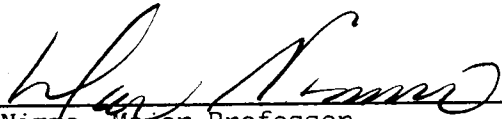
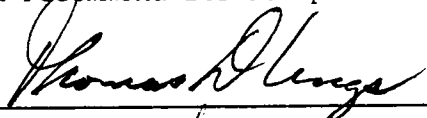
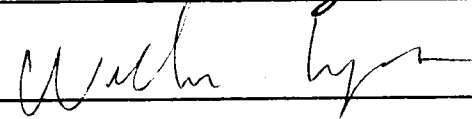
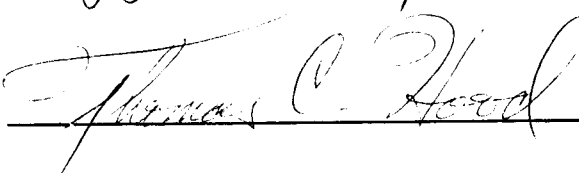


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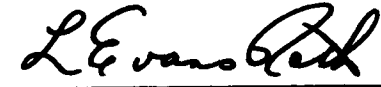
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Mark James Wattier entitled "The Responsible Electorate Revisited." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Political Science.


Dan Nimmo, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:


Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

THE RESPONSIBLE ELECTORATE REVISITED

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Mark James Wattier

August 1980

3045035

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TO DEBBIE

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ABSTRACT

The research reported in this study was concerned primarily with the role of issues in the act of voting. Do voters select candidates on the basis of their issue concerns, or do they merely vote their party affiliations? Previous research has supported each of these perspectives, yielding alternative and competing portraits of the electorate. The dependent voter portrait emphasized the enduring influence of party identification upon voter perceptions and vote choices. Because of the stability of party identification, voters usually supported the same party from one election to the next. When they lacked strong attachments to one of the major political parties, they changed party support between elections, floating between the parties between elections. On the other hand, the responsive voter portrait placed more emphasis upon the dynamic and fluid nature of vote choices, since voters were responsive to new stimuli in their political environments. Responsive voters looked to the issue positions of the candidates rather than simply their party labels, switching party support when the issue positions of the other party's candidate were more attractive. Clearly, then, a study designed to investigate these alternative portraits must focus upon patterns of interelection change: a perspective first employed by V. O. Key, Jr. in The Responsible Electorate. Returning to that focus in this study, a panel design, with interviews with the same respondents in the presidential elections of 1972 and 1976, was employed to identify standpatters, those voters who supported the same party in both elections, and switchers, those

voters who changed party support between elections. A variety of analytical techniques were employed to investigate these alternative portraits, ranging from cross-tabular analysis to factor analysis and multiple regression. Generally speaking, the conclusions supported neither perspective; rather, cross-sectional analyses supported the dependent portrait and longitudinal analyses supported the responsive portrait. Given these disparate findings, it was necessary to formulate a theory of interelection change that synthesized these two perspectives.

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CHAPTER 1

THE RESPONSIBLE ELECTORATE REVISITED

What is the nature of political "man" in the 1970s? Are citizens basically "reactive," that is, conditioned to behave in ways which are consistent with their biases, prejudices, and partisan ties, or are they "responsive," that is, able to pick and choose between rival candidates for office in terms of their policies and to support the one who represents their interests? In short, are their choices structured by partisan loyalties, or do they take their issue positions and the policy stands of the candidates into account when formulating a vote decision?

Questions about the nature of political man inevitably concern the complicated and confusing relationship between citizens and their government. Considering that relationship from a "democratic" perspective, most people would probably agree with James Madison when he says, "A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government" (Madison, 1961c, p. 322). However, when the course of popular government turns upon the whims and fancies of the citizenry, the seeds of destruction are sown within its fabric. When citizens recognize the legitimate interests of all people and are responsive to the interests of the community, political stability and order prevail. Recognizing this, Madison argues, "It is the reason, alone, of the public, that ought to control and regulate the government. The passions ought to be controlled and regulated by the government" (Madison, 1961b, p. 317).

How are citizens to control their rulers? Do they control them by voting their biases, their prejudices, or their partisan loyalties? Do they exercise popular control when "passions" guide their voting choices? The notion of popular control of policymakers, a central premise of democratic theory, assumes that policy preferences guide their voting decisions (Mayo, 1960, pp. 61-62). For popular elections to provide a means for controlling public officials, contends Weissberg (1976), each of the following conditions should be satisfied: Citizens possess policy preferences; candidates offer choices on the policies of concern to citizens; citizens correctly associate policy preferences with candidates; citizens vote for the candidate who best approximates their own policy preferences; the candidate with the most votes wins; the victorious candidate implements his/her policy; and if implementation does not occur, the official is defeated at the subsequent election (p. 171). If all of these conditions are satisfied, a perfect congruence, or "linkage," would occur between public opinion, as expressed at the polls, and governmental action (cf., Key, 1961).

If the "people" are to exercise their obligation as "the primary control on the government," as Madison and others assert, issue positions and policy preferences must guide their voting decisions. But what role do issues, or policy preferences, play in the act of voting? Over the past two decades, empirical research on this question has yielded mixed results or alternative "portraits" of the electorate:

One emphasizes stability in voting behavior, with the largest proportion of the vote dependent on enduring factors such as group membership and partisanship; neither coherent ideologies nor the particular issues of the times are seen as having major impact. The other portrait places more emphasis on

change, on the responsiveness of the electorate to new stimuli in the environment, and on the electorate's ability to grasp coherent, internally consistent, belief systems and to effectuate policy preferences in its vote. (Pomper, 1975, p. 12)

This is the distinction, advanced by Pomper, between the "dependent" voter and the "responsive" voter. Dependent voters are unable to exercise popular control of policymakers, since they tend to vote for the same party from one election to the next. Since issues are important for responsive voters, some degree of popular control is possible, especially when their policy preferences provide the bases for changing party support between elections.

Alternative Portraits of the Electorate

One version of the dependent voter portrait appears in the works of the Survey Research Center/Center for Political Studies (SRC/CPS) at the University of Michigan. The principal SRC/CPS studies include The Voter Decides (1954), The American Voter (1960), and Elections and the Political Order (1966). The voting act, from the perspective of these works, is a product of the interplay of factors that transcend a particular election, party identification providing the clearest example, and factors which are unique to an election, such as individual perceptions of parties, candidates, and issues. Party identification, a long-term psychological identification with a political party, or a partisan self-image, "colors" perceptions of stimuli during an election campaign. As a consequence of the influence of party identification on voter perceptions, issues and policy preferences are relatively unimportant (Abrams, 1973; Asher, 1976; Converse, 1975; Pomper, 1978; Prewitt and Nie, 1971).

The partisan self-image of an individual is viewed as the most important concept of this framework because it structures or determines other political images. How does this occur? A partisan self-image functions like a stereotype. A stereotype is a "picture of the world" and people usually avoid those things which call their "pseudo-environment" into question: "We imagine most things before we experience them. And those preconceptions . . . govern deeply the whole process of perception" (Lippmann, 1922, p. 59). People acquire a partisan self-image early in life and that image becomes stronger as a person grows older (Jennings and Niemi, 1974). As a stereotype, partisanship colors the way in which people experience and organize their political worlds. Since people prefer an ordered pseudo-environment, they guard or defend their partisan self-image by selectively perceiving political objects (McGrath and McGrath, 1962; Sherrod, 1971-72; and Sigel, 1964). Partisanship is thus the picture of the world that structures popular images of politics.

In contrast to the dependent voter of the SRC/CPS framework, V. O. Key, Jr. argues that "voters are not fools," that "the electorate behaves about as rationally and responsibly as we should expect, given the clarity of the alternatives presented to it and the character of the information available to it" (Key, 1966, p. 7). Voting behavior is not an activity which is "structured" by psychological determinants, since people exercise their own freedom of choice. Instead, people "respond" in a minded and self-conscious way to the alternatives that are available: "The voice of the people is but an echo. The output of the echo chamber bears an inevitable and

invariable relation to the input"; therefore, "the people's verdict can be no more than a selective reflection from among the alternatives and outlooks presented to them" (Key, 1966, p. 2).

In The Responsible Electorate (1966), Key divides voters into patterns of interelection voting behavior. Those who vote for the same party from one election to the next Key labels "standpatters." "Switchers" are those who change party support between elections. Key finds, using a respondent's recall of previous voting behavior, that switchers tend to gravitate toward the parties and candidates closer to their positions on the issues. Key also finds that standpatters, given their issue positions, are where they ought to be in terms of party support:

The portrait of the American electorate that develops from the data is not one of an electorate . . . moved by sub-conscious urges triggered by devilishly skillful propagandists. It is rather one of an electorate moved by concern about central and relevant questions of public policy, of governmental performance, and of executive personality. (pp. 7-8)

In sum, SRC/CPS and Key offer alternative portraits of the electorate. Further examination of these portraits reveals different perspectives on why people vote and why they do or do not change party support between elections.

Competing Explanations of Voting Behavior

The psychological perspective that emerges in the SRC/CPS studies is an "affective theory of voting," since the major concepts of their model are based upon a person's evaluation of political objects (Natchez, 1970). An evaluation is defined as a perception or an image. When the object is a political party, the evaluation is

referred to as a party image; when a candidate is the object, the evaluation is a candidate image. When the evaluation concerns a person's attitude toward himself as a member of a political party, it is a partisan self-image or party identification. All evaluations have two basic dimensions: direction and intensity. People have either a positive or a negative image of an object and feel more strongly about some objects than others.

Despite the emphasis on partisan self-image within the SRC/CPS framework, this stereotype has no direct influence on voting behavior. Borrowing an analytical assumption from field theory, their framework considers only those explanatory factors which are in the "field" of the phenomenon under investigation (Baldwin, 1967). A partisan self-image is a "distal" influence, since its existence is established in time prior to the act of voting. Consequently, factors, such as candidate and party images, which are closest to the voting act in time exercise a direct influence upon voting, with partisanship working through and upon these "proximate" images.

Key's responsive voter portrait suggests that a person's "knowledge" of the issue positions of parties and candidates is an important aspect of the voting act. Where the dependent voter portrait emphasizes "affective" relationship between voters and political objects, the responsive voter thesis emphasizes the "cognitive" aspects of those relationships. The nature of these cognitive relationships, recalling Key's echo chamber, is always contingent upon the kinds of appeals and messages that candidates employ during their campaigns: "If leaders believe the route to victory is by

projection of images and cultivation of styles rather than by advocacy of policies to cope with the problems of the country, they will project images and cultivate styles to the neglect of the substance of politics" (Key, 1966, p. 6).

When candidates offer the electorate a choice in terms of policy, which they do occasionally, voters may cast issue votes (Page, 1978; Pomper, 1972). What, then, is an issue vote? For citizens to cast an issue vote, they must first perceive a difference between the candidates and their issue stands, have an issue position which is closer to only one of the candidates, and support that candidate. If any of these conditions is violated, a vote is not an issue vote. Following these guidelines, the responsive voter argument emphasizes candidate and party "issue-proximities" rather than candidate and party images, as does the dependent voter portrait. In other words, the responsive voter portrait contains a substantive policy dimension. Voters canvass the political market, looking for a place to invest their votes. When they find a product that appears to satisfy their policy interests, responsive voters cast issue votes (Popkin, Gorman, Philips, and Smith, 1976).

Party Voting vs. Issue Voting

In their recent study, The Changing American Voter, Nie, Verba, and Petrocik (1976) present the intellectual debate between Key and the psychological perspective in slightly different terms. These authors distinguish between "party" voting and "issue" voting. "The main rule of party voting is simple: when there is a choice between

the candidate of the party with which you identify and the opposition party, vote for your party's candidate" (p. 156). Party voting requires that:

1. A voter have a party identification which extends across elections.
2. The candidates are from different parties.
3. The individual must use his party affiliation as the criterion for choosing between candidates.

Their notion also implies that:

4. A voter without a party identification cannot vote on the basis of party.
5. A candidate not identified with one of the major parties cannot receive a party vote. (pp. 156-157)

The main rule of issue voting is: "If there is an issue A and two positions on that issue (A_1 and A_2), the voter who prefers one of the two positions will vote for the candidate who holds the same position" (pp. 157-158). Issue voting has two basic requirements:

1. That the individual have a preference for either A_1 or A_2 .
2. The candidates must offer a choice on the issues. (p. 158)

The analytical problem, therefore, is to determine whether or not standpatters and switchers are casting party votes or issue votes. Key's switchers are obviously issue voters but so are standpatters, since their partisanship supposedly is based upon issue concerns. Standpatters are party voters from the SRC/CPS perspective, but switchers are neither, because they fail to identify with either of the major political parties and are not concerned enough with matters

of public affairs to acquire the necessary information to cast issue votes. In other words, switchers are floaters within the SRC/CPS framework.

Floaters or Switchers?

The distinction between "floaters" and "switchers" is an important one to consider, as it reveals the divergent perspectives on the sources of interelection change contained within the dependent and the responsive voter portraits. The term floater usually denotes a random and haphazard mode of political behavior (Daudt, 1961). The rudiments of a floater argument first surface in The People's Choice (1944), a panel study of intraelection change. In that study, Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet observe that 28 percent of their sample formulated a vote intention during the campaign, 15 percent "wavered" from one vote intention to another, eventually returning to their original choice, and only 8 percent "started out with a vote intention and later changed to the other party, finally voting for it" (p. 66). A comparison of these different forms of change, including those voters with constant party preferences (Key's standpatters), in terms of interest in the election shows that "only those people who had much less interest . . . actually vacillated between the two parties" (p. 69). Converse (1962) extends this empirical generalization to the case of interelection change, emphasizing a psychological source of floating: the absence of partisan attachments. Since independents, those who fail to identify with either of the major political parties, are the "least involved in politics" and "whose information about details of policy is most

impoverished," they float between the parties between elections. The authors of The American Voter (1960) also underscore the relationship between "psychological independence" and interest in public affairs as a source of interelection change: "The broadest movements of party strength between elections . . . are fed disproportionately by shifts among the less involved and poorly informed members of the electorate" (Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, 1960, p. 547). In contrast to the picture of the "floater" that emerges in these studies, Key's "switcher" is capable of realizing his own self interest, if presented meaningful alternatives, and of voting for the candidate and party that best represent that interest. In sum, floating is a random and superficial political act, with little rhyme or reason; switching is a conscious, motivated act of self interest.

The Responsible Electorate Revisited

Research has failed to address the obvious contradictions between the dependent and the responsive voter portraits. With the decline of party identification as a long-term, or stabilizing, factor in presidential elections, it seems likely that, in the near future, short-term factors, namely, candidate images and issue orientations, will play an even greater role in the decision processes of the electorate (Nie et al., 1976). It also seems likely that fluctuations in party support between elections will increase with the decline of partisanship and with the emergence of more dynamic short-term factors. What are these patterns of interelection change? How extensive are they? Who are the changers and what sets them

apart from nonchangers? What are the sources of change? Does change occur because voters lack a sense of attachment with one of the major political parties, because of the different images of the candidates from one election to the next, or because of some change in the policy preferences or candidates and parties, or among the voters, or both? Why has research neglected these questions? For one reason, the data have not been available, but with the recent release of an SRC/CPS panel study, a research project on patterns of interelection change is now possible. After outlining the chapters of this study, the research design is introduced and the procedures for identifying standpatters and switchers are described.

Chapter 2, "A Profile of Standpatters and Switchers," compares standpatters and switchers in terms of their social, personal, and political characteristics. How are they similar? How do they differ? And what do these similarities and differences suggest about standpatting and switching? It is important to consider these questions before moving on to a consideration of the dependent and the responsive voter portraits. Why? If certain social, personal, or political characteristics are associated with standpatting and switching, these may provide more useful and generic explanations of interelection change than the party voting or the issue voting perspectives. Similarly, if the party voting or the issue voting perspectives facilitate our understanding of interelection change, they may also account for whatever social, personal, and political characteristics that are associated with standpatting and switching.

Chapter 3, "Standpatters, Switchers, and Party Voting," examines the SRC/CPS perspective by focusing upon five aspects of the theory:

(1) the transmission of party identification from parent to child; (2) the stability of party identification over time; (3) the structuring effect of party identification for candidate images and policy cognitions; (4) the impact of candidate images and policy cognitions upon voting behavior; and (5) the extent of party voting, partisan defection, and non-party voting. Since people seldom, if ever, change their party identification, the theory predicts stability in voting behavior through time. Therefore, vote switching may occur because of a faulty empirical linkage between some aspect of the theory and the practice of changing party support between elections. In other words, if a partisan affiliation is not transmitted in the family, or if that affiliation exhibits instability over time, or if it fails to structure perceptions of candidates and issues, voters are likely to defect from their partisanship and support different parties from one election to the next.

Chapter 4, "Standpatters, Switchers, and Issue Voting," and Chapter 5, "Issue Voting from Multiple-Issue Perspectives," consider the responsive voter argument from a variety of perspectives and introduce a major theme of the study: different methods yield different substantive conclusions. The central question is: To what extent do issue positions or policy preferences guide the electoral decisions of standpatters and switchers? Curiously enough, an answer to this question depends upon which methodological approach is taken. The indulgence of the reader is requested at this point,

as the trail is sometimes confusing and often misleading. Nevertheless, it is important to study the question of issue voting from a variety of methodological perspectives. Why? First of all, as social scientists, we need to be sensitive to how our conclusions hinge upon the way in which a particular problem is studied. Secondly, given the confusion that presently characterizes the study of issue voting, it is incumbent upon new studies to determine to what extent different conclusions derive from different methods and to indicate whether this is a matter of interpretation or method. A longitudinal methodology, or an approach with a temporal component, is generally consistent with a popular control perspective. Moreover, a longitudinal perspective emerges as the most parsimonious of the five methodological perspectives studied. Without a serious consideration of issue voting from a variety of perspectives, this knowledge would escape us.

Chapter 6, "A Normal Vote Analysis of Alternative Voter Portraits," is the first of two chapters to consider the dependent and the responsive voter portraits as competing explanations. The dependent voter argument and the responsive voter perspective are considered in isolation in the third and in the fourth and fifth chapters, respectively. But since these portraits are competing explanations of voting behavior, they are juxtaposed in Chapters 6 and 7 in order to assess their relative utility in a single research setting. The logic of this is simple: Two competing accounts of the same phenomenon (voting) are examined to determine which one provides the more useful explanation, intuitively and empirically. In the sixth chapter, the vote is partitioned into its long-term and short-term components:

The long-term component is a simple reflection of the distribution of underlying party loyalties, a distribution that is stable over substantial periods of time. In any specific election the population may be influenced by short-term forces associated with peculiarities of that election . . . to shift its vote now toward the Republicans, now toward the Democrats. (Converse, 1966, p. 14)

The major short-term factor examined in Chapter 6 is candidate issue-proximity: that is, whether or not the voter's issue position is closer to one of the candidates. Normal vote analysis provides summary indexes for the long-term (party identification) and the short-term components (candidate issue-proximity). If one of these two indexes is larger, it provides a basis for judging between these alternative voter portraits.

Chapter 7, "A Multivariate Analysis of Alternative Voter Portraits," employs regression analysis to study the competing portraits of the electorate. For "psychologically" dependent voters, affective orientations toward political objects are important determinants of their voting behavior. But for responsive voters, cognitive orientations are important. Affective orientations toward candidates and parties are measured with feeling thermometers; cognitive orientations are operationalized with candidate and party issue-proximity measures. And the focus of the analysis is upon the "relative effects" of these variables in accounting for the voting behavior of standpatters and switchers.

Chapter 8, "Interelection Change and Voting Behavior," summarizes the findings of the study. What is discovered about interelection change? Are changers "floaters," as in the dependent

voter portrait, or are they "switchers," as in the responsive voter portrait? Are standpatters and switchers party voters or issue voters? Which of these competing portraits is supported by the study? Did either of these portraits account for patterns of interelection change? And finally, can the pieces of this puzzle be synthesized into a "theory" of interelection change which squares with a popular control perspective on elections?

Before turning to a discussion of the research design, a special note on the format of Chapters 2 through 7 is necessary. In each of these chapters, the same general approach is followed. A selected aspect of the research problem is posed, and the appropriate theoretical argument, or the perspective of the competing voter portraits, on the problem is reviewed, along with previous research on the question. Next, operational definitions are developed and an analysis of the panel data is performed. And finally, the implications of the results for the competing portraits of the electorate are discussed.

Research Design

In order to revisit or to replicate Key's basic research design in principle, a focus upon patterns of interelection change in voting behavior is necessary. Key (1966) relies upon respondents' recall of their previous voting behavior to classify them as standpatters, those who support the same party from one election to the next, or switchers, those who change party support between elections.

But Key's method is unreliable, since voters tend to overreport a vote for the winning candidate (see Peters, 1975, pp. 40-51). A panel design provides a more reliable method for identifying standpatters and switchers.

A panel design is a relatively simple but useful idea: A sample of potential voters (the panel) is interviewed at several points in time. For example, voters may be interviewed before and after some election, with a focus upon the effect of the election upon their images of the candidates (Nimmo and Savage, 1976, chap. 7). A panel design generally is used to study "change" over the interval of time between interviews (Butler and Stokes, 1969; Dobson and St. Angelo, 1975). A focus upon interelection change therefore requires a panel of voters interviewed during two different elections. Where previous panel studies have concentrated on a single election, the SRC/CPS panel study spans two presidential elections, in 1972 and in 1976, and the congressional election of 1974 (Converse and Markus, 1979). For the present study, only the data from the presidential elections are utilized. Since the design proposed here is a "secondary" analysis of a previous data set, many of the ordinary features of a research design, such as sampling, questionnaire format, etc., are given, so no attempt is made to elaborate and to defend every minute phase of the project. Rather, an overview of the sampling procedures and the steps followed to define operationally standpatters and switchers are discussed.

Stratified random sampling is employed to generate the first "wave" of the panel during the 1972 national election. In stratified

random sampling, several hierarchical "populations" are defined and sampled, beginning with some geographical division of the population and ending with the selection of the individual respondent (Babbie, 1973, pp. 94-95). Some form of random sampling usually is employed to advance from one level of the hierarchy to the next. In 1972, the first layer of the hierarchy includes the twelve largest metropolitan areas and the rest of the country divided into 62 strata, each of which contained two or more primary sampling units (PSU). From each of these stratum, a PSU consisting of a county or a group of counties is selected with a probability proportional to its 1970 population. Seventy-four PSUs (the 12 metropolitan areas plus the 62 strata) are drawn and the selection procedure within each PSU yields a sample of private households. Respondents are selected from households by an objective selection procedure which allows no substitutions. The resulting sample, according to the information contained in the codebook, is a representative cross-section of persons 18 years of age or older who were U.S. citizens and were living in private households in the coterminous United States. Individuals living in group quarters, institutional populations, and persons with no place of residence are not included in the sample (cf., Backstrom and Hursh, 1963).

In 1974 and again in 1976, interviews are attempted with each of the original respondents ($n = 2,191$) of the 1972 sample. The original design thus includes three "waves," but the interest here is primarily in the first and third waves, the presidential elections. Any panel study is bound to lose some proportion of its original respondents because some actually die, others move without leaving

a forwarding address, or they are not at home when the interviewer calls. For whatever combination of reasons, panel mortality is a matter of concern. Why? A representative sample in one year may regress into an unrepresentative sample two years later because of panel mortality. What, then, are the mortality rates for the SRC/CPS panel study? In 1974, 74 percent ($n = 1,625$) of the original respondents are re-interviewed and 81 percent of these respondents ($n = 1,320$) are contacted again in 1976, resulting in a mortality rate of 40 percent between 1972 and 1976.

The codebook makes no comment upon the mortality rate of the 1972-1976 panel. Indeed, no variable exists to access such a panel, possibly because the mortality rate has made it unrepresentative. Without further information and analysis, this is a distinct possibility. What if the 1972-1976 panel is unrepresentative? What limitations would this place upon the present study? For one thing, the conclusions of the study should be taken as tentative statements about the sources of interelection change. If the results contradict conventional wisdom in dramatic and nonsensical ways, they should be considered suspect.

This study only considers two types of interelection change: standpatters and switchers. Why? In view of the arguments of the dependent and the responsive voter portraits, a consideration of these types of change should facilitate an examination of the nature of political man, the causes of political behavior, the sources of electoral change, and the meaning of popular elections. Is the nature of political man reactive or responsive? Are voters influenced

by affective or cognitive factors? Are they floaters or switchers? And do elections function as mechanisms of party support or popular control?

What are standpatters and switchers? A standpatter is a person who supports the same party in two successive elections; a switcher is a person who supports different parties. Since two political parties normally contest national offices, especially the presidency, a person could standpat with the Democrats or the Republicans. Likewise, a person could switch from one party to the other, yielding two types of standpatters, Democratic and Republican, and two types of switchers, Republican-to-Democratic and Democratic-to-Republican.

Defining these four types of change in operational terms is thus the major design feature of the study. In 1972 and in 1976, panel respondents are asked two questions: Did you vote and how did you vote? The first question taps participation and the second partisanship. If they fail to participate in either election or if they support one of the third party candidates, they are excluded from the analysis simply because they fall outside our typology of interelection change. About 40 percent of the 1972-1976 panel respondents are excluded by these criteria: 12.6 percent ($n = 166$) vote in neither election; 14.2 percent ($n = 187$) vote in only one of the elections; and 13.4 percent ($n = 177$) vote for one of the third party candidates in either 1972 or 1976. Sixty percent of the panel respondents fall within the typology: 44.3 percent ($n = 585$) are standpatters and 15.5 percent ($n = 205$) are switchers. Of the 585 standpatters, 36.6 percent ($n = 241$) are Democratic standpatters and 63.4 percent ($n = 371$) are Republican standpatters. Of the 205 switchers, 80 percent ($n = 164$) are Republican-

to-Democratic switchers and 20 percent (n = 41) are Democratic-to-Republican switchers.

Conclusion

Chapter 1 has presented an overview of the dissertation by presenting the research problem, describing the dependent and the responsive voter portraits, introducing the chapters, and summarizing the research design. The basic question of this research is: What is the role of issues in the act of voting? This concern stems from a popular control perspective on the relationship between the leaders and followers of a community, requiring followers to select their leaders according to their performance in office and their policy proposals. Research on this question has yielded alternative portraits of the nature of political man, the dependent portrait emphasizing the limited role of issues and the importance of party identification and the responsive portrait highlighting the role of issues and their relationship to vote switching. In order to examine these competing explanations of voting behavior, a longitudinal research design with interviews with the same respondents in two different presidential elections is employed. In subsequent chapters of the study, the focus is upon party voting (Chapter 3) and issue voting (Chapters 4 and 5), and two chapters (Chapters 6 and 7) are devoted to a consideration of these two perspectives as competing theories. The next chapter presents a profile of the social, personal, and political characteristics of standpatters and switchers.

CHAPTER 2

A PROFILE OF STANDPATTERS AND SWITCHERS

Who are the standpatters and the switchers? What are their social, personal, and political characteristics? How are they similar? How do they differ? And what do these similarities and differences suggest about standpatting and switching? It is important to consider these questions before moving on to a consideration of the dependent and the responsive voter portraits. Why? If certain social, personal, or political characteristics are associated with standpatting and switching, these may provide more useful and generic explanations of interelection change than the party voting or the issue voting perspectives. Similarly, if the party voting or the issue voting perspectives facilitate our understanding of interelection change, they may also account for whatever social, personal, or political characteristics that are associated with standpatting and switching. This, of course, is a classic example of "circular reasoning," but, as is often the case, empirical political theory fails to distinguish between "cause" and "effect," focusing upon "potential" relationships instead. At this stage of inquiry, a theory of interelection change has not emerged. Possibilities and theories and conjectures exist; therefore, out of necessity, all major candidates are considered. To that end, the first order of business is to consider what is probably the most general model of political behavior in the literature of political science: the standard model of political participation.

The Standard Model of Participation

What is the standard model of participation and why is it the so-called standard? This general model states, in effect, that certain social characteristics tend to generate a set of psychological predispositions (personal characteristics) which facilitate or enhance political participation (political characteristics): "Individuals of higher social status develop civic orientations as concern for politics, information, and feelings of efficacy, and these orientations in turn lead to participation" (Verba and Nie, 1972, p. 126). The model is simple and linear, and for the most part, it explains a variety of "modes" of participation: voting, campaign activity, community involvement, and personal contacts (Verba and Nie, 1972, pp. 133-137). This helps to explain why the model is the standard. Moreover, a variety of respected scholars working in different research settings have supported this "socioeconomic interpretation of politics" (Almond and Verba, 1965; Di Palma, 1970; Lane, 1959; Lipset, 1960; Milbrath, 1965). Standpatting and switching are patterns of voting and forms or modes of political participation. The party voting and the issue voting perspectives are competing explanations of electoral participation primarily. But the question of this profile analysis of standpatters and switchers is: Can the standard model of participation account for these patterns of interelection change?

Social Characteristics

If the standard model of political participation is a valid explanation for different patterns of interelection change, standpatters

and switchers should differ in terms of their social characteristics, since the model assumes that social factors create situations in which personal attitudes conducive to participation develop. The primary social factor in this model is social class or social status. Society, according to this view, is differentiated into several hierarchical strata, according to certain "valued" attributes such as wealth, prestige, intelligence, or family heritage. Since these attributes are usually in short supply, only a few members of any society, relatively speaking, may acquire them. And it is these gifted few who participate in politics the most, since they stand to lose the most, since their station in the social hierarchy has provided them with a set of "skills" (such as communication) which make them more effective in political matters, and since they see political action as a legitimate way in which to protect their status. This ruling elite, it goes without saying, are not subject to popular control by the apathetic masses; rather, they control the masses through a variety of techniques, such as mass persuasion or control of the economic resources of the community. If standpatters and switchers "share" similar social characteristics, this socioeconomic interpretation of participation would be undermined.

Political Generations

An emergent perspective in the study of political behavior, one consistent with the standard model of participation in an indirect way, emphasizes differences in political activity between political generations (Abramson, 1975; Cutler, 1977). Curiosity about the effect of new "generations" on political processes parallels the passage of the

Twenty-Sixth Amendment to the Constitution and the lowering of the voting age to eighteen. The election of 1972 marks the first time that eighteen year olds could exercise the franchise, which raises an obvious question: Are these new voters disproportionately standpatters or switchers? Since younger voters are less likely to have a strong partisan identification, they are probably switchers. Moreover, the younger members of society would have less time and opportunity to acquire the traits of the upper stratum and this might influence their participation in politics. Age and social status are related; an eighteen year old would not have an important trait of the upper stratum: a college education. But as Table 1 indicates, standpatters and switchers have similar generational (or age) characteristics, defining a political generation in terms of the age at which voters were eligible to cast their first ballots for a presidential candidate (Pomper, 1975, p. 22). This newly enfranchised group of voters is more prone to standpat (about 75 percent of this group support the same party from one election to the next), but thinking only in proportions, about 10 percent of the standpatters and the switchers are from this group.

Social Status

Researchers who investigate the relationship between socio-economic factors and participation usually draw a distinction between "objective" and "subjective" measures of social status (Campbell et al., 1960, p. 341). The distinction, in part, is a matter of perspective: the investigator's or the subject's. When the investigator tries to classify respondents into various social strata according to their education, income, or occupation, the perspective is objective. The

Table 1. Social Characteristics of Standpatters and Switchers

Characteristic	1972			1976		
	Std	Swt	Z	Std	Swt	Z
<u>Political Generation^a</u>						
1970s: Under 25	11.1%	10.2%	0.36			
1960s: 25-36	23.6	28.3	-1.30			
Pre-1960s: Over 36	<u>65.3</u> 100% (585)	<u>61.5</u> 100% (205)	0.97			
<u>Education</u>						
College	44.8	35.1	2.49*	45.1	34.3	2.77*
High School	34.0	33.7	0.08	35.4	38.7	-0.85
Grade School	<u>21.2</u> 100% (585)	<u>31.2</u> 100% (205)	-2.78*	<u>19.6</u> 100.1% (577)	<u>27.0</u> 100% (204)	-2.11*
<u>Income</u>						
Over \$24,999	8.1	3.9	2.33*	20.3	11.1	3.29*
\$11,000 - \$24,999	42.1	37.4	1.18	49.9	52.0	0.51
Under \$11,000	<u>49.7</u> 99.9% (579)	<u>58.6</u> 99.9% (203)	-2.22*	<u>29.8</u> 100% (557)	<u>36.9</u> 100% (198)	-1.82
<u>Occupation</u>						
Professional and Managerial	42.3	29.7	2.93*	41.6	34.4	1.64
Clerical and Sales	23.3	23.4	-0.02	21.1	23.1	-0.53
Skilled Labor	23.9	34.2	-2.40*	21.6	28.1	-1.63
Manual Labor	<u>10.5</u> 100% (447)	<u>12.7</u> 100% (158)	-0.73	<u>15.6</u> 99.9% (473)	<u>14.4</u> 100% (160)	0.38

Table 1 (Continued)

Characteristic	1972			1976		
	Std	Swt	Z	Std	Swt	Z
<u>Social Class</u>						
Working Class	44.7%	53.0%	-2.02*	41.6%	43.0%	-0.34
Middle Class	<u>55.3</u> 100% (573)	<u>47.0</u> 100% (200)		<u>58.4</u> 100% (563)	<u>57.0</u> 100% (200)	

* $p < .05$ testing H_0 : there is no difference in the proportion of standpatters and switchers in a particular category with a Z-test for differences between proportions (Champion, 1970, pp. 136-139). The null hypothesis is rejected when the absolute value of Z is greater than or equal to 1.96.

^aPomper (1975) classifies voters into political generations "on the basis of the time at which they were eligible to cast their first votes for the president" (p. 22).

perspective is considered subjective when respondents are asked which "class" (or stratum) they "identify with," "feel a part of," or "belong to." A problem is encountered when only one of these perspectives is adopted: They produce different classifications of respondents' social status. Rather than opt for either of these perspectives, Table 1 presents both objective and subjective information on the social status of standpatters and switchers.

Objective Social Status

By objective standards, standpatters and switchers differ in terms of education, income, and occupation, but these differences are not static differences. Standpatters are more likely to have a college education; switchers are more likely to have a grade school education. The popular myth, promoted by educators, is that a college education produces individuals with an ability to reason and to think for themselves; therefore, the college educated should be less tied to partisan politics and more prone to cast issue votes and to switch party support between elections. The evidence, however, contradicts both the myth and the findings reported by Key (1966). Where Key finds that "switchers do not differ significantly from standpatters" in terms of "their average level of education" (p. 94), this study notes significant educational differences. Standpatters also are more likely to have incomes over \$24,999 and switchers are more likely to have incomes under \$11,000, but this latter difference vanishes in 1976, revealing some economic mobility among switchers. But given this economic mobility and since nearly 50 percent of standpatters and

switchers are in the middle income group (\$11,000 - \$24,999) in 1976, economic differences seem less important. As far as occupational differences are concerned, standpatters are more likely to occupy the more prestigious "professional and managerial" positions and the switchers the less prestigious positions of the "skilled laborer." But these occupational differences are less clearcut in 1976. In statistical terms, the differences are not significant, although the white collar/blue collar tendency does surface.

Subjective Social Status

These economic and occupational patterns of mobility among switchers are reinforced when social status is considered from a subjective standpoint. In 1972, standpatters are more likely to identify with the "middle" class and switchers with the "working" class, but these subjective differences disappear in 1976. Although educational differences surface in both 1972 and in 1976, economic, occupational, and subjective differences between standpatters and switchers tend to emerge primarily in 1972 and to vanish in 1976. What do these trends suggest about the standard model of political participation as an explanation of interelection change?

The voting theory which parallels the socioeconomic model of political participation is the "sociological" perspective of the Bureau of Applied Social Research (BASR) at Columbia University. The major BASR studies are The People's Choice (1944) and Voting (1954). The sociological perspective views the voting act as a social act; it is determined by group factors, such as social class, religion, and place of residence. Because of these group affiliations, a person's

voting decision is not a decision at all, but an expression of his group affiliations: "His vote is a sort of group decision" (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, 1954, p. 321). But if voting behavior is determined by social factors, why do standpatters and switchers tend to have the same social characteristics? If social factors create situations in which personal attitudes conducive to participation develop, why, given their social composition, do standpatters and switchers behave differently? The obvious conclusion from this analysis of the social characteristics of standpatters and switchers is that the standard model of participation and the "sociological" perspective are not valid explanations of interelection change (Key and Munger, 1959). But what about the personal characteristics of standpatters and switchers? How are they similar? How do they differ?

Personal Characteristics

Two general types of personal characteristics are considered in this section: perceptions and attitudes. Perceptions, or images, are personal evaluations of political objects. Attitudes are predispositions to behave in characteristic ways toward political objects. Obviously, perceptions and attitudes are related at a conceptual level. This is most evident in the SRC/CPS theory of voting: Party identification (an attitude) structures popular perceptions of political objects (candidate and party images) which influence voting behavior. The major attitudes of the standard model of political participation also are considered. These include citizen duty, political efficacy,

political ideology, interest in politics, and psychological involvement. By including aspects of the SRC/CPS perspective and the standard model in this section, the analysis attempts to answer the question: Do standpatters and switchers differ in terms of the SRC/CPS concepts or the attitudinal variables of the standard model?

Candidate and Party Images

When the object of evaluation is a candidate, the image is called a candidate image; when a political party is the object, the evaluation is a party image. All evaluations have two basic dimensions: direction and intensity. People have either a positive or a negative image of an object and feel more strongly about some objects than others. The feeling thermometer is employed as a measure of candidate and party images. It measures both the directional and the intensity components of an image by asking a respondent to rate an object on a scale from 0 to 100 degrees, with 50 degrees as the neutral point. The respondent is informed that:

Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the object; ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably towards the object. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward an object, you would rate it at 50 degrees.

Do standpatters and switchers have different images of the candidates? Table 2 presents the data to answer this question. As a general rule, standpatters and switchers have different images of the candidates, especially the Democratic candidates in 1972 and in 1976. In 1972, standpatters are more likely to have extremely positive images of the Democrat and switchers are more likely to have neutral or

Table 2. Personal Characteristics of Standpatters and Switchers:
Candidate and Party Images

Characteristic	1972			1976		
	Std	Swt	Z	Std	Swt	Z
<u>Democratic Candidate Image^a</u>						
81 - 100 degrees	17.8%	10.7%	2.63*	20.7%	45.4%	-6.33*
61 - 80 degrees	13.7	16.1	-0.83	19.1	25.4	-1.85
41 - 60 degrees	21.9	30.7	-2.44*	30.1	19.5	3.21*
21 - 40 degrees	19.8	19.5	0.09	19.5	6.3	5.50*
0 - 20 degrees	$\frac{26.8}{100\%}$ (585)	$\frac{22.9}{99.9\%}$ (205)	1.11	$\frac{10.6}{100\%}$ (585)	$\frac{3.4}{100\%}$ (205)	4.00*
<u>Republican Candidate Image</u>						
81 - 100 degrees	45.0	44.9	0.02	34.2	19.5	4.32*
61 - 80 degrees	20.5	22.9	-0.70	23.2	24.4	-0.34
41 - 60 degrees	17.3	19.0	-0.55	27.4	30.7	-0.89
21 - 40 degrees	9.1	8.3	0.36	9.9	20.5	-3.42*
0 - 20 degrees	$\frac{8.2}{100.1\%}$ (585)	$\frac{4.9}{100\%}$ (205)	1.74	$\frac{5.3}{100\%}$ (585)	$\frac{4.9}{100\%}$ (205)	0.22

Table 2 (Continued)

Characteristic	1972		1976	
	Std	Swt Z	Std	Swt Z
<u>Democratic Party Image</u>				
81 - 100 degrees	25.0%	29.3% -1.19	17.6%	29.3% -3.34*
61 - 80 degrees	21.5	31.2 -2.69*	19.8	22.4 -0.79
41 - 60 degrees	37.6	33.7 1.00	46.3	45.9 0.10
21 - 40 degrees	14.9	5.4 4.32*	14.9	2.4 6.94*
0 - 20 degrees	$\frac{1.0}{100\%}$ (585)	$\frac{0.5}{100\%}$ (205)	$\frac{1.4}{100\%}$ (585)	$\frac{0.0}{100\%}$ (205)
<u>Republican Party Image</u>				
81 - 100 degrees	25.8	30.7 -1.32	18.3	6.3 5.22*
61 - 80 degrees	22.7	22.9 0.06	18.1	16.1 0.67
41 - 60 degrees	37.9	39.0 -0.28	47.7	61.0 -3.32*
21 - 40 degrees	9.9	6.3 1.71	13.5	15.1 -0.55
0 - 20 degrees	$\frac{3.6}{99.9\%}$ (585)	$\frac{1.0}{99.9\%}$ (205)	$\frac{2.4}{100\%}$ (585)	$\frac{1.5}{100\%}$ (205)

Table 2 (Continued)

* $p < .05$ testing H_0 : there is no difference in the proportion of standpatters and switchers in a particular category.

^aThe "feeling thermometer" is employed as a measure of candidate and party images.

ambivalent images. But in 1976, switchers are more likely to have extremely positive images of the Democrat and standpatters neutral and negative images. In 1972, standpatters and switchers have almost identical "images" of the Republican candidate, with a majority of both groups holding positive images. But in 1976, standpatters are more likely to have extremely positive images of the Republican and switchers negative images. As these results demonstrate, candidate images are extremely volatile personal characteristics, changing from election to election and dividing standpatters and switchers into different image camps.

Do standpatters and switchers have different images of the parties? Party image and party identification are two related concepts: The former refers to an evaluation of a party and the latter to a person's attitude toward himself as a member of a party (Trilling, 1976, pp. 23-24). To understand the differences between the party images of standpatters and switchers, it is helpful to know that standpatters are more likely to have a Republican identification and switchers a Democratic identification (see Table 3). Why? These partisan identifications influence party images. Standpatters are more likely to have negative and extremely negative images of the Democratic party and switchers positive and extremely positive images. Conversely, standpatters are more likely to have positive images of the Republican party and switchers neutral and negative images. These perceptual differences seem less volatile than candidate images, but standpatters and switchers do have different images of the parties, possibly because of the influence of party identification upon their perceptions.

Table 3. Personal Characteristics of Standpatters and Switchers: Political Attitudes and Interests

Characteristics	1972			1976		
	Std	Swt	Z	Std	Swt	Z
<u>Citizen Duty^a</u>						
High	94.0%	90.7%	1.43	92.8%	92.2%	0.28
Medium	4.3	7.3	-1.50	5.0	5.4	-0.22
Low	<u>1.7</u> 100% (585)	<u>2.0</u> 100% (205)	-0.27	<u>2.2</u> 100% (585)	<u>2.4</u> 100% (205)	-0.17
<u>Political Efficacy^b</u>						
High	45.6	41.0	1.15	44.3	38.0	1.58
Medium	22.2	25.9	-1.06	22.6	17.1	1.77
Low	<u>32.1</u> 99.9% (585)	<u>33.2</u> 100.1% (205)	-0.29	<u>33.2</u> 100.1% (585)	<u>44.9</u> 100% (205)	-2.93*
<u>Party Identification^c</u>						
Democrat	33.7	46.3	-3.15*	33.2	50.7	-4.38*
Independent	31.5	35.1	-0.95	32.5	37.1	-1.18
Republican	<u>34.9</u> 100.1% (585)	<u>18.5</u> 99.9% (205)	4.82*	<u>34.4</u> 100.1% (585)	<u>12.2</u> 100% (205)	7.40*
<u>Political Ideology^d</u>						
Liberal	22.9	19.5	1.06	18.3	17.6	0.22
Moderate	41.7	51.7	-2.50*	43.6	54.1	-2.62*
Conservative	<u>35.4</u> 100% (585)	<u>28.8</u> 100% (205)	1.78	<u>38.1</u> 100% (585)	<u>28.3</u> 100% (205)	2.65*

Table 3 (Continued)

Characteristic	1972			1976		
	Std	Swt	Z	Std	Swt	Z
<u>Campaign Interest^e</u>						
Very Much Interested	45.2%	42.4%	0.70	50.2%	42.6%	1.90*
Somewhat Interested	42.5	41.5	0.25	42.0	47.1	-1.28
Not Much Interested	<u>12.3</u> 100% (584)	<u>16.1</u> 100% (205)	-1.31	<u>7.8</u> 100% (576)	<u>10.3</u> 100% (204)	-1.04
<u>General Political Interest^f</u>						
Most of the Time	51.0	42.0	2.25*	52.1	43.9	2.05*
Some of the Time	35.3	42.4	-1.78	35.1	34.6	0.13
Only Now and Then	10.1	8.8	0.56	10.0	16.6	-2.28*
Hardly at All	<u>3.6</u> 100% (584)	<u>6.8</u> 100% (205)	-1.68	<u>2.9</u> 100.1% (582)	<u>4.9</u> 100% (205)	0.29
<u>Psychological Involvement^g</u>						
Care a Good Deal	75.5	59.5	4.10*	72.3	59.5	3.28*
Don't Care Very Much	<u>24.5</u> 100% (567)	<u>40.5</u> 100% (200)		<u>27.7</u> 100% (560)	<u>40.5</u> 100% (200)	

*p < .05 testing H₀: there is no difference in the proportion of standpatters and switchers in a particular category.

^aCitizen duty is a Likert type index composed of four statements which a respondent is asked to either agree or disagree with: (1) "It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have a chance to win"; (2) "So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not"; (3) "If a person doesn't care how an election comes out he shouldn't vote in it"; and (4) "A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with" (Campbell et al., 1954, pp. 194-199). A person is classified as high in citizen duty if he disagrees with three of these statements, medium if he disagrees with two, and low if he disagrees with one or less.

Table 3 (Continued)

^bPolitical efficacy is another Likert index composed of four statements: (1) "People like me don't have any say about what the government does"; (2) "Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things"; (3) "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on"; and (4) "I don't think public officials care much what people like me think" (Campbell et al., 1954, pp. 187-194). A person is classified as high in political efficacy if he disagrees with three of these statements, medium if he disagrees with two, and low if he disagrees with one or less.

^cParty identification is measured with the following questions: "Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?" Those who classify themselves as Republicans or Democrats are also asked: "Would you call yourself a strong (Republican, Democrat) or a not very strong (Republican, Democrat)?" Those who classify themselves as Independents are asked this additional question: "Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?" These questions usually produce seven categories: Strong Democrats, Weak Democrats, Independent Democrats, Independents, Independent Republicans, Weak Republicans, and Strong Republicans. For this study, these categories are reduced to three: Democrats (Strong and Weak Democrats), Independents (the three middle categories), and Republicans (Strong and Weak Republicans).

^dPolitical Ideology is tapped with the following sequence of questions: "We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?" This seven-point scale is reduced to three categories: Liberal (Extremely Liberal, Liberal and Slightly Liberal), Moderate, and Conservative (Slightly Conservative, Conservative, and Extremely Conservative).

^eCampaign interest is gauged with the following question: "Some people don't pay much attention to the political campaigns. How about you, would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns so far this year?"

^fGeneral political interest is measured by the following question: "Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?"

Table 3 (Continued)

⁹Psychological involvement, or concern, is derived from the following question: "Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal which party wins the presidential election this fall, or that you don't care very much which party wins?"

Political Attitudes and Interests

For nearly thirty years, empirical research has focused on why people participate in politics. The research seems to indicate that people participate when (1) they feel obligated to take part, (2) they feel that their participation is effective, (3) they are "partisan" either in party politics or in policy-making, and (4) they are interested enough in public affairs to take the time to take part. In examining attitudes and interests of standpatters and switchers, the focus is upon whether or not they differ in terms of the personal factors that facilitate participation in political processes.

Participatory Attitudes

People participate in political processes when they feel obligated to take part and when they feel that their participation is effective; they participate when they have a sense of "citizen duty" and a sense of "political efficacy." Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954) define citizen duty as "the feeling that oneself and others ought to participate in the political process, regardless of whether such political activity is seen as worth while or efficacious" (p. 194). They define political efficacy "as the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process" (p. 188). A substantial amount of research has demonstrated that participation increases when people adopt these participatory attitudes (Campbell et al., 1960, pp. 103-107; Di Palma, 1970, pp. 44-73; Verba and Nie, 1972, pp. 82-94). Do standpatters and switchers adopt different attitudes toward participation in the political process? Considering

the evidence in Table 3, apparently, standpatters and switchers generally take the same attitudes toward their obligation to participate and the effectiveness of their participation, although some ambivalence about the effectiveness of participation surfaces in each group, to much the same degree. Standpatters and switchers generally have a high sense of their duty to participate in the political process: Over 90 percent of each of these groups respond appropriately to at least three opinion statements designed to measure citizen duty (see note a, Table 3). Standpatters and switchers are less likely to have a high sense of political efficacy. On the average, about 42 percent of the voters in each of these groups have a high sense of political efficacy, 22 percent are medium and around 36 percent are low. The only significant difference between standpatters and switchers on these two participatory attitudes occurs in 1976: Switchers are more likely to have a low sense of political efficacy in that year.

Partisan and Ideological Attitudes

Individuals whose egos are involved in politics tend to participate more than people who take an "independent" stance toward party politics or who take a "moderate" view of the role of government in society. In other words, partisan and ideological attitudes are related to political participation (Campbell et al., 1960; Verba and Nie, 1972). Do standpatters and switchers have different partisan and ideological attitudes. As Table 3 indicates, standpatters and switchers generally have significantly different partisan and ideological attitudes. In fact, the partisan differences are among the largest observed in this profile analysis. Standpatters are more likely to have Republican identifications and switchers Democratic

identifications, while Independent identifiers are similar proportionally. Turning to ideological differences, switchers are more likely to consider themselves as moderates in 1972 and in 1976, while standpatters are more likely to identify with conservatives in 1976. That standpatters, those who support the same party from one election to the next, have more conservative identifications is not too surprising: Conservatives typically take a rather dim view of change and this is true of their voting behavior through time. But the corollary proposition is not true: Switchers are not more likely to have liberal identifications, viewing "liberal" as a catch-word for political change. Consequently, the nature of the relationship between ideology and interelection change is ambiguous. But the results for party identification are more comprehensible. Since Democrats are more likely to "defect" from their party and Republicans are less likely to defect, it comes as no surprise that switchers are disproportionately Democratic and standpatters Republican (Campbell et al., 1960). Moreover, these partisan differences lend some credibility to the party voting theory of interelection change discussed in Chapter 3. In other words, since partisan differences exist between standpatters and switchers, the party voting theory may provide an explanation for these different patterns of interelection change.

Interest and Involvement

The SRC/CPS argument against party switchers as issue voters rests upon several empirical generalizations, assumptions, and inferences about the levels of "interest and involvement" of switchers.

It is therefore appropriate to reconsider the distinction between floaters and switchers in the context of a discussion of campaign interest, general interest in politics, and psychological involvement. The crux of the floater argument is this: (1) those voters who change party support during an election (not between elections) tend to be less interested in politics (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944, p. 69); (2) those voters who fail to identify with one of the major political parties are less likely to express much interest in the campaign and are less concerned with the outcome of the election (Campbell et al., 1960, p. 144); (3) independent identifiers are more likely to change party support between elections, since they lack the partisan ties which stabilize voting behavior (Campbell et al., 1960, p. 547); (4) therefore, party switchers tend to be Independents, those voters who are incapable of casting an issue vote because of their lack of interest in public affairs. As Key (1966) summarizes this argument:

An element of the theory of the role of the switchers in providing flexibility for the political system rests on the assumption that they have a low level of interest in politics and that for some reason not entirely apparent they side with the forces of change. (p. 98)

Switchers side with the forces of change because they are Independents, but as the profile analysis of party identification indicates, switchers are more likely to be Democratic identifiers. Moreover, Key concludes: "Our manipulations of the data do not establish that party switchers differ materially in level of interest from the standpatters; nor do they establish any role of special significance for those with a low level of interest" (p. 101).

Table 3 presents evidence to address these contradictory interpretations of interelection change. First of all, standpatters

and switchers do not differ in terms of their interest in the campaign: Switchers are just as likely to express "very much interest" in the campaign as standpatters. Second, standpatters are more likely to follow politics "most of the time," in 1972 and in 1976, and switchers are more likely to follow politics "only now and then" in 1976.

Although these differences are statistically significant, they are not striking enough to support either perspective unequivocally. And third, when differences in psychological involvement are considered, standpatters are more likely to express "concern over the outcome" of the election than switchers, evidence which is *prima facie* support for the floating argument. But in view of the wording of this question (see note g, Table 3), it is entirely possible that switchers are not concerned with which "party wins" but with which "candidate wins," regardless of party ties, as long as his issue positions are attractive. In sum, this profile analysis of switchers hardly resolves the floater/switcher argument between the dependent and the responsive voter pro-traits, although some evidence in support of Key's position is presented.

Political Characteristics

The political characteristics of interest here are the "modes of political participation" engaged in by standpatters and switchers. Those who study political participation usually examine different modes of participation, such as voting, campaigning, community involvement, and personal contacts (Verba and Nie, 1972, pp. 41-81). In discussing the various modes of participation, or the types of actions in which people choose to engage (Manheim, 1975, p. 122), the emphasis is upon

"passive" and "active" modes of participation. Political activities vary in terms of the personal effort required to perform them; some require more effort than others (Milbrath, 1965, pp. 9-13). For example, it is one thing to sit before the television and listen to Walter Cronkite every night (a passive activity) and another to march down to City Hall to talk with the mayor (an active mode) about a community problem. Two passive modes of participation are considered in this profile of the political characteristics of standpatters and switchers: expressing a political opinion and following politics in the mass media. And two active modes are examined: campaigning and writing a letter either to a public official or to an editor of a newspaper or a magazine (Nimmo and Unga, 1979, chap. 4). And finally, a general group of electoral activities, such as split ticket voting, are considered.

Passive Political Participation

Tables 4 and 5 display information on the political opinions and media use, respectively, of standpatters and switchers. Turning to a consideration of their political opinions, standpatters and switchers express similar views on the rights of the accused and governmental aid to minorities and dissimilar views on school busing, the legalization of marijuana, and women's rights. Opinions of standpatters and switchers are fairly evenly divided on the rights of the accused issue: Around 30 percent of each of these groups have opinions which are favorable to the rights of an individual accused of a crime, approximately 40 percent are opposed to the rights of the accused and are in favor of stopping

Table 4. Political Characteristics of Standpatters and Switchers: Political Opinions

Characteristic ^a	1972			1976		
	Std	Swt	Z	Std	Swt	Z
<u>Rights of Accused</u>						
Pro-Rights	34.7%	31.2%	0.92	27.9%	28.3%	-0.11
Neutral	24.8	29.3	-1.25	27.7	25.4	0.66
Anti-Rights	<u>40.5</u> 100% (585)	<u>39.5</u> 100% (205)	0.25	<u>44.4</u> 100% (585)	<u>46.3</u> 100% (205)	-0.48
<u>School Busing</u>						
Pro-Busing	9.7	4.4	2.79*	9.1	4.4	2.61*
Neutral	9.7	7.3	1.09	14.2	11.7	0.92
Anti-Busing	<u>80.5</u> 99.9% (585)	<u>88.3</u> 100% (205)	-2.78*	<u>76.8</u> 100.1% (585)	<u>83.9</u> 100% (205)	-2.29*
<u>Aid to Minorities</u>						
Pro-Aid	32.5	31.7	0.21	26.7	28.8	-0.58
Neutral	33.0	34.1	-0.29	30.4	32.7	-0.60
Anti-Aid	<u>34.5</u> 100% (585)	<u>34.1</u> 99.9% (205)	0.10	<u>42.9</u> 100% (585)	<u>38.5</u> 100% (205)	1.10
<u>Legalization of Marijuana</u>						
Pro-Pot	24.1	22.0	0.62	25.8	16.1	3.13*
Neutral	18.5	12.2	2.25*	26.5	22.9	1.06
Anti-Pot	<u>57.4</u> 100% (585)	<u>65.9</u> 99.9% (205)	-2.18*	<u>47.7</u> 100% (585)	<u>61.0</u> 100% (205)	-3.32*

Table 4 (Continued)

Characteristic	1972			1976		
	Std	Swt	Z	Std	Swt	Z
<u>Women's Rights</u>						
Pro-Women	48.2%	57.1%	-2.22*	50.4%	53.7%	-0.82
Neutral	26.6	19.5	1.85	28.0	18.5	2.88*
Anti-Women	26.2	24.4	0.80	21.5	27.8	-1.75
	100%	100%		99.9%	100%	
	(585)	(205)		(585)	(205)	

* $p \leq .05$ testing H_0 : there is no difference in the proportion of standpatters and switchers in a particular category.

^aSee Appendix I for the question format of these issues. These formats and the response categories presented here are similar: The respondent is presented with statements which represent the poles of an issue continuum and is asked to place himself on a seven-point scale. For example: "Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused. Where would you place yourself on this scale?" Respondents are asked to place themselves on a continuum ranging from 1, "protect rights of accused," to 7, "stop crime regardless of rights of accused." A response from 1 to 3 is coded as pro-rights, from 5 to 7 as anti-rights, and a response of 4 as neutral.

Table 5. Political Characteristics of Standpatters
and Switchers: Media Use, 1976

Characteristic	Std	Swt	Z
<u>Media Use</u> ^a			
Newspaper	87.7% (583)	83.4% (205)	1.48
Radio	54.8 (582)	49.8 (205)	1.25
Magazines	60.7 (583)	59.3 (204)	0.35
Television	94.2 (585)	95.6 (204)	-0.82
<u>Primary Source of Political News</u> ^b			
Newspaper	24.7	18.7	1.82
Both	19.3	17.2	0.68
Television	<u>56.0</u> 100% (571)	<u>64.0</u> 99.9% (203)	-2.05*

* $p < .05$ testing H_0 : there is no difference in the proportion of standpatters and switchers in a particular category.

^a Percentages represent those who reported using the particular medium.

^b Primary source of political news is measured with this question: "Which do you rely on most for news about politics and current events--newspapers or television?"

criminal activity whatever the cost, and nearly 27 percent have opinions which favor neither of these positions. Political opinions also are evenly divided on the aid to minorities question: About 30 percent of the standpatters and switchers are in favor of government providing aid to minorities, 37 percent oppose government involvement and prefer individual initiative, while 30 percent have neutral opinions. Standpatters are more likely to favor school busing and switchers are more likely to oppose busing, but both groups are overwhelmingly opposed to busing and are in favor of the neighborhood school concept. Switchers are more likely to favor increasing the penalties for the possession of marijuana, while standpatters are more likely to have neutral opinions in 1972 and to favor legalization in 1976, although both groups oppose legalization. Switchers are more likely to grant women an equal role in society in 1972 and standpatters are more likely to have neutral opinions on this issue in 1976, but both of these groups favor an equal role for women. These differences in political opinion raise the possibility that theories of issue voting considered in Chapters 4 and 5 may provide some insight into patterns of interelection change.

Another bone of contention between the floater and the switcher arguments concerns media use, employing media use as a surrogate indicator for information levels. Converse (1962) argues that media use and information levels are related to vote switching: the less media use, the less political information, and the greater the likelihood that voters will be swayed by short-term election specific factors which produce vote switching. Converse also reports that standpatters are more likely to have high levels of political information.

Key does not bring any data to bear upon the question of media use, although he makes a case for switchers being as "informed" as standpatters by inspecting the frequency of "don't know" responses on a couple of opinion questions (Key, 1966, pp. 96-98). Do standpatters and switchers differ in terms of their use of the mass media? Table 5 presents the data to answer this query. Apparently, standpatters and switchers use mass channels of communication in roughly the same proportions: Around 80 percent of each of these groups report following politics in the newspaper, 50 percent use radio, 60 percent use magazines, and a little over 90 percent use television.

But a simple report of media use is probably a misleading indicator of information levels, especially since the content of the messages carried by print and broadcast mediums differ (Patterson and McClure, 1976). And since switchers are more likely to rely on television as their primary source of political news, candidate images, personalities, and the drama of the campaign may dominate their information levels, since these are the attributes which are emphasized in the coverage of elections provided by television. Moreover, standpatters are as subject to this type of media content because they also tend to rely on television for their political news.

Active Political Participation

When it comes to active participation, standpatters are more likely to participate in general campaign activities than are switchers (see Table 6). Standpatters are more likely to try to influence the opinions of others, to attend political meetings, to campaign for one

Table 6. Political Characteristics of Standpatters
and Switchers: Political Activity

Characteristic ^a	1972			1976		
	Std	Swt	Z	Std	Swt	Z
Influencing Opinions	45.3% (585)	35.1% (205)	2.62*	47.7% (585)	39.0% (205)	2.18*
Attending Meetings	16.8 (585)	9.3 (205)	3.00*	10.3 (585)	5.4 (205)	2.45*
Campaigning	10.9 (585)	4.9 (205)	2.95*	8.4 (585)	4.4 (205)	2.22*
Giving Money	20.5 (585)	7.8 (205)	5.08*	18.7 (535)	4.3 (188)	6.54*
Writing Public Officials	41.7 (585)	35.1 (205)	1.69	42.7 (583)	39.7 (204)	0.75
Writing Letter to Editor	11.5 (585)	9.3 (205)	0.92	14.0 (584)	11.8 (204)	0.81

* $p \leq .05$ testing H_0 : there is no difference in the proportion of standpatters and switchers in a particular category.

^aPercentages represent those who reported participating in the particular activity. The questions are: (1) "During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties, or candidates?" (2) "Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?" (3) "Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?" (4) "Did you give any money to a political party this year?" (5) "Have you ever written a letter to any public officials giving them your opinion about something that should be done?" and (6) "Have you ever written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine giving any political opinions?"

of the parties or candidates, and to contribute money to a political party. But when writing to a public official or an editor is considered, switchers are just as likely to participate in these ways as standpatters. What do these differences suggest about standpatters and switchers? If standpatters are viewed as party voters (see Chapter 3), it makes sense for them to participate in election campaigns by influencing opinions, attending meetings, campaigning, and contributing money in order to elect their party's candidate. Party voters are tied to a political organization, however loosely; switchers, if they are issue voters (see Chapters 4 and 5), depend more upon their own initiative and are more likely to participate in personal modes of contact, such as taking pen in hand to write an official or an editor.

Electoral Activities

Standpatters support the same party from one election to the next and switchers change party support between elections. But do they differ in terms of any other electoral activities? Table 7 presents evidence on split ticket voting, participation in presidential elections, party voting in presidential elections, and time of decision for standpatters and switchers. Standpatters and switchers are just as likely to participate in presidential elections. Indeed, about 70 percent of each of these groups report participating in every election they were old enough to vote in. Standpatters are more likely to vote a straight ticket and switchers a split ticket, in 1972 and in 1976. Since switchers split their ballots "between" elections, it is not too surprising that they also split their ballots "during" an

Table 7. Political Characteristics of Standpatters and Switchers: Electoral Activity

Characteristic	1972			1976		
	Std	Swt	Z	Std	Swt	Z
<u>Split Ticket Voting^a</u>						
Straight Ticket	75.5%	46.2%	6.66*	76.1%	65.7%	2.48*
Split Ticket	<u>24.5</u> 100% (506)	<u>53.8</u> 100% (156)		<u>23.9</u> 100% (482)	<u>34.3</u> 100% (166)	
<u>Participation in Presidential Elections^b</u>						
All	72.7	67.2	1.41	71.3	67.6	0.97
Most	18.0	22.0	-1.14	24.2	25.0	-0.23
Some	6.6	5.4	0.60	4.3	6.4	-1.10
None	<u>2.6</u> 99.9% (532)	<u>5.4</u> 100% (186)	-1.56	<u>0.2</u> 100% (578)	<u>1.0</u> 100% (204)	-1.14
<u>Party Voting in Presidential Elections^c</u>						
Voted for Same Party	44.5	31.8	3.10*	45.2	20.9	6.94*
Voted for Different Parties	<u>55.5</u> 100% (517)	<u>68.2</u> 100% (176)		<u>54.8</u> 100% (577)	<u>79.1</u> 100% (201)	
<u>Time of Decision^d</u>						
Before Conventions	44.2	37.7	1.62	37.2	22.5	4.20*
During Conventions	19.2	18.6	0.19	24.1	14.2	3.30*
After Conventions	<u>36.6</u> 100% (568)	<u>43.7</u> 100% (199)	-1.73	<u>38.6</u> 99.9% (580)	<u>63.2</u> 99.9% (204)	-6.31*

Table 7 (Continued)

* $p \leq .05$ testing H_0 : there is no difference in the proportion of standpatters and switchers in a particular category.

^aSince only a third of the states elect their senator during a presidential election and several elect their governor in "off-years," the measure of split ticket voting is derived simply by comparing the party of the candidate supported in the presidential race with the party of the candidate supported in the congressional contest. If respondents failed to vote in the congressional election, they are treated as missing data.

^bQuestion: "In the elections for president since you have been old enough to vote, would you say you have voted in all of them, most of them, some of them, or none of them?"

^cQuestion: "Have you always voted for the same party or have you voted for different parties for president?"

^dQuestion: "How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?"

election. Switchers, however, split their ballots more in 1972 than in 1976, suggesting that they are "responsive" to the conditions of the election (a "liberal" candidate at the top of the ticket). On the other hand, standpatters cast straight ticket ballots in roughly the same proportions in both elections (75.5 percent and 76.1 percent), evidence which is consistent with a party voting interpretation of their behavior. Moreover, standpatters are more likely to report voting for the same party in each of the elections they were eligible to participate in. About 70 percent of the time, switchers vote for "different parties"; whereas, on the average, standpatters vote for the same party about 45 percent of the time, indicating that vote switching is probably a more generic form of interelection behavior (DeVries and Tarrance, 1972). And finally, standpatters are more likely to make up their minds prior to the conventions and switchers after the conventions. Apparently, standpatters know before the conventions who they plan to support, the party nominee probably. Switchers, not committed to a particular party, wait to decide after the candidates are selected and they have a chance to study the policy proposals of the candidates.

Conclusion

Generally speaking, standpatters and switchers have similar social characteristics, except they differ in terms of their educational backgrounds. They have somewhat different candidate and party images, partisan and ideological identifications, general political interest, and psychological involvement. They have similar participatory attitudes, levels of interest in the campaign, and patterns of media use, although

switchers tend to rely on television as their primary source of political news. Standpatters, by and large, tend to take part in the more active modes of participation, but these are attributable to partisan political orientations. Switchers are just as likely to write their congressperson. And finally, their other electoral activities are generally consistent with a view of standpatters as party voters and switchers as issue voters.

CHAPTER 3

STANDPATTERS, SWITCHERS, AND PARTY VOTING

Why do voters "standpat" and why do they "switch" their party support between elections? One perspective argues that voters standpat because of a long-standing psychological commitment to a political party; switching occurs when this psychological commitment is absent. Another perspective argues that voters standpat because they are in agreement with the policies and programs of a party and switch because of changing policy sentiments, either among the voters, the parties and candidates, or both (Key, 1966; Page, 1978; Pomper, 1975). This chapter examines the former perspective with data from the SRC/CPS panel study.

A Theory of Party Voting

A theory of party voting emerges in the works of the Survey Research Center/Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan. The principal SRC/CPS studies include The Voter Decides (1954), The American Voter (1960), and Elections and the Political Order (1966). The basic organizing concept of their theory is party identification, generally defined as a "psychological identification with a political party" (see Campbell et al., 1960). The voting act, from the perspective of these works, is a product of the interplay of factors which transcend a particular election, party identification providing the clearest example, and factors that are unique to an

election, such as individual perceptions of candidates and issues. Party identification, a long-term commitment to a party, "colors" popular perceptions of stimuli during an election campaign. As a consequence of the stabilizing influence of party identification, short-term factors which are unique to a particular election are relatively unimportant, so voters usually support the same party from one election to the next (Asher, 1976; Converse, 1975; Miller, 1978; Pomper, 1978).

Party identification has its initial roots in the socialization patterns of the family, for most people adopt the party identification of their parents. Formed at an early age, party identification usually lacks a substantive policy dimension and is primarily an "evaluative" tool which guides popular judgements and interpretations of political happenings. Since people seldom, if every, change their party identification, it acquires a degree of stability that increases with time. As people mature, their partisan affiliation "structures" the way in which they experience and organize their political worlds. And since people prefer an ordered and balanced view of the world, they guard or defend their partisan self-image by selectively perceiving political objects. Party identification is thus the "picture of the world," the stereotype that structures popular images of politics.

Despite the emphasis on party identification within the SRC/CPS framework, it has no direct influence upon voting behavior. Borrowing an analytical assumption from field theory, their framework considers only those explanatory factors which are in the "field" of the

phenomenon under investigation (Baldwin, 1967). A partisan self-image is a "distal" influence, since its existence is established in time prior to the act of voting. Consequently, factors which are closest to the voting act in time, such as candidate images and policy cognitions (or issues), exercise a direct influence upon voting, with party identification working through and upon these "proximate" images (see Natchez, 1970).

Although the SRC/CPS theory is regarded as the "leading" explanation of voting behavior, several recent studies have challenged various aspects of the theory: (1) for more recent political generations, the transmission of party identification within the family unit is weaker (Pomper, 1975); (2) party identification may have a substantive policy dimension heretofore ignored as a conceptual possibility (Goldberg, 1972; Popkin et al., 1976); (3) the stability of party identification over time is now a questionable assumption (Dobson and St. Angelo, 1975; Dreyer, 1973); (4) the extent of partisan loyalty is less likely to increase with age (Abramson, 1974); (5) party identification no longer structures popular images of politics to the extent that it did in the 1950s (Pomper, 1975; Trilling, 1975); (6) party identification often is not the single best predictor of voting behavior (Miller, Miller, Raine, and Brown, 1976; Nimmo and Savage, 1976); and increasingly, (7) people fail to identify with either of the major political parties (Nie et al., 1976). These recent qualifications suggest that "switching" may stem from the presence of faulty empirical linkages between the theory of party

voting and the practice of changing party support between elections. In order to test this supposition, this chapter examines the SRC/CPS theory for standpatters and for switchers, focusing upon five empirical linkages: (1) the transmission of party identification from parent to child; (2) the stability of party identification over time; (3) the "structuring" effect of party identification for candidate images and policy cognitions; (4) the impact of candidate images and policy cognitions upon voting behavior; and (5) the extent of party voting, partisan defection, and non-party voting.

Political Socialization and Party Identification

The first link in the SRC/CPS theory is the development of party identification, an attitude developed within the family (see Goldberg, 1966). Several studies have focused upon the role of the family in transmitting party identification, noting that effective transmission patterns depend upon two key factors: the degree of homogeneity present in parental identifications and the extent of political interest among the parents (Campbell et al., 1960, p. 147; Jennings and Niemi, 1974, pp. 38-54; Langton, 1969, pp. 59-66). When both parents identify with the same political party and either expresses an interest in public affairs, the child tends to adopt their party identification. When these factors are missing, or parental identifications are heterogeneous and neither parent expresses much interest in politics, the child is less likely to embrace the party identification of either parent.

Transmission patterns for standpatters and switchers are studied with recall data gathered from panel respondents in 1972 on the party identification and political interest of their parents (see Niemi, 1973 for a critic of this approach). The specific questions used to measure these traits are as follows: "Do you remember when you were growing up whether your (father, mother) was very much interested in politics, somewhat interested, or didn't (s)he pay much attention to it? Did (s)he think of (himself, herself) mostly as a Democrat, as a Republican, as an Independent, or what?" Parental party identification is coded into three categories: both parents Democratic, both parents Republican, and no consistent party. The "no consistent party" category includes husband-wife pairs with heterogeneous identifications; it also includes homogeneous pairs of Independent identifiers, considering psychological "independence" as the basence of partisan affiliation. Parental political interest is coded into two categories: either parent very much interested in politics and neither parent very much interested in politics (cf., Campbell et al., 1960, p. 147).

Looking at the relationship between parental identification and the party identification of panel respondents in 1972, displayed in Table 8, it is clear that people do tend to adopt the partisanship of their parents when those identifications are homogeneous. For standpatters, 56.9 percent of the Democrats and 65.6 percent of the Republicans are from families where both parents identify with the same party. For switchers, 60.6 percent of the Democrats and 46.9 percent of the Republicans are from homogeneous family backgrounds. When parental party identification is heterogeneous, however, the

Table 8. The Influence of Parental Party Identification

Party Identification	Parental Party Identification					
	Standpatters			Switchers		
	Both Democrats	Both Republicans	No Consistent Party	Both Democrats	Both Republicans	No Consistent Party
Democrats	56.9%	5.6%	31.9%	60.6%	21.9%	34.4%
Independents	25.4	28.8	39.4	28.4	31.3	48.4
Republicans	<u>17.7</u> 100% (209)	<u>65.6</u> 100% (160)	<u>28.7</u> 100% (216)	<u>11.0</u> 100% (109)	<u>46.9</u> 100% (32)	<u>17.2</u> 100% (64)
			lambda = .28*			lambda = .15*

Note. Party identification is measured with the following questions: "Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?" Those who classify themselves as Republicans or Democrats are also asked: "Would you call yourself a strong (Republican, Democrat) or not a very strong (Republican, Democrat)?" Those who classify themselves as Independents are asked this additional question: "Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?" These questions usually produce seven categories: Strong Democrats, Weak Democrats, Independent Democrats, Independents, Independent Republicans, Weak Republicans, and Strong Republicans. For this study, these categories are reduced to three: Democrats (Strong and Weak Democrats), Independents (the three middle categories), and Republicans (Strong and Weak Republicans).

*p < .05 testing Ho: parental identification and party identification are not related with a two-tailed chi-square test.

tendency is for offsprings to adopt an independent stance toward the parties, a tendency which is more pronounced for switchers where 48.4 percent of the Independents are from heterogeneous backgrounds.

Turning to correlational analysis (see Table 9), the linkage between parental identification and party identification is not as strong for switchers, as indicated by lambdas of .28 and .15 for standpatters and switchers, respectively. When parental political interest is controlled, the "transmission linkage" for standpatters remains the same (lambdas of .28 and .29), but in the case of switchers, the linkage is stronger when either of the parents is "very much" interested in politics ($\lambda = .23$). As these findings suggest, the demise of party voting, at least for switchers, begins in the socialization patterns of the family. The transmission linkage is weaker in the families of switchers, especially when neither of the parents is very much interested in public affairs ($\lambda = .11$).

The Stability of Party Identification

The second link in the SRC/CPS theory is the stability of party identification. The stability assumption is a central premise of the theory, for it provides a justification for viewing party identification as an "attitude" rather than an "opinion." Opinions are usually transitory and temporary in nature, while attitudes are generally stable for long periods of time and across a variety of situations. Without this stability, an attitude comes closer to being an opinion, conceptually and empirically. The stability question thus strikes at the root of the SRC/CPS theory: Party identification is an attitude

Table 9. The Influence of Parental Party Identification
Controlling for Parental Political Interest

	Parental Identification by Respondent Identification	Parental Political Interest	
		Either Parent Very Much Interested	Neither Parent Very Much Interested
Standpatters	.28* (585)	.28* (252)	.29* (333)
Switchers	.15* (205)	.23* (78)	.11* (127)

* $p \leq .05$ testing H_0 : parental identification and party identification are not related with a two-tailed chi-square test.

which structures other political opinions. If party identification is not stable, what point is there in viewing it as the "anchor" which moors popular impressions of political happenings.

The stability assumption is verified in a variety of ways, but the most popular and frequently used method is the cross-sectional design (Miller and Levitin, 1976, p. 36). In each of its biennial studies of the American electorate, the SRC/CPS questions voters about their party affiliations. Each of these studies is typically a separate sample or "cross-section" of the electorate at a particular point in time, and when comparing these different samples, researchers make the inference that party identification is stable when minor shifts occur in the overall distribution. For example, the Democratic percentage may change, in the aggregate, only about 2 or 3 percentage points, supporting the supposition that party identification is stable.

Examining the overall distribution for standpatters and switchers, in Table 10, the assumption that party identification is relatively stable finds ample support. The magnitude of overall shifts is rather small, with few exceptions.

Table 10. A Cross-sectional Analysis of
Partisan Stability

	Standpatters ^a			Switchers ^b		
	1972	1974	1976	1972	1974	1976
Democrats	33.7%	35.4%	33.2%	46.3%	43.9%	50.7%
Independents	31.5	31.6	32.5	35.1	40.0	37.1
Republicans	<u>34.9</u> 100.1%	<u>33.0</u> 100%	<u>34.4</u> 100.1%	<u>18.5</u> 99.9%	<u>16.1</u> 100%	<u>12.2</u> 100%

^aNumber of cases = 585.

^bNumber of cases = 205.

A second method of verifying the stability assumption is correlational in design (Converse, 1975, p. 130). In this method, the correlation between a person's party identification at two different points in time (a panel study) is used to measure the stability of party identification: the larger the correlation, supposedly, the more stable the identification. For standpatters, the observed lambda between a person's 1972 and 1974 party identification is .61 and between 1974 and 1976, .66. For switchers, the 1972-1974 lambda is

.51 and for 1974-1976, .48. As far as correlations in social scientific research are concerned, these are rather large, again supporting the notion that party identification is stable: Nearly 50 percent of the variation in their present identification is "explained" by their prior identification (λ is similar to r^2).

Although cross-sectional and correlational methods are employed the most, they are probably the weakest methods for studying the stability question, since they conceal or obscure a great deal of "potential" change. In cross-sectional time-series analysis, the overall distribution of party identification may "appear" stable because an equal number of shifts have cancelled each other out, negating or concealing the true extent of change. Just suppose the "electorate" consists of only fifty people. Further imagine that they are either Democrats or Republicans. From one year to the next, a cross-sectional study may indicate that 50 percent are Democratic and 50 percent Republican. But this "stable distribution" would also emerge if twenty-five people shifted one way and another twenty-five shifted in the opposite direction. The overall distribution in this case would appear stable; however, it would negate or conceal the fact that 100 percent of the electorate actually changed their identification! Cross-sectional analysis inevitably conceals these kinds of changes (cf., Dobson and St. Angelo, 1975).

In correlational analysis, that is also a problem, but in a different sense. Party identification is at best a "nominal" variable: It simply classifies people as Democrats or Independents or Republicans (Lodge and Tursky, 1979). Hence, the "sign" of

the correlation coefficient between a person's party identification at two points in time is meaningless. Normally, a negative sign indicates an inverse relationship between two variables (as temperature increases, humidity decreases); a positive sign signifies a direct relationship (as temperature increases, so does humidity). But for nominal variables, such as party identification, the categories have no logical order or ranking. Consequently, the investigator only considers the magnitude of the correlation when formulating an interpretation of the relationship. In the case of party identification, then, the obvious question is: Does the magnitude of the correlation provide a measure of stability? If stability implies the absence of change, the size of a correlation coefficient (λ in this case) does indicate to what extent one variable accounts for variation in another variable. If there is no change in party identification, from one year to the next, the correlation would approach unity or a perfect correlation of 1.00. But unity could occur under a variety of circumstances. Returning to our hypothetical electorate of fifty people, suppose the analyst is faced with the patterns of change as seen in Table 11. Pattern A represents absolute stability and Pattern B absolute change. To examine the degree of association between party identification, a nominal variable, at two different points in time, the analyst selects λ , a nominal level measure of association (see Champion, 1970, pp. 210-213). The formula for λ is:

Table 11. Frequencies for Two Hypothetical Patterns of Change

		Pattern A 1972		Pattern B 1972	
1974		Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans
Democrats		25	0	0	25
Republicans		0	25	25	0
		50		50	
$\lambda = \frac{(25 + 25) - 25}{[50 - 25L]} = 1.00$					

$$\lambda = \frac{\sum f_i - F_d}{N - F_d}$$

where f_i = the largest frequency within each subclass of the independent variable;

F_d = the largest frequency found within the dependent variable totals; and

N = the total number of observations.

Treating the 1972 identification as the independent variable and plugging the appropriate values into the formula (see Table 11), a lambda of 1.00 is obtained for both patterns! Does this demonstrate that a correlation's magnitude is a misleading indication of stability?

When a third method, the typological approach, is adopted, the evidence indicates that party identification is unstable. The typological method tries to construct and verify "types" of change, along

the lines of The People's Choice (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944). Two broad classes of change are of concern here: unstable and stable party identifiers. Within the unstable group, there are at least four types of change: crystallizers, waverers, party changers, and disintegrators. Crystallizers are people who have no party identification in 1972 but later acquire one, in either 1974 or 1976. Waverers are people who start out with a party identification in 1972, then fall away from it in 1974 and later return to their original identification in 1976. Party changers are people who start out with an identification in 1972 and later change to the other party, in either 1974 or 1976. Disintegrators are those people who start out with an identification in 1972 and later abandon their partisanship for independence in 1974 or 1976 (see Daudt, 1961, p. 12). The types of stable party identifiers are constant Democrats, Independents, and Republicans: people who maintain the same party identification across all three waves of the panel. Table 12 displays the distribution of these types for standpatters and switchers. As the cumulative percent column indicates, 34.0 percent of the standpatters and 40.5 percent of the switchers have unstable identifications. Where cross-sectional and correlational methods suggest that party identification is stable, typological analysis indicates just the opposite: There is a great deal of change in party identification. Without corroborating evidence from previous time periods, it is difficult to determine whether or not party identification is always this unstable, and to what degree it is unstable. Are these findings representative of previous eras? It is difficult to say, one way or another. But one thing is quite evident:

Table 12. Type of Change in Party Identification

Type of Change	Standpatters		Switchers	
	Absolute Percent	Cumulative Percent	Absolute Percent	Cumulative Percent
Crystallizers	9.4%	9.4%	12.2%	12.2%
Waverers	12.5	21.9	11.2	23.4
Party Changers	1.7	23.6	2.9	26.3
Disintegrators	10.4	34.0	14.1	40.5
Constant Democrats	25.5	59.5	31.7	72.2
Constant Independents	16.1	75.6	19.5	91.7
Constant Republicans	<u>24.4</u> 100% (585)	<u>100.0</u>	<u>8.3</u> 99.9% (205)	<u>100.0</u>

Build thine assumptions upon a rock, or stated differently, do not construct theoretical assumptions upon faulty methods, as the proponents of the SRC/CPS perspective have done and continue to do with the stability of party identification.

The Perceptual Structuring Effect of Party Identification

The partisan self-image of an individual is viewed as the most important concept of the SRC/CPS framework because it "structures" or "determines" other political images (Helm, 1974). How does this occur? It happens because party identification functions as a stereotype. Recall from Lippmann (1922) that a stereotype is a

"picture of the world" and that people avoid those things which call their "pseudo-environment" into question: "We imagine most things before we experience them. And those preconceptions . . . govern deeply the whole process of perception" (p. 59). As a stereotype, partisanship colors the way in which people experience and organize their political worlds: "Party identification is a psychological commitment or attachment to a political party that normally predisposes one to evaluate that party and its candidates in a favorable light" (Asher, 1976, p. 33). Since people prefer an ordered pseudo-environment, they guard or defend their partisan self-image by selectively perceiving other political objects (cf., McGrath and McGrath, 1962; Sigel, 1964). Partisanship is thus the picture of the world that structures popular images of politics.

The SRC/CPS perspective is premised upon an attitudinal theory which views perception from the standpoint of the perceiver: in other words, "beauty is in the eye of the beholder" (see Nimmo, 1970; Nimmo and Savage, 1976). Candidate attempts to communicate issue positions are not very effective, for they are conditioned by the partisan predispositions of the electorate. Because of these predispositions or stereotypes, political perceptions, images, opinions, and cognitions are selective: "People tend to misperceive and misinterpret persuasive communications in accordance with their own predispositions, by evading the message or by distorting it in a favorable direction" (Berelson and Steiner, 1964, p. 536). If the process of selective perception is working effectively, little, if any,

change in party support would occur. But, as previously noted, nearly 25 percent of the electorate shifted party support between 1972 and 1976. Is it possible that party identification fails to "structure" the images and cognitions of switchers?

Party identification could influence either candidate images (Sherrod, 1971-72) or policy cognitions (Brody and Page, 1976), so it is important to consider both relationships. What is an image? And how is one measured? Conceptually, an image is simply an "evaluation," with two basic components: direction and intensity. People have either a positive or a negative image of an object and feel more strongly about some objects than others. When the object is a candidate, the evaluation is a candidate image. The "feeling thermometer" is a measure of candidate images; it measures both the directional and the intensity components by asking a respondent to rate an object on a scale from 0 to 100 degrees, with 50 degrees as the neutral point. The respondent is informed by the interviewer that:

Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the object; ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably towards the object. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward an object, you would rate it at 50 degrees.

Both the major party candidates are rated in 1972 and 1976. Rather than viewing each of these ratings singularly, a relative candidate image score is developed by subtracting the rating of the Democratic candidate from the rating of the Republican candidate, yielding an overall range from -97 to +97 (ratings from 98 to 100 are coded as

"97"). For example, if a person rates the Republican at 75 degrees and the Democrat at 50 degrees, the relative rating is +25 degrees ($75 - 50 = +25$). Positive scores indicate that the Republican is rated more favorably; negative scores indicate that the Democrat is rated more favorably. A recoding of the range produces the following categories: Democratic candidate more favorable (-97 to -11), little difference (-10 to +10), and Republican candidate more favorable (+11 to +97).

Turning now to the structuring effect of party identification for candidate images, presented in Tables 13 and 14, it is apparent that party identification structures the perceptions of standpatters, but not switchers. For standpatters, the correlation between party identification and relative candidate image is .22 in 1972 and .34 in 1976. For switchers, no association is present in 1972 ($\lambda = .00$) and the relationship is very weak in 1976 ($\lambda = .07$). Standpatters with Democratic identifications tend to rate their candidates more favorably, as do standpatters with Republican affiliations. This pattern is less pronounced in 1972, where 24.4 percent of the Democrats rate the Republican (Nixon) more favorably. Moreover, the process of selective perception seems to "work" more effectively among Republican identifiers: 90.7 percent in 1972 and 83.6 percent in 1976 rate their candidate more favorably. Independent identifiers who standpat rate the Republican more favorably, although 37.4 percent in 1976 express similar evaluations of the candidates.

Although party identification fails to "structure" the candidate images of switchers, Table 14 does offer some clues on why people change party support between elections. In 1972, 63.2 percent

Table 13. Party Identification by Relative Candidate Image: Standpatters

Relative Candidate Image	1972			1976		
	Democrats	Independents	Republicans	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Democrat More Favorable	50.8%	22.3%	2.0%	64.9%	13.7%	2.0%
Little Difference	24.9	15.2	7.4	21.6	37.4	14.4
Republican More Favorable	24.4 100% (197)	62.5 100% (184)	90.7 100% (204)	13.4 100% (194)	48.9 100% (190)	83.6 100% (201)
	lambda = .22*			lambda = .34*		

*p $\leq$.05 testing H_0 : party identification and relative candidate image are not related with a two-tailed chi-square test.

Table 14. Party Identification by Relative Candidate Image: Switchers

Relative Candidate Image	1972			1976		
	Democrats	Independents	Republicans	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Democrat More Favorable	18.9%	13.9%	7.9%	62.5%	38.2%	36.0%
Little Difference	17.9	25.0	5.3	20.2	47.1	40.0
Republican More Favorable	63.2 100% (95)	61.1 100% (72)	86.8 100% (38)	17.3 100% (104)	15.8 100.1% (76)	24.0 100% (25)
	lambda = .00			lambda = .07*		

*p < .05 testing H₀: party identification and relative candidate image are not related with a two-tailed chi-square test.

of the Democrats rate the Republican more favorably, whereas in 1976, 62.5% rate the Democrat more favorably. This pattern of interelection change in relative candidate image is also present among Republican identifiers: 86.8 percent in 1972 rate the Republican more favorably while only 24.0 percent do so in 1976. These trends suggest that candidate images, or changing candidates and images, may account for changes in party support between elections, a "theme" returned to in the next section of the chapter.

Does party identification structure policy cognitions? What, in the first place, is a policy cognition? A policy cognition is a belief which includes the relative issue positions of an individual and a candidate for public office. For instance, a person may think that marijuana should be legalized and perceive a candidate to be in favor of legalization, resulting in a policy cognition (for the individual) with proximate elements. A policy cognition lacks proximity or closeness when the belief elements are different from one another. A research tradition that challenges the party voting perspective places more emphasis upon the role of issues and policy cognitions in voting behavior, describing switchers as issue voters (Key, 1966; Page, 1978; Pomper, 1975). Issue voting supposedly occurs when individuals vote for the candidate who is closer to their issue positions (Kessel, 1972; Nie et al., 1976). But issue voting is sometimes nothing more than "party voting" in disguise, especially when two psychological processes occur: First, party identification "structures" the initial issue positions of voters, and second, they "project" their own issue positions upon the candidates (Brody and Page, 1976, p. 234).

How is a policy cognition measured? Policy cognitions are measured with proximity indexes, first developed in the Comparative State Election Project (see Kovenock et al., 1973). A proximity measure provides an index of how close a person's position on an issue is to the perceived position of a candidate on that same issue. For example, one of the issues of this study is the controversy over the legalization of marijuana. Respondents are presented with the following alternatives: "Some people think that the use of marijuana should be legal. Others think that the penalties for using marijuana should be set higher than they are now." Subjects then are asked to place themselves on a 7-point continuum, ranging from 1, "make use of marijuana legal," to 7, "set penalties higher than they are now." After providing self-ratings, subjects are asked to place the two candidates on this same 7-point continuum. Four steps are involved in arriving at a "relative" proximity measure. First, a measure of "absolute" distance is obtained by subtracting the perceived position of a candidate from a respondent's self-placement on the continuum. For instance, if a person's position on the marijuana scale is 6 and the perceived position of the Democratic candidate is 4, the absolute distance between these two ratings is equal to 2 ($6 - 4 = 2$, ignoring the sign of the resultant). Next, an absolute proximity score is obtained by subtracting the absolute distance from 6, giving a score of 4 in our example ($6 - 2 = 4$). For a single issue, absolute proximity scores range from zero to six: An absolute proximity of zero occurs when the respondent and the candidate are at opposite ends of the continuum, while a value of six occurs when the respondent and

the candidate are at the same position on the continuum. After absolute proximity scores are developed for each candidate, a "relative" proximity score is obtained by subtracting the absolute proximity score for the Democratic candidate from the Republican candidate's score. A relative proximity score normally ranges from minus six to plus six: A score of minus six occurs when the respondent and the Democrat are at one end of the continuum and the Republican is at the other; a score of plus six occurs when the respondent and the Republican are at one end and the Democrat is at the other. Relative proximity scores are developed for five issues: legalization of marijuana, rights of the accused, busing to achieve racial integration, government aid to minorities, and women's rights (see Appendix I). The final step is the construction of an overall proximity index by combining each of the relative proximity scores for these five issues. Since each of these scores has a theoretical range from minus six to plus six, combining them into an overall index produces a range from minus thirty to plus thirty, with negative scores indicating greater proximity with the Democrat and positive scores indicating greater proximity with the Republican. To simplify the presentation of results, scores from -30 to -1 are treated as "closer to the Democrat," a score of 0 as "no difference," and scores from +1 to +30 as "closer to the Republican" (see Beardsley, 1973).

The structuring effect for policy cognitions is presented in Tables 15 and 16 for standpatters and switchers, respectively. For standpatters, the correlations indicate that perceptual structuring is more prevalent in 1976 ($\lambda = .29$) than in 1972 ($\lambda = .15$).

Table 15. Party Identification by Relative Policy Cognition: Standpatters

Policy Cognition	1972			1976		
	Democrats	Independents	Republicans	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Closer to Democrat	50.8%	31.5%	8.8%	66.0%	28.9%	14.4%
No Difference	17.3	10.9	7.4	14.4	22.1	15.9
Closer to Republican	32.0 100.1% (197)	57.6 100% (184)	83.8 100% (204)	19.6 100% (194)	48.9 99.9% (190)	69.7 100% (201)
	lambda = .15*			lambda = .29*		

*p ≤ .05 testing H₀: party identification and policy cognition are not related with a two-tailed chi-square test.

Table 16. Party Identification by Relative Policy Cognition: Switchers

Policy Cognition	1972			1976		
	Democrats	Independents	Republicans	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Closer to Democrat	24.2%	34.7%	21.1%	53.8%	51.3%	36.0%
No Difference	14.7	5.6	5.3	18.3	15.8	20.0
Closer to Republican	61.1	59.7	73.7	27.9	32.9	44.0
	<u>100%</u> (95)	<u>100%</u> (72)	<u>100.1%</u> (38)	<u>100%</u> (104)	<u>100%</u> (76)	<u>100%</u> (25)
	lambda = .00			lambda = .02		

The policy cognitions of Democratic and Republican identifiers who standpat are usually closer to their party's candidate: 50.8 percent of the Democrats in 1972 and 66.0 percent in 1976; 83.8 percent of the Republicans in 1972 and 69.7 percent in 1976. Selective perception again seems stronger among Republican identifiers and weaker among Democrats, as in 1972 when 32.0 percent of the Democrats held policy cognitions which were closer to the Republican (Nixon). Independent identifiers who standpat also have policy cognitions which are closer to the Republican: 57.6 percent in 1972 and 48.9 percent in 1976.

Perceptual structuring is noticeably absent for switchers, leaving open the possibility that they are issue voters and not undercover party voters. A couple of comparisons between standpatters and switchers are worth noting. In 1972, 32.0 percent of the Democratic standpatters and 61.1 percent of the Democratic switchers are closer to the Republican. In 1976, 69.7 percent of the Republican standpatters and 44.0 percent of the Republican switchers are closer to the Republican. These differences call attention to "issues" as possible explanations of changing party support, along with differences in candidate images over time. An examination of the relationships between candidate images, policy cognitions, and voting behavior should help to clarify these suppositions.

Candidate Images, Policy Cognitions, and Voting Behavior

Since party identification fails to structure the candidate images and policy cognitions of switchers, they obviously are not party voters. Do candidate images and policy cognitions explain

their voting behavior? Recall that the theory of party voting partitions the vote its long-term and short-term components:

The long-term component is a simple reflection of the distribution of underlying party loyalties, a distribution that is stable over substantial periods of time. In any specific election the population may be influenced by short-term forces associated with peculiarities of that election . . . to shift its vote now toward the Republicans, now toward the Democrats. (Converse, 1966, p. 14)

Voters who "deviate" from their party identification generally do so either because of some attractive personal qualities of the other party's candidate or because of the candidate's issue positions (see Boyd, 1969). To this point, however, the evidence suggests that switchers lack the long-term component. Further evidence for this interpretation is provided when the bivariate relationship between party identification and voting behavior is examined. As expected, the relationship is fairly strong for standpatters, in both 1972 ($\lambda = .45$) and 1976 ($\lambda = .55$). But for switchers, party identification is unrelated to voting behavior (λ s of .00, in both 1972 and 1976). Without the stabilizing influence of party identification, the voting behavior of switchers probably is determined by short-term factors exclusively. Are switchers swayed, from one party to the other from one election to the next, by short-term factors that emerge in each election?

Candidate image is an important short-term electoral factor for standpatters and switchers, but it is more important for standpatters (see Tables 17 and 18). Nearly 70 percent of the variation in voting behavior is accounted for by the relative candidate images of standpatters. For switchers, however, the degree of association

Table 17. Candidate Image by Voting Behavior: Standpatters

	1972			1976		
	Democrat More Favorable	Little Difference	Republican More Favorable	Democrat More Favorable	Little Difference	Republican More Favorable
Democratic Vote	97.2%	64.1%	4.0%	96.8%	40.8%	1.7%
Republican Vote	$\frac{2.8}{100\%}$ (145)	$\frac{35.9}{100\%}$ (92)	$\frac{96.0}{100\%}$ (348)	$\frac{3.2}{100\%}$ (156)	$\frac{59.2}{100\%}$ (142)	$\frac{98.3}{100\%}$ (287)
	lambda = .76*			lambda = .68*		

*p < .05 testing H₀: candidate image and voting behavior are not related with a two-tailed chi-square test.

Table 18. Candidate Image by Voting Behavior: Switchers

	1972			1976		
	Democrat More Favorable	Little Difference	Republican More Favorable	Democrat More Favorable	Little Difference	Republican More Favorable
Democratic Vote	74.2%	27.0%	5.8%	96.1%	77.3%	38.9%
Republican Vote	28.5 100% (31)	73.0 100% (37)	94.2 100% (137)	3.9 100% (103)	22.7 100% (66)	61.1 100% (36)
	lambda = .36*			lambda = .20*		

*p < .05 testing Ho: candidate image and voting behavior are not related with a two-tailed chi-square test.

is much less: .36 in 1972 and .29 in 1976. Considering the relationship for standpatters, a favorable image is a necessary condition of party voting: over 95 percent of the time standpatters cast ballots for the candidate with the more favorable image. This percentage varies for switchers, with the "losing" candidates (the Democrat in 1972 and the Republican in 1976) experiencing the largest defections: 25.8 percent in 1972 and 38.9 percent in 1976 cast ballots for the eventual winner while rating the loser more favorably. These findings suggest that candidate image, by itself, is not sufficient to account for the behavior of switchers.

Curiously enough, policy cognitions are significant for standpatters, but not for switchers (see Tables 19 and 20). Around 50 percent of the variation in the voting behavior of standpatters is "explained" by policy cognitions. The drawing power of policies is somewhat stronger when people are closer to the Republican: 90.3 percent of the standpatters who vote Republican in 1972 and 92.3 percent in 1976 have policy cognitions which are closer to the Republican. Although defections from policy cognitions are greater for people closer to the Democrat, a substantial proportion of their votes are consistent with their policy stands: 80.7 percent of the standpatters in 1972 and 75.9 percent in 1976. The policy cognitions of switchers, the bastions of issue voting, are not related to voting behavior (lambdas of .00 in 1972 and 1976). Their vote is heavily in favor of the winning candidate, in 1972 and in 1976, but these patterns seem unrelated to policy cognitions. In sum, candidate image is a significant short-term influence upon the voting

Table 19. Policy Cognition by Voting Behavior: Standpatters

	1972			1976		
	Closer to Democrat	No Difference	Closer to Republican	Closer to Democrat	No Difference	Closer to Republican
Democrat Vote	80.7%	56.5%	9.7%	75.9%	31.4%	7.7%
Republican Vote	$\frac{19.3}{100\%}$ (176)	$\frac{43.5}{100\%}$ (69)	$\frac{90.3}{100\%}$ (340)	$\frac{24.1}{100\%}$ (212)	$\frac{68.6}{100\%}$ (102)	$\frac{92.3}{100\%}$ (271)
	lambda = .55*			lambda = .51*		

*p < .05 testing Ho: policy cognition and voting behavior are not related with a two-tailed chi-square test.

behavior of switchers; candidate image and policy cognition are significant short-term influences upon standpatters.

Party Voting, Partisan Defection, and Non-Party Voting

The last link in the SRC/CPS theory is the extent of party voting, partisan defection, and non-party voting. In their recent study, The Changing American Voter (1976), Nie, Verba, and Petrocik elaborate the conditions of party voting. "The main rule of party voting," they suggest, "is simple: when there is a choice between the candidate of the party with which you identify and the opposition party, vote for your party's candidate" (p. 156). Party voting requires that:

1. A voter have a party identification which extends across elections.
2. The candidates are from different parties.
3. The individual must use his party affiliation as the criterion for choosing between candidates.

Their notion also implies that:

4. A voter without a party identification cannot vote on the basis of party.
5. A candidate not identified with one of the major parties cannot receive a party vote. (pp. 156-157)

A typology, designed to represent these conditions, is developed to determine the extent of party voting, partisan defection, and non-party voting among standpatters and switchers. This classification scheme is constructed with three variables: party identification, relative candidate image, and voting behavior. Recall that each of these variables has the following categories:

Party Identification:	Candidate Image:	Vote:
(1) Democrat	(4) Democrat More Favorable	(7) Democratic
(2) Independent	(5) Little Difference	(8) Republican
(3) Republican	(6) Republican More Favorable	

With these variables, it is possible to distinguish six types: two types of party voters, type I and type II for lack of better terms; three types of defectors, perceptual, behavioral, and complete; and non-party voters. Type I party voters rate their party's candidate more favorably and vote their party identification (1-4-7 and 3-6-8). Type II party voters rate the candidates about the same but vote their party identification (1-5-7 and 3-5-8). Perceptual defectors rate the other party's candidate more favorably but vote their party identification (1-6-7 and 3-4-8). Behavioral defectors normally cast party votes, since they rate their party's candidate more favorably, but they cast a ballot for the other party's candidate (1-4-8 and 3-6-7). Complete defectors rate the candidates about the same, or the other party's candidate more favorably, and defect from their party identification (1-5-8, 1-6-8, 3-5-7, and 3-4-7). Non-party voters are simply the Independent party identifiers, since "a voter without a party identification cannot vote on the basis of party" (any chain with a 2). In view of previous findings, the largest proportion of party voters should occur among standpatters and the largest proportion of defectors among switchers, since party identification is unimportant for them.

What, then, is the distribution of these types among standpatters and switchers? Table 21 displays these figures. For standpatters 56.9 percent in 1972 and 59.8 percent in 1976 are party

Table 21. Party Voting, Partisan Defection,
and Non-party Voting

	Standpatters		Switchers	
	1972	1976	1972	1976
Party Voter I	48.4%	50.1%	21.5%	32.2%
Party Voter II	8.5	9.7	2.0	8.3
Perceptual Defectors	1.9	0.8	1.5	3.9
Behavioral Defectors	0.3	0.2	3.4	2.4
Complete Defectors	9.4	6.7	36.6	16.1
Non-party Voters	<u>31.5</u> 100% (585)	<u>32.5</u> 100% (585)	<u>35.1</u> 100.1% (205)	<u>37.1</u> 100% (205)

voters (combining the two types). Defection rates for standpatters are rather small: 11.6 percent in 1972 and 7.7 percent in 1976 (combining the three types). For switchers, party voting is more extensive in 1972 (40.5 percent) than in 1976 (23.4 percent). Conversely, defection rates for switchers are more extensive in 1972 (41.5 percent) than in 1976 (22.4 percent), reflecting the disruption of the normal party vote in that election. The figures on non-party voting for standpatters and switchers average around 34 percent and range from 31.5 percent for standpatters in 1972 to 37.1 percent for switchers in 1976. What do these figures suggest about party voting? Standpatters are more likely and switchers are less likely to cast party votes. However, nearly a third of the standpatters and switchers are non-party voters.

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter examined a theory of party voting for standpatters and switchers, focusing upon five major aspects of the theory:

(1) the transmission of party identification from parent to child; (2) the stability of party identification over time; (3) the structuring effect of party identification for candidate images and policy cognitions; (4) the impact of candidate images and policy cognitions upon voting behavior; and (5) the extent of party voting, partisan defection, and non-party voting. The supposition that "switching" stems from the presence of faulty empirical linkages between these aspects of the theory and the practice of changing party support was the primary rationale for examining these relationships. Support for this proposition was evident in each of the five aspects of the theory.

Parental partisanship is more important for standpatters than switchers. Hence, the demise of party voting originates in the socialization patterns of the family. Party identification is just as stable for standpatters and switchers, although unstable party identifiers are more prevalent among switchers. Party identification fails to structure the candidate images and policy cognitions of switchers, but it is an important structuring factor for standpatters. Of the two short-term factors studied, candidate images and policy cognitions are important for standpatters, but only candidate images are significant for switchers. And, finally, party voting is more extensive among standpatters and vote defections are more extensive among switchers.

Why do voters "standpat" and why do they "switch" their party support between elections? They standpat because of a long-standing psychological commitment to a political party and switch when this psychological commitment is absent. In other words, the long-term component of the vote is more important for standpatters; short-term factors, especially candidate images, are more important for switchers.

CHAPTER 4

STANDPATTERS, SWITCHERS, AND ISSUE VOTING

Why do voters standpat and why do they switch party support between elections? In the previous chapter, "Standpatters, Switchers, and Party Voting," the answer suggested in the party voting theory is presented: Voters standpat because of their long-standing psychological commitment to a political party and switch when this commitment is absent. Another perspective asserts that voters standpat because they are in agreement with the policies of a political party and switch because of changing policy sentiments. Voters, in other words, cast ballots on the bases of their issue positions (Key, 1966; Page, 1978; Pomper, 1975). The focus of this chapter and the next is thus upon one basic question: To what extent do issue positions or policy preferences guide the electoral decisions of standpatters and switchers?

The Conditions of Issue Voting

What, then, are the conditions of issue voting? The main decision rule of issue voting, suggest Nie, Verba, and Petrocik (1976), is: "If there is an issue A and two positions on that issue (A_1 and A_2), the voter who prefers one of the two positions will vote for the candidate who holds the same position" (pp. 157-158). Another way of formulating this rule is: Vote for the candidate that is perceived to be closer to your issue positions (Kovenock, Prothro, and Associates, 1973). Issue voting has two basic requirements:

1. That the individual have a preference for either A_1 or A_2 .
2. The candidates must offer a choice on the issues.
(Nie et al., 1976, p. 158)

Though these "conditions" seem fairly straightforward, at least as conceptual criteria, disagreement on how best to study them in empirical situations still exists. The question of issue voting is of course an important one, for it follows from the basic notion of popular control in democratic societies. But the normative significance of the problem is matched, if not obscured, by the diversity of methodological and technical approaches to this question (Kessel, 1972; RePass, 1976). In assessing the extent of issue voting, it is therefore important to study the problem from a variety of methodological standpoints. Why? First of all, as social scientists, we need to be sensitive to how our conclusions hinge upon the way in which a particular problem is studied. It therefore makes sense when dealing with social phenomena to study them from a variety of perspectives. Secondly, given the confusion that presently characterizes the study of issue voting, it is incumbent upon new studies to determine to what extent different conclusions derive from different methods and to indicate whether this is a matter of interpretation or method (Margolis, 1977).

Approaches to Issue Voting

To consider issue voting from a variety of perspectives, it is necessary to identify the various approaches currently in use. These approaches are organized along two general dimensions: (1) a

single-issue/multiple-issue dimension and (2) a cross-sectional/longitudinal dimension. Studies either examine one issue at a time or treat the interrelationship of several issues across a variety of substantive domains. And studies either focus upon political activity at a single point in time or examine behavior over time. These two major dimensions are not mutually exclusive; rather, any one study usually contains an element from each dimension, as the following analysis demonstrates.

Single-Issue, Cross-Sectional Studies

As a general rule, most studies of issue voting focus upon issues at one point in time, and they consider them in isolation from other issues. This is one of the approaches of Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes in The American Voter (1960, pp. 168-187). In that study, sixteen issues, ranging across domestic and foreign policy domains, are examined in terms of three criteria:

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. (p. 170)

Only about a third of the electorate could satisfy all of these conditions on any one issue, with a high of 36 percent and a low of 18 percent: "Many people fail to appreciate that an issue exists, others are insufficiently involved to pay attention to recognized issues, and still others fail to make connections between issue positions and party policy" (p. 183).

An important variation of this approach divides the electorate into "issue-publics," those people who express some interest in a particular issue. This approach typically relies upon open-ended questions to identify issue-publics: Those people who mention the same issue are grouped together as members of the issue-public. Among these publics, issue positions and policy preferences are important influences upon electoral choices (Jones and Jones, 1971; Kirkpatrick and Jones, 1974; Natchez and Bupp, 1970; Repass, 1971). However, studies which take this approach seldom demonstrate that the entire electorate casts an issue vote on any one issue. Because of this limitation, this type of analysis is inappropriate for the research problem posed in this chapter.

Single-Issue, Longitudinal Studies

Technically, the analysis presented here is the first to ¹²⁰⁰⁰ examine shifts in issue positions over time and their relationship to interelection voting behavior, but Key's landmark study, The Responsible Electorate (1966), is similar in approach, for so much of his argument predates and foreshadows the analysis performed in this chapter. Key links patterns of interelection voting behavior to shifts in the issue positions of voters. Theoretically, if no systematic shifts occur in the issue positions of voters, they should support the same party from one election to the next. Conversely, if systematic shifts occur in the issue positions of voters, they should change party support between elections, eventually casting ballots for the party and candidate closer to their issue

positions. Key's analysis supports each of these propositions, and this study reconsiders their merits with data spanning the presidential elections of 1972 and 1976.

Is it possible for shifts in voting behavior to occur without corresponding shifts in the issue positions of voters? If the candidates present the electorate different policy alternatives from one election to the next, voters could shift their support without changing their issue positions and still vote for the candidate who is closer to their issue positions. Key (1966) acknowledges this possibility in his discussion of the "echo chamber": "The voice of the people is but an echo. The output of an echo chamber bears an inevitable and invariable relation to the input" (p. 2). Key is simply calling attention to the parameters of the situation: If candidates present the voters different policy alternatives from one election to the next, they probably will respond in different ways. However consistent this alternative explanation of vote switching is with Key's basic framework, it remains an untested hypothesis. Do candidates, in fact, offer the electorate the same "choices" and "echoes" from one election to the next? And if offered different policy options, do voters make different choices?

A variation of the single-issue, longitudinal study examines the relationship between an individual's issue positions at two different points in time, focusing upon the "persistence" or stability of opinion. The initial concern of those who practice this approach is with "nonattitudes," or those issue positions created by survey research:

That is, the very act of asking people about issues may create responses that do not represent any genuinely held attitudes about the topic at hand but simply reflect a desire on the part of respondents in an interview situation to appear cooperative and informed about current issues. (Asher, 1976, pp. 98-99)

As a general rule, the analytical task involves "the correlation of measurements of the same items over time" (Converse, 1970, p. 169). When high test-retest correlations are observed, the issue positions are considered stable and labeled "attitudes," but when low correlations are noted, issue positions are considered unstable and called "nonattitudes." But how is this type of analysis relevant to a consideration of issue voting? Popular government, if that government is to remain stable, should not rest upon light and transient concerns of the populace; rather, for popular opinion to find expression in government, that opinion should have a certain degree of persistence (Thompson, 1966). The question, then, for issue voting is: Are the policy concerns that guide the decisions of the electorate light and transient ones or do they represent genuine grievances that popular government ought to heed?

Multiple-Issue, Cross-Sectional Studies

Multiple-issue, cross-sectional studies usually investigate the "belief systems" of voters, defining "a belief system as a configuration of ideas and attitudes in which the elements are bound together by some form of constraint" (Converse, 1964, p. 207). Constraint refers to how well we can predict a person's position on an issue given knowledge of his or her position on another issue.

Constraint, in operational terms, is therefore a matter of correlation, and a matrix of bivariate correlations is the device generally employed to display the electorate's "configuration of ideas and attitudes." This approach assumes that voters with constrained belief systems are more likely to cast issue votes (Asher, 1976, p. 90; Nie and Anderson, 1974, p. 586). Why? If a belief system exhibits "constraint," it is assumed that it was produced by, or is indicative of, an underlying liberal-conservative dimension which enables individuals to order their attitudes into consistent and meaningful patterns. Moreover, because of these consistent patterns, issue positions provide clearcut guides to political action at the polls. Whereas, those without constrained belief systems have no consistent guides to action, since their issue positions "push" them in several directions at once. How constrained are the belief systems of voters? A study by Converse (1964) in the 1950s concludes that the belief systems of mass publics do not display much constraint. He bases this conclusion upon an examination of a matrix of correlations between a variety of domestic and foreign policy issues, finding average correlations of .23 within domestic and foreign policy domains and .11 between domestic and foreign (p. 229). Another study, with data from the 1970s, reports within-domain correlations of .36 and between-domain correlations of .18, indicating that belief systems of mass publics in the 1970s are more constrained than belief systems in the 1950s (Miller, Miller, Raine, and Brown, 1976, pp. 766-768). The greater degree of constraint noted recently

has raised the possibility that voters are more likely to cast issue votes, a conclusion which finds some support in multiple-issue, longitudinal studies.

Multiple-Issue, Longitudinal Studies

Multiple-issue, longitudinal studies also investigate belief systems, but over time. A pure longitudinal study would examine the belief system of the same group of people over time (Brown, 1970). The usual approach, however, is to study different cross-sections of the electorate (but the same belief elements) at different points in time. One such study reports increasing levels of constraint between 1956 and 1972. Extending Converse's analysis over time, Nie and Anderson (1974) report increasing levels of constraint (i.e., larger correlations) within domestic issues, between domestic and foreign policy issues, and for all issues combined into a single index (Asher, 1976, pp. 113-115; Nie and Anderson, 1974, p. 566; Nie et al., 1976, p. 129). Clearly, then, the belief systems of mass publics are becoming more constrained, which also means that the electorate's capacity for issue voting is improving. Nie and Anderson link these patterns of constraint to the increased saliency of politics during the 1960s, certainly a function of the domestic conflict generated by the civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War. Commenting upon their findings, Converse (1975) poses some interesting questions for the present study:

What is not clear, of course, is whether or not the change in public opinion is permanent. Nor is a closely related question clear: Which is a more normal state of affairs, the public opinion portrait from the 1950s or that from the later 1960s? (p. 92.)

Multidimensional Studies

The correlation matrix approach to belief systems tends to assume that constraint is a unidimensional characteristic, while others have argued that belief systems are multidimensional and possibly idiosyncratic (Marcus, Tabb, and Sullivan, 1974; Weisberg and Rusk, 1970). The multidimensional approach is a special case of the multiple-issue/matrix approach. Basically, it is an extension of the matrix approach: A correlation matrix of issue positions is factor analyzed to determine the dimensionality of the issue space (Stimson, 1975). Factor analysis identifies "clusters" of issue positions that exhibit constraint, and a mass belief system may have several clusters or dimensions which are unrelated to one another. In this study, the multi-dimensional/factor analytic approach is applied cross-sectionally and longitudinally. The main cross-sectional question is: To what extent do standpatters and switchers share belief systems? If they have similar belief systems, a characterization of one group as "issue voters" and the other as "non-issue voters" would be difficult to support. The longitudinal question is: To what extent are belief systems stable over time? If issue positions are a guide to electoral behavior and belief systems are stable over time, consistent voting patterns should occur through time. In other words, standpatters should have stable belief systems. If, on the other hand, belief systems change and are a guide to behavior at the polls, changing patterns of party support should occur. Voters should switch their party support between elections.

Issue Voting from a Single-Issue,
Cross-Sectional Perspective

*of voters
2000*

In studying issue voting from a single-issue, cross-sectional perspective, three questions are raised: (1) Do voters perceive a difference in the candidates' ^{relative} issue positions? (2) Are the voters closer to one candidate's ^{relative} issue position? and (3) Do voters support the candidate closer to their issue position? For issue voting to occur, an individual must first perceive a difference between the candidates and their issue stands, hold an issue position which is closer to only one of the candidates, and vote for that candidate. If any of these conditions is violated, a vote is not an issue vote. The analytical task suggested by these conditions is represented in Figures 1 and 2.

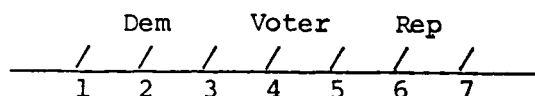


Figure 1. Condition One

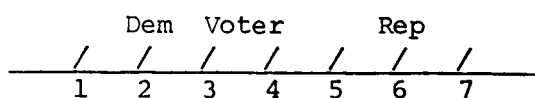


Figure 2. Conditions One and Two

On a hypothetical issue continuum, ranging from 1 to 7, suppose the Democrat occupies the second position, the voter the fourth, and the Republican the sixth (Figure 1). Since the candidates take different issue stands, the first condition of issue voting is satisfied, but the voter, in occupying the fourth position, is equidistant from the candidates, with no clearcut issue basis for selecting between them. On a second continuum, suppose the voter occupies the third position, and the Democrat and Republican retain the second and sixth positions, respectively (Figure 2). Here, the first and second conditions of issue voting are satisfied; The voter perceives a difference in the candidates' issue positions and is closer to the Democrat. Issue voting occurs when the voter supports the Democrat under these conditions. Of course, if the voter violates this third condition by supporting the Republican, that vote is not an issue vote.

The crucial conceptual question in this type of analysis is: How close is close? If voters must support the candidate who is "closer" to their issue position in order to cast an issue vote, what does this comparative adjective mean in this context? Apparently, this concept has two meanings in the literature of issue voting. For Nie, Verba, and Petrocik (1976), issue voting occurs when the voter supports "the candidate who holds the same position" (p. 158). Issue voting, for these authors, depends upon an absolute conception of issue closeness; closer means exactly the same issue position. Another perspective suggests that issue voting occurs when the voter supports the candidate who is perceived to be closer to his or her

issue position (Kovenock et al., 1973). Issue closeness is a relative concept: That is, the voter's issue position is closer to one of the candidates, which is a matter of degree. Rather than selecting one of these conceptions, two separate analyses are performed, one with an absolute and another with a relative conception of issue closeness.

Absolute Issue Closeness

To examine issue voting with an absolute conception of issue closeness, three null hypotheses are tested for Republican standpatters (n = 371), Democratic standpatters (n = 241), Republican-to-Democratic switchers (n = 164), and Democratic-to-Republican switchers (n = 41). These hypotheses are:

- H_1 : The two major party candidates take the same issue position.
- H_2 : The voters and the Democratic candidate take the same issue position.
- H_3 : The voters and the Republican candidate take the same issue position:

Testing of these hypotheses provides an empirical evaluation of the first two conditions of issue voting. The first condition is satisfied when the first null hypothesis is rejected. Acceptance of the second or the third hypothesis indicates that the voters are close to that particular candidate. Since voters may cast an issue vote for either of the candidates, one of the last two hypotheses must be accepted and the other rejected in order to satisfy the second condition of issue voting, for if both are accepted or rejected, voters are closer to neither candidate. The

third condition of issue voting is checked by noting whether or not voters support the candidate who is closer to their issue position when the first two conditions are satisfied.

These null hypotheses are tested for five issues: the legalization of marijuana, rights of the accused, busing to achieve racial integration, government aid to minorities, and women's rights (see Appendix I). For each issue the voters are asked to place themselves and the two major party candidates on a 7-point scale. For example, on the marijuana issue, voters are presented the following alternatives: "Some people think that the use of marijuana should be legal. Others think that the penalties for using marijuana should be set higher than they are now." Subjects then are asked to place themselves on a 7-point continuum, ranging from 1, "make use of marijuana legal," to 7, "set penalties higher than they are now." After providing self-rating subjects are asked to place the two candidates on this same 7-point continuum.

Republican Standpatters

Republican standpatters vote for the Republican candidate in two successive elections: in this case, the presidential elections of 1972 and 1976. But do they support the Republican nominees because of their issue positions? Significance tests to answer this question are presented in Table 22. Examining the first condition of issue voting, it is clear that, for Republican standpatters, the candidates do offer different policy choices on the issues, in both 1972 and 1976 (see columns 1 and 4 of Table 22).

Table 22. Perceived Difference Between Candidate and Voter
Issue Positions: Republican Standpatters

Issue	1972		1976			
	Dem/Rep (1)	Dem/Voter (2)	Rep/Voter (3)	Dem/Rep (4)	Dem/Voter (5)	Rep/Voter (6)
Rights of Accused.	-10.84*	11.79*	4.84*	-4.31*	9.62*	8.89*
School Busing	-19.32*	35.82*	13.83*	-9.77*	27.13*	18.53*
Aid to Minorities	-14.31*	17.99*	7.67*	-8.99*	14.80*	10.38*
Marijuana	-17.82*	15.94*	1.60	-4.93*	9.26*	7.28*
Women's Rights	- 3.35*	4.18*	2.58*	2.12*	0.78	0.61

* $p \leq .05$ with a two-tailed t-test for related samples (Blalock, 1972, pp. 233-235). The null hypothesis is rejected when the absolute value of t is greater than or equal to 1.96. The test statistic is based upon the mean of the difference between the raw scores for each case. Page (1978) only examines the difference between the overall means, reaching quite different, and possibly erroneous, conclusions about differences in candidate issue positions (pp.94 and 98).

For each of the five issues in both elections, the null hypothesis that "the two major party candidates take the same issue position" is rejected using a two-tailed t-test, $p \leq .05$ (Blalock, 1972, pp. 233-235). But considering the second condition of issue voting, on only one of the issues, the legalization of marijuana in 1972, is one of the voter/candidate hypotheses accepted and the other rejected. For this issue, the voters are closer to the Republican candidate, with overall means of 5.3 and 5.1, respectively, and more distant from the Democratic candidate ($\bar{x} = 3.2$). All three of the conditions of issue voting thus are satisfied on only one issue.

Democratic Standpatters

Do people that support the Democratic nominees in two successive elections do so because of their issue positions? Table 23 presents the significance tests for this question. In 1972, Democratic standpatters perceive a difference in the issue positions of the candidates on all five issues (Table 23, column 1). However, the second condition of issue voting is supported for only the rights of the accused and women's rights issues: The voters are closer to the Democratic candidate in both instances. In sum, issue votes are cast by Democratic standpatters on two issues in 1972. But what about their voting behavior in 1976? In that election year, Democratic standpatters perceive a difference in the stands of the candidates on only three of the five issues: rights of the accused, aid to minorities, and women's rights (Table 23, column 4). But the second condition of issue voting is not satisfied for any of these three issues. In other words, as far as this analysis can determine, issue votes

Table 23. Perceived Difference Between Candidate and Voter
Issue Positions: Democratic Standpatters

Issue	1972			1976		
	Dem/Rep (1)	Dem/Voter (2)	Rep/Voter (3)	Dem/Rep (4)	Dem/Voter (5)	Rep/Voter (6)
Rights of Accused	- 7.57*	0.79	-5.47*	-2.27*	1.00	-1.14
School Busing	- 3.78*	8.40*	2.08*	-0.71	7.95*	4.96*
Aid to Minorities	-10.63*	2.66*	-6.92*	-8.04*	3.12*	-3.47*
Marijuana	- 7.20*	4.46*	-2.47*	-1.13	0.15	-0.51
Women's Rights	- 6.74*	0.10	-3.99*	-6.33*	-2.35*	-6.01*

*p $\leq$.05 with a two-tailed t-test for related samples.

are noticeably absent among Democratic standpatters in 1976.

Republican-to-Democratic Switchers

Switchers supposedly are issue voters; they move from party to party between elections, depending upon their policy concerns and the choices presented by the competing candidates (Key, 1966). Between 1972 and 1976, approximately 23 percent of those who voted in both elections cast ballots for different party candidates. Eighty percent of this group are Republican-to-Democratic switchers and twenty percent are Democratic-to-Republican switchers. If switchers are indeed issue voters, this larger group should satisfy all three conditions of issue voting. In other words, are Republican-to-Democratic switchers issue voters? The results are displayed in Table 24. In 1972, the first condition of issue voting is satisfied for all of the issues except one, the women's rights issue (Table 24, column 1). But the second condition is not satisfied for any of these issues. Hence, these switchers are not issue voters, at least in 1972. Are they issue voters in 1976? No. The first condition is met on only one of the issues: busing to achieve racial integration (Table 24, column 4). And on that issue, the voters ($\bar{X} = 6.3$) are close to neither candidate ($\bar{X}$ s of 4.0 and 3.6 for the Democrat and Republican, respectively).

Democratic-to-Republican Switchers

Are Democratic-to-Republican switchers issue voters? The evidence, displayed in Table 25, is mixed, but the general conclusion that switchers are not issue voters finds ample support. In 1972,

Table 24. Perceived Difference Between Candidate and Voter Issue Positions:
Republican-to-Democratic Switchers

Issue	1972			1976		
	Dem/Rep (1)	Dem/Voter (2)	Rep/Voter (3)	Dem/Rep (4)	Dem/Voter (5)	Rep/Voter (6)
Rights of Accused	-4.90*	6.16*	3.34*	0.80	6.09*	5.08*
School Busing	-7.79*	19.50*	10.26*	2.73*	18.81*	15.75*
Aid to Minorities	-5.85*	8.31*	4.91*	-0.96	5.11*	3.85*
Marijuana	-9.52*	11.92*	3.82*	1.63	8.28*	8.12*
Women's Rights	1.73	- 0.75	0.30	0.00	0.04	0.04

*p ≤ .05 with a two-tailed t-test for related samples.

Table 25. Perceived Difference Between Candidate and Voter Issue Positions:
Democratic-to-Republican Switchers

Issue	1972			1976		
	Dem/Rep (1)	Dem/Voter (2)	Rep/Voter (3)	Dem/Rep (4)	Dem/Voter (5)	Rep/Voter (6)
Rights of Accused	-3.10*	-1.97*	-4.38*	0.00	-1.18	-1.51
School Busing	-3.17*	6.40*	1.33	-0.66	5.45*	3.97*
Aid to Minorities	-4.05*	2.49*	-1.70	-1.48	2.16*	0.86
Marijuana	-5.25*	0.07	-3.38*	-0.81	-0.08	-0.65
Women's Rights	-2.82*	-0.53	-1.89	-0.18	-1.48	-1.55

*p < .05 with a two-tailed t-test for related samples.

these switchers perceive a difference between the issue positions of the candidates on all five issues, staisfying the first condition of issue voting (Table 25, column 1). The second condition also is satisfied for three issues: busing to achieve racial integration, government aid to minorities, and the legalization of marijuana. But in considering the third condition, the results are mixed and somewhat confusing. On two of the issues, busing and aid to minorities, the voters are closer to the Republican candidate. On the marijuana issue, the voters are closer to the Democrat. Since these switchers cast ballots for the Democrat in 1972, an issue vote emerges for only one of the issues. But given the fact that on two of the issues the voters are closer to the Republican and that they support that party's candidate in 1976, one is hard pressed to consider these switchers as issue voters. Should they not have supported the Republican in 1972 if they are issue voters? In 1976, this general conclusion also is supported: The first condition of issue voting is not satisfied for any of the issues (Table 25, column 4). Contrary to conventional wisdom, switchers are not issue voters, at least when issue voting is studied from a single-issue, cross-sectional perspective employing an absolute conception of issue closeness. Is the portrait of the electorate, especially for the switchers, different when a relative concept of issue closeness is employed?

Relative Issue Closeness

Issue analysis based upon an absolute conception of issue closeness is probably too restrictive and possibly unrealistic, given

the diversity of interests that any candidate for political office must please. An absolute conception requires the voter to adopt the same issue position of one of the candidates, or vice versa. If this assumption is relaxed so that issue voting occurs when a ballot is cast for the candidate who is closer, relatively speaking, to a voter's issue position, does the extent of issue voting change among standpatters and switchers? Before addressing this question, an operational measure of "relative issue proximity" must be developed.

A proximity measure provides an index of how close a person's position on an issue is to the perceived position of a candidate on that same issue. Once absolute measures of proximity are computed for both candidates, a measure of "relative" proximity can be developed. Recall that respondents are asked to locate themselves and the two major party candidates on a series of 7-point scales. Three steps are involved in arriving at a relative proximity measure. First, a measure of "absolute" distance is obtained by subtracting the perceived position of a candidate from a respondent's self-placement on the continuum. For instance, if a person's position on the marijuana scale is 6 and the perceived position of the Democratic candidate is 4, the absolute distance between these two ratings is equal to 2 ($6 - 4 = 2$, ignoring the sign of the resultant). Next, an absolute proximity score is obtained by subtracting the absolute distance from 6, giving a score of 4 in our example ($6 - 2 = 4$). For a single issue, absolute proximity scores range from zero to six: An absolute proximity of zero occurs when the respondent and the candidate are at opposite ends of the continuum, while a

value of six occurs when the respondent and the candidate are at the same position on the continuum. And finally, after absolute proximity scores are developed for each candidate, a "relative" proximity score is obtained by subtracting the absolute proximity score for the Democratic candidate from the Republican candidate's score. A relative proximity score normally ranges from minus six to plus six: A score of minus six occurs when the respondent and the Democrat are at one end of the continuum and the Republican is at the other; a score of plus six occurs when the respondent and the Republican are at one end and the Democrat is at the other. To simplify the results, scores from minus six to minus one are treated as "closer to the Democrat," a score of zero as "no difference," and scores from plus one to plus six as "closer to the Republican" (see Beardsley, 1973).

The measures of association (λ) in the following tables are based upon a cross-tabulation of each issue, using these three categories of relative issue proximity, with a respondent's reported vote in 1972 and 1976. Rather than present these twenty tables, the results are collapsed into a format with three categories: issue vote, no difference, and non-issue vote. The issue vote category includes those voters who support the candidate who is closer to their issue position. The no difference category includes those voters who could perceive no difference between the issue positions of the candidates; more precisely, it includes those voters who are "equidistant" from the candidates. And the non-issue vote category includes those who do not support the candidate who is closer to their issue position.

Standpatters

For standpatters in 1972, the relative issue positions of the candidates are moderately associated with vote choices, with an average lambda of .27 for all five issues (see Table 26). Roughly 47 percent of the standpatters cast issue votes by supporting the candidate closer to their issue position, ranging from a high of 60.7 percent on the school busing issue to a low of 34.4 percent on the women's rights issue. Approximately 42 percent of the standpatters are closer to neither candidate, on the average, with a high of 56.1 percent on women's rights and a low of 27.7 percent on school busing. And around 10 percent of the standpatters cast non-issue votes by failing to support the candidate closer to their issue

Table 26. Relative Issue Position and Voting Behavior:
Standpatters, 1972

Issue	Issue Vote	No Difference	Non-Issue Vote	Lambda
Rights of Accused	44.1%	47.7%	8.2%	.29*
School Busing	60.7	27.7	11.6	.34*
Aid to Minorities	52.5	36.9	10.6	.36*
Marijuana	45.5	43.6	10.9	.20*
Women's Rights	34.4	56.1	9.6	.18*

*p < .05 testing H_0 : no relationship between relative candidate issue position and vote within a two-tailed chi-square test. Correlation coefficients are asymmetric lambdas (Champion, 1970, p. 212).

n = 585.

position. The proportion of issue voters is highest on only three of the issues: school busing (60.7 percent), aid to minorities (52.5 percent), and legalization of marijuana (45.5 percent) where the proportion is only slightly larger than that of the no difference category (43.6 percent). What does all this mean in terms of issue voting? When voters are closer to one of the candidates, they support that candidate. Issues are important for standpatters in 1972, but their impact upon vote choices is reduced, since the interplay of candidate issue stands and voter preferences often creates no net advantage for either candidate.

In 1976, the relative issue positions of the candidates are again moderately associated with vote choices, with a slightly smaller average lambda of .22 (see Table 27). Are issues less important in 1976? This degree of association, when compared to the average coefficient in 1976 (.27), certainly suggests such an interpretation, as do the proportions of respondents in the issue vote, no difference, and non-issue vote categories of Table 27. In contrast to 1972, only about 36 percent of the standpatters support the candidate closer to their issue position; 54 percent, on the average, are closer to neither candidate; and around 10 percent cast non-issue votes (the same percent as in 1972). The proportion of issue voters is largest on only one issue, school busing. What do these results suggest about issue voting? To repeat the previous generalization, when voters are closer to one of the candidates, they support that candidate, but voters are rarely closer to one of the candidates, as the results for standpatters in 1976 demonstrate.

Table 27. Relative Issue Position and Voting Behavior:
Standpatters, 1976

Issue	Issue Vote	No Difference	Non-Issue Vote	Lambda
Rights of Accused	30.0%	57.6%	7.4%	.25*
School Busing	49.1	37.6	13.3	.25*
Aid to Minorities	43.6	47.5	8.9	.28*
Marijuana	29.7	60.5	9.7	.18*
Women's Rights	23.2	66.0	10.8	.14*

*p $\leq$.05 testing H_0 : no relationship between relative candidate issue position and vote with a two-tailed chi-square test.

n = 585.

Switchers

Are switchers issue voters? In 1972, the relative issue positions of the candidates are weakly associated with vote choices, with an average lambda of .05 for all five issues (see Table 28). In fact, for three of the issues, school busing, legalization of marijuana, and women's rights, lambda is equal to .00. (An asterick is placed beside these coefficients because their chi-squares are significant.) On the average, around 41 percent of the switchers support the candidate closer to their position; 46 percent are closer to neither candidate; and 13 percent cast non-issue votes. The proportion of issue voters is largest on only two of the issues, school busing (49.8 percent) and aid to minorities (49.3 percent). The weak to

Table 28. Relative Issue Position and Voting Behavior:
Switchers, 1972

Issue	Issue Vote	No Difference	Non-Issue Vote	Lambda
Rights of Accused	41.0%	51.7%	7.3%	.15*
School Busing	49.8	29.8	20.4	.00*
Aid to Minorities	49.3	41.0	9.7	.09*
Marijuana	41.5	44.4	14.1	.00*
Women's Rights	24.4	62.9	12.7	.00*

* $p \leq .05$ testing H_0 : no relationship between relative candidate issue position and vote with a two-tailed chi-square test.

$n = 205$.

negligible associations between issue positions and vote choices and the general preponderance of switchers who are closer to neither candidate lead to a conclusion that switchers, by and large, are not issue voters. If switchers are motivated by their issue concerns, as Key (1966) argues, more clearcut evidence is necessary to support that assertion. In 1972, that evidence is lacking.

Switchers are only switchers when they change party support between elections. How are we to know whether or not this group of voters switched between 1968 and 1972? That is a moot point, but it ought to be considered when viewing the voting behavior of this group in 1972. The switchers of this study are switchers from 1972 to 1976. Therefore, an examination of their voting behavior in 1976

seems more appropriate. Are switchers issue voters in 1976? No! The relative issue positions of the candidates are not associated with vote choices, as indicated by an average lambda of .00 (see Table 29). The proportion of switchers who are closer to neither candidate (58 percent) is over twice as large as the proportion who support the candidate closer to their issue position (26 percent). Moreover, roughly 16 percent of this group cast non-issue votes in 1976.

Table 29. Relative Issue Position and Voting Behavior:
Switchers, 1976

Issue	Issue Vote	No Difference	Non-Issue Vote	Lambda
Rights of Accused	30.2%	55.1%	14.6%	.00
School Busing	37.6	41.5	21.0	.00
Aid to Minorities	25.8	54.6	19.5	.00*
Marijuana	23.4	64.9	11.7	.00
Women's Rights	14.6	73.6	11.7	.00

* $p \leq .05$ testing H_0 : no relationship between relative candidate issue position and vote with a two-tailed chi-square test.

n = 205.

Summary

To what extent are standpatters and switchers issue voters when that question is approached from a single-issue, cross-sectional perspective? For issue voting to occur, an individual must first

perceive a difference between the candidates and their issue stands, hold an issue position which is closer to only one of the candidates, and vote for that candidate. If any of these conditions is violated, a vote is not an issue vote.

Previous studies have suggested that voters fail to perceive a difference between the candidates' issue positions (Campbell et al., 1960, pp. 179-187; Page, 1978, pp. 90-102). Other studies, in contrast, note the increasing propensity of voters to identify "ideological" differences between the parties and their candidates (Nie et al., 1976; Pomper, 1972; Pomper, 1975). What light does this study shed upon this first condition of issue voting? Standpatters usually are able to perceive a difference between the candidates' issue positions. Switchers, on the other hand, note issue differences in 1972 but not in 1976. Why are standpatters able to discern issue differences when switchers are appraising the "same" candidates? Since party identification tends to structure the perceptions of standpatters (see Table 15 of Chapter 3, page 78), they may tend to "pull" their candidate closer to their own issue position and "push" the other candidate away from their position, creating a difference between the perceived candidate positions. In other words, standpatters may be prone to defend their political egos by selectively perceiving the issue stands of candidates (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, 1954, pp. 215-233).

When standpatters and switchers are able to discern differences between the candidates, they usually support the one who is closer to their issue position. But when different analytical criteria are

used to determine "issue closeness," slightly different results are obtained. Generally speaking, whether an absolute or a relative conception of issue closeness is employed, issue voting in the 1976 presidential election is noticeably absent. But for the 1972 election, the results depend upon which concept of issue closeness is adopted (RePass, 1976). For example, following a set of decision rules premised upon an absolute conception, Republican standpatters cast an issue vote on the legalization of marijuana issue, while Democratic standpatters cast issue votes of the rights of the accused and women's rights issues. But when issue voting is ascertained with a relative concept, standpatters as a group cast issue votes on three issues in 1972: school busing, aid to minorities, and the legalization of marijuana. Are different conclusions reached when issue voting is approached from a single-issue, longitudinal perspective?

Issue Voting from a Single-Issue,

Longitudinal Perspective

How are changing patterns in the issue positions of candidates and voters associated with patterns of interelection voting behavior? Do voters standpat because no systematic shifts occur in their issue positions? Do they switch when systematic shifts occur that favor one of the candidates? In short, are standpatters and switchers issue voters when that question is approached from a single-issue, longitudinal perspective?

Shifts in the Issue Positions
of Candidates and Voters

Do candidates offer the electorate different choices from one election to the next? Or do voters simply change their issue positions, supporting the candidate who they happen to be closer to at the moment? To answer these questions, three null hypotheses are tested:

H₁: The Democratic candidates take the same issue position in 1972 and 1976.

H₂: The Republican candidates take the same issue position in 1972 and 1976.

H₃: The voters take the same issue position in 1972 and 1976.

Issue voting, when viewed from a longitudinal perspective, may stem from changes in either candidate or voter issue positions, or from some interaction of these components. Before considering their interaction, changes in each component are analyzed. Attention then turns to a consideration of the relationship between changing patterns of "relative" candidate proximity and interelection voting behavior.

Standpatters

If issues guide the electoral decisions of standpatters, only minor shifts should occur in their issue positions and their perceptions of candidate issue positions. Why? If standpatters are issue voters, stable issue positions (through time) should produce

stable patterns of interelection voting behavior. Logically, if no systematic shifts occur in their issue positions, they should support the same party from one election to the next. How stable are the issue positions of standpatters? Looking at the t-values in Table 30, significant shifts in the voter and candidate issue positions seem to be the rule rather than the exception. Republican standpatters perceive shifts in the Democratic candidates' issue positions on all five issues (column 1), in the Republican candidates' issue positions on three issues (column 2), and shift their own positions on three issues (column 3). A similar pattern of instability emerges among Democratic standpatters: they perceive shifts in the Democrats' issue positions on three issues (column 4), in the Republicans' positions on three issues (column 5), and shift their own positions on four issues (column 6). Apparently, the issue positions of standpatters are not stable but are in a state of "flux," raising serious questions about the role of issues as guides to their electoral choices.

Switchers

If systematic shifts occur in the issue positions of switchers, they should change party support between elections, eventually casting ballots for the party and candidate closer to their issue positions. How dynamic are the issue positions of switchers? Considering the t-values in Table 31, switchers generally perceive shifts in the issue positions of the candidates but fail to shift their own issue positions. Republican-to-Democratic switchers perceive shifts in the Democrats' positions on four issues (column 1), in the Republicans' positions on three issues (column 2), and shift their own positions on only one

Table 30. Shifts in the Issue Positions of Candidates and Voters: Standpatters

Issue	Republican Standpatters			Democratic Standpatters		
	Dem/Dem (1)	Rep/Rep (2)	Voter/Voter (3)	Dem/Dem (4)	Rep/Rep (5)	Voter/Voter (6)
Rights of Accused	-4.92*	2.88*	-0.69	-4.07*	2.87*	-3.26*
School Busing	-6.95*	8.09*	4.36*	0.00	4.24*	-0.43
Aid to Minorities	-6.60*	0.20	-2.40*	-4.01*	1.64	-3.83*
Marijuana	-8.63*	9.98*	3.29*	-2.29*	5.50*	2.28*
Women's Rights	-5.20*	-0.74	1.16	-0.26	1.18	2.25*

*p < .05 with a two-tailed t-test for related samples (Blalock, 1972, pp. 233-235). The null hypothesis is rejected when the absolute value of t is greater than or equal to 1.96.

Table 31. Shifts in the Issue Positions of Candidates and Voters: Switchers

Issue	Republican-to-Democratic			Democratic-to-Republican		
	Dem/Dem (1)	Rep/Rep (2)	Voter/Voter (3)	Dem/Dem (4)	Rep/Rep (5)	Voter/Voter (6)
Rights of Accused	-2.73*	2.27*	-0.58	-1.34	2.13*	-1.17
School Busing	-3.03*	7.74*	2.99*	-0.96	2.83*	-0.20
Aid to Minorities	-5.49*	-0.13	0.00	-2.66*	0.75	-2.22*
Marijuana	-5.71*	6.29*	1.47	-1.51	3.71*	-1.29
Women's Rights	-0.10	-1.42	-0.88	-0.32	2.47*	0.48

*p < .05 with a two-tailed t-test for related samples.

issue: school busing (column 3). Democratic-to-Republican switchers see shifts in Democrats' positions on only one issue, aid to minorities (column 4); in Republicans' positions on four issues (column 5); and shift their own positions on only one issue, aid to minorities (column 6). Is it possible for shifts in voting behavior to occur without corresponding shifts in the issue positions of voters? Apparently, yes. If switchers are issue voters, it is not because of shifts in their own issue positions; the source of interelection change for switchers does not flow from instability in their issue positions. If the candidates present the electorate different policy alternatives from one election to the next, voters could shift their electoral support without changing their issue positions and still vote for the candidate who is closer to their issue positions. Do switchers "respond" to different policy alternatives by supporting different candidates from one election to the next? To answer this question, an examination of the relationship between changing patterns of relative candidate proximity and interelection voting behavior is necessary.

Shifts in Issue Proximity

Recall that relative candidate proximity for any issue has three categories: closer to the Democrat, no difference, and closer to the Republican. To examine shifts in issue proximity for any issue, a comparison of relative proximity for each issue at two points in time is in order. Five types of "shifts" emerge when such a comparison is made: stable Democratic, Democratic shift, stable no difference,

Republican shift, and stable Republican. A stable Democratic pattern occurs when the voter is closer to the Democrat in both 1972 and 1976. Similarly, a stable Republican pattern occurs when the voter is closer to the Republican in both years. A stable no difference pattern occurs when the voter is closer to neither candidate in both elections. Shifts, either toward the Democrat or the Republican, occur when a voter moves (1) from closer to one candidate to closer to the other candidate; (2) from closer to one candidate to closer to neither candidate; and (3) from closer to neither candidate to closer to one of the candidates. What are the distributions of these types among standpatters and switchers? Is there any rhyme or reason to the patterns observed? In short, do they conform to theoretical expectation about issue voting?

Standpatters

Although the issue positions of Republican standpatters are in a state of flux (see Table 30), few patterns emerge in Table 32 which would suggest that these Republican supporters standpat because their issue positions are closer to that party's nominees from one election to the next. Indeed, if any pattern emerges, Republican standpatters generally are either closer to neither candidate or shift toward the Democrat. On the average, 2 percent of the Republican standpatters have stable Democratic issue positions, 32 percent shift in a Democratic direction, 28 percent have stable relative proximities, 17 percent shift in a Republican direction, and around 22 percent have stable Republican issue positions. The

Table 32. Shifts in Issue Proximity: Republican Standpatters

Issue	Stable Dem	Dem Shift	Stable No Difference	Rep Shift	Stable Rep	Chi-square
Rights of Accused	0.8%	32.1%	30.5%	18.6%	18.1%	116.72*
School Busing	1.9	33.7	12.7	13.2	38.5	177.96*
Aid to Minorities	1.3	28.0	23.2	18.1	29.4	95.41*
Marijuana	2.7	35.6	29.4	14.8	17.5	123.00*
Women's Rights	1.6	29.6	43.1	18.1	7.5	208.63*

*p < .05 testing Ho: the number of cases in each category is equal with a two-tailed, single-sample chi-square test (Champion, 1970, pp. 130-136).

n = 371.

largest proportions of stable Republican issue proximities are on the school busing (38.5 percent) and aid to minorities (29.4 percent) issues, but in each case, almost a third of these standpatters also shift in a Democratic direction (33.7 percent and 28.0 percent, respectively). In sum, these figures cast doubt on the supposition that standpatters are issue voters, especially when a longitudinal perspective is adopted.

Approximately 22 percent of the Democratic standpatters have stable Democratic proximities, 24 percent shift in a Democratic direction, 28 percent generally are closer to neither candidate in both elections, around 24 percent shift in a Republican direction, and only about 3 percent have stable Republican proximities (see Table 33). Do these figures suggest that Democratic standpatters are issue voters? This general distribution suggests that their shifts in relative proximities are purely random phenomena. On the average, about as many Democratic standpatters shift in a Democratic direction (24 percent) as shift in a Republican direction (24 percent). Nearly a third (28 percent) are closer to neither candidate from one election to the next, therefore lacking a bases in their issue positions for choosing between the candidates. And only about 22 percent have stable Democratic proximities, a figure that should be much higher if issues are the reason why these voters standpat with the Democrats.

Switchers

Key (1966) has made a strong case for considering switchers as issue voters: "Those who switch do so to support governmental policies

Table 33. Shifts in Issue Proximity: Democratic Standpatters

Issue	Stable Dem	Dem Shift	Stable No Difference	Rep Shift	Stable Rep	Chi-square
Rights of Accused	19.6%	24.3%	31.3%	22.9%	1.9%	51.73*
School Busing	29.9	27.1	19.6	19.2	4.2	42.67*
Aid to Minorities	27.1	22.4	22.4	24.8	3.3	39.02*
Marijuana	16.8	26.2	29.4	26.6	0.9	58.28*
Women's Rights	15.0	19.6	35.5	27.1	2.8	65.52*

* $p < .05$ testing H_0 : the number of cases in each category is equal with a two-tailed, single-sample chi-square test.

$n = 214$.

or outlooks with which they agree" (p. 104). But the evidence to this point is unsympathetic to this portrait. Implicit in Key's work is the supposition that changes in the issue positions of voters are associated with changing patterns of party support: If systematic shifts occur in the issue positions of voters, they should change party support between elections. But many scholars associate negative qualities with shifts in voter issue positions: Voters may "float" from party to party because of a lack of interest in politics (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, 1944, p. 69), because they lack a psychological commitment to one of the political parties (Campbell et al., 1960, p. 547), because they are influenced by the mass media (Converse, 1962), or because they have no definite attitudes on matters of public policy (Converse, 1970). But the previous analysis concerning shifts in voter and candidate issue positions indicates that the "source of interelection change for switchers does not flow from the instability of their issue positions." Rather, voters may switch simply because the candidates offer them a different package of benefits, causing voters to support different candidates. This interpretation is supported by the evidence in Table 31 (page 124) and in Table 34 which displays the patterns of shifts for Republican-to-Democratic switchers.

Nearly half (approximately 45 percent) of the Republican-to-Democratic switchers, on the average, shift in a Democratic direction, and on three issues, approximately 50 percent shift in that direction: rights of the accused (52.4 percent), school busing (53.7 percent), and aid to minorities (49.4 percent). This is the first evidence to support Key's claim that switchers are issue voters. And keep in

Table 34. Shifts in Issue Proximity: Republican-to-Democratic Switchers

Issue	Stable Dem	Dem Shift	Stable No Difference	Rep Shift	Stable Rep	Chi-square
Rights of Accused	3.0*	52.4*	28.0*	10.4*	6.1*	138.62*
School Busing	7.3	53.7	14.0	11.6	13.4	118.38*
Aid to Minorities	1.2	49.4	26.2	11.0	12.2	114.59*
Marijuana	4.3	44.5	32.3	15.2	3.7	105.74*
Women's Rights	2.4	23.8	53.7	16.5	3.7	142.26*

*p < .05 testing Ho: the number of cases in each category is equal with a two-tailed, single-sample chi-square test.

n = 164.

mind that the issue positions of these switchers are fairly stable (see Table 31, page 124). They are presented different policy alternatives from one election to the next and they make different choices at the polls. Switchers, in short, are responsive voters, at least when their behavior is viewed longitudinally. The evidence for Democratic-to-Republican switchers, however, does not support this argument as dramatically (see Table 35). About 13 percent have stable Democratic proximities, 20 percent shift in a Democratic direction, 25 percent are closer to neither candidate in both elections, 36 percent shift in a Republican direction, and around 6 percent have stable Republican proximities.

Nonattitudes and Patterns of Interelection Change

The argument that Republican-to-Democratic switchers are issue voters in the sense that they tend to shift their votes in accordance with changes in the policy choices presented by the candidates hinges upon the "stability" of their issue positions. A variation of the single-issue, longitudinal perspective focuses upon the "persistence" or stability of political opinions by studying "nonattitudes," those opinions which are so unstable that they are possibly artifacts of the interview situation in survey research. To study nonattitudes, the investigator examines "the correlation of measurements of the same items over time" (Converse, 1970, p. 169). When high test-retest correlations are observed, the issue positions

Table 35. Shifts in Issue Proximity: Democratic-to-Republican Switchers

Issue	Stable Dem	Dem Shift	Stable No Difference	Rep Shift	Stable Rep	Chi-square
Rights of Accused	9.8%	14.6%	31.7%	39.0%	4.9%	17.66*
School Busing	17.1	31.7	9.8	29.3	12.2	8.15
Aid to Minorities	19.5	17.1	22.0	34.1	7.3	7.66
Marijuana	7.3	24.4	24.4	43.9	0.0	15.79*
Women's Rights	12.2	12.2	39.0	31.7	4.9	17.42*

* $p \leq .05$ testing H_0 : the number of cases in each category is equal with a two-tailed, single-sample chi-square test.

$n = 41$.

are considered stable and labeled "attitudes," but when low correlations are noted, issue positions are considered unstable and called "nonattitudes."

Are the opinion statements of standpatters and switchers merely nonattitudes? Do light and transient concerns guide the electoral decisions of these voters? To examine these questions, correlation coefficients (Pearson r), displayed in Table 36, are calculated for each issue for standpatters and switchers. The average correlation for standpatters is .51 and for switchers, .46. These average correlations are not significantly different (using a z -test from Champion, 1970, pp. 203-204). What can we conclude from this? For one thing, standpatters and switchers exhibit roughly the same degree of stability in opinion statements as indicated by the correlation coefficients. Does this mean that their judgments are either attitudes or nonattitudes? Since these test-retest correlations are in the middle-ranges, it is difficult, if not impossible, to make a determination. These coefficients, however, generally are in the range observed for party identification, an attitude which is generally thought to be stable.

Conclusion

One of the initial concerns of this chapter was to determine to what extent different conclusions derive from different methods and to indicate whether this is a matter of interpretation or method (Margolis, 1977). Generally speaking, where cross-sectional perspectives are employed, standpatters emerge as issue voters but not

Table 36. Nonattitudes

Issue	Standpatters	Switchers
Rights of Accused	.43*	.38*
School Busing	.57*	.49*
Aid to Minorities	.48*	.32*
Marijuana	.58*	.62*
Women's Rights	.48*	.51*
Average r	.51	.46

* $p \leq .05$ with a two-tailed test (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Bent, 1975, p. 283).

switchers. Just the opposite is true when longitudinal perspectives are adopted. The initial debate over issue voting between Key and his followers and the authors of The American Voter emerged from different methodological perspectives, with Key representing the longitudinal perspective and The American Voter the cross-sectional viewpoint. If this chapter demonstrates anything, it reveals that different conclusions about issue voting do, in fact, emerge when different perspectives are taken. Are different substantive conclusions arrived at when multiple-issue perspectives are taken?

CHAPTER 5

ISSUE VOTING FROM MULTIPLE-ISSUE PERSPECTIVES

Do standpatters and switchers have similar belief systems? And do these belief systems change over time? Recall that a belief system is defined "as a configuration of ideas and attitudes in which the elements are bound together by some form of constraint" (Converse, 1964, p. 207). Constraint refers to how well we can predict a person's position on an issue given knowledge of his or her position on another issue. Constraint, in operational terms, is therefore a matter of correlation, and a matrix of bivariate correlations is the device generally employed to display the electorate's "configuration of ideas and attitudes."

Issue Constraint

How constrained are the belief systems of standpatters and switchers? And do these levels of constraint change over time? Table 37 displays the correlation matrices for standpatters. In 1972, the average correlation (Pearson r) for standpatters is .25 and in 1976, .21. Each of the bivariate correlation coefficients is statistically significant, suggesting that some degree of constraint is present in the belief systems of standpatters. How do these levels of constraint compare to those of switchers? The correlation matrices for switchers are presented in Table 38. The average correlation in 1972 is .22 and .18 in 1976. All but one of the individual coefficients is statistically significant, the correlation between

Table 37. Issue Constraint Among Standpatters

Issue ^a	1972 Issue				1976 Issue			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
2	.29*				.23*			
3	.30*	.36*			.25*	.36*		
4	.32*	.22*	.25*		.18*	.19*	.22*	
5	.21*	.13*	.18*	.26*	.16*	.14*	.10*	.26*
Average r = .25					Average r = .21			

* $p < .05$ testing $H_0: r = 0$ with a two-tailed z-test (Champion, 1970, p. 199).

^aIssue code: 1 = Rights of Accused
 2 = School Busing
 3 = Aid to Minorities
 4 = Marijuana
 5 = Women's Rights

Table 38. Issue Constraint Among Switchers

Issue ^a	1972 Issue				1976 Issue			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
2	.20*				.15*			
3	.28*	.29*			.18*	.23*		
4	.29*	.23*	.24*		.15*	.26*	.14*	
5	.19*	.14*	.17*	.21*	.15*	.14*	.13	.32*
Average r = .22					Average r = .18			

*p $\leq$.05 testing $H_0: r = 0$ with a two-tailed z-test.

^aIssue code: 1 = Rights of Accused
 2 = School Busing
 3 = Aid to Minorities
 4 = Marijuana
 5 = Women's Rights

women's rights (issue #5) and the legalization of marijuana (issue #3) in 1976. Curiously enough, standpatters and switchers have similar levels of overall constraint, in 1972 and 1976, and although minor changes occur in the level of overall constraint for each of these groups over time, the differences are not statistically significant (using a z-test from Champion, 1970, pp. 203-204).

How do these levels of constraint compare to those found in studies in the 1950s and 1960s? Is the American public becoming more or less ideological in its thinking? Judging by the magnitude of these average coefficients, the level of ideological constraint among voters in the 1970s is more similar to levels observed in the 1950s (Converse, 1964). Voters, in general, are less ideological in their thinking than they were during the 1960s (Nie and Anderson, 1974). What do these results suggest about issue voting? They certainly suggest that issue voting is on the demise, especially if the trend toward lower levels of constraint noted here continues. Is this something to lose sleep about? How concerned should we be with declining levels of issue constraint? It depends, to some extent, upon what "authority" you consult. Converse (1964) would have us be concerned with these trends, since they suggest that voters are no longer able to integrate the "stuff of politics" into meaningful wholes. On the other hand, students of democratic institutions, such as Dahl (1967), look upon these trends with favor. Why? The more constrained a belief system, the more people tend to take the same side, either liberal or conservative, in a conflict. And it

is these "cumulative" cleavages that produce severe conflicts within a political community. Pluralists, such as Dahl, argue in favor of "cross-cutting" or overlapping cleavage patterns which produce less intense political conflicts within a community. Overlapping cleavages are a source of political stability, for it is easier for government to resolve these less intense conflicts (Dahl, 1967, pp. 279-281). Do we wish to return to a situation like the mid-to-late 1960s and the hysteria of that period just to encourage people to take ideological stands on the issues?

Issue Constraint as a Multidimensional Concept

Do standpatters and switchers share belief systems? Are their belief systems stable over time? If issue positions are a guide to voting behavior and belief systems are stable over time, consistent electoral patterns should occur through time. In short, standpatters should have stable belief systems if this proposition is valid. But if belief systems change and are a guide to behavior at the polls, changing patterns of party support should occur: Voters should switch their party support between elections.

Factor analysis is employed to investigate the "dimensionality" of voter belief systems. Constraint, from a factor analytic perspective, is not a unidimensional construct. Belief systems are multidimensional and possibly idiosyncratic. Factor analysis identifies "clusters" (factors) of issue positions that exhibit constraint, and mass belief systems may have several clusters or dimensions which are unrelated to one another. To study the belief

systems of standpatters and switchers, twenty-five variables are factor analyzed, including the voter's issue position, the perceived issue positions of the candidates, and the perceived issue positions of the two major political parties for the five substantive issues of this study: rights of the accused, school busing, aid to minorities, the legalization of marijuana, and women's rights. A separate analysis is performed for standpatters in 1972 and in 1976 and for switchers in 1972 and in 1976. In each instance, principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation is performed (Rummel, 1967; Rummel, 1970). For each of the four analyses, five factors are extracted which account for about 50 percent of the variation in the original correlation matrices (see Appendices II through V for rotated factor loadings, percent of total variance, and percent of common variance).

Common Dimensions

Three factors emerge in all four of the separate factor analyses and one factor emerges in three analyses, suggesting that standpatters and switchers share certain belief dimensions (see Tables 39 through 42). These four common dimensions are labeled "Democratic Party Liberalism," "Republican Party Conservatism," "Women's Rights," and "Possessive Individualism." The two party dimensions usually have high candidate and party issue loadings. The women's rights dimension has high candidate, party, and voter loadings on that substantive issue. And the possessive individualism dimension generally has high candidate, party, and voter loadings on the rights of the accused issue.

Table 39. Rotated Factor Loadings: Standpatters, 1972

Issue	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
Marijuana: Dem Party	.70				
Marijuana: Dem Cand	.69				
School Busing: Dem Cand	.66				
School Busing: Dem Party	.63				
Aid to Minorities: Dem Cand	.61				
Aid to Minorities: Dem Party	.55				
Women's Rights: Rep Party		.82			
Women's Rights: Rep Cand		.79			
Women's Rights: Dem Party		.78			
Women's Rights: Dem Cand		.64			
Women's Rights: Self		.50			
School Busing: Self			.61		
Aid to Minorities: Rep Party			-.60		
Aid to Minorities: Rep Cand			-.55		
Marijuana: Self			.55		
Rights of Accused: Self			.53		
Aid to Minorities: Self			.50		
Rights of Accused: Rep Cand				.80	
Rights of Accused: Rep Party				.79	
Rights of Accused: Dem Party				.62	
Rights of Accused: Self				.60	
Rights of Accused: Dem Cand				.50	
Marijuana: Rep Cand					.79
Marijuana: Rep Party					.76
School Busing: Rep Party					.55
School Busing: Rep Cand					.48

Table 40. Rotated Factor Loadings: Standpatters, 1976

Issue	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
Rights of Accused: Rep Party	.77				
Rights of Accused: Rep Cand	.76				
School Busing: Rep Party	.71				
Aid to Minorities: Rep Party	.70				
Aid to Minorities: Rep Cand	.68				
School Busing: Rep Cand	.68				
Rights of Accused: Dem Party		.75			
School Busing: Dem Party		.69			
Rights of Accused: Dem Cand		.67			
Aid to Minorities: Dem Cand		.65			
Aid to Minorities: Dem Party		.65			
School Busing: Dem Cand		.56			
Women's Rights: Rep Cand			.81		
Women's Rights: Dem Cand			.79		
Women's Rights: Dem Party			.79		
Women's Rights: Rep Party			.78		
Women's Rights: Self			.50		
Marijuana: Rep Cand				.77	
Marijuana: Dem Cand				.74	
Marijuana: Dem Party				.71	
Marijuana: Rep Party				.69	
Rights of Accused: Self					.74
School Busing: Self					.54
Aid to Minorities: Self					.52
Marijuana: Self					.51

Table 41. Rotated Factor Loadings: Switchers, 1972

Issue	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
School Busing: Dem Party	.71				
School Busing: Dem Cand	.69				
Marijuana: Dem Party	.69				
Rights of Accused: Dem Cand	.65				
Marijuana: Dem Cand	.61				
Rights of Accused: Dem Party	.58				
Aid to Minorities: Dem Cand	.58				
Aid to Minorities: Dem Party	.44				
Women's Rights: Rep Cand		.83			
Women's Rights: Rep Party		.80			
Women's Rights: Dem Party		.78			
Women's Rights: Dem Cand		.70			
Marijuana: Rep Party			.74		
School Busing: Rep Party			.73		
Marijuana: Rep Cand			.71		
School Busing: Rep Cand			.67		
Rights of Accused: Rep Cand				.91	
Rights of Accused: Rep Party				.84	
Rights of Accused: Self				.51	
Rights of Accused: Dem Party				.46	
Aid to Minorities: Self					.73
Aid to Minorities: Rep Cand					.58
Aid to Minorities: Rep Party					.52
Aid to Minorities: Dem Party					.47

Table 42. Rotated Factor Loadings: Switchers, 1976

Issue	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
Women's Rights: Dem Cand	.85				
Women's Rights: Rep Cand	.84				
Women's Rights: Dem Party	.82				
Women's Rights: Rep Party	.82				
Women's Rights: Self	.58				
Aid to Minorities: Rep Cand		.79			
Aid to Minorities: Rep Party		.76			
School Busing: Rep Party		.74			
School Busing: Rep Cand		.72			
Marijuana: Dem Party			.84		
Marijuana: Dem Cand			.81		
Marijuana: Rep Party			.71		
Marijuana: Rep Cand			.68		
Marijuana: Self			.50		
Aid to Minorities: Dem Cand				.65	
Aid to Minorities: Dem Party				.62	
School Busing: Dem Party				.59	
Aid to Minorities: Self				.53	
School Busing: Dem Cand				.48	
Rights of Accused: Dem Party					.75
Rights of Accused: Dem Cand					.73
Rights of Accused: Self					.60
Rights of Accused: Rep Party					.56
Rights of Accused: Rep Cand					.54

Democratic Party Liberalism

Standpatters and switchers tend to group the issue positions of the Democratic party and its presidential candidates together, especially on the school busing and aid to minorities issues (Factor 1 of Table 39, Factor 2 of Table 40, Factor 1 of Table 41, and Factor 4 of Table 42). In 1972, the legalization of marijuana is also a feature of this cluster, for standpatters and switchers. Most observers of the 1972 election associate the "politicization of pot" with the candidacy of George McGovern, and these same observers usually attribute the downfall of that candidacy to the "liberalism" of his issue positions. Ironically enough, in 1976, the legalization of marijuana emerges as a separate dimension, with both candidates and parties loading highly. In 1976, the candidates put forth more moderate stands on this issue, possibly because of McGovern's experience in 1972. The rights of the accused issue also emerges in this cluster for standpatters in 1976 (see Table 40) and for switchers in 1972 (see Table 41).

Republican Party Conservatism

Standpatters and switchers also tend to group the issue positions of the Republican party and its candidates together, particularly on the school busing issue (Factor 5 of Table 39, Factor 1 of Table 40, Factor 3 of Table 41, and Factor 2 of Table 42). The content of the clustering, however, varies from one election to the next. For standpatters and switchers in 1972, the Republican party dimension includes the legalization of marijuana and school busing issues. But in 1976, in addition to the school busing question,

this dimension includes the aid to minorities issue for standpatters and switchers and the rights of the accused issue for standpatters only. In sum, the issue positions of the Republican party and its candidates on the question of school busing are the major source of continuity, between standpatters and switchers and through time.

Women's Rights

Within the party dimensions, the issue positions of the voters are noticeably absent from the clusters. Moreover, as the pattern of loadings suggest, partisan differences exist between these dimensions. But the Women's Rights dimension includes the candidate and party issue positions of both political parties; it also includes the issue positions of the voters except in the cluster for switchers in 1972 (Factor 2 of Table 39, Factor 3 of Table 40, Factor 2 of Table 41, and Factor 1 of Table 42). Apparently, for this belief dimension, a high degree of consensus exists between standpatters and switchers and between their own issue positions and the issue positions of the candidates and parties.

Possessive Individualism

A similar "consensual" pattern emerges in the Possessive Individualism dimension (Factor 4 of Table 39, Factor 4 of Table 41, and Factor 5 of Table 42). This cluster also includes the issue positions of both candidates and both political parties, with the exception of the Democratic candidate for switchers in 1972, as well as the issue positions of voters. The substantive aspect of this dimension is the rights of the accused, and since this strikes at the

core of the American political mind, Lockean liberalism, this dimension is labeled possessive individualism (Baskin, 1971; Roelofs, 1976). In effect, the consensual pattern of the Women's Rights dimension also fits within the Lockean framework (Devine, 1972; Hartz, 1955).

Unique Dimension

In addition to these four common dimensions, three dimensions emerge which are unique in the sense that they fail to transcend more than two factor analyses. One pattern is unique to standpatters and for the sake of simplicity is labeled "Voter Concerns." Another pattern, "Aid to Minorities," is unique to switchers in 1972. And a third pattern, "Pot," is unique to the 1976 election and includes standpatters and switchers.

Voter Concerns

The Voter Concerns dimension emerges among standpatters in 1972 and 1976 (Factor 3 of Table 39, page 142 and Factor 5 of Table 40, page 143). The distinguishing feature of this dimension is its composition; it includes voter issue positions predominantly. The only exceptions to this generalization occur in 1972: The issue positions of the Republican party and candidate on the aid to minorities issue load on this factor negatively. All voter issue positions load positively in both 1972 and 1976: school busing, legalization of marijuana, rights of the accused, and aid to minorities. Since these "voter concerns" do not load on the party dimensions, does it mean that these standpatters are potential switchers? Is there a reservoir of untapped issue concerns among

standpatters? This is one inference that is supported by the Voter Concerns dimension.

Aid to Minorities

Another pattern which is unique to switchers emerges in 1972. This dimension includes four variables pertaining to the aid to minorities question: the voter's issue position and the perceived position of the Republican candidate, the Republican party, and the Democratic party (Factor 5 of Table 41). In 1976, for switchers, these variables cluster either with the Republican or the Democratic party dimension, with the issue position of the voters loading on the Democratic dimension. This emergence and absorption of a belief dimension suggests that switchers held a set of issue concerns in 1972 which were incorporated into the political debate in 1976, with the Democratic candidate striking the more responsive chord. Potentially, this pattern indicates a correspondence between changes in belief elements and vote switching, a pattern consistent with issue voting. But this is the only pattern which supports an issue voting interpretation when that question is considered from a multi-dimensional perspective.

Pot

A third and final unique belief dimension emerges in 1976 among standpatters and switchers. The substantive nature of this dimension concerns the legalization of marijuana. Hence, the name "Pot" for this cluster. For standpatters, both the candidates and both the political parties load on this dimension (Factor 4 of Table 40, page 143).

And for switchers, the candidates and parties plus their own issue position load on this factor (Factor 3 of Table 42). This consensual pattern suggests that marijuana is no longer an issue which is a subject for public debate and controversy, at least not during a campaign for political office. The candidates, parties, and voters no longer take extreme positions; the question is no longer between whether to make the substance legal or to increase penalties for its use. This is not to say that the issue will not surface again, but in terms of the patterns noted here, Pot is not the issue that it was in the early 1970s.

Factor Comparison

To what extent do standpatters and switchers share belief systems? And to what extent are their belief systems stable over time? The previous analysis has identified four common and three unique dimensions by inspecting visually the highest loadings and their respective patterns across four separate factor analyses. To shed further light upon these questions, the analysis now turns to a comparison of the factors. Since the cases (standpatters and switchers) are different but the variables (issue positions) are the same, "only the variable loadings can be compared" (Rummel, 1970, p. 456). The simplest and most straightforward way to compare factor loadings is to examine their correlation. If the factor loadings of two factors are correlated highly, they are similar. In other words, if one of the factors for standpatters is correlated highly with one of the factors for switchers, they "share" a belief dimension.

Standpatters and Switchers

To what extent do standpatters and switchers share belief dimensions? Tables 43 and 44 present the matrices of correlation coefficients (Pearson r) between the factors for standpatters and switchers in 1972 and 1976. Looking at Table 43, each of the factors for the standpatters is correlated significantly with at least one of the factors for the switchers. Four of the correlations are even in the .90 range, indicating that there is a great deal of overlap between the belief dimensions of standpatters and switchers in 1972. Turning to Table 44, the factors for standpatters are again correlated significantly with at least one of the factors for the switchers, although fewer correlations are in the .90 range. Apparently, the belief systems of standpatters and switchers are not that different.

Table 43. Correlation of Factor Loadings:
Standpatters and Switchers, 1972

Switchers, 1972	Standpatters, 1972				
	Factor				
Factor	1	2	3	4	5
1	.92*	-.22	.09	-.11	-.47*
2	-.03	.95*	-.32	-.22	-.24
3	-.39	-.29	-.44*	-.28	.91*
4	-.34	-.14	-.32	.94*	-.14
5	-.12	-.21	.23	-.16	-.15

* $p \leq .05$ testing $H_0: r = 0$ with a two-tailed test (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner and Bent, 1975, p. 283).

Table 44. Correlation of Factor Loadings:
Standpatters and Switchers, 1976

Switchers, 1976	Standpatters, 1976				
	Factor				
Factor	1	2	3	4	5
1	-.20	-.12	.97*	-.28	-.07
2	.85*	-.40*	-.14	-.17	-.54*
3	-.19	-.21	-.33	.92*	.06
4	-.64*	.54*	-.21	-.22	.22
5	.19	.58*	-.26	-.40*	.38

* $p \leq .05$ testing $H_0: r = 0$ with a two-tailed test.

Belief Systems Over Time

To what extent are the belief dimensions of standpatters and switchers stable over time? The evidence is presented in Tables 45 and 46 for standpatters and switchers, respectively. Considering Table 45, each of the factors for standpatters in 1972 is correlated significantly with at least one factor in 1976. A few of the factors are correlated negatively, but each is correlated positively with at least one other factor. The belief elements of standpatters therefore are fairly stable. What about switchers? Moving to Table 46, the belief elements of switchers also appear relatively stable. Each of the factors in 1972 is correlated significantly and positively with at least one factor in 1976.

Table 45. Correlation of Factor Loadings: Standpatters

1976	1972				
Factor	1	2	Factor 3	4	5
1	-.65*	-.16	-.62*	.54*	.41*
2	.77*	-.07	.02	.19	-.66*
3	-.08	.97*	-.10	-.21	-.26
4	.32	-.23	-.07	-.47*	.60*
5	-.15	-.12	.82*	.37	-.19

* $p \leq .05$ testing $H_0: r = 0$ with a two-tailed test.

Table 46: Correlation of Factor Loadings: Switchers

1976	1972				
Factor	1	2	Factor 3	4	5
1	-.26	.89*	-.33	-.21	-.04
2	-.42*	-.07	.61*	.33	.12
3	.11	-.25	.44*	-.27	-.26
4	.55*	-.27	-.58*	-.34	.52*
5	.36	-.32	-.46*	.71*	-.31

* $p \leq .05$ testing $H_0: r = 0$ with a two-tailed test.

Conclusion

Are standpatters and switchers issue voters when that question is approached from multiple-issue perspectives? Standpatters and switchers have generally the same levels of constraint between their belief elements. Moreover, changes in the average levels of constraint for standpatters and switchers over time are insignificant. When the dimensionality of their belief systems is examined, standpatters and switchers tend to share the same dimensions, and these dimensions are relatively stable. In sum, standpatters have stable belief systems, as expected, but switchers also have stable belief systems. If belief systems change and are a guide to voting behavior, changing patterns of party support should occur. Does the evidence support this proposition? No. Although switchers do change party support, this pattern of interelection voting behavior seems unrelated to their belief systems. Does this mean that standpatters support the same party from one election to the next because of their stable belief systems? This is a difficult question to answer, given the nature of evidence. Thinking back over the loading patterns and considering the conditions of issue voting, the logical answer is no: The evidence does not support the notion that stable belief systems, per se, are a guide to the electoral choices of standpatters. Why? On the two party factors in 1972 and 1976, the issue positions of voters are absent. And when voter issue positions do load on factors, both the candidates or both the parties also tend to load on the factor. If issue voting occurs when the candidates take different stands on the issues and voters support the candidate who is closer to their issue position,

the voter's issue position should load on a factor with only one of the candidates or parties. This pattern does not emerge in the factors for standpatters. In sum, standpatters and switchers are not issue voters when that question is studied from multiple-issue perspectives.

Issue Voting: A Postscript

To what extent do issue positions or policy preferences guide the electoral decisions of standpatters and switchers? Obviously, as Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate, an answer to this question depends on how the question of issue voting is approached. Standpatters emerge as issue voters when a cross-sectional approach is adopted; switchers emerge as issue voters when a longitudinal approach is adopted. When multiple-issue perspectives are employed, neither group of voters emerges as issue voters.

An initial concern of these chapters was with the influence of different research perspectives upon substantive conclusions about issue voting. Different perspectives do yield different substantive conclusions. This is most apparent when cross-sectional and longitudinal perspectives are compared. Apparently, they are different paradigms.

The initial debate over issue voting between Key (1966) and his followers and the authors of The American Voter (1960) emerged from different methodological perspectives, with Key representing the longitudinal perspective and The American Voter the cross-sectional viewpoint. Time and its relationship to issue voting is

probably the major difference between these paradigms. In the cross-sectional mode of analysis, voters are asked to judge between the candidates in terms of their "proposed" policies, while in the longitudinal mode, the voters judge the candidates and parties in terms of their past "performance":

The patterns of flow of the major streams of shifting voters garphically reflect the electorate in its great, and perhaps principal, role as an appraiser of past events, past performance, and past actions. It judges retrospectively; it commands prospectively only insofar as it expresses either approval or disapproval of that which has happened before. Voters may reject what they have known; or they may approve what they have known. They are not likely to be attracted in great numbers by promises of the novel or unknown. Once innovation has occurred they may embrace it, even though they would have, earlier, hesitated to venture forth to welcome it. (Key, 1966, p. 61)

Key's argument is supported strongly when the relationship between past political experiences are related to voting behavior in 1976. Two questions are of importance here: the popularity of the incumbent president, Gerald Ford, and popular approval of his pardon of Richard Nixon. Presidential popularity provides a summary index of Ford's performance in his role as chief executive; the Nixon pardon shows the influence of a specific political happening upon the choices of voters in the 1976 election.

In 1976, voters are asked this question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Mr. Ford is handling his job as president?" Table 47 presents the relationship between popularity and voting behavior for standpatters and switchers. For standpatters, nearly 95 percent of the variation in voting behavior is "explained" by the popularity of the president (Yule's Q is directly interpretable as a proportional-reduction-in-error measure: Champion, 1970, p. 208).

Table 47. Presidential Popularity and Voting Behavior

Vote	Standpatters ^a		Switchers ^b	
	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove
Republican	85.1%	11.8%	29.9%	5.3%
Democratic	<u>14.9</u>	<u>88.2</u>	<u>70.1</u>	<u>94.7</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(390)	(144)	(107)	(75)
	Q = .95*		Q = .77*	

* $p \leq .05$ testing $H_0: Q = 0$ with a two-tailed chi-square test (Champion, 1970, pp. 143-146; for a discussion of Yule's Q , see Champion, 1970, pp. 207-209).

^aMissing cases = 51.

^bMissing cases = 23.

Of those who approve of Ford's performance, 85.1 percent vote for him. But 88.2 percent of those who disapprove of his performance vote for the other candidate. Is this not a case of throwing the "ins" out? For switchers, nearly 77 percent of the variation in voting behavior is "explained" by presidential popularity: 94.7 percent of those who disapprove of the incumbent's performance vote for the challenger.

Similar results emerge when the relationship between the "Nixon pardon" and voting behavior is examined. In 1976, voters are presented the following question sequence: "Shortly after taking office, President Ford pardoned Richard Nixon for any wrong-doings he may have committed while he was president. Do you think that Ford should have pardoned Nixon?" Table 48 displays the impact of the

Table 48. Ford's Pardon of Nixon and Voting Behavior

Vote	Standpatters ^a		Switchers ^b	
	Approve	Disapprove	Approve	Disapprove
Republican	94.1%	29.9%	31.7%	13.0%
Democratic	<u>5.9</u>	<u>70.1</u>	<u>68.3</u>	<u>87.0</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(273)	(268)	(63)	(131)
	Q = .95*		Q = .51*	

* $p \leq .05$ testing $H_0: Q = 0$ with a two-tailed chi-square test.

^aMissing cases = 44.

^bMissing cases = 11.

pardon upon voting in 1976. Among the standpatters who approved the pardon, 94.1 percent support Gerald Ford, but 70.1 percent of those who thought that the pardon was a mistake vote for Jimmy Carter. Nearly 95 percent of the variation of the voting behavior of standpatters is "explained" by their position on the Nixon pardon. This figure is substantially lower for switchers where approximately 51 percent of their voting behavior is "explained" by the Nixon pardon. Nevertheless, the pardon is an important influence upon the voting behavior of switchers: 87.0 percent of those who thought that the pardon was a mistake vote for Jimmy Carter.

The "rule of parsimony" is usually the principal criterion for selecting between competing explanations, theories, or paradigms:

The approach which "explains" the most variation in the dependent variable under study with the fewest number of independent variables is the superior, or more parsimonious, perspective. By this criterion, single-issue, longitudinal perspectives are the most parsimonious of the perspectives examined in Chapters 4 and 5. When Key's perspective on issue voting is adopted, "the voter emerges as a person who appraises the actions of government, who has policy preferences, and who relates his vote to those appraisals and preferences" (Key, 1966, pp. 58-59).

CHAPTER 6

A NORMAL VOTE ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVE VOTER PORTRAITS

The previous analyses have focused upon party voting and issue voting as self-contained and unique theories. In this chapter, the analysis turns to an examination of these theories as "alternative" voter portraits. Normal vote analysis is employed to test these competing explanations of voting behavior. This type of analysis, however, is limited to a consideration of only one issue at a time. Hence, it does not provide a measure of the combined effects of several issues at once, an analytical problem addressed more fully in the next chapter. Normal vote analysis, when modified, partitions the vote into its long-term and short-term components, considering party identification as the major long-term force and relative candidate issue proximity as the primary short-term force. In sum, normal vote analysis is used to answer the question: Are standpatters and switchers party voters or issue voters?

Dependent and Responsive Voters

What is a party voter? Party voting, according to the dependent voter portrait, derives from a long-term psychological identification with a political party. This identification is transmitted within the family unit and it structures individuals' perceptions of political objects throughout their lifetime, since few people ever change their

partisan identification. Nie, Verba, and Petrocik (1976) formalize a "decision rule" for party voting: "When there is a choice between the candidate of the party with which you identify and the opposition party, vote for your party's candidate" (p. 156).

Are standpatters or switchers party voters? According to the analysis performed in Chapter 3, "Standpatters, Switchers, and Party Voting," standpatters emerge as party voters: They adopt the partisanship of their parents, that identification is relatively stable over a four-year period, their candidate images and policy cognitions are structured by their partisan self-image, they are less likely to deviate from their "psychological" party when they vote, and the direct path between their party affiliation and vote is significant. On the other hand, switchers are less likely to measure up to the requirements of party voting: They are less likely to adopt the partisanship of their parents, their party identification is less stable and it does not structure their candidate images and policy cognitions, they are more likely to vote contrary to their psychological party, and the direct path between their party affiliation and vote is insignificant.

What, then, is an issue vote? Issue voting occurs when the candidates offer the electorate a "choice" in terms of policy, the voters are closer to one of the candidate's policy positions, and they support that candidate at the polls. Voters, recalling Key's echo chamber analogy, are "responsive" to the alternatives and outlooks presented them by the candidates: "Even the most discriminating popular judgement can reflect only ambiguity, uncertainty, or even foolishness if those are the qualities of the input into the echo

chamber" (Key, 1966, pp. 2-3). If presented policy options, voters will use policy views to choose between candidates; if given only partisan differences, they will choose in terms of partisanship; and if presented only "father images," they will use those images in deciding how to vote. Nie, Verba, and Petrocik (1976) summarize the issue voting argument with another decision rule: "If there is an issue A and two positions on that issue (A_1 and A_2), the voter who prefers one of the two positions will vote for the candidate who holds the same position" (pp. 157-158).

Are standpatters or switchers issue voters? Chapter 4, "Standpatters, Switchers, and Issue Voting," answers this query with a simple admonition: It depends. When issue voting is approached from a cross-sectional perspective, standpatters emerge as issue voters. But when a longitudinal perspective is adopted, switchers emerge as issue voters. These conflicting interpretations are linked to the differences in perspective, with their respective conceptions of time providing the major source of divergence. The dependent voter portrait originates in a cross-sectional study of issue voting (Campbell et al., 1960). Whereas, the responsive voter argument develops in a longitudinal study (Key, 1966). Issues are short-term, election specific factors in the theoretical system of the dependent voter portrait. The longitudinal perspective, however, places issues in a temporal context: Vote switching between elections occurs with changes in voter issue positions or candidate policies or some interaction between the issue positions of voters and candidates. And because of these different temporal conceptions of issues, these

perspectives are separate and distinct paradigms, with little room for theoretical reconciliation.

Normal Vote Analysis

How does normal vote analysis enter into the intellectual debate between the dependent and the responsive voter portraits? How does it contribute to an understanding of standpatters and switchers as party voters or issue voters? Normal vote analysis provides a systematic, simple and straightforward method for examining these competing portraits of the electorate by partitioning the vote into its long-term and short-term components:

The long-term component is a simple reflection of the distribution of underlying party loyalties, a distribution that is stable over substantial periods of time. In any specific election the population may be influenced by short-term forces associated with peculiarities of that election . . . to shift its vote now toward the Republicans, now toward the Democrats. (Converse, 1966, p. 14)

Stated differently:

The normal vote is simply the vote that would have been cast if party identification were the only political factor relevant to partisan vote choice. At any point in time, it is possible to calculate what vote total a majority party candidate would receive if voters voted neither on the basis of the issues, nor on the basis of the personal attributes of the candidates (the short-term forces) but rather voted only on the basis of the long-term force of their party identification. (Miller and Levitin, 1976, p. 37)

Voters who "deviate" from their normal vote generally do so either because of some attractive personal qualities of the opposition candidate or because of the candidate's issue positions (Boyd, 1969). In short, the long-term component is a direct corollary of party

voting and the short-term component, when issues are considered in the analysis, a corollary of issue voting. Normal vote analysis is thus a convenient device for considering whether or not standpatters and switchers are casting party or issue votes. Normal vote analysis, however, requires some minor modifications to take into account Key's responsive voter argument. Rather than considering the normal vote across different issue positions of the electorate, it is important to examine the issue positions of voters in relation to the perceived issue positions of the candidates.

Considering the various arguments concerning the role of issues in the voting act, an operational synthesis of the dependent and the responsive voter portraits seems desirable, if not essential, to represent the variety of perspectives at issue and to test them as competing explanations. Normal vote analysis, developed by Converse (1966) and refined by Boyd (1972), is designed to verify the theoretical arguments of the dependent voter portrait. A modification of this technique, to incorporate Key's responsive voter argument, is therefore necessary. Recall that a condition of issue voting is that a "voter who prefers one of two issue positions will vote for the candidate who holds the same position." Another way of formulating this rule is: Vote for the candidate that is perceived to be closer to your issue positions. Following this revised principle, the responsive voter argument emphasizes candidate issue-proximities instead of personal attributes and images or issues treated separately (Kovenock et al., 1973). When normal vote analysis with issue-proximity measures is employed, it is assumed that the competing portraits of the electorate are represented operationally.

Estimating the Normal Vote

Boyd's discussion of normal vote analysis and the various procedures for estimating the long-term and short-term components is fairly straightforward, and this chapter draws heavily upon his discussion (Boyd, 1972). Application of normal vote analysis to an "issue" requires the estimation of normal (expected) votes for each group of persons with different positions on the issue. The following procedures provide an estimate of these expected votes:

- (1) Responses to the issue are cross-classified against the Survey Research Center measure of party identification.
- (2) The scores (+2, +1, 0, -1, -2) are assigned to the five classes of identifiers (Strong Democrat, Weak Democrat, Independent, Weak Republican, Strong Republican).
- (3) From the scores, a mean party identification score is calculated for the distribution of party identifiers within each response category of the issue item.
- (4) The obtained mean (M) is then inserted into the prediction equation,

$$V = .483 + .268M,$$

where V is the expected Democratic proportion of the vote.
(p. 430)

After the normal vote is estimated, calculation of the short-term component is a simple matter of finding the absolute difference between the "observed" Democratic proportion of the vote and the "expected" vote. Boyd develops indexes for the long-term (L) and the short-term (S) components, but his procedures are far too involved to present here. For the benefit of the reader, these indexes are included in Appendix VI, along with an illustration of their application.

Modifying Normal Vote Analysis

If voters cast issue votes when they support the candidate who is closer to their issue positions, a measure of relative candidate

issue-proximity is required in order to operationalize the responsive voter portrait and to modify and refine normal vote analysis. Issue-proximity measures are introduced in the third and the fourth chapters of the study, and their use here is identical to the description of "relative issue closeness" presented in Chapter 4 (see Appendix I). Recall that respondents are presented a series of seven-point scales with polar options on the ends of each continuum. For example, voters are presented these alternatives on the women's rights issue: "Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home." Subjects then are asked to place themselves and the two major party candidates on a seven-point continuum, ranging from 1, "women and men should have an equal role," to 7, "women's place is in the home." After a series of subtractions in which measures of absolute distance (self-placement--candidate position) and absolute proximity (6--absolute distance) are generated, a "relative" proximity score is obtained by subtracting the absolute proximity score for the Democratic candidate from the Republican candidate's score. A relative proximity score normally ranges from minus six to plus six: A score of minus six occurs when the respondent and the Democrat are at one end of the continuum and the Republican is at the other; a score of plus six occurs when the respondent and the Republican are at one end and the Democrat is at the other. To simplify the presentation of results, scores from minus six to minus one are treated as "closer to the Democrat," a score of zero as "no difference" (in relative proximity), and scores from plus one to plus six as "closer to the Republican" (Beardsley, 1973).

The Operational Logic of Normal Vote Analysis

What operational criteria are used to judge between the dependent and the responsive voter portraits? In examining these competing explanations with normal vote analysis, emphasis is placed upon the degree of party polarization (the partisan or long-term component) and upon the relationship of candidate issue-proximity (the short-term component) to defections from the normal party vote. If issue proximity is indeed important for switchers, as Key's study seems to indicate, rates of defection should be greater for them: Boyd's short-term index (S) should be larger than the long-term index (L) for switchers. Likewise, if party identification is important for standpatters, rates of defection should be less for them than for switchers: Boyd's long-term index (L) should be larger than the short-term index (S) for standpatters. In other words, the validity of these propositions depends upon the relative size of Boyd's indexes, viewing them as operational measures of the dependent and the responsive voter portraits. Moreover, these propositions assume that the "expected" Democratic proportion of the vote differs from the "observed" Democratic proportion, an assumption tested with a chi-square test of significance (Champion, 1970, pp. 130-136).

Results

Figure 3 displays the results for the rights of the accused issue. For standpatters, the observed Democratic vote differs significantly from the expected Democratic vote, $\chi^2 (2) = 14.3$,

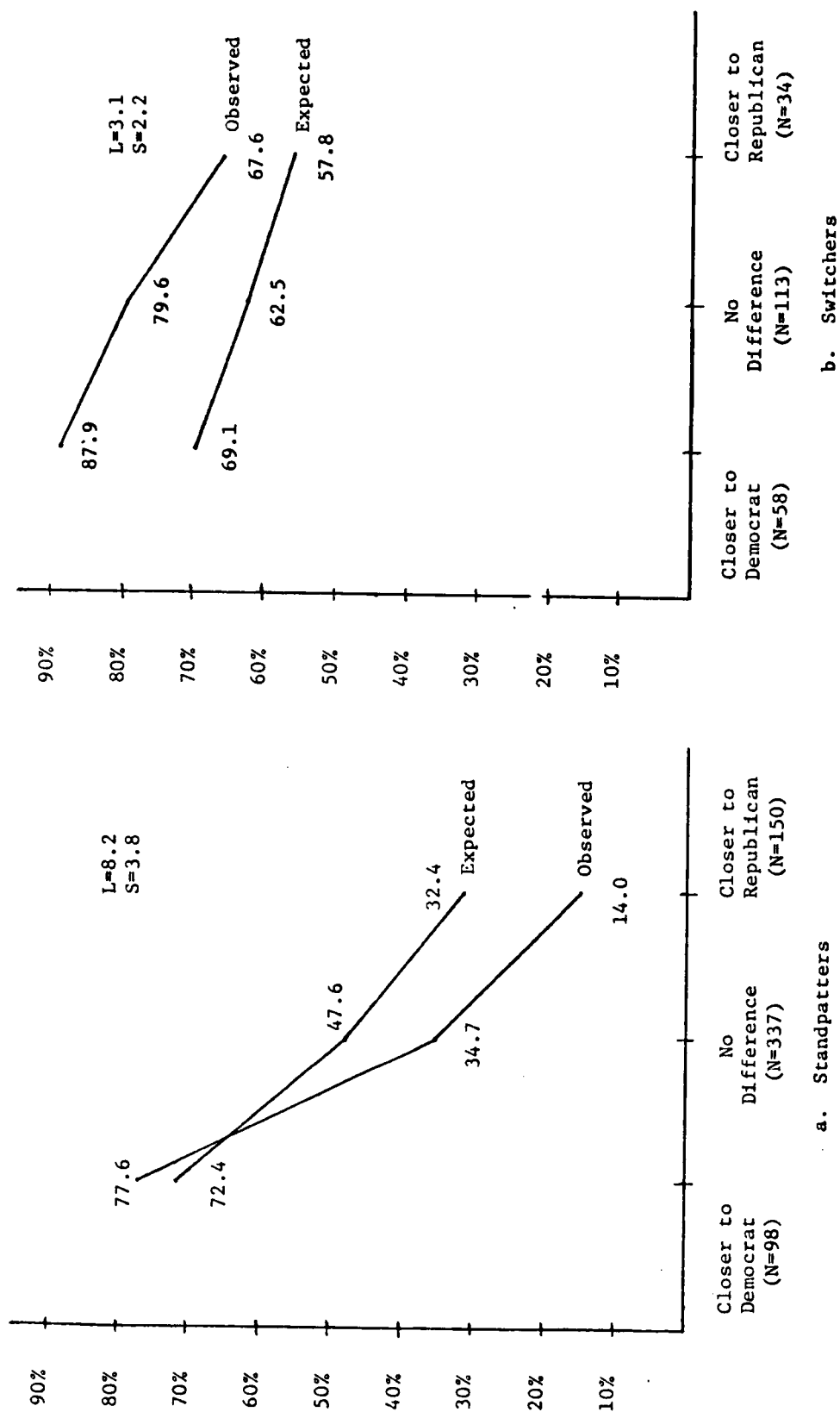


Figure 3. Rights of the Accused

$p \leq .05$. Moreover a substantial amount of party polarization is present among standpatters on this issue (Figure 3.a), a conclusion supported by a long-term index of 8.2. The observed Democratic vote also differs significantly from the expected vote for switchers, $\chi^2 (2) = 11.4$, $p \leq .05$, but the degree of party polarization is not as great for them (Figure 3.b), as indicated by the smaller index value ($L = 3.1$). Apparently, the controversy over the rights of the individual is seen in "partisan" terms by standpatters. It is possible to overstate this conclusion, however, if attention is restricted solely to the index values. Over half of the standpatters (57.6 percent) are closer to neither candidate on this issue; a similar proportion of switchers (55.1 percent) is closer to neither candidate, relatively speaking. Since the voters are closer to neither candidate on this issue, it is not too surprising that the degree of "deviation" from the normal vote for both groups is not very substantial (S values of 3.8 and 2.2 for standpatters and switchers, respectively). As a result, it is possible to conclude that standpatters are party voters on this issue, but it is less clearcut for switchers. Are they party voters or issue voters? Although significant differences exist between the observed and the expected votes of switchers, the results support neither perspective unequivocally. If anything, the relative size of the index values suggests that switchers are party voters, since the long-term index ($L = 3.1$) is slightly larger than the short-term index ($S = 2.2$). But this small difference is only suggestive and not conclusive evidence that switchers are party voters.

Moving to a consideration of the school busing issue presented in Figure 4, the observed Democratic vote and the expected vote are significantly different for standpatters, $\chi^2 (2) = 17.9, p \leq .05$. A marked degree of party polarization is again present for standpatters ($L = 10.3$). School busing is clearly a partisan issue of some import for standpatters; the expected vote among people closer to the Democrat is 62.8 percent, while it is 32.8 percent among people closer to the Republican, a net difference of 30 percentage points. School busing also emerges as a very potent short-term force for standpatters ($S = 8.2$). Among those voters closer to the Republican, a "deviation" of over 20 percentage points occurs (expected Democratic vote = 32.8 percent, observed Democratic vote = 11.0 percent). The issue of whether or not to bus children to schools to insure racial integration is certainly one of the most volatile issues to emerge in American politics in the 1970s. And the results for standpatters demonstrate that school busing is not an issue which is very conducive to "middle-of-the-road" politics: A deviation of about 13 percentage points occurs among those standpatters closer to neither candidate. Despite these observations, school busing seems unimportant for switchers, either as a long-term ($L = 2.2$) or a short-term ($S = 2.8$) factor. For switchers, the observed and the expected Democratic proportion of the vote differ significantly, $\chi^2 (2) = 11.8, p \leq .05$. However, the slightly larger short-term index leaves little room for speculation; the difference is so slight that assigning any significance to it would be stepping beyond the bounds of the data.

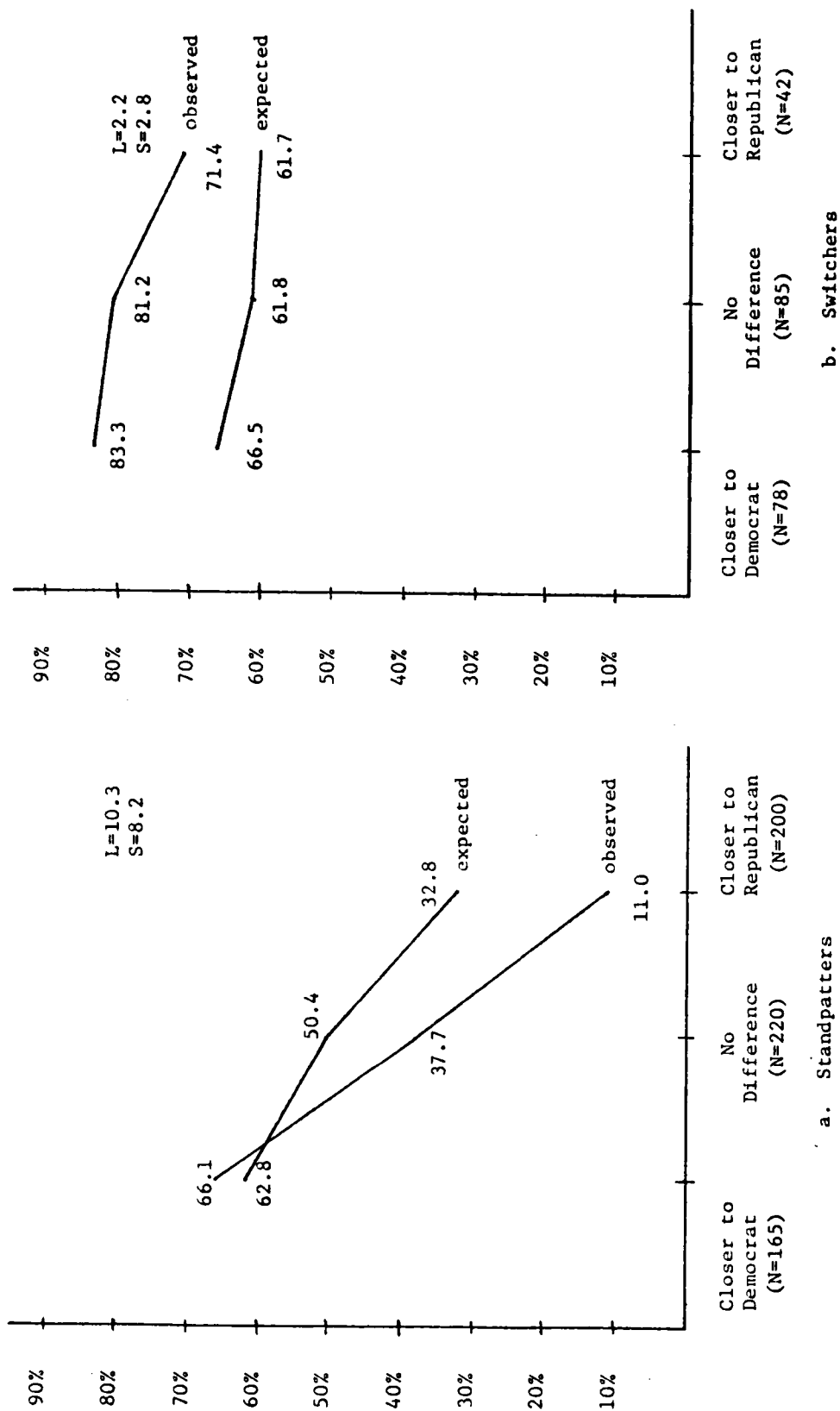


Figure 4. Busing to Achieve Racial Integration

To this point the analysis supports the view that standpatters are party voters, with salient issues producing deviations from the normal party vote. This generalization also applies to the aid to minorities issue, as Figure 5 indicates. For standpatters, the observed and the expected votes are again significantly different, $\chi^2 (2) = 15.6, p \leq .05$. The degree of party polarization ($L = 10.0$) and the deviations from the normal party vote ($S = 6.2$) are also noteworthy. The influence of issue proximity is most evident for people closer to the Republican: A net deviation of about 20 percentage points occurs in a direction favorable to that candidate (Figure 5.a). What is unusual about the aid to minorities issue is the complete absence of party polarization ($L = 0.6$) among switchers. The observed and the expected votes of switchers are significantly different, $\chi^2 (2) = 10.6, p \leq .05$. And at first glance the magnitude of the short-term index ($S = 6.5$) seems to support the view that switchers are issue voters. But nuances in the data make this interpretation suspect. Issue voting requires that people vote for the candidate who is closer to their issue position. But in the case of switchers, the greatest deviation from the normal party vote (about 22 percentage points) occurs among people closer to neither candidate on this issue. A deviation of 12 percentage points favorable to the Democrat occurs among those switchers closer to that candidate, but a deviation from the normal party vote of around 6 percentage points also occurs in a Democratic direction among people closer to the Republican. In sum, a straightforward interpretation of the short-term index as representing issue voting is difficult, given the patterns evident in the data.

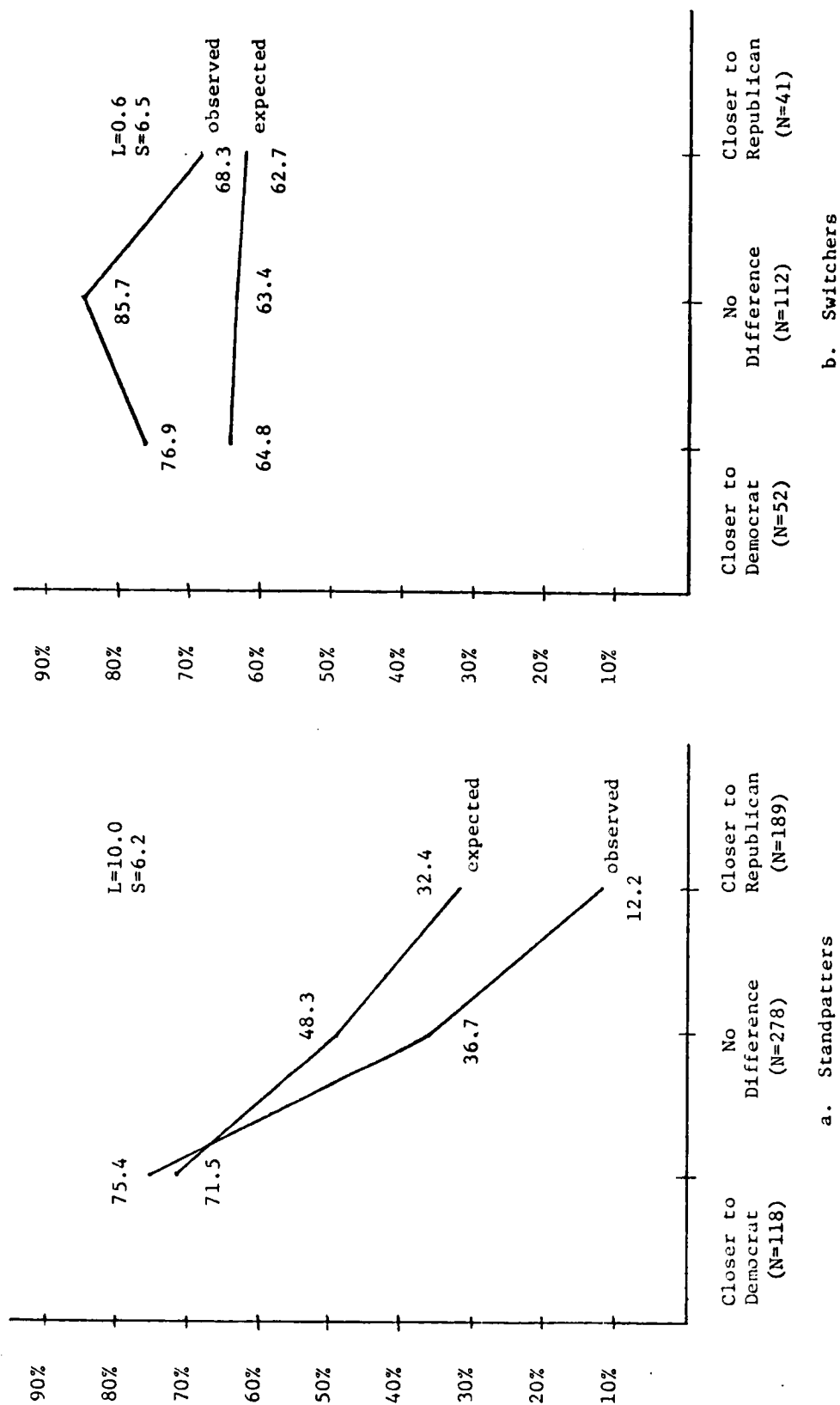


Figure 5. Government Aid to Minorities

Evidence in partial support of Key's claim that standpatters, given their issue positions, are where they ought to be in terms of party support emerges in the normal vote analysis of the legalization of marijuana issue (Figure 6). For standpatters, the observed and the expected votes are again significantly different, $\chi^2 (2) = 15.3$, $p \leq .05$. The short-term index ($S = 6.0$) is slightly larger than the long-term index ($L = 5.5$), implying that partisanship is buttressed by an issue dimension. When people are closer to the Republican's issue position, a 21 percentage point deviation in a direction favorable to that candidate occurs (expected Democratic vote = 38.3 percent, observed Democratic vote = 17.4 percent). Party polarization is not as pronounced as it is on the other issues, and the slope of the observed Democratic vote even suggests that standpatters are issue voters: The observed vote of those standpatters closer to the Democrat is 67.3 percent and 17.4 percent for those closer to the Republican, a difference of 50 percentage points. Turning to the data for switchers (Figure 6.b), their observed and expected votes also differ significantly, $\chi^2 (2) = 11.1$, $p \leq .05$. However, the long-term and the short-term indexes are similar in magnitude: $L = 2.7$ and $S = 2.3$. In view of the similarity of these index values, a straightforward interpretation again is impossible: The degree of party polarization is slight and deviations from the normal party vote seem unrelated to candidate issue-proximity. In sum, standpatters emerge as issue voters on the legalization of marijuana issue, but switchers are neither party voters nor issue voters within the interpretive framework of normal vote analysis.

A major presumption of this chapter is that normal vote analysis provides a vehicle for ascertaining whether or not standpatters

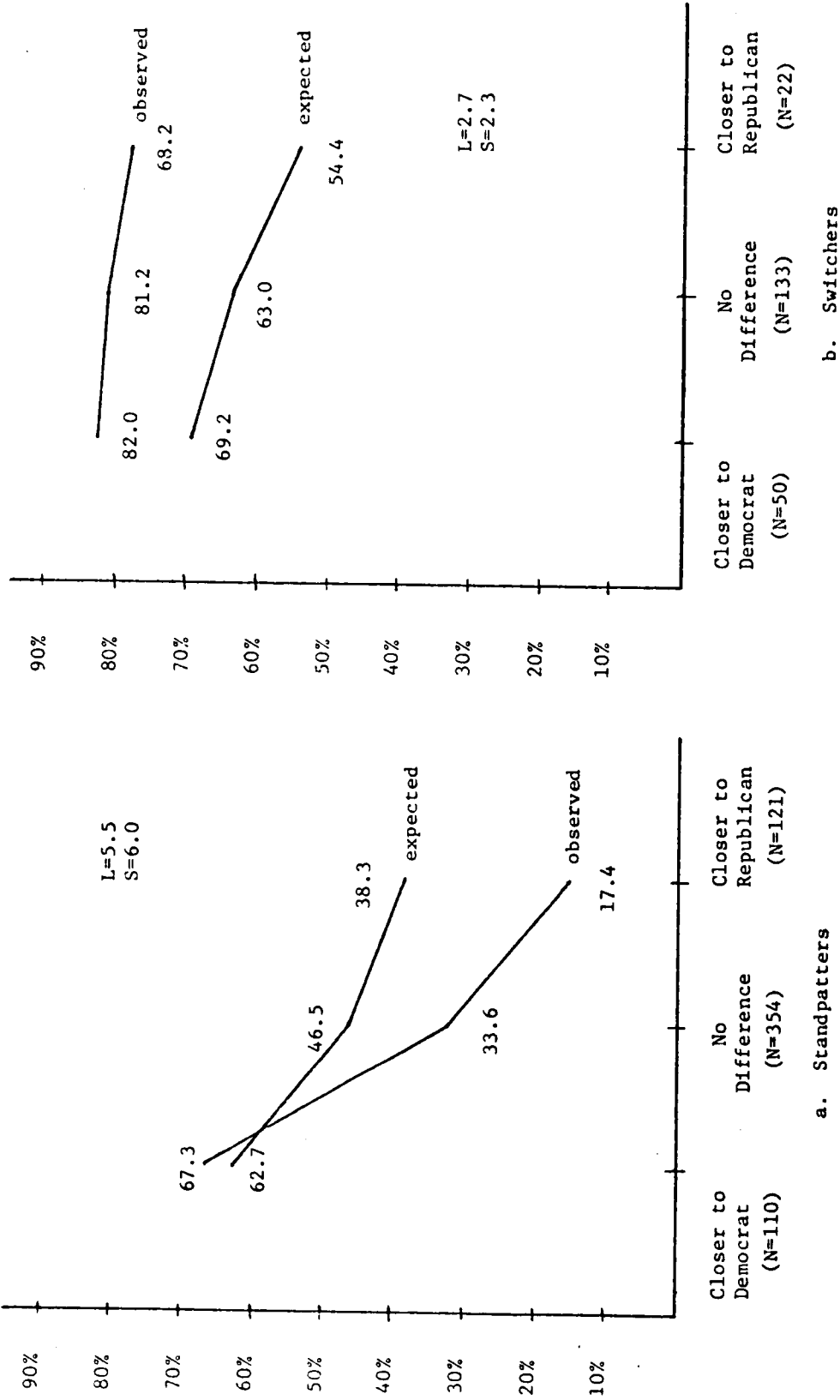


Figure 6. Legalization of Marijuana

and switchers are casting party votes or issue votes. On most issues some estimation is possible for standpatters, but a shadow of indeterminacy hangs over the electoral behavior of switchers. Although standpatters emerge as party voters, some evidence suggests that partisanship is linked to issues. This suspicion also surfaces on the women's rights issue, displayed in Figure 7. The observed and the expected votes of standpatters are significantly different, $\chi^2 (2) = 8.8, p < .05$. The short-term index ($S = 5.1$) again is slightly larger than the long-term index ($L = 4.8$). Since a majority of the electorate identifies with the Democratic party, often it is assumed that a Democratic candidate need only provide messages and cues that simply "reinforce" the partisanship of the voters to insure victory at the polls. The obvious strategy is thus to "mobilize" the normal party vote, which translates: "emphasize partisan ties, downplay the issues." The pattern of deviations (Figure 7.a) reveals some obvious problems with this strategy: Substantial amounts of defection occur among people who are closer to neither candidate (about 15 percentage points) and people closer to the Republican (13 percentage points). In short, a normal vote strategy appears to mobilize "defections" from the party vote on this issue.

Before concluding that switchers are "fools" or that it is impossible to tell whether they are casting party votes or issue votes with normal vote analysis, inspect the results for switchers on the women's rights issue (Figure 7.b). The observed and the expected votes differ significantly, $\chi^2 (2) = 9.5, p < .05$, and the short-term index ($S = 8.4$) is twice as large as the long-term index

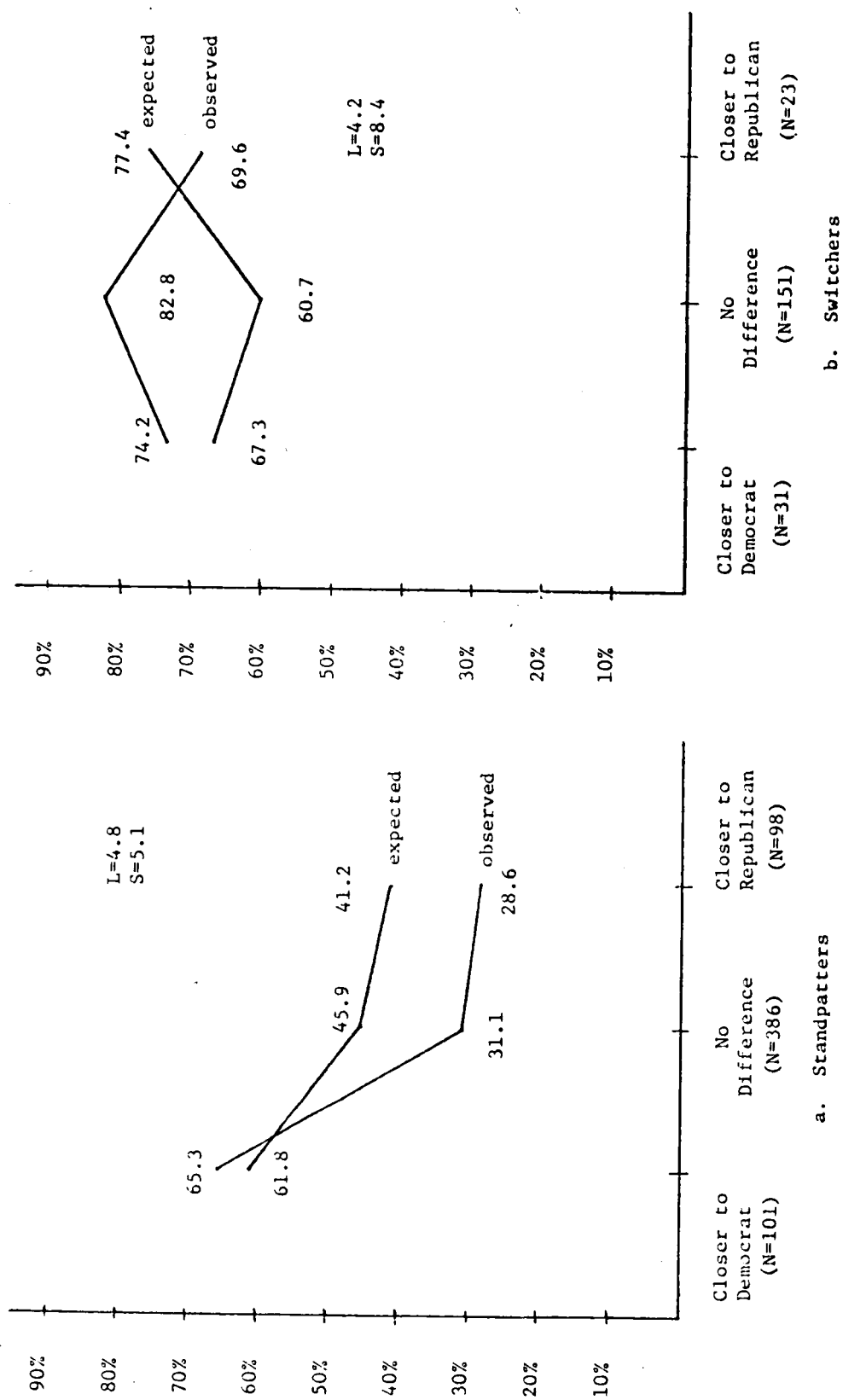


Figure 7. Women's Rights

($L = 4.2$), supporting the view that switchers are issue voters, at least on this particular issue. As in the case of the aid to minorities issue, the largest deviation from the normal party vote (22 percentage points favorable to the Democrat) is among people closer to neither candidate. Because of this, the interpretation of the greater magnitude of the short-term index requires some further evidence. Deviations of 7 percentage points in favor of the Democrat and 8 percentage points in favor of the Republican occur among those switchers closer to the respective candidates. These deviations are thus consistent with a view of switchers as issue voters, supporting the interpretation of the short-term index.

Discussion

Are standpatters and switchers party voters or issue voters? Apparently, some kinds of issues produce party votes and others produce issue votes. In most circles this is begging the question, but no clearcut generalizations emerge in this chapter. On some of the issues--rights of the accused, school busing, and aid to minorities--standpatters behave like party voters; on other issues--the legalization of marijuana and women's rights--they behave like issue voters. Switchers emerge as neither party voters nor issue voters on the rights of the accused, school busing, and legalization of marijuana issues; they behave like issue voters on the women's rights issue. And although the short-term index is larger on the aid to minorities issue for switchers, several nuances in the data prevent an interpretation of the size of the index as a reliable measure of issue

voting. What is needed is a typology of issues which would facilitate theoretical speculation on the kinds of voting responses produced by certain issues in order to further explicate the nature of the relationship between the "input" and the "output" of Key's echo chamber.

How do the findings of this chapter square with previous findings of the study? In the third chapter the analysis concludes, in effect, that standpatters are party voters: They adopt the partisanship of their parents, that identification is relatively stable, their candidate images and policy cognitions are structured by their partisan self-image, they are less likely to deviate from their psychological party, and the direct path between party affiliation and vote is significant. On the other hand, switchers are less likely to satisfy the conditions of party voting: They are less likely to adopt the partisanship of their parents, their party identification is less stable and it fails to structure their candidate images and policy cognitions, they are more likely to vote contrary to their psychological party, and the direct path between their party affiliation and vote is insignificant. The results of this chapter are generally consistent with these findings: Standpatters are more likely to cast party votes than are switchers. But this is only a tendency; sometimes standpatters cast issue votes.

The modification of normal vote analysis developed in this chapter is comparable to a cross-sectional issue approach employing a relative concept of issue closeness. The results derived from this

approach in the fourth chapter suggest that standpatters are issue voters and that the relative issue-proximities of switchers are not related to their voting behavior in 1976 (Tables 27 and 29 of Chapter 4, pages 116 and 118). The conclusions reached with normal vote analysis are generally consistent with these findings: A substantial amount of deviation from the normal party vote occurs for standpatters and switchers emerge as issue voters on only one of the issues considered. In sum, normal vote analysis yields results generally consistent with previous findings, but it does not provide a straightforward answer to the research question posed in this chapter: Are standpatters and switchers party voters or issue voters? Chapter 7 addresses this question with a multivariate model also designed to test these competing explanations of voting behavior.

CHAPTER 7

A MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVE VOTER PORTRAITS

Are standpatters and switchers party voters or issue voters? Chapter 6, "A Normal Vote Analysis of Alternative Voter Portraits," has examined this question, reaching several inconclusive generalizations. This chapter also examines this question, except with a multivariate regression model that incorporates variables from the dependent and the responsive voter portraits. In sum, the multivariate perspective adopted in this chapter treats the dependent and the responsive voter portraits as competing explanations of voting behavior and tests these alternative perspectives with a model designed to represent each of these voter portraits.

Alternative Voter Portraits

One version of the dependent voter portrait appears in the works of the Survey Research Center/Center for Political Studies (SRC/CPS) at the University of Michigan. The principal SRC/CPS studies include The Voter Decides (1954), The American Voter (1960), and Elections and the Political Order (1966). The voting act, from the perspective of these works, is a product of the interplay of factors that transcend a particular election, party identification providing the clearest example, and factors which are unique to an election, such as individual perceptions of parties, candidates, and issues. Party

identification, a long-term psychological identification with a political party, or a partisan self-image, "colors" perceptions of stimuli during an election campaign. As a consequence of the influence of party identification on voter perceptions, issues and policy preferences are relatively unimportant (Asher, 1976; Converse, 1975; Miller, 1978; Pomper, 1975, 1978).

The partisan self-image of an individual is viewed as the most important concept of this framework because it structures or determines other political images. How does this occur? A partisan self-image functions like a stereotype. A stereotype is a "picture of the world" and people usually avoid those things which call their "pseudo-environment" into question: "We imagine most things before we experience them. And those preconceptions . . . govern deeply the whole process of perception" (Lippmann, 1922, p. 59). People acquire a partisan self-image early in life and that image becomes stronger as a person grows older (Jennings and Niemi, 1974). As a stereotype, partisanship colors the way in which people experience and organize their political worlds. Since people prefer an ordered pseudo-environment, they guard or defend their partisan self-image by selectively perceiving political objects (McGrath and McGrath, 1962; Sherrod, 1971-1972; Sigel, 1964). Partisanship is thus the picture of the world that structures popular images of politics.

In contrast to the dependent voter of the SRC/CPS framework, V.O. Key, Jr. argues that "voters are not fools," that "the electorate behaves about as rationally and responsibly as we should expect, given the clarity of the alternatives presented to it and the character

of the information available to it" (Key, 1966, p. 7). Voting behavior is not an activity which is "structured" by psychological determinants, since people exercise their own freedom of choice. Instead, people "respond" in a minded and self-conscious way to the alternatives that are available: "The voice of the people is but an echo. The output of the echo chamber bears an inevitable and invariable relation to the input"; therefore, "the people's verdict can be no more than a selective reflection from among the alternatives and outlooks presented to them" (Key, 1966, p. 2).

In The Responsible Electorate (1966), Key divides voters into patterns of interelection voting behavior. Those who vote for the same party from one election to the next Key labels "standpatters." "Switchers" are those who change party support between elections. Key finds, using a respondent's recall of previous voting behavior, that switchers tend to gravitate toward the parties and candidates closer to their positions on the issues. Key also finds that standpatters, given their issue positions, are where they ought to be in terms of party support:

The portrait of the American electorate that develops from the data is not one of an electorate . . . moved by sub-conscious urges triggered by devilishly skillful propagandists. It is rather one of an electorate moved by concern about central and relevant questions of public policy, of governmental performance, and of executive personality. (pp. 7-8)

The Dependent Voter

The psychological perspective that emerges in the SRC/CPS studies is an "affective theory of voting," since the major concepts

of their model are based upon a person's evaluation of political objects (Natchez, 1970). An evaluation is defined as a perception or an image. When the object is a political party, the evaluation is referred to as a party image; when a candidate is the object, the evaluation is a candidate image. When the evaluation concerns a person's attitude toward himself as a member of a political party, it is a partisan self-image or party identification. All evaluations have two basic dimensions: direction and intensity. People have either a positive or a negative image of an object and feel more strongly about some objects than others.

Despite the emphasis on partisan self-image within the SRC/CPS framework, this stereotype has no direct influence on voting behavior. Borrowing an analytical assumption from field theory, their framework considers only those explanatory factors which are in the "field" of the phenomenon under investigation (Baldwin, 1967). A partisan self-image is a "distal" influence, since its existence is established in time prior to the act of voting. Consequently, factors, such as candidate and party images, which are closest to the voting act in time exercise a direct influence upon voting, with partisanship working through and upon these "proximate" images. The analysis to follow thus views candidate and party images as the core analytical concepts of the dependent voter portrait.

One aspect of the dependent voter portrait remains to be discussed: the analytical status of issues. Conventional wisdom, and contemporary discourse on the matter, suggests that a person's position on issues is also a feature of the SRC/CPS framework

(Miller et al., 1976). Let us seriously reconsider that thesis. In "Components of Electoral Decision," Stokes, Campbell, and Miller (1958) present a voting model with six independent variables: the voter's image of the Republican candidate, his image of the Democratic candidate, his positions on domestic and foreign policy issues, his image of "the parties as managers of government," and "group related responses." Since domestic and foreign policy preferences appear in this model, it would be easy to conclude that issues are indeed a feature of their framework. These six variables, however, are derived from the following set of questions: "Is there anything in particular that you (like, don't like) about the (Democratic, Republican) Party? Is there anything in particular about (Stevenson, Eisenhower) that might make you want to vote (for him, against him)?" If issue positions are indeed a feature of their model, why are the two parties and candidates the only referents in the operational definitions of their six independent variables. Apparently, issue positions are dimensions of candidate and party images and not separate and independent concepts!

When they discuss the components model in The American Voter, Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes (1960) suggest that issues are dimensions of candidate and party images: "A candidate is the nominee of his party; party and candidate are oriented to the same issues" (p. 59). Shaffer's factor analytic study of the six components model with data from several presidential elections also supports the view that issues are dimensions of candidate and party images. Utilizing factor analysis to test the "construct validity"

of the model, Shaffer (1972) finds that "all six components generally reflect but one dimension of attitude--party support" (pp. 432-433). In other words, all six components load positively on a single factor: "An a priori assumption that voters evaluate parties, candidates and issues on six different bases is not the same as empirical evidence that the voters actually perceive electoral events in this fashion" (p. 433). The conceptual status of these "six independent variables" is also unclear in Nie, Verba, and Petrocik (1976). Rather than accepting the original conceptualization, these authors develop their own classification scheme. Using the SRC/CPS questions on "likes" and "dislikes" about candidates, Nie, Verba, and Petrocik (1976) identify three dimensions of candidate images: an issue dimension, a personality dimension, and a party dimension (pp. 168-173, 378-380). Again, if issue positions are a feature of the SRC/CPS framework, why do Nie, Verba, and Petrocik, in a work that follows in the footsteps of The American Voter, consider issues as a dimension of candidate images? Why is there so much confusion over the analytical status of issues within the SRC/CPS framework? It is because issue positions and issue voting are features of the responsive voter portrait.

The Responsive Voter

Key's responsive voter portrait suggests that a person's "knowledge" of the issue positions of parties and candidates is an important aspect of the voting act. Where the dependent voter portrait emphasizes "affective" relationships between voters and political objects, the responsive voter thesis emphasizes the "cognitive"

aspects of those relationships. The nature of these cognitive relationships, recalling Key's echo chamber, is always contingent upon the kinds of appeals and messages that candidates employ during their campaigns:

"If leaders believe the route to victory is by projection of images and cultivation of styles rather than by advocacy of policies to cope with the problems of the country, they will project images and cultivate styles to the neglect of the substance of politics" (Key, 1966, p. 6).

When candidates offer the electorate a choice in terms of policy, which they do occasionally, voters may cast issue votes (Page, 1978; Pomper, 1972). What, then, is an issue vote? For citizens to cast an issue vote, they must first perceive a difference between the candidates and their issue stands, have an issue position which is closer to only one of the candidates, and support that candidate. If any of these conditions is violated, a vote is not an issue vote. Following these guidelines, the responsive voter argument emphasizes candidate and party "issue-proximities" rather than candidate and party images, as does the dependent voter portrait. In other words, the responsive voter portrait contains a substantive policy dimension. Voters canvass the political market, looking for a place to "invest" their votes. When they find a product that appears to satisfy their policy interests, responsive voters cast issue votes (Popkin et al., 1976).

Regression Model and Measures

In order to examine these alternative portraits of the electorate, a multivariate model, incorporating variables from each voter portrait, is tested for standpatters and switchers. These competing portraits are tested with a first-order regression model, which is linear in the parameters and the independent variables, and takes the following form:

$$Y_i = B_1X_{i1} + B_2X_{i2} + \dots + B_8X_{i8} + e_i$$

where:

Y_i is a respondent's vote

$B_1, B_2, \dots, B_8$ are standardized regression coefficients

$X_1, X_2, \dots, X_8$ are independent variables

e is a random error term

$i = 1, \dots, n.$

The dependent voter portrait is represented in this model by four independent variables: Democratic Candidate Image, Republican Candidate Image, Democratic Party Image, and Republican Party Image. The responsive voter portrait also is represented by four independent variables: Democratic Candidate Proximity, Republican Candidate Proximity, Democratic Party Proximity, and Republican Party Proximity. Feeling thermometer ratings for the two candidates and parties are employed to operationalize the SRC/CPS "affective" theory of voting. The "cognitive" theory advanced by Key and his followers is operationalized with issue-proximity measures for the two candidates and parties.

Feeling Thermometer

The "feeling thermometer," first introduced in the SRC/CPS 1968 national election study, is employed as a measure of candidate and party images, the core concepts of the dependent voter portrait. The feeling thermometer measures both the directional and the intensity components of an image by asking a respondent to rate an object on a scale from 0 to 100 degrees, with 50 degrees as the neutral point. The respondent is informed that:

Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the object; ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably towards the object. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward an object, you would rate it at 50 degrees.

In 1972 and in 1976, the party referents are "Democrats" and "Republicans," but the referents for candidate image are different for each party in each presidential election: George McGovern is the Democratic candidate in 1972 and Richard Nixon the Republican; Jimmy Carter is the 1976 Democratic candidate and Gerald Ford the Republican.

Issue-Proximity

The cognitive concepts of the responsive voter portrait are operationalized with issue-proximity measures developed in the Comparative State Election Project (Kovenock et al., 1973). A proximity measure provides an index of how close a person's position on an issue is to the perceived position of a candidate or party on that same issue. Issue-proximity measures are used in various ways in various chapters of this study, and their use here deviates slightly from previous applications. Recall that respondents are

presented a series of seven-point scales with polar options on the ends of each continuum. For example, voters are presented these alternatives on the school busing issue: "Some people think achieving racial integration of schools is so important that it justifies busing children to schools out of their own neighborhoods. Others think letting children go to their neighborhood schools is so important that they oppose busing." Subjects then are asked to place themselves, the two major party candidates, and the two political parties on a seven-point continuum, ranging from 1, "bus to achieve intergration," to 7, "keep children in neighborhood schools." In previous uses of these measures, relative proximity measures, which indicate whether a voter is closer to one of the two candidates or parties, are adopted, but in this analysis, absolute proximity measures are employed. Absolute proximity measures indicate how close an individual's issue position is to only one of the candidates or parties. For a single issue, absolute proximity measures range from zero to six: An absolute proximity of zero occurs when the respondent and the candidate or party are at opposite ends of the continuum, while a value of six occurs when the respondent and the candidate or party are at the same position on the continuum (Beardsley, 1973).

Composite measures of absolute proximity are developed for the candidates and the political parties by combining the proximity scores of five issues: rights of the accused, school busing, aid to minorities, legalization of marijuana, and women's rights (Appendix I). Since each proximity score has a range from zero to six, the range of a composite measure is from zero to thirty, with increasing values

of the index representing a greater degree of overall proximity. Composite measures, using the same five issues, are constructed for the two candidates and the two political parties in both 1972 and 1976. The use of composite measures is justifiable on several grounds. For one, voters probably are not single-issue voters. When scanning the political landscape, voters probably take into account more than one issue when formulating a vote decision. And one issue probably is not enough to tip the scales in favor of one of the candidates. On more pragmatic grounds, if each of these measures is treated separately, the model would include twenty variables (5 issues x 2 candidates x 2 parties = 20) representing the responsive voter portrait, loading the "dice" in favor of that perspective and rendering the analysis unwieldy.

Results

In the presentation of results to follow, two types of analyses are performed; the regression model is tested for (1) standpatters and switchers treated together and (2) standpatters and switchers treated separately. The results for standpatters and switchers treated together are presented in Table 49. In 1972 and in 1976, the significant F-ratios and the coefficients of multiple determination (R^2) suggest that the model is only an adequate predictor of voting behavior: Nearly 60 percent of the variation in voting is accounted for by the model in each year. Despite the rather poor performance of the model, it provides a provisional means for testing the competing portraits of the electorate.

Table 49. Standardized Regression Coefficients
for Standpatters and Switchers

	Beta	
	1972	1976
Democratic Candidate Image	.297*	.341*
Republican Candidate Image	-.334*	-.274*
Democratic Party Image	.108*	.209*
Republican Party Image	-.095*	-.137*
Democratic Candidate Proximity	.048	.009
Republican Candidate Proximity	-.161*	-.098*
Democratic Party Proximity	.052	.057
Republican Party Proximity	.043	.017
N = 790	F = 135.20**	F = 134.73**
	R ² = .576	R ² = .575
	S.E. = .304	S.E. = .326

* $p \leq .05$ testing $H_0: B = 0$ with a two-tailed Z-test (Neter and Wasserman, 1974, p. 411).

** $p \leq .05$ testing $H_0: \text{all } B_s = 0$ with a one-tailed F-test (Nie et al., 1975, p. 335).

As Table 49 indicates, all of the variables from the dependent voter portrait are related to voting behavior and only one variable from the responsive voter portrait, Republican Candidate Proximity, is statistically significant. Among the image measures, candidate images appear slightly stronger than party images. All significant Betas are in the expected direction: Positive images of the Democratic candidate and his party produce a Democratic vote; positive images of the Republican candidate and his party produce a Republican vote. In terms of issue-proximity, the closer a person is to the Republican candidate, in both 1972 and 1976, the less likely he is to vote Democratic.

Since standpatters ($n = 585$) are more numerous than switchers ($n = 205$), it comes as no surprise that these same generalizations also apply to standpatters. Looking at Table 50, all of the variables from the dependent voter portrait are again statistically significant, with candidate images slightly stronger than party images. As before, Republican Candidate Proximity is the only variable from the responsive voter portrait that is significant, indicating that the closer a person is to the Republican candidate, the less likely he is to vote Democratic. The explanatory "power" of the model, as indicated by the R^2 s, is slightly better for standpatters than for standpatters and switchers treated together.

The evidence, to this point, supports the dependent voter portrait of the electorate: Affective relationships between voters and political objects are better predictors of voting behavior than cognitive relationships. The only exception to this generalization

Table 50. Standardized Regression Coefficients
for Standpatters

	Beta	
	1972	1976
Democratic Candidate Image	.316*	.267*
Republican Candidate Image	-.305*	-.325*
Democratic Party Image	.171*	.200*
Republican Party Image	-.105*	-.148*
Democratic Candidate Proximity	.031	.047
Republican Candidate Proximity	-.157*	-.082*
Democratic Party Proximity	.056	.052
Republican Party Proximity	.035	-.037
N = 585	F = 140.30**	F = 119.56**
	R ² = .656	R ² = .619
	S.E. = .283	S.E. = .298

*p $\leq$.05 testing Ho: B = 0 with a two-tailed Z test.

**p $\leq$.05 testing Ho: all Bs = 0 with a one-tailed F test.

is Republican Candidate Proximity. The dependent voter portrait, as it is presented in the SRC/CPS studies, emphasizes stability in partisanship and voting behavior. Discovering that standpatters, those who vote for the same party from one election to the next, rely on affective images in deciding how to vote is confirming the obvious, as far as proponents of this theory are concerned. Why, then, is Republican Candidate Proximity a significant factor? One plausible explanation concerns the "minority status" of the Republican party: Republican candidates must make issue appeals to build winning coalitions. If the strategy of the majority party, the Democrats, is to mobilize the "normal" party vote, the strategy of the minority party is to produce deviations from the normal vote. When the Democrats run attractive candidates, the Republicans usually appeal to Independents and weak party identifiers in terms of issues, hoping to mobilize them in a favorable direction.

The evidence presented in Table 51 is not compatible with a view of switchers as issue voters or supportive of Key's bald assertion that "voters are not fools," for if the "wise voter" is an issue voter, switchers are fools! The only significant factors in 1972 are the two candidate image variables. In 1976, the candidate image variables are again significant, along with the Democratic Party Image variable and the Republican Party Proximity variable. Indeed, the only indication that switchers are issue voters, the positive Beta (.158) for Republican Party Proximity, suggests that the closer a person is to the Republican party, the more likely he is to vote Democratic! The low R^2 s (.325 in 1972 and .290 in 1976) indicate

Table 51. Standardized Regression Coefficients
for Switchers

	Beta	
	1972	1976
Democratic Candidate Image	.254*	.395*
Republican Candidate Image	-.342*	-.229*
Democratic Party Image	-.042	.211*
Republican Party Image	-.028	-.056
Democratic Candidate Proximity	.118	-.007
Republican Candidate Proximity	-.134	-.060
Democratic Party Proximity	-.016	-.059
Republican Party Proximity	.023	.158*
N = 205	F = 13.27**	F = 11.42**
	R ² = .325	F ² = .290
	S.E. = .329	S.E. = .338

* $p \leq .05$ testing $H_0: B = 0$ with a two-tailed Z test.

** $p \leq .05$ testing $H_0: \text{all } B_s = 0$ with one-tailed F test.

that the regression model is a poor predictor of voting behavior for switchers. That a model incorporating aspects from the dependent and the responsive voter portraits fails to explain approximately 70 percent of the voting behavior of switchers suggests that voting theory and research have failed to deal adequately with the question of inter-election change.

Discussion

What light does this chapter shed upon the competing portraits of the electorate? For one thing, issue voting does not emerge as the defining characteristics of the electorate; instead, voters are basing their decisions upon their images of the candidates. Key's switchers are not issue voters; they are swayed by candidate images just like standpatters, except standpatters also use their party images when making a voting decision. If the "responsible electorate" of the 1970s is responding to anything, it is responding to the candidates and their images and not to the candidates and their policies (Nimmo and Savage, 1976). Does this conclusion necessarily support the dependent voter portrait? Because of the decline of party identification as a long-term, stabilizing factor in presidential elections, any answer at this point is problematical (Converse, 1976; Meier, 1975; Nie et al., 1976). Vote switchers are less likely to satisfy the conditions of party voting; therefore, it is doubtful that these voters are dependent voters in the sense given to that term by this study (Chapter 3). These findings, however,

are consistent with an interpretation of standpatters as party voters: They satisfy the conditions of party voting (Chapter 3) and their candidate and party images influence their voting decisions. Emergent patterns of electoral communication also are eroding the influence of party identification, especially for switchers. Switchers are more likely to rely on television as their primary source of political news and less likely to participate in partisan electoral activities (Chapter 2). Candidates no longer rely on political parties to mobilize the electorate. Increasingly, candidates rely upon their personal campaign organizations, employing the mass media to mobilize the electorate, circumventing the parties and weakening their influence (Epstein, 1967; Nimmo, 1970; Pomper, 1977).

Writing in the 1950s, Garceau portrays the "political process as a continuum of interaction patterns between the individual citizen and the tension points of decision-making" (Garceau, 1954, p. 43). By focusing upon one "pole" of this continuum, the individual citizen, the temptation is to blame the voter for not casting an issue vote. Why does issue voting fair so poorly in this chapter, especially for the switchers, the bastions of issue voting? A plausible answer to this puzzle is suggested in a recent study by Page (1978). Recall that one of the crucial conditions of issue voting is that candidates offer the electorate a choice in terms of issues. Page concludes that the candidates did not offer the electorate a "choice" on the five issues of this study; the candidates, at least in the eyes of the electorate, merely "echoed" each other's issue positions (pp. 94-98). Given the choices they faced, it was impossible to cast an issue vote.

The analysis of "absolute issue closeness" presented in Chapter 4 of this study suggests another possible explanation for the absence of issue voting. Candidates do offer the electorate different policy options, but the options presented tend to "straddle" the issue position of the voters, leaving them closer to neither candidate and violating the second condition of issue voting: Voters must be closer to only one of the candidates in order to cast an issue vote. Page's conclusions are based upon a consideration of the entire electorate in 1972 and in 1976; therefore, his results are not directly comparable to the results of this study. Moreover, Page employs a different analytical procedure to measure the difference between candidate issue positions (see note to Table 22 of Chapter 4, page 105). Nevertheless, since the issue positions of the candidates are not different enough to provide the electorate with a "clear" choice, issue voting is inhibited.

Does this mean that the "monkey" is now on the backs of the candidates? Is it possible to blame them for the absence of issue voting in the electorate? When candidates fail to take definite positions on the issues, they present the electorate with an "ambiguous" situation:

Indeed, the most striking feature of candidates' rhetoric about policy is its extreme vagueness. The typical campaign speech says virtually nothing specific about policy alternatives; discussions of the issues are hidden away in little-publicized statements and position papers. Even the most extended discussions leave many questions unanswered. In short, policy stands are infrequent, inconspicuous, and unspecific. Presidential candidates are skilled at appearing to say much while actually saying little. (Page, 1978, pp. 152-153)

What are the consequences of candidate ambiguity on matters of public policy? Two important consequences follow: (1) Voters are unable to judge between the candidates and parties in terms of issues and (2) voters are unable to control the direction of public policy, since it is difficult, if not impossible to know who to hold responsible for policy failures when no one is willing to take credit for their mistakes.

Given these rather bleak consequences, it is important to inquire into the sources of candidate ambiguity. One source is the new style of campaigning. In a peculiar way, the new style has altered Key's echo chamber: The voice of the "candidate" is but an echo of what his campaign staff and pollster tell him about the electorate. A candidate commissions a "poll" to find out what "issues" are on the voters' minds, with the intent of casting appeals to the audiences that are the most receptive to his message. A problem arises, however, when a candidate for the presidency faces "fifty audiences" or fifty state electorates. Does the candidate usually find that the opinion distributions in all fifty states are similar enough to warrant taking a "definite" position on the issues during a campaign? Probably not. Facing the "ambiguity" of what to say before fifty audiences through mass channels of communication, the "rational" candidate offers ambiguous policy statements, hoping that voters will read their own policy biases into his messages. These dynamics, if they bear any relationship to what goes on in practice, raise an interesting question for all to ponder. What was it James Madison (1961a) said about electoral constituencies:

Extend the sphere and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength and to act in unison with each other. (p. 83)

Could it be that the source of candidate ambiguity and the corresponding lack of issue voting is the American constitutional framework?

Is this the forgotten "variable" of electoral research?

CHAPTER 8

INTERELECTION CHANGE AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

The objectives of this concluding chapter are twofold:

- (1) review and summarize the major findings of the dissertation and
- (2) generate a "theory of interelection change" which is consistent with the empirical relationships discovered by this study. In pursuing these objectives, the major concerns are with "grounding" answers to substantive questions in empirical evidence, offering generalizations where possible, avoiding oversimplified statements where appropriate, and raising speculative questions and suggesting theoretical propositions which range beyond the data where necessary. The organization of the chapter parallels these two objectives. The first division debunks the myth of "standpatters" and "switchers" while reviewing the major generalizations of the study. The second division develops a theory of interelection change, presenting operational parameters, philosophical assumptions, and testable propositions.

The Myth of Standpatters and Switchers

The use of the terms "standpatter" and "switcher" is more a linguistic convenience than a description of the primary focus of this study, "patterns" of interelection change in voting behavior. These concepts have a mythical quality which inhibits our thinking about interelection change. These terms generate the "myth" that

certain voter "types" exist in the electorate: Standpatters and switchers have certain social, personal, and political characteristics; these can be identified and voters classified into one of these two types. Conceptualization of standpatters as party voters and switchers as issue voters follows from an acceptance of these premises. But are these valid premises? Are standpatters and switchers valid empirical voter types? The merits and the implications of this study hinge upon a consideration of these questions. If one purpose of the study is to generate a theory of interelection change, do these terms facilitate or inhibit that objective?

Voters are neither standpatters nor switchers; standpatting and switching are activities which voters perform. This study has classified voters as standpatters and switchers, but that classification is based upon their voting behavior in the presidential elections of 1972 and 1976. This is not to say that standpatters always standpat or that switchers always switch. A consideration of these as valid voter types would require standpatters to support the same party from one election to the next and switchers to support different parties between elections in other interelection periods. But the evidence, presented in Chapter 2, suggests that over half (55.5 percent) of the standpatters of this study have switched in previous interelection periods and that nearly a third (31.8 percent) of the switchers have always voted for the same party in previous periods. It is therefore a mistake to think of voters as either standpatters or switchers. What is left to explain are standpatting and switching, not standpatters and switchers.

Standpatting as Party Voting

Standpatting is associated with party voting, a generalization that is possibly tautological or "true" by definition: Standpatting is defined as voting for the same political party; party voting occurs when the partisan self-image of voters structures their voting decision. When attention is limited only to standpatting, this generalization appears true by definition. But when the focus is upon switching, a pattern of interelection change expected when the conditions of party voting are absent, this generalization gains some validity. The voters who standpat tend to satisfy the conditions of party voting: They adopt the partisanship of their parents, that identification is relatively stable over time, their candidate images and policy cognitions are structured by their partisan self-image, they are less likely to deviate from their psychological party when they vote, and the direct path between their party affiliation and vote is significant. But the voters who switch fail to satisfy these conditions: They are less likely to adopt the partisanship of their parents, their party identification is less stable and it does not structure their candidate images and policy cognitions, they are more likely to vote contrary to their psychological party, and the direct path between their party affiliation and vote is insignificant.

Further evidence in support of this generalization emerges when standpatting is analyzed from normal vote and multivariate perspectives. The long-term partisan component of the vote should

outweigh the influence of short-term, election specific factors if standpatting is associated with party voting. This inference is supported on three of the five issues considered in Chapter 6: rights of the accused, school busing, and aid to minorities. If standpatting is associated with party voting, candidate and party images should also overshadow the influence of candidate and party issue-proximities, a supposition supported by the analysis presented in Chapter 7, where candidate images emerge as the strongest influence upon the vote.

Vote Switching as Floating

Just as partisanship is a source of stability between elections, its absence is also a source of vote switching. Lacking a psychological tie to one of the political parties, which also means that their level of political interest and psychological involvement are lower than average, voters "float" between the parties between elections, buffeted by short-term, election specific factors such as candidate images. Voting choices therefore change with the tides and currents of the short-term forces, providing the major source of change for the community, but change produced by demagoguery, humbuggery, and the drama and illusion of political campaigns, rather than by the reasoned consideration of the problems facing the society.

Support for this "floating" interpretation of vote switching surfaces in every chapter where a cross-sectional approach is employed to investigate differences between standpatters and switchers. Vote switchers, for instance, are less likely to have a college education, to express an interest in politics on a regular basis, to care which

party wins the election, and to participate in partisan campaign activities (Chapter 2). Moreover, vote switchers are less likely to satisfy the conditions of party voting (Chapter 3), to support a candidate because of their policy cognitions (Chapter 3), to cast issue votes in either 1972 or 1976 (Chapter 4), to deviate from the normal party vote because they are closer to one of the candidates' issue positions (Chapter 6), or to vote for a candidate and party because of absolute issue-proximity (Chapter 7). In short, these findings convey a negative picture of vote switching, a view supportive of the floating arguments of the dependent voter portrait.

Vote Switching as Issue Voting

Convincing evidence that vote switching stems from issue voting emerges when a longitudinal perspective similar to the one advocated by Key (1966) is adopted. The analysis presented in the "single-issue, longitudinal" section of Chapter 4 demonstrates that vote switchers, by and large, maintain the same issue positions through time and that candidates offer different policy alternatives from one election to the next. Hence, voters shift their electoral support without changing their issue positions simply because the candidates present different policy options. Because of these changing policy choices, vote switchers are more likely to exhibit shifts in relative candidate issue-proximities which are consistent with their vote shifts, a relationship consistent with a view of vote switching as issue voting.

The Forgotten Explanation

The competing portraits of the electorate discussed in this study link patterns of interelection change to individual level factors: The sources of change in the dependent voter portrait are the absence of partisanship and disinterest in politics and in the responsive voter portrait issues and candidate appeals. The common ground between these two perspectives is the level of analysis: the individual voter. A focus on these perspectives overlooks a third perspective on interelection change which emphasizes group factors: the cross-pressures hypothesis of the BASR studies (Abrams, 1973; Daudt, 1971). Voters may switch party support to accommodate different and conflicting cross-pressures which flow from their social networks. Voters may resolve these cross-pressures in different ways, accommodating one interest by voting Democratic in one election and accommodating another interest by voting Republican in the next election. Group affiliations may acquire a different significance for individuals over time, subjecting them to different cross-pressures. For example, suppose that a person's family background is Democratic and that our "hypothetical voter" supports that party's candidate in 1972. But what if this voter experiences a high rate of social mobility between 1972 and 1976, placing this individual in a social network favorable to the Republican party prior to the 1976 election. When voters confront this hypothetical set of circumstances, they may switch party support in order to accommodate their political interest and their

newly acquired social interest. Persons who experience "cross-pressures" usually have to take a variety of interests into account when formulating a voting decision: in our example, possibly the interests of family and occupation. In other words, their actions are mediated by group affiliations. Cross-pressured individuals usually are members of several social groups with differing political interests; they participate in different "publics" in the process of formulating a political act (Blumer, 1966). The outcome of this process is not something which is determined; rather, an act is constructed. Hence, the cross-pressures hypothesis rejects both the "psychological determinism" of the dependent voter portrait and the "social isolationism" of the responsive voter portrait.

Given the inability of the dependent and the responsive voter portraits to produce generalizations about vote switching, a serious consideration of the cross-pressures hypothesis is warranted. But why has this study not considered this argument? For one thing, the design of this study prohibits a consideration of this argument. The cross-pressures hypothesis emerges in studies with panel designs like the present study, except their focus is upon intraelection change, in a particular community, with multiple panel waves (Berelson et al., 1954; Lazarsfeld et al., 1944). Given their focus, these studies could consider the character of group interests within the community and trace the process of decision more carefully than the present study of interelection change. Even at that, their analyses are of limited value when it comes to understanding the process of group interaction, in part because the procedures of

survey research, with their emphasis upon large numbers, prevent a consideration of the group process: A technique that approaches people as isolated individuals cannot describe, much less explain, how people take into account the interests of others when forging a line of joint action (Blumer, 1948). A test of the cross-pressures hypothesis requires a more intensive research design which pays attention to the qualities of group interaction.

A Theory of Interelection Change

The purpose here is not to develop a research design to test the cross-pressures hypothesis but to formulate a "grounded theory" of interelection change. What exactly is a grounded theory? Grounded theory is inductive in nature and by design, moving from empirical observations to theoretical generalizations; it is generated "in" the research process as part of that process and is based upon empirical relationships. It is first and foremost theory generated from data:

Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research. Generating a theory involves a process of research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 6)

In sum, the purpose is to construct a theory which integrates the findings of this study. To that end, this section of the chapter outlines the operational parameters, assumptions, and propositions of a theory of interelection change.

Parameters

Any theory has certain limits, certain boundaries beyond which the theory does not apply. The orbit of the theory generated by this study has certain constitutional, participatory, and partisan limits which are discussed before considering its assumptions and propositions. These parameters set the effective limits of the theory; they are the "constants" which give it boundaries. These limits and reservations flow primarily from the design of the study, its classification of standpatters and switchers, and from certain features of the regime.

Constitutional Parameters

The most obvious constitutional parameter of a theory generated from the data of this study is that it is limited to presidential elections. No comparable panel studies exist for interelection periods at the congressional, gubernatorial, or senatorial levels, much less state and local offices. A not so obvious constitutional factor at the presidential level is the Twenty-Second Amendment to the Constitution, which states in part: "No person shall be elected to the office of President more than twice." George Washington is credited with starting the two-term tradition as an informal limit on presidential power which was carried on successfully until the 1940s. The Twenty-Second Amendment institutionalized the two-term tradition in 1951, and from that time forward the American political regime has included a feature which probably enhances vote switching at the presidential

level (see Devine, 1972, pp. 325-331). This constitutional parameter figures into the interelection period of this study. Suppose that Watergate never happened and that Richard Nixon did not resign his office; Nixon would have been ineligible to run for re-election in 1976 because of the two-term restriction of the Constitution. As a result, the Republican party had to nominate another candidate anyway. Although no constitutional procedures prevent a candidate from running for the presidency more than twice, the Democrats nominated a different candidate in 1976. Hence, the interelection period of this study includes two different candidates competing for the presidency in two different elections. But how does this restriction influence vote switching? Consider, for a moment, the situation of a congressperson from a "safe seat" in the South. Since there is no constitutional limit on the number of terms that a representative may serve and given the built in advantages of incumbency, chances are that not much vote switching would occur from one election to the next, since the majority of voters would probably support the incumbent and the remainder would continue to support whatever opposition candidate the "out" party could muster. With the two-term restriction on the presidency, however, the advantages of incumbency periodically are stripped away with subsequent electoral contests between a couple of "new faces." With these new political faces dotting the landscape, the voters have a greater range of choice which probably enhances vote switching indirectly. What if George Washington were granted eternal life for some reason, how many "terms" could he serve if he wanted to without a constitutional limitation, and what impact would a perennial candidate of his stature have upon vote switching?

Participatory Parameters

In order to classify voters as standpatters and switchers, they must participate in the elections which mark the period under investigation: in this study, the presidential elections of 1972 and 1976. Obviously, any person who fails to vote in either of these elections falls outside the classification. According to one estimate, only about 55 percent of all adults of voting age participated in the 1972 election; approximately 53 percent participated in the 1976 election (Nimmo and Unga, 1979, pp. 91-92). Therefore, any personal, social, or legal factors which prevent participation are, by definition, participatory parameters of a theory generated by this study (Nimmo and Unga, 1979, Chapter 4). Chapter 2 presents a general overview of the social and personal characteristics of standpatters and switchers, concentrating upon those factors which are thought to facilitate participation in politics. The results of that analysis indicate that, generally speaking, standpatters and switchers share those characteristics which enhance participation: interest in the campaign, civic duty, and political efficacy, just to name a few. When generating a theory of interelection change, the "grounded theory" obviously is going to be slanted in the direction of the more active political participants.

Partisan Parameters

The classification of voters as standpatters and switchers also excludes all "third party" voters, effectively limiting the theory of interelection change to political systems with a two-party pattern of competition (Epstein, 1967, pp. 55-69). Moreover,

all those factors which reinforce the two-party system in the United States are included as partisan parameters of the theory. A partial listing of these factors would include, among others: the electoral college, single-member electoral districts, plurality elections, and federalism (Epstein, 1967, Chapter 2). In sum, the parameters of the theory derive from the design of the study and the features of the political community; the theory is limited to voters who participate regularly in presidential elections and vote for one of the two major party candidates.

Assumptions

A central premise of this study is that "a dependence on the people is . . . the primary control on the government" (Madison, 1961c, p. 322). For "democratic" citizens to exercise this primary function, their policy preferences must guide their voting decisions, since popular elections provide the primary means through which citizens "control" their public officials. For elections to function as mechanisms of popular control, each of the following conditions should be satisfied: Citizens possess policy preferences; candidates offer choices on the policies of concern to citizens; citizens correctly associate policy preferences with candidates; citizens vote for the candidate who best approximates their own policy preferences; the candidate with the most votes wins; the victorious candidate implements his/her policy; and if implementation does not occur, the official is defeated at the subsequent election (Weissberg, 1976, p. 171).

The parameters of the study provide one set of limits, but other limits are set as a matter of choice. Assumptions about the nature of political man and the proper function of elections set other limits. Given a popular control perspective on the relationship between the rulers and the ruled, a theory of interelection change should select assumptions which leave "open" the path to popular control. An acceptance of the psychological assumptions of the dependent voter portrait, however, lead only to a conception of elections as mechanisms of "party support." In order to leave the path open, Key's perspective on voting behavior is adopted: Voters are conceived as responsive to their environment. Their choices are not determined: limited, certainly; constrained, of course; but not determined. In short, the fundamental characteristic of politician man is his freedom of choice.

Key died before he could finish The Responsible Electorate, and his concluding chapter, simply a transcript of his handwritten notes, offers only a glimpse of what the master would have written had he the time to develop his thoughts more fully. Key apparently believed that his study had supported the party voting theory, since the transcript includes this short statement:

Probably confirms the significance of Angus Campbell's model built on party identification. Standpatters stay by the party even though they agree with the opposition party. But those who agree with their party are most inclined to stay with it. Policy preferences reinforce party loyalty. Those whose policy preference conflicts with their party voting record are most likely to defect. (Key, 1966, p. 150)

Most students of issue voting fail to grapple with these remarks, preferring the distinction between the dependent and the responsive

voter portraits (Pomper, 1975). The one study which tries to draw some parallels between these two perspectives interprets Key's focus upon issues as "short-term factors" but overlooks his emphasis upon issue voting as a longitudinal phenomenon (Converse, Miller, Rusk, and Wolfe, 1969). A theory of interelection change must integrate these perspectives, drawing upon their salient features rather than overstating their differences. An integration of the dependent and the responsive voter portraits into a theory of interelection change requires a set of propositions which captures the conceptual significance of these perspectives and summarizes their empirical findings.

Propositions

Although voters exercise their freedom of choice at the polls, the range of that choice is limited by the nature of the party system and the features of the political community. Voters approach election day with a decision to make: Which one of the two party candidates do they wish to support? Let us suppose that the choice they face is between an incumbent president and a challenger. How do voters choose between these two candidates? What criteria do they use when formulating their voting decisions?

158 → The first consideration is probably the "popularity" of the incumbent president, viewing popularity as a summary measure for the president's performance of his executive responsibilities. People expect the president to deal with the problems that arise during his administration, since these are usually the problems that affect

the entire country: A president's popularity improves when people receive news that he has acted successfully, to their benefit; when people receive news which they believe thwart their values and which they believe to be the president's fault, his popularity declines (Brody and Page, 1975). Over the course of his administration, a president is bound to lose some of the electoral support that put him in office in the first place. This disaffected group of voters is driven into the other camp because the president has failed to live up to their expectations (Mueller, 1973, pp. 196-250). Likewise, a president's popularity may attract support from those voters who originally opposed his election. Popularity and performance are thus sources of vote switching. In deciding how to vote, if voters generally approve of the president's performance in office, they support him for a second term, regardless of which party he represents. If they are ambivalent about his performance or feel that he has done a "poor" job, they compare him to the challenger, seeking an alternative to "four more years" of the incumbent's administration. The popularity of the incumbent president is the single best predictor of voting behavior of this study, and if presidential popularity is conceived as a measure of executive performance, it is evident that voters are exercising some degree of popular control over their "ruler." If the president steps beyond acceptable bounds, his popularity declines and he is opposed in the subsequent election. If he does not satisfy enough voters, he risks losing his job.

The second most important factor is party identification. A president's popularity is tied to partisanship, but there is no

guarantee that a president will be popular among his party followers regardless of his performance in office. Performance counts!

Eisenhower was able to attract a bipartisan following, as was Nixon in 1972. But Johnson's popularity declined markedly among his fellow partisans as American involvement in the Vietnam War progressed.

If an incumbent president is low in popularity and faces a serious challenge from his opponent, various electoral strategies come into play, but it is impossible to avoid partisan differences (Miller, 1978). If the incumbent is from the minority party, partisan differences are deemphasized, since it is to his advantage to mobilize defections from the normal party vote. On the other hand, if the challenger represents the majority party, he tries to mobilize the party vote through his appeals to the partisan loyalties of his followers. But successful partisan appeals must be couched in terms of the issue preferences of the party's identifiers. This aspect of the echo chamber is what is missing from the dependent voter portrait: Partisanship means more than evaluation; party identification also has an issue component. Issues may only reinforce partisan loyalties, but that does not mean that policy issues can be avoided: A partisan position must be established. If their party identification is important to them, they respond to these partisan cues by evaluating their party's candidate favorably. Party identification does introduce an element of stability into the political system: Standpatting flows from party voting.

Party identification is not an important criterion for some voters. When partisan ties are absent, voters look to the personal

qualities and images of the candidates. Candidate images are the most important short-term, election specific factors, and they are a major source of vote switching. Candidates make issue appeals to mobilize the electorate, but they often make similar issue appeals, particularly when the issue positions of the electorate are not that different. Because of these dynamics, voters are usually closer to neither of the candidates, a condition which limits the role of issues as short-term factors. But issues play a more important role when they are conceived as long-term factors.

Vote switching is enhanced by the emergence of different candidates advocating different solutions to the problems of the country from one election to the next. In any one election, the candidates do not take very different policy stands, but the policy positions of the candidates do vary across time, and it is this variance that produces vote switching. Vote switching is tied to issue voting for those voters with weak partisan ties. The issue positions of vote switchers are relatively stable over time, and they switch party support because the candidates offer them different policy options. In sum, vote switchers are responsive to the policy positions advocated by the candidates. But those voters who standpat are also responsive to the candidates' policy positions; standpatters tend to agree with the policy positions of the same party candidate from one election to the next.

Conclusions

What role do issues, or policy preferences, play in the act of voting? Issues are not very important factors when it comes to

swaying the outcome of a single election. Issue positions primarily reinforce partisan predispositions, and their short-term influence is less than that of candidate images. But issue positions play an important role when voting behavior is viewed from a longitudinal perspective. Those voters who switch party support from one election to the next do so because of changing issue-proximities; they gravitate to the candidate who is closer to their issue positions. It is this small group of vote switchers who hold the balance of power between the two political parties, and the pattern of their shifts indicate that some degree of popular control is exercised by the American electorate.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ISSUE QUESTIONS

Rights of the Accused: "Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused. Where would you place yourself on this scale?"

1. Protect rights of accused
7. Stop crime regardless of rights of accused

Busing to Achieve Racial Integration: "There is much discussion about the best way to deal with racial problems. Some people think achieving racial integration of schools is so important that it justifies busing children to schools out of their own neighborhoods. Others think letting children go to their neighborhood schools is so important that they oppose busing. Where would you place yourself on this scale?"

1. Bus to achieve integration
7. Keep children in neighborhood schools

Government Aid to Minorities: "Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves. Where would you place yourself on this scale?"

1. Government should help minority groups
7. Minority groups should help themselves

Legalization of Marijuana: "Some people think that the use of marijuana should be legal. Others think that the penalties for using marijuana should be set higher than they are now. Where would you place yourself on this scale?"

1. Make use of marijuana legal
7. Set penalties higher than they are now

Women's Rights: "Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale?"

1. Women and men should have an equal role
7. Women's place is in the home

APPENDIX II

Table A1. Rotated Factor Matrix for Standpatters in 1972

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	h^2
Rights of Accused						
Self	-.10	.11	.54	.60	.00	.66
Republican Candidate	-.14	.10	-.21	.80	.18	.75
Democratic Candidate	.47	.08	.25	.51	-.11	.56
Democratic Party	.40	.08	.19	.62	-.08	.60
Republican Party	-.08	.03	-.33	.79	.13	.76
School Busing						
Self	.02	-.06	.61	-.03	-.00	.38
Republican Candidate	-.38	.02	-.04	.09	.48	.39
Democratic Candidate	.66	.08	-.09	.03	-.16	.48
Democratic Party	.63	.07	-.13	-.05	-.13	.44
Republican Party	-.21	-.02	-.01	.05	.55	.35
Aid to Minorities						
Self	-.02	-.01	.50	.09	.08	.27
Republican Candidate	-.00	.06	-.56	.25	.27	.45
Democratic Candidate	.61	.03	.16	.03	-.07	.40
Democratic Party	.55	.04	.08	.09	-.07	.32
Republican Party	.04	.04	-.60	.20	.24	.46
Marijuana						
Self	.20	.12	.55	.10	.34	.48
Republican Candidate	.04	.01	.00	.05	.79	.64
Democratic Candidate	.70	.08	-.02	-.05	.12	.51
Democratic Party	.70	.05	-.06	-.05	.26	.56
Republican Party	.11	-.01	-.04	-.02	.77	.60
Women's Rights						
Self	-.03	.49	.33	.04	.01	.36
Republican Candidate	-.02	.79	-.31	.11	.08	.74
Democratic Candidate	.33	.64	.21	.10	-.01	.58
Democratic Party	.27	.78	.07	.03	-.05	.68
Republican Party	-.03	.82	-.28	.04	.01	.76
Percent of total variance	13.3%	10.4%	10.1%	9.8%	8.9%	52.5%
Percent of common variance	25.2%	19.9%	19.2%	18.6%	16.8%	

APPENDIX III

Table A2. Rotated Factor Matrix for Standpatters in 1976

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	h^2
Rights of Accused						
Self	.29	.18	.04	-.14	.74	.68
Republican Candidate	.76	.19	-.00	-.04	.28	.69
Democratic Candidate	.19	.67	.05	-.07	.34	.61
Democratic Party	.10	.75	.08	-.01	.26	.65
Republican Party	.77	.12	.01	-.07	.14	.63
School Busing						
Self	-.24	-.10	-.01	.06	.54	.37
Republican Candidate	.68	-.20	.01	.01	-.10	.51
Democratic Candidate	-.00	.56	.01	.00	-.10	.33
Democratic Party	-.13	.69	.03	.12	-.18	.54
Republican Party	.71	-.25	-.00	.02	-.17	.60
Aid to Minorities						
Self	-.12	-.08	-.02	.01	.52	.29
Republican Candidate	.68	.02	.13	.14	-.22	.54
Democratic Candidate	-.06	.65	.12	.08	-.06	.45
Democartic Party	-.14	.65	.17	.11	-.09	.49
Republican Party	.70	-.05	.06	.13	-.30	.60
Marijuana						
Self	-.12	.00	.11	.40	.51	.45
Republican Candidate	.13	-.10	.10	.77	.08	.63
Democratic Candidate	-.12	.18	.03	.74	.07	.59
Democratic Party	-.09	.33	-.04	.71	-.03	.62
Republican Party	.26	-.06	.03	.69	-.08	.55
Women's Rights						
Self	-.09	-.05	.50	.04	.35	.38
Republican Candidate	.22	.11	.81	.07	-.12	.73
Democratic Candidate	-.10	.06	.79	.04	.12	.66
Democratic Party	-.03	.20	.79	.05	.06	.66
Republican Party	.26	.11	.78	-.02	-.19	.72
Percent of total variance	14.1%	12.3%	11.3%	9.5%	8.4%	55.6%
Percent of common variance	25.2%	22.0%	20.2%	17.0%	15.0%	

APPENDIX IV

Table A3. Rotated Factor Matrix for Switchers in 1972

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	h^2
Rights of Accused						
Self	.08	-.10	-.21	.51	.29	.40
Republican Candidate	.02	.06	.06	.91	-.05	.84
Democratic Candidate	.65	-.14	-.19	.30	-.14	.59
Democratic Party	.58	-.05	-.32	.46	-.07	.66
Republican Party	-.02	.07	.08	.84	-.06	.72
School Busing						
Self	.00	-.17	-.11	-.14	.39	.21
Republican Candidate	-.03	-.11	.67	.09	.05	.48
Democratic Candidate	.69	.04	-.10	-.02	.08	.49
Democratic Party	.71	.16	-.01	.01	.05	.53
Republican Party	.03	-.11	.73	.00	-.05	.54
Aid to Minorities						
Self	-.10	.02	-.08	.09	.73	.56
Republican Candidate	-.05	.18	.36	.34	.58	.63
Democratic Candidate	.58	-.04	-.12	-.05	.36	.49
Democratic Party	.44	.07	-.07	.05	.47	.43
Republican Party	-.01	.10	.37	.29	.52	.51
Marijuana						
Self	.12	-.06	.00	-.22	.42	.25
Republican Candidate	-.03	.01	.71	-.02	-.05	.51
Democratic Candidate	.61	.05	.16	-.09	-.04	.41
Democratic Party	.69	.08	.30	-.02	-.10	.58
Republican Party	.02	.05	.74	-.13	-.07	.57
Women's Rights						
Self	.00	.30	-.08	.04	.37	.24
Republican Candidate	.00	.83	.05	.02	-.06	.69
Democratic Candidate	.23	.70	-.12	-.07	.09	.57
Democratic party	.15	.78	-.09	-.04	-.00	.64
Republican Party	-.14	.80	.04	.14	.00	.68
Percent of total variance	13.0%	10.8%	10.7%	9.8%	8.4%	52.7%
Percent of common variance	24.6%	20.4%	20.3%	18.4%	15.9%	

APPENDIX V

Table A4. Rotated Factor Matrix for Switchers in 1976

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	h^2
Rights of Accused						
Self	.00	-.10	-.03	.28	.60	.45
Republican Candidate	-.00	.45	.08	-.20	.54	.54
Democratic Candidate	.14	-.06	-.02	.27	.73	.63
Democratic Party	.03	-.11	.02	.24	.75	.64
Republican Party	-.05	.36	.17	-.25	.56	.53
School Busing						
Self	.15	-.25	.08	.51	-.17	.38
Republican Candidate	-.00	.72	.02	-.04	-.00	.52
Democratic Candidate	-.06	-.02	-.12	.48	.28	.32
Democartic Party	-.08	-.01	.03	.59	.14	.37
Republican Party	-.01	.74	.02	.01	-.01	.54
Aid to Minorities						
Self	-.02	-.00	.06	.53	-.02	.28
Republican Candidate	.14	.79	.01	.15	-.04	.67
Democratic Candidate	.11	.16	-.05	.65	.19	.50
Democratic party	.10	.09	-.02	.62	.15	.42
Republican Party	.11	.76	-.09	.00	.00	.60
Marijuana						
Self	.19	-.02	.50	.34	.01	.40
Republican Candidate	-.07	.09	.68	-.23	.04	.54
Democratic Candidate	.02	-.09	.81	.18	.04	.71
Democratic Party	-.04	-.06	.85	.12	.01	.74
Republican Party	-.16	.08	.71	-.26	-.02	.60
Women's Rights						
Self	.58	-.02	.15	.09	.14	.39
Republican Candidate	.84	.09	-.11	-.01	-.04	.74
Democratic Candidate	.85	.02	-.10	.08	.06	.75
Democratic Party	.82	.06	-.10	.11	.04	.70
Republican Party	.82	.08	.02	-.12	-.09	.70
Percent of total variance	13.3%	11.1%	10.9%	10.4%	9.1%	54.8%
Percent of common variance	24.3%	20.3%	20.0%	19.0%	16.8%	

APPENDIX VI

BOYD'S L AND S INDEXES

Boyd's L index: N = Number response categories for an issue,

E_j = Expected Democratic vote in each issue category j , and

WG_j = Ratio of the number of party identifiers and independents in category j over the average number of party identifiers and independents in each category (the weighting factor),

$GE = \sum E_j WG_j / N$ (the grand expected Democratic vote);

$L = \sum \text{Abs. Val. } (E_j - GE) (WG_j) / N$ (the partisan or long-term component).

Category _j	E_j	WG_j	$E_j WG_j / N$	$(E_j - GE) (WG_j) / N$
1	72.4	.50	12.07	4.100
2	47.6	1.73	27.45	.115
3	32.4	.77	8.32	3.953
			$GE = 47.8$	$L = 8.2$

Boyd's S Index: WA_j = Ratio to the number of voters in category j to the average number of voters in each category (the weighting factor), and

O_j = Observed Democratic vote in each category j ,

$D_j = E_j - O_j$;

$GD = \sum (D_j) (WA_j) / N$ (grand deviation of the observed from the expected Democratic vote);

$S = \sum \text{Abs. Val. } (D_j - GD) (WA_j) / N$ (the short-term component).

Category _j	E _j	O _j	D _j	WA _j	(D _j) (WA _j)/N	(D _j - GD) (WA _j)/N
1	72.4	77.6	- 5.2	.50	- .867	1.020
2	47.6	34.7	12.9	1.73	7.439	.923
3	32.4	14.0	18.4	.77	4.723	1.822
					GD = 11.3	S = 3.8

VITA

Mark James Wattier was born in Brookings, South Dakota on July 25, 1951. He graduated from Arlington Heights High School in Forth Worth, Texas in 1969 and enrolled in Memphis State University in Memphis, Tennessee in the Fall of that year. After a year at Memphis on a basketball scholarship, he transferred to Baylor University in Waco, Texas where he received his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1974 with a major in political science. In the Fall of 1974, he enrolled in The University of Tennessee in Knoxville, Tennessee. He received his Master of Arts degree with a major in political science in 1976. He is a member of the following professional associations: American Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Southwestern Political Science Association, the Academy of Political Science, and the American Association for Public Opinion Reserach. He started his professional teaching career in the Department of History and Political Science at Samford University in Birmingham, Alabama.