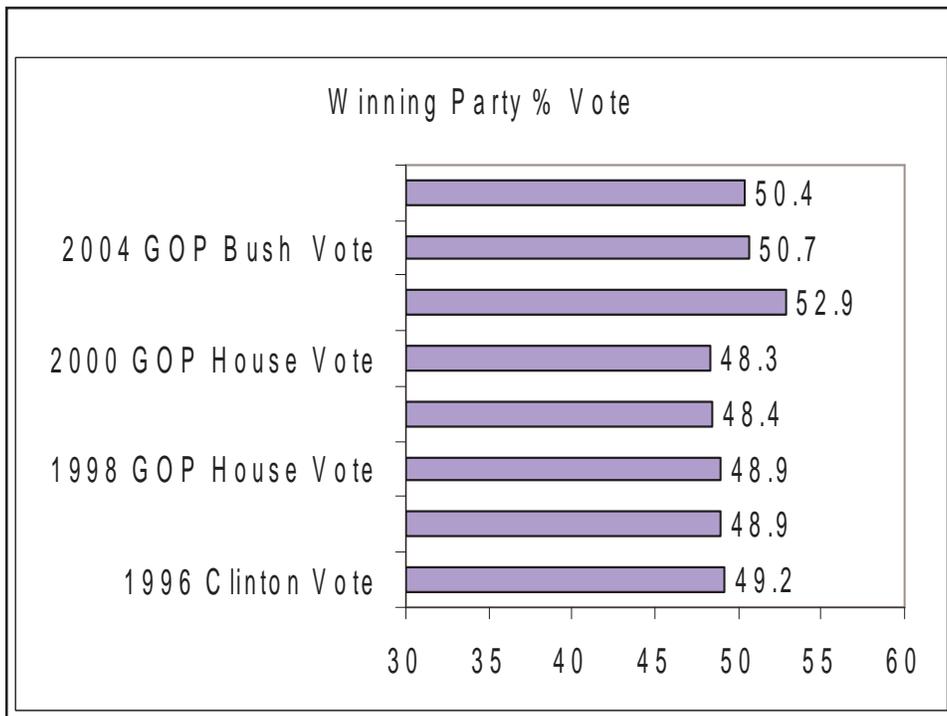
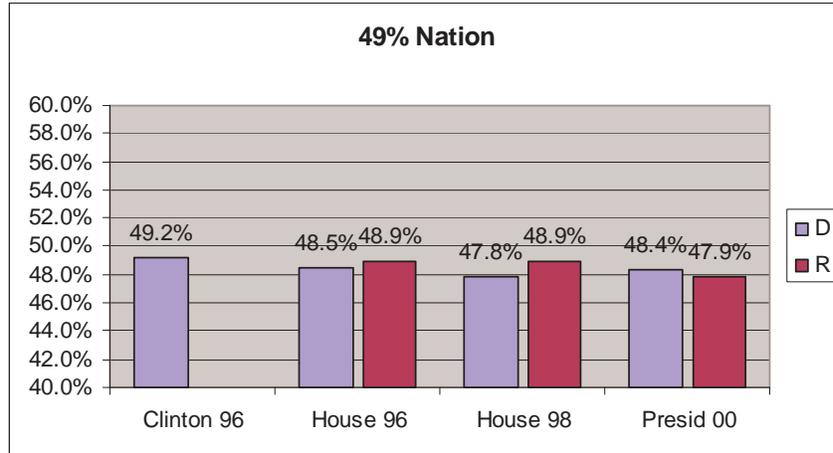


“The 49% Nation” - Michael Barone



Is America Deeply Divided?

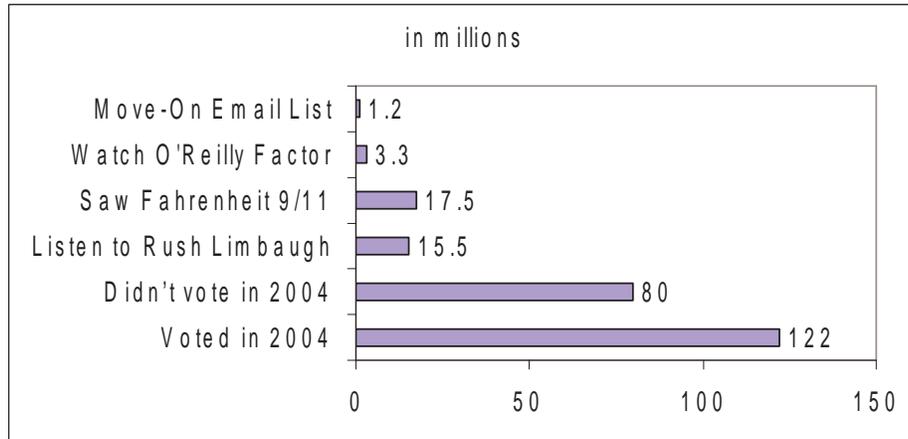
- “You’ve got **80% to 90%** of the country that look at each other like they are on **separate planets**” Matthew Dowd, 2004 Bush reelection strategist; & Schwarzenegger strategist
- “The red states get redder, the blue states get bluer, and the political map of the US takes on the **coloration of the Civil War**” E.J. Dionne Jr., *Washington Post*

Party Activists More Polarized

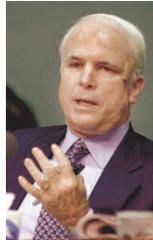
	Delegate Difference	ID difference
Government should do more to solve national problems	72	13
Cut taxes to improve economy	67	35
Abortion available	62	32
Anti-terrorism laws restrict civil liberties	62	28
Important to work w/UN	72	35

Difference between party activists and normal GOP and DEM
NYT/CBS Poll 2004

Prevalence of Activists



Confusing Positions with Choices



Micropolitan population voted heavily for Bush

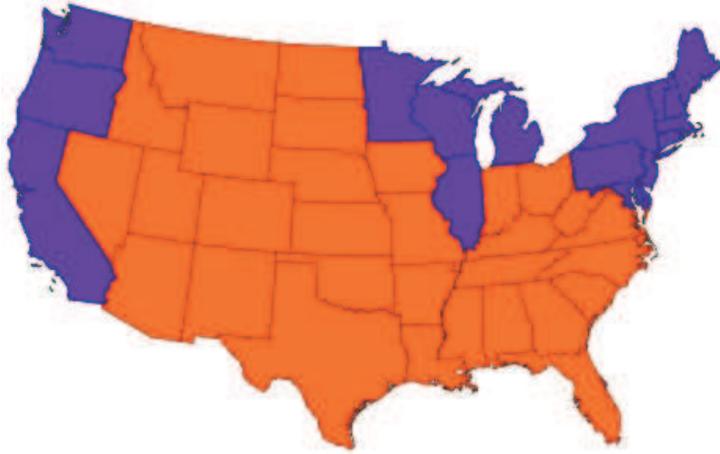
The nation's 573 micropolitan areas voted decisively for President Bush on Nov. 2 — just 16% of them gave Sen. John Kerry a majority. In the battle-ground state of Ohio the GOP advantage was even more decisive.



Source: USA TODAY research
By Warcy E. Mullins and David Evans,
USA TODAY



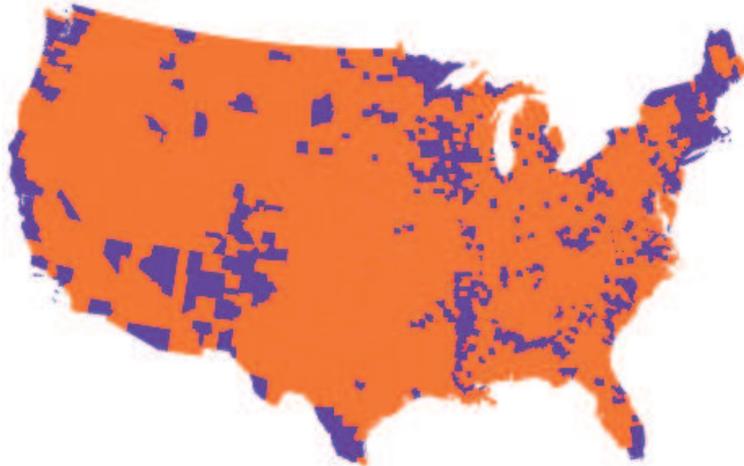
Red vs. Blue America 2004



No Swing Voters

- 7 of Top 8 Kerry State have GOP governors
- 9 states that Bush carries by 10%+ have Democratic governors
- Are swing voters truly “independents” or are these subsets “weak partisans” leaning one way or the other?

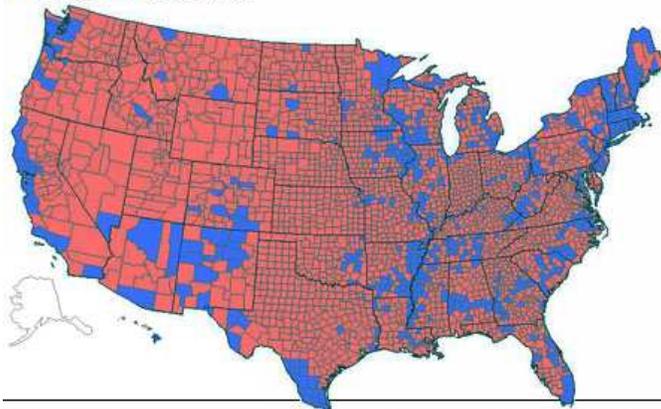
Red vs. Blue America 2004



Latest vote, county by county

Vice President Gore won in 676 counties and Texas Gov. George W. Bush in 2,436 counties, according to preliminary results.

■ Al Gore ■ George W. Bush



Square miles of counties won

Gore 575,184
Bush 2,432,456

Population (1999) of counties won

Gore 127 million
Bush 143 million

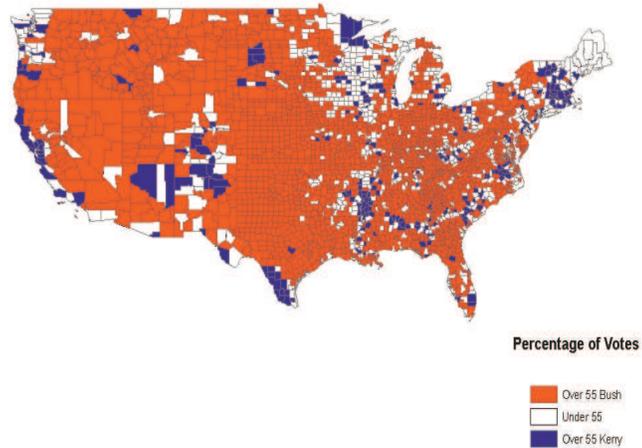
Growth (1990-99) of counties won

Gore 5%
Bush 14%

Note: County election data was not reported for Alaska. Counties in blue, indicating a vote for Gore, include Indian reservations in Montana, New Mexico and South Dakota.

Source: The Associated Press, ESRI Inc, USA TODAY analysis by Paul Overberg.

U.S. Counties With Over 55% Votes For Bush And Kerry In 2004 Election



Evidence of Deep Divide?

- Red and Blue States should have big differences on
 - policy preferences
 - Ideological positions
 - Views on abortion
 - Views on homosexuality

Red vs. Blue America 2004

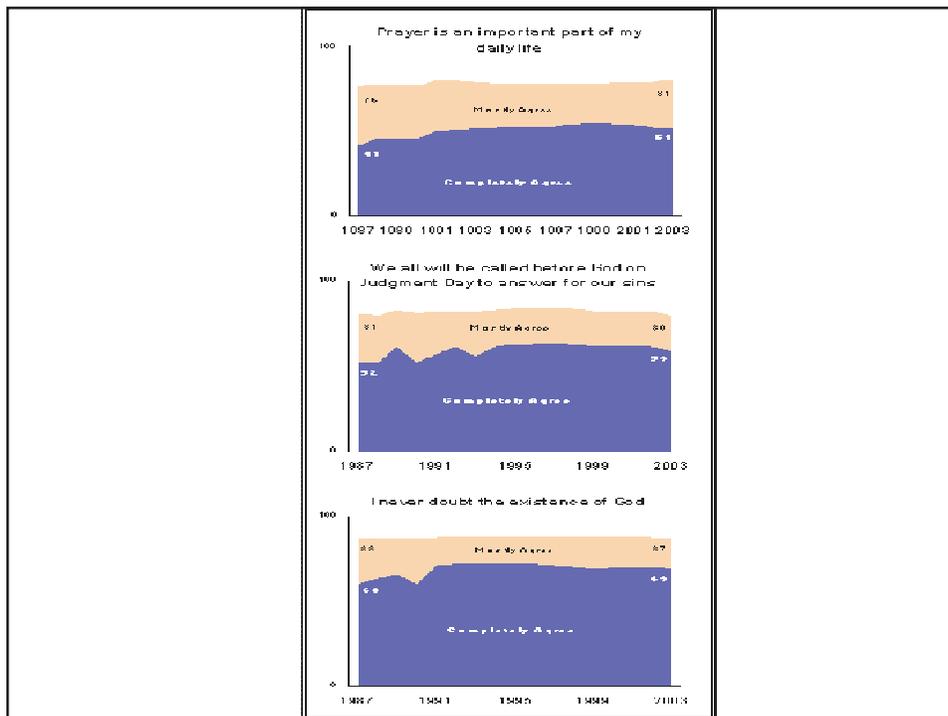


Barone/Rove Hypothesis

- Two Americas
 - “observant, tradition minded, moralistic... repelled by Bill Clinton”
 - “unobservant, liberation-minded, relativist” pleased with Bill Clinton”

Evidence of Deep Divide?

- Red and Blue States should have big differences on
 - policy preferences
 - Ideological positions
 - Views on abortion
 - Views on homosexuality



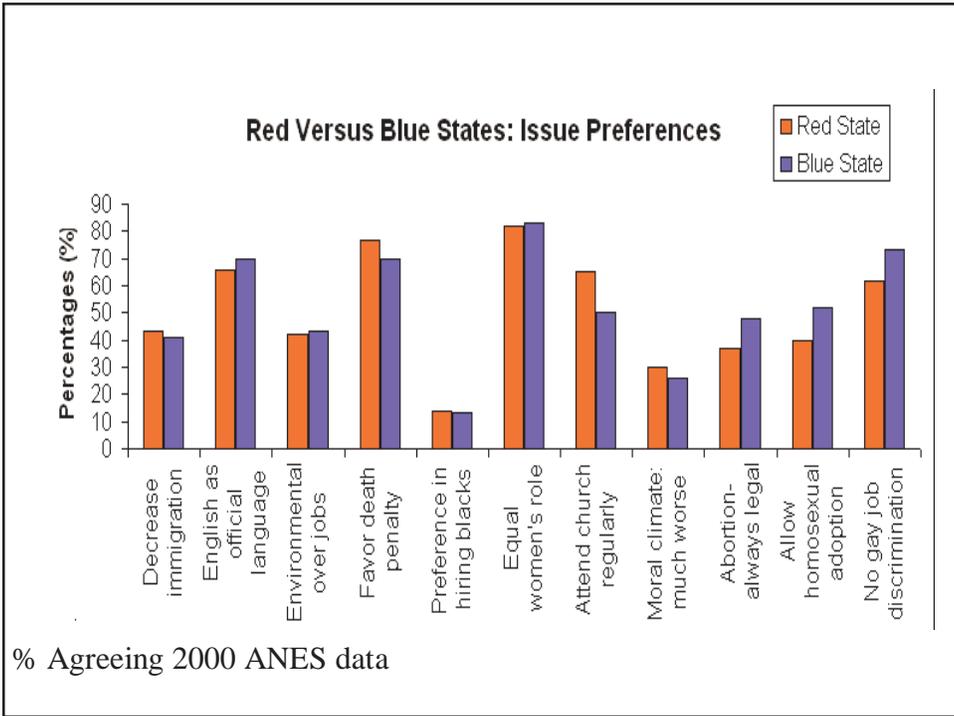
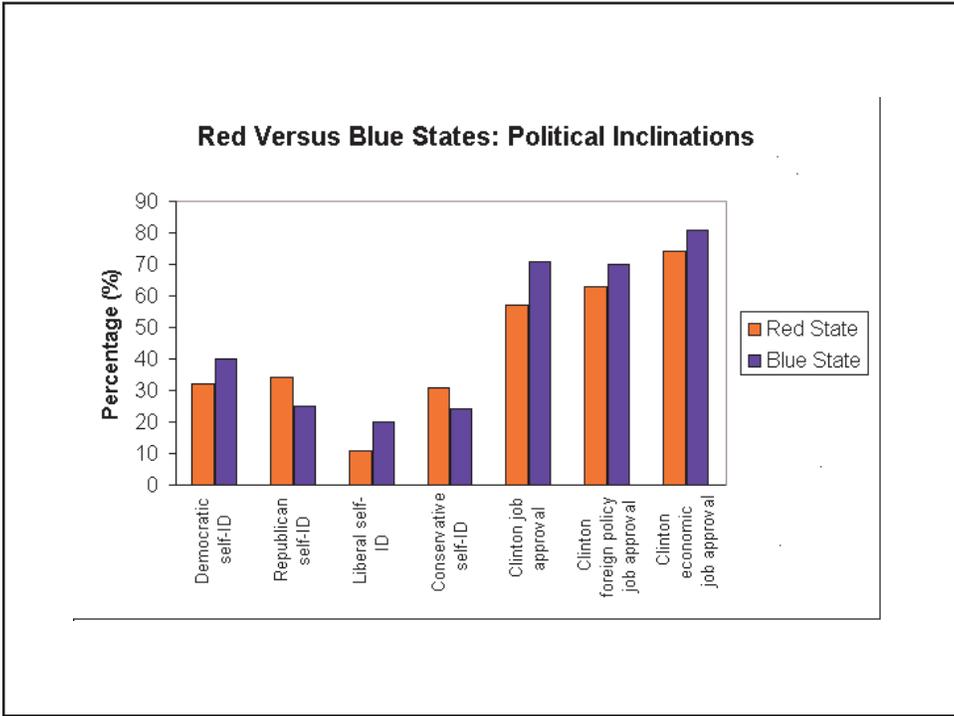


FIGURE 2.2

Both Red and Blue State Residents Are Basically Centrists

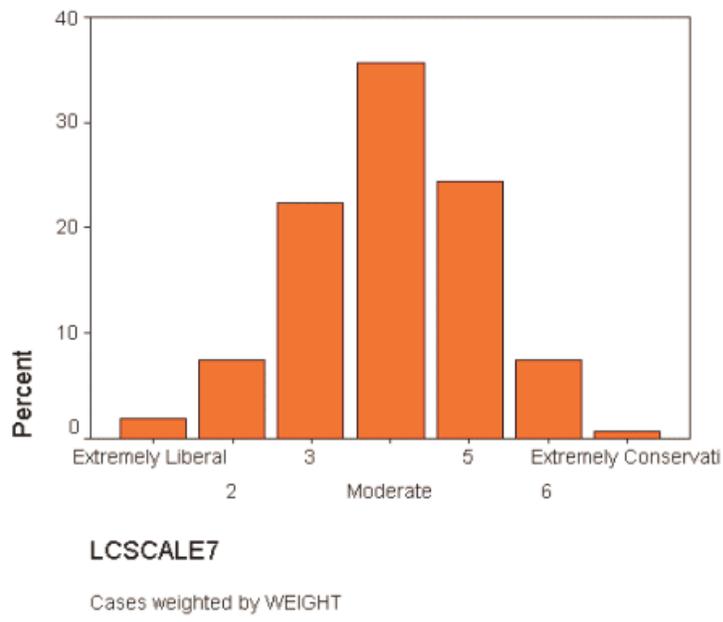
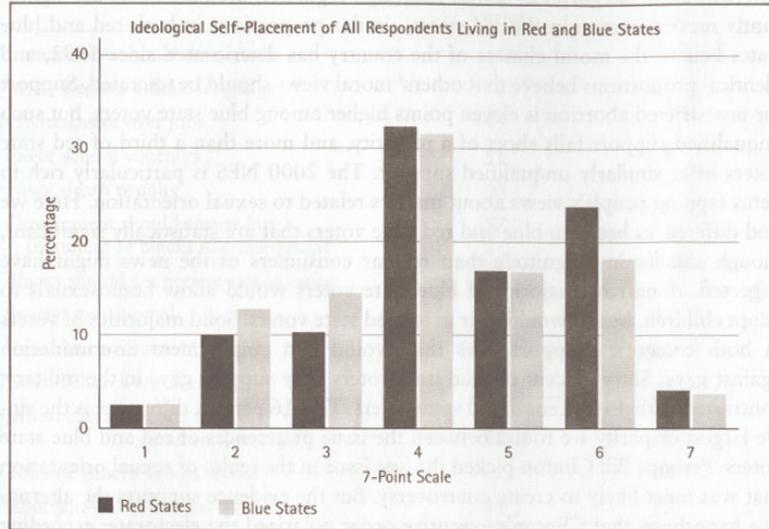
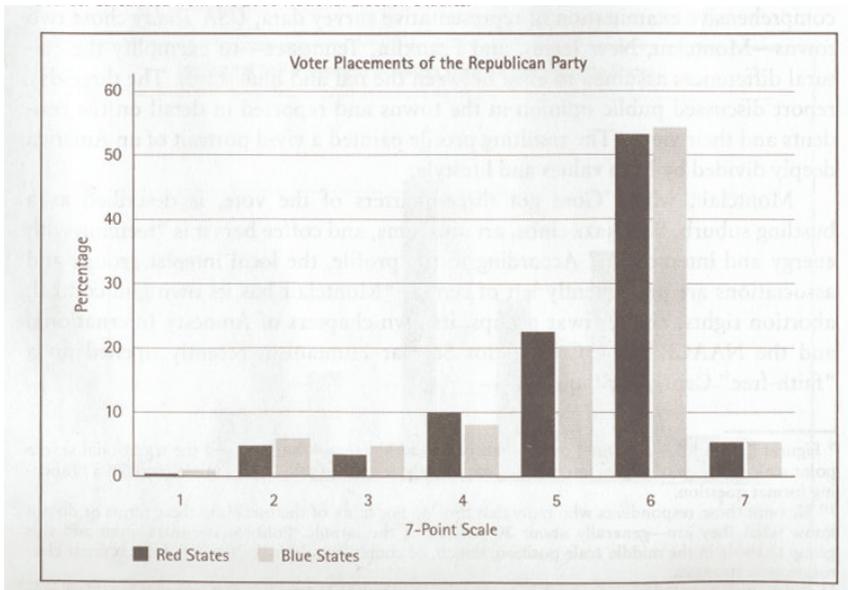
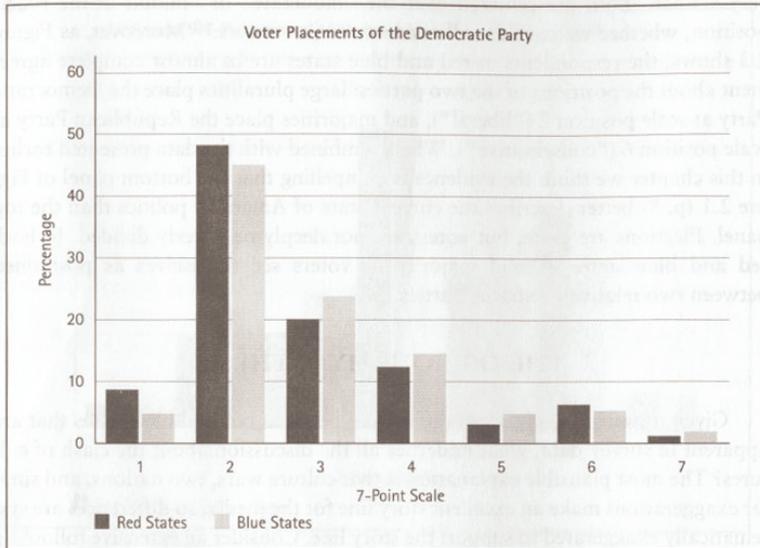
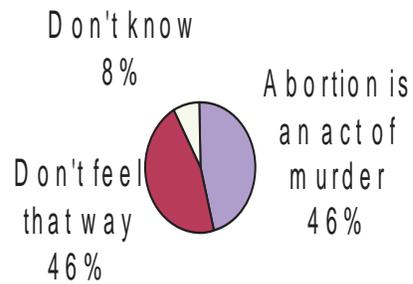


FIGURE 2.3
Red and Blue State Residents Agree That the Parties Are Not Centrist



Abortion Polarization

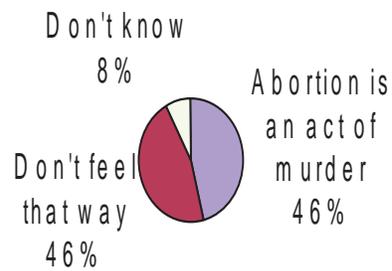


2003 Harris/CNN/Time Poll

Abortion Cleavages / Cross-Cutting Pressures

- Gender Gap
- North-South Divisions
- Deep divides?
- Religious & social connotations / divisions
- Regional variations
- Age and gender variations

Further Abortion Polarization



2003 Harris/CNN/Time Poll

Pew Foundation, The 2004 Political Landscape

Divides on Abortion

Stricter laws against abortion

	1987		1993		2003	
	Fav %	Opp %	Fav %	Opp %	Fav %	Opp %
Total	41	51	32	60	36	57
Men	38	53	28	64	35	57
Women	44	50	34	58	36	58
White Evangelical	62	32	52	42	58	36
White Mainline	33	60	23	69	25	65
White Catholic	46	48	29	59	37	56
Black Protestant	35	54	29	63	32	63
Secular	15	72	16	81	18	78
Republican	48	46	45	48	50	44
Democrat	40	52	28	64	25	70
Independent	38	55	24	69	32	61

FIGURE 4.1
A Clear Majority of Americans Now Support *Roe v. Wade*

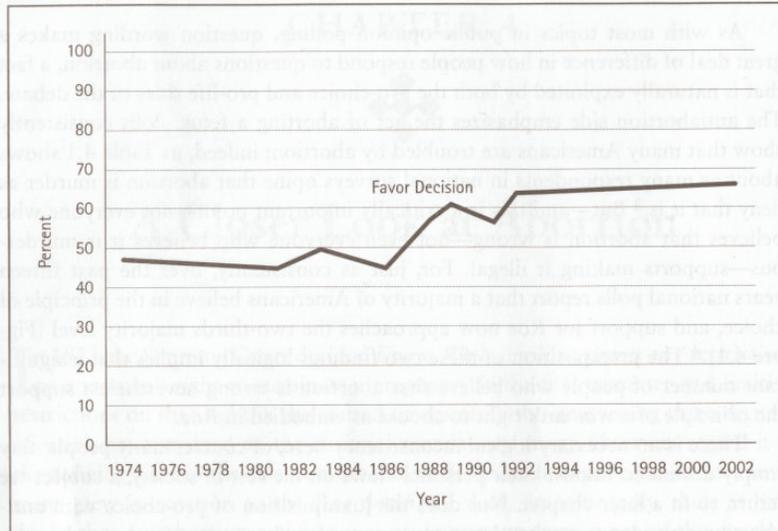
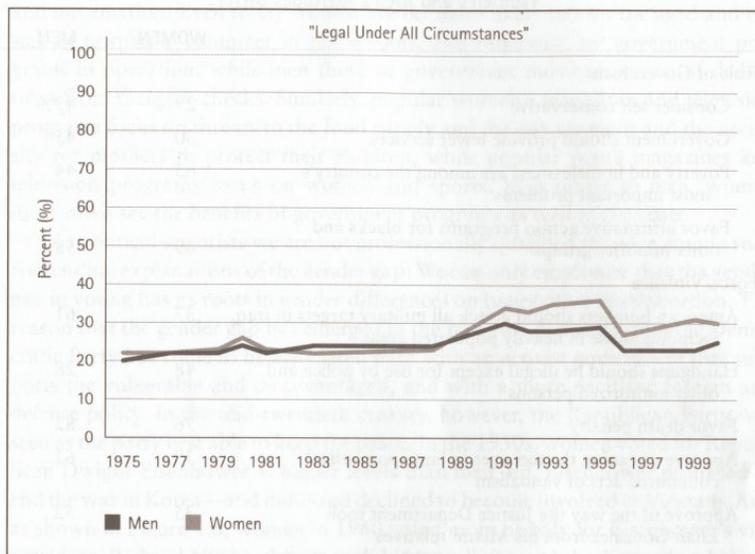
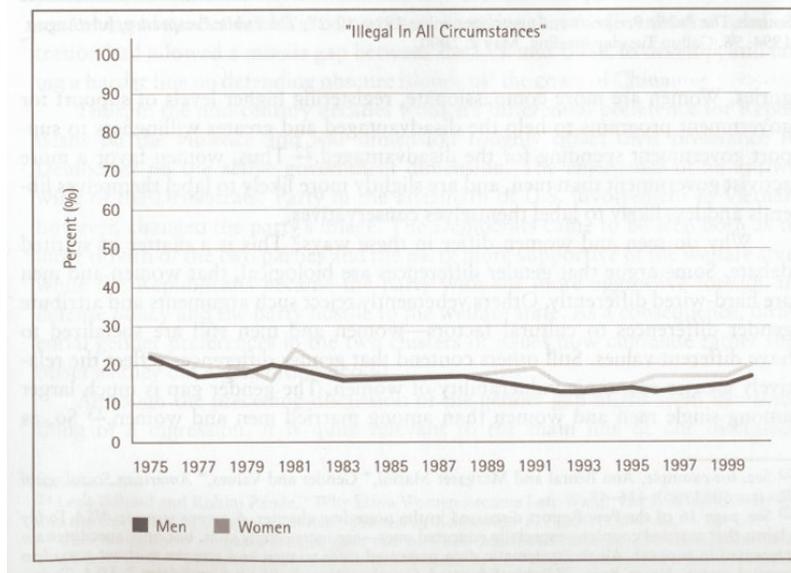


FIGURE 4.10
When Should Abortion Be Legal? Men and Women Are Not Very Different





- **Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if:**

1. the woman's health is serious endangered
2. she became pregnant as a result of rape
3. there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby
4. the family has low income and cannot afford any more children
5. she is not married and does not want to marry the man
6. she is married and does not want any more children

Big differences between Red and Blue States on Abortion?

FIGURE 4.3
Regions Differ Less on Abortion than Commonly Thought

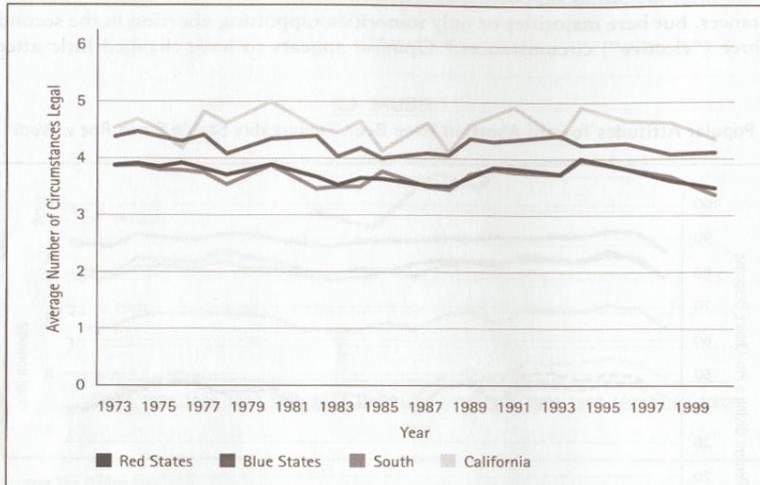
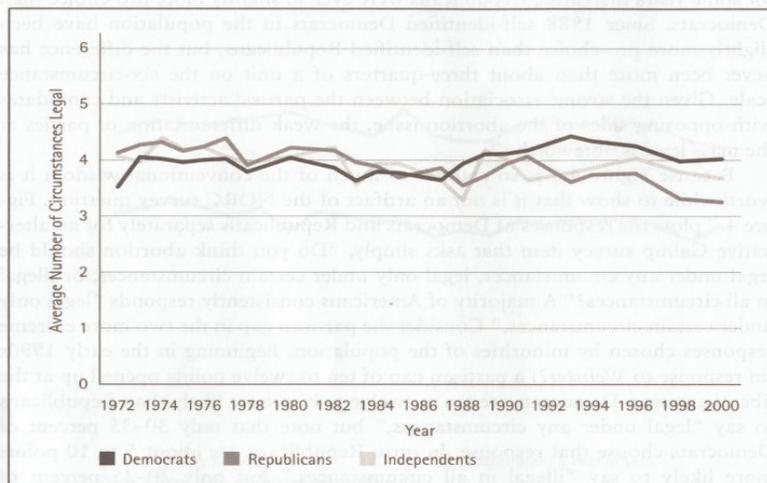
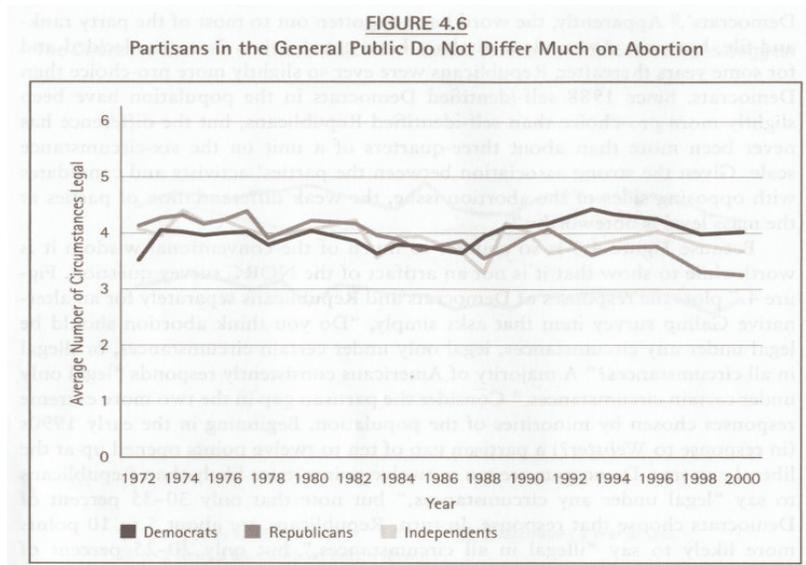


FIGURE 4.6
Partisans in the General Public Do Not Differ Much on Abortion



Big differences between Rs and Ds on Abortion?



Same Sex Marriage and Voting Behavior

Policy Toward Same Sex Couples	Bush%	Kerry%
• Legally Marry (25%)	22	77
• Civil Unions (35%)	52	47
• No Legal Recognition (37%)	70	29

Source: 2004 National Exit Poll

FIGURE 5.4
Support for Equal Rights of Homosexuals in Employment Has Steadily Increased

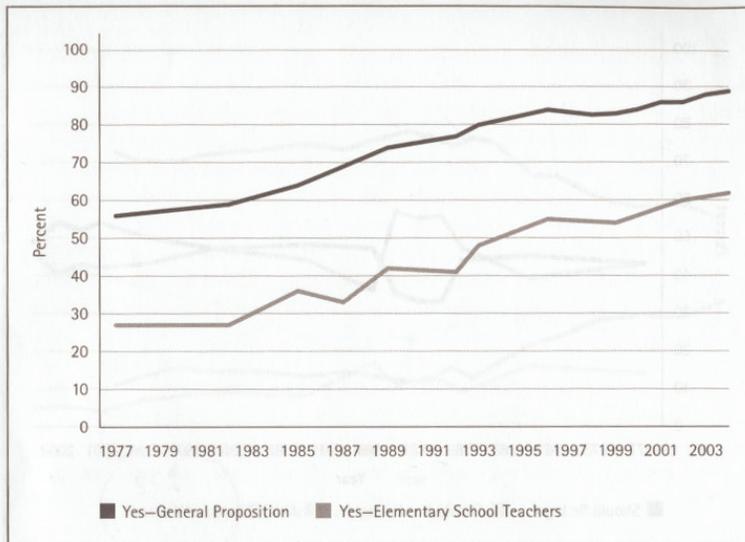
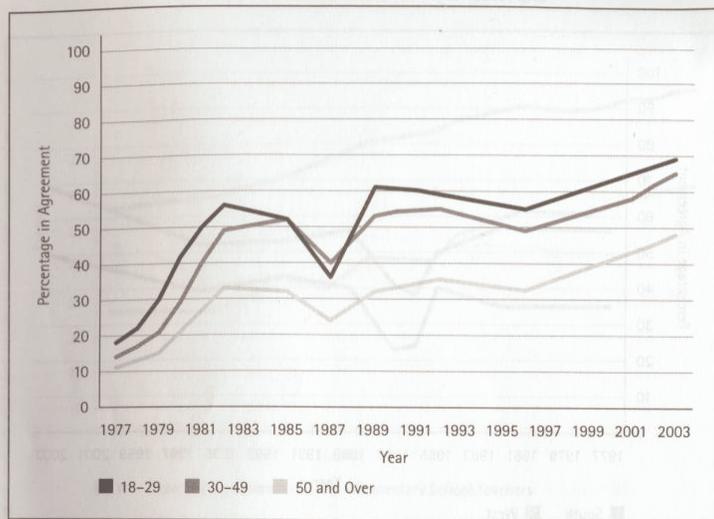
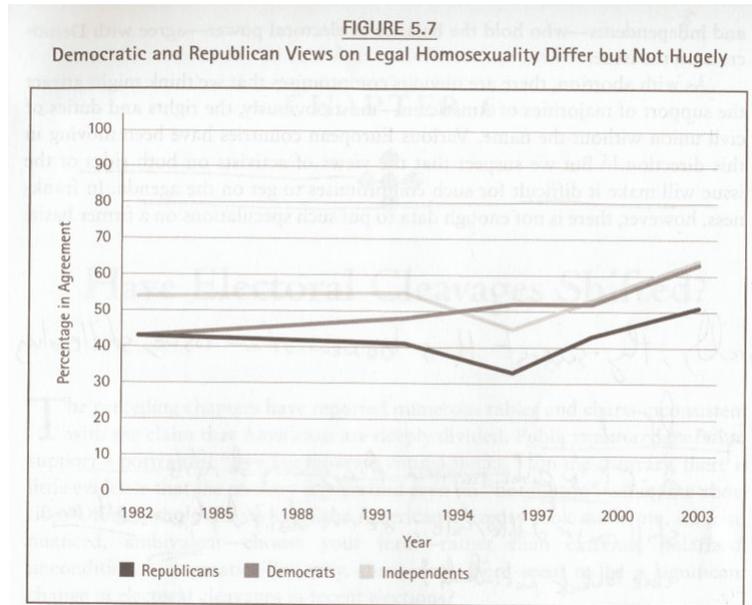
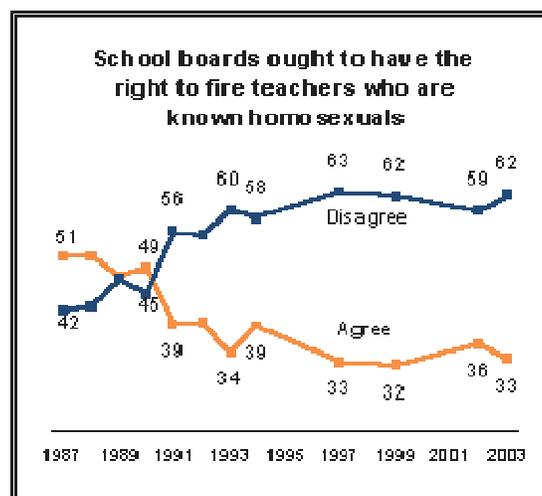


FIGURE 5.6
Young Americans Are More Accepting of Legal Homosexual Relations





Pew Foundation, 2004 Political Landscape:
Have electoral cleavages shifted?



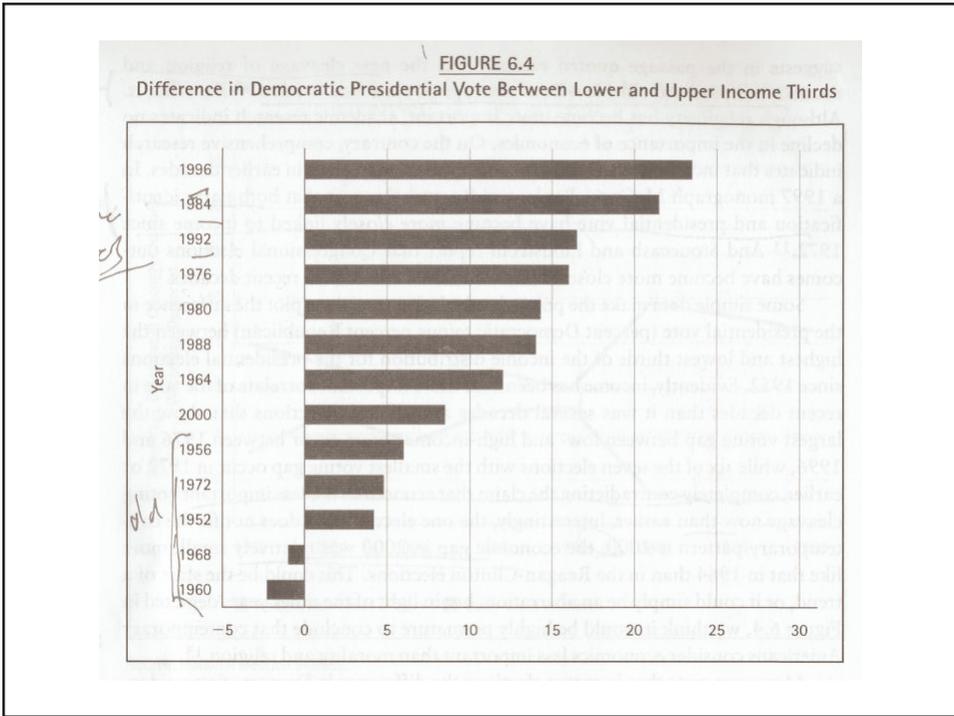
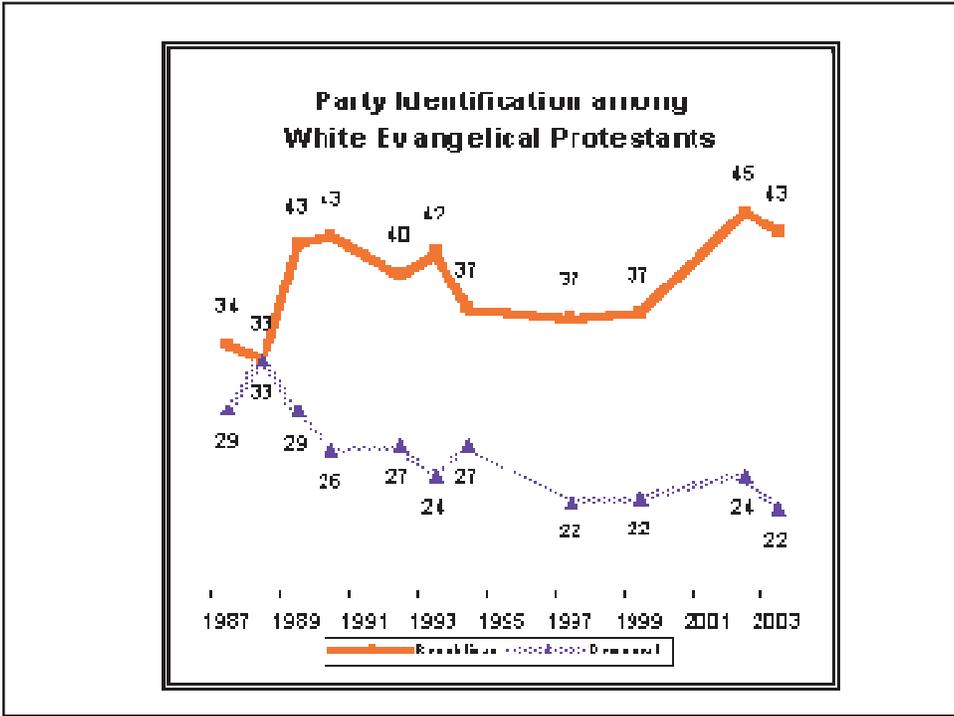


FIGURE 7.1
The One-Dimensional Spatial Model

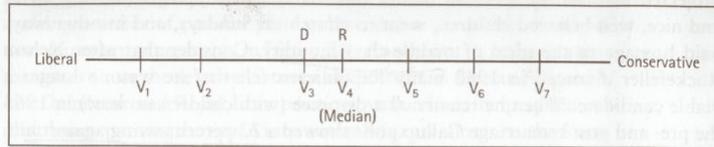


FIGURE 7.2
Candidate Competition in One Dimension

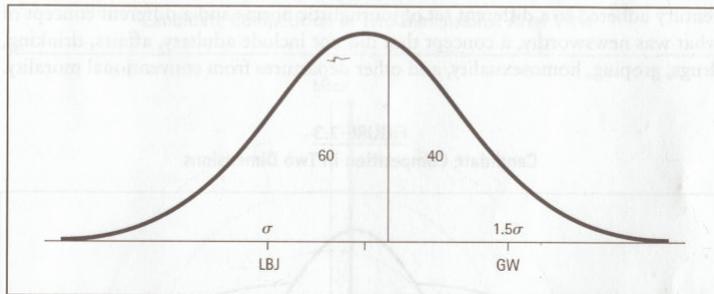


FIGURE 7.3
Candidate Competition in Two Dimensions

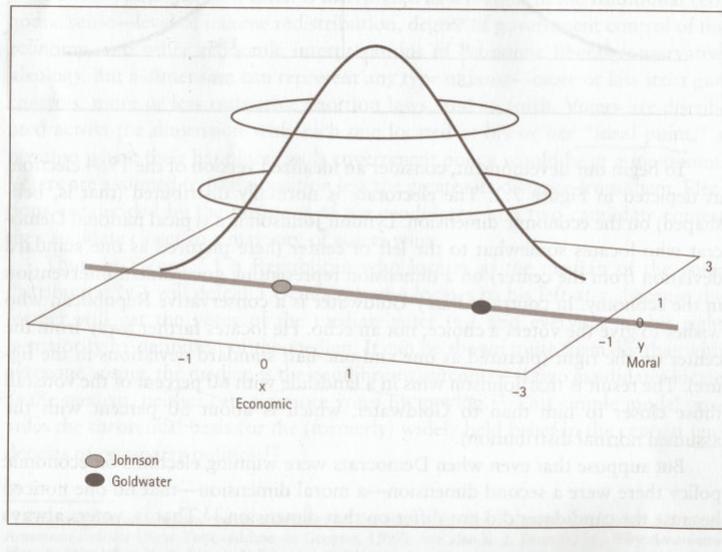


FIGURE 7.5
Democrats and Republicans Separate on the Moral Dimension

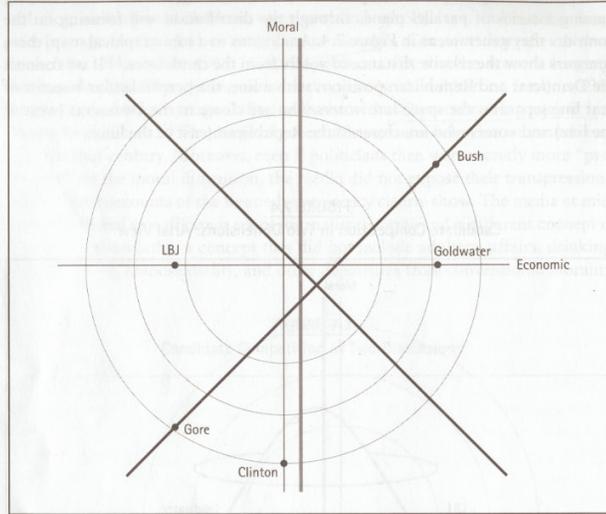
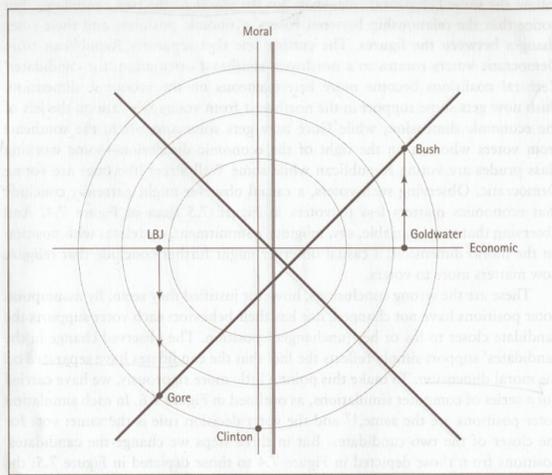


FIGURE 7.6
Simulation: Unchanging Voters, Moving Candidates



Are Differences Here a “Ditch and Not a Chasm”

- # of Circumstances in which abortion should be legal
 - CA 4.3
 - Deep South 3.4
- Feeling thermometer on Gays (0-100)
 - Blue state- 51
 - Red state 43
- But, Real Secular- Church differences are consistent

Fiorina’s Explanation

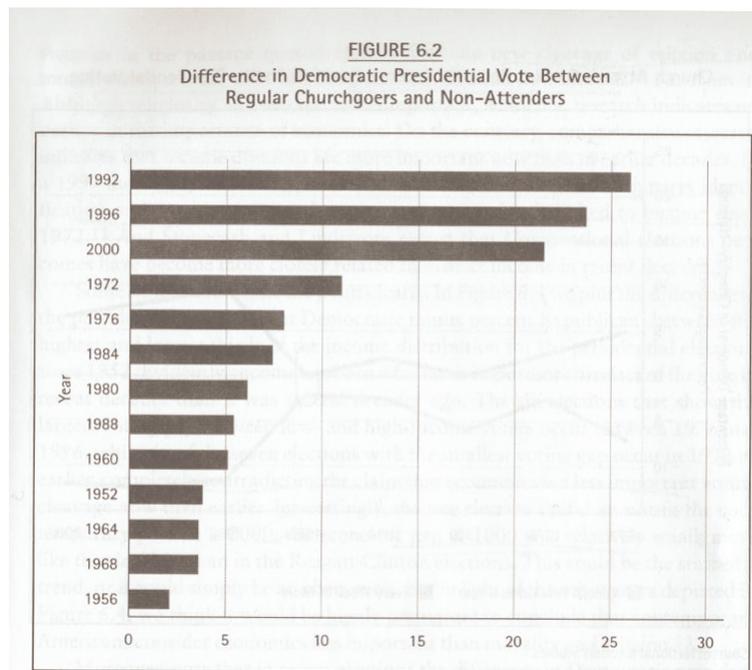
- Parties change – The Rise of Purists
- Expansion of government
- Opening of political processes

- Politics is dominated by purists who care about policy/ideology, not just winning.

A Causal Critique

- **Timing**

- When do Fiorina's changes take place
- When does religious differential start?



Normative Critique

- Is there anything wrong with a “choice not an echo”?
- Is our democracy better or worse

Alternative Explanations

