Electoral Behavior in the USA: The Newest Results

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Some Common Misperceptions

• 1. The 2004 Elections
• 2. Popular Polarization
• 3. Religion v. Economics
• 4. Stability of the Current Order
The 2004 Elections

• The Moral Values Myth
• Christian Conservatives

• What Really Mattered
• Who Really Re-elected George Bush
National Election Pool

Most Important Issue:

- Taxes: 5%
- Education: 4
- Iraq: 15
- Terrorism: 19
- Economy/Jobs: 20
- Moral Values: 22
- Health Care: 8
The Gay Marriage Issue

• Turnout up less in states with GMIs on ballot
• Turnout among Evangelicals rose -- by same amount as everyone else
• Evangelicals broke more heavily for Bush in 2004 than 2000?
• So did:
  – African-Americans (+2.5)
  – Latinos (+8.9)
  – Jews (+6.5)
  – Northeasterners (+3.8)
  – Regular church-goers (-0.1)
  – Non-church-goers (+2.9)
  – Women (+4.0)
## ISSUE IMPORTANCE: 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Extremely Important</th>
<th>Not at All Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay Marriage</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hillygus and Shields (KN Survey)
### Most Important Issue 2004

Klinkner (NES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Citing</th>
<th>Bush Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morals</td>
<td>&lt; 3</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Other</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## NOT EVANGELICALS … WOMEN

*The Republican Swing Among Women Was General*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>Gain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Women</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latina Women</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Women</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Black Women</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Latina Women</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married White Women</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married WW with Children</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married WW without Children</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried WW with Children</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried WW without Children</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fiorina, Abrams, and Pope. 2005
Congress has Polarized since the 1960s

Source: Data provided by Keith Poole.
Closely and Deeply Divided

Closely but not Deeply Divided

Democrat  Republican

Democrat  Republican
## 2004 NES (Voters Only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Blue</th>
<th>Red</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigration should decrease*</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment over jobs**</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor school vouchers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor death penalty</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government should ensure fair treatment of Blacks in employment</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks should get preference in hiring</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stricter Gun Control</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal women’s role**</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Unless otherwise noted, the figures in the table combine “strongly” or “completely agree” with “mostly” or “somewhat agree” responses.

**Scale positions 1-2. Source: 2004 National Election Studies
## 2004 NES (Voters Only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Blue</th>
<th>Red</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tolerate others’ moral views</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion- Always legal</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow homosexual adoption</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow homosexual marriage</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No gay job discrimination</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor gays in military (strongly)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Unless otherwise noted, the figures in the table combine “strongly” or “completely agree” with “mostly” or “somewhat agree” responses.

**Scale positions 1-2. Source: 2004 National Election Studies**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Delegate Difference</th>
<th>Identifier Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government should do more to solve national problems</td>
<td>72 %</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut taxes to improve economy</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make all or most tax cuts permanent</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion generally available</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New anti-terrorism laws excessively restrict civil liberties</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremely important to work through UN</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No legal recognition of gay relationships</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Public Opinion on the Legality of Abortion Has Remained Consistent For Decades

Source: The Gallup Organization
Popular Attitudes Toward Abortion Have Been Remarkably Stable Since Roe v. Wade

Percentage Giving a Pro-Choice Response

Married- Wants No More Children
Woman's Health Seriously Endangered
Low Income- Can't Afford More Children
Pregnant as a result of Rape
Not Married

Abortion Index (Average Number of Circumstances Legal)

Source: The General Social Survey
Regions Differ Less On Abortion Than Commonly Thought

Source: Calculated from the General Social Surveys.
Religious Denominations Differ Less On Abortion Than Stereotypes Suggest

Source: Calculated from the General Social Surveys.
Partisans in the General Public Do Not Differ Much on Abortion

Source: Calculated from the General Social Surveys.

Note: Partisans include strong and weak identifiers.
Red and Blue State Residents are Basically Centrists: 2004

Ideological Self-Placement of All Respondents Living in Red and Blue States

Source: 2004 National Election Studies

Ideological Self-Placement of Voters Living in Red and Blue States
Red and Blue State Voters Agree that the Parties are Not Centrist: 2004

Source: 2004 National Election Studies
Partisan Differences 2004
(Klinkner NES)

• Foreign Policy Goals – not large
• Foreign Policy Means – not large
• National Defense – not large
• Patriotism – not large

• Bush – very large
Difference in Democratic Presidential Vote Between Lower and Upper Income Thirds

Year
-5 0 5 10 15 20 25

Source: Calculated from the National Election Studies.
Note: Includes white voters only
Difference in Democratic Presidential Vote Between Lower and Upper Income Thirds

Source: Calculated from the National Election Studies.
What’s the Matter with Connecticut?

Varying-intercept, varying-slope model, 2000

Difference in Democratic Presidential Vote Between Regular Churchgoers and Non-Attenders

Year
2004
2000
1996
1992
1992
1988
1984
1980
1976
1972
1972
1968
1964
1960
1956
1952

0 5 10 15 20 25 30

Source: Calculated from the National Election Studies.
Note: Includes white voters only.
Church Attendance Has Recently Become Associated with Presidential Voting

Source: Calculated from the National Election Studies.
Note: Includes white voters only.
Candidate Competition in Two Dimensions: Arial View

- Moral
- LBJ
- Goldwater
- Economic
Democrats and Republicans Separate on the Moral Dimension
The 2004 Presidential Election

Bush

Kerry
2006 Governors: Party Control

Source: RGA
Issue Liberalism of Self-Identified "Liberals"

Source: Ellis and Stimson, 2005. APSA.
Issue Conservatism of Self-Identified “Conservatives"

Source: Ellis and Stimson, 2005. APSA.
End
Men And Women Do Not Differ On Abortion

Source: Calculated from the General Social Survey.
Some Perspective

- 202 million Eligible voting age population
- 122 million Voted in 2004
- 62 million Bush voters
- 59 million Kerry voters
- 17-18 million Saw Fahrenheit 911
- 15-16 million Listened to Rush Limbaugh last week
- 3.5 million Daily audience for O’Reilly Factor
- 3.3 million Daily audience for Fox News
- .74 million 2004 Kerry Iowa Vote
- .12 million 2004 Iowa Democratic Caucus Turnout
- .56 million Howard Dean’s email list
### The Los Angeles Times Poll

“What did you like most about your choice for president?” (2 replies coded)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bush Voters</th>
<th>Kerry Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong leader (37%)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shares my values (22%)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cares about people like me (21%)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty and Integrity (21%)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep safe from terrorism (13%)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Ideology (13%)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Build respect for US (13%)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some people believe the United States should solve international problems by using diplomacy and economic sanctions and only use military force if absolutely necessary. Other people believe diplomacy and sanctions often fail and the U.S. must be ready to use military force. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

Source: Hillygus and Shields, 2005