

# **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

	<u>Extremely Important</u>	<u>Not at All Important</u>
Terrorism	45	1
Jobs	40	2
.		
.		
.		
Gay Marriage	26	24

# Most Important Issue 2004

Klinkner (NES)

% Citing      Bush Vote

• Terrorism	43	70
• Iraq	17	31
• Economy	15	30
• Morals	< 3	76
• All Other	22	38

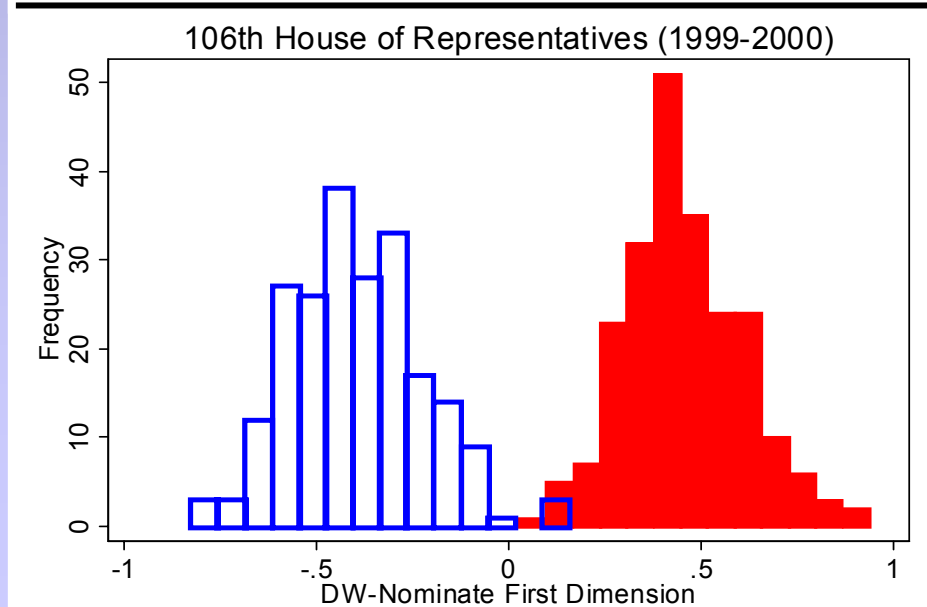
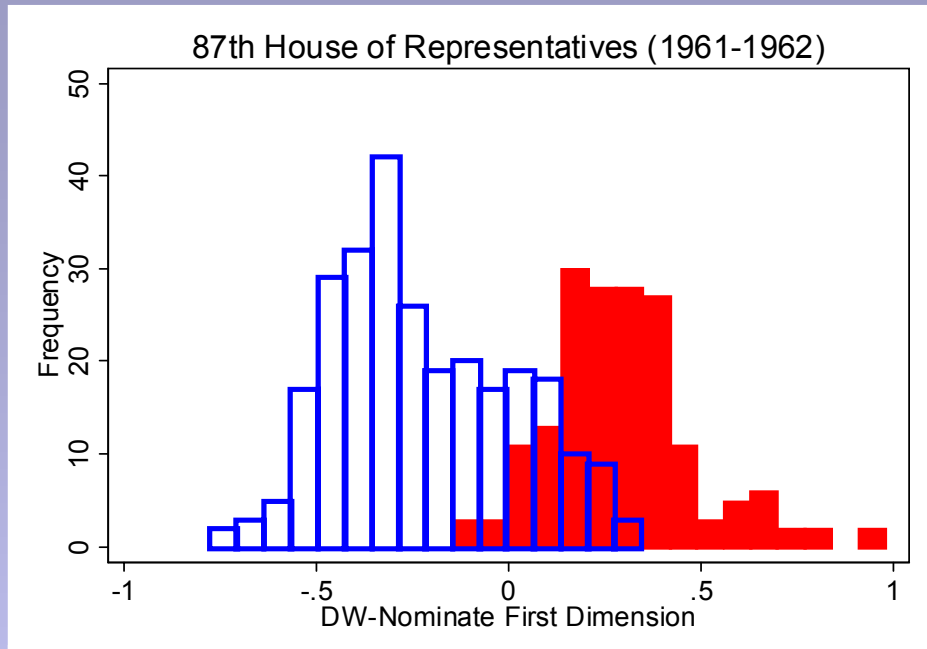
# NOT EVANGELICALS ... WOMEN

*The Republican Swing Among Women Was General*

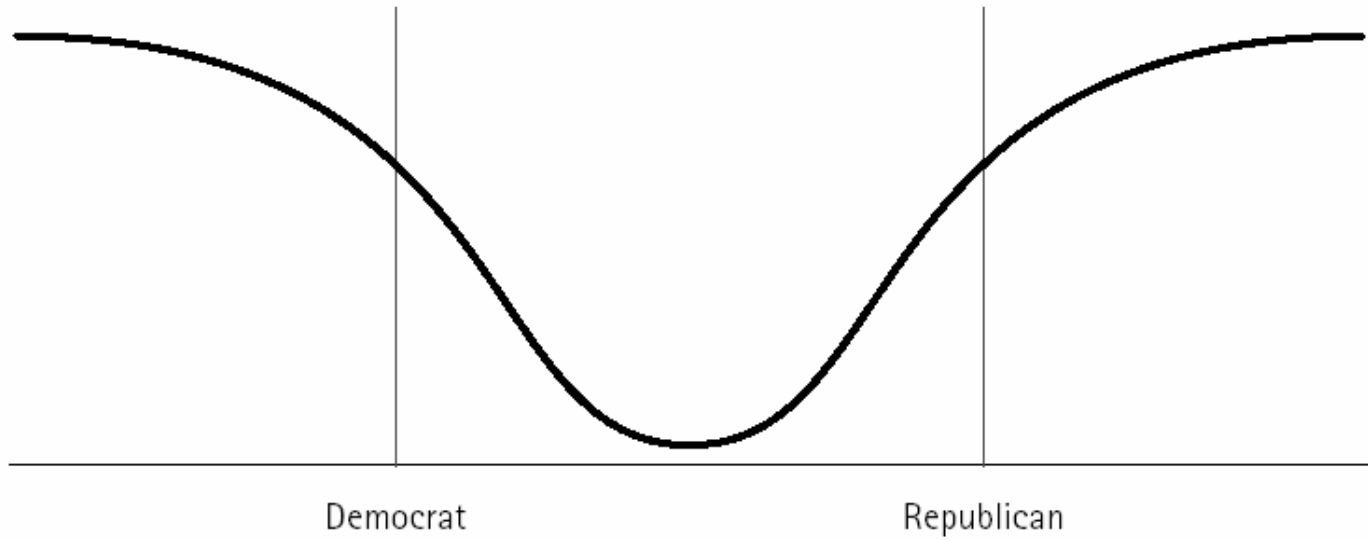
	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>Gain</u>
Black Women	5.8%	9.8%	4.0%
Latina Women	34.9	41.4	6.5
White Women	50.5	55.5	5.0
Married Black Women	7.1	11.5	4.4
Married Latina Women	37.3	43.8	6.5
Married White Women	54.9	61.8	6.9
Married WW with Children	58.9	66.0	7.1
Married WW without Children	51.5	59.4	7.9
Unmarried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



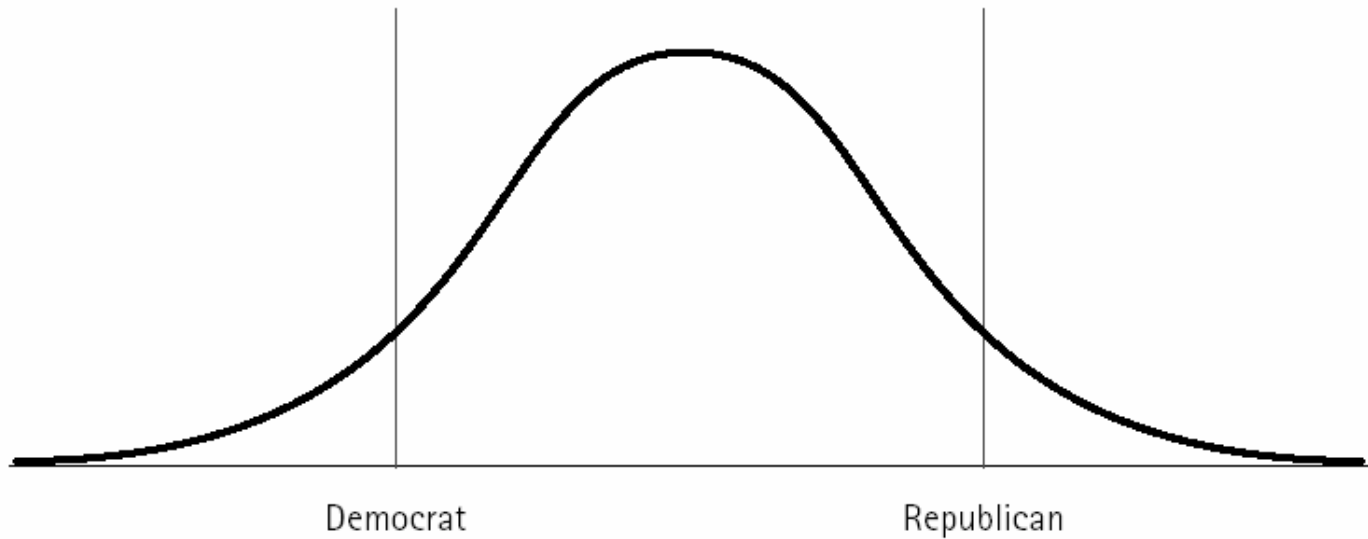
# Congress has Polarized since the 1960s



Closely and Deeply Divided



Closely but not Deeply Divided



# 2004 NES (Voters Only)

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

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

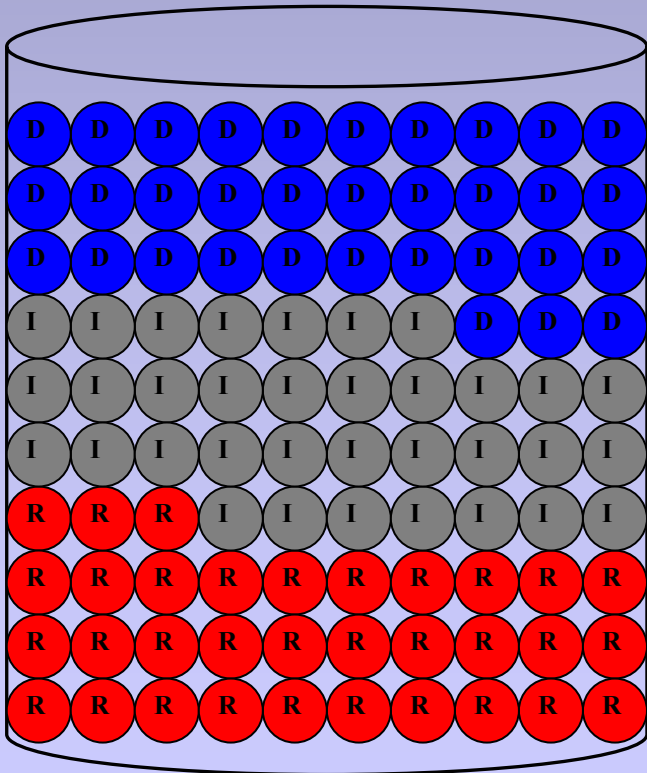
# 2004 NES (Voters Only)

	<u>Blue</u>	<u>Red</u>
Tolerate others' moral views	65	60
Abortion- Always legal	44	32
Allow homosexual adoption	57	41
Allow homosexual marriage	39	31
No gay job discrimination	81	69
Favor gays in military (strongly)	60	51

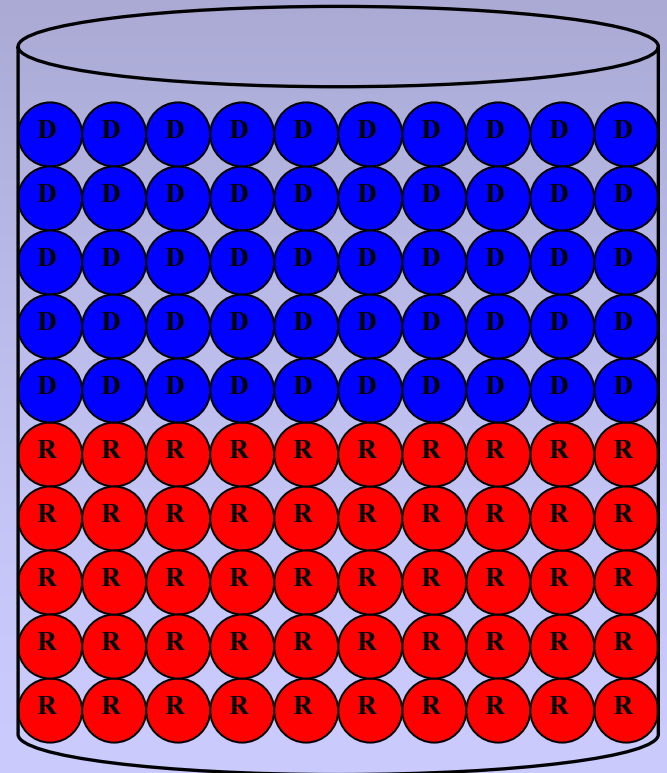
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# POLARIZATION

Time 1



Time 2

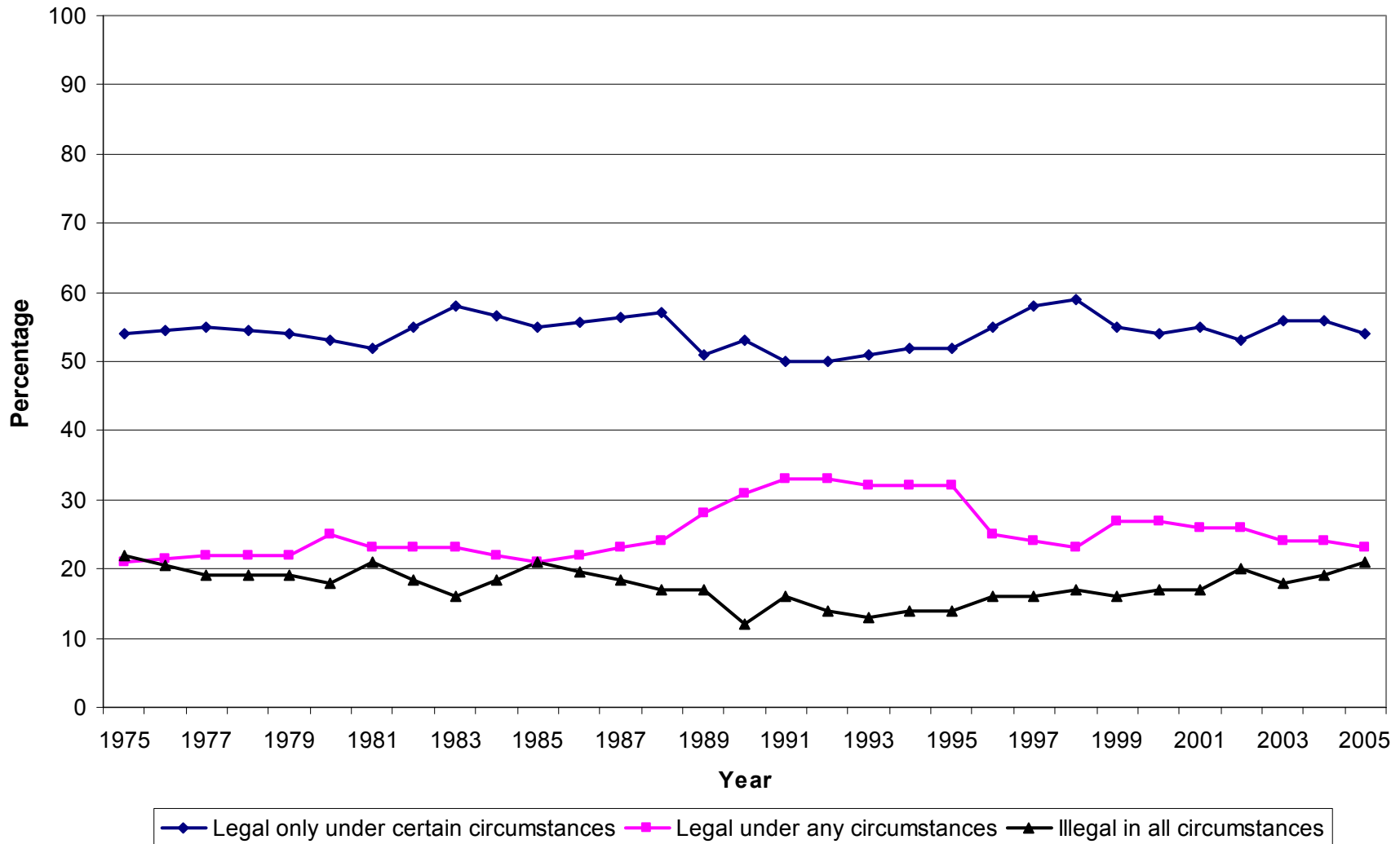




# 2004 *New York Times* Delegate Survey

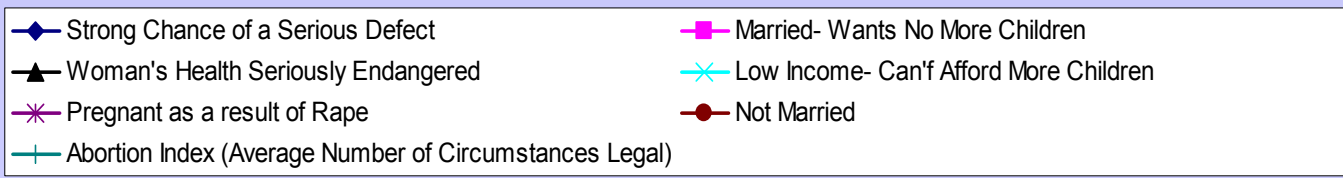
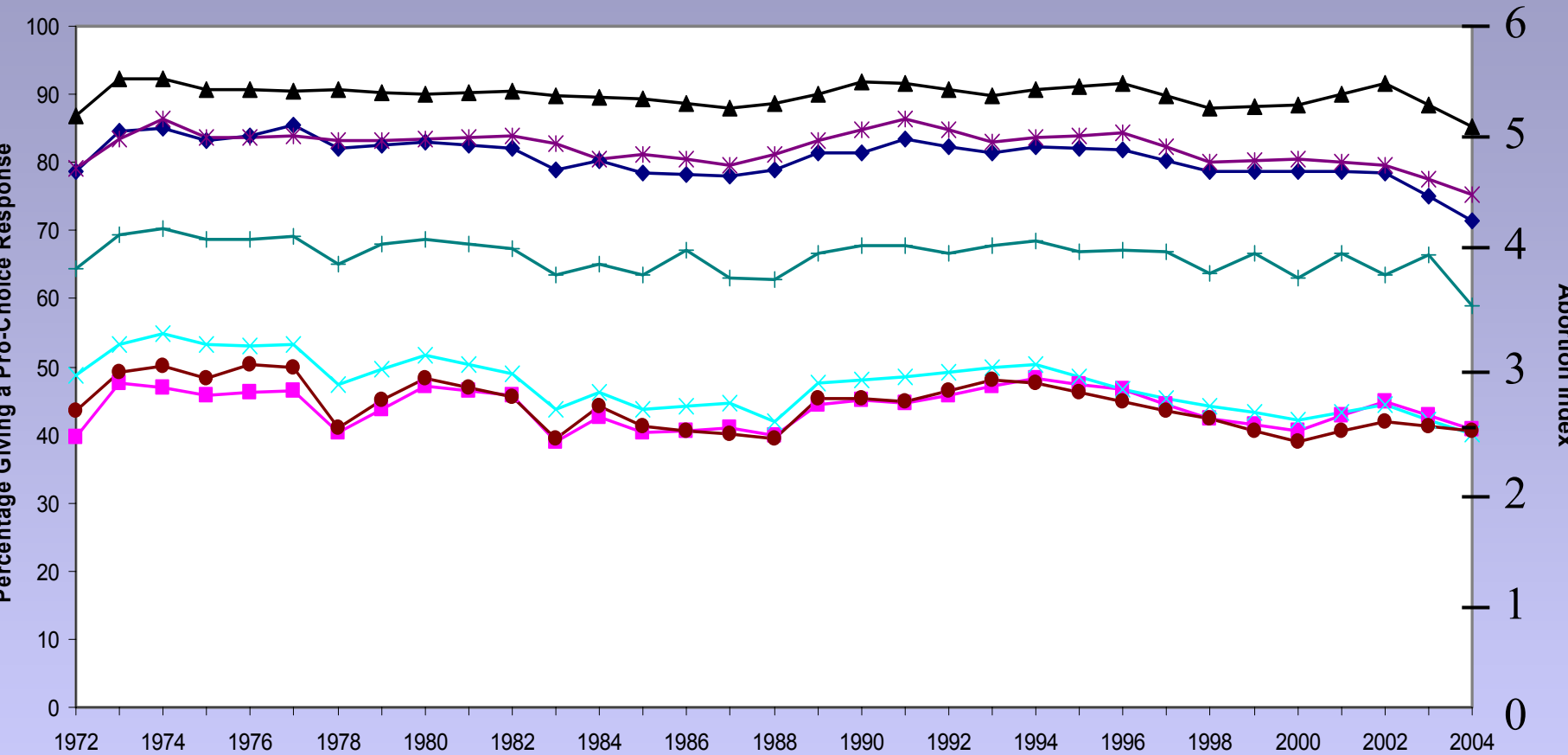
	<u>Delegate Difference</u>	<u>Identifier Difference</u>
Government should do more to solve national problems	72 %	13
Cut taxes to improve economy	67	35
Make all or most tax cuts permanent	88	35
Abortion generally available	62	32
New anti-terrorism laws excessively restrict civil liberties	62	28
Extremely important to work through UN	72	35
No legal recognition of gay relationships	44	19

## Public Opinion on the Legality of Abortion Has Remained Consistent For Decades

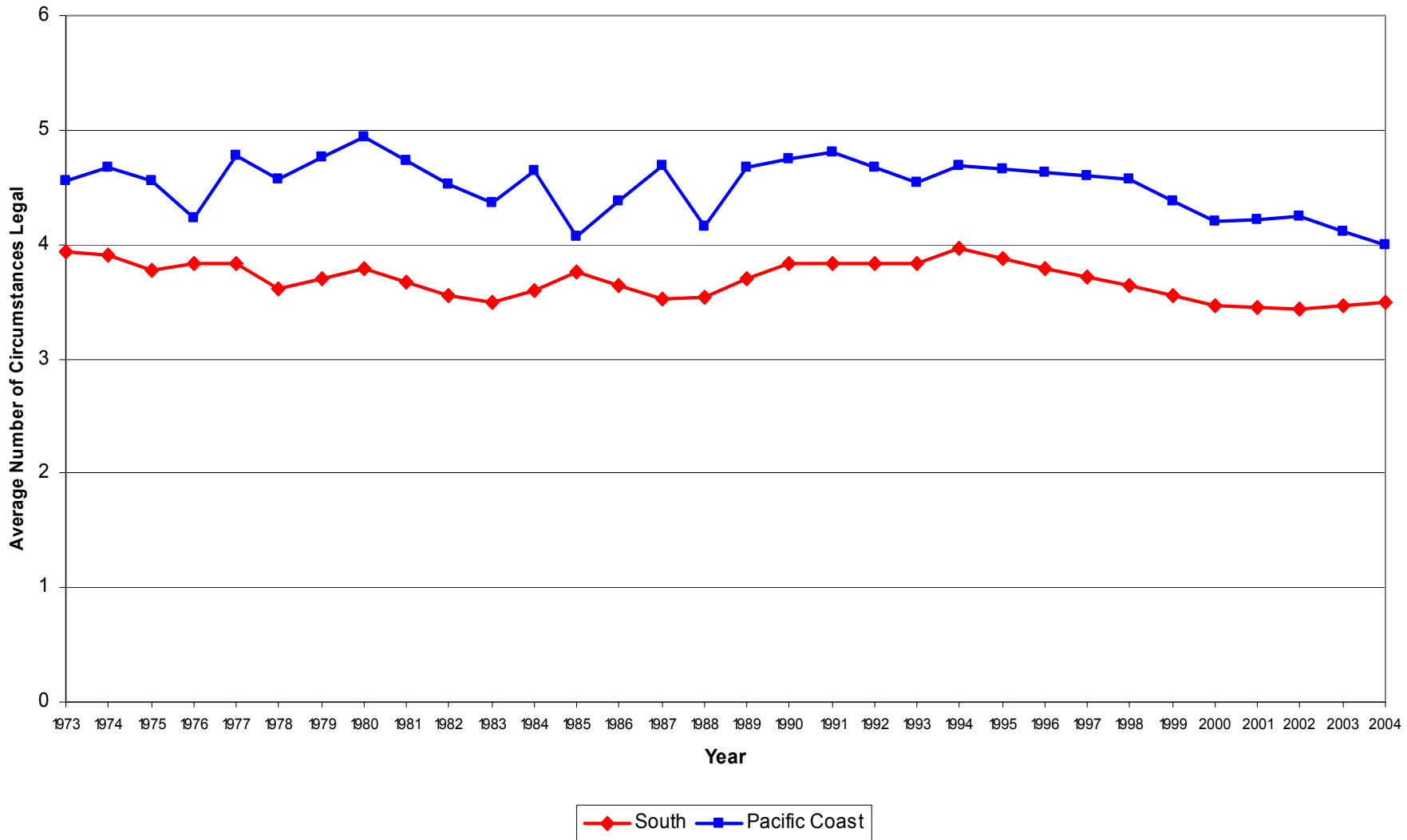




# Popular Attitudes Toward Abortion Have Been Remarkably Stable Since *Roe v. Wade*

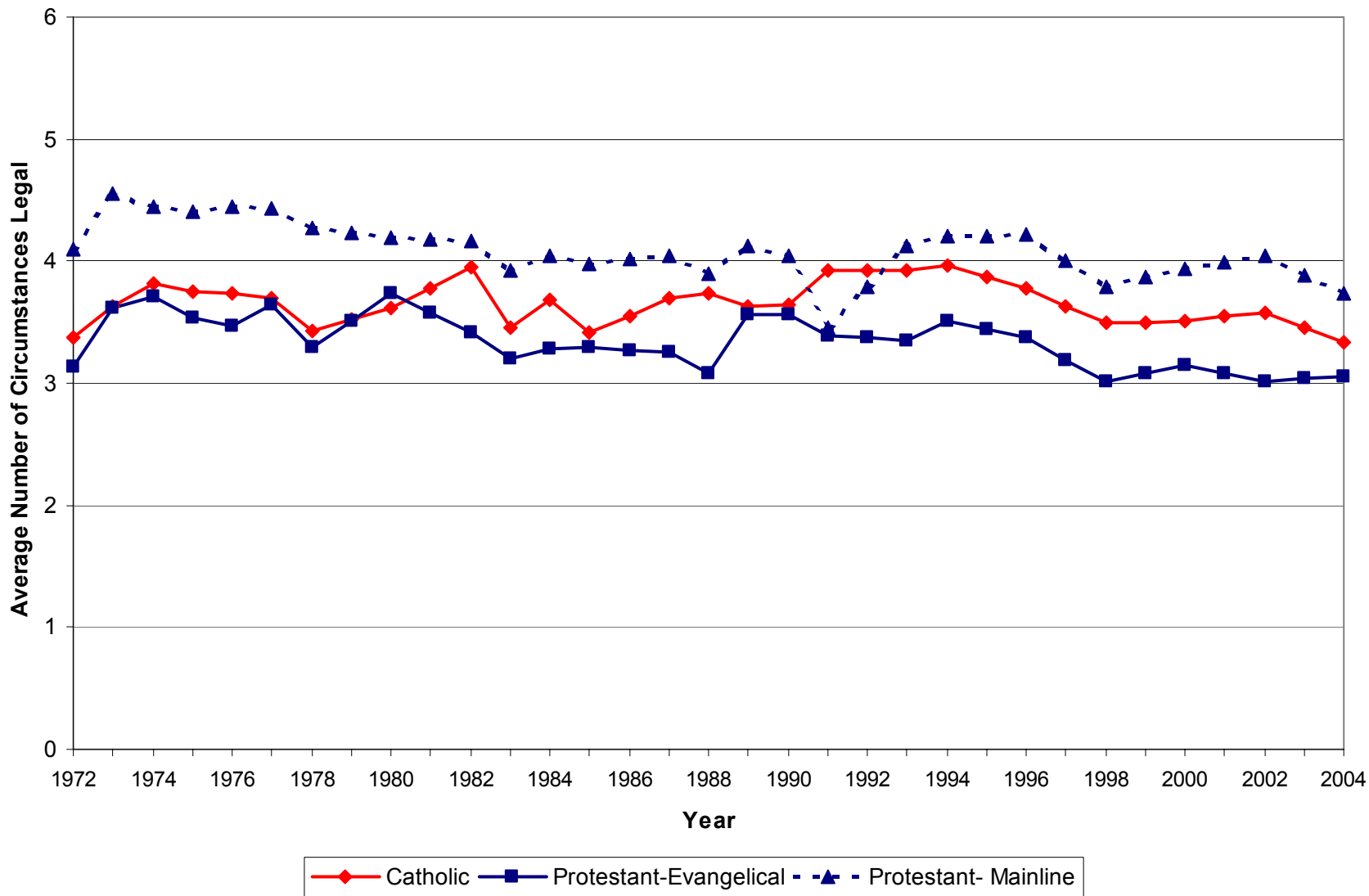


# Regions Differ Less On Abortion Than Commonly Thought



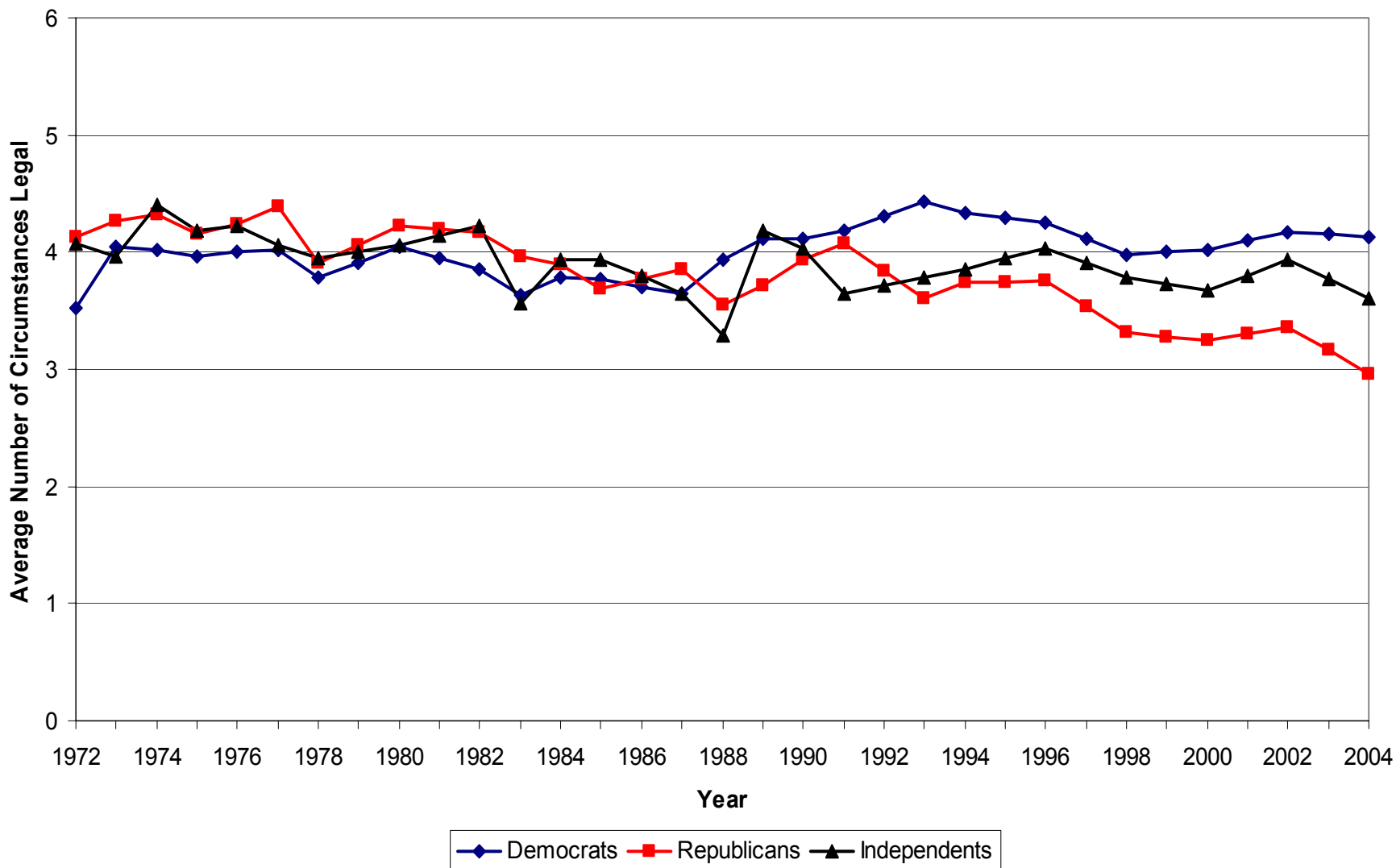
Source: Calculated from the General Social Surveys.

## Religious Denominations Differ Less On Abortion Than Stereotypes Suggest



Source: Calculated from the General Social Surveys.

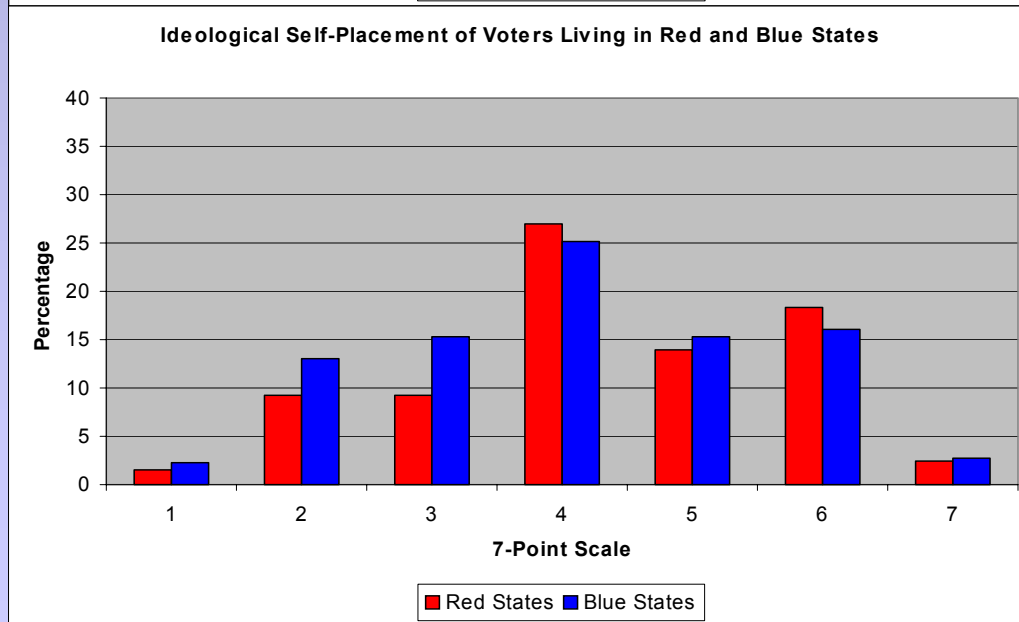
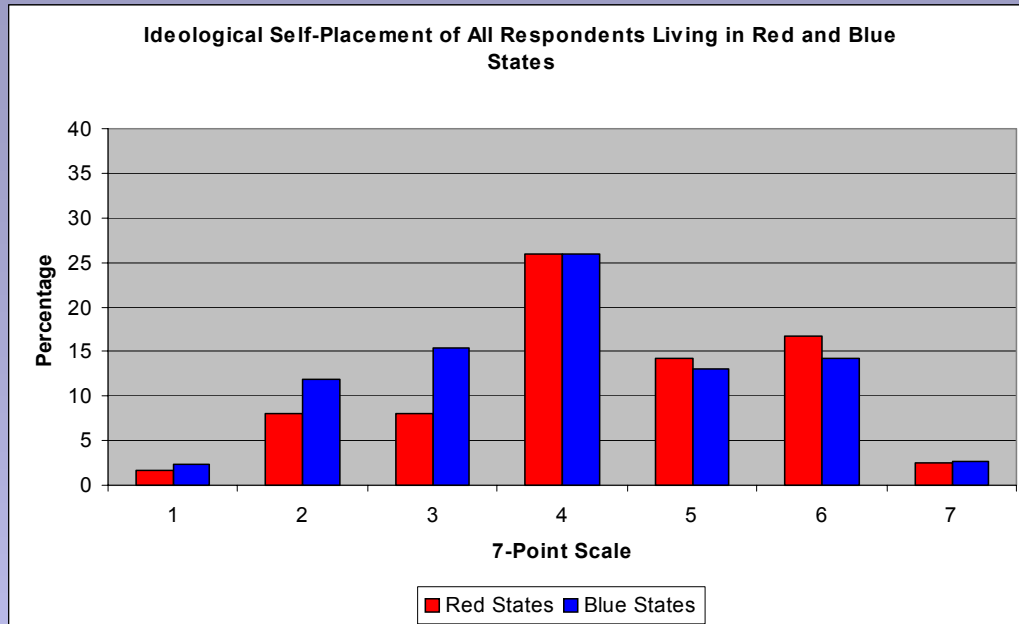
## Partisans in the General Public Do Not Differ Much on Abortion



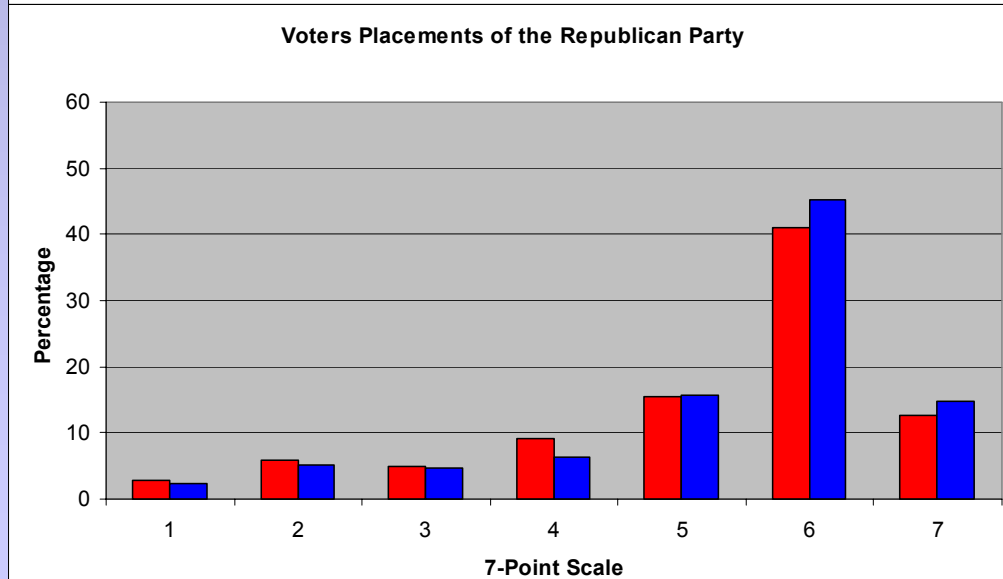
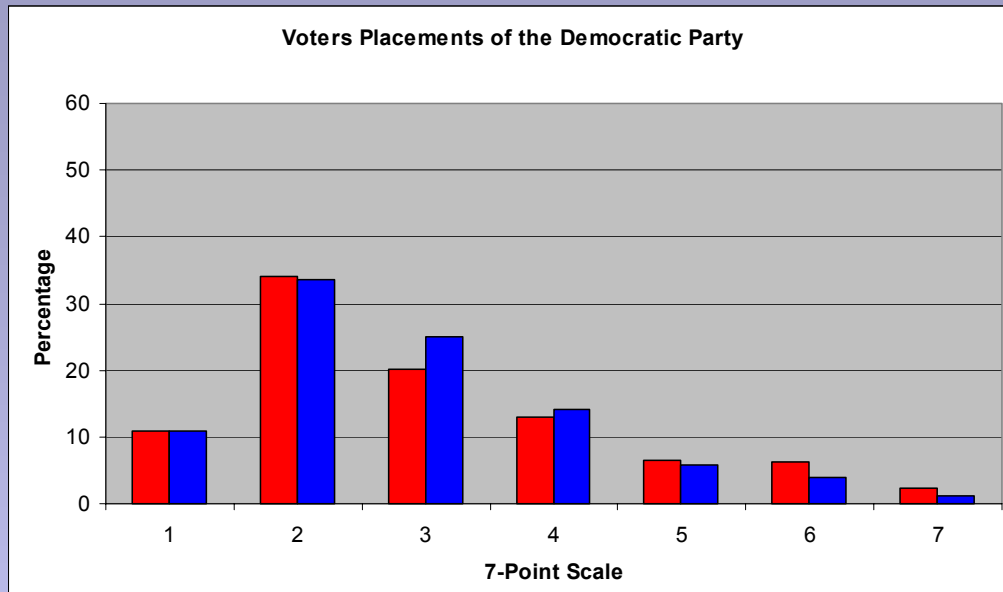
Source: Calculated from the General Social Surveys.

Note: Partisans include strong and weak identifiers.

# Red and Blue State Residents are Basically Centrists: 2004



# Red and Blue State Voters Agree that the Parties are Not Centrist: 2004



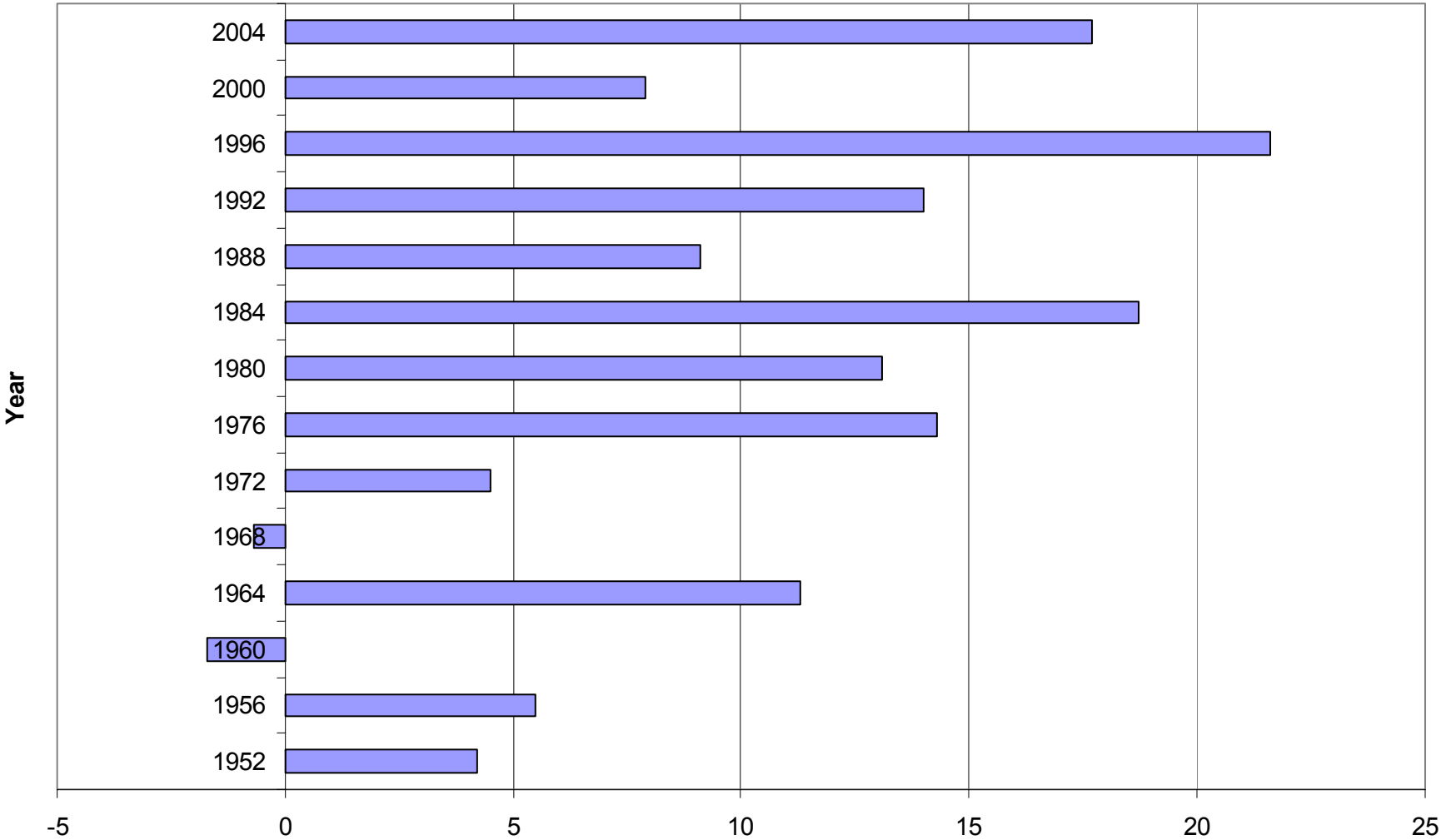
Red State Blue State

# 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

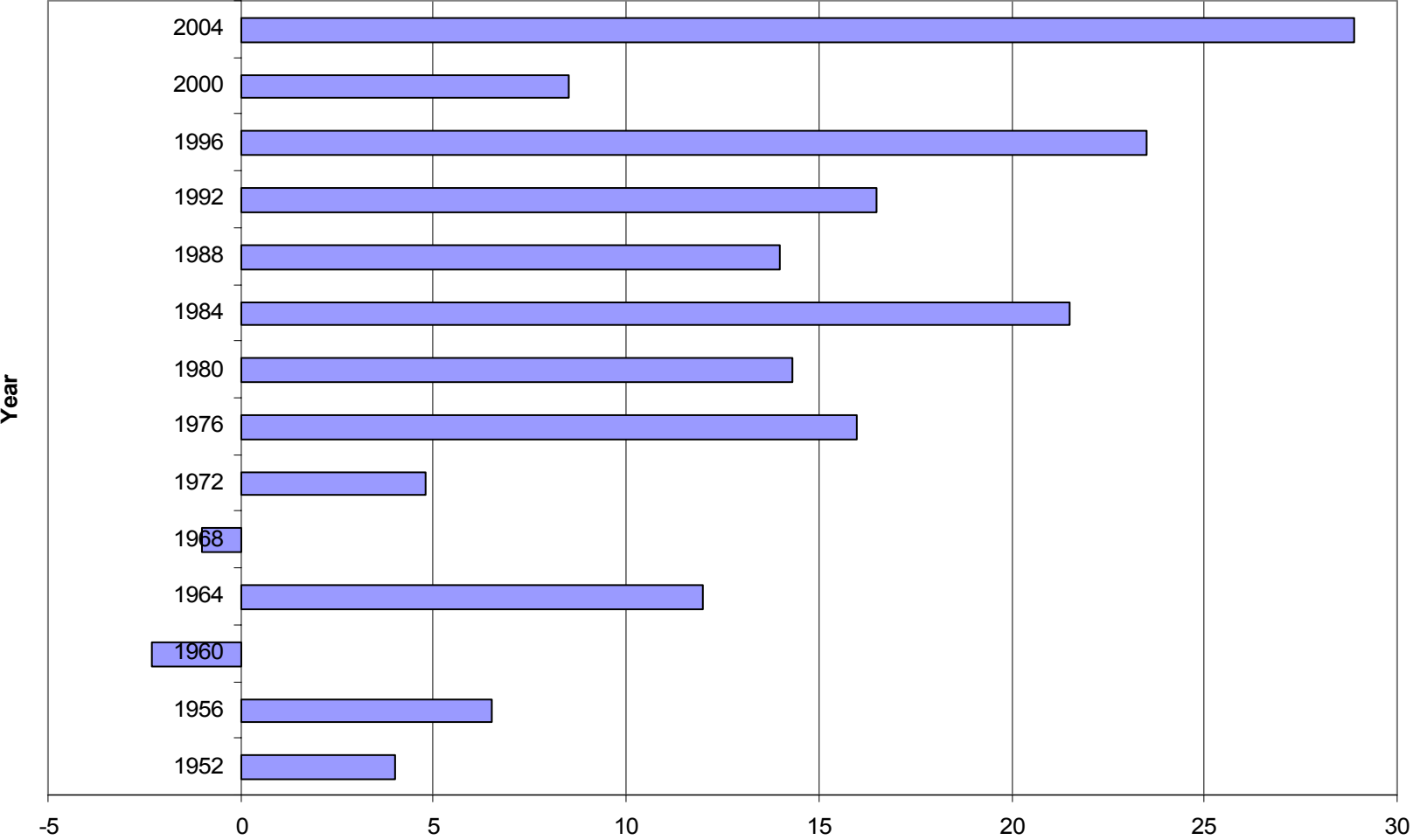


Source: Calculated from the National Election Studies.

Note: Includes white voters only



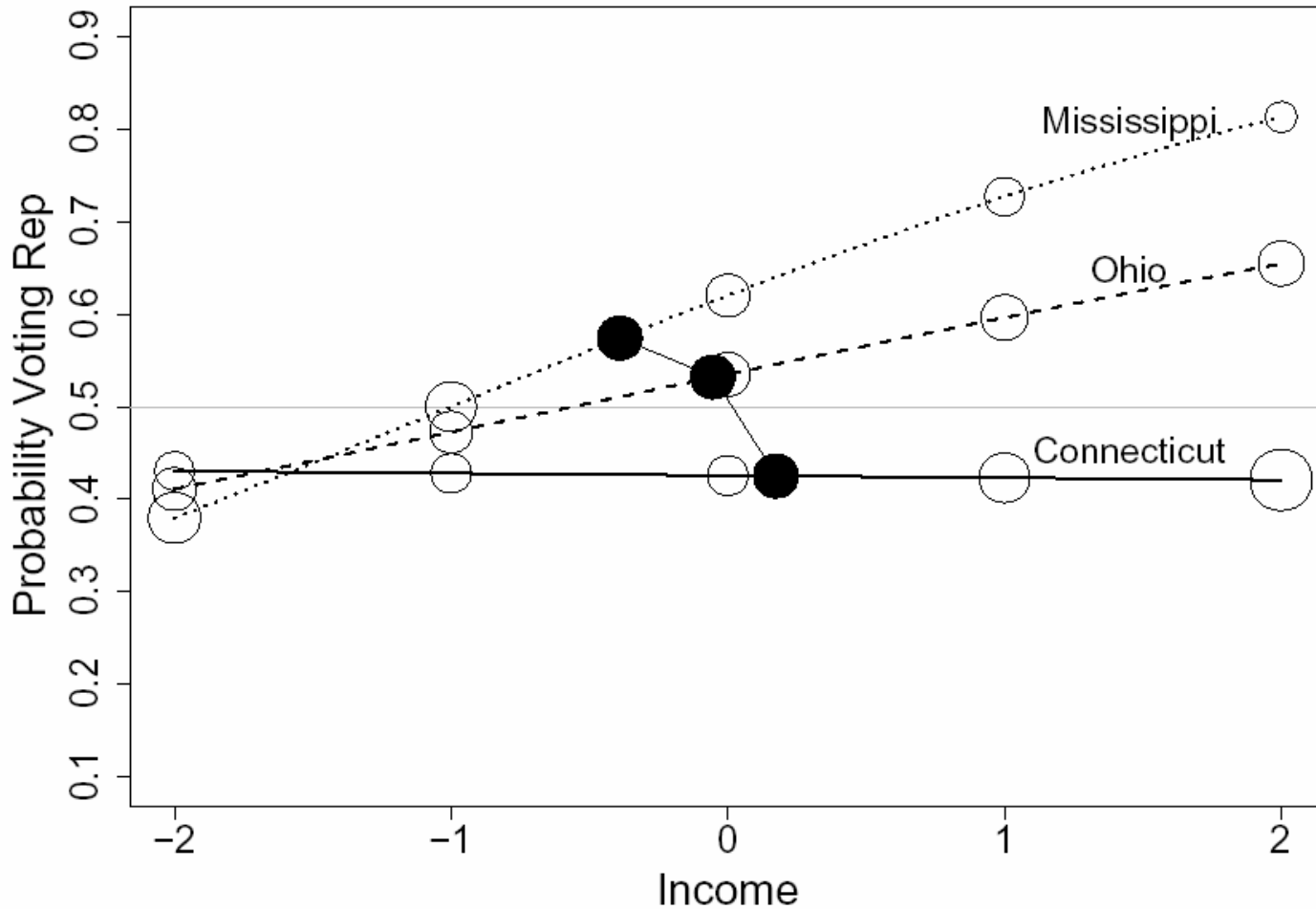
# Difference in Democratic Presidential Vote Between Lower and Upper Income Thirds



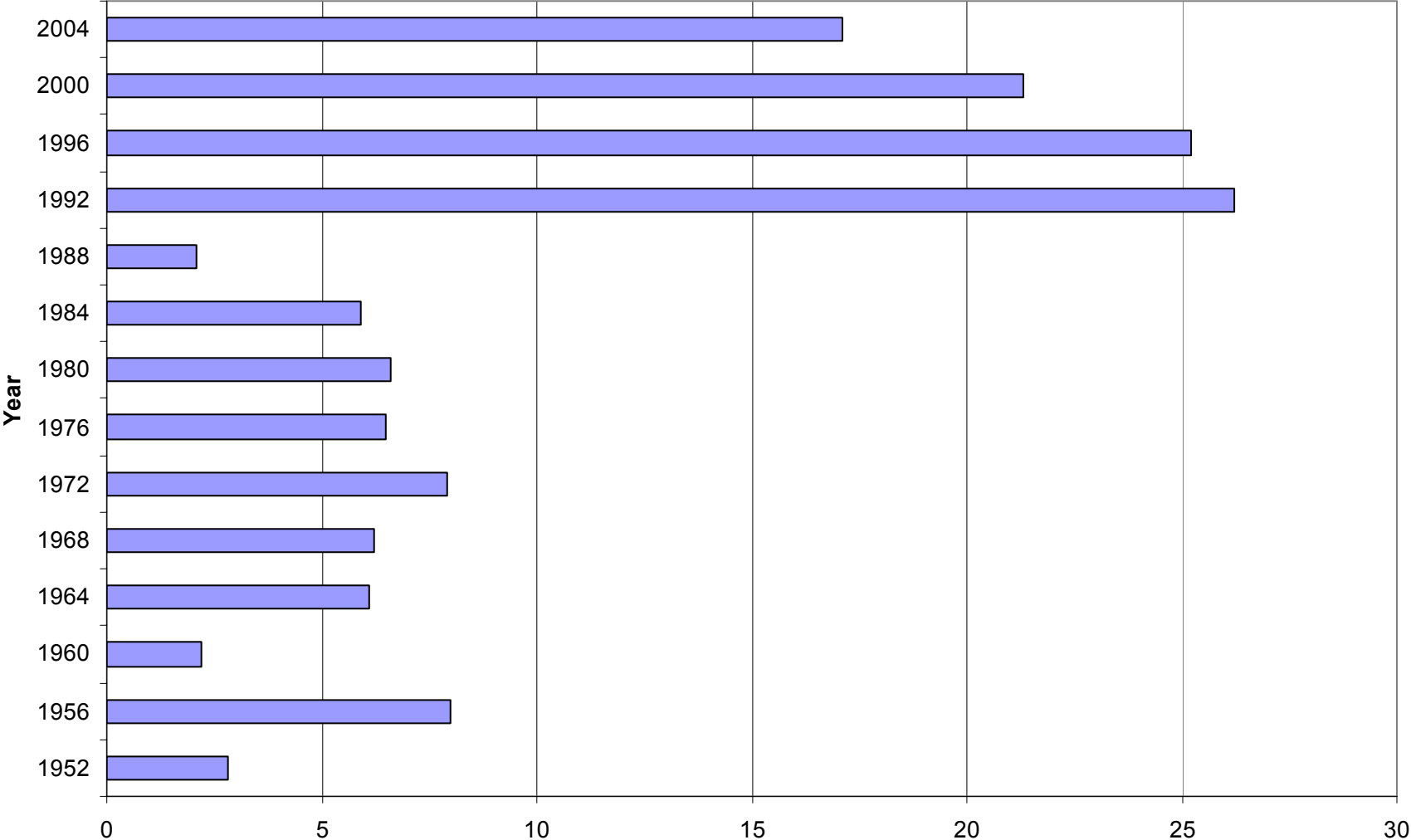
Source: Calculated from the National Election Studies.

# What's the Matter with Connecticut?

Varying-intercept, varying-slope model, 2000



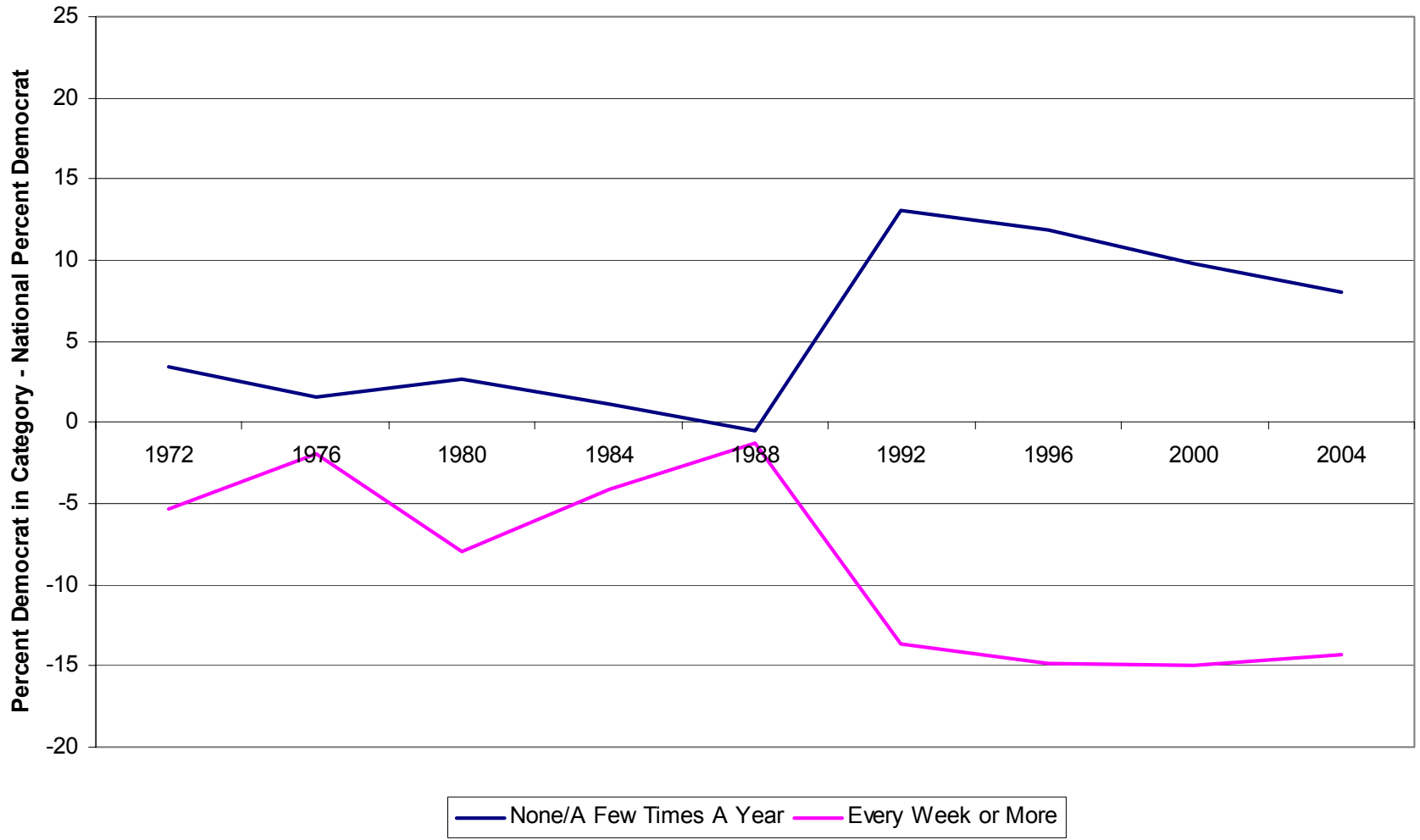
# Difference in Democratic Presidential Vote Between Regular Churchgoers and Non-Attendees



Source: Calculated from the National Election Studies.

Note: Includes white voters only.

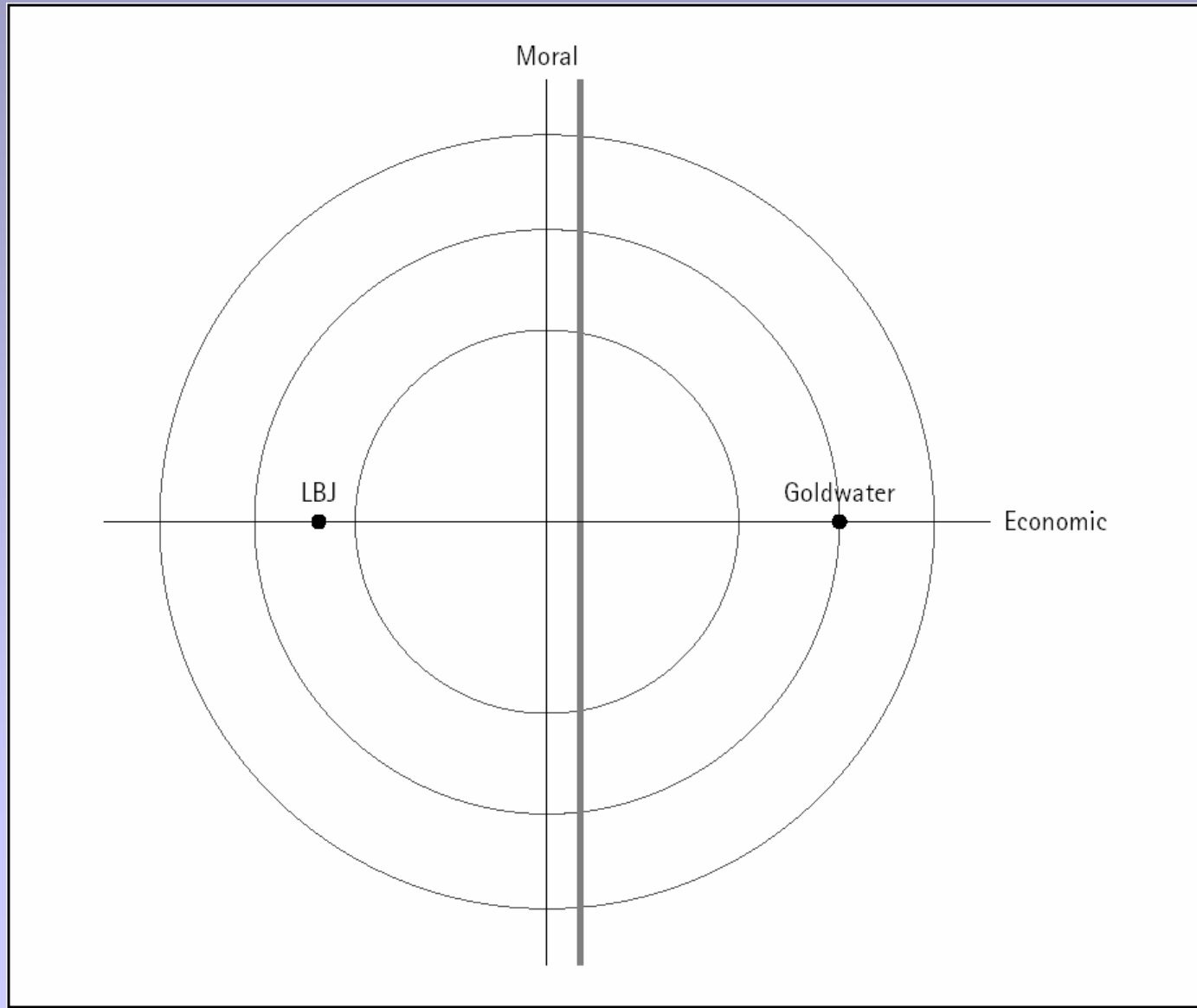
## Church Attendance Has Recently Become Associated with Presidential Voting



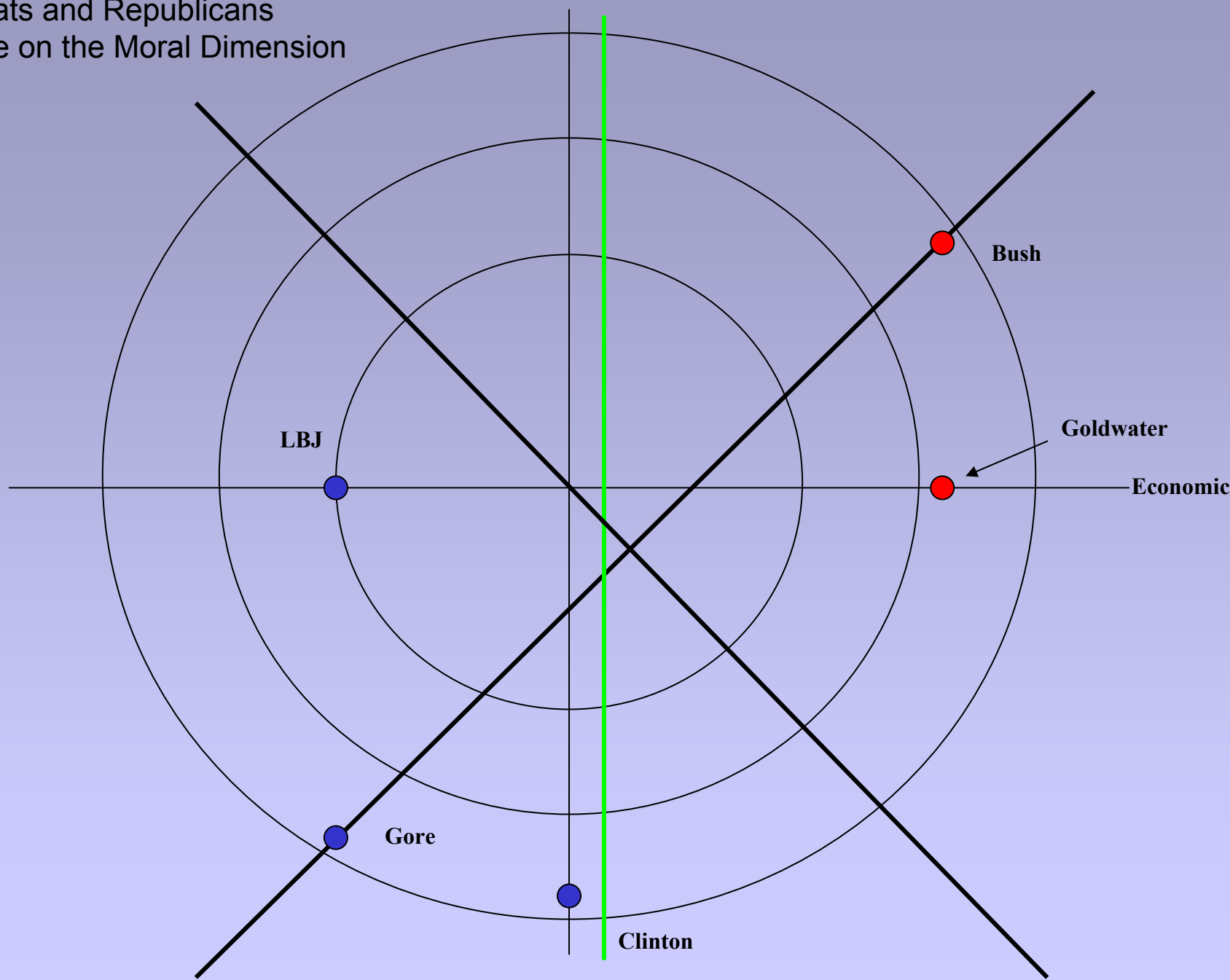
Source: Calculated from the National Election Studies.

Note: Includes white voters only.

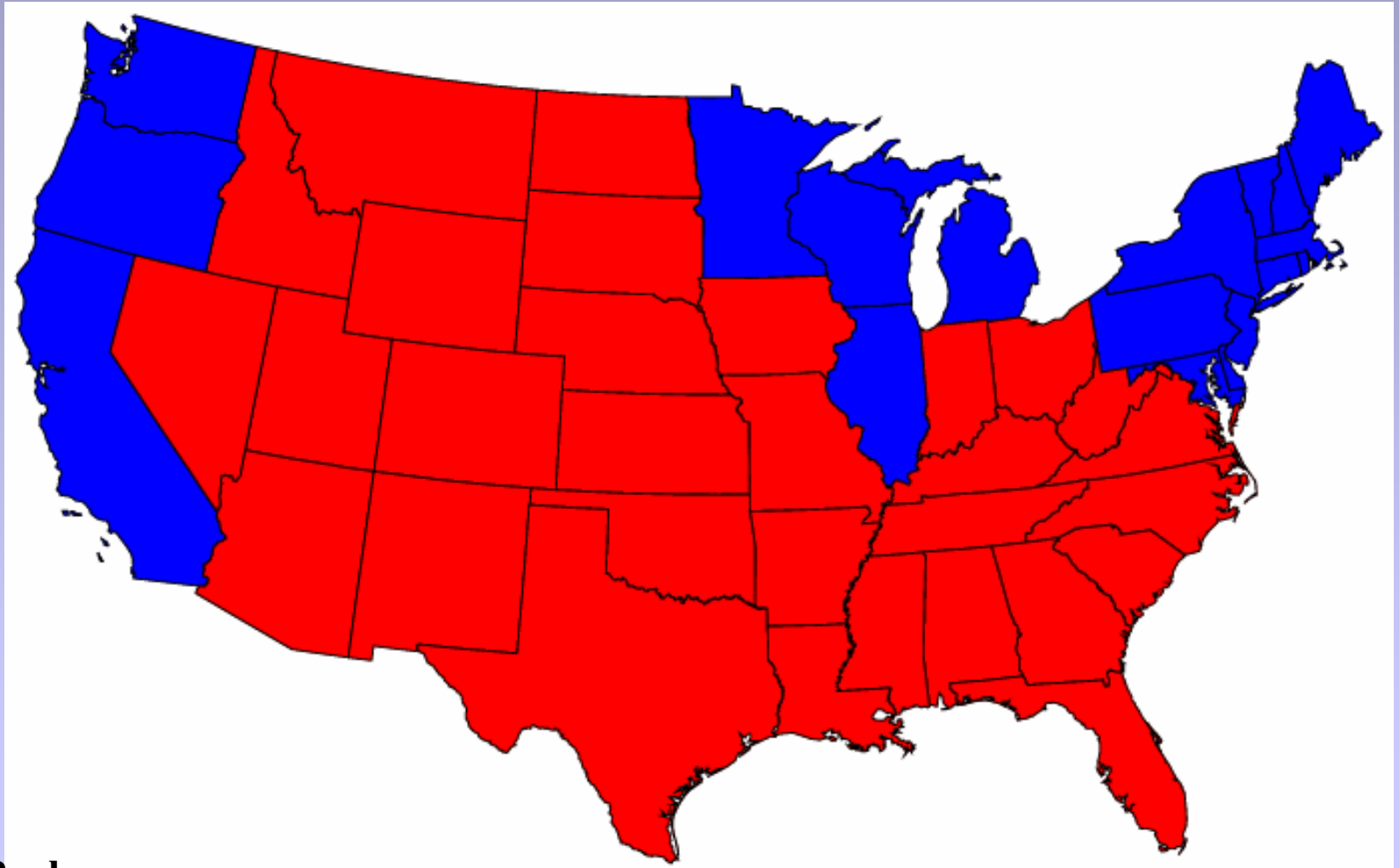
# Candidate Competition in Two Dimensions: Aerial View



Democrats and Republicans  
Separate on the Moral Dimension



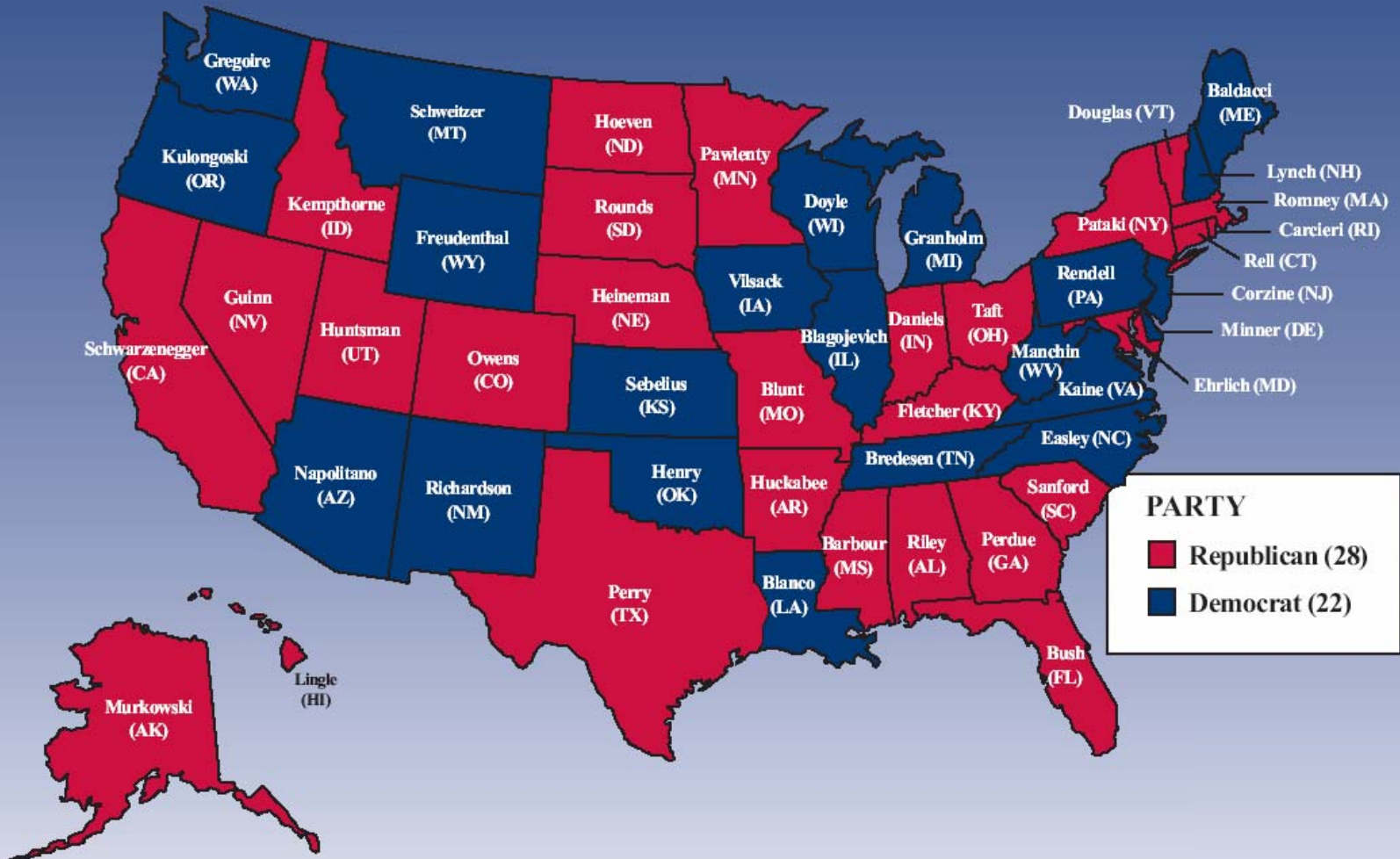
# The 2004 Presidential Election



 Bush

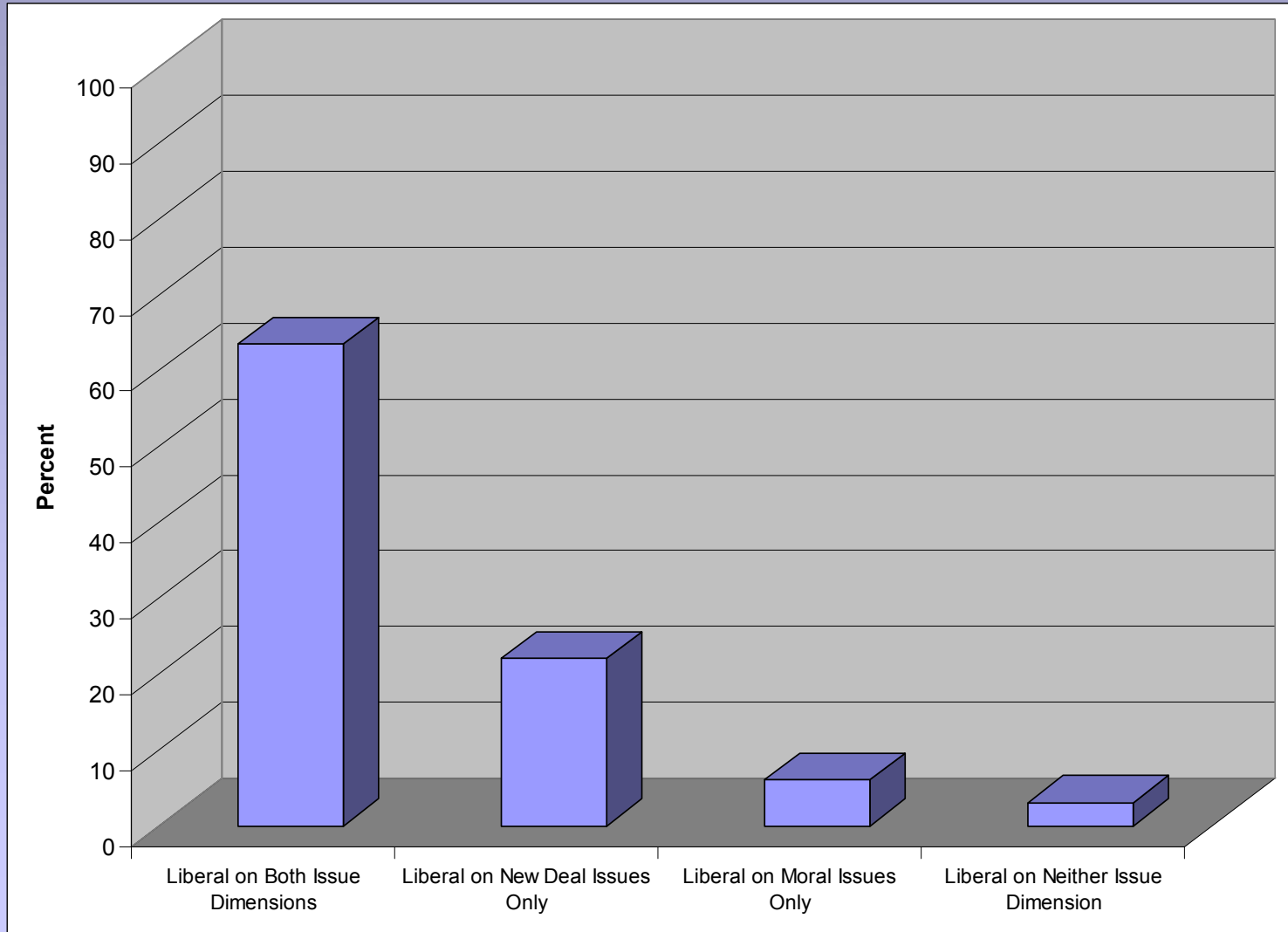
 Kerry

# 2006 Governors: Party Control

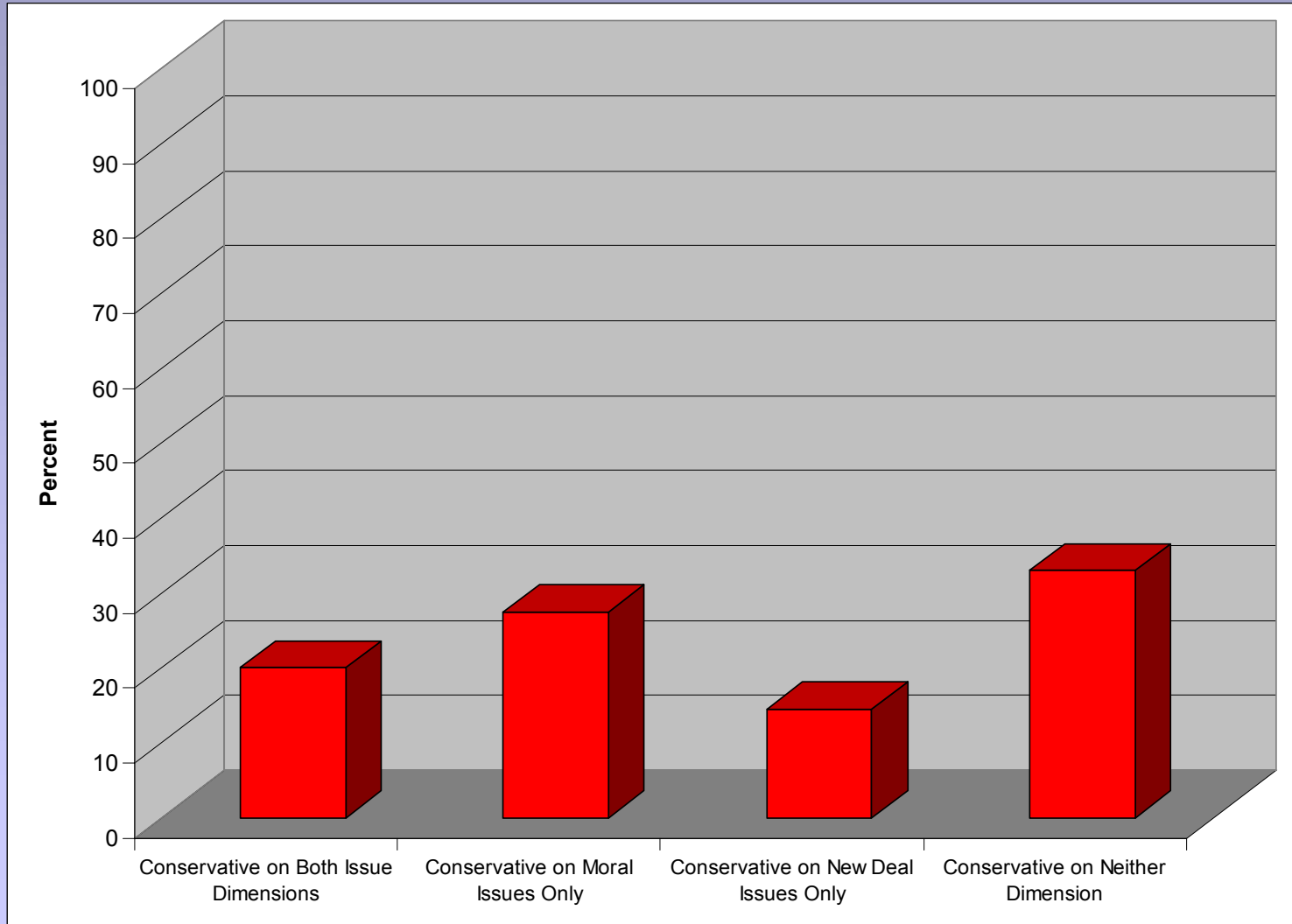




# Issue Liberalism of Self-Identified "Liberals"

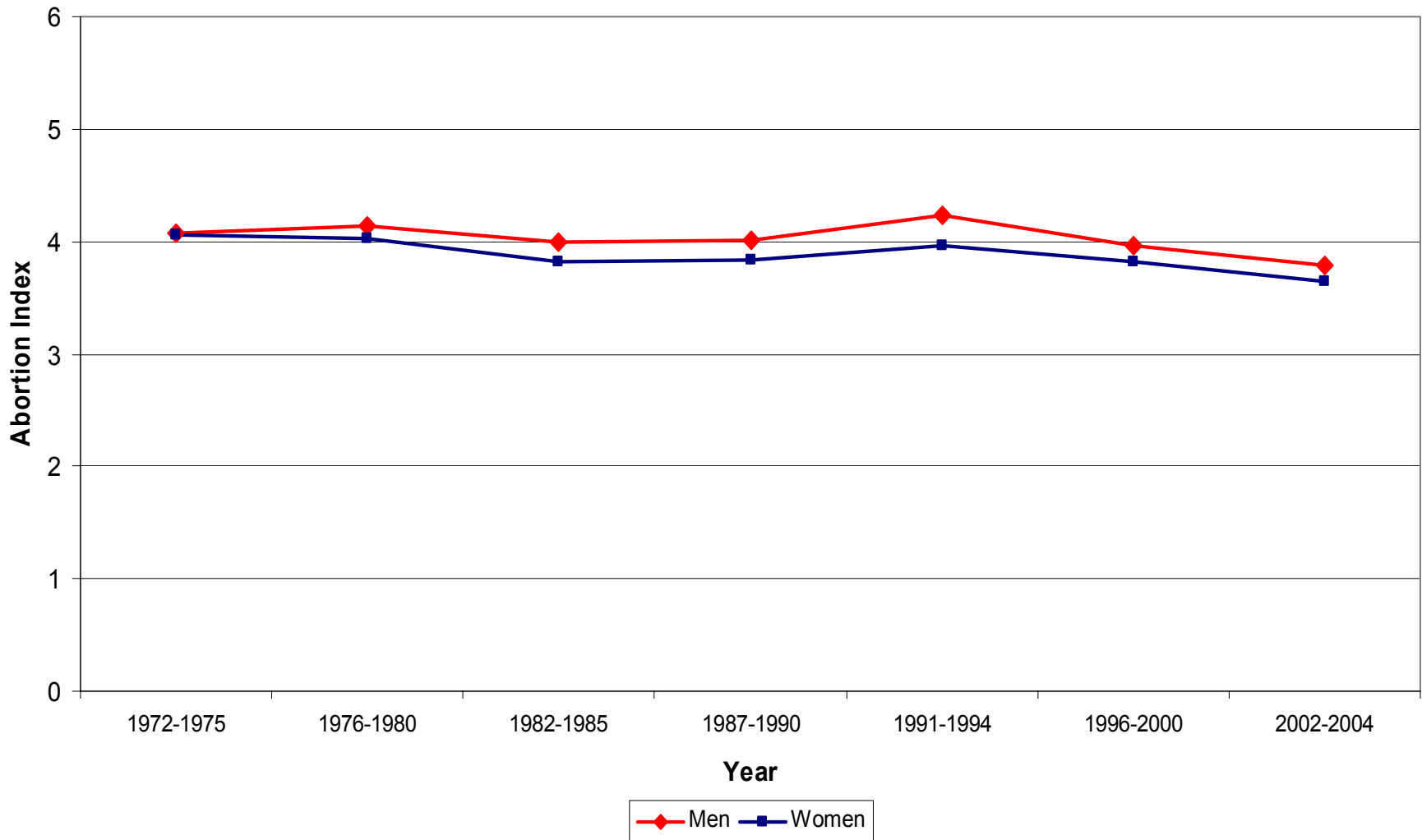


# Issue Conservatism of Self-Identified "Conservatives"



End

## Men And Women Do Not Differ On Abortion



# Some Perspective

**202 million**

**122 million**

**Eligible voting age population**

**Voted in 2004**

**62 million**

**59 million**

**Bush voters**

**Kerry voters**

**17-18 million**

**15-16 million**

**Saw *Fahrenheit 911***

**Listened to Rush Limbaugh last week**

**3.5 million**

**3.3 million**

**Daily audience for O'Reilly *Factor***

**Daily audience for Fox News**

**.74 million**

**.12 million**

**2004 Kerry Iowa Vote**

**2004 Iowa Democratic Caucus Turnout**

**.56 million**

**Howard Dean's email list**

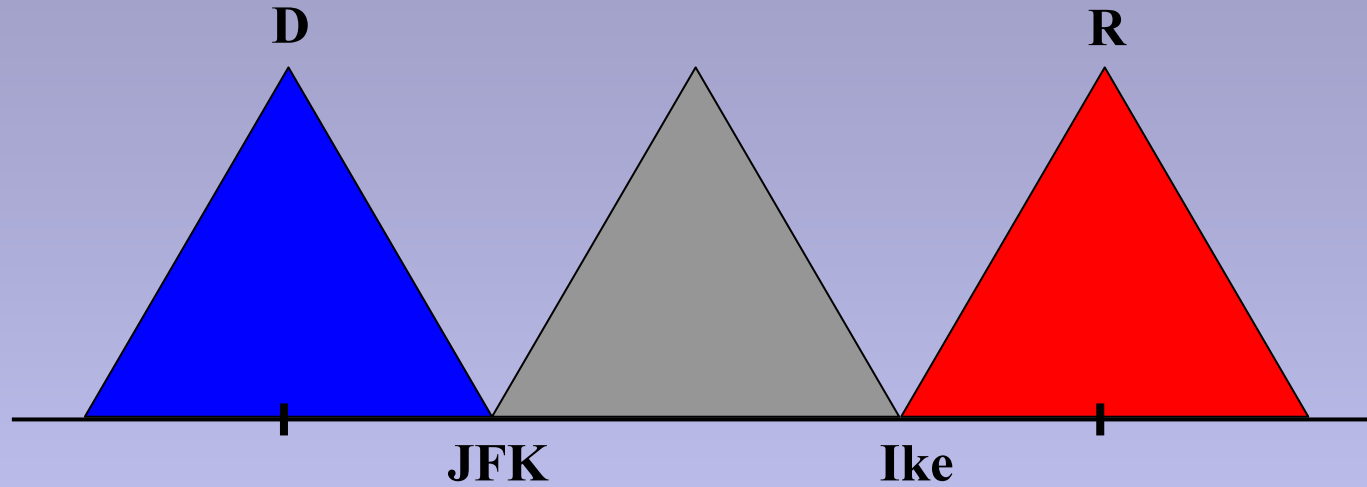
# *The Los Angeles Times* Poll

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

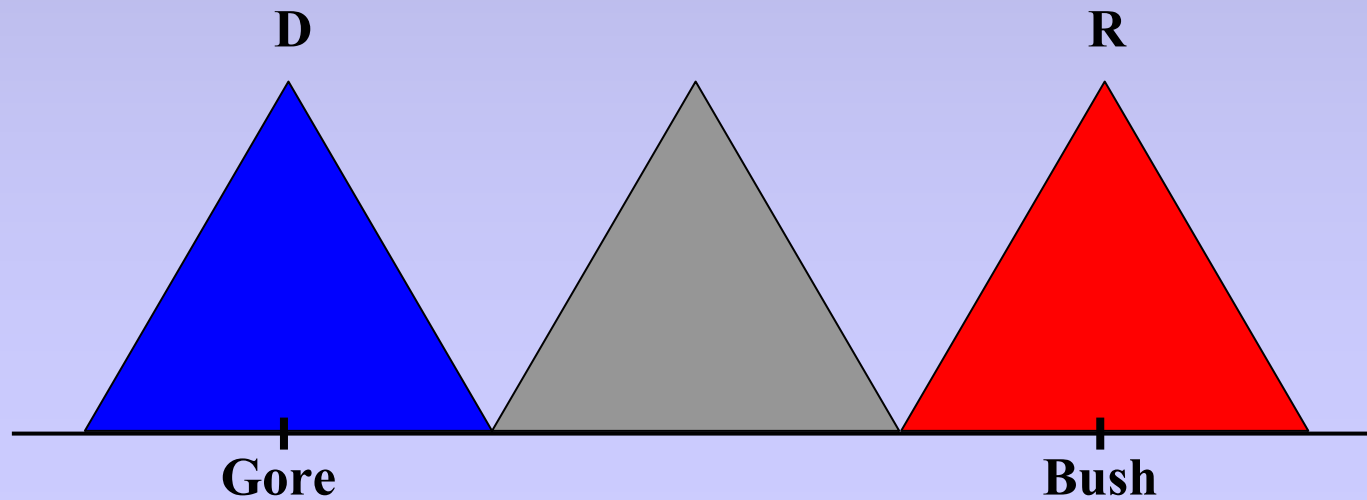
	<u>Bush Voters</u>	<u>Kerry Voters</u>
	%	%
Strong leader (37%)	55	18
Shares my values (22%)	24	21
Cares about people like me (21%)	17	26
Honesty and Integrity (21%)	27	15
Keep safe from terrorism (13%)	19	6
Political Ideology (13%)	6	20
Build respect for US (13%)	4	23

# POLARIZATION OF CHOICES

Centrist Strategy



Base Strategy



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?

