**	-0.083	-0.010**
Economic values	0.423**	0.186	0.043**	0.144	0.034**
Social equality	0.448**	0.243	0.058**	0.188	0.045**
Morality	0.422**	0.263	0.057**	0.171	0.037**
<u>Issues</u>					
Import limits	-0.087**			-0.024	-0.003
Defense spending	-0.245**			-0.091	-0.021**
Economic issues	0.366**			0.077	0.016**
New Politics issues	0.204**			0.041	0.009
Religious issues	0.385**			0.194	0.031**
Adjusted R ²		(.158)	0.377		0.414

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table A3-2: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Clinton (1) in the 1992 presidential election with additional foreign policy variables. (N = 707).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	-0.134**	-0.053	-0.006	-0.013	-0.002	-0.014	-0.002
Economic values	0.443**	0.195	0.046**	0.059	0.014*	0.060	0.014
Social equality	0.445**	0.240	0.056**	0.104	0.024**	0.093	0.022**
Morality	0.441**	0.268	0.058**	0.143	0.031**	0.098	0.021**
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.764**			0.595	0.132**	0.566	0.125**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	-0.146**					-0.045	-0.005
Defense spending	-0.260**					-0.041	-0.009
Foreign aid	0.029					-0.025	-0.005
Nuclear	-0.039					0.017	0.004
Democracy	0.036					0.017	0.002
Economic issues	0.321**					-0.014	-0.003
New Politics issues	0.195**					-0.001	0.000
Religious issues	0.394**					0.147	0.023**
Adjusted R ²		(0421)	0.631		0.789		0.799

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table A3-3: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Perot (1) in the 1992 presidential election. (N = 864).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	-0.100**	-0.067	-0.008*	-0.024	-0.003	-0.009	-0.001
Economic values	0.172**	0.089	0.021*	0.007	0.002	-0.002	0.000
Social equality	0.234**	0.159	0.040**	0.145	0.037**	0.133	0.034**
Morality	0.280**	0.152	0.034**	0.106	0.024**	0.059	0.013
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.382**			0.336	0.093**	0.311	0.086**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	-0.105**					-0.069	-0.008*
Defense spending	-0.195**					-0.083	-0.020*
Economic issues	0.143**					0.014	0.003
New Politics issues	-0.016					-0.014	-0.004
Religious issues	0.267**					0.106	0.017**
Adjusted R ²		(0.326)	0.420	0.519		0.535	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table A3-4: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Perot (0) and Clinton (1) in the 1992 presidential election. (N = 1,094).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	-0.049	-0.030	-0.003	-0.010	-0.001	-0.018	-0.002
Economic values	0.241**	0.140	0.031**	0.051	0.011	0.050	0.011
Social equality	0.217**	0.139	0.032**	0.086	0.020**	0.075	0.017*
Morality	0.146**	0.163	0.034**	0.127	0.027**	0.107	0.022**
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.497**			0.388	0.101**	0.383	0.100**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	0.022					0.010	0.001
Defense spending	-0.053*					0.020	0.004
Economic issues	0.181**					0.001	0.000
New Politics issues	0.189**					0.058	0.011*
Religious issues	0.113**					0.038	0.006
Adjusted R ²		(0.351)	0.447	0.566		0.570	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Tables from analysis of alternative models in the 1996 presidential election

Table A3-5: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Dole (0) and Clinton (1) in the 1996 presidential election excluding the party identification variable. (N = 1030).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>					
Stay at home	0.007	0.024	0.003	0.035	0.004
Economic values	0.509**	0.296	0.069**	0.195	0.045**
Social equality	0.428**	0.159	0.038**	0.114	0.027**
Morality	0.387**	0.171	0.041**	0.080	0.019**
<u>Issues</u>					
Import limits	-0.067*			-0.060	-0.008*
Defense spending	-0.248**			-0.080	0.018**
Economic issues	0.430**			0.146	0.031**
New Politics issues	0.180**			0.027	0.006
Religious issues	0.419**			0.223	0.036**
Adjusted R ²		(0.154)	0.360	0.418	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table A3-6: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Dole (0) and Perot (1) in the 1996 presidential election. (N = 515).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	-0.054	-0.035	-0.003	0.006	0.000	0.017	0.002
Economic values	0.253**	0.151	0.028**	0.077	0.015	0.049	0.009
Social equality	0.200**	0.076	0.015	0.034	0.007	0.024	0.005
Morality	0.215**	0.120	0.023**	0.057	0.011	0.034	0.006
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.452**			0.370	0.085**	0.355	0.081**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	-0.067					-0.056	-0.005
Defense spending	-0.092*					-0.035	-0.007
Economic issues	0.230**					0.044	0.007
New Politics issues	-0.048					-0.003	0.000
Religious issues	0.191**					0.067	0.008
Adjusted R ²		(0.102)	0.161	0.267		0.275	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table A3-7: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Perot (0) and Clinton (1) in the 1996 presidential election. $N = 679$

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	0.052	0.032	0.002	0.023	0.002	0.021	0.002
Ec. values	0.149**	0.087	0.015*	0.023	0.004	0.005	0.001
Social equality	0.138**	0.074	0.013	0.046	0.008	0.031	0.005
Morality	0.082*	0.054	0.009	0.019	0.003	-0.006	-0.001
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.322**			0.283	0.057**	0.275	0.055**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	0.020					0.016	0.001
Defense spending	-0.089*					-0.024	-0.004
Economic issues	0.094**					0.040	0.006
New Politics issues	0.146**					0.029	0.004
Religious issues	0.125**					0.096	0.012*
Adjusted R ²		(0.058)	0.075	0.143		0.147	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Tables from analysis of alternative models in the 2000 presidential election

Table A3-8: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Gore (1) in the 2000 presidential excluding the party identification variable. (N = 1,117).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>					
Stay at home	0.042	0.002	0.000	-0.006	0.000
Economic values	0.467**	0.299	0.060**	0.234	0.047**
Social equality	0.400**	0.161	0.042**	0.100	0.026**
Morality	0.343**	0.203	0.046**	0.124	0.028**
<u>Issues</u>					
Import limits	-0.017			-0.002	0.000
Defense spending	-0.324**			-0.104	-0.020**
Economic issues	0.361**			0.098	0.019**
New Politics issues	0.236**			0.095	0.019**
Religious issues	0.332**			0.180	0.031**
Adjusted R ²		(0.137)	0.343		0.391

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Tables from analysis of alternative models in the 2004 presidential election

Table A3-9: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Kerry (1) in the 2004 presidential election excluding the party identification variable. (N = 789).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>					
Stay at home	-0.121**	-0.077	-0.011**	-0.053	-0.007
Economic values	0.497**	0.254	0.059**	0.187	0.044**
Social equality	0.435**	0.147	0.038**	0.098	0.025**
Morality	0.450**	0.323	0.069**	0.210	0.045**
<u>Issues</u>					
Import limits	0.343**			-0.048	-0.006
Defense spending	0.351**			-0.180	-0.039**
Economic issues	0.317**			0.054	0.012
New Politics issues	-0.070*			0.105	0.021**
Religious issues	-0.431**			0.114	0.020**
Adjusted R ²		(0.146)	0.416	0.463	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table A3-10: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Kerry (1) in the 2004 presidential election with additional foreign policy variables. (N = 789).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	-0.121**	-0.077	-0.011**	-0.021	-0.003	-0.004	0.000
Economic values	0.497**	0.254	0.059**	0.091	0.021**	0.084	0.020**
Social equality	0.435**	0.147	0.038**	0.056	0.014*	0.046	0.012
Morality	0.450**	0.323	0.069**	0.106	0.023**	0.070	0.015*
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.781**			0.627	0.141**	0.586	0.132**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	-0.070*					-0.019	-0.002
Defense spending	-0.431**					-0.072	-0.015**
Foreign aid	0.095**					-0.033	-0.005
Nuclear	-0.100**					-0.017	-0.005
Democracy	-0.222**					-0.050	-0.008*
Economic issues	0.343**					0.004	0.001
New Politics issues	0.351**					0.060	0.012*
Religious issues	0.317**					0.033	0.006
Adjusted R ²		(0.147)	0.417	0.644		0.653	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Tables from analysis of alternative models in the 2008 presidential election

Table A3-11: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Kerry (1) in the 2008 presidential excluding the party identification variable. (N = 1,468).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>					
Stay at home	-0.105**	-0.054	-0.006**	-0.042	-0.004*
Economic values	0.330**	0.124	0.034**	0.100	0.028**
Social equality	0.453**	0.225	0.054**	0.188	0.046**
Morality	0.358**	0.215	0.047**	0.168	0.037**
<u>Issues</u>					
Import limits	0.011			-0.004	0.000
Defense spending	-.0.295**			-0.141	-0.024**
Economic issues	0.227**			0.042	0.009
New Politics issues	0.159**			0.032	0.006
Religious issues	0.223**			0.078	0.013**
Adjusted R ²		(0.275)	0.406	0.403	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table A3-12: Sequential regression analysis of the vote choice between Bush (0) and Kerry (1) in the 2008 presidential election with additional foreign policy variables. (N = 1,468).

Variables	Pearson's	Step 2		Step 3		Step 4	
	R	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B
<u>Values</u>							
Stay at home	-0.105**	-0.054	-0.006**	-0.008	0.000	-0.004	0.000
Economic values	0.330**	0.124	0.034**	0.022	0.006	0.017	0.005
Social equality	0.453**	0.225	0.054**	0.092	0.022**	0.085	0.020**
Morality	0.358**	0.215	0.047**	0.107	0.023**	0.082	0.018**
<u>Party identification</u>							
Party identification	0.746**			0.582	0.128**	0.564	0.124**
<u>Issues</u>							
Import limits	0.011					0.019	0.003
Defense spending	-0.295**					-0.073	0.012**
Foreign aid	0.143**					-0.005	0.000
Nuclear	-0.093**					-0.036	-0.007*
Democracy	0.064**					0.023	0.003
Economic issues	0.227**					0.013	0.003
New Politics issues	0.159**					0.008	0.002
Religious issues	0.223**					0.036	0.007*
Adjusted R ²		(0.275)	0.406		0.609		0.615

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)