AMERICA AT WAR:
PUBLIC OPINION DURING WARTIME, FROM WORLD WAR II TO IRAQ

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To Deirdre and Benjamin

Acknowledgements

To Come

Chapter 1:
Introduction: The Myths and Meaning of Public Opinion and War

In early 2006, with the initial successes in Iraq a distant memory, public opinion seemed to have turned against the war. Republicans continued to support President Bush's foreign policies, but the nation as a whole did not. Though support for the war had remained fairly stable since the beginning of 2004 (Jacobson 2008), according to CBS News/New York Times polling, not since March 2004 had a majority of Americans agreed that the U.S. "did the right thing in taking military action against Iraq."[1] In public, Bush's reaction to this grim news was to belittle the polls. At an appearance at the Freedom House in March 2006, he exclaimed, "You don't need a President chasing polls and focus groups in order to make tough decisions, "You need Presidents who make decisions based on sound principles."[2]

Bush's public face, however, hides a more complicated political reality. From the beginning of the war, the Bush administration planned and executed military strategy with the public firmly in mind. There is, in fact, clear evidence that the administration was paying close attention to the polls. On November 30, 2005, Bush outlined his future strategy for Iraq in a speech at the U.S. Naval Academy. As the *New York Times* subsequently reported, Bush heavily emphasized the concept of "victory," using the word 15 times in his speech, posting "Plan for Victory" signs on the podium, and entitling an accompanying National Security Council report, "National Strategy for Victory in Iraq." The origins of this "victory" theme can be found in the public opinion research of National Security Council (NSC) advisor Peter Feaver, a political scientist at Duke University who has argued that support for war depends on citizens' beliefs about the correctness of war and its likelihood of success.[3] Bush's strategy was therefore not only a response to opinion polls; it was an attempt to influence those polls by emphasizing the prospect of eventual success in Iraq.

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[1] Source: http://www.pollingreport.com/iraq.htm; accessed May 12, 2006.

[2] *Washington Post*, March 30, 2006.

Bush's attention to public opinion polls in the realm of foreign policy puts him in good company among modern presidents. Lyndon Johnson tracked public opinion on Vietnam beginning in 1965, employing specialists to analyze both public and private opinion surveys and draw conclusions about the direction of the public mood. The scope of this collection and analysis effort was immense; under Johnson, according to Jacobs and Shapiro, the White House became, "a veritable warehouse of opinion surveys." (1999, 595).

The introduction of opinion polls into the war making decision process, however, dates back even further to the 1930s. As long as there have been surveys, polls have played a central role in the formation of policy concerning matters of war and peace. Franklin D. Roosevelt's interest in public opinion is well known. Throughout his presidency, Roosevelt carefully cultivated various "channels to the public mind" (Steele 1974). Many of these techniques were methods well tested by politicians.[4] But unlike his predecessors, Roosevelt had considerable access to scientific opinion surveys. The early years of FDR's presidency, after all, coincided with the rise of opinion polling in America.

Roosevelt took great interest in the burgeoning field of survey research. The founders of the polling industry, Hadley Cantril, Harry Field, George Gallup, and Elmo Roper provided the President a wealth of information concerning the public's views on the issues of the day. Beginning in September 1939, FDR received results from polls that Elmo Roper conducted for *Fortune* magazine. Though FDR suspected George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion (AIPO) of Republican leanings and was suspicious of their polling results, he eagerly sought the polling advice of Gallup's associate, Hadley Cantril, who was the founder and head of the Office of Public Opinion Research (OPOR). In researching his detailed history of public opinion during World War II, Steve Carey found original analysis conducted by Cantril in FDR's official files as well as in the President's personal files (Casey 2001). Cantril himself described his relationship to the President in his memoir of his life as a pollster, *The Human Dimension: Experiences in Policy Research*:

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[3] Feaver joined the NSC staff as a special advisor in June, 2005, and the "National Strategy for Victory in Iraq" report posted on the White House Website in November, 2005 showed that the document's author was "feaver-p." White House officials confirmed that Feaver played a significant role in drafting the plan (Shane 2005).

[4] See Herbst (1993) for a description of strategies employed by Congressmen to measure public opinion in the 1930s and 1940s. For instance, FDR employed a clipping service that monitored 350 newspapers and 43 magazines to track trends in editorial opinion (Steele 1974).

> I was [told] that the President would like any material available on public reaction to certain steps this country might take to help England. ... More and more requests came from the White House as American involvement in the war increased and particularly, of course, after the Japanese attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. (Cantril 1967, 35-38).

Despite the touch of self-promotion to Cantril's words, his sentiment largely rings true. From 1941 to 1945, many of the issues chosen for OPOR's surveys were selected at the suggestion of the White House and Cantril's reports were among FDR's most important source of information on public opinion (Steele 1974). In time, the OPOR polls were supplemented by polls conducted by the newly created survey division within the Office of War Information, which conducted polls for the U.S. government through the end of the war.[5]

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[5] These surveys were designed and implemented in conjunction with the fledgling National Opinion Research Center (NORC).

Given the importance of the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy, it is not surprising that the study of war and public opinion is a flourishing industry within political science. Scholars of International Relations have studied extensively “the democratic peace” – the question of whether democratic governments are less prone to international conflict than states with other forms of government (Doyle 1983, 1986; Gowa 1999; Huth and Allee 2003; Maoz 1998; Morrow 2002; Russett 1993; Small and Singer 1982). These scholars often look to the mass public as the primary cause of military action or inaction. As Reiter and Stam (2002) argue, democracies cannot wage war without at least the tacit consent of their citizens. According to these scholars, it is the fear of an unreceptive public that often keeps the dogs of war at bay in democracies.

Public opinion scholars have picked up this theme and closely examined the nature of the public’s preferences in times of crisis, conducting systematic studies of individual conflicts and series of wars in an attempt to determine what it is that leads citizens to rally to war or to reject an internationalist position.[6] The result of this vast literature, however, is an inconclusive set of findings. Early authors, such as Almond (1960) and Lippman (1922) argued that Americans’ preferences over foreign policy were largely incoherent – nothing more than shifting and changing “moods.” More recently, authors such as Feaver and Gelpi (2004; Feaver Gelpi, and Reifler 2006) and Larson (1996) have gone to the opposite extreme, arguing that opinions about foreign policy adjust directly to dynamic world events in sensible ways. Furthermore, with rare exceptions (Aldrich, Sullivan, and Borgida 1989; Baum and Groeling 2004), the study of foreign policy attitudes has largely been divorced from the study of domestic politics. In fact, an entirely separate literature has developed on public opinion concerning foreign policy (see Holsti 2004 for a comprehensive review). As a result, the study of public opinion and war lacks a coherent center or a consistent collection of results.

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[6] See, for instance, (Baum 2003; Belknap and Campbell 1951; Burk 1999; Eichenberg 2005; Foyle 1999; Gartner and Segura 1997, 2000; Gartner, Segura, and Wilkening 1997; Gelpi, Feaver, and Reifler 2004; Holsti 1992, 2004; Kull and Lewis 2003-4; Larson 1996; Mueller 1973, 1994; Nincic 1988, 1992; Page and Shapiro 1992; Popkin 1991; Schwarz 1994; Sobel 2001; Zaller 1992, 1994)

One significant problem with the existing work on public opinion and foreign policy is that scholars have largely focused on developments in the Cold War and post-Cold War periods in isolation, one war at a time. What we know about mass reaction to war, we have learned from failed international interventions – such as Korea and Vietnam – and relatively short-term military excursions – such the 1991 Gulf War, Kosovo, and Afghanistan. In the process, modern treatments of public opinion and war have seemingly forgotten the rise of the polling industry in the 1930s and 1940s and have almost completely ignored World War II – a war that was in many ways a unique event in American history. World War II was the only war in the last two centuries in which Americans were directly attacked by another nation before becoming engaged in active combat. Furthermore, unlike recent wars, World War II was waged with and against the European nations that provided generations of immigrants to America.

Seminal studies of public opinion and war have largely set aside such concerns. Mueller's path-breaking book, *War, Presidents and Public Opinion*, for instance, devotes only three pages to World War II (Mueller 1973). More recently, Holsti's comprehensive treatment, *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy,* devotes less than ten pages to the Second World War. Thus, quite paradoxically, the systematic study of the relationship between government and the mass public during wartime, at least the work conducted by political scientists in the last 40 years, has overlooked the largest and most important international conflict in U.S. history – one with potentially important lessons for the study of public opinion and war more generally. In fact, as I discuss in greater detail below, to the extent that scholars have drawn any lessons from the Second World War, these lessons have been based on a faulty understanding of the public's reaction to that war.

This book is an attempt to fill the gaping hole in our knowledge of public opinion and war. In advancing a general theory of public opinion and war, I address a number of conflicts in American history, but maintain a particular focus on World War II. This book therefore brings our understanding of the dynamics of a conflict that was in many ways a unique effort into the general study of public opinion and war, thereby enriching both our knowledge of that war and our general understanding of how public opinion is forged in times of crisis. I make use of a rich trove of opinion data that were collected from 1935 to 1945, but – for reasons that I make clear below – have remained largely untouched for almost 60 years. But I also draw upon polls from familiar contemporary cases. The conflicts I study range from relatively minor military interventions – like the 1999 Kosovo conflict – to large scale wars spanning many years – like World War II and Vietnam. Though these wars differ in many respects, I find common patterns in the organization of public opinion during wartime that can change our understanding of public opinion in both the foreign and domestic arenas.

To preview my argument, contrary to the conventional wisdom regarding public opinion and foreign policy, public opinion during times of crisis – and during war in particular – is shaped by many of the same attachments and enmities found on the domestic stage. The public might be briefly influenced by dramatic events, such as Pearl Harbor and 9/11, but – as in the domestic arena – public opinion is primarily structured by the ebb and flow of partisan and group-based political conflict.[7] These factors shape support for policies of war just as they shape policies of peace. Moreover, we can understand critical public choices during times of international conflict – notably support for civil liberties and the election of political leaders – by looking to the same factors that shape opinion on the domestic stage. In these realms, the feelings of threat and fear generated by international conflict influence opinions and choices in the same ways that they influence public decisions surrounding domestic policies. In short, the study of domestic politics and international affairs – at least in the realm of public opinion – can and should proceed from a common foundation. By revisiting faulty lessons from World War II and drawing on seemingly disparate survey evidence from an over 60-year era of American involvement in international affairs, I draw broader conclusions about the roots of public attitudes toward foreign policy. In doing so, I provide a coherent understanding of public opinion during times of crisis that brings together several divergent lines of research in the fields of International Relations and American Politics.

My findings also have important implications for the study of domestic politics. Just as our study of domestic opinion can inform our study of public opinion and foreign policy, the study of public opinion and war can shed new light on the nature of public opinion more generally. In domestic politics, the positions of prominent political elites have – with rare exception – changed only gradually. It is difficult in these circumstances to disentangle the relative importance of mass preferences and elite positions. In the realm of war, however, elite positions are sometimes more malleable. In the last decade alone, Democratic and Republican presidents have both rallied the nation to military action using very similar justifications. Moreover, once foreign commitments have been launched, it is difficult for leaders to extract the country from involvement abroad. Vietnam, for instance, may have been Johnson's folly, but after 1968, it became "Nixon's War." Given the sometimes abrupt changes in elite positioning and rhetoric on critical foreign policy issues, the study of public opinion and war can illuminate the dynamics of public opinion more generally in a way that the study of domestic politics cannot easily do.

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[7] Certainly, partisan and group-based attachments are not the only factors that shape opinion on international policy. For instance, Hurwitz and Peffley (1987) convincingly demonstrate that foreign policy attitudes are structured by core values and abstract beliefs regarding appropriate general governmental strategies.

Public Opinion and World War II: Revisiting the Past

In June 2006, White House Press Secretary Tony Snow appeared on *CNN Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer*. Speaking about public opinion concerning the Iraq war, he said, "If someone had taken a poll in the Battle of the Bulge, I dare say people would have said, 'Wow, my goodness, what are we doing here?'"[8] Surely Snow was surprised to learn in the following days that, in fact, someone did take a poll during the Ardennes offensive. From December 31, 1944 until January 4, 1945, AIPO asked, "If Hitler offered to make peace now and would give up all land he has conquered, should we try to work out a peace or should we go on fighting until the German army is completely defeated?" Contrary to Snow's speculation, 73 percent of the public expressed support for the stated U.S. policy of unconditional surrender; the American people wanted to continue fighting until victory was complete.

Snow's ignorance of this poll is not unique. Aside from a handful of historians, public opinion during the Second World War has gone largely unexamined. Given the importance of

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[8] Available at http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0606/18/le.01.html (access August 20, 2007).

World War II in American history, its relative neglect in the study of public opinion and war seems quite surprising. The lack of research into public opinion during World War II is not the result of a lack of public opinion data from the time. Indeed, as noted above, the mid-1930s saw the birth of modern techniques of public opinion research (Converse 1987; Smith 1987). Over 450 national sample polls were conducted from 1935 to 1945. Though survey research was in its infancy, pollsters asked many questions that would be familiar to modern researchers, such as support for presidential candidates, membership in different social groups, and general orientation with respect to the political controversies of the day. Most importantly, these surveys repeatedly asked a great number of questions concerning the Second World War (though, for reasons that are not clear, such questions were almost exclusively focused on the European theater).

The existing studies that use this data are, however, nearly five decades old (Cantril 1944, 1948, 1951; Field and Van Patten 1945; Smith 1947-1948). Some researchers – most notably Page and Shapiro (1992) – have used the aggregate poll data to study patterns of stability and change in public opinion. But this work is the exception. For example, Erikson, Mackuen, and Stimson's (2002) path-breaking study of macropolitical trends begins in the early 1950s. Furthermore, contemporary studies of individual-level behavior using poll data collected before 1952 are rare (though see Baum and Kernell 2001; Caldeira 1987; Schlozman and Verba 1979; Verba and Schlozman 1977; Weatherford and Sergeyev 2000).

One reason for this relative neglect arises from the potentially non-representative nature of these polls.[9] Modern opinion polls are conducted using probability sampling to ensure that

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[9] These polls are also extremely difficult to work with. Most of these surveys have not been touched for almost sixty years, and as a result, the datasets are not easily usable. The data contain

every citizen has a known probability of being interviewed. Polls in the U.S. before the 1950s, on the other hand, were conducted using quota-controlled sampling methods, where pollsters sought to interview certain predetermined proportions of people from particular segments of the population.[10]

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numerous miscodings and other errors. For example, in one dataset from 1940 I ferreted out twenty different keypunch errors. With a tremendous amount of preparatory work, in conjunction with Eric Schickler and a team of research assistants, I have been able to make the data suitable for analysis. In addition, some codebooks do not include the codes necessary to decipher important questions, such as the respondent's occupation and education. However, by comparing and compiling variable codes across datasets I have been able to reconstruct the proper coding for almost all variables. I undertook this data reclamation project for the purposes of writing this book, but my efforts serve a larger purpose as well. This NSF-funded project will make these valuable surveys available to the community of scholars.

[10] For a detailed description of quota sampling methods, see Berinsky (2006). While some pollsters used quotas in seeking a descriptively representative group of citizens (Roper 1940), others designed quotas to produce sample proportions that differed systematically from the population. George Gallup was most interested in predicting elections, so he drew samples to represent each population segment in proportion to the votes it usually cast in elections. Because Southerners, African Americans, and women turned out at low rates in this period, these groups were deliberately underrepresented in opinion polls. For example, the 1940 Census found that 50 percent of the U.S. population was women, 10 percent of the population was African American, and 31 percent of the population lived in the South. By contrast, a December 1940 Gallup poll included only 34 percent women, 3 percent African Americans, and 13 percent Southerners. These figures are typical of the polls through the early 1940s. By the mid-1940s, however, Gallup adjusted his gender quotas to interview equal numbers of men and women. This change in the composition of the sample makes it difficult to track real changes in opinion over time. The important point to note is that the Gallup data that scholars use to represent the voice of the mass public, in fact, came from a skewed sample of that public.

This practice created several problems. Apart from having to fulfill certain demographic quotas, interviewers were given much discretion to select particular citizens to interview. Since interviewers preferred to work in safer areas and tended to survey approachable respondents, the "public" they interviewed often differed markedly from the public writ large.[11] The highly educated and professionals were more likely to be interviewed; as a result early opinion polls are not representative of the U.S. population.

The flaws of these early polls are well known. As a result, many political scientists have rejected out of hand polls conducted before 1950. For example, Converse (1965) concludes that the Gallup and Roper data "were collected by methods long since viewed as shoddy and unrepresentative." Doug Rivers argues that quota sampling is "a methodology that failed" (quoted in Schafer 1999). Surveys conducted before the widespread of probability sampling in 1949 have therefore largely been abandoned.

However, by recognizing and accounting for the limitations of the polls of the 1930s and 1940s, these surveys can be rescued from the dustbin of history. While early opinion polls have substantial problems, the critical information those polls contain should not be neglected; in this book I take steps to account for these flaws.[12] By drawing on this vast resource to learn about a critical era in American history, it is possible to come to broad conclusions about the roots of public attitudes towards foreign policy.

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[11] For example, the 1940 census indicated that about 10 percent of the population had at least some college education, while almost 30 percent of a typical 1940 Gallup sample had attended college.

[12] The methods used in this book to correct for the deficiencies of quota-controlled surveys are discussed in the Appendix to Chapter 1. For a detailed description of the methodology, see Berinsky (2006).

The Myths of World War II

Perhaps, though, such an enterprise is a fool's errand. In many circles, World War II is viewed as an aberration of sorts, a uniquely popular war against a uniquely horrific enemy. World War II, in this line of thinking, was "a different kind of war…It was one war that many who would have resisted 'your other wars' supported enthusiastically" (Terkel 1984, 13). If, in fact, World War II was an exceptional event in American history, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to draw general lessons from public reaction to that conflict.

This common picture of World War II may, however, be based largely on myth. As historian C.C. Adams writes, World War II

> has been converted over time from a complex, problematic event, full of nuance and debatable meaning, to a simple shining legend of the Good War. For many, including a majority of survivors from this era, the war years have become America's golden age (1994, p.2).

In fact, the picture was far more complicated. Looking at the military experience, Adams notes, "Many soldiers didn't know what the war was about, and some resented their war-long terms of service. The majority of returning soldiers got no parades…Wounded men repatriated to the U.S. were treated as though diseased, and people rushed to wash their hands after greeting them" (1994, 7).

If our recollection of the military cause is in doubt, what about our recollection of the role of the mass public? In the rest of this chapter, I revisit the myths that have arisen around the public's reaction to World War II for two reasons. First, I make the case that we can, in fact, draw more general lessons from the experience of the 1930s and 1940s. Second, and of equal importance, I show how these myths have influenced the study of public opinion and war in general. By embracing a misguided picture of opinion during the war, scholars have accepted an incomplete picture of public opinion during times of crisis. Revisiting and revising the myths surrounding World War II with an eye towards general processes of public opinion formation can therefore change our understanding of nature of the public's preferences during these times.

Myth 1: World War II Was "The Good War"

There is a broad sense in popular accounts and some academic treatments of World War II that this conflict was – to use the turn of phrase of Studs Terkel – the "Good War" where the U.S., shaken by the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, quickly rallied to the cause of protecting democracy. Larson, for instance, writes:

> In the Second World War – 'the good war' – the public had an excellent cause. Of course Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and Germany's declaration of war on the United States contributed greatly to support for U.S. entry into the war. But support also derived from the shared perception of important stakes and vast benefits of eliminating a grave threat to U.S. security and from optimism that the outcome would be a decisive victory and punishment of the Axis powers … Further contributing to support for the war was a desire for punishment as a consequence of the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, such atrocities as the Bataan Death March, reports of the Japanese torture of U.S. prisoners of war, and Germany's holocaust (1996, 14-15).

Similarly, West (2003) writes, "the surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 changed public opinion. With the moral authority generated by a military attack, the American public shifted strongly in favor of war … With a clear-cut enemy in Germany and Japan, and opponents who were easy to demonize given atrocities that they committed, the war was framed as a good war against evil opponents."

The implication of these statements is that the mass public rallied to war because the cause was just and the benefits were clear. In this view, perhaps the mass public could again be mobilized to support a large scale military effort if only a worthy cause could again be found. Thus the conventional wisdom regarding the virtue of World War II has at least indirectly influenced our perceptions of the possibility of support for "your other wars."

The explanations presented by these authors may seem plausible in retrospect, but as noted above, some historians have questioned this account. In fact, public opinion data from the 1940s provides little support for the rosy accounts of Larson and West. I take up this question further in the next chapter, but some examples illustrate this point. Several times during the war, Gallup asked the public if it had “a clear idea what the war is about.” As late as June 1944, fewer than 60 percent said they did – a majority to be sure, but hardly a universal understanding of the “important stakes and vast benefits” of the war. Moreover, awareness of the extent of the Nazi atrocities was thin during the war years. In early 1943, a minority of Americans thought that Germany set up death camps. And even when knowledge of the camps increased over the course of the war, a minority of respondents thought that the toll at the camps would rise above one hundred thousand deaths. Furthermore, far from revulsion to the methods of the Axis powers, significant portions of Americans were themselves prepared to engage in mass killing toward the end of the war. When asked in December 1944 what the U.S. should do with the Japanese people after the war, 13 percent said, “kill them all.” In short, contrary to popular belief, but aptly summarized by Mueller, “the major reasons for supporting [World War II] were largely unappreciated while it was going on” (1973, 65). To explain continued support for the war, we must look elsewhere, to the political attachments and enmities found on the domestic scene.

Myth 2: The Impact of Pearl Harbor

The conventional view of the American public in the early years of World War II is accurately captured by the term used as the subtitle of Folly’s (2002) history of the United States during World War II – “The Awakening Giant.” Studies of World War II almost uniformly portray the American public as a stubbornly isolationist force from the mid-1930s through the end of 1941 (Casey 2001; Dallek 1995; Divine 1979; Heinrichs 1988, though see Braumoeller

2003 and Leigh 1976). However, with the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, conventional wisdom tells us, the inward focus of the United States ended suddenly. To use the words of Michigan Senator Arthur Vandenberg, “That day ended isolationism.”

The “wakening” of a slumbering American public at Pearl Harbor has had a pronounced influence on studies of American public opinion concerning foreign policy. Cyclical theories of U.S. diplomatic history, which posit that American attitudes toward foreign policy drift between long periods of generally interventionist and somewhat shorter periods of non-interventionist postures, are based on the notion that the American public underwent a dramatic shift from extreme isolationism before 1941 to extreme internationalism during World War II and the early Cold War (Klingberg 1952, 1983). This belief has influenced even the work of scholars who focus exclusively on the modern era. For example, in his book, *The Impact of Public Opinion on U.S. Foreign Policy since Vietnam*, Richard Sobel writes, “The bombing of Pearl Harbor was an event so large in the American psyche that it forever changed the public’s perception of foreign policy” (2001, 44).

The conventional wisdom, then, is clear. With the declaration of war on America by Germany and Italy on December 11, 1941 the U.S. was firmly embroiled in the Second World War in both the European and Pacific theaters. Public opinion, in turn, shifted abruptly. Americans, regardless of their personal interests or political beliefs, shed their isolationist posture and quickly rallied behind the cause of war, or so the story goes.

At first glance, the empirical evidence seems to bear out this hypothesis. Polls taken from 1938 to late 1941 show that an overwhelming majority of the American public opposed direct U.S. involvement on the side of the Allies. For example, in a series of six Gallup polls taken in the spring and summer of 1940, no more than 5 percent of respondents said that the U.S. should “declare war on Germany and send our army and navy to Europe.” Support for a declaration of war edged up over the next year, reaching 29 percent in June 1941. Even then, however, the vast majority of Americans firmly opposed the war. Come December 1941, the public mood shifted dramatically. While Japan’s action and Germany’s declaration of war may have guaranteed U.S. involvement in the War, the public quickly rallied behind the American war effort. In late December 1941, 87 percent of the public stated opposition to any peace plan that preserved the European status quo. This high level of support held through March 1942 and beyond (Cantril 1944, p. 249).[13]

But the picture may not be as clear as these results suggest. The events at Pearl Harbor certainly provide a breaking point in attitudes towards the war, but this breaking point is not the firm line conventional wisdom would have us believe it was. Focusing only on the question of direct military involvement – support for a declaration of war – paints an incomplete picture of public sentiment in the months before Pearl Harbor and ignores important changes in public attitudes towards the conflict that occurred from 1940 to 1941. Beginning in early 1940, Gallup and OPOR began asking on a regular basis, “Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to try to do? To keep out of war ourselves or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war?” This question captures an important dimension of opinion concerning war because, essentially, it serves as a referendum on FDR’s general policy of providing aid to England, from the “Destroyers for Bases” program, to the Lend-Lease proposal, to the use of U.S. warships to convoy aid to the English in 1941. As noted above, FDR was very interested in Cantril’s survey results on this very question and, in fact, told Cantril “he would appreciate it if this question could be asked periodically" (1967, 35).

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[13] The exact question wording reads, “If Hitler offered peace now to all countries on the basis of not going farther, but of leaving matters as they are now, would you favor or oppose such a peace?”

INSERT FIGURE 1.1 ABOUT HERE

Figure 1.1 presents the level of support for helping England from 1940 to 1941. The points on the graph represent the percentage of the public who said that the U.S. should "help England" at a given moment in time. When the question was first asked in May of 1940, the majority of the public rejected the notion of directly aiding the Allied cause.[14] This anti-intervention position remained the majority view through the summer of 1940. However, during the Republican convention of 1940, party leaders surprised their own members and nominated an internationalist candidate (and erstwhile Democrat) Wendell Willkie, for President. The importance of this selection and its effect on the shape of public opinion will be discussed further in Chapter 3. But it seems that the change in message from Republican leaders, leading to a unified message on the war from both major party candidates, helped change public opinion on the war more broadly. The particular interviewing methods used by Gallup during the campaign season complicate comparisons of opinion within the campaign – the data marked with the dotted line – to opinion outside the campaign, but the opinion trends are suggestive.[15] In September 1940, though the public remained opposed to declaring war on Germany, a majority of Americans supported helping England over staying out of the war. This level of support dipped when Willkie began endorsing anti-interventionist policies as the 1940 campaign drew to a close (see Chapter 3). Whatever the particular dynamic of opinion during the electoral season, after FDR's victory, support for helping England began again inching upwards, tracking over 60 percent in January 1941 and reaching nearly 70 percent by March 1941, nine months before Pearl Harbor.[16] Moreover, support for an activist position went beyond general expressions of support for England; the public endorsed taking specific actions that placed American troops at risk. In the summer of 1941, majorities of the public said that "the U.S. Navy should be used to convoy ships carrying war materials to Britain;" of the respondents who answered the question, 59 percent supported the use of convoys in June 1941, and 61 percent supported convoys in July 1941.

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[14] The question of whether it was more important to stay out of the war or "help England" (or "help England and France") was actually first asked in March 1940. However the raw data for this survey is unavailable.

[15] The Gallup polls conducted during the campaign used the same methodology and sampling frame as other Gallup polls from this time. However, unlike other polls presented here, Gallup only interviewed those respondents who said they would "be able to vote in the Presidential election this year." For reasons discussed further in Chapter 3, there is strong reason to believe that these limited samples are actually comparable to the regular Gallup samples from this time.

This is not to say that all members of the mass public were prepared to go to war if necessary to defend the interests of the United States, as defined by the Roosevelt administration. Pearl Harbor did alter the structure of opinion on the war in one major, yet largely unappreciated, respect. Until December 7, 1941, support for helping England – and involvement in the war more generally – was an extremely partisan issue.[17] Consistent with the general argument of this book

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[16] Reconstructing trends on the "help England" from the data presented in Cantril (1967) – which also includes some surveys for which individual-level data has been lost to time – indicates that support for helping England slipped 15 percent from March 1941 to May 1941 before again continuing its upward trend through November 1941. This drop and resurgence in support is not indicated by the Gallup data. In any event, from the beginning of 1941, a majority of the public backed a policy of helping England, a level of support well above those found through 1940.

[17] It should be noted that citizens who approved of FDR's performance as president remained more supportive of the stated war aims of the U.S. government than opponents of FDR even after Pearl Harbor. However, the size of the differences between these two groups diminished greatly after 1941.

– developed more fully in the next two chapters – domestic political attachments greatly influenced attitudes on foreign policy. From 1939 onward, FDR's strategies increasingly reflected a policy of confrontation with the Germans, and his supporters in the mass public followed that lead. Consider the partisan gap on public opinion regarding the desirability of convoys in June 1941. Of those who expressed general support for FDR, 72 percent supported convoys, while only 32 percent of respondents who opposed FDR supported direct U.S. action.[18] The importance of political leadership will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, but the point remains; the public was – on the whole – not as staunchly isolationist before U.S. entry into the war as conventional wisdom suggests. Moreover a substantial segment of that public – those citizens who expressed support for the president – renounced isolationist tendencies long before Pearl Harbor.

Furthermore, the immediate reaction of the American public to Pearl Harbor was not to demand retribution against Japan, as many have assumed. In December 1941 NORC asked, "Which do you think we should consider our number one enemy – Japan or Germany?" The majority of the public – 56 percent – replied Germany, while only 35 percent said Japan. Even on the West Coast, where reaction to the attack was most severe, citizens identified Germany as the number one enemy by a margin of 50 percent to 43 percent. The following months did not change this sentiment. In a March 1942 OPOR poll, 47 percent of respondents said that Germany was the number one enemy, as compared to 29 percent who said Japan, and Germany continued to outpoll Japan in a May 1942 OPOR poll by a nearly identical margin of 48 percent to 31 percent.[19]

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[18] I define a supporter of FDR as an individual who voted for FDR in 1940 and currently expresses approval of the president. An opponent of FDR is an individual who voted against FDR and expresses disapproval of the president. I use the composite measure to avoid potential endogenity concerns, but get similar – though smaller – differences if I use FDR approval or 1940 vote choice in place of this composite measure (see Chapter 3 for further discussion).

Thus, U.S. entry into the war – and the public reaction to that action – was the realization of long-term developments in political and military strategies on the part of partisan political actors. More than a year before Pearl Harbor, the public started preparing for war. While public sentiment did indeed turn after the Japanese attack, that turn was neither as swift nor as sharp as conventional wisdom believes it to be. December 7, 1941 did not represent a sharp break with an isolationist past. Rather it marked the realization of a policy that had been in the works for some time. Historians have long known that FDR was ready for the shift in American policy during the years before the U.S. became directly involved in the Second World War (Dallek 1979). The opinion poll data from this time makes clear that large segments of the public – in particular those citizens who took their cues from FDR – were ready for U.S. involvement as well.

Myth 3: The Public Reaction to World War II Was Unique

One of the more consistent themes in discussions of mass opinion about World War II is that public reaction to that war deviated from reaction to other wars. By now it should be apparent that this belief is highly questionable. World War II may be different in that it engendered continued high levels of support (for reasons that will be discussed in Chapter 3). Although the overall level of support for World War II remained high after 1942, public opinion still displayed the same divisions found on many political issues, including support for war more generally.

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[19] As with the NORC poll, the margin who identified Germany as the number one enemy, compared to those who identified Japan as the number one enemy in the March 1942 poll was smaller among residents of the West Coast. However even there Germany led Japan by 44 percent to 39 percent. Casey (2001) reports that in April 1942 the percentage of respondents who said that the U.S. ought to focus on Japan was almost three times the percentage of respondents who said that the U.S. should focus on Germany. Even if this reading of public opinion accurately reflected a brief "Japan first" sentiment among the American public, by July of that year, twice as many respondents said that the U.S. should focus on Germany as said the U.S. should focus on Japan.

One of the most consistent findings concerning public opinion about war is the existence of a gender gap (Eichenberg 2003). Studies of the Korean War (Modigliani 1972; Mueller 1973), the Vietnam War (Mueller 1973; Verba et al. 1967) and the 1991 Gulf War (Conover and Sapiro 1993) have all found that women are less supportive than men of the use of military force in general.

Analysis of the Roper, Gallup, and OPOR data demonstrates that opinion concerning involvement in World War II was also deeply divided along gender lines. Consider first opinion in August 1939. On the eve of World War II, Roper asked respondents their opinions concerning different courses of action the U.S. might take toward the conflict in Europe. I consider five of these measures in particular. The first three questions concern possible support for England and France in the event of war with Germany. Respondents were asked:

> If England and France go to war against the dictator nations, should we:
>
> 1. Sell them food for cash, credit, or not at all?
> 2. Sell them war supplies for cash, credit, or not at all
> 3. Send our army and navy abroad to help them immediately, or only if it is clear they are losing, or not at all?

The two remaining questions tapped sentiment concerning U.S. involvement in war, more generally. The first question asked, “Should we tend strictly to our business and go to war only to defend our own country from attack?” The second question asked, “Do you think there are any international questions affecting the U.S. so important to us in the long run that our government should take a stand on them now, even at the risk of our getting into war?"[20] The estimates of the differences between men and woman are presented in Table 1.1.[21]

INSERT TABLE 1.1 ABOUT HERE

The size of the gender gap varies – and in some cases it is not substantively significant – but the gap is consistent in its presence across all five questions. Interestingly, the gap is largest – exceeding 10 percentage points – when the term "war" is specifically mentioned. This result is consistent with Conover and Sapiro's (1993) findings concerning opinion on the 1991 Gulf War; the gender gap was strongest there when the topic turned to specific questions of the use of force.

INSERT FIGURE 1.2 ABOUT HERE

The differences found in August 1939 are typical of gender differences found in the period prior to U.S. entry in the war. Figure 1.2 revisits the "help England" series discussed above. The figure shows a general rise in support for more active U.S. engagement in the military conflict among both men and women. However, men were more likely than women to want to help England in every survey, on average by almost nine percentage points.[22]

INSERT FIGURE 1.3 ABOUT HERE

The gender gap persisted after the U.S. became directly involved in World War II.

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[20] The response categories for these questions were "Yes," "No," and "It Depends."

[21] Because men and women vary greatly in their propensity to choose the "don't know" response (Berinsky 2004; Krosnick 2002) – especially in this time period – I computed the difference among those respondents who provided an answer to the question.

[22] The magnitude of the gender gap is roughly equivalent to the size of the gaps found during the Korean and Vietnam wars (see Mueller 1973, Table 5.5) and more recent conflicts (see Eichenberg 2003).

Though, as noted above, Pearl Harbor is often viewed as a great unifying force, not everyone reacted to the events of December 7, 1941 in the same way. In Chapter 4, I explore the persistence of differences among immigrant ethnic groups during the war years. But for present purposes, what is important is that the gender gap remained in place even after Pearl Harbor. In Figure 1.3, I present trends in answers to a question of central importance to the war: whether the respondent would make peace with the German Army, if offered. This question, in effect, serves as a referendum on support for the stated U.S. policy of unconditional surrender. In 9 out of 11 polls from this period, men were more likely than women to support unconditional surrender. On average, the gender gap is just over 6 percentage points. Men were also more likely than women to subscribe to an internationalist posture after the war. Several times from 1942 to 1945, OPOR asked respondents if the U.S. should embrace the dominant orthodoxy in foreign policy that emerged after Pearl Harbor (Legro 2000) and take an active role in world affairs.[23] Figure 1.4 presents the trends, by gender, on this question. On all six surveys men were more likely to support an internationalist position, by an average of almost nine percentage points.

INSERT FIGURE 1.4 ABOUT HERE

The prevalence of the gender gap on questions of war extends beyond the particular choices made by men and women on opinion surveys. There is evidence to suggest that, just as in the present day, men and women thought about the war in very distinct ways. In July 1940, respondents to the OPOR survey were asked the “help England” question described above. Consistent with other surveys in this period, a large gender gap existed on this question; 42

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[23] Specifically, the question asked, “Which of these two things do you think the United States should do after the war is over: (1) stay out of world affairs as much as we can, or (2) take an active part in world affairs?”

percent of men, but only 30 percent of women said that the U.S. should help England even if it meant involving the U.S. in war. But in addition to the standard closed-ended question, the respondents were also asked why they chose the position they did. This open-ended probe gives us a useful window into the respondent's thinking on this particular issue.

Research from opinion concerning other wars suggests that men and women differ in predictable ways in their thinking on questions that tap support for war. Using data from the Gulf War, Conover and Sapiro (1993) find that the roots of men and women's thinking about war usually differ even when they agree on the bottom line of the preferred course of action. Exploring these differences in the context of Vietnam, Schuman (1972) used data from the 1971 Detroit Area Study to examine the meaning of opposition to the War. Schuman asked respondents, "Was it a mistake to get involved in Vietnam?" Those who answered "yes" were then asked why they took the position they did. Schuman found that women, blacks, and older respondents were more likely to take what he called a "pragmatic isolationist" position than an ideologically driven dovish position. In particular, women were likely to have reservations about American involvement because they were uncomfortable with the deaths of American soldiers.

Analysis of the 1940 open-ended data reveals patterns of thinking consistent with Schuman's findings from the Vietnam era. Approximately equal proportions of men and women who opposed helping England were unable to provide a rationale for their opinion (21 percent of men; 19 percent of women). In addition, nearly identical percentages – 16 percent for women and 17 percent for men – gave an isolationist answer as their top choice.[24] But beyond these similarities, significant differences emerged. The second choice for both groups was "futility of war.” However, twice as many women as men chose that response category (11 percent vs. 6 percent). The third choice among men was “we have nothing to gain by going in” (6 percent). But among women it was “don’t want to send our boys over to be killed” (11 percent). Furthermore, breaking the open-ended responses into more general categories highlights the gender differences in the way that men and women thought about the war. I recoded OPOR’s open-ended codes into 5 categories: (1) no answer, (2) principled isolationism, (3) war aversion, (4) anti-English sentiment, and (5) other reasons.[25] Consistent with Schuman’s findings, women were more likely to raise concerns relating to war aversion than were men. Specifically, 40 percent of women and 33 percent of men gave an answer that could be classified as war aversion. Thus, contrary to conventional wisdom, opinion concerning World War II was structured in much the same way as opinion concerning other wars. These similarities are found not only in familiar cleavages surrounding the direction of opinion, but also in the reasoning that underlies these opinions.

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[24] The raw survey responses from the open-ended probes are not available. Here I analyze the categories generated by the coders for OPOR.

It appears, then, that there is much we do not know about public opinion during the Second World War. A closer examination of the opinion poll data from World War II indicates that, for the mass public, the war was in many ways a war like any other. At the same time, unlike other wars of the Twentieth Century, World War II engendered consistently high levels of support throughout nearly four years of U.S. involvement. As long as the study of public opinion and war sidesteps World War II, the reasons for this continued support will remain a mystery. By examining the rich opinion data from this time in combination with survey data collected during other wars more familiar to political scientists, we can revise our faulty conclusions about the mass response to that war and learn a great deal about public opinion and war in general.

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[25] The “isolationist” responses are “Mind our own business, keep out of European affairs,” “Let Europe settle its own arguments,” and “We have enough problems of our own to solve.” The “war aversion” responses are “dislike war (general),” “Futility of war – what did the last war accomplish, etc.,” “We are not prepared to risk a war,” “We have nothing to gain by going in,” “Don’t want to send our boys over to be killed,” “Object to fighting abroad,” and “Can’t afford a war.” The “anti-England” responses are: “No obligations to help England,” and “England doesn’t need our help.”

Overview of the Book

There is a growing consensus among political scientists and even some policymakers that citizens, on the whole, hold views of foreign policy generally, and war specifically, that move in response to changes in those world events that are salient and reflect on American interests (Holsti 1992, 1996; Jentleson 1992; Nincic 1988, 1992; Page and Shapiro 1992; Feaver and Gelpi 2004; Feaver, Gelpi, and Reifler 2006). For instance, a prominent line of argument in this vein is what Burk (1999) calls the "casualties hypothesis," the view that the American people will shirk from international involvement in the face of war deaths (Mueller 1973). In the next two chapters, I question the assumption of scholars in this tradition. Existing accounts of the roots of public support for military action fail to specify the mechanism by which members of the mass public process information concerning the events of war. While events may ultimately help shape public opinion, the mechanism by which these events exert influence on opinion is complex. It is not the direct influence of wartime events themselves that determine public opinion. Political elites with a stake in the outcome of policy decisions have the power to shape the meaning of ambiguous events. Patterns of consensus and dissensus on the interpretation of these events by political actors with partisan and career aspirations shape public opinion more than the events themselves. In Chapter 2, I review the literature on the influence of events on public opinion concerning war and present evidence from World War II and the War in Iraq to suggest that events do not, in fact, directly drive the public's views on war.

But if events on the ground do not shape opinion, what does determine public opinion on war? I argue that it is the same factors that shape opinions on other policies – attachments and enmities forged on the domestic political scene. I provide the first part of this answer in Chapter 3. Using data from a variety of conflicts that seem to differ in their particulars – Vietnam, Kosovo, the War in Iraq, and World War II – I find a common structure to opinion; patterns of conflict among partisan political actors, above all else, shape mass opinion on war. Here, the revised picture of public opinion during World War II is especially significant. Even in a war where – according to conventional wisdom – the mass public rallied as one in direct response to the notorious attack at Pearl Harbor, the residue of partisan political conflict emerges as a powerful influence on public opinion. Opinions on foreign and domestic policies, it seems, are formed using the same processes. By bringing together the study of public opinion on foreign and domestic politics, we can learn important lessons about the nature of public opinion more generally.

In Chapter 4, I turn to another factor that influences opinion, namely feelings about groups. Beliefs about the groups to which individuals feel attachment or enmity may be forged in the domestic arena, but these beliefs also structure their attitudes in the foreign policy realm. To provide evidence for this contention, I draw primarily on data from World War II – a time when internal ethnic divisions were a highly visible part of the social sphere. But to demonstrate the generality of the group-based perspective, I look to a recent controversy involving foreign trade where domestic groups were particularly relevant.

Chapter 5 goes beyond support for military action, exploring how political judgments critical for the foundation of democracy are generated in times of war. Specifically, I explore civil liberties judgments during World War II, Vietnam, and the period following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. I find that the structure of civil liberties judgments remains the same in times of war and peace. While the particular conditions of war may change the manner in which members of the mass public judge the desirability of restrictions on civil liberties, I find that the factors which scholars have used to gauge support for civil liberties – most notably perceptions of threat – shape civil liberties opinions in times of war. Thus, while the particular circumstances of war may be unique, they influence civil liberties judgments through mechanisms that are familiar to students of domestic politics.

***In Chapter 6, I further explore the structure of judgments; study elections during wartime**

Chapter 2:
The Calculation of Costs: An Innocent Public

Should the opinions of citizens in a democracy matter in decisions of war and peace? The answer to this critical question depends on the stock we place in the ability of the mass public to come to meaningful decisions regarding the conduct of foreign affairs. In recent years, a charitable view of the mass public's sophistication has emerged in the public opinion and foreign policy literature. There is a growing consensus that citizens, on the whole, hold foreign policy preferences that are sensible and adjust to changes in world events that reflect on American interests (Holsti 1992, 1996; Jentleson 1992; Nincic 1988, 1992; Page and Shapiro 1992; though see Bartels 2003). Many scholars and policymakers argue that the events which occur during wartime – the successes and failures on the battlefield – determine whether the mass public will support military excursions. The public supports war, the story goes, if the benefits of action outweigh the costs of conflict; citizens should therefore have a place at the policy-making table.

In the next three chapters, I question this assumption. I argue that military events may shape public opinion, but not in the straightforward manner posited by most scholars of public opinion and war. It is not the direct influence of wartime events themselves that determine public opinion, as "event response" theories of war support claim. I advance a simpler story, arguing that public opinion concerning war follows a simple structure. Opinions over foreign policy, just like opinions about domestic politics, are structured by politically relevant predispositions. Hurwitz and Peffley (1987) convincingly demonstrate that foreign policy attitudes are structured by core values and abstract beliefs regarding appropriate general governmental strategies. Here, I focus on more simple predispositions, namely ties to political and social groupings in American society. I find that attachments and enmities to politically relevant groups provide a baseline reaction toward the war, while the dynamics of elite conflict shape opinions among the mass public across time. Under this conception, the events of war are important, but only acquire explanatory power indirectly. Partisan political actors, not the mass public, decide whether to lend support to an intervention depending on the costs of the conflict and the perceived success of the intervention. As I discuss in greater detail in the conclusion to Chapter 3, the public appears "rational" only because they take cues from elites who sensibly incorporate events into their decisions to support or oppose war. These claims may not surprise scholars of public opinion and American politics, but they are at odds with leading work in the realm of public opinion and foreign policy.

In this chapter, I begin by describing the different theoretic positions and present evidence from World War II and the ongoing Iraq war to question event-driven theories of war support. Though these conflicts differ in many critical respects, they also share important commonalities that allow us to speak to public opinion concerning war more generally.[1] In both wars, I find that significant segments of the mass public possessed little knowledge of the most basic facts of these conflicts. Thus, there is little evidence that citizens have the information needed to make cost/benefit calculations when deciding whether to support or oppose military action. Moreover, using data from survey experiments conducted during the Iraq war, I find that providing members of the mass public with correct information does not change opinion about the wisdom of intervention.

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[1] In other words, I use a "method of agreement" case selection design (Przeworski and Teune 1970; Van Evera 1997). World War II and Iraq are very different conflicts in terms of their instigating causes and the scope of the U.S. military effort. Yet I find a similar poverty of knowledge of basic facts concerning the war and – as I discuss further in Chapter 3 – a similar structuring influence of partisan political attachments.

The Power of Events?

The conventional wisdom that has emerged over the last 30 years in the public opinion and foreign policy literature holds that the course of events in a given conflict directly determines public support for war. The most prominent line of argument in this vein is what Burk (1999) calls the "casualties hypothesis," the view that the American people will shirk from international involvement in the face of war deaths. This hypothesis grows out of Muller's (1973) contention that public support for war is inversely related to the log of casualties. Some modifications have been made to this basic theory over time.[2] Gartner and Segura (1997, 2000), for instance, argue that casualty rates of military personnel in local communities are an important determinant of support for the war (see also Karol and Miguel 2007 on the relationship between casualties and presidential elections). Even so, the basic story advanced by Mueller remains a dominant view among both academics and policymakers (Burk 1999; Klarevas 2002, though see Kull and Destler 1999; Feaver and Gelpi 2004).[3]

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[2] As Burk notes, precise statements of the casualties hypothesis are hard to find. Burk defines the casualties hypothesis as having three claims; "first, that the public will not support military deployments which result in casualties; second, that public support for a deployment would be abruptly withdrawn if casualties unexpectedly occurred; and, finally, that public opinion on this issue is so powerful that it constrains the use of force by – indeed, effectively debilitates—great powers" (1999, p. 77). Clearly, this is an extreme statement of the hypothesis. But references to the general mechanism at the heart of this hypothesis – that war deaths directly drive down public support for war – permeate popular discourse concerning war and even the writings of military strategists (the memoirs of Casper Weinberger, for instance). For a review of occurrences of this sentiment among elites, see Burk (1999).

[3] Among the academic community, the best recent statement of the relationship between casualties and support for war argues "Wars tend to start popularly, with a rally-around-the-flag effect, but then become increasingly unpopular as they become more costly. The human costs of

One thing that has changed in recent years is that scholars have moved beyond simply investigating the impact of casualties to examine the effects of other events that occur during the course of military conflict. Larson (1996) argues that the collective public decides whether to support a conflict based on a rational cost/benefit calculation. According to Larson (1996), the greater the perceived stakes, the clearer the objectives, and the higher the probability of success, the greater the level of public support for war.[4] Building on this argument, other authors contend that the ongoing success of a mission – whether the war will come to a victorious end –

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a conflict provide a powerful explanation of wartime opinion" (Gartner and Segura 1998, p. 295). Policymakers share the belief that casualties shape public opinion concerning the wisdom of war. For instance, in a series of interviews with political elites, Kull and Destler (1999) found that three-fifths of congressional staff members in 1995 believed that the loss of U.S. lives during a UN peace keeping operation would lead to the immediate withdraw of U.S. troops. Even leaders of other countries subscribe to Mueller's logic. In the lead-up to the First Gulf War, for instance, Saddam Hussein claimed, "In the event of war, there will be great losses … when 5,000 Americans have fallen, Bush will have to end such a war…" (St. Louis Dispatch, December 22, 1990).

[4] Jentleson (1992, 1998) argues that the policy objective of a mission plays a large role in determining whether the costs of intervention weigh greatly in the public mind. He argues that a military intervention that is designed to stop foreign aggression against America and its allies will engender greater support than missions designed to affect internal political change, such as supporting an existing government allied with the U.S. (see also Oneal, Lian, and Joyner 1996). Jentleson's theory is different than other theories relating to the ongoing costs and benefits of war because it considers the overall justification that leads to war, not the continuing development of the war. Put another way, Jentleson's theory speaks to the baseline levels of support for interventions sparked by different initiating events, but cannot explain the dynamics of support for a given intervention, short of a change in the policy objective of that intervention. Thus, while the objective of a mission may play a role in determining absolute levels of public support, that consideration is distinct from other theories of war discussed here.

determines public support for conflict (Feaver and Gelpi 2004; Gelpi, Feaver, and Reifler 2006; Kull and Ramsay 2001). These theories differ in their particulars, yet all share the belief that "events" directly determine public support for war. Thus, even for scholars who consider factors beyond casualties, the basic logic underlying Mueller's argument remains the dominant position: the collective mass public is rational and will support war if, and only if, the events of war ensure that the costs of military action are outweighed by the perceived benefits of a successful outcome.

Though "event-response" theories of public support for war have made important contributions, they have several potentially serious conceptual problems. First, these theories presume that members of the mass public at least implicitly incorporate knowledge of political developments into their political judgments. However, there is a long line of research that finds great heterogeneity in levels of political knowledge among the mass public (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996). While researchers have long known that, on average, Americans know little about politics, knowledge levels are even dimmer when the focus turns to the specific factual information. For instance, Gilens (2001) found that the public's knowledge of specific policy-relevant information is low, even among those respondents who have high levels of general political knowledge (see also Ansolabehere et al. 2005; Wong 2007).

Second, much research on the relationship between casualties and support for war has examined differences in collective public support for intervention across wars, not the differences among individuals within particular conflicts (Klarevas 2002; Mueller 1973; Larson 1996; Jentleson 1992, Jentleson and Britton 1998). With some important exceptions (Gartner and Segura 2000; Gartner, Segura, and Wilkerning 1997; Gelpi, Feaver, and Reifler 2006 and, in the context of the "rally around the flag" phenomenon, Baum 2002; Edwards and Swenson 1997

Baum 2002; Edwards and Swenson 1997) analysis has proceeded at the aggregate level.[5] Several existing theories therefore rest on untested notions of collective rationality. Larson, for instance, argues that the aggregate mass public will support war "if the aims are clear," but he does not describe the conditions under which individuals, much less the aggregate public, make such complex calculations. Thus, many existing theories of public support for military action fail to specify the mechanisms by which members of the mass public process information concerning the events of war and come to determine – both as individuals and collectives – to either support or oppose a given military operation. This aggregate-level work is certainly valuable, but it must be supplemented by individual-level analysis that accounts for individual-level variation on relevant political dimensions.[6]

This leads to the final and most important point. Almost all the work described above ignores the American political process. Treating the mass public as an undifferentiated whole –

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[5] In a related vein, Hurwitz and Peffley (1987) look more generally at foreign policy attitudes and advance an individual-level hierarchical model of attitude structure. This model is incompatible with the event-driven theories of war support, but is complementary to the elite-driven view advanced in this paper. Hurwitz and Peffley argue, in fact, that, "Among the various policy domains that comprise the political environment of the average citizen, the international sphere is exceptionally complex and ambiguous … Consequently, citizens are forced to rely on the assessments of U.S. political elites and media commentators, who interpret world events but who also, quite often, disagree with one another." (1987, 1103). Furthermore, I agree with Hurwitz and Peffley's contention that factors other than elite discourse play a role in structuring opinion on war. In Chapter 4, I examine the role played by group attitudes in determining the mass public's stance on military intervention.

[6] As Converse (1991), among others, has shown, aggregate opinion can look rational if citizens merely follow the cues of political elites who share their political predispositions, a line of reasoning I discuss further in the next section.

innocent of attachments to political parties and relevant social groups – leaves no room for the effect of domestic politics. Many researchers who study public opinion and war – even those scholars who conduct individual-level analysis – often talk about "the public" as if it were a monolithic entity. But foreign policy is often as contentious and partisan as domestic politics.

Consider, for instance, the principal independent variable of both Kull and Ramsey (2001) and Feaver and Gelpi (2004): "war success." At the aggregate level, "perception of success" may have a clear meaning; it could vary over time in reaction to the events on the battlefield. But it is not clear how best to give meaning to the cross-sectional variation in individual perceptions of success. The literature on the effect of perceptions of the economy on vote choice is instructive on this point. First, as Erikson (2004) notes (following Kramer 1983), because cross-sectional variation in perceptions of the economy represents variation in individual perceptions of a fixed quantity, cross-sectional variation in economic evaluations is, in part, random noise but is also in part determined by an individual's political predispositions. Similarly, we might expect that cross-sectional variation in evaluations of future military "success" – a quantity with a presumably objective answer – could, in part, also be random noise. But given the partisan nature of patterns of support for the Iraq conflict (Jacobson 2007), this variation is probably less random noise than it is the product of partisan projection effects (Lord, Ross, and Lepper 1979). That is, people may use their political predispositions to assess the likelihood of success. Such projection effects could undermine our ability to effectively assess the true relationship between the benefits of war – measured by the likelihood of a successful outcome – and support for that war. Indeed, recent research has demonstrated that economic perceptions may be determined by vote choice, rather than the converse (Wlezien, Franklin, and Twiggs 1997, Anderson, Mendes, and Tverdova 2004, Erikson 2004). Similarly, just as the observed correlation between vote choice and economic perceptions is a result of voters bringing their economic assessments in line with their political judgments, the causal arrow between perceived success and war support could run from the latter to the former, rather than vice-versa, as Gelpi, Feaver, and Reifler (2005-2006) argue (for further discussion, see Berinsky and Druckman 2007). In fact, as I will demonstrate below, analysis of survey data concerning the current Iraq War suggests that, as a matter of empirical fact, perceived success is best characterized as another measure of support for war, itself influenced by partisan elite discourse. This discussion indicates that theories of war and politics must account for the effects of the domestic political process (Baum and Groelling 2004; Schultz 2001).

Mediated Reality: The Primacy of Political Competition

In the early days of survey research, scholars argued that the public opinion concerning foreign policy was volatile and irrational – a fickle and changing "mood" in Almond's (1960) words (see also Converse 1964; Lippman 1922; for a review, see Holsti 2004). However, the relative shortcoming of event-response theories does not mean that we must retreat to these dismal conclusions regarding public opinion and foreign policy. Event-response theories, after all, are not the only explanation for the dynamics of public support for war. In this book, I examine two additional factors that shape public opinion on war: the influence of competition among political elites on the one hand and the power of group attachments on the other.

The Elite Competition Theory

Popular perceptions notwithstanding, politics has never stopped at the water's edge. Furthermore, in America, politics is steeped in partisan conflict. Partisanship influences the way in which citizens interpret ongoing events (Bartels 2002) and, consequently, the political decisions they make. The leading proponent of an elite-driven opinion process in the context of foreign policy is Zaller (1992), who claims that elite discourse is the key to explaining war support (see also Brody 1991).[7] Zaller argues that the balance of persuasive messages carried in the political media determines the balance of opinion on a given policy controversy. Individuals who are most politically knowledgeable are most likely to receive political messages, and accept those messages that accord with their personal political predispositions. The greater the volume of elite discourse favoring a particular policy position from elites of a particular political stripe, the more likely it is that the members of the mass public who share the political predispositions of those elites will adopt that position.

Zaller makes his case in the context of the Vietnam War, arguing that the decline in the support for that war was driven by a change in the balance of elite discourse across the 1960s. In the early phase of the war, when political elites were almost uniform in their support for the U.S. policy in Vietnam, Zaller found a monotonic relationship between political awareness and support for the war; those most attentive to elite discourse were most supportive of the current policy, regardless of their individual predispositions. Politically attentive hawks *and* politically attentive doves were both more likely to support the war than their less engaged counterparts.[8] Zaller terms this phenomenon the "mainstream pattern" of political support. On the other hand, in the later phases of the Vietnam War, when the mainstream consensus dissolved into elite disagreement, a "polarization pattern" emerged. Here, the effect of political awareness on support for the war was conditional on an individual's political values. Citizens attentive to politics followed the path of those leaders who shared their political views. For the Vietnam War, greater awareness led to higher levels of support among hawks and higher levels of opposition among doves.[9] While Zaller's analysis focused on the Vietnam case, his story is not particular to Vietnam.[10] Zaller (1994) finds that patterns of convergence and polarization among the mass public followed the lead of elites during the buildup to the 1991 Gulf War. Reaching further back in history, Belknap and Campbell (1951) argue that a similar pattern of opinion convergence and polarization existed during the Korean War. They find that differences between

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[7] Zaller does not explicitly contrast his theory with that of Mueller. Burk (1999), on the other hand, draws clear distinction between the "casualties hypothesis" and an "elite consensus" hypothesis, inspired, in part, by Zaller's work. Burk states that the "elite consensus" model holds that the public will "withhold or withdraw its support from peacekeeping deployments when there is division among elites about the necessity for deployment or the availability of alternatives to military action; and this will occur even if there are no casualties. At the same time, we expect the public to continue support for a deployment, despite casualties, if elite opinion is solidly behind it" (1999, p.72). Burk carries out case studies of the U.S. interventions in Lebanon and Somalia and finds little support for either the casualties hypothesis or the elite consensus hypothesis. These cases are, however, both short-term interventions with relatively few casualties. In addition, Burk carries out his analysis at a highly aggregated level, making it difficult to properly distinguish between these two hypotheses.

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[8] Zaller measures a respondent's placement on the hawk/dove continuum based on the predicted answers to the question, "Which do you think is the better way for us to keep the peace – by having a very strong military so that other countries won't attack us, or by working out our disagreements at the bargaining table?" Specifically, Zaller employing an instrumental variable technique developed by Frankin (1989) to generate a measure of hawk/dove based on the demographic characteristics of the respondents.

[9] There is some evidence that suggest Zaller's story is a better predictor of the dynamics of public support for the Vietnam War than event-driven theories of public opinion and war. Gartner et al. (1997) find that casualties did not play a role in determining opinion concerning the war after 1970. The differential performance of this variable pre- and post-1970 could reflect the solidification of the two-message flows in elite discourse after 1968 (see Zaller 1992).

[10] The Vietnam case actually poses some complication for my theory of elite cues. I discuss this matter further in Chapter 3.

Republican and Democratic identifiers were greatest among those respondents with high levels of political information. Though a reanalysis of this data indicates that the degree of polarization was substantively somewhat small and statistically insignificant, the findings are suggestive.

The elite competition theory accounts for some of the shortcomings of event-driven theories of support for war; it explicitly brings politics into the study of public opinion, allowing us to see how individuals with different political predilections interpret events and react to different forms of elite discourse. At the same time, Zaller's explanation is somewhat incomplete. Zaller claims that the dynamics of opinion are driven exclusively by the net balance of partisan messages gleaned by individuals through political discourse. However, it is not clear if these messages are the only path to elite influence. Certainly, there are cases where political actors on both sides of a controversy provide persuasive messages, leading to polarized opinions among the mass public. But even in the absence of discourse on one side of a given controversy, individuals might have the information they need to come to a judgment regarding the fit between the policy options on the table and their political predispositions. Here the literature on cue taking and heuristics is instructive. Several studies have demonstrated that poorly informed citizens can make decisions that emulate the behavior of well informed citizens by following the cues of politicians who share their political views (see Lupia 1994; Popkin 1991; Sniderman, Brody, and Tetlock 1991). These studies suggest that even in the absence of specific policy messages, citizens can use the positions of elites to come to reasonable political decisions. We would therefore expect that citizens could use the position of a prominent elite as a reference point and decide whether to support or oppose a policy based on that position, even in the absence of explicitly contradictory messages. In effect, citizens delegate the difficult process of arriving at an opinion on a complicated policy matter to trusted political experts. Presidents can serve as such cue-givers, especially in the realm of foreign policy (Meernik and Ault 2001). Such reasoning is particularly likely during those times when the partisan climate is especially polarized. For instance, if I am a Democrat in 2004, I need only know that George Bush supports a policy initiative to recognize that I should oppose such a course of action.

Moreover, the balance of partisan discourse itself can serve as a cue of sorts, both to committed partisans and those without partisan attachments. For instance, unified opposition to a course of action can signal that an intervention is a poor idea; unified support can signal that an intervention is wise because all partisan political actors are able to set aside their differences to pursue a common goal.[11]

But to use these cues requires that citizens have knowledge of the positions of relevant political actors.[12] Here is where Zaller's information based theory can be brought into accord with cue-taking theories. As an individual's level of political information increases, their awareness of the positions of particular elites – and the distinctiveness of that position relative to other political actors – increases. Thus a pattern of opinion polarization could occur even in the absence of vocal opposition, provided a strong cue-giver takes a clear position on that policy. As

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[11] Similarly, the support of international institutions – such as the United Nations or allied foreign governments – may serve as a cue that intervention is justified. Thus the finding that support for intervention increases when multilateral actions are proposed (Kull and Ramsey 2001) may better reflect a process of cuetaking rather than support for such interventions on their face.

[12] This position was actually advanced in a somewhat different form by Mueller (1973). Mueller discusses the importance of partisan cues in structuring wartime opinion and notes that as the Korean War proceeded, partisan differences increased in magnitude. He attributes this difference to the use of partisan cues and argues that well-informed partisans are most likely to adopt the positions of the political leaders of their respective parties (see pages 120-121).

I will show in the next chapter, this alternative mechanism of elite influence I have developed – what I call the "elite cue theory" – can explain the pattern of opinion in World War II, where both FDR and his Republican opponents took distinct positions. Moreover, unlike Zaller's original formulation, the theory can also explain the polarized pattern of opinion concerning the war in Iraq, a situation where Bush took a strong pro-war position, but Democratic Party leaders failed to express strong support or opposition.[13]

Groups

Recent research in the field of public opinion has demonstrated the continuing power of stereotypes and other group-centered attitudes or heuristics in shaping political understanding and behavior (Berinsky and Mendelberg 2005; Gilens 1999; Hurwitz and Peffley 1998; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Mendelberg 2001; Sears et al. 2000; Sniderman and Piazza 1993; Valentino et al. 2002). This literature stems from Converse's insight, worked out in the seminal work on belief systems, that the public's beliefs are mostly structured by the social groupings of society (Converse 1964). Presaging later work on cues and heuristics (Popkin 1991; Sniderman, Brody, and Tetlock 1991), Converse noted that reference group cues could serve as the foundation of "ideology by proxy" creating meaningful patterns in the attitudes and behaviors of ordinary citizens (Converse 1975). Groups as cognitive constructs can play a significant role in shaping public opinion.

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[13] While I do not directly test the elite-cue theory against Zaller's RAS theory in this book, the elite cue theory seems to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the opinion formation process. The RAS model explains Republican support for the Iraq war, but it cannot explain the divergence of opinion on the Iraq war in the absence of clear anti-war messages from Democratic politicians in 2004. The elite cue theory, on the other hand, argues that the political rhetoric of Republicans elites causes opinion polarization for *both* Republican and Democratic identifiers. Clearly, further explanation of the relative power of the RAS theory and the elite cue theory is in order. Hopefully, this book will spur further work on this topic.

Much work in the domestic realm has born out Converse's predictions. For present purposes, it is important to note that membership in and attitudes toward particular groups can affect individuals' baseline reaction to a given conflict. In Chapter 4, I discuss in greater detail the ability of attitudes towards domestic groups to structure opinion on key foreign policy issues. For instance, as I will show later, enmity and attachment to different ethnic groups in the 1930s and 1940s led to consistent differences in support for military action in the European theater and beyond.

Expectations

Taken together, I have clear expectations regarding the relative role of events, elites, and groups in structuring opinion concerning war. Consistent with recent work on U.S. public opinion, but contrary to the expectations of scholars in the rationalist cost/benefit tradition, I expect that events will have little effect on the public's day-to-day judgments regarding the wisdom of war. This is not to say that events will never play a role in structuring opinion; certainly cataclysmic events, such as Pearl Harbor, or the attacks of 9/11 can directly influence public opinion. But the events that many scholars of public opinion and war have examined – casualties and other mission indicators – are interpreted through a partisan lens and play only a secondary role in determining public support for war. I therefore expect that knowledge of wartime events will not be widespread. Furthermore, correcting misperceptions of these events will have little effect on war support.

Conversely, I expect that attachments to groups and patterns of elite discourse – the stated positions of leading Democrat and Republican politicians – will play a large role in determining public support for war.[14] Individuals will use their attitudes towards domestic groups and the positions of prominent elites as reference points, providing structure and guidance to opinions concerning war. Moreover, contrary to Zaller, I expect to find divergence without prominent elites speaking on both sides. The presence of a prominent war-support cue-giver can lead to a polarization of opinion as long as his political opponents do not also support war and vice-versa. While citizens, in this view, do not rationally balance the costs and benefits of military action, neither do they blindly follow the messages disseminated by political elites. Rather they use pre-existing group loyalties and enmities at the same time that they account for patterns of political leadership and partisan conflict to come to reasonable decisions that accord with their predispositions.

Indeterminate Tests

To date, not much work in political science has focused on the power of groups in structuring foreign policy attitudes. I return to this theme in Chapter 4. For the remainder of this chapter and the next, I focus on the relative explanatory power of events and elites. Event-response theories, such as the casualties hypothesis (and its extensions) and the elite cue theory, which places the primary mechanism in the hands of partisan political actors, provide very different explanations for the dynamics of public support for war. These theories also carry very different normative implications; whether partisan political actors lead or follow opinion concerning war is a question with profound consequences for the practice of democracy. However, it has been difficult to assess the relative validity of the two approaches because scholars have focused on the Cold War and post-Cold War American experiences, namely war failures and short-term military excursions (Larson 1996; Sobel 2001). Consider, for instance, the Korean and Vietnam wars. Both the elite cue theory and the event-response theory predict that public support would decline as the conflicts unfolded. In the first view, as divisions among elites widened over time during both Korea and Vietnam, public opinion became polarized, thereby decreasing overall support for war. At the same time, since most scholars have used cumulative casualties as a measure of the war's cost (Larson 1996; though see Gartner et al 1997; Gartner and Segura 1998) and cumulative casualties – as Gartner, Segura, and Wilkerning (1997) note – are collinear with time, the casualties hypothesis predicts a secular decline in support for war over time. Thus, for both theories of public support, time is correlated with the explanatory variables of interest: real-world events and how those events are discussed by elites. To distinguish the accuracy of these two theories, we need to look to new evidence.

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[14] Zaller is ambiguous on a central question; it is not clear who constitutes an "elite." For Zaller, both the media and political actors can be classified as elites. But, especially in discussions of war, it may be important to distinguish between the discourse of actors in the political system (political leaders) and the mediators of that discourse (the press). Perhaps these two groups sometimes speak the same message, but the media is not necessarily a mere transmitter. When discussing "elite discourse" it is important to specify just who is an elite – different definitions may lead to different empirical indicators and different conclusions. Here I define "elite" as partisan political actors – leading Democrat and Republican politicians.

Wartime Events and the American Public: Empirical Evidence

In the rest of this chapter, I investigate the ability of the mass public to integrate ongoing military developments into their judgments on war. I find that, on average, knowledge of the basic facts of war is scarce and – previewing the argument in Chapter 3 – the facts people think they know are influenced by their partisan political attachments; Republicans and Democrats hold in their heads very different pictures of the "world out there."

I first present data from World War II suggesting that explanations that look to battlefield events cannot account for public opinion during the war years. As time marched on, cumulative U.S. casualties increased, but support for the war did not falter. Moreover, explanations that draw upon other wartime events do not stand up to the scrutiny of the data. Second, I present additional evidence from two survey experiments concerning opinion on the war in Iraq. These two experiments demonstrate that citizens do not adjust their attitudes towards war in response to explicit information about wartime events, as “event-response” theories suggest they should. These data lay the groundwork for the next two chapters. Though World War II and Iraq are different in many ways, in both wars, the determinants of public opinion can be found in the ethnic and political attachments of members of the mass public.

World War II

Contrary to the expectations of the casualties hypothesis, over the almost four years of U.S. involvement in World War II, support for the effort did not wane, even as war deaths mounted, particularly after the spring of 1944.[15] Campbell and Cain (1965) use a number of questions to measure support for the government’s stated military aims and demonstrate that at no point during the period of U.S. involvement did public support fall below 75 percent. More direct measures of support for the conflict, though confined to a limited time period, paint a similar picture. In February 1944, only 26 percent of those surveyed thought that “in the years to come, people will say it was a mistake for the U.S. to have entered this war" while only 14 percent responded affirmatively to the statement "Do you think that you, yourself, will feel it was a mistake for us to have entered this war?" Similarly, in April 1944, only 23 percent thought that, after 20 years, "many people will look upon our going into the war against Germany as a mistake." [16]

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[15] Month-by-month measures of war deaths are not available. However, the Department of the Army recorded monthly casualties from December 7, 1941 to December 31, 1946. From December 1941 until December 1943, casualties did not exceed 10,000 in one month (except for May 1942, where approximately 30,000 casualties were recorded). Over the course of 1944, however, monthly casualty rates increased greatly, reaching 55,000 in June. Monthly casualty figures ranged from 50,000 to 80,000 until April 1945 (Army Battle Casualties and Nonbattle Death in World War II, Final Report).

Furthermore, just as we will see later with the Iraq war, large segments of the mass public were ignorant of the human costs of the war, even though information concerning war deaths was available.[17] An October 1945 Gallup survey asked, "How many American soldiers, sailors, and airmen were killed in the war—just your best guess?" The median response of 500,000 was higher than the correct number (approximately 300,000 soldiers died). Moreover, as with Iraq, there was wide variation in answers to the question. Twenty-five percent of respondents guessed that the war dead stood at over 1 million, and 15% guessed that fewer than 200,000 died.

Other explanations that find the roots of continued support of the American public in wartime events are also problematic, as noted in Chapter 1. There is a broad sense in popular accounts and some academic treatments of World War II, that this conflict was the "good war" where the benefits of intervention were clear. According to this account, the U.S., shaken by the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, quickly rallied to the cause of protecting democracy. Recall Larson's argument, presented in the last chapter:

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[16] The lack of such "mistake" questions in the polling record – aside from the two instances in early 1944 described above – provides indirect evidence of the unanimity for the war cause. It should be noted that I do not analyze the surveys that include these mistake questions because they do not contain the necessary information measures.

[17] The New York Times, for instance, regularly published lists of war deaths from the Tri-State area.

> In the Second World War – 'the good war' – the public had an excellent cause. Of course Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and Germany's declaration of war on the United States contributed greatly to support for U.S. entry into the war. But support also derived from the shared perception of important stakes and vast benefits of eliminating a grave threat to U.S. security and from optimism that the outcome would be a decisive victory and punishment of the Axis powers … Further contributing to support for the war was a desire for punishment as a consequence of the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, such atrocities as the Bataan Death March, reports of the Japanese torture of U.S. prisoners of war, and Germany's holocaust (1996, 14-15).

Larson's explanations may seem plausible in retrospect, but public opinion data from the 1940s does not provide support for such accounts. Knowledge of the atrocities discussed by Larson, such as the Holocaust, was thin during the war. In January 1943, only 47 percent of the population thought that Germany was engaged in the mass destruction of Europe's Jewish population.[18] Even when a belief in the existence of concentration camps became widespread in late 1944 – when 76 percent of the public believed that "the Germans have murdered many people in concentration camps" – only about a third of respondents thought that the toll at the camps would rise above one hundred thousand. Furthermore, at several points in time, Gallup and Hadley Cantril's Office of Public Opinion Research (OPOR) asked the public if they had "a clear idea what the war is about." In March 1942, almost 4 months after the attack on Pearl Harbor, only 43 percent of Americans felt that they had such an idea. By July, that figure rose to 62 percent, but for the rest of the war, the percentage of Americans who agreed with the statement largely fluctuated in the 65-70 percent range, rising to 75 percent in June 1944, but falling below 60 percent in March 1944. Thus, while a majority of Americans could identify a war aim, a sizeable minority could not. Certainly, the specific context of the Second World War helped engender high levels of support for the war. However, support for the U.S. effort at the time was not as self-evident as it was in retrospect. Thus, the existing rationalist accounts that root continued public support in ongoing wartime events do not hold up under a scrutiny of the data.

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[18] The question read, "It is said that two million Jews have been killed in Europe since the war began. Do you think this is true, or just a rumor?"

The War in Iraq

The data from World War II suggest that the primacy given to events as explanations for U.S. support for war is unwarranted. However, that data are merely suggestive. To more directly explore the role of events in shaping opinion, I turn to the modern stage of the war in Iraq, where I have designed experiments to measure the influence of events on the shape of public opinion concerning war.

In March of 2003, the United States invaded Iraq, initiating combat operations that continued through the 2004 presidential election, and beyond. Two facts about this war are particularly relevant. First, dissemination of information regarding wartime events – especially the ongoing count of war dead – was prevalent. For instance, I used Lexis-Nexus to perform a search of Associated Press articles that mentioned Iraq from June 23 to August 2, 2004 (a period covering the month before the survey described below). Of the 82 separate stories in this time period, 57 mentioned the term “casualty.” Of these articles, 10 gave the correct cumulative casualty count. Thus, the cumulative casualty information was presented in 12 percent of news stories and this information, when presented, was accurate. We can therefore surmise that any misreporting in levels of war deaths by citizens is the result of faulty perceptions of reports of war deaths on the part of citizens, not faulty reports of the number of deaths by the media. Second, the positions of prominent cue givers regarding support for war were clear. As Commander-in-Chief, President Bush was strongly associated with support for the conflict. For much of this period, Republican Party elites followed his lead. The position of Democrats on this issue was less clear. A review of *Newsweek* articles on Iraq from February 2002 onward indicates that Democrats lacked a clear agenda for how to proceed on the Iraq question. For months after the initial invasion, there was limited dissent among Democrats. In the Presidential campaign the notable dissenters on Iraq – Howard Dean and Wesley Clark – were quickly pushed aside by John Kerry, a Senator who voted to authorize war in Iraq and, in line with other prominent Democrats, never took a clear position against the war. The question, then, is: given the prominence of relevant information in media, which factor best explains variation in support for the war: casualties, as the event-response theory would suggest, or elite positions on the wisdom of that conflict, as the elite cue theory contends?

The Iraq War Casualty Survey

To answer this question, I conducted an experimental survey in the summer of 2004. The Iraq War Casualty Survey, conducted from July 23 to August 2, 2004 by Knowledge Networks, asked a nationally representative sample of respondents:

> Please give your best guess to this next question, even if you are not sure of the correct answer. As you know, the United States is currently involved in a war in Iraq. Do you happen to know how many soldiers of the U.S. military have been killed in Iraq since the fighting began in March 2003?[19]

At first glance, it appears that the public is informed about the level of troop deaths in Iraq. The mean estimate of deaths in the sample was 952 deaths, while the median response was 900 deaths.[20] Both of these figures are extraordinarily close to the true casualty count, which rose from 901 to 915 over the span of the survey. The accuracy of the median respondent, however, disregards large variation in the casualty estimates. Respondents gave answers ranging from 0 deaths to 130,000 deaths. Even setting aside the extreme responses (casualty guess under 10 and over 10,000) the standard deviation of the casualty estimate was 802.[21]

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[19] This question is part of a 2X2 experimental design, where one-half of respondents were asked the casualty knowledge question (see the Appendix 2 for details of this treatment).

[20] The mean and median estimates were generated using the poststratification weights provided by Knowledge Networks. Fewer than two percent declined to answer the initial questions and,

A simple tabulation of the estimates illuminates the pattern of responses to the casualty question. I scored those respondents who estimated the number of war deaths to be between 801 and 1015 (the true estimate +/- 100 deaths) as "correct." Those who gave an estimate of 800 or lower were scored as "under-estimators," while those who guessed higher than 1015 are considered "over-estimators."[22] The modal response (47 percent) is a correct answer. However, nearly as many respondents (42 percent) underestimated the number of war deaths (11 percent overestimated the number of deaths).[23] This pattern of knowledge of casualties found in this survey extends to knowledge of the rate of American deaths in Iraq from around the same time. The Pew Research Center conducted a survey in September 2004 that asked respondents "what's your impression about what's happened in Iraq over the past month? Has the number of American military casualties been higher, lower, or about the same as in other recent months?" Though a plurality of 46 percent gave the correct answer of "higher", a majority of respondents gave an incorrect answer. These knowledge levels certainly compare favorably to knowledge of

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following a probe asking the respondent to provide their best guess even if they were not sure of the correct answer, every respondent answered the question.

[21] With the extreme responses included, the standard deviation was 3012

[22] I tried other methods of scoring a "correct" response – increasing and decreasing the band of acceptable answers incrementally from +/- 50 deaths to +/- 200 deaths – and found essentially the same results.

[23] Cobb (2007) examines a number of surveys that measure knowledge of cumulative casualty rates from 2003 to 2006 and finds similar patterns of misperception.

other political facts, such as the percentage of budget devoted to foreign aid (Gilens 2001). However, given the prominence of war deaths in the news, the Iraq War Casualty Survey demonstrates that even in a high salience environment, great variation exists in correct knowledge about events on the ground in Iraq.

More importantly for present purposes, this variation is not random; elite cues play a significant role in biasing the recall of knowledge. I examined the determinants of perceived level of casualties using measures of political engagement and partisan political leanings.[24] Specifically, I modeled responses to the three-category casualty estimate scale (under-estimator/correct/over-estimator) as a function of the respondents' partisanship to capture the effect of elite cues and account for partisan bias (see Bartels 2002).[25] I also included as independent variables the amount of attention the respondent pays to news about Iraq, how much the respondent watches Fox News (following Kull et al. (2003-4)), and the respondent's general political information, education, and gender.[26]

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[24] Ideally, I would have measured the respondent's approval of George Bush to more directly account for the process of cue-taking. However, because I did not include an approval measure on the survey for cost considerations, I use partisanship as a proxy. As I demonstrate below in my discussions of casualty perception and opinion concerning the war, the use of Bush approval would likely only strengthen my results.

[25] Specifically, I used multinomial logit (MNL) to analyze the data. I use MNL rather than an ordered estimation routine because, though the casualty estimate levels can be ordered, I expect that the independent variables will have non-linear effects. For instance, political information should increase the probability of giving a correct answer, while decrease the probability of being both an under-estimator and an over-estimator.

[26] The full results of this analysis (and relevant question wordings) are presented in the appendix to this chapter. I ran my analysis using alterative measures of partisanship, including a 5-point scale, where leaners were collapsed with weak partisans, a three-point scale that did not

INSERT TABLE 2.1 ABOUT HERE

I generated predicted probabilities of choosing the different response categories for the extreme values of the partisanship for the "typical" member of the public.[27] These results are presented in Table 2.2 As expected, compared to strong Republicans, strong Democrats are less likely to underestimate and are slightly more likely to overestimate casualty levels.[28] By way of comparison, the effect of partisanship on the probability of underestimating casualty levels is roughly equal to the effect of moving from low information to high information. In short, perceptions of war deaths are influenced not only by information and engagement with political news, but also by the individual's political predispositions.

This finding is consistent with the Pew data on casualty rates described above. Among independents, 47 percent correctly stated that casualty rates were higher in the current month than in the previous month.[29] Democrats were even more likely to say that casualties were higher – 54 percent gave the correct answer – and Republicans were less likely to say that casualties

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distinguish among strength of partisanship, and dummy variables for Democrats and Republicans. In all cases, the results were essentially the same as those reported here.

[27] The "typical" respondent is one whose characteristics are set at the mean (for continuous variables) and the mode (for discrete variables).

[28] I found no interactive effect between partisanship and information, indicating that partisans at all levels of political sophistication are equally likely to misperceive the reality of the level of war deaths in Iraq (for similar accounts of partisan bias, see Bartels 2002).

[29] From August 8 to September 13, 90 American soldiers were killed in Iraq, as compared to 58 in the period from July 8 to August 7 and 45 in the period from June 8 to July 7 (source http://www.antiwar.com/casualties/list.php, which compiles American military death from May 1, 2003 to the present from the U.S. Department of Defense website).

were increasing – only 36 percent gave the correct answer.[30]

These findings of partisan misperceptions also square well with those of Kull, Ramsey, and Lewis (2003-4) who found in a series of polls during 2003 that although both Democrats and Republicans correctly perceived the Bush administration's position on the war, Republicans (and in particular, supporters of George Bush) were more likely than Democrats to misperceive the truth concerning the presence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. The authors found similar gaps when they replicated their analysis using similar questions in 2004 and 2006. For instance, in March 2006, the authors found that 60 percent of Republicans, but only 23 percent of Democrats, believed that Iraq had a weapons of mass destruction program (WMD) or actual WMD. On the same poll, 63 percent of Republicans believed that Iraq was either directly involved in 9/11 or provided support to Al Qaeda, compared with 35 percent of Democrats who held such beliefs (Kull et. Al. 2006).[31] In sum, when viewing events in Iraq, it seems that respondents – especially Republicans – use their partisan leanings as a filter.

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[30] Consistent with the elite cue theory, the effect of judgments of George Bush on casualty misperceptions are even stronger than that of partisanship. Among respondents who said they had a "very favorable" opinion of George Bush, 34 percent gave the correct answer against 65 percent of respondents who said they had a "very unfavorable" opinion of Bush (it should be noted that this gap is larger than the gap between strong Republicans and strong Democrats). It should also be noted that the casualty misperception results along partisan lines reported here were replicated with independent data collected by PIPA for Kull and his colleagues in August 2004. Furthermore, as expected, these results grow stronger when a measure of strong support or opposition to Bush is used as an independent variable in place of partisanship (and replicated also in a separate PIPA study conducted in March 2004).

[31] On the same March 2006 survey, Kull and his colleagues also found that "the number of Americans giving accurate estimates [of casualties] has dropped somewhat since October 2004." The authors do not, however, provide the partisan breakdown of casualty estimates.

Having demonstrated that the respondents' perceptions of events in the Iraq war are influenced by partisanship, I next moved to the more important question of whether the casualty estimates had any influence on opinions concerning war. I measured attitudes toward the Iraq war with two common measures of war support. The first question asked, "Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?" The second question asked, "All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the current war with Iraq has been worth fighting, or not?" [32]

I modeled the answers to these questions as a function of the respondent's casualty estimate and their partisanship.[33] I included partisanship to provide a point of comparison for the effect of elite cues. I find that the respondents' estimate of war deaths has a statistically insignificant effect on support for the war for both measures of war support. The full model estimates are presented in the appendix.[34] The effect of the casualty estimate is also substantively small. The effect of moving from a casualty estimate of 10 deaths to 10,000 deaths is to reduce the probability of stating that the U.S. made the right decision by six percent and to reduce the probability of saying that the costs were worth the benefits by two percent.[35] By comparison, the effect of moving from a strong attachment to the Republican party to a strong attachment to the Democratic party is to reduce support by 70 percent on the "correct decision" question and by 66 percent on the "worth fighting" question.

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[32] These two items are highly correlated (r=.75), indicating that they tap a latent dimension of support for the war. Each of these questions also included a follow-up probe that ascertained the strength with which the respondent held their view about the war. Using a four-point scale that differentiates between strong and weak attitudes on these two questions does not change the results reported here.

[33] Specifically, I used the log (base 10) transformation of the respondents' casualty estimate in my runs to conform to Mueller's formulation of the casualty hypothesis. The results do not change if I use the raw casualty estimates in place of the transformed casualty estimates.

[34] I ran more fully specified models that included other control variables, but the coefficient on the casualty variable was virtually identical.

I was also able to more directly test the influence of casualty information on perception of war. Embedded in the Iraq war survey was an experiment in which one half of those respondents who were asked to estimate how many soldiers died in Iraq were then told, "Many people don't know the answer to this question, but according to the latest estimates, 901 soldiers have been killed in Iraq since the fighting began in March 2003."[36] In other words, one-half of the respondents who were asked to estimate the number of American deaths were given a "treatment" of correct information before answering the questions concerning support for the Iraq war. This experimental design allows me to compare levels of support for the war between two comparable groups: (1) the respondents in the "estimate war deaths" condition who underestimate casualties (e.g. those who said that there were fewer than 800 casualties) but were not told the correct number of war deaths; and, (2) the respondents in the "corrected" condition who underestimate war deaths but were then told the number of U.S. soldiers who died.[37] I can make a similar comparison for respondents who overestimate casualties. This is a powerful comparison, because the "correct information" treatment was randomly assigned. The only difference between the "estimate" group and the "corrected" group is that respondents in the "corrected" condition were subsequently told the true casualty rates.[38] Thus, by comparing these two groups, I can assess the effect of introducing the correct information on support for war for individuals who are similarly misinformed about casualty rates.

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[35] These results are actually consistent with results reported in Mueller (1973). Mueller notes that during WWII, Korea, and Vietnam, certain polls asked respondents to estimate the number of war dead. Mueller found that there was no tendency for high or low estimators to support or oppose the war (1973, pp. 62-3). Unlike the present study, Mueller found no significant demographic correlates of casualty estimation.

[36] This number was updated once on July 30th, moving the casualty figure to 908. In the analyses presented in the paper, I set the range of the one "correct answer" (independent of the range of acceptable answers that were scored as "correct" estimates) from the low point (901) to the high point (915) of war deaths from this period.

INSERT TABLE 2.2 ABOUT HERE

The results of these analyses are presented in Table 2.2.[39] There are no reliably significant differences between the respondents in the two conditions in either a substantive or a statistical sense.[40] Furthermore, the direction of the treatment effect is in the incorrect direction for both the “worth fighting” and the “right decision” questions – respondents who are told that the number of war deaths is larger than they had believed were *more* supportive of the war (though the difference is small and statistically insignificant by a wide margin).[41] Among over-

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[37] I employed a between-subjects design rather than a within-subjects design (in which support for the war would be measured both before and after the treatment) because I was worried that respondents would try to maintain consistency in their answers to the war question, given the short time-span of the interview. In other words, a within-subjects design might artificially reduce the impact of the treatments because respondents would be giving two answers to same question in the span of a couple minutes. The between-subjects design employed here is therefore more likely to produce results supporting the casualties hypothesis than a within-subjects design. The lack of significant findings in my analysis is therefore especially telling.

[38] To check for balancing across conditions, I ran a probit on the assignment to the "corrected" condition on a series of variables I knew to affect support for the war, including partisanship and gender. There were no reliable differences in the composition of the respondents in the two conditions on these variables. Due to random assignment, these two groups should not differ systematically on their background characteristics, including their perceptions of benefits arising from the war. The experimental design therefore holds constant the benefit side of the cost/benefit equation.

[39] In addition, there are no statistically significant differences between the "estimated" condition and the "corrected" condition for those respondents who gave a correct casualty estimate. In

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addition, I ran this analysis using the 4-point scale that distinguishes strong and weak supporters of the war and found no significant differences between the conditions.

[40] Admittedly, the difference in casualty figures here are on the smaller side. It could be that correcting the casualty figures has no effect on respondents’ positions toward the war because that correction is not sufficiently large to change their views regarding the war. I am constrained in my ability to manipulate casualty figures because I am dealing here with an ongoing conflict. That said, the tethering of my study to reality is a strength; respondents have incomplete knowledge of ongoing events and correcting those misperceptions has no effect on support for this ongoing conflict. Perhaps the treatment has no effect because casualty levels simply do not affect support for the war, no matter how small or large the differences. From this standpoint, the small differences are not a fatal flaw. Indeed, other scholars have found that even small variations in casualty figures can influence individuals’ assessments of the wisdom of war (McGraw and Mears 2004).

[41] I also ran this analysis broken down by the partisanship of the respondent. I found that, among over-estimators, the treatment had no effect for any group. Among under-estimators, the treatment had no effect for either independents or Republicans. However, the treatment *increased* the level of support for Democratic under-estimators (thereby driving the full sample result). I do not believe that this result represents a systematic effect for several reasons. First, there is no theoretic reason to expect such a pattern of results. Second, given the small sample size of the subgroup analysis, it is difficult to have much faith in the reliability of these results given the non-findings in the other partisan subsamples. Finally, it appears that any treatment effect is a result of the peculiar nature of the Democrats in the “estimate war death condition.” The level of support for the Iraq war among Democrats in this condition is much lower than among Democrats in the control condition. In fact the level of support for the war among

estimators, the effect of the treatment was in the expected direction for the “worth fighting” question only, and is statistically insignificant.[42] Casualties, it seems, have little effect on levels of support for the war.

The Human and Monetary Costs of War

One of the best-known findings from the survey research literature is that seemingly minor alterations in the wording of particular questions can lead to large changes in the answers respondents give to surveys. Recent advances in theories of the survey response have enabled researchers to predict when opinion changes might occur.

Conventional theories of public opinion treated responses to survey questions as the

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Democrats in the “corrected” condition is equivalent to that of Democrats in the control condition. I also estimated the direct effect of casualty estimates on support for the war and found no relationship for either form of the dependent variable. This analysis is presented in Appendix 2.

[42] It has been suggested that these effects are small and in the incorrect direction because they aggregate together individuals who greatly underestimate the casualty levels with those individuals who give casualty figures closer to the true levels. Though the small sample size makes such subgroup analysis difficult (especially among over-estimators), I performed the crosstabulation presented in Table 2.2 for only those respondents who underestimated casualty rates by 500 or more soldiers. I found that the effect of the information treatment among these respondents was almost identical to the effects in the full sample. Following Gilens (2001) I also sought to see if the effect of introducing policy-specific information (here the number of casualties) was conditional on the general information level of the respondent. Gilens found that knowledge of policy-specific facts had a significant influence on the political judgments of members of the mass public, especially among citizens with the highest levels of general political knowledge. While I found conditional effects in the expected direction, these differences were not reliably significant, indicating that in the realm of war, unlike other areas of politics, policy-specific information has little effect on the policy judgments of individual citizens.

product of individuals' attempts to reveal their fixed preference on a given policy issue. In the last 20 years, however, a more fluid view of the survey response has emerged, based in part on theories of preference construction developed in cognitive psychology (see, for example, Fischoff 1991; Slovic 1995). This view, advanced most forcibly by Zaller and Feldman, argues that "individuals do not typically possess 'true attitudes' on issues, as conventional theorizing assumes, but a series of partially independent and often inconsistent ones" (Zaller 1992, p. 93; see also Chong 1993, 1996; Feldman 1989; Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Tourangeau, Rips, and Rasinski 2000; Zaller and Feldman 1992). According to this line of public opinion research, a survey response is not necessarily a revealed preference. Answers to survey questions are therefore, in part, determined by the balance of arguments made salient by survey questions. Bringing additional pieces of information – to use Zaller's terminology "considerations" – to mind alters the base of information that individuals use to come to particular decisions. From this point of view, highlighting negative information – such as the human and monetary costs of war – should cause individuals to focus on the downside of war. In the aggregate, questions that contain information about casualties and the costs of war should therefore yield lower levels of support for war than questions that omit such information.

Somewhat surprisingly, in two separate experiments, I did not find this predicted pattern of results. The design of the 2004 Iraq War Casualty Survey experiment allowed me to directly test for the effect of introducing casualty information on support for war. The Iraq War Casualty Survey was part of a larger experiment. Only one-half of the respondents were asked to estimate the number of casualties, as described above. The other half of the sample permits a further experimental test. In the "control" condition of the experiment, respondents were neither asked nor given any information concerning the casualty rates in Iraq; they were simply asked their levels of support for the conflict. In the "information only" condition, respondents were not asked to provide an estimate of war deaths, but they were told the correct casualty rates. I found no statistically significant difference in the answers to the war support questions between these two conditions. Making salient a negative consideration – the scope of the human cost of war – and providing specific information about that cost did not change the aggregate shape of opinion on the war.

In the Fall of 2005, I collected additional data to assess the effects of event-specific information on opinions concerning the Iraq war. Respondents to an omnibus survey were randomly assigned to one of six conditions: a "baseline" condition, a "standard survey question" condition, or one of four information conditions.[43]

> Form 1 (baseline): "All in all, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not?"
>
> Form 2: (standard survey) "All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not?"

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[43] This survey of 1173 individuals was conducted from October 31, 2005 to November 10, 2005 by Polimetrix as part of the 2005 Public Opinion Research Training Lab survey. The Polimetrix sample is not, strictly speaking, a random sample. However the sample is adequate for my purposes because it represents a diverse sample and the experimental treatment was randomly assigned. It is possible that the treatment would have different effects in a different sample, thereby threatening the external validity of the experiment (through the interaction of selection and the treatment, to use the language of Campbell and Stanley (1963)). However, even in that case, the experiment would be internally valid. In any case, the same pattern of results were found in the 2004 experiment, which has fewer concerns with external validity, thereby strengthening my confidence in the conclusions of the 2005 study. It should also be noted that the basic pattern of results are the same with and without the use of the Polimetrix weighting scheme.

> Form 3: “As you may know, since the war in Iraq began in March 2003, many American soldiers have been killed. All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not?”
>
> Form 4: “As you may know, since the war in Iraq began in March 2003, almost 2,000 American soldiers have been killed. All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not?”
>
> Form 5: “As you may know, since the war in Iraq began in March 2003, the U.S. has spent a large amount of money on operations in Iraq. All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not?”
>
> Form 6: “As you may know, since the war in Iraq began in March 2003, The U.S. has spent almost 200 billion dollars on operations in Iraq. All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not?”

The first (baseline) condition presented a neutral stimulus; respondents were simply asked whether or not they support the war. In the second (“standard survey question”) condition, respondents were explicitly asked to consider the costs and benefits of the Iraqi invasion, following the convention of poll questions asked by the *Washington Post* and Gallup. Respondents in the other four conditions were asked forms of the questions that highlighted specific information about the human and financial costs of the Iraq war, in either general (Forms 3 and 5) or specific (Forms 4 and 6) terms.

INSERT TABLE 2.3 ABOUT HERE

Given the vast amounts of research on question-wording effects, we would expect to find large differences across conditions based on the types of information presented in the question. But this is not the case. In fact, as Table 2.3 demonstrates, there are almost no differences on levels of support across conditions.[44]

Why, in the face of strong negative information, did these treatments have no effect? As the Iraq War Survey demonstrates, the lack of an effect is not because respondents had already incorporated casualty and cost information into their judgments. As the 2004 Iraq War Survey demonstrates, many respondents did not know the correct casualty figures. Rather, as I will discuss in the next chapter, we fail to find substantive difference among the conditions because respondents had already made up their minds on Iraq. Citizens discounted new information in favor of more important considerations – their attachments to particular political leaders.

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[44] The differences among conditions are statistically insignificant as well ($\chi^2(10) = 9.48$;Pr = 0.49). Moreover any differences that appear to exist – in particular, the level of support for war in the "200 billion dollars" condition relative to the other five conditions – are largely driven by the unequal distribution of "don't know" responses across the conditions, ranging from one percent in the "standard survey condition" to five percent in the "200 billion dollars" condition. If the don't know responses are excluded from the analysis, the difference between the conditions is completely insignificant ((χ^2 (5) = 1.26; Pr = 0.94).

Chapter 3:
Partisan Structure of War Support: Events, Elites, and the Mass Public

War is in the air and the Senate is abuzz. The President of the United States has asked Congress to give him the authority to use military force in a country where – just years before – U.S. troops were involved in military action. Leaders from both parties line up to argue their case as debate proceeds in the Senate.

While properly respectful of the gravity of their decision, members of the President's party make the case that war is necessary. Says one, "it is the threat to regional peace and security that justifies [the use of force]…I will support the resolution, of which I am an original cosponsor, and I urge my colleagues to support it as well." Another member of his party makes a long and impassioned case for intervention on the Senate floor.

> While I know some of my colleagues believe strongly that the administration has not articulated forcefully, consistently and clearly the mission and goals of this use of force, and I still have some unanswered questions about the administration's military plans…I believe there is little alternative for us but to intervene…I hope and pray that we do not suffer any American casualties in [this intervention] and that innocent civilian casualties on both sides are kept to a minimum, but I fear that if we do not act now thousands will lose their lives in the coming months and years… I believe that it is our duty to act. In this case we cannot shirk our responsibility to act. We cannot stand idly by. That's why I intend to support the President's decision.

Across the partisan aisle, a different message emerges. Members of the opposition party caution against the intervention. "Americans are going to be killed," warns one Senator. "They are going to come home in body bags, and they will be killed in a war that Congress has not declared." Adds his colleague, "I am afraid we may be starting something we can't get out of; I am afraid we might be there for years and years and years." "I believe we are coming close to starting World War III," concludes a third Senator.

The division between Democrats and Republicans at the elite level is echoed in the opinions of the mass public. When asked if they support the use of ground troops, a *Washington Post* poll finds that 61 percent of those citizens who identify with the President's party support military action, compared to just 40 percent of those citizens who identify with the opposing party. This gap persists even after the intervention begins. Two months after U.S. forces engage the enemy, the *Washington Post* asks, "Considering everything, do you think the United States did the right thing in getting involved in a military conflict … or do you think it was a mistake?" Once again, the mass public divides along partisan lines. Of citizens who identify with the President's party, 66 percent say that military action was "the right thing." Conversely, even though the initial mission appears to be a success, citizens who identify with the party of opposition remain skeptical of intervention – only 46 percent believe that the U.S. "did the right thing."

This narrative should sound familiar to those who followed the events related to the U.S. invasion of Iraq in March of 2003. However, this story is not about Iraq; it is about U.S. involvement in Kosovo in the spring of 1999. The party of opposition – at both the mass and the elite level – are the Republicans, while the party of support is the Democratic Party. The Senators who warned of the dangers of long-term involvement are, respectively, Robert Bennett (R-UT), Don Nickles (R-OK), and Ted Stevens (R-AK) – all Senators who supported the resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq in October 2002. The Senators urging intervention are Carl Levie (D-MI) and Paul Wellstone (D-MN), both of whom voted against authorizing intervention in Iraq. Given circumstances that are similar in a number of respects, party leaders took very different positions on the wisdom of intervention in Kosovo and Iraq, reversing positions – and even rhetoric – across the two conflicts. When these party elites shifted their positions, the mass public followed suit. The nature of partisan political conflict, it seems, plays a central role in determining support for war at both the elite and mass levels.

In this chapter, I draw upon the elite cue theory presented in Chapter 2 and demonstrate that patterns of conflict among partisan political actors shape mass opinion on war. Events themselves do not matter; rather it is the nature of the debate among political elites concerning the salience and meaning of those events that determines if the public will rally to war. I present evidence from World War II, Vietnam, and the War in Iraq – cases that span 65 years of American history – to come to this common conclusion. Though these conflicts differ in many respects, the public reacted to elite positions in similar ways. When elites come to a common interpretation of political reality, the public gives them great latitude to wage war. But when prominent political actors take divergent stands on the wisdom of intervention, the public divides as well.

World War II

As discussed in the last chapter, unfolding wartime events alone can not explain the high levels of public support for WWII. Contrary to the expectations of the casualties hypothesis, support for the war effort did not wane over time, even as deaths mounted. Certainly Pearl Harbor contributed an initial rally among the mass public to the cause of war in the Pacific, but rallies tend to be ephemeral (Brody 1991). Pearl Harbor cannot explain the high levels of support for the European theater efforts, especially in the uncertain times before D-Day. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 2, knowledge of the wartime atrocities that might have fueled the war effort was slim. What then can explain continued public support for the war? Surely, something else was at work. The key, I argue, is that it was not the direct influence of events that determined support for World War II, but rather the patterns of elite conflict during the 1930s and 1940s.

The picture of elite discourse concerning World War II is clear. Legro's (2000) study of political rhetoric in the 1930s and 1940s indicates that from 1938 through the end of 1941, support among elites for some form of U.S. involvement in World War II increased generally over time. However, the gap between FDR and his critics on the necessity and wisdom of U.S involvement in the Second World War remained large. For instance, Legro (2000) finds that FDR's critics – represented by the editorial page of the *Chicago Tribune*, a paper that can be seen as the mouthpiece of the isolationist wing of the Republican Party – moved in an internationalist direction through 1941. However, FDR's position consistently outpaced that of his critics. Beginning in 1939, FDR moved in a strongly internationalist direction, but it was not until 1942 that the *Tribune* expressed any support for military commitments abroad. Conversely, from 1942 on, "the collective orthodoxy embraced the necessity of international cooperation and multilateralism" (2000: 261).

INSERT FIGURE 3.1 ABOUT HERE

Additional evidence for the nature of elite discourse comes from an analysis of the *Congressional Record* (see Appendix 3 for details of coding). Figure 3.1 presents the proportion of pro-war to anti-war statements of members of Congress from 1938-1945, broken down by party. As the figure demonstrates, for almost the entire period, Democrats in Congress offered a message that was consistently more pro-war in tone than that of their colleagues across the aisle. Moreover, among Democrats in the pre-Pearl Harbor period, the pro-war stance reached a majority position by late 1940. Though Republicans softened their anti-war stance even before Pearl Harbor – reflecting the general internationalist trend in rhetoric found by Legro – they lagged behind Democrats.[1] After Pearl Harbor, however, both parties expressed a strong pro-war message.

In sum, analysis of elite rhetoric, including the *Congressional Record* analysis presented in Figure 3.1, demonstrates that before Pearl Harbor FDR took a strong pro-war stance. Over time, Democrats in Congress expressed increased support for his position. Though FDR's critics – both in Congress and in the press – also moved in an internationalist direction from 1938 until 1941, the gap between these two parties remained large. Thus, with the notable exception of the 1940 presidential election discussed below, elite discourse split along the lines of partisan support for FDR before Pearl Harbor, but presented a largely united front after the U.S. entered the war. This line of argument is not intended to minimize the importance of Pearl Harbor in shaping opinion on the war. However, given the ephemeral nature of rally effects (Brody 1991) it is clear that greater attention needs to be paid to how support for the war was sustained through the nearly four years of U.S. involvement. The elite cue theory therefore suggests that we should see the polarization pattern of support before U.S. entry into the war, and – following the pattern of elite discourse – the mainstream pattern from 1942 onward, as elites remained in agreement about the wisdom of war.

To test these expectations, we must focus on the expressed preferences of supporters and opponents of the President. Though there are several predispositions relevant to the study of war, in this period support for FDR is the most appropriate one, given the President's role in pushing the United States to aid England and the prevalence of isolationist tendencies among his opponents in the Republican Party. From 1939 until 1941, we would expect that supporters of FDR who are attentive to politics should be more likely to adopt FDR's position than similar individuals who do not follow politics. Specifically, they should be more likely to state that the U.S. should be willing to risk war to aid the Allied countries, if not enter the war immediately. Opponents of FDR, on the other hand, should be less likely to support aiding the Allies as their levels of attention to elite discourse increase (with the exception of the 1940 presidential campaign, discussed below). However, with U.S. entry into the war in December 1941, discourse unified behind the President's position; both Democratic and Republican politicians supported the war. The mainstream pattern of support for the war should therefore emerge during this time. Regardless of an individual's political predispositions, those citizens with higher levels of political information should express greater support for the administration's policies than citizens with less information.

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[1] Of course, Members of Congress are not the only – or even the primary – partisan cue-givers in this period. In my account of the 1940 election, below, I discuss the effect of the pro-interventionist shift in war rhetoric by the Republican nominee for president, Wendell Willkie on mass attitudes towards the war. Congressional rhetoric, however, functions well as a general index of sentiment among partisan political elites.

Data and Analysis

I draw upon a series of polls conducted by Gallup, OPOR, and Roper from 1939 to 1944 to examine the dynamics of war support (for a discussion of these data, see the appendix). The first set of these polls was conducted in the period before Pearl Harbor. Specifically, I examined polls conducted by Gallup in November 1939, June 1941, and August 1941, as well as a poll conducted by OPOR in January 1941. The second set of polls was conducted in the period after the U.S. entered the war. These polls include surveys conducted by Gallup in August 1943, OPOR in June 1942 and June 1944 and Roper in March 1943. In line with the elite cue theory, my expectation was that public opinion, measured in 1939 and 1941, would exhibit the polarization pattern, while opinion measured in the polls conducted after U.S. entry into the war would exhibit the mainstream pattern.[2] I also draw upon an AIPO poll from October 1940 which demonstrates that when elite rhetoric concerning the wisdom of intervention briefly shifted during the 1940 Presidential campaign, the dynamics of public opinion shifted as well.

To determine whether the mainstream pattern or the polarization pattern best characterizes public opinion, we need individual-level measurements of three quantities: support for the war, political predispositions, and levels of political information (which, following Zaller, proxies attentiveness to elite discourse). The opinion polls collected by Gallup, Roper, and OPOR contain measures of all the necessary quantities, albeit inconsistently. First, consider the primary independent variables: predispositions and information. We have available several measures that tap support for the President. I use two of these measures: (1) who the respondent voted for in the last election; and, (2) whether he approves or disapproves of FDR.[3] Each of these measures has its strengths and weaknesses. The respondent's vote in the last election is an exogenous measure of their support for Roosevelt. However, it is possible that people who found FDR persuasive in the past – in particular during his landslide 1936 re-election campaign – would no longer support him at the time of the survey. The approval measure, on the other hand, captures precisely the contemporaneous support for the president I seek to tap, but introduces potential endogenity concerns; respondents could express support for the President *because* of his position on the war. Thus, where possible, I use both measures in concert to create a predisposition measure that parses out the strong supporters of FDR from the strong opponents of FDR. I label those individuals who voted for FDR in the last election and currently support him as "pro-FDR." Respondents who voted against FDR and currently disapprove of his performance are "anti-FDR."[4] Respondents who fall into neither camp are the comparison category. Measuring the second independent variable, political information, is clear-cut. A number of polls from 1939 to 1945 asked questions concerning political leaders, geography, or knowledge of current events that are similar in form to measures of political information used today (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996, Zaller 1992).[5]

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[2] It would be ideal to examine more directly the relationship among elite cues, wartime events, and public support for war. Unfortunately, the data from the era is rather thin and the polls with the necessary measures are limited to those presented here.

[3] I use a measure of support for FDR, the primary partisan cue-giver during this time. Partisanship was not asked consistently during this period.

Finally, turning to the dependent variables – question of support for war – different strategies need to be adopted for different periods of the conflict. Before the U.S. entered World War II, pollsters often asked if the U.S. should become involved in the war and attempted to gauge the conditions under which the public would be willing to risk entry into war. However, measuring support for the war after Pearl Harbor is a less straightforward task. Unlike Vietnam, Korea, and the Gulf Wars, pollsters never regularly asked respondents if becoming involved in the military conflict was a "mistake." To tap into support for the war, it is necessary to measure war support in an indirect manner. There are a number of items appropriate to such an analytic strategy. Pollsters measured support for the U.S. diplomatic and military aims, both contemporaneously and in the future. These questions can be used to measure underlying support for the military and governmental objectives of the war effort. For instance, several organizations asked respondents if the U.S. should adopt an internationalist posture and take an active role in world affairs after the war, thereby embracing the dominant orthodoxy in foreign policy that emerged after Pearl Harbor (Legro 2000). Admittedly, these questions are not perfect measures of support for war. Fortunately, more direct measures of support for the war effort exist; several polls during this time asked if the U.S. should make peace with Germany under current conditions. All told, then, the existing opinion poll data contains the measures necessary to conduct repeated individual-level analysis over time, and trace out the individual-level processes of opinion formation and change.

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[4] In cases where I lack one of the two measures, I use the single measure – past vote choice or presidential approval – in my analyses. The specific measures used in the different analyses are presented in the appendix. In all cases, however it should be noted that the basic results presented below are robust to the specific predisposition measure used (approval, past vote choice, or the composite measure).

[5] Appendix 3 details the items used to construct the information measures. These measures vary in quality across different surveys, but in both time periods analyzed here – pre Pearl Harbor and post Pearl Harbor – some surveys with deep information scales exist. The consistency of the results across different surveys – those with slim measures and those with deep measures – in a given time period bolsters my case that there was a fundamental change in the dynamics of opinion after December 1941.

For each poll, I modeled opinion on the war – various indicators of support for administration policy – as a function of: (1) pro/anti FDR predisposition, (2) information levels[6], (3) interactions between FDR predispositions and the information term, and (4) a series of demographic variables to control for biases arising from sampling concerns (see the appendix and Berinsky (2006) for further discussion).[7] Instead of presenting the coefficients from my analysis, I present graphs of the predicted effects of information and partisanship on respondents' support for war (the full coefficients used to generate the figures are presented in the appendix).[8]

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[6] I also performed an initial set of analyses where I included information level squared (and interactions between the quadratic term and the FDR predisposition measures) to capture potential nonlinearities in patterns of support. If the quadratic terms were jointly significant – as they were in two cases – I used the results of the runs with the quadratic terms to generate figures similar to those presented below. In both of these cases (and unlike the Vietnam graphs presented in Figures 3.9 and 3.10), the figures were nearly identical in form to those presented in Figures 3.2 and 3.3. To preserve continuity across analyses, I used only the linear information specification in these figures.

INSERT FIGURE 3.2 ABOUT HERE

Figure 3.2 demonstrates that, as predicted by the elite cue theory, the polarization pattern characterizes opinion from 1939 through the middle of 1941, outside of the 1940 presidential campaign period (discussed below). The first panel of that figure presents analysis of a question in November 1939 that asked whether respondents "approve the changes which Congress made in the Neutrality Act which permits nations at war to buy arms and airplanes in this country." The figure demonstrates that as information levels increase, opponents of FDR are much less likely to support changing the law. The difference between the high and low information opponents of FDR is significant.[9] High and medium information supporters of FDR, on the other hand, are more likely to support the change then are low information FDR supporters. In the next panel, I present the results of a similar analysis using data from a January 1941 poll. As information levels increase, supporters of the president are more likely to endorse the administration's position that it is more important to help England than it is to stay out of the war. By contrast, opponents of FDR are equally likely to express an anti-administration position, regardless of their information levels.[10] The polarization pattern of opinion continued through the middle of 1941. The next row of Figure 3.2 demonstrates this pattern on two questions relating to the war. The first asks whether the respondent would support a peace plan that would allow Germany to keep the land it had occupied through the spring of 1941. The second question more directly concerns U.S. involvement in the war, asking if "the U.S. Navy should be used to

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[7] I ran my analysis using multinomial logit analysis because I do not delete those respondents who fail to give a response to the war support questions. Instead, I capture the full response set and explicitly model the decision to give a "don't know" response (see Berinsky 2004 for a discussion of the importance of "don't know" responses). Thus respondents were asked to choose an answer from a set of categorical non-ordered options (for instance, support, oppose, and don't know).

[8] I also conducted this analysis using the raw data. Following Zaller (1992), I plotted the percentage of respondents who supported the war, by partisanship, at different information levels. The results are somewhat noisier than the predicted probability graphs presented here, but yield the same general pattern of results.

[9] By "significant" I mean that the effect of information among supporters of FDR is significantly different from opponents of FDR in a statistical sense at the 0.10 level (and at the 0.05 level in most cases). I conducted these statistical tests in two ways. First, I conducted an F-test to see if the interaction term between FDR supporter and information was statically distinguishable from

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the interaction term between FDR opponent and information. I also used CLARIFY (King, Tomz, and Wittenberg 2000) to compute predicted levels of war support for FDR supporters and opponents at different levels of information, and confidence intervals around those predicted levels. This analysis is presented with the coefficients used to generate the figures in the appendix. It should, however, be noted that these statistical tests are only suggestive because the data was collected using quota-sampling methods, not probability sampling as significance tests require (see the Appendix 3 for more detail).

[10] Gallup conducted a separate poll using the identical dependent variable during late January (AIPO study #229, January 24-29, 1941). While Gallup conducted the fieldwork for OPOR at this time, the Gallup survey contained different information items – "have you followed discussions of lend-lease," "do you read a daily newspaper regularly," and "can you recall which presidential candidate the paper supported in its editorials?" – allowing for a robustness check of the results. I find that the analysis of the Gallup data yields a nearly identical polarization pattern to that found in Figure 3.2. The result is especially important because the Gallup information scale is quite thin, while the OPOR scale is thick with factual knowledge questions. The convergence of the results across the two surveys provides evidence for the general robustness of my findings across surveys containing information scales of varying quality.

convoy ships carrying war materials to Britain." Though the polarization pattern is more pronounced on the question of the peace plan, opinion is still significantly polarized along lines of support for FDR in the case of the use of convoys. Furthermore, as the bottom panel demonstrates, this pattern of polarization continues to characterize opinion on the question of convoys one month later.

INSERT FIGURE 3.3 ABOUT HERE

Consistent with expectation, the pattern of public support for military action changed greatly after the U.S. entered the war. The surveys used here cover various times during the war and encompass data from several survey organizations, but the result is virtually identical. In line with the expectations of the elite cue theory, as discourse moved from a two-sided to a one-sided flow in 1941, the public followed suit. Citizens who approved of FDR's performance as president remained more supportive of the stated war aims of the U.S. government than opponents of FDR even after Pearl Harbor. However, the size of the differences between these two groups diminished greatly after 1941. More importantly, measured in a variety of ways – whether the U.S should send its army abroad, whether the U.S should take an active role in world affairs after the war, and, most critically, whether the U.S. should make peace with Germany if Hitler was overthrown – individuals more attuned to elite discourse were more supportive of an active U.S. role, regardless of their predispositions regarding FDR (see Figure 3.3). To be precise, unlike the pre-1942 data analyzed above, the effect of information does not distinguish supporters and opponents of the president.

INSERT FIGURE 3.4 ABOUT HERE

It is important to note that the shift in the dynamics of opinion is not simply a result of a change in general sentiment towards administration policies during wartime. On domestic issues, the mass public remained divided, in line with elite positions on the issue. In a 1944 Roper Poll, I find the expected polarization pattern on support for the position that the next administration should “work with businessmen” rather than “take care of the people” (see Figure 3.4).

The Election of 1940

To this point, I have presented evidence that citizens who opposed FDR changed their behavior with the onset of the Second World War. I argue that this change is the direct result of a change in patterns of elite conflict, but it could be that individuals’ behavior changed for other reasons. For instance, perhaps after 1941, the interests of the opponents of FDR changed. More problematic for my position, it could be that the events of late 1941 themselves directly transformed how individuals processed information concerning the war – that is, it could be that Pearl Harbor changed beliefs of how effective isolationist positions were likely to be for U.S. interests. Under this view, those individuals who were most politically informed would be able to make the same calculations as partisan political actors, mirroring the opinions of those elites, but not taking their cue from elite positions. The observed mainstream pattern might therefore be the results of simultaneous movement in the interests of the opponents of FDR and not a result of elite influence.

Although I do not have direct evidence that shifts in elite discourse led to changes in the dynamics of opinion in late 1941, I do have indirect evidence from a survey taken around the 1940 election. I find that when the messages of partisan political actors regarding the wisdom on intervention shifted – though briefly – the dynamics of public opinion shifted as well.

The 1940 election was somewhat surprising in that the foreign policy positions of the major party candidates resembled a one-sided flow. In their convention that summer, the Republicans did not nominate an isolationist like Ohio’s Robert Taft or Michigan’s Arthur

Vandenberg. Instead, in what Kennedy (1999) describes as an "astonishing surprise," the Republicans nominated an erstwhile Democrat, Wendell Willkie for the ticket. On domestic issues, unlike the 1936 Presidential contest, there was not significant conflict between the two major-party candidates' positions; though Willkie had clashed with the Roosevelt administration over economic issues, he refrained from endorsing laissez-fair economic policy and gave his blessing to most of the New Deal social legislation. But the gap between FDR and his Republican opponent was especially small on foreign policy. As Kennedy notes, "Willkie was an unshakable internationalist. He had publicly criticized Nazi aggression and had spoken out eloquently in favor of repealing the arms embargo and in support of aid to Britain" (1999, 456). Willkie went so far as to say that he was "in agreement with many of the basic international objectives of this administration at the present time." (Casey, 2001, p. 27).[11] Thus, for most of the fall of 1940, there was a single message emanating from both campaigns regarding the wisdom of involvement in the Second World War.[12] Furthermore, surveys from the time suggest

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[11] It should be noted that Willkie's message changed in the closing days of the campaign. At the end of October, Willkie sought to gain traction in the campaign by appealing to the Republican base by claiming that FDR's aid to Britain policy would mire the U.S. in the European conflict. On October 23, for instance, Willkie said about FDR, "On the basis of his past performance with pledges to the people, if you reelect him, you may expect war in April 1941." Barnes claims that this shift in strategy was the work of party professionals who "sold him on the reverse technique of calling Roosevelt a war monger…The continued gloomy reports from opinion polls and Willkie's gambling instinct led him to try it" (1952, 225). The Gallup poll I examine here was conducted on October 11-16th and captures the single message dynamics that prevailed for the majority of the 1940 presidential campaign.

[12] The message emanating from Willkie's campaign, it should be acknowledged, differed significantly from the one coming from congressional Republicans (see Figure 3.1). Given the

that the politically informed segment of the mass public recognized Willkie's divergence from the Republican orthodoxy of the time. In an October 1940 Roper survey nearly four times as many respondents thought that Willkie would favor selling naval vessels to Britain (42 percent) as compared those who said that he would not (12 percent) (Cantril and Strunk 1951, p. 982).[13]

INSERT FIGURE 3.5 ABOUT HERE

The 1940 election therefore provides an interlude where the normally two-sided discourse surrounding war became one-sided in a highly salient context. Though Willkie's nomination was not purely exogenous to the political environment, his candidacy introduced a significant change in the political rhetoric of FDR's most prominent opponent. We can therefore examine opinion data to see if it is best characterized by the polarization pattern, as it was in August 1939 and January 1941, or if the brief but powerful change in discourse among visible political actors led to a corresponding change in the dynamics of mass opinion along levels of

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relative salience of the two messages – the presidential campaign versus speeches on the floor of the House and Senate – it should not be surprising that Willkie's message had a larger effect.

[13] The remaining 46 percent of respondents did not know where Willkie stood, indicating that there was a significant portion of the mass public that was unengaged with the change in the elite signal, a necessary condition for emergence of the mainstream pattern demonstrated in Figure 3.5. The mainstream and polarization patterns, after all, are caused by differential behavior of informed segments of the mass public relative to the uniformed segments of that public. Unfortunately, the individual-level data is unavailable, so it is impossible to perform the weighting adjustments described in the Appendix. Weighting of similar questions in other surveys suggests that the raw data presented here probably overstates the proportion of the population that was politically informed. However, there is no reason to believe that the ratio of correct to incorrect answers would be dramatically altered by weighting – in all likelihood the proportion of respondents who did not know where Willkie stood would increase relative to the other two categories.

political engagement. The October 1940 Gallup poll provides such an opportunity because it contains two questions relating to war that are extremely similar in tone and form to those presented in Figure 3.2: (1) Should we help England if the British would lose without our aid and (2) should we send airplanes to England? These questions do not perfectly replicate the items examined in Figure 3.2, but they are highly similar in spirit to those questions. In addition – and unlike other polls from the election season – this poll contains the information measures necessary to conduct analysis parallel to that presented in Figures 3.2 and 3.3.[14] As Figure 3.5 demonstrates, opinion on these questions follows the mainstream pattern, therefore bolstering the position of the primacy of elite cues. In sum, the 1940 campaign briefly created a more unified and engaged public in a time when political polarization was the rule. Thus it is not simply that the events at Pearl Harbor alone changed the dynamics of opinion; with a salient shift in elite rhetoric occurring more than one year before the U.S. formally entered the war, the dynamics of opinion on the question of aiding the Allied cause changed as well.

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[14] As noted in the introduction, this Gallup poll was conducted using the same methodology and sampling frame as other Gallup polls from this time. However, unlike other polls presented here, Gallup only interviewed those respondents who said they would "be able to vote in the Presidential election this year." That said, any differences between this poll and the other polls I examine here should not change the over-time inferences I draw in this paper for two reasons. First, as discussed elsewhere (Berinsky 2006), Gallup's sampling procedure highly overrepresented the voting population. The 1940 post-election poll, for instance, reported a turnout rate of 89 percent among the entire sample. Less than two percent of the sample reported that they did not vote because they were ineligible to do so. The number of respondents excluded by Gallup's screen was therefore almost certainly quite small. Second, even in the unlikely event that the October 1940 survey greatly overrepresents voters relative to other surveys examined in this paper, it is unlikely that the over-time patterns of opinion polarization would change. The difference between the mainstream and the polarization pattern, after all, manifests among the most informed segment of the population. Considering the strong link between political participation and information, it is highly unlikely that excluding those ineligible to vote would change the composition of the highly informed segment of the sample enough to reverse the mainstream pattern found in Figure 3.5

The War in Iraq

In the last chapter, I presented experimental evidence indicating that event-response theories cannot explain inter-individual differences in support for the Iraq war. However, partisan differences on support for war were stark – the gap between Democrats and Republicans on measures of war support was almost 50 percentage points (growing to 70 percent when the attitudes of strong identifiers are compared). These results square well with other polling on support for the war. Jacobson (2008) finds that large gaps between Democrats and Republicans existed even before the war began in March 2003. In January 2003, for instance, Republicans were over 30 percent more likely to support the war than were Democrats. The commencement of hostilities slightly narrowed the partisan divide, but by April 2003, that gap began to grow even larger, exceeding 60 percentage points in the last quarter of 2004, and holding fairly steady since then.

Such results should not be surprising. Though event-response theories cannot explain differences in support for war, models that account for the influence of partisan cues strongly predict patterns of war support. Recall that the elite cue theory hypothesizes that members of the mass public will look to prominent political actors as guides for their positions on the war. In the context of Iraq, the Bush administration's clear stance on the war– and the general unity of the Republican Party for much of this time – provides such a guide. Even though Democratic leaders had not taken a consistent and strong anti-war stance at the time of the survey, both Republicans and Democrats who were attentive to politics could use the strong support of the war by George Bush and Republican Party leaders as a cue to influence their own positions on the war.

Not only is the gap between the parties on Iraq large, but as predicted by the elite cue theory, support for the Iraq conflict follows the same type of polarization pattern found in the World War II era. As noted above, to determine whether the mainstream or polarization pattern best characterizes public opinion, we need individual-level measures of three quantities: support for the war, political predispositions, and levels of political information. The Iraq War Casualty Survey contains all of these quantities. Following Zaller (1992, 1994) I modeled the measures of support for war as a function of partisanship, information, the interaction between information and partisanship, and several control variables. Figure 3.6 presents the results of an analysis of the effects of political information levels on support for the war.[15] The figure demonstrates that, as a modal respondent's attention to political discourse increases, he adopts diametrically opposed positions on the war, depending on whether he is a Democrat or a Republican. Although there is a gap between Democrats and Republicans at the lowest information levels, this gap grows as information levels increases, indicating that differences in elite positions are reflected in individuals' positions on war.

INSERT FIGURE 3.6 ABOUT HERE

It is also interesting to note that, consistent with the criticism raised of Feaver, Gelpi, and

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[15] The graphs present the predicted positions for a white male with some college education. The full analyses are presented in the appendix. I also ran the analysis using ordered probit and regression using the full 4-point scales as dependent variables. The results were substantively identical to those presented here. Finally, I ran the analysis separately for each of the four experimental conditions and found that the results were nearly identical across each of the conditions.

Reifler in the last chapter, the “success” question – like other measures of support for the war – exhibits the same polarization pattern as the war support questions of opinion (Zaller 1992).[16] As political information increases among Republicans, the estimates of perceived success increase slightly (see Figure 3.7). Among Democrats, however, increasing political information decreases the estimates of success greatly. Individuals therefore seem to arrive at their assessments of the benefits of war using the same processes they use to arrive at their judgments of support for war.[17]

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[16] The similarity of the success measure to measures of support for war extends beyond the information effects discussed here. Indeed a regression analysis of the demographic and political correlates of the various measures are virtually indistinguishable (see the Appendix to this chapter).

[17] Mirroring the large partisan differences found on support for the war (Jacobson 2007), eighty-five percent of Republicans, but only 51 percent of Democrats thought that the U.S. was very or somewhat likely to succeed in Iraq. These results are comparable to the partisan differences found with somewhat different forms of the “success” question asked by other survey organizations. In October 2004, PIPA asked, “How confident are you that the US intervention in Iraq will succeed? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being not at all confident and 10 being extremely confident.” The mean score among Republicans was 7.0, but only 3.3 among Democrats. Similarly, in December 2005, the *Washington Post* asked, “All told, do you think the United States will win or lose the war in Iraq?” Eighty-nine percent of Republicans, but only 35 percent of Democrats thought that the U.S. would win. When a slightly different form of the question is asked – “All told, do you think the United States is winning or losing the war in Iraq?” – a similar partisan breakdown emerges: 82 percent of Republicans and 29 percent of Democrats believe the U.S. is winning. Moreover, these patterns of partisan polarization are not specific to the Iraq war. In June, 1999, with Bill Clinton leading the charge on U.S. intervention in Kosovo conflict, the *Washington Post* asked, “As of now, which side do you think won the Kosovo conflict: Serbia, or the United States and its European allies?” Sixty percent of

INSERT FIGURE 3.7 ABOUT HERE

Afghanistan and Iraq: A Tale of Two Wars

The distinctiveness of the Iraq war is even clearer when it is considered alongside another contemporary conflict – the military action in Afghanistan that began in 2001. Unlike Iraq, the invasion of Afghanistan had strong bipartisan support among politicians from the beginning. As a result, popular support for the war was high; from September 2001 through April 2002, between 80 percent and 90 percent approved of the military action (Jacobson 2008). Even given the partisan divisions on Iraq found at the mass level by the fall of 2004, we would expect to see the mainstream pattern of opinion on Afghanistan.

INSERT FIGURE 3.8 ABOUT HERE

Though most pollsters stopped asking about support for the Afghan conflict in early 2002, data exists that allows for a comparison of the nature of support for interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq.[18] Specifically, the 2004 NES contains nearly identical measures of support for both conflicts. Analysis parallel to that conducted for the Iraq War Casualty Survey is presented in Figure 3.8. As expected – and in contrast to opinion on Iraq – increased levels of political information increased the probability that respondents would say that Afghanistan was worth the costs for both Democrats and Republicans. Interestingly, though higher levels of information led to increased support for the Afghanistan action regardless of a respondent's political affiliation, a large difference exists in levels of support for the war across all level of

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Democrats but only 41 percent of Republicans thought the U.S. won. In sum, it appears that people's beliefs about a war's success depend in large part upon where they sit politically.

[18] It could be that pollsters stopped asking about support for the Afghanistan war because of the high levels of support reported in polls taken through early 2002.

political information.[19] This result suggests that, at least by 2004, the partisan divide had created a baseline reaction to Bush's actions, reflected in the wide partisan differences in support for both conflicts, a difference that is also mirrored in experimental evidence described below.[20]

All told, these results corroborate elite-centered views of war support. As discussed in the last chapter, perceptions of war deaths are influenced by the respondent's partisan attachments. Furthermore, as also discussed in the last chapter, the perceptions of war deaths do not influence attitudes toward war, and correcting respondents' misconceptions has little effect on support for war. Analyses presented in this chapter show that whatever inconsistent effects arise from presenting correct information pale in comparison to the effects of partisanship. The identification of the Iraq war with the Bush administration allows partisans who pay attention to politics to quickly ascertain their stance on the war. The evidence of increased polarization over time, even among those individuals who pay little attention to politics, may explain in part the sharp divergence in war support between Republicans and Democrats from the time of the war's immediate aftermath in May 2003 and the 2004 survey. As Iraq became portrayed as "Bush's war," increasingly, even the least politically engaged partisans could use the position of President Bush and the leaders of the Republican Party as a cue to find their own opinion on the war. This withdrawal of support among Democrats in large part resulted in the initial decline in support for the war (see Jacobson 2008).

The analysis presented here suggests that patterns of elite conflict play a critical role in determining patterns of war support, as the elite cue theory predicts. What the future holds for Iraq remains to be seen. A study by Jacobson (2008) demonstrates that from April 2004 until the eve of the 2006 election, support for the war did not decline monotonically, but rather oscillated between 40 and 50 percent. The splintering of the Republican consensus on Iraq in the wake of the 2006 election may, however, provide another important demonstration of the power of elite rhetoric. The fading of unity on the wisdom of involvement among prominent Republican politicians should lead to the withdrawal of support among some Republican identifiers. Indeed, preliminary survey data collected by Jacobson (2008) suggests that Republican support for the war – which fluctuated between 75 and 85 percent from November 2003 to November 2006 – dropped below 70 percent for the first time in the wake of the 2006 election. A reconsideration of the wisdom of the war by its most ardent supporters in government may, then, lead to a collapse in support for military action among the mass public as well.

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[19] This difference is also found in the raw data.

[20] There are similar differences in information effects between support for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan in data collected in 2005 by PORTL and January 2006 by Pew Center for the People and the Press. In both surveys, the interaction between information levels and partisanship is significant in the Iraq support model and insignificant in the Afghanistan support model.

Vietnam

To this point, I have argued that elite positions determine the shape of public opinion on war. But the reach of this conclusion may not extend past the two conflicts discussed here. At first blush, Vietnam and Korea might appear to be troubling counter examples for my theory of elite competition. In both wars, the management of the conflict changed parties during the course of the war, from Democrat to Republican presidents. How can elite cues function under these circumstances? Do they lose their power? Do cue-takers shift side en mass?

Previous analysis suggests that even in an environment where the Presidency switches parties, partisan cues can play a sensible role in structuring opinion. As noted above, while Belknap and Campbell (1951) found that opinion concerning the Korean War showed some hints of the polarization pattern prior to the 1952 election, Eisenhower never embraced the war after his election and quickly saw an end to the conflict.

Vietnam presents a different case. Vietnam is an outlier among the wars of the last 65 years in that, during Johnson's time as president, polarization occurred *within* the Democratic Party, not across the parties. The first real hints of opposition within Congress came through hearings conducted by Senator William Fulbright – a Democrat – in 1966. This debate grew and spilled into the 1968 campaign, splintering the Democratic Party into rival factions in the primaries and beyond. At the same time, messages from the Republican side did not change appreciably.

In the late 1960s, however, the dynamics of elite cues *did* change appreciably. The 1968 presidential campaign pitted Richard Nixon against Johnson's vice President, Hubert Humphrey. Analysis of campaign rhetoric by Page and Brody (1972) found little difference in the public statements of the major party candidates. The mass public accurately perceived the minimal difference between the parties; on average, the public could not distinguish the positions of the candidates on escalation/de-escalation placement questions (see further discussion in Chapter 6). After 1968, however, Vietnam became Nixon's war, both in fact and in the public mind. In the 1972 election, Nixon and McGovern took distinct positions on the war, and large segments of the mass public accurately perceived these differences (Aldrich et al. 2006).[21]

Zaller's (1992) analysis of opinion concerning Vietnam used as its central consideration a "Hawk/Dove" measure. This variable almost certainly captures the division within the Democratic Party, and indeed Zaller finds that the polarization on opinion concerning the war increased steadily from 1964 to 1968. Zaller used as his dependent variable a measure of continuing support for the official U.S. government policy in Vietnam.[22] Over time, better informed Hawks were more supportive of the war than poorly informed Hawks. The same pattern was found among Doves in 1964, consistent with a mainstream pattern. By 1966 – and especially by 1968 – this dynamic changed. Information levels were no longer monotonically related to support for the war; instead a polarization pattern of opinion emerged.

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[21] Zaller, in fact, classifies Vietnam as a "Partisan issue" in 1972 (1992, 108).

INSERT FIGURE 3.9 ABOUT HERE

I performed a similar analysis to Zaller using partisanship in place of his constructed Hawk/Dove measure.[23] The patterns of public opinion are presented in Figure 3.9, and differ appreciably from Zaller's original results.[24] As expected, the data demonstrate a lack of polarization along party lines through 1968. However, in line with the elite cue theory, by 1970, polarization emerged across party lines, with high information Democrats most opposed to the war.[25]

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[22] Specifically, Zaller used an NES question which asked, "Which of the following do you think we should do now in Vietnam? (1) pull out entirely, (2) keep our soldiers in Vietnam, but try to end the fighting, or (3) take a stronger stand even if it means invading North Vietnam." Zaller coded the first response – "pull out" – as opposition to the war and the other two options as support for the war.

[23] Strictly speaking, I do not replicate Zaller's model. Instead, following the strategy advanced by Zaller (1994) and used elsewhere in this chapter, I model opinion as a function of information, predisposition (here party identification), and the interaction between predispositions and information. Because likelihood ratio tests indicated that the addition of quadratic information terms significantly improved the model fit for 1966, 1968, and 1970, I included information-squared and relevant interactions to capture non-linearities.

[24] The graphs present the predicted positions for a white male at a given information level.

[25] Zaller also argues that the change of administration in 1968 changed the dynamics of opinion. As he argues, "with the war effort being lead by a Republican rather than a Democrat, many

INSERT FIGURE 3.10 ABOUT HERE

Moreover, I find a nearly identical pattern of opinion expression using a measure of war support that extends through 1972, a time when the image of Vietnam as "Nixon's war" had solidified. From 1964 to 1972, the NES asked respondents, "Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Vietnam, or should we have stayed out?" The mistake question has some additional advantages; it can serve as a measure of broad support or opposition to the war effort. As Mueller (1973) argues, "the question always asks for the respondent's general opinion on the wisdom of the war venture itself, and thus it seems to be a sound measure of a sort of general support for the war" (p. 43). Analysis of this question is presented in Figure 3.10. As the Figure shows, consistent with the effects of partisanship on the escalation question, the dynamics of opinion on the mistake question changed in 1968. Though some differences exist between high information partisans in 1966, reflecting the split within the Democratic Party on the wisdom of intervention in Vietnam, opinion before 1969 largely exhibits the mainstream pattern. During Nixon's presidency, however, the polarization pattern is dominant.

Together these analyses suggest that partisanship played an important role in shaping opinion concerning the Vietnam War. The split within the Democratic Party on the wisdom of the War certainly led to a decline in overall support for the conflict during Johnson's presidency. But the election of Nixon added a partisan flavor to opinion dynamics after 1968, leading to a further decline in support for that conflict.

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doves found it easier to oppose the war" (1992, 204). He further argues that the biggest change in liberal opinion occurs between 1968 and 1970. However, it appears that the basic dynamics of public opinion changed from 1964 to 1968, when Johnson was president, indicating that the split within the Democratic Party was a more important determinant of changes in patterns of opinion expression among liberals than the change in the occupant of the White House.

Korean Intervention Experiment

Though the observational data from World War II, Vietnam, and Iraq support the primacy of the elite-cue theory advanced here, to further explore the determinants of public support for military intervention, I conducted a survey experiment in June 2006. In this experiment, I presented respondents with a hypothetical military intervention in South Korea, but varied the particulars of the scenario in ways that relate to the context of the intervention, the probable costs of the mission, and elite cues about the wisdom of intervention.[26] After presenting the scenario, I gauged the respondent's support for military action. To be precise, I ran a fully crossed between-subjects experiment with three treatment dimensions.[27] These dimensions were:

1. Situational Factor: Costs – Casualties. Mueller's theory predicts that as deaths rise, support for war declines. Respondents received a low casualty estimate (300-500 dead) or a high estimate (2,500-3,500 dead) for the mission. These casualty estimates were based on the reported estimates of American war deaths prior to military action in

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[26] I employ hypothetical scenarios to maximize my control over the experimental treatments (see Herrmann, Tetlock, and Visser 1999).

[27] The design therefore consisted of 16 cells and two control groups. The design and full scenarios wordings are presented in the Appendix (Figure 1).

recent conflicts, [28]

2. Context of Intervention – Principal Policy Objective. In Chapter 2, I briefly discussed Jentleson's (1992) arguments concerning the importance of the "principle policy objective" (PPO) of a given intervention. Jentleson claims that support for war will vary as a function of the frame of goals for a military mission. He finds that missions with a foreign policy restraint (FPR) goal are more popular than those with an internal policy change (IPC) goal. Respondents were therefore be presented with either a FPR scenario (defend South Korea against an invasion by North Korea) or an IPC scenario

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[28] To arrive at these numbers, I looked to media reports of estimated deaths in the months leading up to recent U.S. military action. For the high number, I searched Lexis-Nexis in the month before the start of the First Gulf War for estimates of the number of war dead. In this time period, I identified 6 reports with 8 different casualty estimates. The projected number of dead ranged from 500 (by the chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, Les Aspin) to 10,000 (by the Center for Defense Information, a private non-partisan research organization). I took the median of these estimates – 3,000 +/- a 500 casualty range. Arriving at the low number was more difficult because the media by and large did not report casualty estimates for the second Gulf War (in all likelihood following the lead of government officials who – unlike the first Gulf War – essentially refused to talk about estimates of war dead). Still, I managed to find two estimates of the number of dead for the war. The first – 400 to 800 dead was by Daryl Press, a Professor of Government at Dartmouth. The second was by Michael O'Hanlon, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and ranged from 100 to 5,000 dead. I took the median of the range – 400 casualties +/- a 100 casualty range (to be precise, I took the low end of the median, which is 400-800). As noted in the previous chapter, it is possible that the rate of casualty loss is more important than the aggregate number of deaths. I use the aggregate numbers here because most work on this topic has – consistent with Mueller's original hypothesis – looked at aggregate deaths (though see Gartner and Segura 1998). Future work should certainly consider this dimension, but given resource constraints, a focus on aggregate numbers is a good first step.

(stabilize a democratic government in South Korea).[29]

> 3. Elite Discourse: Party Positions. Zaller predicts that elite consensus behind war leads to increased support for war, while dissent leads to polarized opinion. To account for the most relevant partisan cues, respondents were told the positions of the two parties in Congress regarding the wisdom of intervention. Specifically, respondents were presented with one of four partisan cues – (Democratic Support, Republican Support/ Democratic Support, Republican Opposition/ Democratic Opposition, Republican Support/ Democratic Opposition, Republican Opposition).

The full text of the experimental treatments is presented in the Appendix to this chapter. To give a feel for the nature of the treatment, compare the control condition for Internal Policy Change PPO:

> There's a lot of talk these days about American Military and economic policies abroad. We'd like to get your thoughts on these issues by exploring an imaginary situation. Say that American troops are called upon to stabilize a democratic government in South Korea. …What do you think? Should the U.S. military become involved or stay out?

to the condition in which the casualty estimate is low and Congress gives its unified support to the intervention:

> There's a lot of talk these days about American Military and economic policies abroad. We'd like to get your thoughts on these issues by exploring an imaginary situation. Say that American troops are called upon to stabilize a democratic government in South Korea. Non-partisan experts estimate that from 300-500 troops would be killed in this military action. Both Democratic and Republican Party leaders support this mission because it is consistent with their national security goals. …What do you think? Should the U.S. military become involved or stay out? [30]

While these scenarios are admittedly sparse, the relevant cues referenced by the different theories are clearly provided.[31] Respondents are told the positions of the leaders of the major political parties and are given estimates of the number of Americans dead resulting from the military action.[32] Thus, the fully crossed design of this experiment allows me to test the independent and conditional effects of the three experimental dimensions.[33]

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[29] These scenarios are drawn from Feaver and Gelpi (2004), but were modified to keep the target country constant. Jentleson has also identified a third foreign policy goal of interest – humanitarian intervention (Jentleson and Britton 1998) that like foreign policy restraint missions, are more popular than actions with an IPC goal. Since the crucial distinction is between the IPC goal and the other goals, I use the original typology here.

[30] The order of the presentation of the parties was randomized within the conditions.

Based on the observational and experimental data presented in this chapter, I expected that situational factors might influence support for war, but that elite cues would be a more powerful and consistent determinant of war support. The results of the experiment are presented in Table 3.1. Given the large number of conditions in the design, I present the results of the experiment as a set of first differences, giving the estimated effect of a treatment for a partisan subgroup relative to the control condition. Because each respondent was presented with an intervention scenario, I use the Internal Policy Change control condition (detailed above) as the baseline. Each cell in Table 3.1 can therefore be read as the effect of a given treatment on a person of a particular political stripe.[34]

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[31] Some have argued that this design pushes respondents to rely on partisan cues because the scenario presented here is sparse. Admittedly, respondents are not provided with the details of the strategic situation surrounding the situation. For instance, possible actions by China and the potential for nuclear warfare are all left aside. However, the scenario design is similar to other studies of the determinants of war (Feaver and Gelpi 2004; Herrmann et al. 1999). More important for present purposes, I provide subjects with salient information concerning two sets of factors that scholars have argued determine support for intervention: (1) the costs (in terms of human lives) and the benefits (the PPO of the mission) on the one hand and (2) partisan cues (the position of various actors in Congress) on the other. The low-information nature of the treatment makes all relevant cues stark and clear. Thus, the elite-driven theory can only be advantaged if the costs/benefit calculation naturally plays a small role in determining support for war.

[32] In a more expansive design, for instance, it would undoubtedly be interesting to consider different rationales for party positions. But given the resource constraints I was operating under, I chose to keep the design as stark as possible.

[33] This design admittedly ignores some prominent event-centered theories discussed in the previous chapter, such as Feaver and Gelpi's “perceived success” theory. However, a more comprehensive design would require tens of thousands of cases. The design proposed here is sufficient to provide a critical test of the relative merit of situational explanations of war support against elite-driven explanations. I checked the randomization by running a series of chi-square tests to see whether the characteristics of the respondents varied by condition. All of these tests indicated that I could not reject the null hypothesis of “no difference” across all the following respondent characteristics: gender, census region, age, education, partisanship, and race.

INSERT TABLE 3.1 ABOUT HERE

One of the most striking results of the experiment is not conveyed by the table. Reflecting the large divide over the use of military force by the Bush administration, the partisan divide over even a hypothetical intervention is massive. My analysis of the data indicates that across all conditions, Republicans are 22 percent more likely to support intervention than are Democrats.[35] Furthermore, also reflecting the current divide over Iraq, Independents are far closer to Democrats than to Republicans in their positions on the use of force. These results show that the ability to gain currency on questions of support for war with experiments may be constrained by the current political environment. Even with successful randomization, it is impossible to divorce completely experimental investigations of public opinion concerning war from the current war in Iraq.

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[34] These results were generated from a probit model predicting support for war. The results do not differ if I use the four-point support/opposition measure as the dependent variable in an ordered probit analysis. To determine if there were any consistent interactive effects, I also included interactions between conditions and examined mean support level (by partisanship) for each of the experimental conditions. I did not find any such effects. For instance, the highest level of support for intervention among Democrats is found in the case where Democrats support intervention, Republicans oppose intervention, the mission has a FPR PPO, and casualties are low. However the second highest level of support is the case where both Democrats and Republicans support intervention, the mission has a FPR PPO, and the casualty estimates are high.

[35] Though the effect size varies by scenario, in every experimental condition, Republicans are more likely to support intervention than are Democrats.

That said, given the power of randomized experiments to illuminate causal paths, it is possible to learn something about the determinants of support for war from these experiments. As predicted, differences in the casualty estimates fail to meaningfully change the levels of support for war. The differences in support for military action between conditions with low casualty estimates and those with high casualty estimate are statistically insignificant regardless of the respondents' partisan attachments. Among Republican respondents, the mere mention of casualties does decrease support for intervention.[36] In any case, the effect of casualty levels on support for war is essentially the same for both the high casualty and the low casualty conditions. The bottom line on the question of casualties is simple: any shift in support based on casualties is small – on the order of 5 percentage point – and statically unreliable.

There does, however, appear to be some support for Jentleson's contention concerning the importance of the context of a given action. The policy objective of a mission seems to affect baseline support for military action – at least for some respondents. Respondents are more likely to support a mission designed to repel an attack than they are to support one designed to foster a democratic regime.[37] What is interesting is that this effect is considerably smaller for Republicans than it is for respondents of other partisan stripes. Thus, I again find that partisanship conditions other important variables.

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[36] Perhaps, then, the current political climate influences not only the baseline levels of support among partisans, but the effect of the treatments as well.

[37] This effect holds even controlling for the respondent's beliefs concerning the desirability of international involvement abroad more generally.

Finally, I turn to the effect of the partisan cues. As expected, the cues have little effect on support for war in either a substantive or a statistical sense for political independents. The expression of opposition – especially by Republicans – depressed support for intervention, but this effect was not statistically significant. On the other hand, respondents with partisan attachment do respond to the cues. Both Democrats and Republicans react to unified political opposition to war by lowering their levels of support, as predicted. Unified opposition, it seems, is an informative cue for *all* respondents, regardless of their personal political attachments. This effect is, however, much larger for Democrats than it is for Republicans. Furthermore, Republican partisans appear to support war only if led by Republican members of Congress. Republican support in Congress – regardless of the stance of the Democratic leaders – leads to increased support for action. In fact, this effect is larger than for either of the situational factors. For Democratic identifiers, on the other hand, the support of Democrats in Congress has no significant effect on support for intervention. Democrats do, however, seem to respond marginally to Republican support when coupled with Democratic opposition. Much as Democrats reacted to Bush's support for the Iraq war by rejecting that war, as the elite cuetaking theory predicts, Republican support for the hypothetical intervention leads to mass opposition.

The inability of cues from Democratic politicians to increase support for war does not square with theoretic expectations, but these results are consistent with other recent experimental evidence concerning support for interventions, both invented and real. Howell and Kriner (2007) find that support for military action from Democratic members of Congress does not increase the support for interventions among Democratic identifiers in Iraq, nor does it change support for hypothetical action in Eritrea (in response to sponsorship of terrorists by the government) or

Liberia (to respond to human rights atrocities). Again it appears that political reality has intruded upon experimental evidence. Given the current divide between Democrats and Republicans on the Iraq war, even with a proper experimental design, it may be impossible to have a clear test of the relevant political cues. That said, the evidence presented here demonstrates that even in such an environment, political cues can be quite powerful determinants of support for war.

Conclusion

The results presented in the last two chapters challenge the view that the events on the battlefield are sufficient to explain the dynamics of public reaction to war and suggest that – just as in domestic politics – patterns of elite agreement and disagreement play a critical role in shaping popular responses to war.[38] In three seemingly diverse cases involving actual conflicts, the structure of opinion on war looks remarkably similar. The elite cue theory advanced here demonstrates how prominent cuetakers can provide structure to the foreign policy opinions of the mass public. This evidence is an indictment not just of the casualties hypothesis – which has been criticized by other authors (Burk 1999; Klarevas 2002; Kull and Ramsay 2001; Feaver and Gelpi 2004; Gelpi, Feaver, and Reifler 2005-2006) – but also more generally of event-response theories positing that individuals make decisions regarding the wisdom of war through a cost/benefit calculation. As the discussion of the survey data from World War II demonstrates, even in a highly charged climate, a large proportion of citizens did not have a clear idea of what the war was about and were ignorant of the Nazi atrocities. Only in retrospect do these facts seem to justify the U.S. involvement. During times of war, individual-level knowledge of the most basic facts of war is weak; the power of elite cues is not.

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[38] In fact, given the relative malleability of elite positions on war, the study of public opinion and war more clearly illustrates the relationship between mass and elite positions, more generally.

This is not to say that wartime events are meaningless for the study of public opinion and war. The patterns of political consensus during World War II implicitly beg the question of why, unlike the case in other conflicts in American history, elite discourse did not shift during the course of the war, even in the face of mounting costs and the uncertain outcome of the military effort in 1942 and 1943. Here, perhaps, there is a role for the direct effects of military events. There is no evidence that the mass public makes the complex calculations described by Larson (1996) and other authors who posit that the public collectively balances costs and benefits when deciding whether to lend support to military action. But it is reasonable to think that political leaders – those actors with the most at stake in a given controversy – would make such calculations. In this conception the events of war are important, but only acquire explanatory power indirectly. Partisan political actors, not the mass public, decide whether to lend support to an administration’s policy depending on the costs of the conflict and the perceived success of the intervention (Levy 1989). The public in the aggregate appears “rational” only because they take cues from elites who sensibly incorporate diplomatic actions and events on the battlefield into their decisions to support or oppose war. Thus the phenomenon seen as driven by the cognitive processes of the collective mass public can be recast as an elite-level phenomenon. Providing evidence for this view, Gartner et al (2004) find that variation in state-level casualties affected the positions of incumbent senators and their challengers during the Vietnam War. But as the World War II case indicates, casualties do not necessarily define the flow of elite discourse. By refocusing the discussion of the effects of events from the mass level to the elite level, we can better explain the causes and consequences of convergence and divergence in elite discourse.

Work in this vein has important implications for the study of international relations more generally. Reiter and Stam (2002) argue that democracies are hesitant to enter war and only become involved in wars they are likely to win. If a democracy is caught in a difficult and protracted war, it is likely to give in and accept a draw. Reiter and Stam attribute this process to the sensitivity of the democratic public to casualties. But if it is the dynamics of elite conflict, rather than mere casualties, that determines public support for war, then to properly understand the decision to wage war, we need to understand how domestic politics and partisan divisions structure the way that ordinary citizens come to understand real-world events. To date, even the best work on public opinion concerning war has failed to account for the effects of partisan and other societal cleavages on levels of support for war. In these models, the public is an undifferentiated mass, reacting in a uniform manner to changes in the course of war. By allowing for heterogeneous responses to the tides of war and by explicitly allowing a role for the elite mediation of foreign events, we can better understand how citizens in democracies can guide and constrain the government's ability to wage war. Even if one does not agree with Page and Shapiro's (1992) contention that government affairs can "conceal or misrepresent reality without being challenged," surely political elites have the agency and flexibility to interpret the meaning of ambiguous wartime events. Students of international relations need to take seriously the mechanisms of domestic politics. It is not simply a direct reaction to casualties or victories on the battlefield that causes support for war to wax or wane. The analyses presented here indicate that it is how the war experience gets filtered through domestic politics that matters most. The experience with World War II demonstrates the central role that partisan political actors play in influencing the preferences of the mass public. In fact, the partisan differences that remained – albeit in a greatly diminished state – after Pearl Harbor demonstrate the continued influence of "normal" partisan politics, even in times of unifying crises. The fact that World War II – unlike

Vietnam and Korea – was ultimately successful should not obscure the potential hazards that could occur when patterns of political conflict among government actors structure the opinions of the mass public. Under comparable circumstances of elite harmony, perhaps different ends – a conflict with a costly and disastrous conclusion – could emerge from similar means.

Chapter 4:
Ethnic Groups: Attachments, Enmities and Support for War

In the last chapter, I demonstrated the central role that partisan attachments play in the processing of information about war. While partisanship is a critical mediator of wartime opinion, it is not the only predisposition relevant to public opinion about foreign policy. Recent research has demonstrated that attachments and enmities to salient social groupings in society shape political understanding and behavior on domestic issues. In this chapter, I argue that beliefs about those groups to which individuals feel loyalty or hostility also structure their attitudes in the realm of foreign policy. The effects of group loyalties differ from the effects of partisanship because long-standing group attachments lead to sizable, but stable differences in opinion on war. As I will demonstrate below, these differences are resistant to alternations in political messages and persist even in the face of massive changes within the political environment, such as the attack at Pearl Harbor in 1941. Furthermore, in contrast to the partisan elite cueing found in the last chapter, elite leadership can not explain the association between ethnicity and opinion on the war. Group attachments therefore give individuals the agency to form their own opinions independent of political leadership. In these ways, group-based differences provide a bedrock structure to public opinion.

In this chapter, I draw primarily on data from World War II – a time when internal ethnic divisions were a highly visible part of the social sphere in the United States. However, though the power of groups was especially strong in World War II, group-based differences can provide structure to citizens' understanding of foreign policy more generally. Thus, as in earlier chapters, to demonstrate the generality of the group-based perspective, I look to other cases involving group-based thinking – namely sanctions on South Africa in the mid-1980s – to demonstrate that feelings toward domestic groups can structure opinion on foreign policy more generally.

Groups and Political Thinking

Converse's (1964) landmark work on belief systems is primarily remembered for its dismal conclusions regarding the possibility of ideological thinking among members of the mass public. But Converse did not merely document the shortcoming of the citizenry; he also considered the ways that individuals could come to reasoned political decisions, even in the absence of an overarching guiding ideology. Converse concluded that two factors might organize public opinion. The first was the existence of narrow issue publics – groups of citizens with relatively crystallized opinions in given issue areas (see Hutchings 2003 for an elaboration of this insight). The second – and the one most relevant for present purposes – is the power of groups.

Drawing on contemporary theories of "reference groups", Converse claimed that visible groups in a society provide structure to individual political judgments. Specifically, he argued that citizens could "evaluate parties and candidates in terms of their expected favorable or unfavorable treatment of different social groupings in society" (1964, 216), and mentioned race, religion, and nationality as clear referents on the political scene of the 1950s (see also Campbell et al. 1960; Hyman and Singer 1968). According to Converse, ordinary individuals could situate themselves on the stage of the mass politics through the use of these group reference points, thereby coming to meaningful political decisions.

Converse placed a great deal of weight on the power of groups because they were relatively simple concepts, requiring a lower threshold of sophistication than needed to employ abstract concepts, such as ideology. As Converse argued, to make use of group-based reasoning, citizens need only “be endowed with some cognitions of the group and with some interstial ‘linking’ information indicating why a given party or policy is relevant to the group” (p. 236-237). The first part of this equation is fairly straightforward. Groups that are prominent within a society are more likely to be recognized by individual members of the mass public. The second portion, the linking information, varies from issue to issue. Sometimes, the connection between a group and a policy are ephemeral. In other situations, however, “the cues presented to citizens concerning links between the group and party or policy are so gross that they penetrate rapidly even to the less informed” (1964, 238). As discussed in further detail below, high profile foreign policy issues – like matters of war and peace – involving other nations may be a class of situations where these links are clear. Under such circumstances, even casual observers of the political scene can understand complex political events. Presaging later work on cues and heuristics (see Popkin 1991; Sniderman, Brody, and Tetlock 1991 and, in the domain of race, Dawson 1994), Converse concluded that reference group cues could serve as the foundation of “ideology by proxy”, creating meaningful patterns in the attitudes and behaviors of ordinary citizens (Converse 1975).

Evidence from open-ended questions on likes and dislikes of the parties demonstrated the centrality of group thinking in the belief systems of the mass public. Coding the statements in these questions, Converse assigned respondents to one of five “levels of conceptualization.” While few respondents thought about politics in ideological terms, a large plurality of respondents (42 percent) were classified in the “group interest” category.[1] These were respondents who had a clear image of politics as an arena of group concerns and used this understanding of group relations to come to political judgments.[2] For example, one respondent disliked the Democratic Party because "it's trying to help the Negros too much." Similarly, another respondent said that she did not favor the Democrats because, "they were hard on the farmers … [Truman] said he was going to do things for the farmers and he backed out." (Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes 1960).

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[1] The next largest group, “nature of the times” comprised 24 percent of the sample. These respondents made simple associations between the condition of the economy or the state of international affairs on the one hand and the incumbent administration on the other. These statements largely consisted of uninformed references to controversies over public policy. For

The reference group theories Converse and his colleagues drew upon have to a certain degree fallen by the wayside in favor of other group-based theories, such as Social Identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Tajfel 1981), and Realistic Group Conflict theory (Bobo 1983; Campbell 1965; Sherif 1966). However, Converse's central insight remains important; groups as cognitive constructs can play a significant role in structuring public opinion. To a large degree, ordinary citizens interpret politics through the lens of social groups (Walsh 2004).

Much work since Converse underscores the cognitive power of groups in influencing political behavior. Kinder, Adams, and Gronke (1989) find that individuals come to understand the national economy through the prism of groups to which they belong. They find that the

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instance, of the Republican Party, one respondent said, "Seems a lot like they helped to stop the [Korean] war."

[2] Converse himself did not make mention of the large proportions of respondents who fell in the "group interest" level of conceptualization when he discussed the role of groups and opinion. Kinder (2003) speculates that Converse may have overlooked this evidence because, by relying on reference group theory, Converse focused primarily on groups in society apart from one's own. Much of the rhetoric concerning likes and dislikes of candidates and the parties, however, concerned the group to which the respondent belonged. I argue that both references to ones own group and references to other groups are consistent with Converse's general approach – in both cases, relying on groups allows one to arrive at decisions on complex political issues.

largest predictor of judgments of change in national economic well-being was change in their own group's economic well-being. Other work has found that liked or disliked population groups can anchor political reasoning. Brady and Sniderman (1985) conclude that individuals arrive at political understanding – "an impressively accurate map of politics" (p. 94) – by referencing their political affect towards politically strategic groups. Similarly, Mutz (1998) argues that group influence is sociotropic. When making political decisions, citizens rely primarily on their perceptions of large-scale collectives – including groups – that exist beyond the realm of personal experience. For instance, Mutz and Mondak (1997) found that group-based economic perceptions affected presidential vote in 1984. This influence was not a function of the types of factors typically examined in modern group-based theories of political choice, such as group membership, group identification, or forms of group comparison. Instead, citizens used groups as cognitive reference points.

Thus, setting aside a strict adherence to reference-group theory, the central finding relevant here is that both in-groups – the collection of individuals of which a citizen is a part – and out-groups – those groups to which she does not belong but towards which he feels enmity or affection – can be important reference points in political understanding and choice. Put simply, citizens can use their affect toward groups to comprehend and guide complex political decisions.[3]

When Do Groups Matter?

To argue that "groups matter," however, is not sufficient; we also need to know which groups matter and when they will matter. Certainly membership in or hostility toward politically relevant groups can provide a reference point for political choice, but given the broad constellation of groups in American society, what are the factors that determine which groups will guide political cognition and decision-making?

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[3] Individuals do not have to be aware of their affect toward various groups in order for those groups to play a role in political decision-making. Recent work has found that groups can play a role outside of consciousness (Berinsky and Mendelberg 2005, Mendelberg 2001).

First, consider the effects of group membership. As Kinder, Adams, and Gronke (1989) note, people may use groups as reference point for understanding that may, in turn, influence political choice. Sometimes group membership is a more powerful force than other times. Here is where Converse's "interstitial" information can play a key role. As Conover (1988) notes, the framing of an issue by media and political leaders may invoke "group cues" that heighten the influence of one's own group in political thinking. It is the political environment that makes groups salient to political decision-making.

When considering affect towards other groups, variation also exists in the nature and power of that affect. One line of work suggests that it is not the particular group that matters for political decision-making as much as it is feelings towards groups in general. Kinder (2003) has explicated the concept of ethnocentrism – a coherent ideology concerning group relations in which one's own ethnic identity is regarded as superior to all others. Kinder has shown that ethnocentrism – measured as subscription to stereotypes concerning a wide range of groups – affects opinion in a variety of domains, from immigration to attitudes concerning 9/11 (Kam and Kinder 2007, Kinder 2003). Moreover, he has shown that the power of ethnocentrism extends to the realm of foreign policy. Kinder and D'Ambrosio, for instance, demonstrate that opinions about the first Gulf War were influenced by ethnocentrism (Kinder 2003).[4]

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[4] Hurwitz and Peffley (1987) find that the core value of "ethnocentrism" structures foreign policy beliefs. However, Hurwitz and Peffley's definition of ethnocentrism is a different definition than the one I employ here. Hurwitz and Peffley measure ethnocentrism at the national level, defining the concept as "the belief that one's country is superior to all others" (1987, 1108).Thus, Hurwitz

But beyond generalized sentiment concerning other groups, affect toward specific groups may play an important role as well. Conover's (1988) notion of group cues applies not just to group membership (in-groups) but also to cognition concerning other groups (out-groups). After all, when specific issues cue particular groups, they activate not just relevant group memberships, but attachments and enmities to those groups as well. Thus, when considering the place of out-groups in political cognition, it is critical to consider the larger political context surrounding an issue. Some groups are more prominent than others in political discourse on particular issues; attitudes toward these groups can play a key role in the individual decision-making process.

Groups and Foreign Policy

Though much research on domestic public opinion has examined the role of groups, there has been little work on this subject in the realm of foreign affairs. In the immediate post-World War II years, scholars looked for a link between group affiliations and attitudes toward international involvement (Rieslbach 1960; Russett 1960). These authors examined the effects of relationship between ethnic affiliation and isolationism using both aggregate Congressional voting records and individual-level public opinion data, but found little evidence for such a connection. These studies may have closed the door to work on the role of groups in foreign policy prematurely. Kinder's work on ethnocentrism finds that groups – considered broadly – matter in the development of public opinion concerning foreign policy. It is a small step to argue that in the realm of foreign relations, beliefs regarding specific groups should play a powerful role as well.

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and Peffley's use of the term bears little relation to the concept of domestic ethnocentrism used by Kinder and myself.

South African Sanctions

Ordinary individuals may come to understand complex foreign policies, in part by using the lens of group attachments and dislikes forged in the domestic political arena. To demonstrate the generality of this relationship across time, I first take up a modern example, examining attitudes concerning trade sanctions against South Africa in the mid-1980s. This case demonstrates the general point made above: In foreign policy, as in domestic policy, groups matter. Though issues of trade are unlike issues of war in many ways, both involve complicated subjects removed from the everyday lives of ordinary Americans. In issues of foreign economic policy – as, I will show later, in issues of war – individuals rely on attachments to and dislikes of domestic political groups to come to political decisions.

From the early 1960s through the early 1980s, U.S. policy toward South Africa was driven largely by economic concerns.[5] The resources and markets of South Africa made it an attractive trading partner for the U.S. At the same time the policy of apartheid enacted in 1948 – where blacks in South Africa were separated from whites and denied voting rights – created a tension between economic interests and moral considerations. Beginning in the 1960s, the General Assembly of the United Nations began passing motions condemning South Africa and, in the mid-1970s, approved the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. This convention provided a legal framework within which nations could apply sanctions to press the South African government to change its racial politics.

By the mid-1980s, the tension between economic and moral concerns began to tip towards the side of morality. Concern over South Africa among political actors had spread into a series of mass protests in the United States. However, the Reagan administration was especially hostile to the notion of enacting sanctions, referring to the incumbent South Africa Botha Administration as “an ally and a friend.” The administration’s stance led to a series of conflicts between Reagan and the Democrats in Congress. Spurred by the Congressional Black Caucus, in 1985 the House passed a bill calling for sanctions on South Africa, including broad restrictions on trade and the divestment of economic interests of U.S. companies. The Senate followed shortly thereafter. This effort was preempted by an Executive Order imposing more limited economic sanctions. At the time Reagan signed the order, he stated that he opposed sanctions, but issued the order to forestall the harsher sanctions envisioned by Congress. But the next year, over Reagan’s veto, Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which prohibited U.S. trade and other economic relations with South Africa.

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[5] The material for this section is drawn from http://nsarchive.chadwyck.com/saessayx.htm (Accessed March 6, 2006).

The South Africa sanctions issue meets Converse’s conditions facilitating group-based cognition. Given the clear racial component of the South Africa issues, and the obvious parallels to the U.S. experience with slavery, the links between the relevant domestic group – Blacks – and the international issue are relatively apparent. Moreover the centrality of race in the contemporary political scene (Kinder and Sanders 1996, Carmines and Stimson 1989) ensured that attitudes about Blacks as a domestic group were well developed at this time.[6]

Previous research supports the prevalence of group-based thinking on the South Africa question. Hill (1993) examined data from the 1988 National Elections Study and found that

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[6] The South Africa case is especially advantageous for present purposes, because it avoids completely the questions of endogeneity that might be raised by the World War II-era analyses presented below. It is simply not plausible to argue that feelings towards Blacks in the U.S. arose from attitudes toward the government in South Africa; the flow of the causal arrow from domestic groups to foreign policies is indisputable.

Americans used their general racial posture – measured by the racial resentment scale (Kinder and Sanders 1996) – to come to judgments concerning sanctions.[7] Here I turn to a similar dataset, the 1986 National Elections Study, to assess the impact of groups.

To measure attitudes on the desirability of sanctions, I draw upon the same NES question about South Africa used by Hill (1993).[8] This question was asked in a fully filtered form: Respondents were first asked if they had an opinion on U.S. policy toward South Africa. Almost half of those asked said that they did not have an opinion. Respondents who indicated that they had an opinion were then asked about their support for sanctions. [9] To measure group membership, I use the respondent's race, scored as a dummy variable for Black respondents. To measure affect toward the relevant out-group, African-Americans, I use a respondent's feeling thermometer scores for "Blacks," which is exogenous to my issue of interest – sanctions towards South Africa [10]

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[7] Kinder and Sanders (1996) also find that racial resentment is a significant predictor of opinions on sanctions in 1986.

[8] Hill uses the 1988 NES for his analysis. I use the 1986 data for two reasons. First, I wish to confirm that Hill's findings replicate in an independent dataset. Second, I wish to create a more difficult test by situating the controversy in a deeper explicitly partisan context. In 1986, the battle lines over the sanctions issue were clear; the Democratic Congress and the Republican president were at odds. To the extent that group membership and attitudes structure opinion in this heavily partisan context, we can have greater confidence of their independent predictive power.

[9] The precise wording of the question was, "Lately, South Africa has been in the news a lot. Have you read or heard enough about what's going on there to have an opinion about what U.S. policy toward South Africa should be? [if yes] Some people think that the U.S. should apply economic pressure to get the South African government to change its racial laws. Others think that the U.S. should not do this. What do you think--should the U.S. apply economic pressure or not?" Given the structure of the question-answering decision and the large portion of respondents who did not answer the question, I estimated jointly the decision to offer a response and the direction of response using a bivariate probit selection model (Dubin and Rivers 1990; Greene 1997; for a similar application, see Berinsky 1999, 2002a, 2004).

INSERT TABLE 4.1 ABOUT HERE

To explicate the substantive effects of the group variables, I first present differences for the variables of interest in Table 4.1.[11] I find that both in-group membership and feeling toward the relevant domestic group are both highly significant in both a statistical and substantive sense. The first row gives the effect of race for the modal respondent on the probability that he would support sanctions, given that he has offered an opinion to the question. The next row presents the effect of a move from the minimum (observed) value to the maximum value of the feeling thermometer.

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[10] I adjusted the Black feeling thermometer score to control for interpersonal differences in the use of the feeling thermometer scale by including the mean of the feeling thermometer rating given to four balanced groups, namely liberals, conservatives, Democrats, and Republicans (Winter and Berinsky 1999). I also ran my analysis using the racial resentment scale, which is designed to measure racial animosity through the use of subtle questions (Kinder and Sanders 1996). While this measure is widely used to tap attitudes towards blacks, it remains controversial. Some researchers claim that racial resentment is essentially just a measure of opposition to government assistance (Schuman 2000; Sniderman and Tetlock 1986). Others find that the racial resentment scale measures different concepts for liberals and conservatives (Feldman and Huddy 2005). For my purposes, this controversy is not directly relevant, because I am interested in measuring affect towards Blacks in the domestic setting. This analysis replicates the findings obtained using the feeling thermometer measure.

[11] I also included a series of demographic and attitudinal control variables in my analysis, though the tenor of the results does not change if the controls are removed. The bivariate probit selection model requires an exclusion restriction to identify the model. Specifically, at least one variable must be included in the selection equation, but excluded from the outcome equation. Here I follow the strategy employed in my previous work on racial questions and social welfare policy (Berinsky 1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2004) and use measures of political information and political discussion to identify the model. As with my earlier work, I also included measures indicating how difficult it was to contact the respondents, on the assumption that those who are difficult to reach would also be less likely to answer specific survey questions (Brehm 1993). It should be noted that a likelihood-ratio test on ρ indicates that selection bias exists in the question

Table 4.1 demonstrates that both group-based variables strongly predict opinions on the proper direction of U.S. foreign policy. As expected, Blacks were 18 percent more likely than whites to support sanctions against South Africa. The effect of attitudes toward Blacks is even stronger. Those most cool toward Blacks are 47 percent less likely to support sanctions than those individuals most warm toward blacks. Thus, given a political context in which the linkages between attitudes toward domestic groups and foreign policy issues are clear, domestic ethnic group divisions can structure opinions in the realm of foreign policy.

Group Attitudes and Public Opinion Concerning World War II

Having demonstrated the power of group-based thinking in the modern context, I next turn to my primary area of concern: public opinion about war. The World War II era seems an especially fruitful area for research.[12] Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, many members of

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answering process. The estimates presented here correct for that bias. I measure statistical significance here with a likelihood ratio test across the two-equation system. Thus, though the race variable fails to reach conventional levels of significance in the outcome equation, the effect of race is significant across the selection and outcome equations. Overall, then, the effect of race on the question-answering process is significant.

[12] Unlike earlier chapters, I do not consider opinion concerning other wars of the 20th Century because the cases that provide the most appropriate modern analogues lack appropriate data. Measures of feelings toward Vietnamese-Americans during Vietnam and exogenous measures of

different European ethnic groups maintained distinct identities and links to their mother countries. Consequently a great deal of ethnic hostility existed in the United States. The immigration experiences of the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries solidified opinions about particular ethnic groups – most notably Jews and Italians – independent of wartime opinion. Furthermore, the nature of the wartime experience brought important information linking the domestic and international realms to the forefront. It was, after all, a *World* War, with and against countries that provided generations of immigrants to America. Linking domestic identity to international affairs was therefore a fairly straightforward task. Little research, however, has been conducted on the relationship between groups and opinion toward the war.[13]

To the extent that such work exists, prevailing wisdom seems to be that ethnic group membership shaped opinion prior to U.S. entry in the conflict, but dissipated as a factor after Pearl Harbor. Tracing out the tension between group ethnic identities and a unified national identity, Gleason finds that ethnic groups retained nationalistic identities throughout the 1930s

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feelings toward Arab-Americans in the post 9/11 period simply do not exist. Surveys did not begin asking about feelings toward Arab-Americans until after September, 2001. Given the salience of the events of 9/11, it is not plausible to assume that attitudes about domestic groups structure opinion about foreign policy rather than the reverse. As I discuss in the conclusion, however, these data might illuminate the process by which international events influence affect toward domestic groups.

[13] Rieslback (1960) examined the effect of Congressional district composition on the voting records of members of Congress from 1938 to 1941. He theorized that Congressional districts with high concentrations of Irish and German immigrants would be represented by Congressmen with anti-war voting records (because of anti-British sentiment in the Irish case). The data did not support this hypothesis. However, given the multiple sources of isolationist voting behavior and the problems of ecological inference, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions from this study.

and into 1940. For instance, during this time the German-American Bund was politically active and the Italian-American press maintained a pro-Fascist orientation. Indeed "Until the summer of 1940, there was no question that Italian-Americans in general were solidly behind Mussolini" (p. 349). Gleason, however, argues that the act of going to war altered the link between ethnic identity and attitudes towards the war. As he writes, "the practical effect of wartime experience was assimilative in the sense that it enhanced national unity and a common sense of national belongingness" (p. 516). Similarly, Perlmutter argues, "Wars, revolutions, and national liberation movements abroad always galvanize American ethnic and racial groups … during World War II [but before U.S. entry], more than 200 organizations, not including small local or state societies, engaged in a wide variety of activities on behalf of their ancestral homelands" (p. 64-5). But, Perlmutter claims that once the U.S. entered the conflict, domestic ethnics repudiated the ties to their mother countries and pledged their full allegiance to America. These speculations, however, remain just that; mere speculations. The role of group identity and ethnic enmity in structuring opinion concerning World War II deserves closer examination.

To assess the strength of beliefs towards ethnic groups in structuring opinion, it is necessary to collect both reactions toward other groups in society and membership in particular ethnic groups. Information concerning feelings toward relevant domestic groups was only sporadically collected during the 1930s and 1940s. Thus, while we have good measures of feelings toward particular groups in society, these measures were rarely included on the surveys. On the question of group membership, we have the opposite set of problems. Both OPOR and NORC measured information concerning the respondent's parents' place of birth and sometimes the respondent's own place of birth. Thus we can identify those respondents who are first- and second-generation immigrants, even though we cannot measure how close those respondents felt to their own groups. However, even with these indirect measures it is possible to draw upon reference-group theory and learn a great deal about how ethnic loyalties and dislikes structured opinion on the war.[14]

Group Membership and Foreign Policy

We can use the parental lineage information discussed above to isolate the ethnic lineage of the respondents. Specifically, we can see both parents were born in the U.S. or if at least one of their parents was born in an Axis country, an Allied country, or another foreign country.[15]

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[14] It should be noted that much work on race and gender adopts a similar "mere membership" approach to analysis.

[15] To be specific, I created a four-fold typology: (1) Respondents whose parents were both born in the United States (on average about 65-70 percent of respondents): (2) respondents who had one or both parents born in an Axis country, the majority of whom were of German descent (approximately 6-8 percent of the sample); (3) respondents who had one or both parents born in an Allied country, the majority of whom were of English descent (approximately 8-10 percent of the sample) and (4) a residual category for those respondents who did not fit into any of the first three categories – including respondents with foreign born parents who did not come from an Axis or an Allied country. The residual category also included respondents who might be subject to crosscutting cleavages, namely those respondents who had one parent born in an Axis country and one parent born in an Allied country. In practice, however, almost no respondents met such a standard. For instance in a January 1941 survey, only 3 of 3168 respondents traced their lineage to both Axis and Allied countries. In general, the 1930s and 1940s were simply a different time, when ethnic groups tended not to intermarry. A majority of individuals with parents from one foreign country tended to marry others from that country, with the rest mostly marrying U.S. born partners. To test the robustness of my results, I ran another set of analyses where I separated people with one foreign-born parent from those with two foreign born parents. Given the relatively small number of individuals in these groups, it is not surprising that these estimates are quite noisy, but I generally find that these analyses replicated the results reported here.

These questions, of course, are not ideal measures of group attachment. First, they only allow us to identify and measure second generation effects.[16] We cannot trace the precise ethnic lineages of the respondents. Second, the measures do not assess how close the respondent felt toward their own group. Thus, we can not consider theories of group relations aside from reference group theory. But while these measures might not be perfect, they are the only information we have to work with. Analyses using these measures can illuminate important issues of public support for war. In fact, given the same information, the U.S. government performed similar analysis using opinion polls collected by the Survey Division of the Office of War Information.[17]

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[16] Sometimes, however, surveys asked respondents where they themselves were born. Using these measures in place of the parental variables yields results that are similar in magnitude to the first generation results presented below. It appears, then, that first- and second-generation ethnics exhibited similar patterns of political behavior.

[17] After the U.S. entered the War, the Office of War Information (OWI) established a Surveys Division, whose assigned task was to monitor civilian morale and collect data on public attitudes and behavior concerning the war. Though OWI, like other wartime government agencies employed social scientists, the Office did not have a national field staff or people experienced in survey operations. The NORC organization was therefore awarded a contract to run surveys for OWI. Several OWI reports presented the relationship between a respondent's parental heritage and opinion concerning the war. One report, "How the People of the United States Would Fight This War" (January 12, 1942), presented breakdowns of prospective war opinion by the same Allied/Axis distinction used here. Another report, "How the populace regards the government's handling of war news" (Jan 22, 1942), examined ethnic breakdowns on opinion concerning the way the news of the attack on Pearl Harbor was handled. Other contemporary observers were interested in the role of ethnicity as well. Cantril, for instance, traced group influence by examining the Catholic/Protestant split on the question of whether we should help England and concluded, "When Catholics looked toward Europe, they tended to look on the European scene as both Americans and Catholics, whereas when they looked toward the East, their religious

I began by examining the effect of ethnic group membership on opinion before the U.S. became involved in the war, using a series of polls conducted by OPOR in the first quarter of 1941. I organized the items concerning war into three groups. The first group involves questions relating to political comprehension. These questions are especially interesting because they allow us to determine the way in which group attachments affected how individuals understood developments pertaining to the war. The second group is comprised of questions that ask about support for direct U.S. involvement in the European war. The final group of questions encompasses items relating to war outside of the European theater.

I again modeled the respondent's answers as a function of their ethnicity and their background characteristics.[18] Because it is possible to trace trends over time through multiple surveys, rather than first presenting differences, I present the predicted probability of holding an interventionist attitude for an "average" respondent who differs only in their ethnic background. Specifically, the tables present the predicted opinion for three groups: (1) the respondent whose

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frames of reference did not apply and they held essentially the same nationalistic opinion as did Europeans" (1944, 183).

[18] These runs control for the region of residence, size of town, occupation, gender, race, and education of the respondent, following the strategy outlined by Berinsky (2006). Because measures of partisanship were not included on these surveys, it is not possible to control for the respondents' political predispositions. However, I find that the ethnic identity variables do not predict the respondent's vote choice or approval of FDR (controlling for the demographic characteristics of the respondents). Thus, I can be confident that the ethnic variables are not simply picking up the effect of support or opposition to FDR. It should be noted that these findings are not fully consistent with those of Bean, Mosteller, and Williams (1944). These authors argue that beliefs about the war among Italians and Germans led these groups to shift away from the Democratic party in the 1940 election. These authors, however, used aggregate data in only eight states and their inferences may suffer from an aggregation bias.

parents were both born in the U.S. (2) the respondent with at least one parent from an Allied country, (3) the respondent with at least one parent from an Axis country.[19]

INSERT TABLE 4.2 ABOUT HERE

Table 4.2 presents the effect of ethnic group membership on the three classes of variables.[20] Turning first to the political understanding questions, individuals with ethnic ties to the Axis countries were less likely than other groups to think that England would win the war, and tended to attribute less sinister motives to Germany and Italy. Conversely, individuals from Allied countries were more likely to take a positive view of the Allied war effort and were slightly more likely to take a dismal view of the prospect of a world under Axis rule. In some cases, these differences were extremely large. For instance, the gap between Allied and Axis ethnics on questions of whether Italy and Germany would start a war was 33 percent on the March 12, 1941 survey and 28 percent on the March 28, 1941 survey.

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[19] A word here about the role of religion is in order. In the 1930s and 1940s, different ethnic groups had distinct religious identities. For instance, English immigrants tended to be Protestant, and Italian immigrants tended to be Catholic. It could therefore be the case that the effects I attribute to ethnic lineage, in fact, measure religious differences. Furthermore, a "religious" interpretation is not consistent with my theoretic expectations; I argue here that it is visible social groupings and the mapping of those groupings to the foreign stage that structures opinion. A closer examination of the data, however, indicates that the ethnic effects are largely independent of religious effects. The Allied and Axis groupings used in the analysis cut across religious lines. For instance, while respondents of Italian descent were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, the respondents from other countries had more heterogeneous religious leanings. For instance, 30 percent of those of English descent were Catholic (it should be noted that if one were interested in the behavior of groups from countries with large and clear religious cleavages – such as Ireland – it would be important to jointly account for the religious and ethnic background of the respondent; see Cantril 1944 for discussion). As a result, while there were somewhat distinct religious identities to the ethnic groups used in the analysis – the pool of "Axis" respondents had more Catholics than the pool of "Allied" respondents and there were more Jews among the Allied than the Axis – the overall religious profile of the two groups was not that different. Including measures of denominational attachment diminished somewhat the Allied and Axis effects, but these effects were still consistent and strong.

[20] The precise wordings of these questions are (in the order in which they appear in Table 3): (1) "Which side do you think is winning the war now – Germany and Italy or England?" (2) "Which side do you think will win the war if no other countries go into it – Germany and Italy or England?" (3) "If Germany and Italy defeat England in the present war, do you think that Germany and Italy will start a war with the United States within the next 10 years?" (4) "If

Turning next to questions concerning actions in Europe, Table 4.3 demonstrates that the effect of ethnic group membership extends beyond the realm of political understanding into the

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Germany defeats England in the present war, do you think you will be as free to do what you want to as you are now?" (5) "Do you think that, if England falls, Germany will soon be in control of all of our trade and foreign markets?" (6) "Which side do you think will win the war – Germany and Italy, or England?" (7) "If Germany and Italy should defeat England in the present war, do you think Germany and Italy would start a war against the United States within the next 10 years?" (8) "Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to try to do? To keep out of war ourselves or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war?" (9) "Which of these two things do you think is the more important? That this country keeps out of war, or that Germany be defeated, even at the risk of our getting into the war?" (10) "Would you be willing to fight or have any man of military age in your family fight overseas if the United States gets involved in the war in Europe?" (11) "If American merchant ship with American crews are used to carry war materials to Britain, and some of them are sunk by the Germans on the way over, would you be in favor of going to war against Germany?" (12) "Do you think the United States should go to war only after it has actually been invaded, or do you think that there are times when we should fight before we are invaded?" (13) "Should the United States take steps now to keep Japan from becoming more powerful, even if this means risking a war with Japan?" (14) "If Brazil, Argentina, Chile or any other Central or South American country is actually attacked by any European power, do you think the United States should fight to keep that European power out?"

domain of political choice, especially for those respondents who descend from parents born in Axis countries. The “European Theater” questions concern the tradeoff between helping England and staying out of the war, the tradeoff between defeating Germany and staying out of the war, and the question of whether the respondent would be willing to fight in Europe if the U.S. became involved.

The “help England” question is especially significant because it essentially serves as a referendum on FDR’s war policy. As noted in Chapter 1, contrary to conventional wisdom, while isolationism may have died at Pearl Harbor, it began its death throes almost a year earlier. Aggregate support for helping England had increased over the course of 1940, and by January 1941 more respondents wanted to help England than wanted to take a course of action ensuring that the US would stay out of the war. Clearly, the American public on the whole was mobilizing for U.S. involvement in the European theater. But not all Americans felt the same way; important variation existed on the basis of ethnic group membership.

Each time the “help England” question was asked, respondents whose parents were born in Axis countries were far less likely to support the Allied cause. The average difference between respondents with native-born parents and those with at least one parent born in an Axis country was 28 percent. With regards to questions concerning involvement in the war in Europe that do not directly ask about England, the gap between respondents descending from Axis countries and those whose parents were born in the US was smaller, but still sizable.

The effect of having parents born in Allied countries was considerably smaller across the board on the “help England” questions. On average, having an Allied parent increased interventionist sentiment by ten points, less than half the size of the Axis parent effect. In addition, the substantive effect of Allied heritage also shrank over time. The diminishing effect of Allied heritage, however, is not the result of diminished support among those citizens whose parents were born in Allied countries. Rather, during this time support among native-born Americans increased greatly. On the other questions concerning the European Theater, the effect of the Allied parent variable is smaller still.[21] Even on these questions, though, the net effect of the ethnic heritage measures is a huge gap in opinion between those of Allied and those of Axis descent.

Turning finally to the proximate questions – whether the U.S. should fight preemptive wars, whether the U.S. should risk war to contain Japan, and whether the U.S. should defend Latin America if it were attacked by European powers – the effects of the ethnic background variables were in the same direction as before, but the effects are diminished in size, as the work of Converse and Conover would suggest. When the "interstitial" information is more obscure – as it is on these issues – the group membership effects shrink. On all three of the proximate questions, the Allied parent variable effect is rather small. While the effects remain powerful in the Axis parent case, and influence even attitudes toward war with Japan, the differences between the Axis group and the native group is smaller than that found on the other questions.

Clearly, depending on the nature of political context, the power of some ethnic ties is stronger than others. Attachments to Axis countries through one's parents structure a variety of war-related attitudes. The Allied parenting variable, on the other hand is less powerful, more limited in scope, and appears to ebb in strength with time. It appears that, over the course of the first quarter of 1941, decedents of American citizens came to think more like the children of parents born in the Allied countries, while the children of parents born in Axis countries retained a distinct opinion on the war.

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[21] When Germany is specifically mentioned (in the split-sample experiment in the January 28, 1941 OPOR survey) the effect of Axis country parentage is smaller than in the "help England" form of the question. It appears, therefore, that the mention of England is a trigger for both positive affect among those from Allied countries and negative affect for those respondents from Axis countries.

It is also interesting to note that the effects of ethnic group membership are not conditioned by the respondent's attention to politics. Unlike the effects of partisan attachment discussed in the last chapter, the effect of group membership does not depend on the respondent's level of political sophistication.[22] This result suggests that group membership is indeed a gut instinct that structures opinion on the war, independent of political attentiveness. Citizens do not merely take cues from leaders when engaging in group-based cognition; they have agency to arrive at political judgments themselves using their social attachments as a guide. For *all* members of ethnic groups, group connections play an important role in political cognition and choice.

Post-U.S. Entry

I next examined data collected after the U.S. became involved in the Second World War. To demonstrate patterns of opinion along ethnic lines, I followed the same analytic strategy as with the pre-war data. However, because a great deal more data exists in the 1942-1945 era, I present time-trend graphs of the predicted views of the different ethnic groups. This analysis indicates that the conventional wisdom which views Pearl Harbor as a grand unifying event is incorrect. As noted in the last chapter, although the types of questions asked by pollsters changed once the U.S. became directly involved in World War II, the pre-war differences on questions of understanding and choice persisted.[23]

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[22] Specifically, in a series of multivariate analyses (available from the author upon request), the interactions between information and the ethnic heritage variables were not significant.

I first take up three questions relating to understanding. The first asks, "Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us after the war is over?" The second asks, "Can England be depended upon to cooperate with us after the war?" The final question was, "Which of these two statements do you think is closer to the truth? (1) England is now fighting mainly to keep her power and wealth. (2) England is now fighting mainly to preserve democracy against the spread of dictatorship." These differences are presented in Figures 4.1 to 4.3. The points on the graphs represent the predicted position of the three groups – descendents of Allied countries, descendents of Axis countries, and those whose parents were born in the United States – while the lines represent the trends of these points.[24]

INSERT FIGURES 4.1-4.4 ABOUT HERE

Large differences exist between those of Axis and Allied heritage on questions of trust.[25] There is some over-time movement in sentiment toward Russia among all ethnic groups, indicating that factors other than group membership provide structure to opinion (Figure 4.1). These trends are consistent with Page and Shapiro's (1992) conception of "parallel publics"—the notion that subgroups of the population may hold distinct opinions but still change those options in parallel over time. However, even in the face of short-term fluctuations, the differences between the different ethnic groups endure. Those respondents descending from Axis countries are always less trusting of Russia and England (Figure 4.2) and are less sanguine about England's motives (Figure 4.3). Citizens descended from Allied countries, on the other hand, take a more positive view of the Allies than do respondents with two native-born parents.

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[23] This is not to say that those of Japanese, German, or Italian background were somehow disloyal. Rather I merely argue that ambivalence regarding the war was largest among this group.

[24] I use a loess smoothing algorithm (Cleveland 1979) to trace opinion trends over time because fewer respondents were interviewed in the surveys in the post war period (approximately 1000 per survey as opposed to the 3500-case surveys analyzed above). As a result, the estimates of the effects of ethnic background are based on fewer cases than was the case for the pre-war data.

[25] These differences remain even if we strip out those ethnic groups referred to in the question. For instance, I get the same results on the "trust Russia" question after removing those respondents of Russian heritage from the analysis.

On the question of opinion toward the war, the central item of interest is whether the respondent would be willing to make peace with the German Army.[26] As noted in Chapter 1, this question serves as a referendum on support for the stated U.S. policy of unconditional surrender. Figure 4.4 demonstrates fairly consistent trends across the war years. Though there is some movement in opinion over time, sentiment on this question largely remains stable from 1942 to 1945. What is most distinctive is the behavior of the Axis group. In the first year of American involvement, respondents descended from Axis countries were about 20 points less supportive of war than native-born respondents. This gap closed over time, but remained on the order of 10 to 15 percentage points through the end of the war. Respondents descended from Allied countries, on the other hand, were slightly more supportive of the policy of unconditional surrender through 1945, mirroring the general shape of opinion that crystallized in early 1941. As was true before the U.S. entered the war, Allied ethnics took a consistently more hawkish posture than native-born Americans, but this difference was fairly small, never growing more than five percentage points in size.[27]

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[26] Specifically, the question asks, "If the German Army overthrew Hitler and then offered to stop the war and discuss peace terms, with the allies, would you favor or oppose the offer of the German army?"

INSERT FIGURE 4.5 ABOUT HERE

These differences among ethnic groups extend to the question of how severe a peace treaty should be relative to the Treaty of Versailles. Throughout the war years, Allied ethnics and native U.S. respondents both recommended a punitive resolution to the war. As Figure 4.5 demonstrates, by the end of 1943, a ten-point gap opened up between these groups and those respondents who descended from Axis countries. This gap persisted through the end of the war.

INSERT FIGURE 4.6 ABOUT HERE

Further evidence for the distinctive opinion of ethnic groups can be found on questions measuring the respondent's desired level of international cooperation. Several times from 1942 to 1945, OPOR asked respondents if the U.S. should embrace the dominant orthodoxy in foreign policy that emerged after Pearl Harbor (Legro 2000) and take an active role in world affairs after the war.[28] Figure 5.6 demonstrates that Allied ethnics adopted this view early in the war, while respondents descended from Axis countries were less supportive of such a position. However, these gaps shrank over the course of the war, coinciding with a general rise in internationalist sentiment. By the end of the war, all three groups held roughly the same view. This trend demonstrates that, in the face of sizeable changes in the larger political context, divisions along ethnic group lines can be reduced.[29]

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[27] OPOR also asked respondents, "If Hitler offered peace now to all countries on the basis of not going farther, but of leaving matters as they are now, would you favor or oppose such a peace?" The differences between the ethnic groups are largely the same as those presented in Figure 4.4. It should be noted that at a couple points in Figure 4.4, opposition to making peace with the German army is relatively low. In these two cases, respondents were first asked if they would be willing to make peace with Hitler. A question-wording experiment performed early in the war demonstrates that the net effect of asking the "Hitler" variant of the question before the "German army" form of the question is to drop opposition to making peace with the German army by about 10 percent, thereby explaining the divergent findings.

[28] Specifically, the question asked, "Which of these two things do you think the United States should do after the war is over: (1) stay out of world affairs as much as we can, or (2) take an active part in world affairs?"

Attitudes toward Domestic Groups: The Structure of War Support

Having established the power of membership in particular ethnic groups in structuring public opinion about war, I next turn to questions concerning the effect of sentiment towards other groups.[30] The role of affect toward out-groups in society is a potentially powerful factor in

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[29] An examination of data from the Korean War effort indicates that the conditions surrounding the activation of ethnic identity during World War II was indeed unique. The 1952 NES contains a measure of the ethnicity of the respondent's parents. Analysis parallel to that presented here indicates that – as in the 1940s – descendents of Axis countries were less supportive of military action than those respondents whose parents were born in the United States. However this effect was small and statistically insignificant. Moreover, when the focus of inquiry shifts to future U.S. action, the differences among the groups is even smaller. Moreover, the rates of intermarriage between respondents of Allied and Axis lineage was significantly larger in the early 1950s than it was in the 1940s, diminishing the aggregate impact of the differences between the various ethnic groups. In short, while it may be that the groups described here naturally tend toward the Hawkish or Dovish side of the spectrum, the effect of group membership on opinion during World War II was largely unique.

[30] I do not mean to draw a stark distinction between these two sets of analyses. It is not possible to identify the ethnic identity of the respondents to the Roper survey discussed above. Thus, it could be that the respondents who say that a particular group makes the "best" citizens are members of that group. What distinguishes the analysis in this section from the results presented above is that here I am able to identify precise ethnic attachments. Put another way, the Roper

structuring support for war because large segments of the population may hold strong views about those groups, regardless of their size in society. One survey particularly well suited to the examination of the role of attitudes towards other groups in society is the poll conducted by Roper for *Fortune Magazine* in August 1939, described briefly in Chapter 1. Recall that Roper asked respondents their opinions concerning a variety of courses of action the U.S. might take toward the conflict in Europe. Respondents were also asked a series of questions about their feelings toward particular domestic ethnic groups.[31] Specifically, Roper asked "Of the people now in the U.S. who were born in foreign countries, which nationality would you say has made the best citizens? Which the worst?" A total of 43 percent of the sample identified at least one nationality that made the worst citizens, while 50 percent named at least one group who constituted the best citizens. These numbers are especially high given that the item was phrased as an open-ended question; respondents were required to produce their own ethnic labels for the interviewer. Table 4.3 presents the distribution of answers to these questions.

INSERT TABLE 4.3 ABOUT HERE

Somewhat surprisingly, given the persecution of German nationals during World War I, a plurality of respondents said that Germans made the best citizens, followed closely by the English. On the question of which nationality made the worst citizens, a large proportion of

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survey allows us to tap likes and dislikes of particular groups, though we do not know the particular ethnic identity of the respondent. On the surveys examined here, we might not be able to measure closeness to particular groups, but we can measure the ethnic identity of the respondents.

[31] Unfortunately, the survey did not ask respondents to identify their own nationality.

respondents – 22 percent – identified Italians (with another three percent identifying Sicilians).[32] No other ethnic group approaches this figure. In fact, respondents named Italians as the worst citizens almost four times as often as any other group. This pattern of aversion can be found in every geographic region and among every subgroup of the population.[33] Even respondents with relatively little contact with Italian immigrants expressed dislike for Italians. For instance, over one-quarter of the residents of the West-Central states said that Italians made the worst citizens, when less than one percent of the population of that region were first- or second-generation Americans.[34] These results are especially striking in light of the fact that the Roper sample is certainly an over-educated sample relative to the population.[35] Given the strong relationship between tolerance and education levels, we might expect that the true levels of ethnic dislike would run even higher in the population at large.[36] The high levels of hostility toward Italians should not, however, obscure the non-trivial levels of dislike of other groups. Non-trivial portions of the population also mentioned Jews and Germans as the “worst” groups. Clearly in the late 1930s, enmity toward ethnic groups ran high in the American population.

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[32] For the purpose of the analysis that follows. I keep the Sicilian group separate from the Italian group. Combining the two groups yields nearly identical results.

[33] For instance, while anti-Italian sentiment ran highest in New England, as we might expect from patterns of immigrant migration (26 percent of respondents named them the worst group), a plurality of respondents named Italians the "worst" group in each census region. The same patterns of dislike can be found in divisions along gender, age, urbanicity and racial lines.

[34] The States in this region are: Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota. The census information was generated using the Integrated Public-Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0 (http://www.ipums.org).

[35] While Roper did not measure the education levels of the respondents, polls from this era consistently drew samples that had higher mean levels of educational attainment than the Census estimates (see Berinsky 2006 for details).

[36] It might also be the case that highly educated respondents disliked distinct groups of immigrants. If this were the case, then perhaps in the full sample, there would appear a different distribution of ethnic dislikes altogether. Without a measure of education in this survey, it is impossible to tell which scenario properly captures the sentiments of the mass public.

What is especially important about these results is the fact that these enmities were almost certainly forged on the domestic stage, independent of the international events of the mid-to-late 1930s. Certainly, I cannot rule out the possibility that attitudes concerning war shaped feelings toward domestic groups; the existing data does not allow me to empirically sort out the direction of causality. Indeed the fairly low prevalence of anti-Japanese sentiment in 1939 indicates that the World War II experience influenced affect toward and treatment of Japanese-Americans in the 1940s, as I will discuss below. However, I can establish the exogeneity of attitudes toward two key groups – Italians and Jews – by relying on historical accounts of their immigrant experience.

Anti-Italian sentiment had a long tradition in America prior to the beginning of World War II.[37] During the 1880s, the supply of European immigration to America shifted from the traditional regions of Northern and Western Europe to the less familiar regions of Southern and Eastern Europe. While immigrants from almost every country in Europe saw discrimination at one point or another, Italians were prominent victims (Alba 1985; Higham, 1969). Stereotypes for Italians ranged from the physical – references to their “low foreheads” and “dark skin” – to the psychological – references to their “dangerous social tendencies” and their “proclivity for crime” (Alba 1985; Higham 1969). I.W. Howerth (1894) expressed a common perception, writing, “Of our immigrants the most refractory are undoubtedly the Italians… the opinion has become current that individually and collectively they are a very dangerous people. And thus it is that the adjectives lazy, filthy, cruel, ferocious, bloodthirsty, and the like, are supposed to be particularly applicable to this class of immigrants. No epithet is too insulting to apply to the ‘Dago.’” This portrayal of Italians continued through the 1930s. *Life Magazine*, for example, intending to compliment baseball star Joe DiMaggio, wrote, “Although he learned Italian first, Joe, now 24, speaks English without an accent, and is otherwise well adapted to most U.S. mores. Instead of olive oil or smelly bear grease he keeps his hair slick with water. He never reeks of garlic and prefers chicken chow mein to spaghetti” (*New York Times*, March 8, 1999).

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[37] Furthermore, the large gap in the dislike of immigrants from the two European Axis countries – Italians were mentioned as the most disliked group by 20 percent more respondents than were Germans – indicates that it is not attitudes toward the impending war alone that determined the patterns of likes and dislikes of the different ethnic groups.

Jews also engendered a great deal of hostility in America. From the middle of the 19th century, Jews were widely seen as “avaricious social climbers who pushed themselves where they were not wanted” (Alba 1985). During the 1890s, it was widely feared that Jews would unduly influence the American economy; by the 1900s this fear had subsided but the anti-Semitic notions of the Jew as a greedy and vulgar race persisted throughout WWII (Higham 1969). Clearly, dislike of these particular ethnic groups emerged independently of the War.[38]

For present purposes, more important than the absolute levels of fondness or enmity towards foreign groups is the political power of these feelings. As noted above, groups “enter into political thinking most strongly on issues where the group cues are explicit and salient” (Conover 1988, 61). Given the salience of the impending war, we would expect that citizens could easily map their feeling toward ethnic groups onto the international scene. That is, the linking information that lies at the heart of group-based cognition was widely available. This was not only the case for Germans – the primary aggressors in the brewing conflict – but among Italians as well. Casey (2001) performed a quantitative content analysis of FDR's speeches from 1937 to 1941 to determine whom FDR labeled "the enemy." By 1941, the target of U.S. alarm was clearly Hitler and Nazism. In the second half of 1941, 110 of the 145 references FDR made to an "enemy" mentioned the Nazi regime. But FDR had not always focused on the Nazis. In the second half of 1939, two of the eight references made by FDR to "the enemy" were aimed at Mussolini and the fascist government of Italy. Additionally, during the first half of 1940, there were no specific references made to Hitler, while 9 out of 25 references were made to Mussolini and/or the Fascist Italian government.[39] Thus, not only the German government but the Italian government featured prominently as enemies of the United States in the political rhetoric of this time. By highlighting the Italian government in his political rhetoric, FDR facilitated the linking of attitudes towards domestic Italians – which were stable and, on balance, highly negative – to the gathering international crisis. In short, given our theoretical expectations, feelings toward German and Italian domestic groups should structure opinion on the conflict at hand.

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[38] Further evidence of the exogenous nature of the structure of ethnic likes and dislikes comes from the Roper survey. If, in fact, the pattern of likes and dislikes was structured by the war, we would expect a strong relationship between expressions of fondness for the English and dislike of the Germans. In fact, these measures are only weakly related – the correlation between the two measures is 0.08.

To assess the effect of these likes and dislikes of particular groups on opinion toward the war, I ran a series of analyses using the same five dependent variables from the Roper Study that I examined for the gender analysis in Chapter 1. Recall that three of these questions concern possible support for England and France in the event of war with Germany and the final two items tapped more general sentiment concerning U.S. involvement in war.

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[39] The other 16 references were to unnamed aggressors or dictatorships.

In predicting the answers to these items, I included measures for whether respondents expressed support for Germans, Italians, and English as the "best" citizens, and whether they considered Germans and Italians the "worst" citizens.[40] I expected that expressing sympathy for the English and antipathy towards Italians and Germans would increase support for the war, while voicing sympathy for Germans and Italians would decrease support for aggressive U.S. action. I also included a measure to tap feeling towards Jews.[41] Given the clear anti-Semitic rhetoric of the Nazis, my expectation was that dislike of Jews would lead to different judgments than dislike of Italians or Germans; the expression of anti-Jewish sentiment should lead to the manifestation of an isolationist, rather than an internationalist position. The measure I used specifically taps feeling toward American Jews.[42] Respondents scored high on this variable if they expressed a non-tolerant position.[43]

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[40] The variables measuring the "best" and "worst" ethnic groups were all entered into a single equation. Replicating the analysis with these variables entered one at a time yields nearly identical results.

[41] It appears that anti-Axis citizen sentiment is not a reflection of general hostility toward ethnic minorities in the United States. Given that only two percent of the sample expressed dislike of more than one group – almost certainly as a result of the design of the question – it is impractical to correlate the different dislike measures. It is, however, possible to correlate the dislike measures with the anti-Semitism item. Support for the proposition that that there should be a policy to deport Jews from this country to some new homeland "as fast as it can be done without inhumanity" is not correlated with dislike of Italians and Germans. The correlation between the Anti-Semitism item and the dislike of Italians is –0.01, while the correlation with dislike of Germans is 0.02. These results indicate that anti-Axis immigrant sentiment is distinct from dislike of other ethnic groups.

[42] I used the question which specifically asked about Jews in America so that I could directly tap anti-Semitism rather than use the indirect ethnic dislike question. In addition, because only two percent of the sample expressed dislike for more than one ethnic group, using this measure also

INSERT TABLE 4.4 ABOUT HERE

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allows me to tap overall dislike of Jews with a less discriminating probe. I reran my analysis using the ethnic dislike question in place of the anti-Semitism measure and obtained similar, though somewhat weaker, results. However, I do find stronger results in the expected direction if I use a measure that combines the two items concerning Jews.

[43] The precise wording of the question was:

Which of the following statements most nearly represents your general opinion on the Jewish question:

1. In the United States the Jews have the same standing as any other people, and they should be treated in all ways exactly as any other Americans
2. Jews are in some ways distinct from other Americans but they make respected and useful citizens so long as they don't try to mingle socially where they are not wanted
3. Jews have somewhat different business methods and therefore some measures should be taken to prevent Jews from getting too much power in the business world
4. We should make it a policy to deport Jews from this country to some new homeland as fast as it can be done without inhumanity

Respondents who chose any answer except the first were given a "non-tolerant" score; those choosing the first answer were assigned a tolerant score. Additional analysis where the different response categories were entered as a series of dummy variables yield similar results; the higher numbered (less tolerant) answers exhibited stronger effects, but all the effects were in the same direction.

I ran the analysis using each of the five dependent variables.[44] To ease the interpretation of these results, in Table 4.4, I present the first differences – the increase or decrease in the predicted probability of giving an anti-intervention response – resulting from labeling a particular group the "best" or the "worst" compared with not labeling a group in this way.[45] As the table demonstrates, the respondents' reaction to particular ethnic groups structures opinions toward the war in important ways. Though the size of the effects vary somewhat, the effect of judgments of groups on attitudes toward the war is largely consistent across the different measures. Respondents who prefer immigrants from England are more likely to support action on the part of the U.S. vis-à-vis the Axis countries. In all five cases, these respondents give more interventionist responses and the difference is substantively large in four of the cases. Conversely, expressing warmth toward ethnic Italians increases the probability of expressing support for anti-interventionist policies. This effect is moderately large on several of the items and has the correct sign in four of the five cases. The effect of liking Germans has a somewhat inconsistent effect. Sometimes expressing attachment to citizens from Germany increases the probability of giving an anti-interventionist response, sometimes it decreases the likelihood of such an answer, and other times it has no effect. Turning to the "dislike" questions, claiming that immigrants from Axis nations make the worst citizens predisposes respondents to support interventionist policies. The effect of the "German worst" variable is in the pro-intervention direction in all five cases and is substantively large on the question of sending the U.S. armed forces abroad. Moreover, expressing dislike for Italians decreases anti-interventionist sentiment on all the items.[46] These patterns are not driven by the simple dislike of groups that are "different." Respondents who express non-tolerant attitudes towards Jews are more likely to express anti-interventionist sentiment on all five questions. Thus, specific attachments and (especially) resentments toward particular groups – not simply general resentment – structure opinion towards the war. To use the terminology of Campbell and LeVine (1961), opinion is not determined just by universal ethnocentrism; instead, it is also ordered by specific stereotypes. *Domestic* loyalties and animosities determine, in part, where individuals stand on foreign policy issues.

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[44] Because respondents were allowed to give answers that followed no particular ordering, I used an unordered multinomial logit (MNL) model to derive coefficient estimates of the effect of the group like and dislike variables. I then generated estimates of the effects of these variables on the probability of choosing various response categories. Following the analytic strategy outlined in Berinsky (2006), I included controls for the quota categories of gender, region, urbanicity, and class. While the MNL analysis uncovered some interesting results – for example, the ethnic like and dislike variables had the effect in some cases of mobilizing respondents from the "don't know" category to a pro-intervention or anti-intervention position – in general the tenor of the results does not change if I collapse the response categories and use probit analysis instead.

[45] I present the probability of giving an anti-interventionist response rather than a pro-intervention answer because it is easiest to distinguish the isolationist responses from the set of possible question responses. For instance, it is difficult to determine if selling arms for "credit" is a strictly pro-intervention response, but the "not at all" response is a clear anti-intervention response. In addition, I do not report significance tests here or for other analyses in this chapter for reasons discussed in earlier chapters. I do, however, report for the interested reader the results of significance tests on the relevant coefficients in the appendix to this chapter.

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[46] It could be that the results concerning ethnic dislikes are even stronger than the analysis in Table 4.4 indicates, because there might be omitted variable bias in these analyses. The respondent's education was not measured on this survey. However, we know that the well educated tend to be more tolerant of racial and ethnic groups and, therefore, should report fewer ethnic dislikes than the less educated respondents. These highly educated respondents also tend to be interventionist in outlook. Thus, in this case, the omitted variable of education is negatively correlated with the dependent variable and negatively correlated with the ethnic hatred variable. In such a case, the coefficient on the ethnic dislike variable would be attenuated toward zero.

The Japanese Internment

To this point, I have explored the ways in which opinions about domestic groups can shape the foreign policy opinions of the mass public. However, under certain circumstances changes in the international arena can also shape animosities toward ethnic groups. As noted above, on the eve of World War II, dislike of the Japanese was outstripped by dislike of Italians, Jews, and Germans. But following the attack on Pearl Harbor, the patterns of hostility shifted greatly.

One of the largest stains on the American commitment to equality and freedom was the policy of internment of Japanese Americans during the Second World War. Two months after the attack at Pearl Harbor, FDR signed Executive Order 9066, which authorized the movement of over 100,000 Japanese-Americans – the majority of whom were citizens – from the West Coast of the United States to “relocation centers” far from their homes. In retrospect, the unfairness of this action is clear. The Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which granted reparations to those interned during World War II established that “a grave injustice was done to both citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry by the evacuation, relocation, and internment of civilians during World War II.”

However, when the internment policy was first implemented, public support for the program was extremely high. In March 1942, NORC asked a number of questions relating to the treatment of Japanese-Americans.[47] The survey revealed that an overwhelming majority of Americans thought that the U.S. “was doing the right thing in moving Japanese aliens (those who are not citizens) away from the Pacific coast.” Ninety-three percent of respondents agreed with this statement and only one percent disagreed. Support for the U.S. internment policy dropped when the focus shifted to “Japanese who were born in this country and are United States citizens” but still 59 percent of respondents supported internment of Japanese-American citizens. Thus while Americans took the legal status of Japanese-Americans into account when assessing proper U.S. policy, they were quite willing to send their fellow citizens to internment camps. This anti-Japanese stand included support for punitive treatment of all detainees; two-thirds of respondents thought that civilians of Japanese descent “should be kept under strict guard as prisoners of war.” (Cantril and Strunck 1951, 380).

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[47] Unfortunately, this individual-level data has been lost to time and it is not possible to perform original analysis on the data. However the marginal tabulations on key variables of interest exist and can illuminate the general public sentiment on this policy.

The internment of U.S. residents of Japanese descent was viewed by many Americans as a long term policy, at least in the early part of the war. In December of 1942, Gallup asked “Do you think the Japanese who were moved inland from the Pacific coast should be allowed to return to the Pacific coast when the war is over?” Only 35 percent of respondents thought that the Japanese should be allowed to move back, while 49 percent were opposed. Gallup then asked respondents who were opposed to repatriating Japanese-Americans from the internment camps, “what should be done with the Japanese?” Among opponents of repatriation, 55 percent wanted to “send [Japanese-Americans] back to Japan”, 15 percent wanted to “put them out of this country”, 11 percent wished to “leave them where they are – under control” and eight percent favored some form of genocide, arguing that the U.S. should “kill them, get rid of them, destroy them.”

Even at the end of the war a majority of Americans remained hostile to Japanese-Americans. In September 1944, NORC asked, “After the war, do you think Japanese living in the United States should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job, or do you think white people should have the first chance at any job?” Sixty one percent said that the U.S.

should give jobs to white people first, 16 percent said that the Japanese should have as good a chance as anyone and 21 percent said Japanese should get jobs “if they were loyal citizens.” As was the case in the early war period, citizenship was a clear consideration for survey respondents. In April 1945, NORC asked a question about jobs that distinguished between citizens and non-citizens. Forty percent of respondents believed that non-Japanese should get jobs ahead of Japanese citizens compared to 56 percent who supported such a policy for “Japanese now living in the United States who are not American citizens.” The close of the war did not end suspicion of the Japanese. In May 1946, two-thirds of NORC respondents thought that “the Japanese who lived in this country” spied for the Japanese government, and as many respondents thought that Japanese-Americans destroyed American war materials as thought they did not – 31 percent believed that Japanese destroyed the material and 32 percent did not.

In sum, though the internment of the Japanese during World War II may seem in retrospect to be a dismal chapter in American history, in the heat of war, Americans freely sacrificed the basic liberties of their fellow citizens. The sacrifice of civil liberties in time of threat is a familiar pattern. While the policy toward Japanese Americans in the 1940s is exceptional in some respects, the internment experience is by no means unique. In the next chapter, I show that the dynamics of civil liberties judgments exhibited by the American public in World War II follow patterns consistent with public opinion on civil liberties more generally, both during other times of war and during times of peace.

Chapter 5:
Civil Liberties and War

The tradeoff between security and civil liberties is always difficult to navigate in a democratic society. During times of national crisis, as the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II illustrates, liberty does not always prevail. The subversion of basic rights is not, however, merely the stuff of history. In the days and weeks after 9/11, some commentators warned that the government's offensive against terrorist activity might undermine the democratic foundations of American society. Elisa Massimino, the director of the Washington office of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights cautioned that the Patriot Act would lead America down a troubling road: "These kinds of provisions, once they infect a country's justice system, are incredibly hard to cure" (New York Times, October 26, 2001). Standing between the excessive exercise of executive power and the basic liberties of a democracy in the months after 9/11 was the mass public. Would citizens willingly cede their basic liberties to government authorities for the promise of protection from unknown threats? Would they offer up the rights of groups of minorities as sacrifices for that cause?

In late 2001, a number of scholars and media organizations conducted in-depth investigations of America's commitment to civil liberties and political tolerance to answer just these questions. The overall tenor of these findings provided mixed support for critics such as Massimino. On the whole, public support for the protection of civil liberties was lower than it had been before the attack (Pew Center for the People and the Press Report, September 19, 2001).[1] On the other hand, many scholars found that aggregate support for measures designed to preserve civil liberties remained quite strong. For instance, Davis and Silver (2004) found that a majority of the public took the pro-liberty position on two-thirds of questions involving the tradeoff between security and civil liberties.[2] While U.S. citizens may indeed have been willing to accept greater restrictions on some liberties after 9/11, even in the wake of that devastating terrorist attack, residual support for protecting civil liberties remained fairly strong.

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[1] These findings can be found at http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?PageID=30 (accessed May 18, 2007).

However, not all citizens were so accepting of these basic liberties. As I will discuss in more detail below, the overall picture of support for civil liberties may then have been one of moderation, but that support was tempered by fear and trust. Some citizens held steadfast in their support for liberties. Others – those who perceived a heightened sense of threat, but trusted the government – were quite willing to grant the government a wide berth in navigating the War on Terror.

These patterns of opinion should be familiar to scholars of American politics. In this chapter, I show that civil liberties judgments during wartime differ in depth and scope – not in kind – to civil liberties judgments during times of peace. Put simply, the structure of civil liberties judgments remain the same regardless of developments in the international arena. At times, partisan attachments provide citizens with a guide. More often, however, perceptions of threat shape how individuals make these critical tradeoffs. Civil liberties judgments during war are simply an extreme realization of “normal politics.” Thus, as in earlier chapters, we can understand the nature of public opinion during war by looking to the same kinds of processes that motivate domestic politics. Any change in how individuals reason about civil liberties during war is the result of public reaction to a change in the magnitude of perceived threat, not a shift in the underlying dynamics of opinion as attention moves from the realm of domestic politics to the international stage. However, breaking somewhat from the theme of the last three chapters, I find that the conditions of war might introduce a new consideration into the mix. In particular, I make the novel argument that differences among individuals in support for war – distinct from differences in perceptions of threat – shape how members of the mass public judge the validity of restrictions on civil liberties.. Perhaps most troubling for the prospects of an open democratic society, the supporters of a war are the most enthusiastic about suppressing the speech of others, especially their opponents.

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[2] Support for these liberties ranged from a slim majority of 53 percent who thought that the government should not be permitted to “arrest and detain a non-citizen indefinitely if that person is suspected of belonging to a terrorist organization” to a near-unanimous support level of 92 percent who believed that people who participate in nonviolent protests against the U.S. government “have the right to meet in public and express unpopular views as long as they are not violating the law.” These findings are largely consistent with other polls taken at that time (see Huddy et al. 2002), though it should be noted that some polling organizations found a shallower commitment to civil liberties (See discussion below).

This chapter begins with a discussion of the formation of civil liberties judgments during times of peace. I focus on the findings of the political tolerance literature, explicitly drawing links between support for the rights of marginal groups and support for civil liberties more generally. In both cases, the perception of a threat – whether it be from a particular group in society or from an undifferentiated and ambiguous menace – reduces support for general civil liberties. I then draw on data from a 30-year span to show that any threat – even one ostensibly unrelated to the target of a particular civil liberties judgment – leads individuals to restrict the rights of others in times of peace. Moreover, I find direct parallels between the public’s reactions to the attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center and the structure of civil liberties judgments during peacetime. As was the case in the months after 9/11, those individuals who trust the government are more willing to cede their liberties to political authorities when threatened than those individuals who do not trust politicians in Washington. Having established the general principles which structure public opinion concerning civil liberties, I examine 60 years of survey data concernment tradeoffs between liberty and security during wartime. Though measured at different moments in U.S. history and in different ways, I demonstrate that these same factors – namely threat and, in some cases, the group attachments and enmities discussed in the previous section of this book – structured civil liberties judgments during World War II, Vietnam, and the present day.

Civil Liberties and Political Tolerance

Before examining specific trends in support for liberties during times of war, it is necessary to place these decisions in a larger context. Explaining popular support for the protection of civil liberties is a central concern in the study of political behavior. Democratic society, after all, rests on the willingness of its citizens to resist encroachments on basic liberties. When considered in the abstract, Americans have long expressed broad support for civil liberties. As far back as 1938, 92 percent of respondents said that they “believe in freedom of speech.” Forty years later, McClosky and Brill (1983) found that 90 percent of Americans supported “free speech for all, no matter what their view might be” (see also McClosky 1964; Prothro and Grigg 1960). But, as noted above, civil liberties are rarely contemplated in the abstract. In practice, as Gibson and Bingham (1985) observe, support for civil liberties must be weighed against other values and beliefs (see also Sniderman et al. 1996).

Scholars who study public support for civil liberties generally follow one of two research traditions. Some scholars choose to study the types of questions that concern the proper scope of government restrictions on basic civil liberties for a society as a whole. A second set of scholars instead study “political tolerance” – the extension of fundamental rights to particular groups in society. Researchers in the first tradition essentially ask, “What should we let the government do to us (as a society as a whole)?” Scholars of political tolerance instead ask, “What should we let the government do to others?” Though almost all scholars have studied these two sets of judgments as distinct processes, the two traditions are, in large part, different sides of the same coin. Both literatures address the treatment of the same general freedoms, such as free speech and free association. Moreover, many scholars in both traditions look to similar explanatory factors, such as the prevailing political climate and demographic variables such as education. Of course, some important differences exist between the two types of questions. The discussion in the last chapter of the treatment of Japanese-Americans demonstrates that, in studies of political tolerance, affect towards disliked groups can play a large role in determining civil liberties judgments. However, as Sniderman, Brody, and Tetlock (1991) have shown, respondent judgments about the rights of particular groups are at least as reflective of “principled” support for general democratic norms as they are about affect towards those particular groups.[3] Put another way, following Chong (1993), there are two classes of considerations on civil liberties issues: (1) considerations of principles and rights and (2) considerations about the people and groups that are involved in the issue, including considerations about how the issue might affect oneself. The general tradeoff questions and the tolerance items differ in the balance of these relevant considerations, but both give us a window into general judgments regarding civil liberties. Furthermore, the two types of items appear to be highly empirically related. For instance, Skitka et al. (2004) use a composite measure of support for civil liberties and find that both questions which concern the liberties of minority groups and a measure asking if the Bush administration has gone too far in restricting civil liberties to fight terrorism scaled on the same dimension (see also the discussion of the Pew studies below).[4]

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[3] Sullivan et al (1982) also find that belief in democratic norms was one of the strongest predictors of political tolerance.

Drawing these parallels between societal and group-specific measures of commitment to civil liberties is valuable because the largest body of theoretic and empirical work on liberties comes from the political tolerance tradition. The proper measurement of political tolerance – the extension of civil liberties to groups that express ideas in opposition to one's own – has been the subject of voluminous debate in political science. Seminal studies of public support for civil liberties in the 1950s by Stouffer (1955) examined respondents' willingness to grant free speech to particular groups that lay outside of mainstream society at that time, namely socialists, atheists, and Communists. Stouffer found strong support for restricting the rights of these groups.

However, researchers who studied public willingness to extend liberties to these same groups in the early 1970s found remarkable increases in tolerance. Some authors attributed these trends to changes in society that created a political climate more tolerant of dissent (Davis 1975; Nunn, Crockett, and Williams 1978). These increases, however, turned out be largely illusionary. Sullivan, Pierson, and Marcus (1982) demonstrated that while Americans were, on the whole, more tolerant in the 1970s of the particular groups that Stouffer investigated in the 1950s, this increase in tolerance did not extend to other controversial groups in society. When Sullivan and his colleagues measured an individual's willingness to extend free speech to groups that an individual said she disliked, they found levels of political intolerance comparable to that found by Stouffer. Sullivan, Pierson, and Marcus therefore concluded that any apparent increase in tolerance was a result of an increase in the likeability of socialists, atheists, and Communists, not an increase in general support for civil liberties.[5] Thus, Sullivan et al. proposed instead measuring tolerance using their "least-liked" strategy, where a researcher first asks which groups a respondent dislikes and then assesses tolerance toward those groups. This measurement strategy has been widely adopted in the study of tolerance (though see Gibson 1992).

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[4] Similarly, Schildkraut (2002) finds that support for granting the police the power to stop and search: (1) anyone, (2) people who fit a terrorist profile, and (3) any Arab or Muslim are predicted by many of the same independent variables, most notably being worried about being a victim of an attack. As I demonstrate below, I find similar empirical overlap both in the context of World War II and the post-9/11 cases.

Research in this tradition has found that the correlates of tolerance are analogous to the predictors of a commitment to civil liberties uncovered by scholars in the months following 9/11. Davis and Silver (2004) and Huddy et al. (2005) both found that individuals who were concerned about the possibility of future terrorist attacks were most willing to sacrifice their liberties.[6] Paralleling this conclusion, one of the strongest findings in the tolerance literature is that perceptions of conditions of threat increase support for restrictions on civil liberties (Marcus et al. 1995, Sullivan, et al. 1982). For instance, looking in the 1950s, Stouffer found that respondents who felt that American Communists who were a danger to the United States were more likely to support restrictions on civil liberties than those who felt that Communists posed no danger. Sullivan et al (1982) extended this analysis and found that respondents were most intolerant of those groups they found normatively threatening – groups that were viewed as

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[5] However, Mueller (1988) notes that since Communists were not the most disliked group for *all* citizens in the 1950s, general tolerance almost certainly rose since that time.

[6] Both sets of authors found that personal threat – the level of concerns for one's own safety – had only a small effect on civil liberties judgments, but found that sociotropic threat – fear that the United States might suffer another terrorist attack – had a large effect on opinion.

"violent," "dangerous," or "untrustworthy."[7] While these authors focused on threats from particular groups, more recent work has examined a broader conception of threat consistent with the studies by Davis and Silver (2004) and Huddy et al. (2005). Marcus et al (1995) found that those respondents who feel threatened by many groups from across the ideological spectrum – individuals high on "threat predisposition" – were most willing to restrict the civil liberties of any and all marginal groups. In fact, the effect of general threat was even stronger than that of threat from the least-liked group (see also Feldman and Stenner 1997; Stenner 2005). Thus, while threats from particular targets may be significant predictors of intolerance, in times of peace as in times of war, it is the perception of threat – whatever it be the threat from a disliked group or an undifferentiated threat to the society as a whole – that leads to support for restrictions on civil liberties.[8]

The Politics of Fear

Data from the General Social Survey (GSS) permits a systematic test of this general claim. For the last 30 years, the GSS has asked respondents about their willingness to extend rights to five diverse targets from across the political spectrum, namely racists, militarists, atheists, homosexuals and Communist.[9] Following convention, I constructed an intolerance score by measuring the percent of the time a respondent supports restricting the civil liberties of a particular group in a particular realm.[10]

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[7] Sullivan et al (1982) measured threat by asking respondents to describe the group they liked the least using a series of paired polar adjectives – for instance violent/nonviolent and unpredictable/predictable. Mueller (1988) argues that this measure, in fact, is better conceived as a measure of group dislike than as a measure of group threat.

[8] Consistent with this position, Hutchison and Gibler (2007) find that cross-national variation in the objective level of threat from territorial disputes explains levels of political tolerance. Specifically, individuals in societies that face severe territorial threats are less willing to allow disliked groups to demonstrate publicly or hold political office.

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[9] Specifically the GSS asks if the target group should be permitted to engage in three public activities: (1) deliver public speeches, (2) have books that they write be available in public libraries, and (3) teach in colleges and universities. This measurement strategy is consistent with Sullivan, Pierson, and Marcus's admonition not to focus questions on political targets of one ideological stripe. In effect, the GSS casts a wide net, hoping to find some disliked target group for every respondent. As Gibson notes, "the use of a broad range of fringe groups, as in the GSS, provides everyone an opportunity to express his or her intolerance." (1992, 574). Gibson (1992) demonstrated that though the GSS battery and the content-controlled "least-liked" tolerance questions advanced by Sullivan and his colleagues were not highly correlated, the use of either variable led to similar conclusions regarding the determinants of tolerance. Gibson concludes that either measurement approach is adequate for measuring tolerance. I therefore use the GSS data to measure variation in levels of intolerance, both across individuals and over time.

[10] Recently, Mondak and Sanders (2003; 2005) and Gibson (2005) carried out a debate over the best way to analyze trends in tolerance over time. Mondak and Sanders note that assessing trends in tolerance through the GSS battery is difficult because changes in tolerance might arise though true increases or decreases in tolerance or it might arise through changes in affect toward the specific target groups used by the GSS. In essence Mondak and Sanders argue that the problems identified by Sullivan et al. might contaminate the GSS data. Proceeding from Sullivan et al.'s definition of tolerance – "Political tolerance exists when respondents allow the full legal rights of citizenship to groups they themselves dislike" – Mondak and Sanders argue that tolerance is inherently dichotomous; advocating the restriction of the rights of any group constitutes intolerance. Adopting a dichotomous measurement strategy, the authors argue, sidesteps the problem caused by changing attitudes towards groups. As long as there is one group that a respondent dislikes, one can measure tolerance and changes in tolerance. Gibson writes that this position is incorrect, arguing that a continuous measure is preferable on theoretic grounds. Here I adopt Gibson's strategy, but check my results using Mondak and Sanders's dichotomous

The GSS questions concerning perceptions of threat are more limited. The GSS has asked one item relating to fear of crime fairly consistently over the last 30 years. It reads, “Is there any area right around here – that is, within a mile – where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?”[11] This item is less than ideal for a number of reasons. First, the item is phrased in a generic way with few response options; it does not allow us to discriminate among respondents in terms of their levels of threat. Furthermore, the item asks about personal threat, which, as several scholars have noted, exerts a less powerful influence on political tolerance than a societal threat (see Davis 2007 for a review).[12] At the same time, the particular limitation of this item allows for a strong test of the effects of threat on civil liberties judgments. The GSS item does not make reference to any of the groups included in the civil liberties battery and is therefore conceptually orthogonal to those judgments. A finding that perceptions of a generalized feeling of threat influences civil liberties judgments here – with a somewhat poorly specified and operationalized concept of threat – provides strong evidence of some relationship between general fear and civil liberties.

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measure. This strategy, of course, does not account for changes over time in people’s willingness to admit they dislike particular groups. However, the expression of a desire to severely curtail the liberties of Arabs in the months after 9/11 (see below) indicates that citizens are willing to express hostility, given the right circumstances.

[11] GSS included the item on the 1973, 1974, 1976, 1977, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, and 2004 surveys.

[12] This item may be limited in another way. It could be that the threat component of the GSS fear of crime item is, in part, a measure of racial threat. In this case, any predictive power of the item may reflect omitted race-based hostility among White respondents, rather than the pure threat I wish to measure. To assess this possibility, I ran analysis to see if the threat item had different effects for Whites and Blacks. I found that the differences between the two groups were insignificant in both a statistical and a substantive sense.

I predicted an individual's intolerance score as a function of the threat variable, controlling for factors plausibly associated with both levels of intolerance and threat.[13] As expected, I find that those respondents who are threatened by their neighborhood are more willing to tolerate restrictions on civil liberties than those who are not.[14] This effect is not particularly large – threatened respondents are the equivalent of three points on a 100 point scale less tolerant than other respondents – but the difference is statistically significant.[15]

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[13] The control variables were: ideology, age, gender, race, education, region, and city size. At the suggestion of other scholars, I also included controls for income, religion (including self-identification as a fundamentalist) and the strength of religion. None of these variables affected the results. The full model results are presented in the Appendix. I pooled the data across all years, including fixed effects for study year, using 1973 and 1974, as the baseline (the model would not converge if I included a separate dummy variable for 1974). I also ran these analyses separately in each year. The effect of the fear variable varied somewhat from year to year, and was not always statistically significant. However, the effect was always positive, ranging from 0.02 to 0.08

[14] I also ran my analysis with a measure of authoritarianism that was available in some of the surveys, under the assumption that individuals who scored high on the authoritarianism scale would be both more threatened by their neighborhood and less tolerant of political dissent. While authoritarianism had a large effect on intolerance, the inclusion of that measure did not change the effect of the threat variable.

[15] I also conducted analysis on trends in mean intolerance levels and mean threat over the last 30 years. These two trends follow somewhat different trajectories, but are clearly related. The correlation between the two series is .60 and a bivariate regression of intolerance levels on the threat measure indicates that a 10 percent increase in the proportion of people expressing fear in a given year is associated with a .08 movement on aggregate intolerance score (where 0 represents the most tolerant position and 1 is the least tolerant position). Moreover these results hold even accounting for the mid-1990s increase in the fear of crime. Using 1990 as the breaking point for the analysis, the correlation between tolerance and threat actually increases after 1989.

The relationship between threat and intolerance is even stronger when I use better measures of threat, which are contained only on a single survey. In 2000 respondents were asked how afraid they were of nuclear war.[16] This measure taps the preferred concept of sociotropic threat – the threat to the nation as a whole, as oppose to a particular threat to the respondent – and allows a greater gradation of levels of threat in the response. Substituting the nuclear war question for the "fear of neighborhood" question in the analysis described above indicates that respondents who think war is more of a threat today scored 13 points lower on the 100 point tolerance scale than those who thought it was less of a threat.[17]

Before 1990, the two series are correlated at 0.57, but after 1990, the correlation rises to 0.69. The effect of a 10 percent increase in fear level drops from 0.06 in the first time period to 0.03 in the second period, but remains statistically significant. Using the Mondak and Sanders approach, I find the same basic results, though the relationships are somewhat weaker. The threat and intolerance measures are correlated at 0.45 and regression analysis indicates that a 10 percent increase in the proportion of people expressing fear is associated with a .03 increase on aggregate intolerance score – an increase of more than one standard deviation. The convergence of the two sets of results should not be surprising since the continuous tolerance measure and the binary tolerance measure are correlated at 0.86. In any case, the data suggest that increases in aggregate levels of threat are related to increased support for restrictions on civil liberties.

[16] Specifically, the GSS asked, "Are the following threats [nuclear war] to the United States greater, about the same, or less today than they were 10 years ago?" The fear of neighborhood and fear of nuclear war variables are correlated at 0.10 (a correlation that is statistically significant at the 0.05 level). If both threat variables are included in the regression described above, both variables have significant effects, though – as expected – the effect of each diminishes in the presence of the other.

[17] This effect is statistically significant as well. I also ran the analysis using the three responses to the nuclear war variable as dummy variables and confirmed that the effect of the nuclear war threat variable is linear.

Most importantly, the GSS data allows us to investigate directly the proposition that general threat – rather than the particular fear of war or foreign attack – determines in part the civil liberties judgments of individuals. Davis and Silver (2004) explore the relationship between threat and trust in government and find that those individuals who trusted the federal government were also willing to give up their liberties after 9/11. However, citizens' level of trust in government moderated the impact of the perceived threat of another attack. Fear of terrorism had no effect on civil liberties judgments for respondents who expressed low levels of trust. On the other hand, among respondents who placed a great deal of trust in the government, greater concern about another attack was associated with much lower support for civil liberties (Davis and Silver 2004).[18] Davis and Silver's work is unique on this score; though it may not be surprising that those individuals who place the most trust in the government are the most willing to allow the government to restrict liberties, to my knowledge, no other scholars have explored the effect of political trust on civil liberties judgments. There is, however, no reason to believe that the cause of that fear should be particular to the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Citizens should cede authority to a trusted actor when they are fearful, no matter the source of that fear.

In 1987, in addition to the civil liberties item and the threat question, the GSS asked respondents how much they trusted the government.[19] Analysis of the relationship among trust, fear, and civil liberties indicate that in a very different context, using very different measures, the same pattern found by Davis and Silver unfolds. Among those who trust the government, the effect of feeling threatened in one's neighborhood increases support for restrictions by nine percent of the tolerance scale; among those who do not trust the government, being fearful of one's neighborhood increases support for restrictions by four percent of the scale, a statistically significant difference.[20]

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[18] Jenkins-Smith and Herron (2006) also find that trust in government is positively related to preferences for security over liberty. However, unlike Davis and Silver the authors do not explore the relationship between trust in government and threat.

[19] The GSS trust item reads, "How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right – just about always, most of the time only some of the time, or almost never?" This item is identical to one of the two items used by Davis and Silver in their analysis discussed above (the other item read, "Is the government run by a few big interests, or is it run for the benefit of all people?")

Certainly threat is not only reason that people support restriction on civil liberties. But it is clear that the effects of threat and trust are part of a more general process that extends beyond simply the case of a large attack, such as 9/11. Thus in the realm of civil liberties, as in other aspects of war, it seems that public opinion follows patterns familiar from the ebb and flow of normal domestic politics.

Civil Liberties after September 11th

Having established the importance of perceptions of threat, I now return to the central area of concern – support for civil liberties during wartime. As discussed above, the public's judgments concerning civil liberties were somewhat in flux in the wake of 9/11. Overall support for civil liberties was lower than it had been before the attacks. But that picture is a single snapshot (though see Davis 2007).[21] To further explore civil liberties in the wake of 9/11, I turn to a series of polls taken by the Pew Center for the People and the Press. The Pew Center has asked several questions concerning civil liberties over the last 10 years. Three of these items were asked repeatedly and allow us to trace opinion change over time. The first question is roughly analogous to Davis and Silver's general civil liberties item and reads, "In order to curb terrorism in this country, do you think it will be necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?" This question provides an especially valuable source of trend data because it was asked by Pew twice before September 11th, in both March 1996 and June 1997. The other Pew questions concerning civil liberties followed a similar theme, but were worded in slightly different ways. Specifically, Pew asked a second item in 2001 and 2002 which read, "What concerns you more right now? That the government will fail to enact strong, new anti-terrorism laws, or that the government will enact new anti-terrorism laws which excessively restrict the average person's civil liberties?" A third item was asked beginning in 2004 and read, "What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism policies, that they have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country or that they have gone too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties?"

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[20] Given the potential importance of partisan judgments in determining political trust, I also include party identification as a control variable in this analysis. It should be noted, however, that there appear to be no statistical relationship between trust in government and partisanship at this moment in time (Hetherington 2007).

[21] Davis (2007) explores change in civil liberties judgments from 2001 to 2004, using panel data. Some of this work is discussed below.

INSERT FIGURE 5.1 ABOUT HERE

The over-time trends for the tradeoff questions are presented in Figure 5.1. Before the attacks of September 11th, a significant majority believed that it would not be necessary to sacrifice civil liberties to curb terrorism. In the immediate wake of the attack, support for that position dropped sharply.[22] The September 2001 Pew survey also asked about support for a number of other measures relating to restrictions on civil liberties.[23] While these items differed in form from the Davis and Silver tradeoff questions, they provide a similar picture of the depth of support for civil liberties. Several policies proposed to restrict civil liberties engendered high support. For instance, seventy percent of respondents favored a requirement that citizens carry a national identity card to show to a police officer on request. But respondents did not extend a blank check to the government. Only 26 percent favored allowing the U.S. government to monitor personal telephone calls and e-mails. Furthermore, a majority of 57 percent of respondents opposed “allowing the U.S. government to take legal immigrants from unfriendly countries to internment camps during times of tension or crisis” (though, echoing the Japanese experience during World War II, 29 percent supported this position and 14 percent said that they did not know where they stood on the matter). Thus, the effect of the terrorist attack on support for civil liberties was clear. For whatever reason – the increased salience of threat, the unified

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[22] The Pew general civil liberties item indicates a lower level of support for the civil liberties position than the Davis and Silver survey described above. Recall that Davis and Silver found majority support for the civil liberties position in the tradeoff between security and civil liberties. The different results for the two surveys might be a result of slight differences in question

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wording. However, the results might also result from a fluke of the data. Davis and Silver replicated the general civil liberties/security tradeoff question in a 2003 survey. While aggregate support for most of the civil liberties items remained stable across the two surveys (Davis 2007). There was a 10 point drop in the civil liberty position in the general question. This pattern runs counter to both the expected results and the Pew data. Perhaps, then, the initial Davis and Silver results represent something of an outlier.

[23] A factor analysis of these items indicates that they all tap a single dimension. Specifically, the factor analysis yielded a single factor solution. The eigenvalue for the first dimension is 1.22 and no other factor has an eigenvalue greater than 0.25. Providing further support for the link between the general tradeoff question and the target items, the factor scores for the “worry” question (0.30) and the question concerning immigrant camps (0.25) are roughly equivalent. It should also be noted that similar factor analysis of British data from February 2003 and August 2005 yield nearly identical results; questions about general civil liberties tradeoffs and specific questions about what to do with immigrants scaled on the same factor.

elite positions in the immediate wake of the attack, or some combination of the two – September 11th changed the way that the country as a whole thought about civil liberties. Backing for restrictions on liberties – both in the abstract and in specific – rose in the wake of the attack relative to the peaceful times three years earlier.

Following the immediate aftermath of September 11th, however, the tide quickly turned. Support for civil liberties climbed significantly, reaching a majority position by August 2003 and, by 2004, neared the highs found in the late 1990s. The quick recovery in the erosion of support for the position of protecting civil liberties was mirrored in other poll taken at that time (see Huddy et al. 2002). Further poll data suggests that support for civil liberties has climbed even further since that time, as Figure 5.1 demonstrates.[24]

Not everyone, however, was so quick to embrace the pro-civil liberties position. Cross-sectional analysis of the Pew data indicates that the effects of threat persisted long after 9/11. Pew measured threat using both sociotropic and personal threat questions on surveys from 2001 to 2004. Consistent with the findings reported above, sociotropic threat had a larger effect than personal threat on every survey. Regardless of the measurement strategy, those respondents most threatened by the possibility of a future attack were most supportive of restricting civil liberties, even controlling for the demographic and political determinants of support for liberties.[25]

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[24] As noted above the question asking “do you think it will be necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties” was not asked after 2004. However, the parallel item measuring whether “the government has gone too far in restricting civil liberties followed the same upward trend in support as the general civil liberties question in the time after 9/11. There is therefore reason to think that the third Pew question – which is worded in a manner similar to the government anti-terrorism question asked in 2001 and 2002 – captures general trends in civil liberties. Since support for the civil liberties position has been increasing since 2004, it stands to reason that general support for civil liberties has been rising as well.

The Emergence of Partisanship

The continued effect of threat on opinion was not the only evidence that the familiar forces of domestic politics shaped the dynamics of civil liberties after 2001. Partisanship has largely been ignored in the tolerance literature, but it is a predisposition that, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, is critical for understanding the structure of opinion during wartime.[26] Davis (2007) found that partisanship did not play a role in determining support for civil liberties in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, arguing that a sense of patriotism in late 2001 was instrumental in causing Democrats and independents to accept conservative positions. This condition, however, was temporary. As blind patriotism faded over time, partisanship emerged as an important fault line on civil liberties.

INSERT FIGURES 5.2-5.3 ABOUT HERE

Pew did not measure party identification in its September 2001 survey, so it is not possible to independently confirm the lack of partisan divisions in the immediate wake of the attack. However Pew measured the respondent's partisanship in every other survey represented in Figure 5.1.We can therefore explore trends in the degree of polarization in civil liberties judgments along party lines. Before September 11, the available evidence suggests that

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[25] Interestingly, at the same time that there was a large rise in support for the protection of civil liberties from January 2002 to August 2003, sociotropic threat dropped only marginally. In January 2002, 62 percent of respondents were "very worried" or "somewhat worried" that there would soon be a terrorist attack in the United States. In August 2003, 58 percent of respondents took such a position.

[26] Sullivan et al. (1982) used partisan attachment to estimate the "least-liked" groups of respondents, but did not explore the direct effects of partisan identification.

Democrats and Republicans came to similar judgments regarding the civil liberties/security tradeoff. Republicans were, in fact, slightly less supportive of civil liberties restrictions, though this difference was small and statically insignificant. However, Figure 5.2 presents a picture of a growing partisan gap from 2002 onward, in line with developments on other issues associated with the Bush administration (Jacobson 2008). In January 2002, relatively small differences emerged between Democrats and Republicans. These differences have increased tremendously over time. Aggregate support for civil liberties grew as 9/11 receded into the past, but partisan identifiers rejected the security position of that tradeoff at different rates.

At the same time, as the data from the late 1990s suggests, the emergence of the partisan gap on civil liberties judgments does not represent a return to equilibrium. The gap between Democrats and Republicans instead represents the emergence of a new fault line mirroring political debate on issues of both war and peace more generally (Jacobson 2008). In fact, by 2006, the civil liberties tradeoff question exhibited the same pattern of partisan polarization found in measures of support for the Iraq war discussed in Chapter 3 (see Figure 5.3). As citizens' level of interest in politics increased, the gap between Democrats and Republicans grew larger. The Pew data therefore leads to an important conclusion. The events of September 11 had an immediate impact on the tradeoff between security and civil liberties, but public opinion quickly exhibited the contours of normal politics not only in the levels of support for civil liberties but also in the partisan divisions that mirror the politics of the day. As was the case in structuring support for war, the partisan loyalties of respondents played a large role in structuring their political judgments concerning civil liberties.

Civil Liberties and War

Partisanship and perceived threat are both important determinants of support for basic liberties. But attitudes towards war might also shape how the public views restrictions on civil liberties, even accounting for perceptions of threat from external forces. Those individuals who rally to a military cause might see restrictions on domestic liberties as a logical extension of the overall war effort, as Bush's actions and rhetoric advocating a large-scale War on Terror would imply. Furthermore, just as trust in government leads some individuals to willingly cede power to the state in the presence of fear, general support for the policies of government in the international realm could lead to an increased willingness to submit to the authority of government in the domestic realm. Whatever the reason, given the potential threat to democracy, the link between support for war and support for civil liberties is a crucial area of concern.

INSERT FIGURES 5.4-5.5 ABOUT HERE

From 2001 to 2006 Pew used different questions to gauge respondents' willingness to engage in aggressive foreign action. In the wake of September 11th, Pew asked "Do you favor or oppose taking military action, including the use of ground troops, to retaliate against whoever is responsible for the terrorist attacks?."[27] Between 9/11 and the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, Pew asked respondents if they would support an invasion. After March 2003, Pew asked respondents a common version of the retrospective support question on Iraq, "Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?” Though these different items registered different levels of support, in all cases those respondents most supportive of military action – real or hypothetical, retrospective or prospective – were most willing to support restrictions on civil liberties, even controlling for those factors we know to influence both attitudes towards liberties and support for war, such as partisanship and perceptions of threat (see Huddy et al. 2005).[28] Figure 5.4 presents the effect of an increase in support for restricting liberties associated with a move from opposition to support for military action on six questions asked in the September 2001 survey. [29] Two of the items are taken from the over-time trends presented in Figure 5.1. On the question of whether a respondent would be willing to trade civil liberties for security, supporters of military action were 13 percent more likely to advance restricting civil liberties than were opponents. On the question of whether the respondent was concerned that the government would unnecessarily enact new strong anti-terrorist laws, supporters of retaliation were 17 percent more likely to express concern that government would fail to enact tough anti-terrorist laws. Similar differences exist on the other civil liberties questions, ranging from 6 percent on support for a national identification card question to 20 percent on support for allowing the government to monitor phone and e-mail conversations. These effects persisted even after the mean levels of support for civil liberties increased from 2002 to 2006 and a partisan gap opened on the question of the desirability of these restrictions. As Figure 5.5 demonstrates, in every survey during that time, supporters of war were more likely to advocate restricting civil liberties than were opponents.

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[27] This question was asked in two ways as part of a questions wording experiment. Half the sample was asked the retaliation question. The other half were asked the same question but with the qualification "even if it means that U.S. armed forces might suffer thousands of casualties?" Including the casualty caveat reduced support for retaliation somewhat, but effect of the retaliation variable on support for civil liberties was the same for both forms. I ran analysis including a dummy for question form and an interaction between form and the question. The coefficients were non-significant and I therefore combined the two for purposes of analysis.

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[28] Huddy et al (2005) find that sociotropic threat increased both support for military intervention and restrictions on civil liberties. In order to account for the possibility that the relationships I find here are spurious, I included measures of threat – both individual-level and sociotropic threat – in my analyses, when available. Including the threat measure diminished somewhat the effect of war support on support for civil liberties, but the relationship between the two variables remained statically and substantively significant. In order to preserve continuity, the figures present the estimates without the controls for threat. As noted above, Pew did not ask partisanship on September 2001 survey. The analysis of data from this survey does not therefore include party identification. This fact does not invalidate the results presented here. Indicators are that in the wake of 9/11, partisanship had little effect on civil liberty judgments. Davis and Silver find no partisan differences on civil liberties questions in their late 2001 survey. Furthermore, the Pew data suggests that these differences took several months to develop into a significant cleavage; as Figure 5.2 shows, the partisanship gap on civil liberties questions was only about 5 points in January 2002.

[29] These first differences are generated from logit analysis which control for the partisanship and demographic characteristics of the respondents, including the respondent’s gender, race, education level, and the census region and size of the metropolitan area of the respondent’s residence.

An Aside: Support for the Vietnam War and Civil Liberties

The results concerning the relationship between support for war and support for restrictions on civil liberties in the present day are strong and robust. It is possible, however, that these results are particular to the present political climate. In the immediate wake of 9/11, the link between a desire for an aggressive military response and the adoption of measures designed to ensure security could have resulted from a sudden shift in elite rhetoric or the existence of a salient threat to the United States. Over time, however, the political climate changed greatly. As Figure 5.2 demonstrates, from 2002 onward, a large gap opened between Democrats and Republicans on questions of adopting restrictions on civil liberties, just as it did on questions of support for aggressive military action throughout the world (Jacobson 2008; see Chapter 3). I can account for the extreme polarization along partisan lines in judgments concerning both military action and civil liberties judgments by controlling for partisan attachments in my statistical analyses, as I do above. But perhaps even measures of partisanship cannot fully capture the polarizing effect of the current political climate. To test the generality of these findings, it would be useful to examine the nature of this relationship in a less politically polarized time.

Such a task is easier said than done. There exists very little individual-level survey data concerning civil liberties judgments during times of war. Potentially fruitful times, such as the Korean War era are devoid of data.[30] Fortunately, however, some relevant data exists from the Vietnam era. Louis Harris and Associates asked in November 1965 and May 1967 a pertinent question about free speech and dissent: “Do you think people have the right to conduct peaceful demonstration against the war in Vietnam, or do you feel people don’t have that right.” This question is phrased in a less general manner than the items analyzed from the present day, reflecting the era in which it was asked. As Erskine notes in a review of polling questions on civil liberties, “the semantics of the late 1960’s in particular turned from simple freedom to speak to the right to protest and organize protests (1970, 483). As a result, the question is not an ideal indicator of civil liberties judgments.[31] However the Harris surveys are valuable in two respects. First, both of these surveys contain rich measures of support for the Vietnam War; it is therefore possible to create reliable scales of attitudes toward the war.[32] Second, and more important for present purposes, the polls were conducted at times that allow us to gauge the effect of war support on civil liberties judgments in political contexts that differ significantly from the present day. The 1965 poll was carried out at a time when support for the war was high among both Democrats and Republicans. The 1967 poll was conducted after the emergence of the cleavage within the Democratic Party that lead to the decline in support for the Vietnam War, but before the emergence of partisan polarization on the war (see Chapter 3 for discussion). Republicans were somewhat more supportive of protecting civil liberties than Democrats but, unlike the present day, the gap between the in-party and the out-party was very small.[33] These polls therefore enable us to gauge whether attitudes towards war are correlated with attitudes concerning civil liberties in a very different time in history.

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[30] For instance, Stouffer’s study of political tolerance, conducted in the aftermath of the Korean War, does not contain a single question about attitudes toward military action.

[31] Harris conducted a poll in 1970 that, in addition to the Vietnam protester question described above, asked a long battery of questions about civil liberties. Unfortunately, this survey did not ask about support for the Vietnam War, so it is not possible to perform comparable analyses in this survey. I did, however, correlate the Vietnam question used in my analyses with the more general questions and found a significant correlation. Thus, even granting problems with my dependent variables here, I find that the Vietnam protest item does relate to the more general concept of interest.

INSERT FIGURE 5.6 ABOUT HERE

The majority of respondents on both Harris surveys supported the rights of the protesters. In November 1965, 58 percent of respondents agreed that individuals should have the right to conduct peaceful demonstrations and in May 1967, 61 percent took the pro-civil liberties side. As in the present day, however, this support was tempered among those most supportive of war. Figure 5.6 presents the effect of levels of war support on the probability of advocating a restriction on the right of protest. Though the surveys were conducted in different political contexts and use somewhat different indexes of war support, the results are the same; supporters of the Vietnam War were the most enthusiastic about restricting the liberties of its opponents. In 1965, a shift from the most extreme anti-war position to the most extreme pro-war position increased the probability of supporting restrictions by 20 percent; in 1967 a comparable movement on the war support scale increased support by 28 percent. In sum, though the measures of commitment to civil liberties may not be as deep or broad as the measures found in the present day, in both cases, the conclusion regarding the link between support for military action and commitment to tolerance are the same. Supporters of war are the most eager to restrict the liberties of others in society.

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[32] Scale details are available from the author upon request.

[33] Specifically, Republicans were about four percent more supportive than Democrats of the pro-civil liberty position.

Civil Liberties during WWII

Finally, I turn to World War II. Following the themes of previous chapters, World War II was not a unique moment in American history from the standpoint of considering public opinion on civil liberties. The mass public reacted in ways similar to Vietnam and the present day, and – more importantly for the argument in this book – public opinion regarding civil liberties was largely structured in ways consistent with patterns found in the domestic arena.

Comparable over-time data on support for civil liberties is somewhat thin for the World-War II era. However, Gallup and OPOR asked several items that directly tapped support for free speech. The first question concerned support for the rights of Fascists and Communists; a second item asked about the rights of "radicals." Both of these questions were first asked in 1938, before open hostilities began and were then asked at several points during the war.[34] These questions, of course, are problematic in some respects. Most important, they both are affected by the concerns of comparability raised by the work of Sullivan et al (1982). Public sentiment towards

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[34] These questions were the second stage in a branching question. Gallup first asked, "Do you believe in freedom of speech?" Upwards of 92 percent of respondents said they did believe in free speech. As in the present day, the introduction of specific target groups dropped support greatly.

Communists and radicals undoubtedly changed during the course of the war, as U.S. relations with Russia developed into an alliance (albeit one of convenience). Before the war began, large segments of the population viewed Communists as a threat to America – a threat even greater than fascism. For instance, when Gallup asked in 1939, "Which do you think is the greater danger to America – the Communists living in this country or the Nazis living in this country?" 49 percent of respondents replied that Communists posed the greater threat compared to the 44 percent who said Nazis.[35] While Gallup did not define the term "radicals," its historical association with the Communist party undoubtedly colored respondent's responses to the second civil liberties item. With Germany's attack on Russia in June 1941, the meaning of the target groups changed. Communists – and perhaps "radicals" – might not have been worthy of embrace, but these groups were de facto allies of the U.S. in 1941 and formal allies by 1942.

It is, however, possible to account indirectly for the effect of changes in the sentiment towards the particular groups targeted by the civil liberties question. As noted in Chapter 4, a common question asked during World War II was, "Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us when the war is over?" If we assume that individuals who did not trust Russia had greater negative affect towards radicals and felt greater threat than those who did trust the Soviet Union, this question can be used as a rough proxy for negative sentiment towards

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[35] These aggregate data have not yet been weighted according to the procedures outline in Berinsky (2006). Later version of this paper will incorporate the proper weighting procedures, but early analysis indicates that using the weights will not alter the conclusions of the trend analysis. NEED TO FIX THIS

"radicals."[36] We can therefore examine trends in tolerance among both the full sample and the subset of respondents who said they would not trust Russia after the war.

INSERT FIGURE 5.7 ABOUT HERE

I present the trend data for the two free speech items, and two other items relating to civil liberties that are phrased in a more general manner – support for unconditional free speech and the belief that "people should be allowed to speak on any subject" in Figure 5.7.[37] The measures on the two questions that make reference to target groups in June 1938 provide a baseline of support for the rights of all three groups before the war.[38] As the graph demonstrates, even before active fighting began, only a minority supported free speech for any of the marginal groups. But, consistent with opinion data from the present day, the introduction of a salient international threat diminished support for civil liberties even further. The interesting point here is that support for civil liberties declined *before* the U.S. was attacked at Pearl Harbor. Thus, the onset of the climate of threat did not seem to occur in the immediate wake of Pearl Harbor as some might expect, but rather during the early days of the war in 1940 and 1941. As Figure 5.7 demonstrates, Gallup's question about "Fascists and Communists" shows a decline in support for extending civil liberties – to marginal groups in particular – after 1940.[39] Thus the data suggest that the gathering storm of war led to support for general restrictions on civil liberties.

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[36] It could also be that individuals who did not trust Russia felt more threatened by radicals, which would lead to the same effects in the trend data

[37] Figure 5.7 therefore contains both tradeoff items and tolerance items.

[38] In later surveys, Gallup asked about Fascists and Communists together, but in 1938 Gallup used a split sample format where one-half of respondents were asked about Communists and the other half were asked about Fascists. The level of support for civil liberties was within 1 percent between the two groups, so in Figure 5.7, I present a tolerance score that averages across the two items

Unfortunately the data do not exist to trace support for free speech for Fascists and Communists after U.S. began active combat. OPOR did, however, repeat the Gallup question concerning free speech for radicals several times from 1942 to 1945. In July 1942, support for free speech stood 8 percent below the baseline reading in 1938. The trend data on the item concerning Fascists and Communist suggests that support for free speech may have dropped even further in the intermediate years, but without polling results, it is impossible to say for sure. In any case, from July 1942 until the end of the war, support for civil liberties recovered – even among those respondents who did not trust Russia – exceeding the baseline readings from 1938. Thus, though the period of "threat" began before the U.S. entered into the war, following the pattern observed in the present day, support for civil liberties seems to have recovered quickly from that initial threat.

The individual-level determents of civil liberties judgments are also similar in many respects to those found in the first decade of the 21st century. For instance, the effect of threat follows a familiar pattern. Though there are no consistent individual-level indicators of threat, two surveys taken a year apart before U.S. entry into the war asked, "Do you think that Axis will attack us if Britain defeated." Though this measure does not tap the "worry" dimension of the current questions, it can serve as a rough proxy for sociotropic threat. In July 1940, among those respondents who expressed an opinion, 62 percent believed the Axis would attack the U.S. By July 1941, this figure had risen to 73 percent. More importantly, as in the present day, those respondents who felt threatened by the Axis were more supportive of restricting civil liberties than respondents who did not feel threatened. In July 1940 respondents who believed the Axis countries would attack the U.S. were four percent more likely to support free speech restrictions than respondents who did not feel so threatened. In July 1941, feelings of threat reduced support for free speech by eight percent.[40] On the other hand, as during the Vietnam War, partisanship did not have the impact on civil liberties judgments it does in the present day. While Democrats were less supportive of protecting civil liberties than were Republicans during the war, these differences were rather small. Furthermore, much of the partisan difference can be accounted for by controlling for education level – a factor that was associated with both increased support for civil liberties and the tendency to vote for Republican candidates in this era.

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[39] These trends could be an artifact of changes in the international sphere. While Communists and Fascists were disliked in the late 1930, in 1940 and early 1941, they were increasingly seen as the enemy. However, the readings in January 1941 and July 1941 on support for unconditional free speech show a downward trend as well, indicating that the decline in support for the questions relating to Communists and Fascists reflects a general trend.

INSERT FIGURE 5.8 ABOUT HERE

However, returning to familiar patterns, the relationship between support for war and restrictions on civil liberties in the period prior to U.S. entry into the war also mirrored those of the post 9/11 era. Figure 5.8 presents the effect of war support on intolerance for four polls taken from November 1940 to July 1941. In all cases those most supportive of increased U.S. involvement were more supportive of restricting speech. This relationship holds on both questions that relate to tolerance towards specific groups and on more general questions relating to free speech.

INSERT FIGURE 5.9 ABOUT HERE

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[40] This individual level analysis employs procedures described in Berinsky (2006). The multivariate results are included in the Appendix.

Once the U.S. entered the war, not only did mean levels of free speech change, but contrary to the findings from the present day, the effect of war support on levels of free speech seems to have faded as well. As was the case in Chapters 3 and 4, I am limited in my analysis of the effects of war support by the nature of the data. But, as before, I use support for the stated policy of unconditional surrender as a measure of war support. In the early period of the war, as expected, opposition to making peace with the German army was positively related to opposition for free speech. Over time, however, the relationship between the two quantities diminished. These results are presented in Figure 5.9. In April 1942, the association between the two variables was reduced by half, and by early 1945, it had reversed direction. One complication with this analysis is that I am limited in the over-time analysis to a single imperfect measure of war support. If we look at the refusal to make peace with Hitler item rather than the German army form of the question as the war support variable in April 1944, the relationship between war support and civil liberties restrictions tightens. Those least supportive of allowing Hitler to unconditionally surrender are eight percent more likely to support restricting the free speech of radicals, an effect much larger than the effect reported in Figure 5.9 for the same time period. This result does not, however, change my interpretation of the over-time change in the effect of war support presented in Figure 5.9. During World War II, unlike the present day, an overall rise in support for civil liberties coincided with a reduction in the difference between those most supportive of stated U.S. war aims and the rest of the population.

Conclusion

In a democratic society, conditions of war inevitably lead to worries about civil liberties. As the analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates, such fears may be well-founded. War can diminish support for civil liberties both directly and indirectly. The environment of fear and threat created by a state of crisis lead some citizens to support greater restrictions on certain basic democratic rights. Moreover, supporters of military action are generally most willing to suppress civil liberties.

War, however, does not inevitably threaten the foundations of democracy. Support for civil liberties may dip with the onset of conflict, but in the aggregate, support for such liberties seem to recover quickly. Moreover, the emergence of familiar domestic cleavages may in practice limit the scope of restrictions on liberties. Such a process can be seen in the post-9/11 era. While Republicans embraced both the general spirit and the particular provisions of the Patriot Act, over time Democrats came to reject these measures. As long as the opposition party maintains an independent position, the government may not be able to run roughshod over individual rights. Moreover, even in times of partisan consensus there may be checks on the power of government. During World War II, for instance, the effect of support for aggressive military action on civil liberties judgments was large initially, but faded over time. In sum, for good and – as the case of the treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II demonstrates – for bad, civil liberties during times of war often follow the familiar patterns of civil liberties during times of peace. In both cases, perceptions of threat and attachment to political and social groups determines the scope of restrictions citizens are willing to bear.

Chapter 6:
Elections during Wartime

I NEED A GOOD STORY FOR THE INTRODUCTION

Continuing the theme of this book, I find that while elections during wartime might, on their face appear different than elections during times of peace, the underlying structure of choice is largely the same in the two circumstances. As with public opinion concerning civil liberties, war affects elections in predictable ways. Specifically, I argue that war can affect elections through two causal paths, both of which are rooted in the normal ebb and flow of domestic politics.

First, war, much like the economy, can function as a performance issue. When times are bad, incumbent politicians pay a price at the polls. As with economic performance in the domestic realm, leaders can be hurt by bad news coming from abroad. Voters may punish politicians for hard times, even if those politicians seeking election are not directly responsible for the problems facing the nation. However, given the partisan rancor that often shapes opinion concerning war, it is extremely difficult – if not impossible – to uncover the effects of war by studying presidential contests in isolation using cross-sectional data. As I will discuss below, cross sectional analysis of opinion polls may measure the degree of polarization by the major party candidates on issues related to the conduct of war, but it cannot uncover the true effect of the war on candidate choice. Only by adopting a longer time frame, and comparing and contrasting results across different elections, can we make causal claims about the relationship between opinions concerning war and the outcome of elections.

Second, as argued in the last chapter, the state of fear and threat brought about by war can change the dynamics of political choice. However, as was the case with tradeoffs involving civil liberties, in elections it is fear and threat, not war itself that changes those dynamics. Under some circumstances, foreign crises may cause members of the electorate to place a high value on leadership, thereby benefiting the party in power. Thus while leaders are not directly rewarded for successful military incursions, the very condition of war may benefit those incumbents.

Support for War and Electoral Choice

Coming one and one-half years after the U.S. led invasion of Iraq, the 2004 presidential election stood in the shadow of that war. Indeed, from the beginning of the presidential campaign, the Iraq war could not be ignored. Bush predicated his electoral strategy on embracing the role of "Commander in Chief" and though he attempted to tie himself more closely to 9/11 than to Iraq, it was impossible to separate Bush from the war that began under his watch. On the Democratic side, John Kerry won the presidential nomination in large part because his experiences during the Vietnam War made him, at least in theory, an attractive candidate to the American public. Accordingly, media organizations focused a great deal of their election coverage and analysis on the Iraq conflict. For instance, two weeks before the election, Edward Epstein wrote, "George W. Bush is the latest president to learn that wars tend to turn elections into referendums on the presidents who wage them and that Americans like a winner, not a president or his party's chosen successor who seem bogged down in an unwinnable conflict."[1] Moreover, in a poll reported the night before the election, ABC news reported that the Iraq war was the most important issue on voters' mind, just slightly ahead of the economy and terrorism.

While in the immediate aftermath of the election political commentators and journalists focused on the power of a cultural divide and associated "morals issues" academic studies seem to confirm the early predictions of the pundits. Contrary to the “culture war” explanation reported widely in the media after the election, Klinkner argued that beliefs about the Iraq War had a much greater impact on vote choice than moral issues. Specifically, he found that, “whether or not a voter thought the Iraq War was worth it had a 57 percentage point difference in the probability of voting for Bush. In comparison, whether or not a voter supported gay marriage had only a 14 percentage point difference in the probability of voting for Bush” (2006, 288).[2] Similarly, Jacobson (2007) found that “relative support for Bush and Kerry varied dramatically according to whether or not voters approved of the war, believed it was part of the war on terrorism, had made the United States safer, and thought it was going well.” Adding to the chorus, Gelpi, Reifler, and Feaver (2007) found that retrospective judgments about the “rightness” of war were powerful predictors of vote choice in the 2004 election (see also Abramson et al 2007, Weisberg and Christenson 2007).

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[1] http://sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/chronicle/archive/2004/10/22/MNGBA9EF1T1.DTL, accessed August 7, 2007. (Citation)?

INSERT TABLE 6.1 ABOUT HERE

A comparison of the effect of war support across the different elections not only implies that the Iraq War was a central issue in the 2004 presidential contest, but also that the significance of that war seemed to reach historic proportions. Table 6.1 presents the relationship between opposition to war and vote choice for each of the post-World War II presidential elections held during wartime: 1952 (Korea), 1968 (Vietnam), 1972 (Vietnam), and 2004 (Iraq).[3] The cell entries in the table represent differences in the probability of voting for the incumbent candidate. The size of this effect is estimated by comparing the respondent who is most supportive of the war to the respondent who is most opposed to that war.[4] Negative probabilities indicate that citizens who disapprove of current war policy are less likely to vote for the incumbent party. I separate out the questions asking about retrospective performance – items which ask if a given war was a "worth the cost" or the "right thing" to do – from those items which tap prospective policy – whether the U.S. should "pull out" of a given conflict or "do everything necessary to win a complete military victory." Because several of the questions use somewhat different wording to tap the same concerns, I present all available polls and the full question text in the tables.[5]

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[2] See also Hillygus and Shields (2005)

[3] For the 1968 election, I present the results of a model involving the choice between Humphrey and Nixon. Including Wallace as a third choice in a multinomial logit model does not change the results reported in Table 6.1

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[4] For the 7-point escalation/de-escalation scales used in the 1968 and 1972 NES, I compute the effect of moving from a position of support for doing "everything necessary to win a complete military victory, no matter what results" to saying that the U.S. "should withdraw completely from Vietnam right now, no matter what results."

[5] The full results of this analysis are presented in the Appendix. A few notes are in order here. Because retrospective and prospective opinions are often highly correlated, I ran my analysis as a series of regressions using each measure of war support in turn as a single independent variable (along with the relevant control variables). Including multiple measures of war support, where available, changed the magnitude of the coefficients (as expected given the correlations between the different measures of war support). However the pattern of these coefficients did not change appreciably. I also do not present in this table the full future action scale results (though the probit and logit analysis used to generate these predicted effects contains dummy variables marking both the escalation and deescalation positions). Following the strategy of Zaller (1992), I considered the "pull out" option as the option most distinct from the other two. Since the "status quo" answer represented the official policy of both the Johnson and Nixon administrations, like Zaller, I take that position to be akin to war support. However, considering the range of responses options leads to some interesting results. Both Stevenson in 1952 and Humphrey in 1968 found their greatest levels of support among respondents who favored the status quo. That is both respondents who wanted to escalate the war *and* respondents who wanted to deescalate the war were less likely to vote for the candidates of the incumbent's part. These

The analysis suggests that perhaps 2004 was indeed a historic election. Considering first questions that ask about retrospective approval, the gap between a war's supporters and its opponents was nearly three times as large in 2004 as it was in any previous election.[6] Moreover, though comparisons are rendered difficult by the lack of consistent question wording, the gap in 2004 between respondents who supported withdrawal and those who wished to maintain current levels of military effort is gigantic from a historical perspective.

But, upon closer examination, the results presented in Table 6.1 raise more questions than they answer. For instance, consider the elections held during the Vietnam and Iraqi wars. Both the 1968 and 2004 elections took place in the shadows of extended foreign wars. In both years, the original justification for the conflict – the attack on American forces in the Gulf of Tonkin in Vietnam, and the need to prevent Saadam Hussein from employing weapons of mass destruction in the case of Iraq – were highly contested by the time of the election. However, the cross-sectional analysis paints a very different picture of the effects of opposition to the war for the two elections. The effect of retrospective opposition to Vietnam War on the vote in 1968 is the smallest of any election in Table 6.1 – approximately one-ninth the effect of answers to a similarly worded question about Iraq in 2004 – and not statistically significant. If these results

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effects are not strong, and do not extend to an analysis which uses the 7-point scale recoded into similar hawk/dove/status quo positions. Thus, the findings are more suggestive than anything else, However, these results do seem to demonstrate that respondents who were dissatisfied with the war, whatever their reasons, were less likely to vote for the party of the incumbent president.

[6] While some of the questions concerning Iraq were not precisely comparable to earlier questions, the questions asked by the CBS News/New York Times poll was almost exactly the same as the questions asked during Korea and Vietnam. The effect of war support on the 2004 election results is very similar to the other questions. We may, therefore, have confidence in the continuity of the results presented in Table 6.1.

are to be believed, Bush paid a price for his position on the war while Humphrey was able to shrug off the very issue that drove Lyndon Johnson from office only six months earlier. How could it be that voters forgave Humphrey – Johnson's sitting Vice President – for an unpopular war?

It was not because Humphrey managed to distinguish himself from his erstwhile running mate. Analysis of data from the 1968 NES demonstrates that Humphrey was unable to shake the public's perception of his strong ties to the Johnson administration. In 1968, the NES asked respondents to evaluate 12 political figures on a "feeling thermometer scale" in the post-election poll. As Boyd (1972) notes, the correlations of respondent's feelings about Humphrey and Johnson were higher than any other pair of political figures – higher even than the pairing of Humphrey and his own Vice Presidential candidate, Edmund Muskie.[7] More importantly, Johnson and Humphrey were also tightly linked in the public mind on the question of policy concerning Vietnam. Page and Brody (1972) compare the public's placement of Humphrey, Johnson, and Nixon on the 7-point NES escalation/de-escalation scale described in Table 6.1. Page and Brody found that the public placed all three candidates quite closely together; the average respondent believed all three candidates stood just to the "escalate" side of the midpoint of the scale. Moreover, on average, Nixon and Johnson stood less than three one-hundredths of one point apart on the seven-point scale – the equivalent of one point on a 100-point scale. Humphrey stood approximately three-tenths of a point to the Dovish side of the other two men –

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[7] The correlation of the Johnson and Humphrey feeling thermometer measures was .71. By comparison, the correlation between the Humphrey feeling thermometer and that of Muskie – his vice-presidential candidate – was .59. By way of comparison, the correlation between Nixon and his Vice-Presidential candidate, Spiro Agnew, was also .59.

the equivalent of 5 points on a 100-point scale.[8] However, the similarity in the means of the three candidate placements obscures the closeness of the link between Johnson and Humphrey. Analysis of the 1968 data shows that Humphrey and Johnson's positions were correlated at 0.72, an order of magnitude higher than the 0.19 correlation between Johnson and Nixon.[9] Figure 6.1 charts the distribution of placements for Nixon, Johnson and Humphrey, further demonstrating the tight link between Humphrey and the president. In short, in the public mind, Humphrey and Johnson were viewed as nearly interchangeable candidates.[10]

INSERT FIGURE 6.1 ABOUT HERE

A close comparison of elections held during Vietnam raises further questions about the individual-level analysis presented in Table 6.1. In both 1968 and 1972, the incumbent Party was hurt by retrospective evaluations of the war. Opponents of the war were less likely to vote for Humphrey, the Democrat in 1968 and were less likely to vote for Nixon, the incumbent Republican president, in 1972 (though this effect was not statistically significant in 1968). However, the relationship between war disapproval and the vote was nearly three times as large in 1972 as it was in 1968. Moreover, the relationship between the 7-point escalation/de-escalation scale and the vote increased greatly from 1968 to 1972, seemingly providing further support for the assertion that the Vietnam War was an even more important issue in 1972 than it was in 1968. But such a conclusion seems at odds with a reasoned interpretation of the election results. Nixon’s margin of victory over McGovern in 1972 was much larger than his margin over his opponents in 1968. But if we believe the individual-level results, Vietnam should have been a greater drag on his vote in 1972. In 1972, after, it was Nixon who was hurt by those who disapproved of the war, not his Democratic opponent. Moreover the increased importance of the escalation/de-escalation scale in the 1972 election does not square with the election results. From 1968 to 1972, after all, the country as a whole moved in a more dovish direction; according to the NES data, the percentage of people who took a position of the de-escalation side of future policy scale increased from 30 percent to 45 percent over that time. In short, though the cross-sectional analysis indicates that Nixon was hurt by his position on the war, he won re-election by a landslide in 1972.

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[8] The mean placement for Johnson was 4.46, for Nixon 4.43, and for Humphrey 4.14.

[9] A similar relationship can be found on the "urban unrest" scale, indicating that respondents assumed that the political positions of Johnson and Humphrey were consistent across domestic as well as international issues.

[10] Equivalent measures do not exist in the 1952 study. However, responses to the open-ended candidates likes/dislikes question are suggestive. Among respondents who gave a reason for their decision to vote against Stevenson, 26 percent said they cast their vote because of his connection with Truman. That category was by far the highest single response, even greater than those who voted against Stevenson because he was a Democrat – 16 percent.

None of these observations are particularly novel. Previous scholars have uncovered each of the relationships described above. But, to date, these results have been considered in isolation, one election at a time. Compare, for example, Miller et al’s discussion of the 1972 election with Converse et al’s analysis of the 1968 election. To my knowledge, no scholar has considered together the war-time elections examined here. With the benefit of historical perspective, it is difficult to square the analysis of individual elections with larger electoral trends. In short, while one might be able to tell a plausible story about the magnitude of the regression coefficients on war support in any given election, the analysis obtained by examining individual elections does not make much sense when considered in combination.

Predicting Election Outcomes

The puzzle deepens further if we expand the scope of analysis to include election held during times of peace as well as those held during times of war. Over the last 30 years, a cottage industry has grown around statistical models designed to predict presidential election results.[11] These models typically use aggregate measures of economic and political fundamentals, like presidential approval and ideological positioning, to determine likely vote share. Almost all forecasting models predict election outcomes in least in part as a function of indicators of economic performance – such as changes in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or Real Disposable Income (RDI).[12] The most appropriate indicator of economic performance is a matter of heated debate. However, Bartels and Zaller (2001) test a variety of measures and find that the variable which best explains electoral outcomes is a measure of change in RDI, weighted by a factor that discounts past change in disposable income at an exponential rate – a measure first advanced by Hibbs (2000). Though other economic factors may have their virtues, at the very least, Hibbs' model seems to provide an adequate baseline for analysis.

INSERT FIGURE 6.2 ABOUT HERE

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[11] See, for instance, Abramowitz 1988; 1996, Campbell 2000, Fair 1978; 1988; 2002, Hibbs 2000, Hollbrook 1996; Lewis Beck and Tien 2000, Rosenstone 1983, Wlezien 2001, Wlezien and Erikson 2000; 2004.

[12] I focus here on economic variables because I wish to model election outcomes as a function of external events as a way of identifying the occurrence of deviant elections. Thus, I want to avoid including factors that might be endogenous to the process such as presidential approval. Put another way, to identify elections that are deviant results I take Hibbs to be correct when he argues that, "approval ratings and other poll readings of voter sentiments about the incumbent president, his party, candidates at elections, and so forth are logically inadmissible in behavioral models of voting" (2000, 171).

In Figure 6.2, I present the relationship between weighted change in RDI and the vote for the presidential candidate of the incumbent's party for the elections from 1952 to 2004.[13] The most striking feature of this figure is the disconnect between this analysis and the analysis presented in Table 6.1. While the individual-level analysis indicated that opinion concerning war exerted its greatest influence in the 2004 contest, Bush's vote total in that election falls almost precisely on the regression line, indicating that economic factors alone can explain the electoral outcome.[14] By contrast – and again at variance with the analysis in Table 6.1 – the incumbent party did much worse than one would expect based on economic performance in the 1952 and 1968 elections.[15]

The anomalous nature of the wartime elections of 1952 and 1968 is not simply a function of the particular specification employed by Hibbs. Using different measures of economic performance and other political variables, several scholars have noted the unique character of those contests. For instance, Rosenstone (1983) includes measure of support for the war for the

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[13] It should be noted that the estimate of the discount rate used to compute the weighted RDI in Figure 6.1 comes from a model which also includes casualty measures for the war years (Hibbs 2000; 2007). However, omitting the casualty variable (Hibbs 2000; Bartels and Zaller 2001) or removing the war elections of 1952 and 1968 from the sample (Hibbs 2000) results in a very similar estimate of the temporal discount term. For instance, the 95 percent confidence interval of the weighted RDI discount term overlaps the point estimate of the same model with the war dummy variable omitted (and vice-versa) (Bartels and Zaller 2001).

[14] The measure of change in RDI over the last two quarters advanced by Achen and Bartels also puts the 2004 election almost precisely on the regression line.

[15] In Hibbs' original analysis, which covered the elections from 1952 to 1996, the elections of 1968 and 1972 were the biggest outliers. If we exclude the two elections most directly touched by war – 1952 and 1968 – the weighted change in RDI predicts the election outcomes with near perfect precision.

1952 and 1968 elections to account for the under-performance of the incumbent party in those contests.[16] Bartels and Zaller (2001) find that a simple dummy variable for the war years of 1952 and 1968 improves the accuracy of vote predictions, regardless of which economic indicator they use to model the outcome of the election.[17] Thus it is clear from the aggregate analysis of electoral outcomes that the elections of 1952 and 1968 are different from the other elections in the post-World War II period. In both cases, the incumbent party did much worse than the measures of economic performance indicated they should.

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[16] Though they use different measures to account for the effects of wars, Rosenstone and Hibbs come to a common conclusion regarding the effects of those wars on presidential elections. Rosenstone finds that an increase of 10 percent in disapproval of the handling of war leads to a 1.6 percent decrease in the vote share of the incumbent party. Rosenstone estimates that Korea cost the Democrats 6 percent of the vote in 1952, while Vietnam cost the Democrats 8 percent in 1968. Hibbs uses cumulative casualties in 1952, 1964, 1968, and 1976 and estimates that the Democrats were disadvantaged by 11 percent in both 1952 and 1968 because of the ongoing wars.

[17] Specifically, Bartels and Zaller find that including a dummy variable marking the war years of 1952 and 1968 reduces the standard error of the regression relative to the model where just the economic indicator is used to predict the vote, for each of the following six economic indicators: (1) Percentage change in RDI per capita during the election year, (2) percentage change in RDI per capita in the 12 months prior to the election, (3) average percentage change in RDI per capita for the incumbent party's term, with temporal discounting, (4) Percentage change in GDP per capita during the election year, (5) percentage change in GDP per capita in the 12 months prior to the election, (6) average percentage change in GDP per capita for the incumbent party's term, with temporal discounting. It should be noted that Bartels and Zaller find a somewhat smaller effect for war than do Hibbs and Rosenstone. Specifically, they report model-averaged parameter estimate (where the parameters are combined across all 48 models they estimate using Bayesian model averaging) of -3.94 percent – roughly one half of the Hibbs estimate and one-third of the Rosenstone estimate. I believe their estimate is in part a function of the use of a variable measuring the number of terms the incumbent party has been in power, which should correct for some of the under-performance of the incumbent in 1952, given the fact that election was held following 20 years of uninterrupted Democratic rule.

The overall picture, then, is quite muddled. For those cases where the aggregate-level analysis shows that incumbent party was most hurt relative to baseline economic performance – 1952 and 1968 – the individual-level analysis show little or no effect of war. And the election where the individual-level analysis indicates that the war should most hurt the president's party – namely 2004 – is almost exactly predicted by economic performance. While the argument could be made that Bush did suffer a penalty for Iraq that was balanced by a gain for his performance after 9/11, it is difficult to advance a consistent story that plausibly explains the divergence of the individual-level and aggregate analysis across all the post-war elections. In sum, the individual-level analysis in Table 6.1 and the aggregate-level analysis in Figure 6.2 are difficult to square with one another

Elite Positioning and Electoral Outcomes

How then can we make sense of these seemingly anomalous findings? Examining a classic study of policy voting in the context of the analysis presented in Chapter 3 may provide some answers. While no previous scholar has compared the individual-level and aggregate-level analysis for the entire post World-War II election series, the 1968 presidential election has attracted some attention. This election poses a puzzle, not simply for studies of war and public opinion, but for scholars interested in investigating the impact of issues on the vote decision more generally. As Page and Brody note "Despite the unusually high salience of the Vietnam war in 1968, the conventional wisdom about American electoral politics remained true; policy preferences had little effect on the major-party vote (1972, 993-994).[18] In essence, Page and Brody identify the same problem underscored by the multi-election analysis presented in Table 6.1: opinions about the Vietnam War did not affect vote choice in 1968, where by all rights they should have played a large role.

Page and Brody's solution to this conundrum was to look at the position of the candidates on the conduct of war. As noted above, the average citizen saw almost no difference between the positions of Nixon and Humphrey on the war. Furthermore, the minority of voters who did see large differences between the candidates could not agree which candidate was a Hawk and which a Dove. This ambiguity in the public mind reflected the rhetoric of Nixon and Humphrey. Page and Brody analyzed the campaign speeches of the two candidates and concluded that there was indeed actually little difference between Nixon and Humphrey's stated positions on Vietnam policy. As they note, both candidates advocated "war as usual, with a rather gradual de-escalation of American effort if and when certain conditions were met. Members of the public were entirely justified in seeing Nixon and Humphrey as standing close together near the center of the Vietnam policy scale" (1972, 985).

The positions of Humphrey and Nixon were not anomalous; even by 1968 there was not much difference between the two parties on the war issue. In the mid-to-late 1960s, after all, the split over Vietnam emerged within the Democratic Party. As Chapter 3 demonstrated, though the public may have split along Hawk/Dove lines by 1968 (Zaller 1992), these lines were orthogonal to the political fault lines defined by partisanship. It is therefore not surprising that the predicted effect of war would pale in comparison to other factors in the context of the 1968 election. In the absence of any difference between the candidates on Vietnam, the estimate of the effect of the war on the vote would be small regardless of the true effect of the war on the election.

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[18] Similarly, Converse et al (1969) note that while 40 percent of the electorate cited the war in Vietnam as the most important problem facing the government in Washington, the choice between Nixon and Humphrey was decided above all on the grounds of party loyalty where "the central 1968 issues tend to give rather diminutive relationships" (1969, 1097).

This difficulty in interpreting cross-sectional coefficients as causal effects is akin to the problems involved in estimating the effect of the economy on electoral outcomes. Kramer's (1983) critique of the economic voting literature can inform our understanding of this relationship. Just as the observed cross-sectional correlation between vote choice and economic perceptions may best represent voters bringing their economic assessments in line with their political judgments, the causal arrow between vote and support for war may run from the later to the former, rather than vice-versa, as argued in the previous section. In war, as with the economy, people judge performance through the lens of their political predispositions. This is not to say that opinions on the war are exactly like economic evaluations – unlike aggregate evaluations in the economic realm, there is no "true answer" about whether a particular war is right or wrong. But because partisan predispositions can so heavily influence beliefs about war – as discussed in Chapter 3 – it is difficult to separate out the independent effect of war on candidate choice. Page and Brody's analysis concerning the 1968 election therefore provides the key insight for the analysis of the relationship between wartime opinion and election outcomes more generally. When the candidates agree on the future course of a war, the public will reflect this position. Consequently, the predicted effect of war on the vote will be small. When they disagree, however, the public will follow suit. The estimated effect of opinion about war on the vote will be large, not because evaluations of war determine vote choice, but because partisan leanings shape opinion on war. It is therefore difficult, if not impossible, to make any reasonable claims about the effect of war opinion on the vote from cross-sectional data.

This dynamic is further illustrated in the 1972 presidential election. By 1972, what had changed about Vietnam was not the true effect of the war on the election. Figure 6.1, after all, shows that Nixon did *better* than would be predicted by the performance of the economy. Instead what changed was the partisan structure of war support. It was not until after Nixon ascended to the presidency that a split emerged between Republicans and Democrats at the mass and elite levels (see Chapter 3). The increase in the magnitude of the relationship of attitudes towards the war and vote choice between 1968 and 1972 is a direct result of the polarizing effect of Nixon's presidency on attitudes toward the war

In Iraq, we can see an extreme realization of the types of changes that occurred from 1968 to 1972 over the Vietnam War. The unique circumstances of Bush's presidency – beginning with his contested win in the 2000 election – led to a partisan polarization of the electorate across a variety of issues, most notably, the Iraq war. As Jacobson (2008) notes, Bush was a divider, not a uniter. Iraq in 2004 appears to be a much more important issue in the election than Vietnam in 1968, not because it exerted a larger electoral impact, but because opinion was much more polarized along partisan lines in 2004 than it was in 1968.

These patterns – and the deficiency of cross-sectional studies – become apparent only by considering a wide scope of elections. The regression coefficients in the cross-sectional analysis presented in Table 6.1 do, however, have some meaning. While they might not measure the true effect of the war on election outcomes, they do seem to measure the degree of polarization on the war issue by the major party candidates. In elections with little or no elite polarization – the contests of 1952 and 1968 – the individual-level analysis show little effect of war on the vote. By contrast, in those cases where elite opinion and candidate positions were more polarized – the elections of 1972 and 2004 – war appears to exert a large effect on candidate choice.[19] Therefore for the elections analyzed in Table 6.1, any apparent effect of war has more to do with the nature of elite positioning and the relative polarization of the electorate on war than it does with any real effect of war on the vote.

Retrospective Evaluations

Though the cross-sectional analysis in Table 6.1 may not inform our understanding of the effect of opinion concerning war on the vote, it is important to recognize that, under certain circumstances, war may play a role in determining collective electoral choice. Just as a downturn in the economy could hurt an incumbent – even if members of his party continue to support him – change in war success might negatively impact a sitting president. However, given the importance of partisanship and elite leadership on opinions concerning war, any effects of war will be apparent at only the aggregate level. As Figure 6.2 demonstrates, it appears that the Democratic candidates were hurt by war in 1952 and 1968, simply because they shared the same political party as the incumbent president. Applying Kramer's (1983) critique of the economic voting literature to studies of public opinion concerning war indicates that cross-sectional analysis of individual elections may obscure the true effect of war opinion on the vote. Only over-time analysis of voting trends can control for the impact of partisan influence on policy evaluations in any single election. Thus, while the Feaver, Gelpi, and Reifler cross-sectional perspective on the effects of war success may be flawed – as discussed in Chapter 3 – their over-time perspective, which can incorporate changes in the central tendencies of media and political figures, can be quite informative. Success – or more precisely the absence of success – can matter in elections.

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[19] The tension between these two statements is evident in some academic work published on this topic. For instance Klinkner (2006) spends the first half of his paper arguing that attitudes about the Iraq war were central to explaining Bush's victory in the 2004 election and the second half of the same paper arguing that those opinions were "shaped largely by opinions of its chief architect – George W. Bush." (p. 295). In case where opinion is elite led – especially on this, the most polarizing war in the history of poling – it is extremely difficult to peal apart the causal pathways with cross-sectional data.

But just because voters collectively act to punish incumbents for past failings does not mean that they behave “rationally” even in the aggregate. The particular retrospective framework advanced by Achen and Bartels (2002) is especially enlightening. Achen and Bartels take issue with the common notions of retrospective voting. In these authors’ view, citizens are not logical or calculating. When casting their ballots, voters focus on short-term developments divorced from the larger meaning imparted by a longer time horizon. At times this retrospective behavior is akin to a knee-jerk reaction without the benefit of perspective. Citizens punish leaders for bad news, whatever its source. Achen and Bartels find that bad economic times could cause citizens to vote against incumbents. But they also find that floods and shark attacks can lead the electorate to punish those in power. From this perspective, any retrospective effects of war on election outcomes should not be taken as a sign of a deep rationality. Once the media provides the signal that a war is not progressing well – especially if they are indexing the judgments of professional politicians – the electorate can just as easily turn against the incumbent as they would in the wake of an uptick in shark attacks or a spell of bad weather.

Patterns of Influence: Elite Leadership and Electoral Advantage

The analysis of voting patterns over the last 50 years presented in Figure 6.2 indicates that Presidents may suffer consequences at the polls for wars that do not go well, but might they also gain electoral support for successful military efforts? From Achen and Bartels’ perspective, leaders should not expect to get rewarded for such endeavors; in their view, after all, voters can only punish incumbents for poor performance. Not all scholars, however, agree with this position. Whether or not incumbents get rewarded for success remains a somewhat open question. There is, in fact, a large body of work in International Relations which implicitly argues that leaders in democracies can gain from international interventions. Diversionary war theory holds that leaders may respond to unfavorable domestic circumstances by pursuing interventions abroad. Presidents, in essence, may distract the public from "bad times" with a good war.[20] The empirical foundation for this theory is, however, rather weak. For instance, while Chiozza and Goemans (2004) find that winning a war can extend the tenure of political leaders in some regimes, victory has no effect on the electoral fortunes of leaders in democracies.[21] One reason for the thin record of support may be found in the same balance of domestic political forces discussed in Chapter 3. Arena (2007) finds that the electoral gain for the incumbent party from a successful war is predicated on the behavior of the domestic political opposition. Incumbent leaders can gain at the polls only when they initiate wars that are ultimately successful *and* when the political opposition expresses resistance to that conflict. Given the strategic incentives for political leaders from both sides of the aisle, it is not surprising that this set of circumstances almost never occurs. Arena finds that the out-party did not oppose or even criticize any war that ended in victory in any election since World War II in the U.S., The United Kingdom, Israel, or India. Thus, in line with the expectation of Achen and Bartels, it seems there is little direct gain to incumbents to be had from favorable performance in war.

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[20] Many scholars in the Realist tradition, on the other hand, argue that domestic politics do not influence foreign policy.

[21] For a thorough review of existing studies, see Levy (1989).

But this is not to say that incumbency is without its advantages. The long literature on rally effects in the approval ratings of politicians, after all, suggests otherwise. However, it could be that the very dynamics of war, rather than the particular circumstances of a given war, create situations that benefit incumbents. In the last chapter I discussed how war can create conditions of threat and fear in a society that lead individuals to cede authority to the state. Merolla, Ramos, and Zechmeister (2007a, 2007b) demonstrate that conditions of crisis such as war may also change the dynamics of elections. Specifically, Merolla and her colleagues argue that crises heighten the persistence and effects of charismatic political leadership. Using experimental data they find that during these times "citizens focus attention on strong leaders, projecting additional leadership qualities onto likely candidates and perceiving differences in candidate's leadership capabilities in starker terms" (2007b, 1). Moreover, they find that citizens place greater weight on leadership traits in their voting decisions during crises. This dynamic is not simply an effect of war in and of itself. It is the persistence of a crisis – be it of domestic or foreign origin – that stimulates the salience of leadership judgments.[22] When a crisis is externally provoked, incumbent leaders are the most likely beneficiary of the heightened perceptions of charisma (Merolla et al, 2007a). Thus while leaders may be punished for events outside of their control – as Achen and Bartels aptly note – incumbent leaders may also achieve an electoral gain for crisis events both because the public views incumbents as better leaders and because those leadership qualities have a larger impact on vote choice than they would at other times.

INSERT FIGURE 6.3 ABOUT HERE

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[22] For instance, Merolla et al (2007a) point to examples, such as Peron in Argentina, where charismatic leaders were able to trade on domestic crises.

George W. Bush and the War on Terror

The 2000 to 2004 election cycle seems to bear out the findings of Merolla and her colleagues in the context of the "War on Terror." It is apparent that these three elections were held under very different circumstances. Figure 6.3 presents over time public opinion data for two questions directly related to levels of perceived threat in the public at large: (1) the percentage of respondents who said they were "very worried" about a future terrorist attack and (2) the percent who said they believed a terrorist attack was "very likely." I present both the individual data points and a smoothed trend line for these two series.[23] Though the two questions do not move in lockstep, some common trends can be found. [24] In the immediate months after September 11, the percentage of people who were "very worried" and thought that another attack was "very likely" dipped downward sharply. However, levels of fear remained fairly high through the end of 2002. The 2002 election therefore took place in an environment of elevated threat. The "very likely" series continued its downward trend through 2003 and 2004. The "very worried" series followed suit beginning in mid-2003. Thus, levels of threat were much lower in 2004 than they were in 2002. Though levels of threat trended upward in mid-2005 – perhaps reflected elevated coverage of terrorism in the wake of the London bombing in July of that year

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[23] In this chart, I follow the analytic strategy advanced by Jacobson (2008) and combine many polls from several organizations, each using slightly different question wordings. It should be noted that the different individual sub-series trend together, as expected. To generate the trend lines, I employed a lowess smoothing algorithm with a bandwidth of 0.2.

[24] It is not possible to compute a correlation for the two series because no organization asked about both the likelihood of an attack and how worried people were about an attack. If we interpolate the missing data with a linear trend, the correlation is 0.63.

– by the fall of 2006, the “very worried” series tended to its lowest levels of the time series and the “very likely” series continued to stand below its 2002 level.[25]

INSERT FIGURES 6.4-6.6 ABOUT HERE

To determine whether individual-level reactions to these tends conformed to the expectations of Meriolla and her colleagues, I examine data concerning support for President Bush from the National Elections Study from 2000 to 2004. These studies were part of a panel design, so it is possible to look at the same individuals over the entire election series. Figure 6.4 presents mean respondent evaluation of Bush, as reflected in his feeling thermometer scores.[26] As expected, positive evaluations of Bush rose from 2000 to 2002, before dropping off in 2004. The source of this surge and decline can be found in perceptions of Bush’s abilities, as Merolla et al. would predict. Figure 6.5 demonstrates that ratings of Bush’s leadership indeed rose from 2000 to 2002 before declining in 2004, as perceptions of threat receded.[27] Moreover, as Merolla et al. also predict, much of the rally to Bush can be explained by the dynamics of leadership. Figure 6.6 presents the regression coefficient for leadership evaluations on feeling thermometer scores, controlling for the partisanship and demographic characteristics of the respondents.[28] The figure demonstrates that, as predicted, the relationship between the two quantities strengthened from 2000 to 2002 and remained steady through 2004.[29] Together these results suggest that the increased levels of threat in 2002 did give Bush – and, by extension, Bush's party – an electoral boost. While the effect of leadership on Bush feeling thermometer levels was same in 2004 as in 2002, the mean level of leadership declined over time, to levels similar to those found in 2000, thereby accounting for some dissipation of the rally.[30] Though similar data do not exist for 2006, Figure 6.3 suggests that a further decline in levels of threat after 2004 may have continued the dissipation of Bush's rally.

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[25] Though the trend on the “very likely” question is upward at the end of the series, it is impossible to say whether it is a brief anomaly, like the rise in threat in mid-2005, or a more permanent change in the direction of the series.

[26] These trends remain stable even if I adjust the trend for interpersonal differences in the use of thermometer scores. I computed these trends by subtracting off the mean thermometer score across six balanced groups, following procedures outlined in Winter and Berinsky (1999).

[27] This upward trend held for both Republicans and Democrats.

[28] I also control for the mean feeling thermometer. Specifically, I regress Bush’s feeling thermometer score on party identification (measured in 2000), gender, and race. The full results are presented in the appendix.

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[29] The same pattern holds if I compare the relationship between Bush leadership scores and vote choice; from 2000 to 2004, there was a large increase in the impact of leadership on support for Bush. It should be noted that the panel structure of the data allows for the examination of more complicated causal paths. In additional analysis, I used lagged values of the independent variables in place of the contemporaneous measures. Given that the argument here is that the meaning of leadership changed from 200 to 2004, such analysis is not especially telling. In any case, when I ran this analysis, the coefficient for the leadership scores increased in both 2002 and 2004, but the difference between the effect in those years remained stable.

[30] I also assessed the effects of panel attrition on my results. Bush opponents dropped out at higher rates than did Bush supporters from 2000 to 2004, perhaps in part because panel attrition is most likely to affect respondents of low socio-economic status (Bartels 2000). While conducting the analysis only for those respondents who were in all three waves, might ensure a disproportionately pro-Bush sample, this fact should not effect the trends presented here. In any case, the same basic pattern of results holds if I use the full samples – both panel respondents and new cross-sectional respondents – in all years rather than restricting myself to the panel participants.

Elections during WWII

The dynamics of threat and leadership seem to account for the rally to Bush in post-9/11 America, both in the laboratory (Merolla et al 2007a, 2007b) and in the observational data reported here. These dynamics may also account for rallies to FDR during the World War II period. While the polls from this time do not contain the leadership measures necessary to fully explore the casual claims advanced by Merolla et al, available survey data suggest that even before U.S. entry into the war, the change in political climate caused by war helped FDR's political fortunes. If the polls are to be believed, the mere threat of war returned FDR to office for an unprecedented length of tenure.

Just after the outbreak of the Second World War, Gallup in September 1939, twice asked if respondents would vote for FDR for a third term under two different conditions: (1) if the war was ongoing and (2) if the war was over (see Table 6.2). In both cases, the polls indicated that FDR would receive a majority of support if war continued through the 1940 election and would loose decisively if the war ended. FDR's shifting fortunes were the sole result of defections from FDR; almost no supporters of the Republican candidate switched their vote between the two scenarios.

INSERT TABLE 6.2 ABOUT HERE

Prior to the 1944 election, a variety of polling organizations – namely Roper, Gallup and OPOR – repeated a similar exercise. In early 1944 both Gallup and OPOR asked a question similar in form to the one asked by Gallup in 1939, with the additional scenario of electoral choice under the condition that "the end of war was clearly in sight." As in 1939, the end of the war appeared to signal electoral defeat for FDR (see Table 6.3). These results are not limited to the early electoral season. Beginning in 1943 and continuing through the end of 1944, Roper asked respondents about their voting intentions five times (see Table 6.3). In every case the polls predicted that FDR would win if the war continued, and would loose handily if the war was over in both Europe and the Pacific theaters. In the event that only the war in Europe was over, the race between FDR and his (sometimes unnamed) Republican opponent would be tight under conditions of an ongoing conflict. While it is not possible to directly attribute these results to an increase in the public's attribution of leadership qualities to FDR, it is clear that the war changed how respondents thought about the Presidential elections in 1940 and 1944 – or, at the very least, how they thought they might think about their choices in those contests.

INSERT TABLE 6.3 ABOUT HERE

What is especially interesting from a historical perspective is that FDR himself appears to have known about these dynamics. Casey (2001) reports that Cantril kept the president informed of the close relationship between the fortunes of war and FDR's reelection campaign in 1944. Cantril specifically warned FDR that if the American people became convinced that that the war would be over before Election Day, they would vote against the Democratic candidate. According to Casey, the White house asked Cantril to keep the data away from both Gallup and the press. Furthermore, FDR went on a public relations offensive to make case that war would not be over before 1945. Setting aside the fact that Gallup himself conducted similar polls – reported in Table 6.3 and 6.4 (below) – not to mention the fact that this very same information was regularly printed in *Fortune Magazine*, it seems that the polls may have changed FDR's electoral strategy.

That said, the results presented in Tables 6.2 and 6.3 should be taken with a grain of salt. After all, these surveys asked respondents to assess their likely behavior in a hypothetical situation. Whether they would actually behave that way in the event of peace is a matter of conjecture. However, the face validity of these results is bolstered by two additional pieces of evidence .

First, a survey experiment conducted by Gallup provides evidence that the results do not merely reflect respondents' attempts to adjust their vote choice to the expectations of the question. Pollsters typically asked each respondent how they would behave across a variety of different scenarios. Research on the question-answering process suggests that respondents who were first asked if they would vote for FDR in the event of an ongoing war might see no other choice but to adjust their likelihood downward in the event of a termination of hostilities. In effect, the within subject design used by the pollsters may have determined the pattern of results found in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. However, in 1943, Gallup ran an experiment where he randomly asked one-half the sample if they would support FDR if the war were ongoing and the other half how they would vote if the "war was over soon." We can compare the effect of this between-subjects design to the within-subject design employed in the surveys reported in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. As Table 6.4 demonstrates, the estimate of the effect – about six percentage points – is roughly the same for the comparable question asked by Gallup one year earlier.

INSERT TABLES 6.4-6.5 ABOUT HERE

The second piece of evidence concerns the face validity of the results presented in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. The Roper October 1944 survey had, in addition to the hypothetical war scenario, an item that essentially serves as a four-point scale measuring support for FDR.[31] A cross-tabulation of the two questions demonstrates that the ongoing war held weak identifiers in FDR's camp; it was those respondents with loosely held beliefs who shifted their votes among the different scenarios. Specifically, while Dewey and FDR held their strong supporters at roughly equal rates under the two scenarios. However, weak FDR supporters were much more likely to change their vote under the scenario where the war was over than were weak Dewey supporters (see Table 6.5).

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[31] The four response options were:

All told, the evidence suggests that FDR's reelection efforts were helped by the ongoing hostilities in the European and Pacific theaters. Perhaps we can learn more by looking across the Atlantic to the election held in England in the wake of V - E Day – one in which Churchill, the victorious British Prime Minister, was unceremoniously dumped from office.

The British General Election of 1945

The 1945 United Kingdom General Election was highly unusual in that it was the first contest to be held in England in almost 10 years. In 1935, the Conservative Party lost a large number of seats, but still held nearly two times as many seats as all other parties in Parliament combined. The outbreak of WWII interrupted the normal election cycle. In September 1939, all major parties in the House of Commons agreed to an electoral truce; according to this policy, when a by-election took place, the party whose member had vacated the seat had the right to nominate a candidate without opposition from the other parties who were part of the agreement (Pelling 399). In essence, World War II froze the political landscape in the United Kingdom.

With the end of the war, this six year period of political stability ended. On May 23, 1945, Churchill announced the termination of the coalition government and plans for the dissolution of Parliament in June to be followed by a general election in July. After a hard-fought but swift campaign, the election results were announced on July 26, 1945. The Labour Party easily won, with 393 seats to the Conservative Party's 213. That same day, Churchill resigned as Prime Minister and the Labour Party formed a new government under the leadership of Clement

Attlee. Ironically – but consistent with the expectations of Arena and Achen and Bartels – Churchill's reward for winning the Second World War was a quick route to the exit door.

Why did the conservatives loose the 1945 election? Different scholars have arrived at distinct answers to this question. Ball (2003) argues that the Conservative campaign was poorly planned and failed to take into account the public's concern for domestic issues. Cole (1948) argues that Churchill's behavior during the campaign ensured his defeat. Atlee himself attributed his party's win to Churchill's strategic mistakes and the effectiveness of Labour's radio-based campaign. As Franklin and Ladner (1995) note, these accounts of the election outcome share in common the proposition that Labour's surprise win came about because of the nature of the campaign. Furthermore, if we are to believe the World War II-era data presented above concerning FDR's electoral prospects, perhaps the war was the only thing that could have kept Churchill in power. However, a closer examination of the survey data from this election illustrates many of the themes of this book. The outcome of the British general election of 1945 had little to do with the war. Instead, it reflected the return to the politics of peacetime, focused on the longstanding cleavages in British society.

The Conservative loss in the election may have been shocking, but it should not have been a surprise; the turning fortunes of the party were apparent in polls taken by the British Institute of Public Opinion (BIPO) more than two years earlier. As Figure 6.6 demonstrates, in June, 1943. Labour held an 8 point lead over the Conservatives in the polls.[32] Though Labour's lead over the Conservatives fluctuated over the course of the campaign, rising to 20 points in February 1945, and declining to 6 points on the eve of the election, in every survey on – nine polls in all – Labour held a significant lead over the Conservatives.

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[32] Specifically, respondents were asked, "If there was a general election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?" The opinion polls presented in Figure 6.5 are drawn from King (2001). These polls were conducted using face-to-face interviews and samples were drawn using quota-sampling methods. Many of these individual-level polls have been lost to time. Moreover, unlike the U.S. public opinion data presented in this book, even for those polls for which we have

INSERT FIGURE 6.6 ABOUT HERE

What might have surprised commentators about the election results was the overwhelming support for Churchill in the same polls. Between June 1943 and May 1945 the BIPO asked whether the public approved of the Prime Minister a total of 14 times. These readings ranged from 81 percent to 93 percent approval with an average approval rating of 88 percent.

These warm feelings for Churchill did not, however, extend to that of his party. This fact is apparent not only in the aggregate results reported in Figure 6.6, but also in individual-level analysis of the polls. The June 1943 poll is the only existing individual-level survey that contains measures of both approval and Labour party support. Though, not surprisingly, support for the Labour party was higher among those respondents who disapproved of Churchill than those who approved of the Prime Minister, the differences between the two groups were not large. Labour had the support of 42 percent of citizens who disapproved of Churchill, compared with 37 percent of those who approved of the Prime Minister. Moreover Labour received a plurality of all votes among those respondents who approved of Churchill; even in this group, the Labour Party led the Conservative Party by a margin of 37 percent to 27 percent.

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individual-level data we do not have detailed records of the sampling procedure or the census data which permit corrections for sample biases. The data presented here should therefore be taken with a grain of salt. Still, for the purposes of this book, these data are useful for tracking trends over time and examining cross tabulations of relationships between variables.

The disjuncture between Conservative Party support and Churchill approval lies in the presence or absence of class-based cleavages. In the June 1943 poll, The Conservatives led Labour 50 percent to 11 percent among those of “above average” income level. Among those with less than average income, Labour led the Conservatives by a margin of 43 percent to 21 percent. BIPO polling suggests that, if anything, this class-based cleavage widened by Election Day. In the first post-election polls, conducted in July 1945, among respondents with above-average income, Conservative led Labour 69 percent to 10 percent. Among lower income respondents, Labour led 50 percent to 22 percent. By contrast, there were almost no class-based differences on measures of Churchill approval . Returning to the June 1943 poll, Churchill’s approval level stood above 90 percent for all income groups (see Table 6.6). In fact, across all four polls from June 1943 to March 1944 for which individual-level data exists, the average difference between the two groups was only four percentage points.

INSERT TABLE 6.6 ABOUT HERE

The 1945 election was decided therefore not on personality, but the resurgence of class-based politics after a period where the inter-party compromise of 1939 obscured large changes in the partisan identities of the citizens of the United Kingdom. Franklin and Ladner (1995) argue that from 1935 until 1945, a new generation of voters – those who had been socialized into Labour affiliation – came into the electorate, sweeping the Conservatives from power.[33] The

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[33] The reasons for these changes are twofold. First, a large new group of voters entered the electorate; and second, these voters were the first to have had any significant chance of growing up in a Labour household. Whereas in previous elections the Labour Party had to rely on the conversion of existing voters, in 1945 it was finally able to enjoy the same benefits of other established parties, and gain voters who supported Labour by inheritance. Second, a significant number of older voters passed away in the years between the last election in 1935 and the one in

English people may have loved Churchill, but his co-partisans could not escape the realities of the new political landscape.

One puzzle remains. If Figure 6.6 is to be believed, it appears that – contrary to the expectations of Arena and Achen and Bartels – the Conservatives may have achieved an electoral gain from wining the war in June of 1945, a fact obscured by the Conservative loss in the election. Conservative party support, after all, rose almost ten points in the last month of the campaign. However, it is important not to read too much into this apparent rally. For one, this gain came at the expense of the Liberal party, not the more electorally potent Labour Party; Labour support remained steady across this entire period. In addition, an alternative explanation for the jump in Conservative support might have some currency. Table 6.6 demonstrates that from June 1943 to July 1945, lower class support for the Conservative party remained steady, but upper class support for the Conservatives increased by almost 20 percent. The jump in support for conservatives among high income respondents is, in fact, greater than the increase in support for Labour among low income respondents. Perhaps the end of the electoral campaign facilitated a rally to the conservatives from their core supporters as citizens began to tie their votes more firmly to their political predilections (Gellman and King 1993). All told, these polls suggest that – apparently unlike the U.S. – the war and its termination did not alter the base of the electoral support of the ruling party.

Of course the analysis of the English data is not fully comparable to the American data reported elsewhere in this chapter. For one, we need to account for the special issues arising from the parliamentary system of government in the United Kingdom. If Churchill's electoral fortunes

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1945. Twenty percent of the electorate in 1945 was too young to have voted in a previous election, yet the electorate had increased in size by only 5 percent since 1935. This implies that about 15 percent of those who had voted in 1935 were not members of the electorate in 1945.

were not tied to those of his party, would he have won the election? From one perspective, it seems almost unimaginable. How, after all, could a politician with an approval rating of over 80 percent lose at the polls? However, as with the question about the vote for FDR during war discussed in the last section, this is a hypothetical question that can not be answered. For one, approval ratings are not interchangeable with margins of electoral victory.. For instance, FDR's approval rating during this same period in the United States exceeded his electoral support by a substantial margin. In addition, Churchill's support lay on different foundations than that of his party. If forced to balance the Prime Minister and his party, there is no telling what choice the British people would have made. In any event, the data clearly show that whatever the personal gain to a politician from war, even the strongest and best respected candidate cannot escape the vagaries of domestic politics. Whether Churchill's tenure came to an end because – like FDR – the electorate was ready to vote him out with the cessation of hostilities or—more likely – because the end of the electoral truce of 1939 revealed a change in the electoral landscape, the fact remains that success at war did not translate in to success at the polls.

Conclusion

Almost all studies of elections during wartime are single election studies. We need muti-election studies; there the correct story will emerge.

Chapter 7:
Conclusions

To Come.

TABLE 1.1:
THE GENDER GAP

Roper, August 1939

	Gender Gap
Tend to Own Business	5%
No question so important that US should risk war	12%
Don’t allow England/France buy Food	8%
Don’t allow England/France buy war supplies	21%
Don’t send Army and Navy Abroad to Help	6%

Cell entries are the difference between the percentage of women choosing an isolationist response and the percentage of men choosing an isolationist response. Positive numbers indicate that women are more opposed to international involvement then are men.

TABLE 2.1:
PREDICTED PROBABILITY OF CAUSALITY ESTIMATES

	Pr (Underestimate)	Pr (Correct Answer)	Pr (Overestimate)
Partisanship			
Strong Republican	0.48	0.44	0.08
Strong Democrat	0.35	0.54	0.12
Difference	*-0.13*	*+0.10*	*+0.04*
Information			
Low Information	0.51	0.31	0.18
High Information	0.36	0.56	0.07
Difference	*-0.15*	*+0.25*	*-0.11*

TABLE 2.2:
EFFECT OF INFORMATION TREATMENT ON SUPPORT FOR WAR IN IRAQ

AMONG UNDER-ESTIMATORS

Did The U.S. Make The Right Decision in Using Military Force against Iraq?

	U.S. Made Right Decision
Estimate War Deaths Condition	52%
Corrected Information Condition	56%

N=252; $\chi^2(1)=0.40$ Pr=0.53

Has The Current War in Iraq Been Worth Fighting?

	Worth Fighting
Estimate War Deaths Condition	42%
Corrected Information Condition	47%

N=253; $\chi^2(1)=0.71$ Pr=0.40

AMONG OVER-ESTIMATORS

Did The U.S. Make The Right Decision in Using Military Force against Iraq?

	U.S. Made Right Decision
Estimate War Deaths Condition	58%
Corrected Information Condition	58%

N=57; $\chi^2(1)=0.00$ Pr=0.95

Has The Current War in Iraq Been Worth Fighting?

	Worth Fighting
Estimate War Deaths Condition	42%
Corrected Information Condition	48%

N=57$\chi^2(1)=0.26$ Pr=0.61

TABLE 2.3:
EFFECT OF WAR INFORMATION ON SUPPORT FOR WAR IN IRAQ

Has The Current War in Iraq Been Worth Fighting?

	U.S. Made Right Decision
Baseline	40%
Standard Survey	42
Many Soldiers Died	43
2,000 Soldiers Died	41
U.S. Spend A lot of Money	40
U.S. Spend $200 Billion	37

N=1168; $\chi^2(10)=9.48$ Pr=0.49

TABLE 3.1:
2006 KOREA EXPERIMENT

Casualty Treatment

	Low Casualty Estimate	High Casualty Estimate
Independent	+.10	+.02
Republicans	-.08	-.12**
Democrats	+.05	+.00

PPO Treatment (relative to Internal Policy Change PPO)

	Foreign Policy Restraint PPO
Independent	+.11*
Republicans	+.04*
Democrats	+.11**

Partisan Cues Treatment

	Unified Opposition	Unified Support	D Support/ R Oppose	R Support/ D Oppose
Independent	-.04	.00	-.04	-.02
Republicans	-.07*	+.13**	-.01	+.13**
Democrats	-.14**	+.04	-.02	-.05*

TABLE 4.1:
NES 1986: DETERMINANTS OF SUPPORT FOR SANCTIONS

Effect of moving from minimum value to maximum value on probability of supporting sanctions (conditioning on answering the sanctions question)

Variable	Minimum Value	Maximum Value	Effect
Black	0.45	0.63	0.18
Feeling Thermometer Toward Blacks	0.20	0.67	0.47

All values have been set to the mean except for categorical variables, which have been set to their mode.

TABLE 4.2:
THE POWER OF ETHNIC ATTACHMENTS, PRE-AMERICAN ENTRY INTO WWII

POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING

Date	U.S. Born Parents	Allied Parents	Axis Parent
England is Winning the War			
January 28, 1941	.30	.38	.21
England will Win the War if No Other Countries Enter			
March 12, 1941	.58	.68	.42
If England Looses, Germany and Italy Will Start a War			
March 12, 1941	.61	.70	.37
If Germany Wins, I Will Be As Free As I Am Now			
March 12, 1941	.36	.38	.53
If Germany Wins, They Will Control Trade			
March 12, 1941	.17	.20	.12
England Will Win The War			
March 28, 1941	.83	.91	.68
Italy and Germany Will Start a War within 10 Years			
March 28, 1941	.67	.71	.43

Note: The model respondent is a rural resident of the Midwest a housewife, a student, or retired, who is of “average” class and has some high school education. The results do not change significantly if other model respondent profiles are used.

TABLE 4.2 (CONTINUED):

EUROPEAN THEATER

Date	U.S. Born Parents	Allied Parents	Axis Parent
Help England vs. Stay Out			
January 28, 1941	.56	.74	.30
March 12, 1941	.62	.70	.30
March 28, 1941	.74	.79	.47
Defeat Germany vs. Stay Out			
January 28, 1941	.52	.61	.36
Willing to Fight in Europe if U.S. Gets Involved?			
March 12, 1941	.46	.53	.32
Vote to Go to War?			
January 28, 1941	.10	.14	.05
Favor War if Convoy is Sunk?			
January 28, 1941	.17	.20	.12

Note: The model respondent is a rural resident of the Midwest a housewife, a student, or retired, who is of "average" class and has some high school education. The results do not change significantly if other model respondent profiles are used.

TABLE 4.2 (CONTINUED):

PROXIMATE QUESTIONS

Date	U.S. Born Parents	Allied Parents	Axis Parent
Should The U.S. Fight Preemptive Wars?			
March 12, 1941	.51	.58	.33
U.S. Should Risk War to Keep Japan Down			
March 28, 1941	.56	.63	.50
Defend Latin America if Attacked by European Power?			
March 28, 1941	.75	.77	.69

Note: The model respondent is a rural resident of the Midwest a housewife, a student, or retired, who is of "average" class and has some high school education. The results do not change significantly if other model respondent profiles are used.

TABLE 4.3:
THE DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUP ATTACHMENTS AND HOSTILITY

Roper August 1939

Of the people now in the U.S. who were born in foreign countries, which nationality would you say has made the best citizens? Which the worst?

	Best:
1. Germans:	13%
2. English:	10%
3. Irish:	6%
4. Scandinavians:	5%
5. Swedes:	4%
Other Group:	13%
Don’t Know/Good and Bad in All Groups:	49%

	Worst:
1. Italians:	22%
2. Jews:	6%
3. Germans:	4%
4. Sicilians:	3%
5. Japanese:	2%
Other Group:	8%
Don’t Know/Good and Bad in All Groups:	55%

TABLE 4.4:
THE POWER OF ETHNIC ATTACHMENTS AND ANIMOSITIES: GROUP ATTACHMENT AND ENMITY EFFECTS

Roper, August 1939

	Tend to Own Business	No question so important that US should risk war	Don't allow England/France buy Food
English Best	-.07	-.05	-.02
Germans Best	.00	-.03	.00
Italians Best	.02	-.02	.02
Germans Worst	-.01	-.02	-.02
Italians Worst	-.01	-.02	-.02
Restrict Rights of Jews in America†	.01	.05	.03

	Don't allow England/France buy war supplies	Don't send Army and Navy Abroad to Help
English Best	-.05	-.13
Germans Best	.02	.06
Italians Best	.05	.06
Germans Worst	-.03	-.11
Italians Worst	-.06	-.05
Restrict Rights of Jews in America†	.03	.03

†=Rejecting the statement "In the United States the Jews have the same standing as any other people, and they should be treated in all ways exactly as any other Americans"

Cell entries are the Effect of giving a particular response to the likes/dislikes question on the probability of choosing an isolationist response

Note: The model respondent is a female lower-middle class resident of New England on a rural farm who is a housewife, a student, or retired who expresses tolerance for Jews and states no like or dislike of any particular ethnic group. The results do not change significantly if other model respondent profiles are used.

TABLE 6.1:
EFFECT OF OPPOSITION TO WAR ON THE VOTE FOR INCUMBENT PARTY CANDIDATE

	Retrospective Performance	**Prospective Policy**	
		Withdrawal vs. Status Quo	*Escalation/De-Escalation Scale*
Korean War			
1952 NES	-.08* [a]	-.04 [f]	
Vietnam War			
1968 NES	-.07 [a]	-.12* [g]	+.18* [j]
1972 NES	-.20* [a]		-.51* [j]
Iraq War			
2004 CBS NEWS	-.56* [b]		
2004 NES	-.56* [c]		
2004 PEW	-.52* [d]	-.33* [h]	
2004 ABC News	-.67* [e]	-.34* [i]	

Table 6.1 Legend

[a] "Do you think we did the right thing in getting into the fighting in (Korea two years ago/Vietnam) or should we have stayed out?

[b] "Do you think we did the right thing in taking military action against Iraq or should we have stayed out?"

[c] "Taking everything into account, do you think the war in Iraq has been worth the cost or not?"

[d] "Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?"

[e] "All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not?"

[f] "Which of the following things do you think it would be best for us to do now in Korea? Pull out of Korea entirely, keep on trying to get a peaceful settlement, or take a stronger stand and bomb Manchuria and China?"

[g] "Which of the following do you think we should do now in Vietnam? Pull out of Vietnam entirely, keep our soldiers in Vietnam but try to end the fighting, or take a stronger stand even if it means invading?"

[h] "Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

[i] "Do you think the United States should keep its military forces in Iraq until civil order is restored there, even if that means continued U.S. military casualties, or do you think the United States should withdraw its military forces from Iraq in order to avoid further U.S. military casualties, even if that means civil order is not restored there?"

[j] "There is much talk about "hawks" and "doves" in connection with Vietnam, and considerable disagreement as to what action the United States should take in Vietnam. Some people think we should do everything necessary to win a complete military victory, no matter what results. Some people think we should withdraw completely from Vietnam right now, no matter what results. And, of course, other people have opinions somewhere between these two extreme positions. Suppose the people who support an immediate withdrawal are at one end of this scale at point number 1. And suppose the people who support a complete military victory are at the other end of the scale at point number 7. At what point on the scale would you place yourself?"

TABLE 6.2:
EFFECT OF WAR ON VOTE FOR FDR IN 1940 ELECTION, GALLUP DATA

Vote FDR A Third Term?

	September 18, 1939	**September 26, 1939**
War Ongoing	52.8%	54.6%
War Over	44.7	46.8%

TABLE 6.3:
EFFECT OF WAR ON VOTE FOR FDR IN THE 1944 ELECTION

Gallup and OPOR

Vote for FDR if…	**OPOR March 1944**	**Gallup April 1944**
War Ongoing	55%	51%
End of War Clearly in Sight	45	45
War Over	35	35

Roper

Vote for FDR if…	**March 1943**	**February 1944**	**April 1944**	**June 1944**	**October 1944**
War Ongoing	65%	58%	55%	55%	50%
European War Over		53	51	50	45
European and Pacific War Over	33	44	44	42	

TABLE 6.4:
ESTIMATE OF EFFECT OF WAR ON VOTE FOR FDR IN THE 1944 ELECTION

Between-Subject Comparison
(questions on different forms)

	Gallup May 1943
War Ongoing	58%
War Over Soon	52

Within-Subject Comparison
(questions asked sequentially)

	Gallup April 1944
War Ongoing	51%
End of War Clearly in Sight	45

TABLE 6.5:
STRENGTH OF FDR SUPPORT, OCTOBER 1944

Roper Survey

	FDR should be President	FDR better than Dewey	Dewey better than FDR	Electing FDR would be bad
War Ongoing	98%	92%	2%	1%
European War Over	94	78	3	1

Cell entries are the percent who would vote for FDR

TABLE 6.6:
CLASS CLEAVAGES ON CHURCHILL APPROVAL AND CONSERVATIVE PARTY SUPPORT

Churchill Approval

Income	June 1943	November 1943	January 1944	March 1944
Above Average	96%	92%	96%	88%
Less than Average	92	89	89	86

Conservative Party Support

Income	June 1943	July 1945
Above Average	50%	69%
Less than Average	21	22

FIGURE 1.1
TRENDS ON SUPPORT FOR HELPING ENGLAND OVER STAYING OUT OF THE WAR

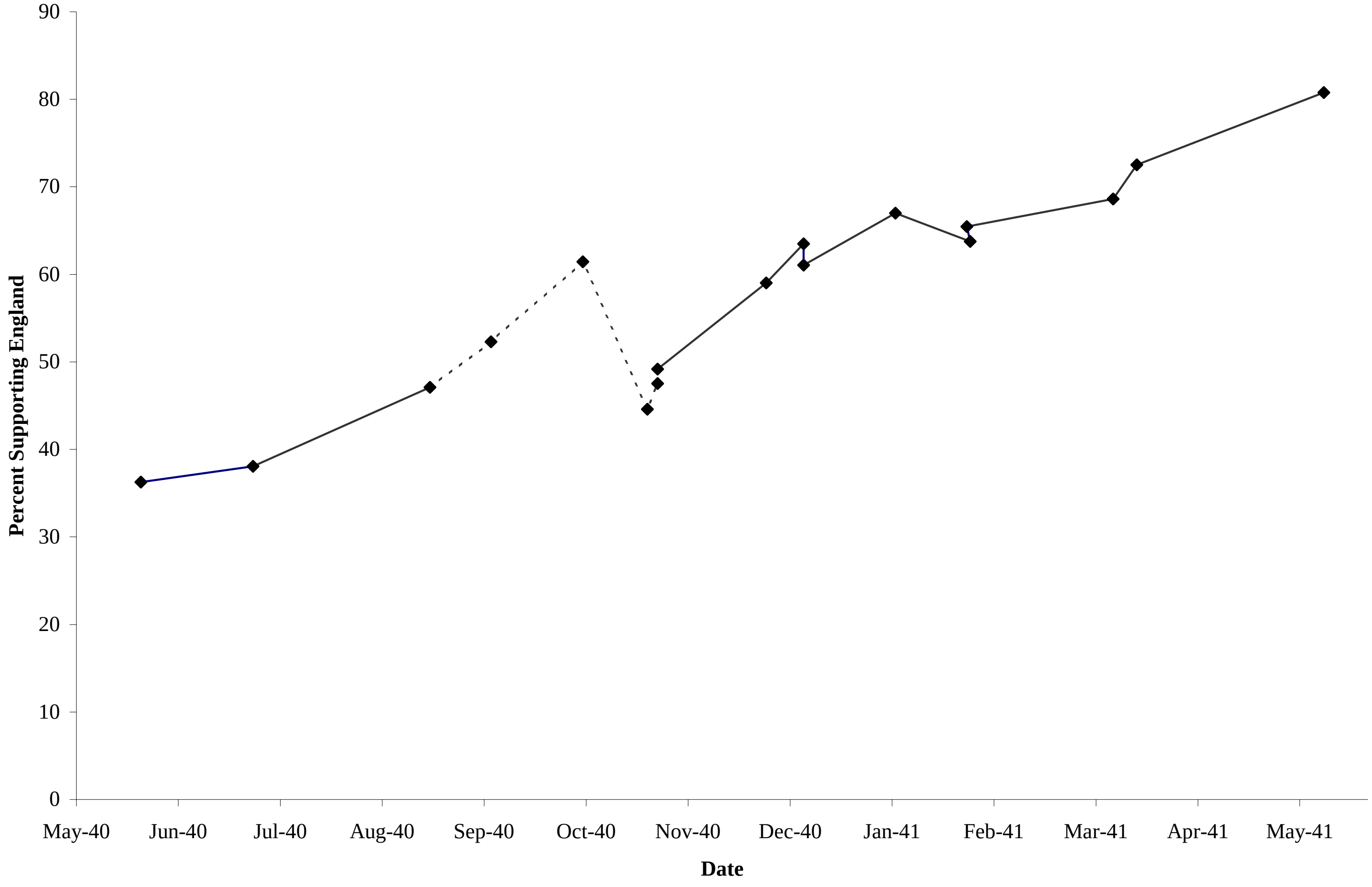


FIGURE 1.2:
GENDER GAP ON SUPPORT FOR HELPING ENGLAND OVER STAYING OUT OF THE WAR

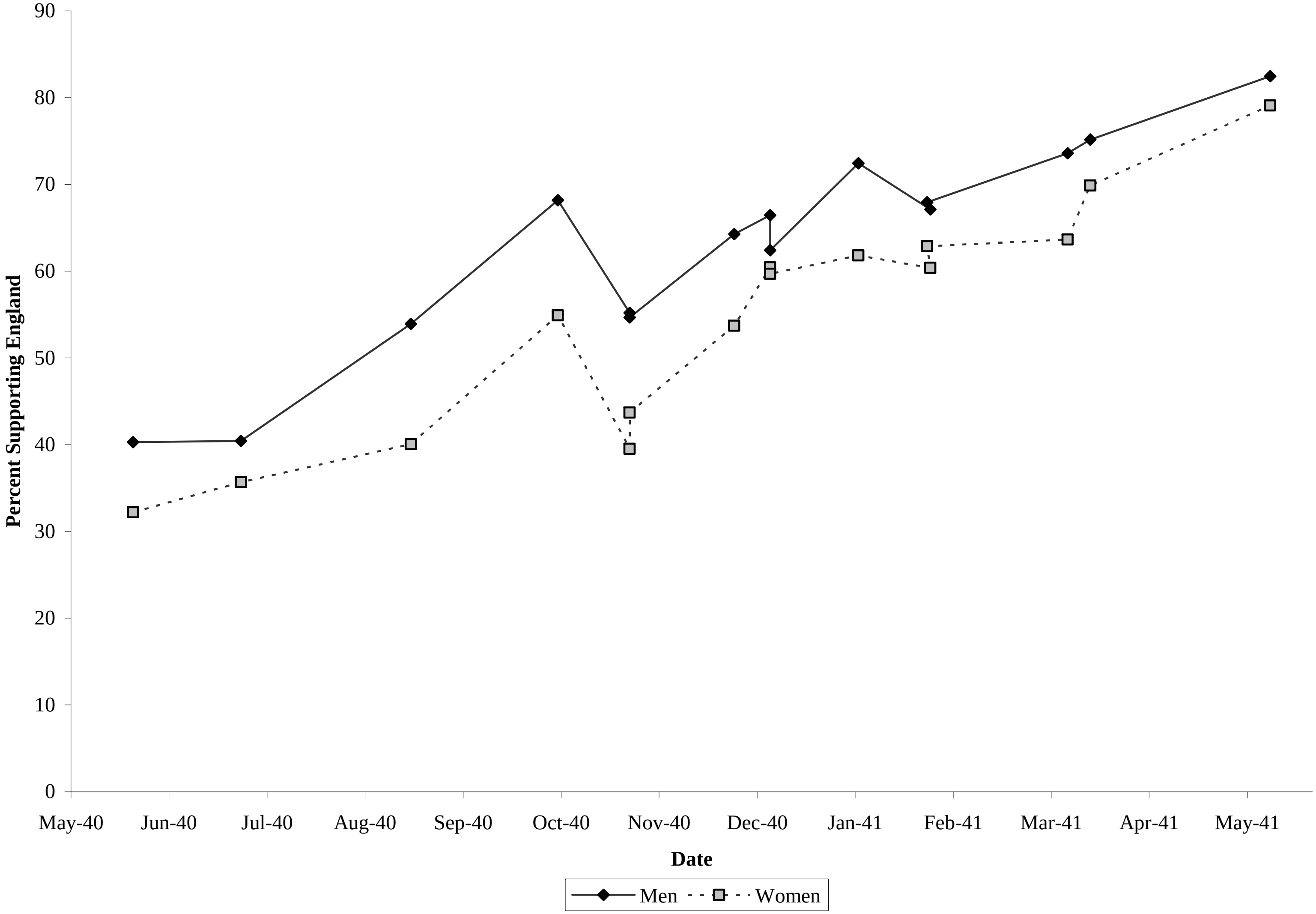


FIGURE 1.3:
GENDER GAP ON OPPOSITION TO PEACE WITH THE GERMAN ARMY

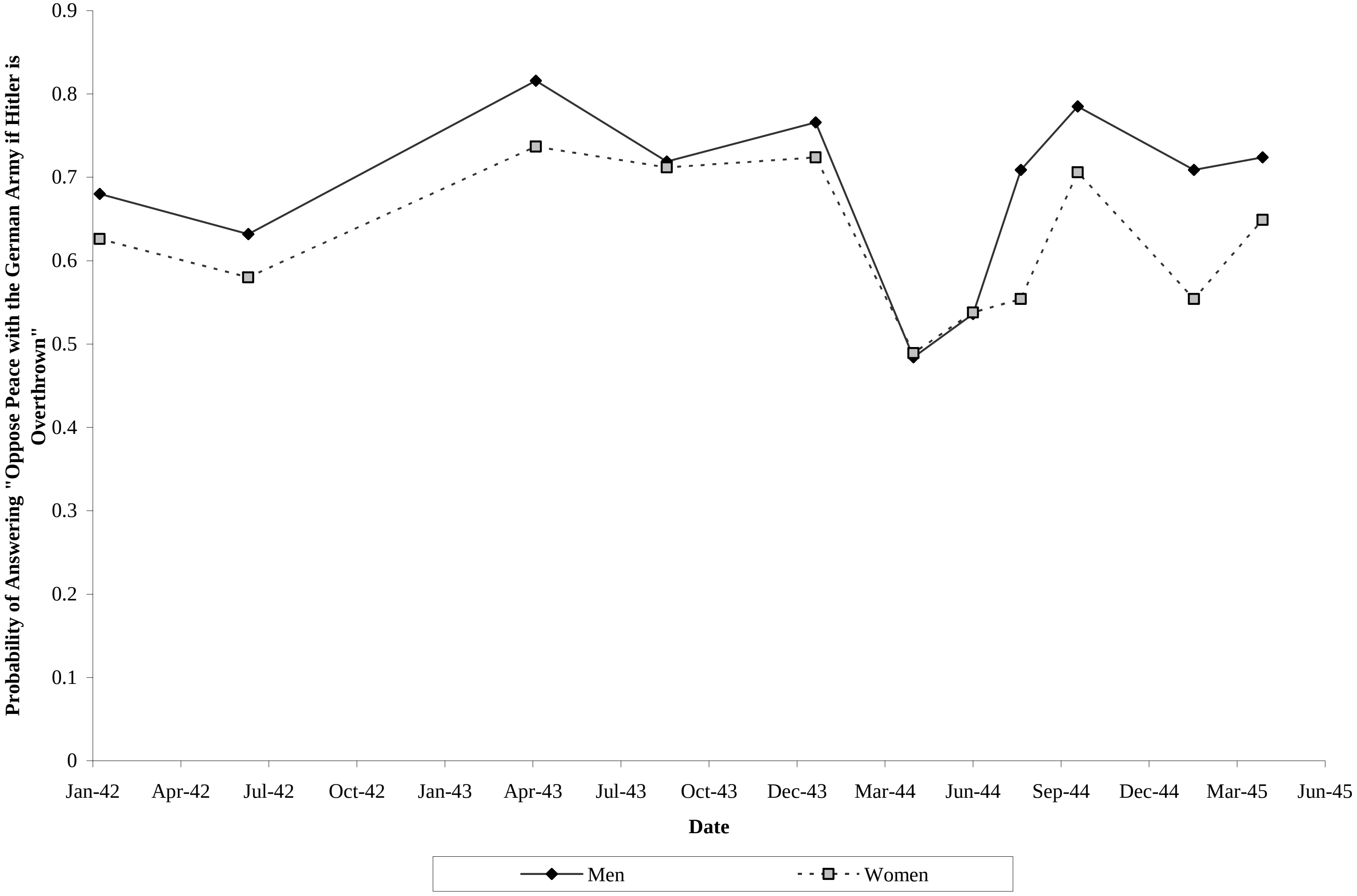


FIGURE 1.4:
GENDER GAP ON SUPPORT FOR TAKING AN INTERNATIONALIST POSITION AFTER THE WAR

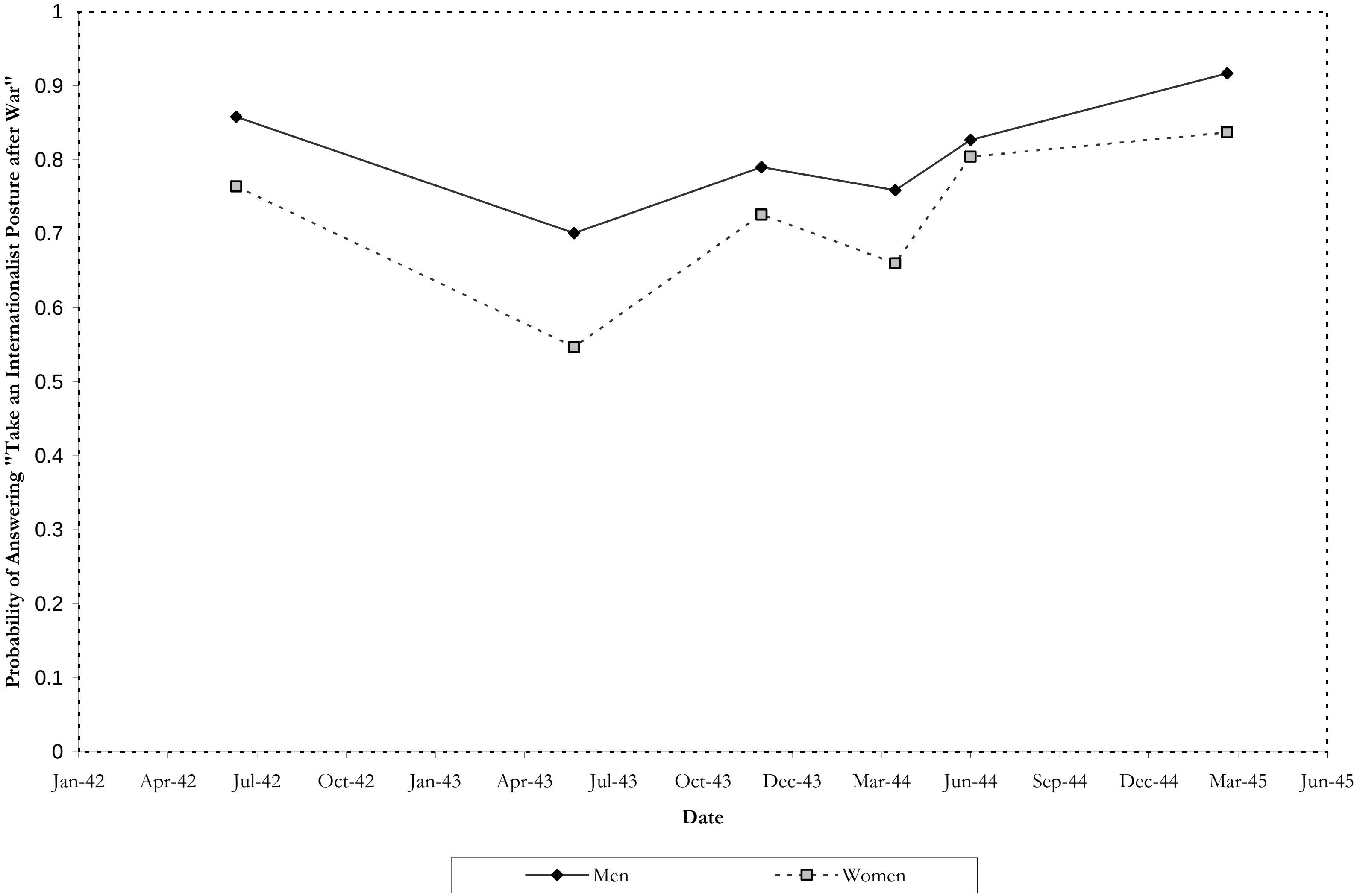


FIGURE 3.1:
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD CONTENT ANALYSIS, 1938-1945

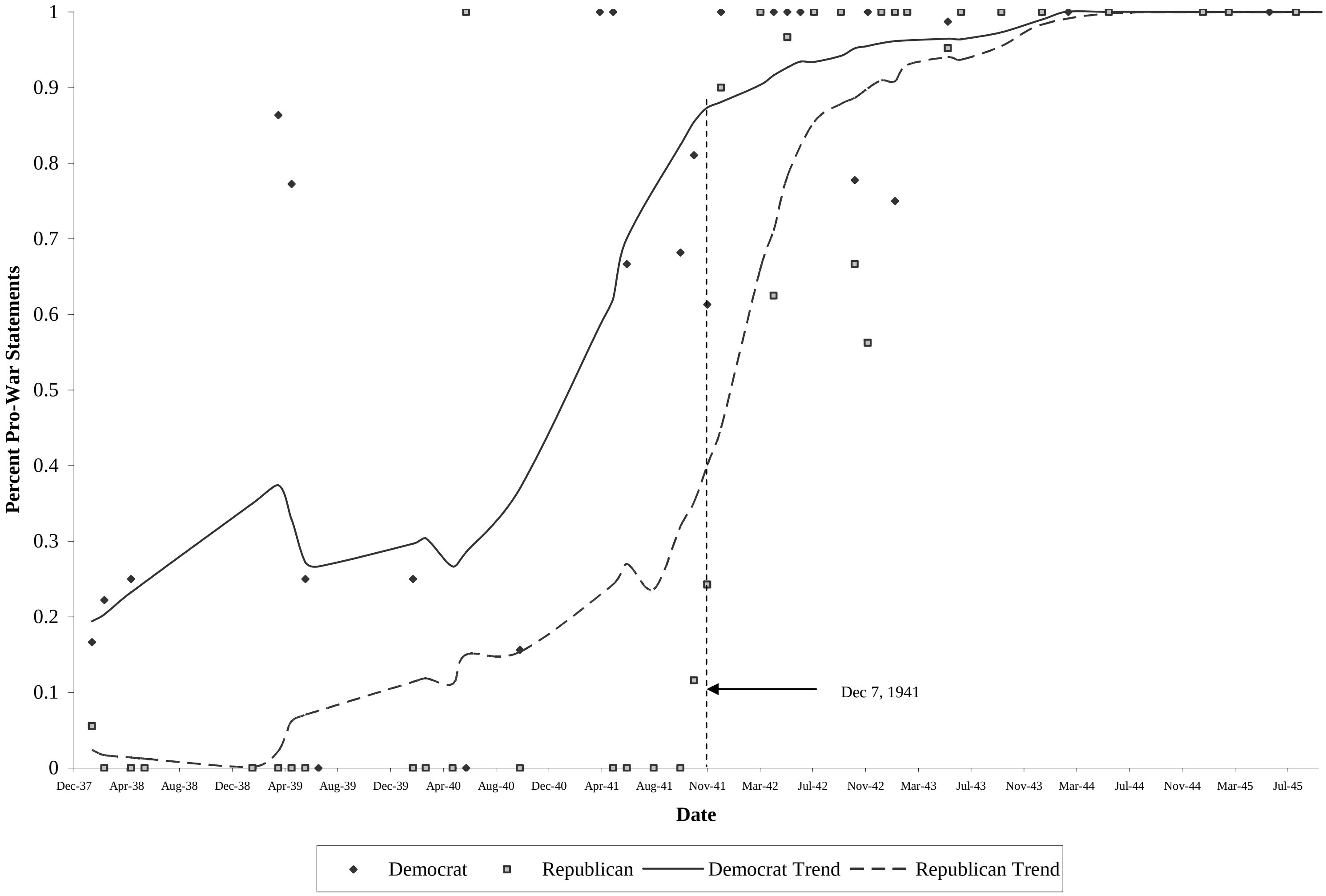
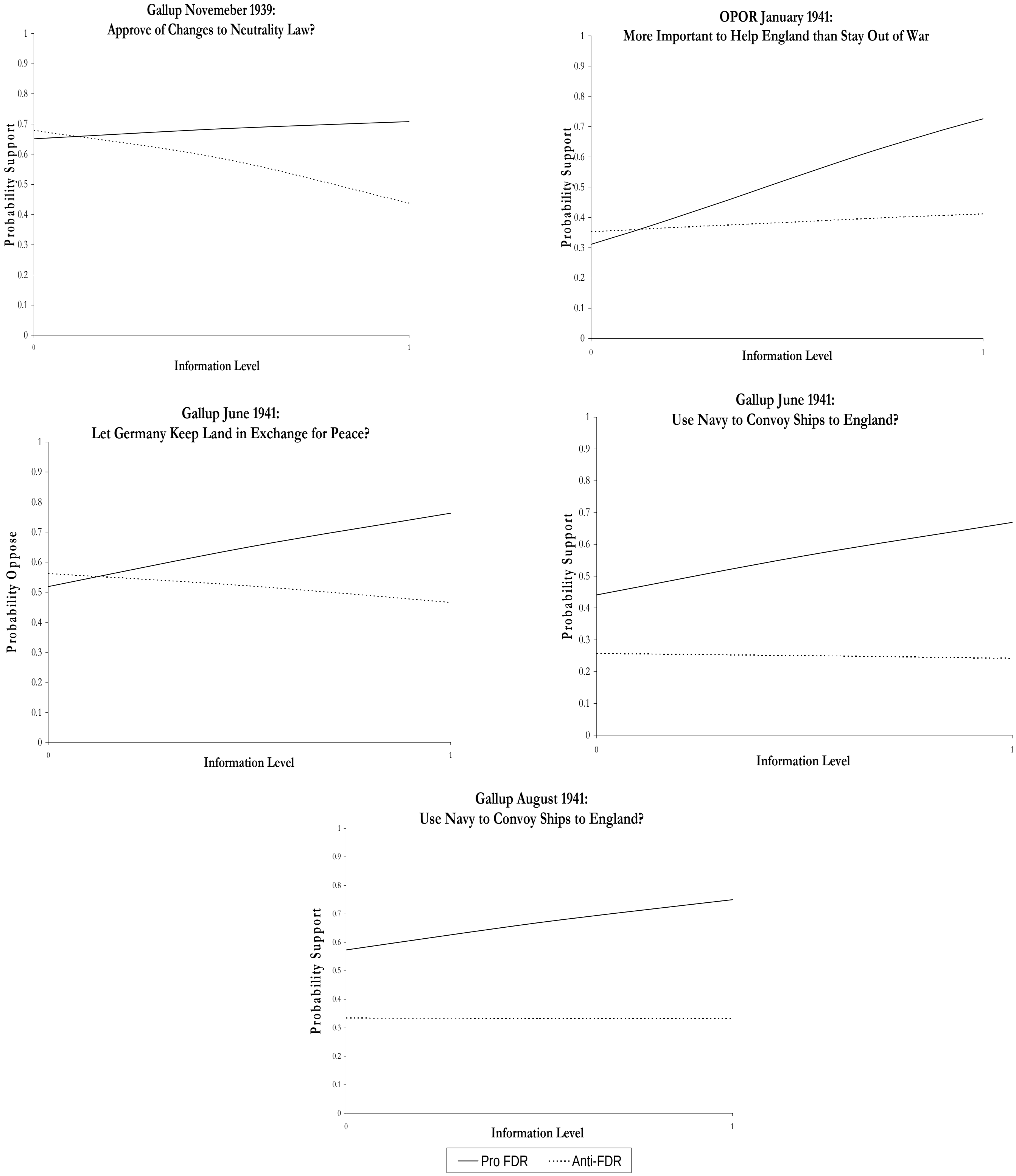


FIGURE 3.2: EVIDENCE OF POLARIZATION PATTERN


Gallup Novemeber 1939: Approve of Changes to Neutrality Law?

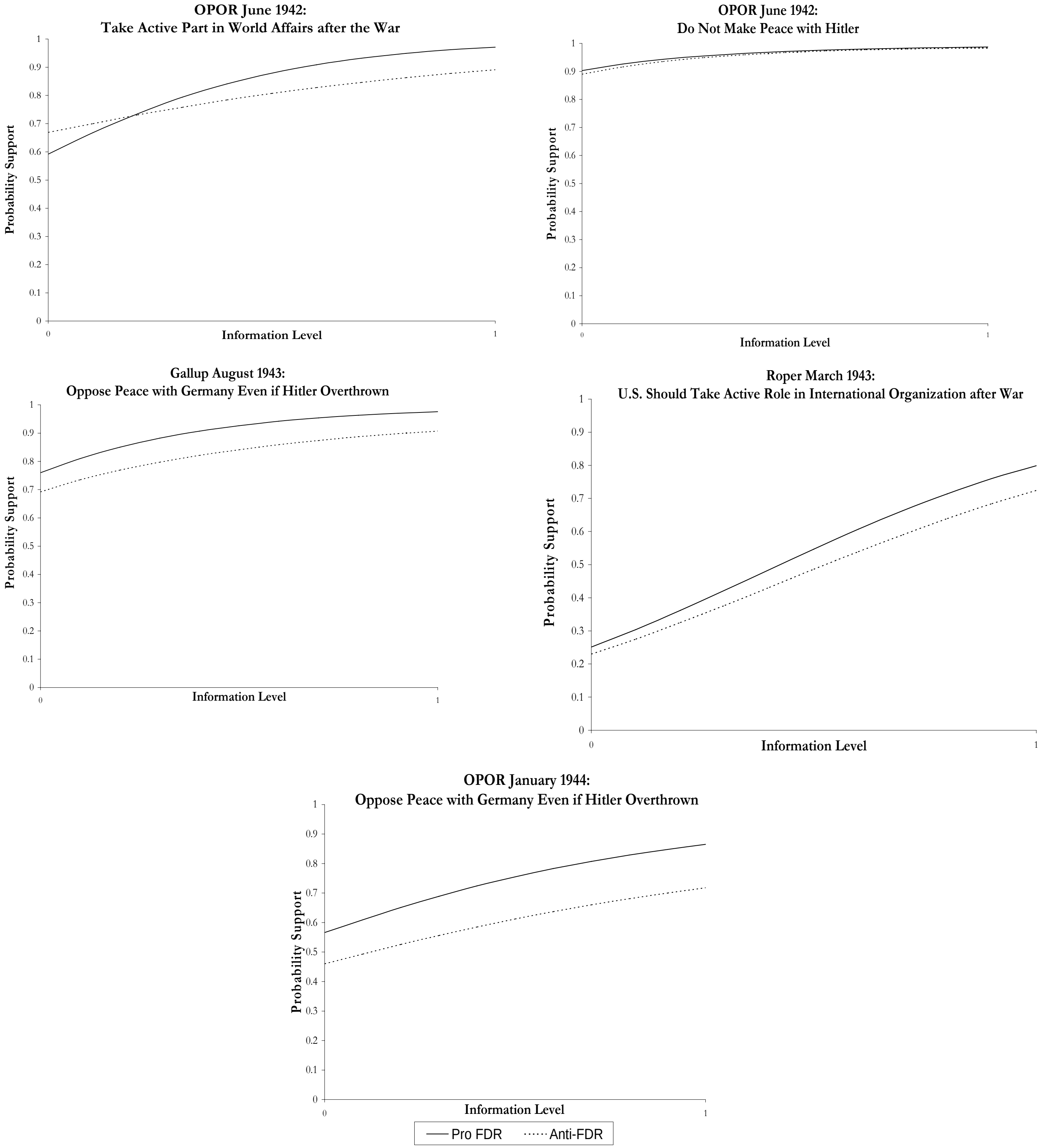
OPOR January 1941: More Important to Help England than Stay Out of War

Gallup June 1941: Let Germany Keep Land in Exchange for Peace?

Gallup June 1941: Use Navy to Convoy Ships to England?

Gallup August 1941: Use Navy to Convoy Ships to England?

FIGURE 3.3: EVIDENCE OF MAINSTREAM PATTERN



OPOR June 1942: Take Active Part in World Affairs after the War

OPOR June 1942: Do Not Make Peace with Hitler

Gallup August 1943: Oppose Peace with Germany Even if Hitler Overthrown

Roper March 1943: U.S. Should Take Active Role in International Organization after War

OPOR January 1944: Oppose Peace with Germany Even if Hitler Overthrown

FIGURE 3.4:
ROPER FEBRUARY 1944: DISTINCTIVENESS OF DOMESTIC POLICY

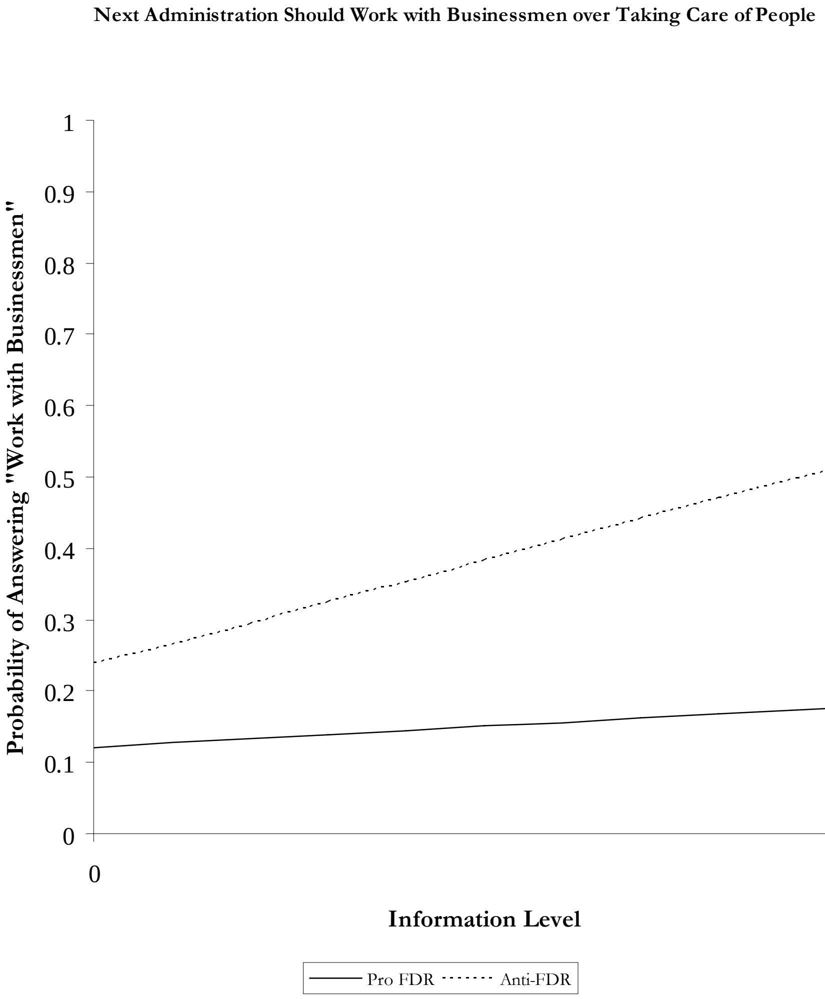
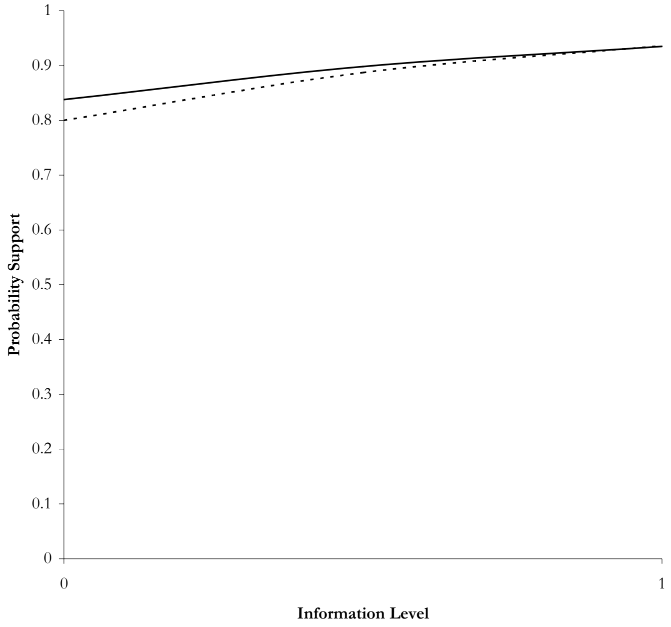


FIGURE 3.5:
GALLUP OCTOBER 1940: EVIDENCE OF MAINSTREAM PATTERN

Help England if British Lose War Without Aid?



Send Airplanes to England?

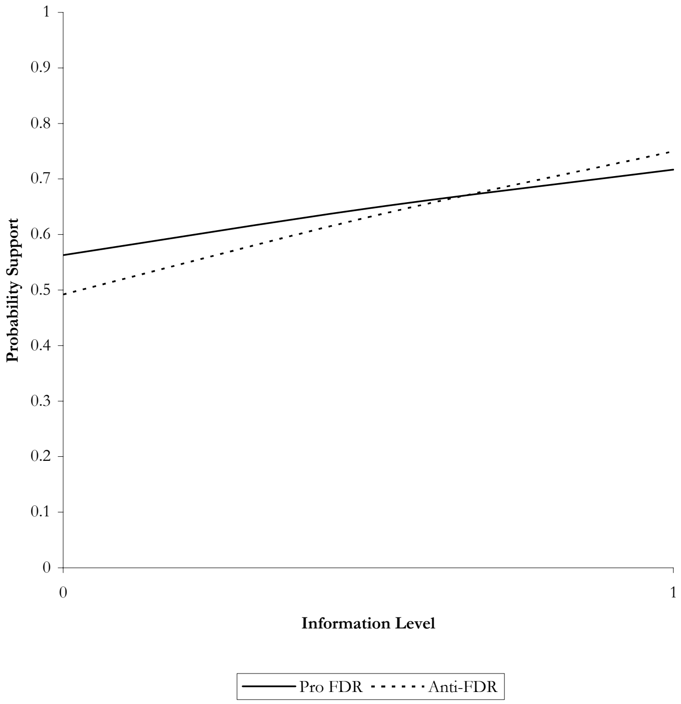
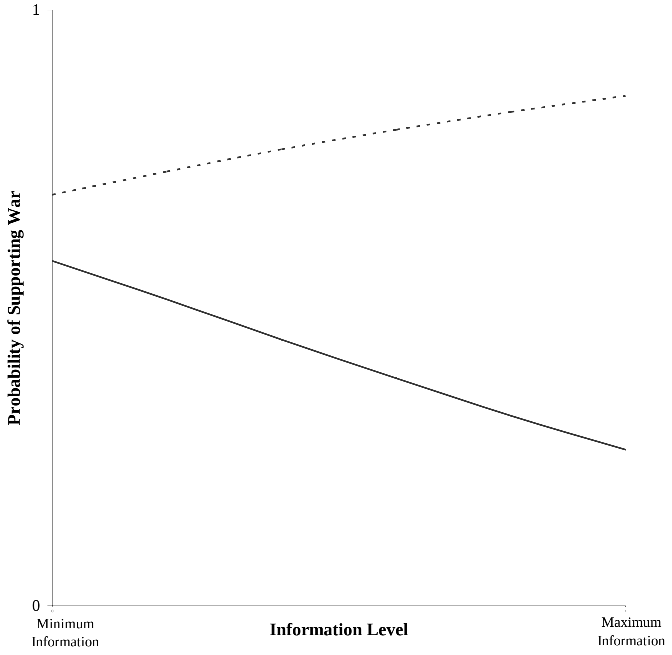


FIGURE 3.6:
PATTERNS OF POLARIZATION IN IRAQ WAR ATTITUDES, AUGUST 2004

U.S. Made the Right Decision in Using Military Force Against Iraq



Current War in Iraq Has Been Worth Fighting

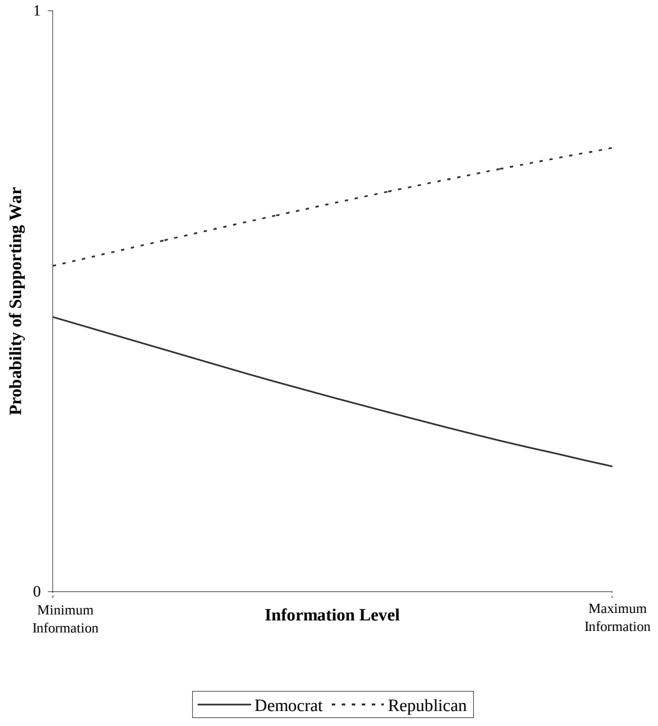


FIGURE 3.7:
PATTERNS OF POLARIZATION IN ESTIMATES OF IRAQ WAR SUCCESS, AUGUST 2004

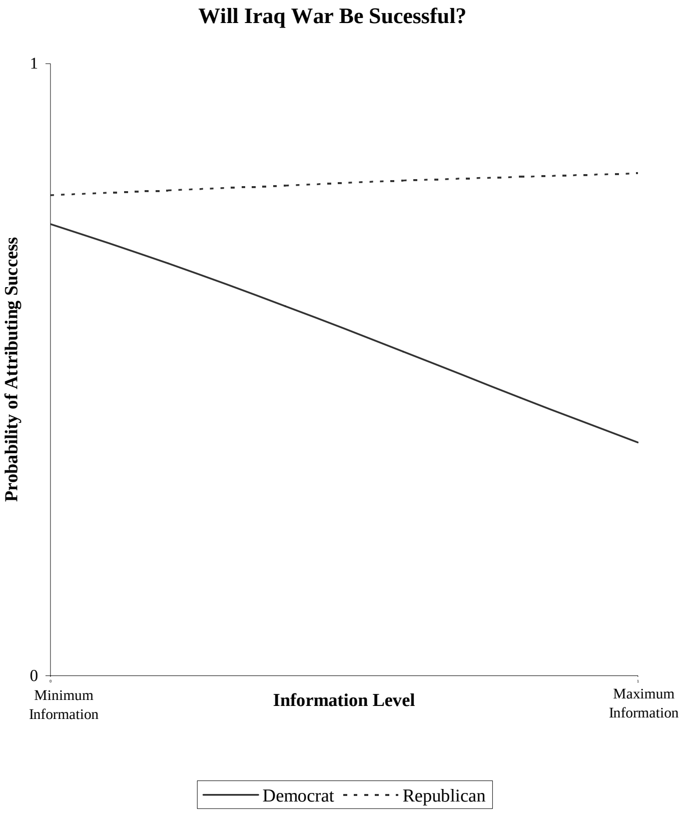
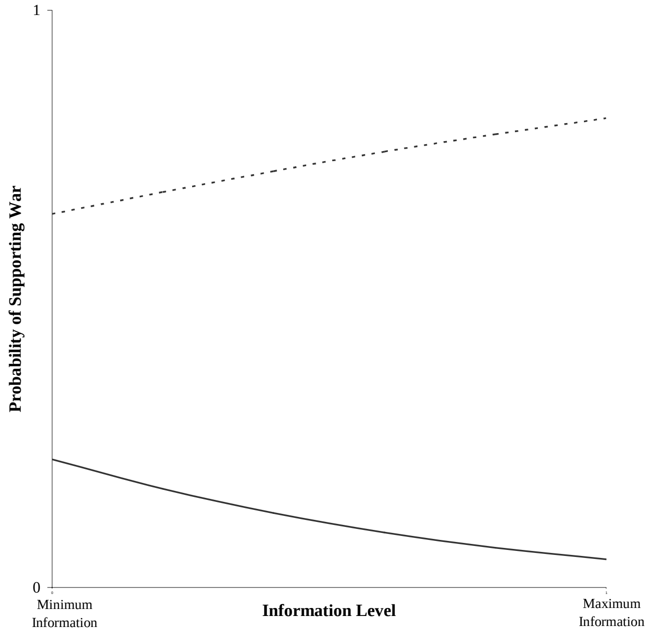


FIGURE 3.8:
OPINIONS ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS WAR, 2004 NES

Iraq



Afghanistan

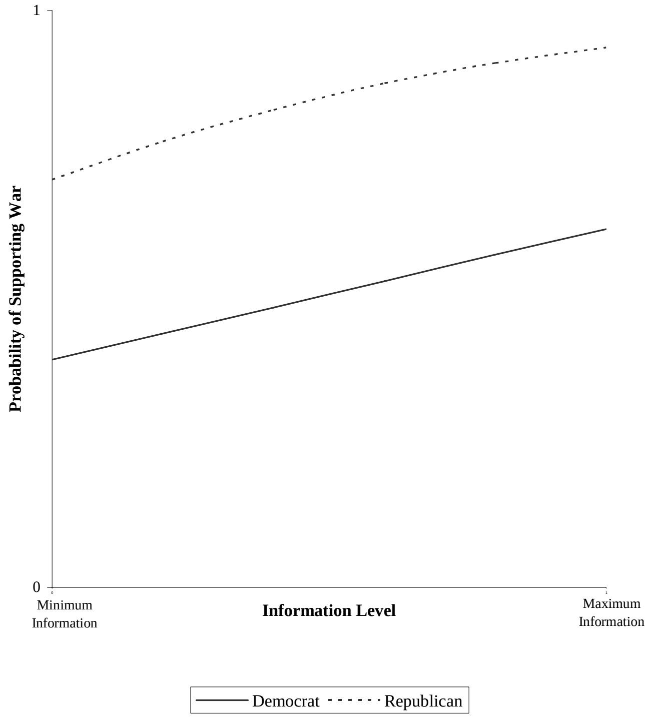


FIGURE 3.9:
VIETNAM ANALYSIS: ESCALATION/DE-ESCALATION QUESTION, 1964-1970

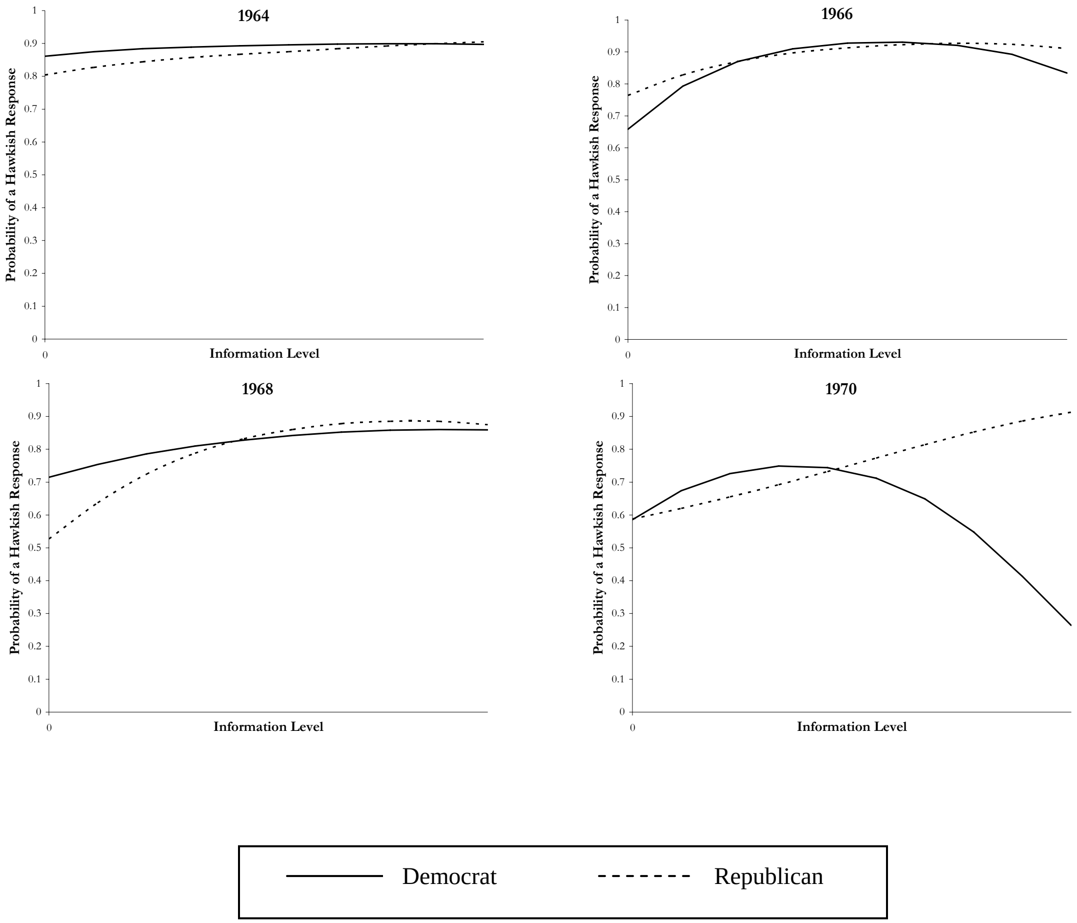


Figure 3.10:
Vietnam Analysis, Mistake Question, 1964-1972

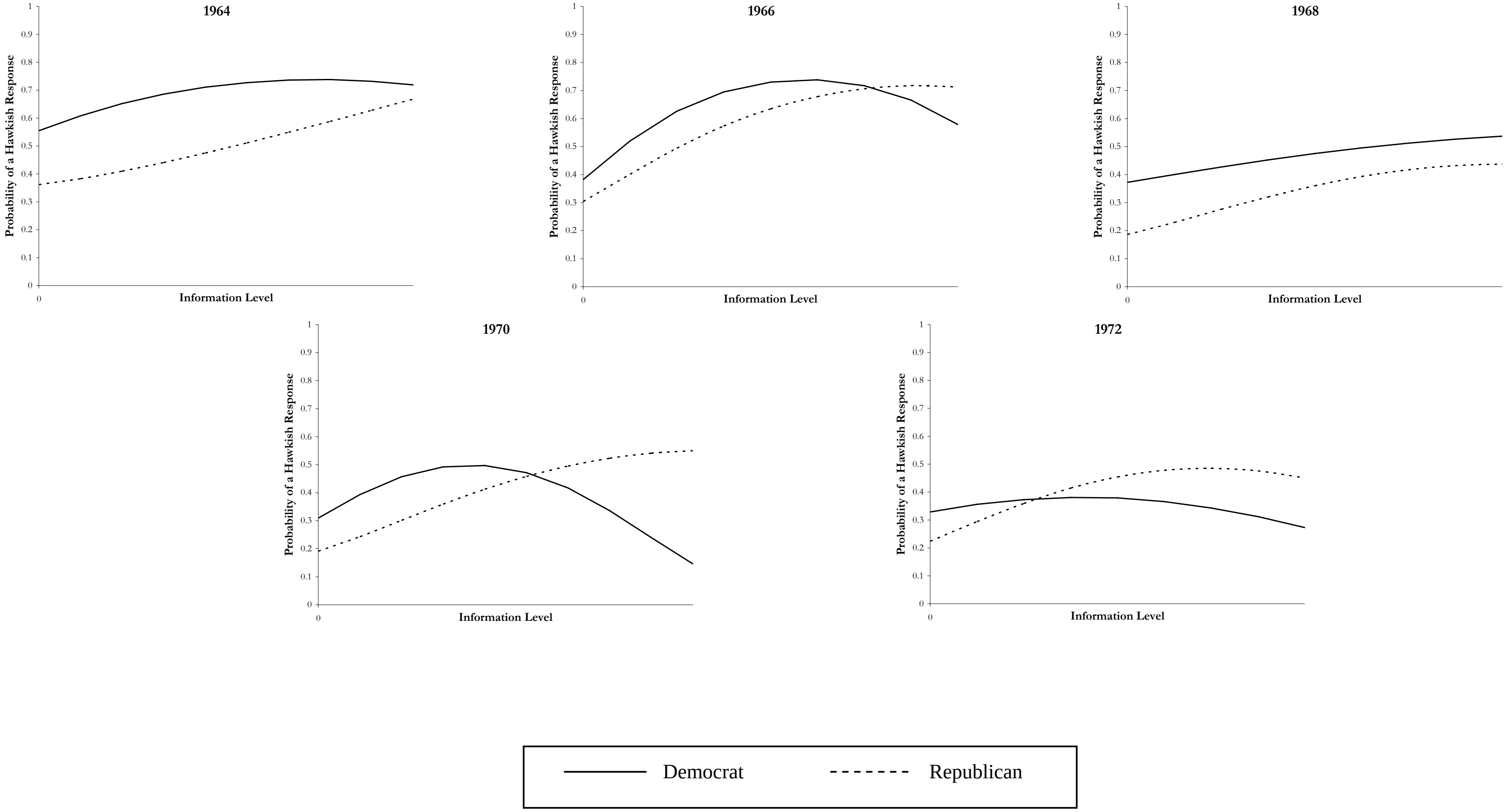


FIGURE 4.1:
TRUST RUSSIA AFTER THE WAR?

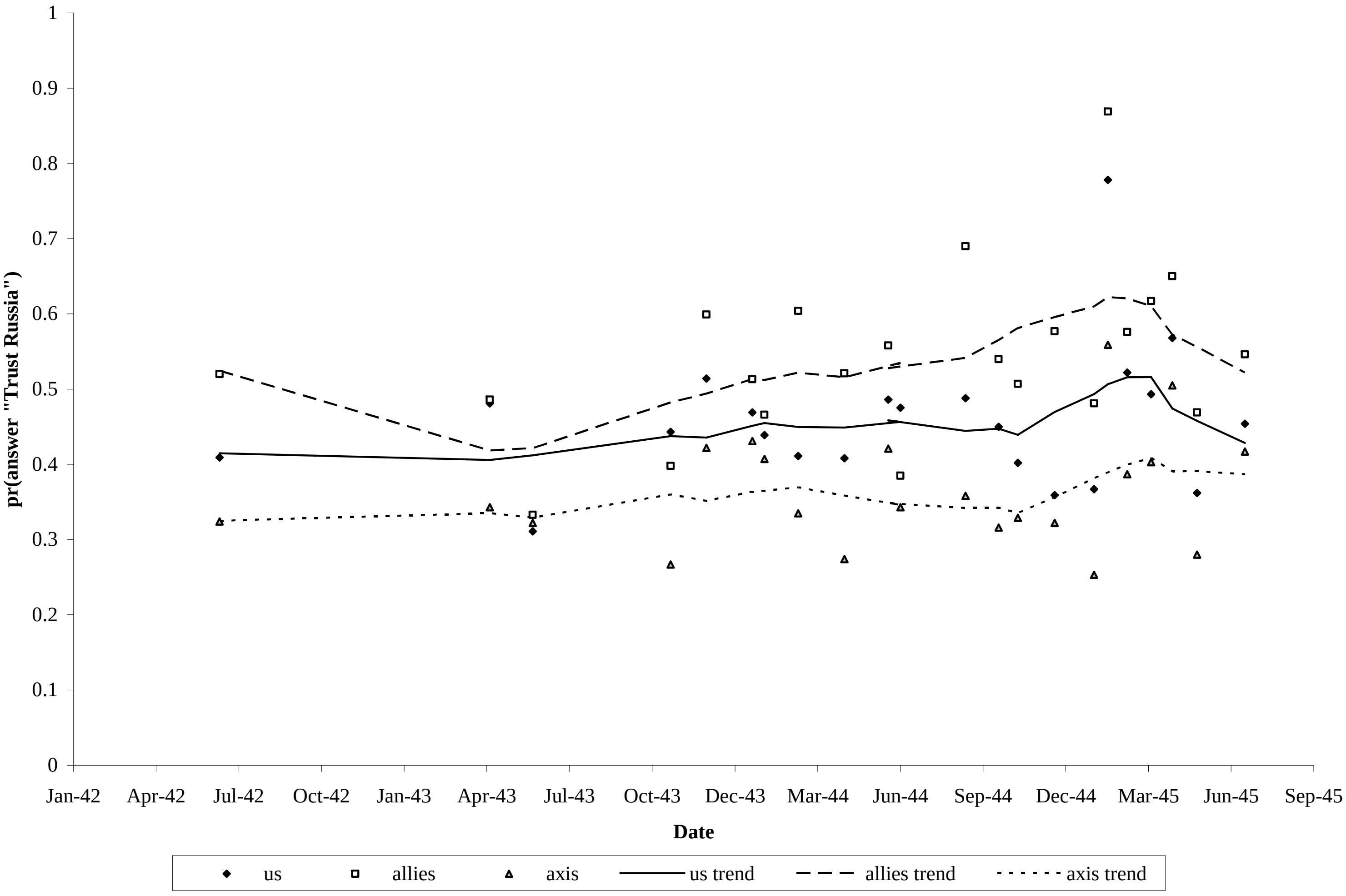


FIGURE 4.2:
TRUST ENGLAND AFTER THE WAR?

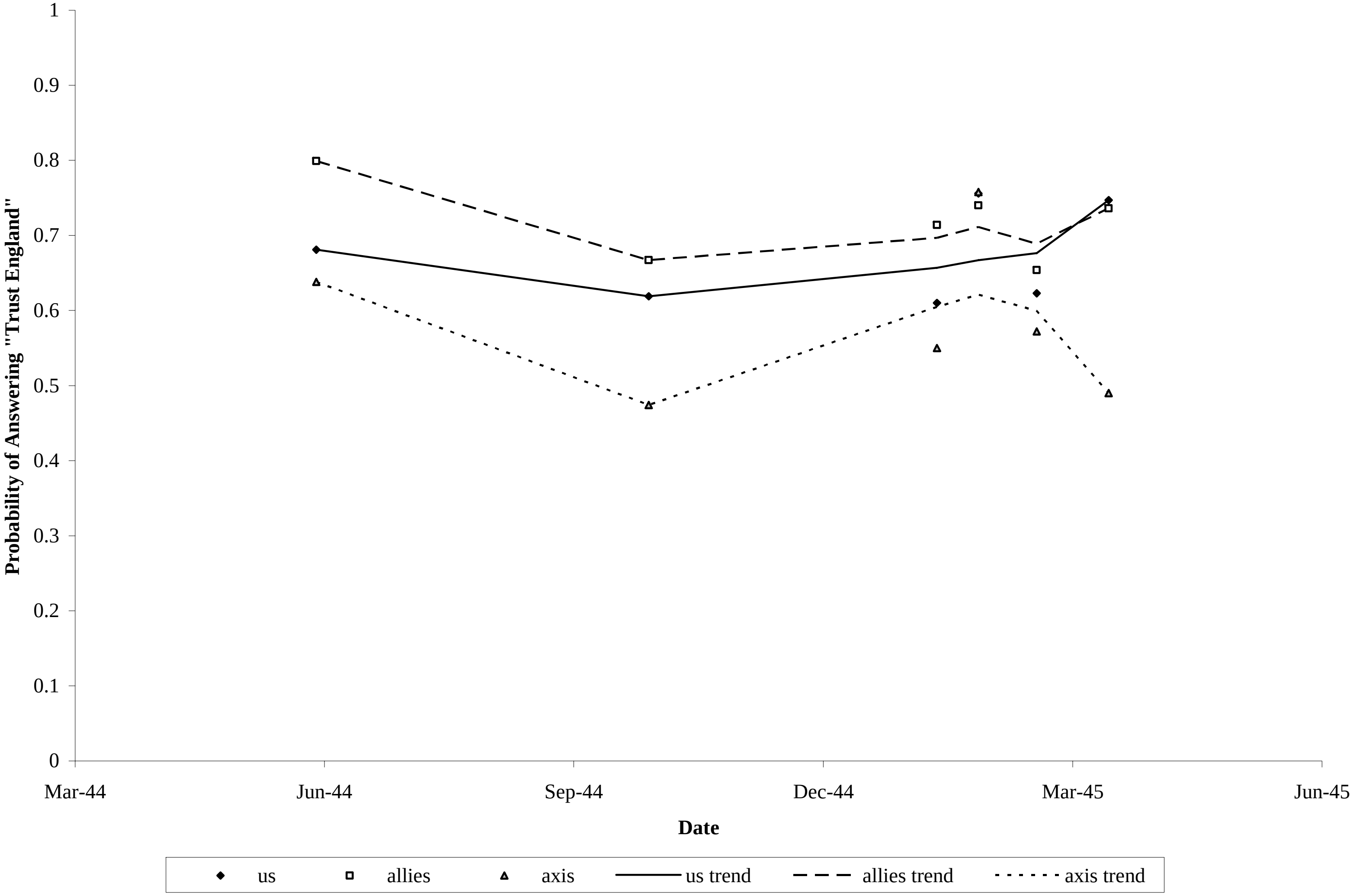


FIGURE 4.3:
ENGLAND IS FIGHTING ONLY TO PRESERVE DEMOCRACY

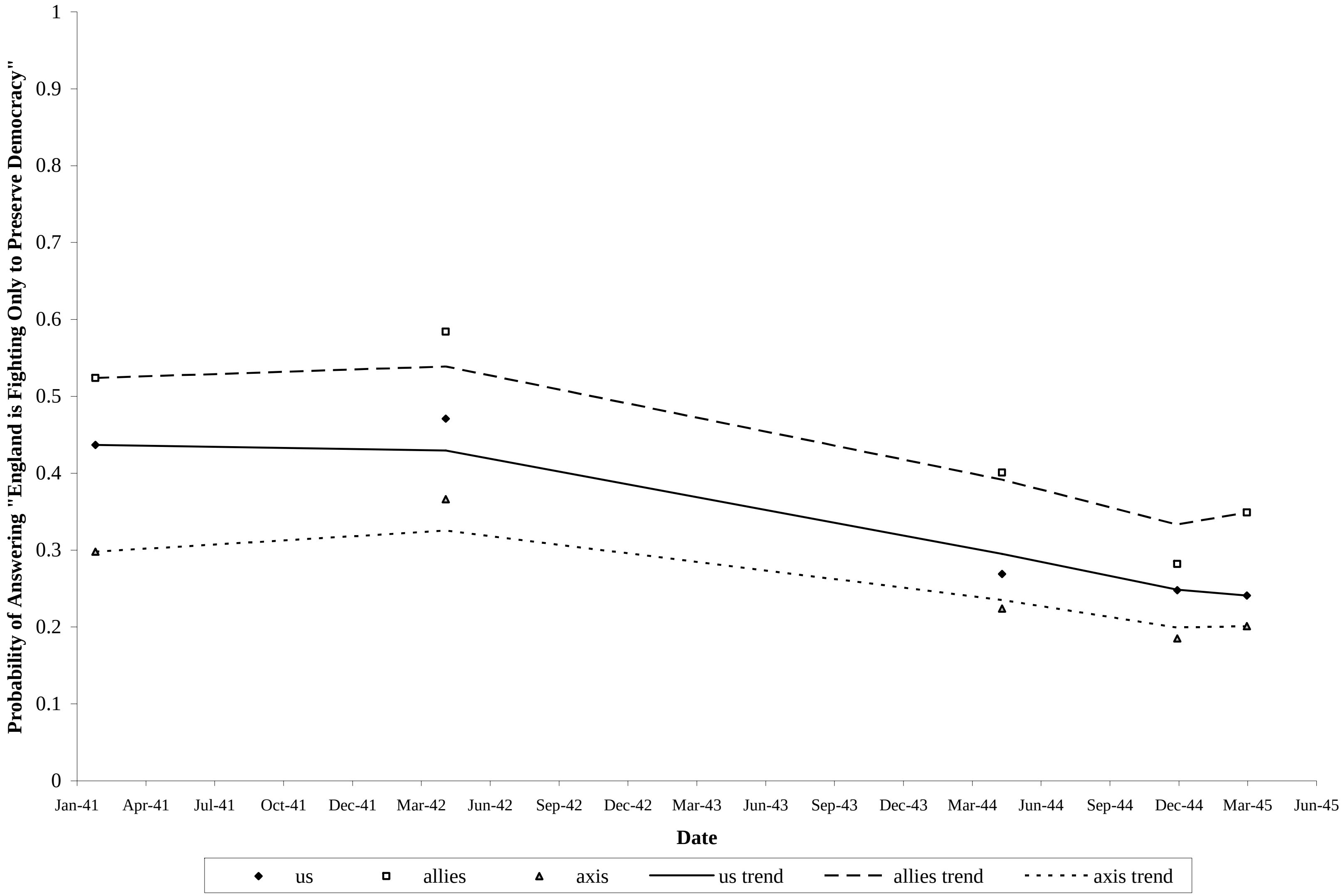


FIGURE 4.4:
OPPOSE PEACE WITH THE GERMAN ARMY

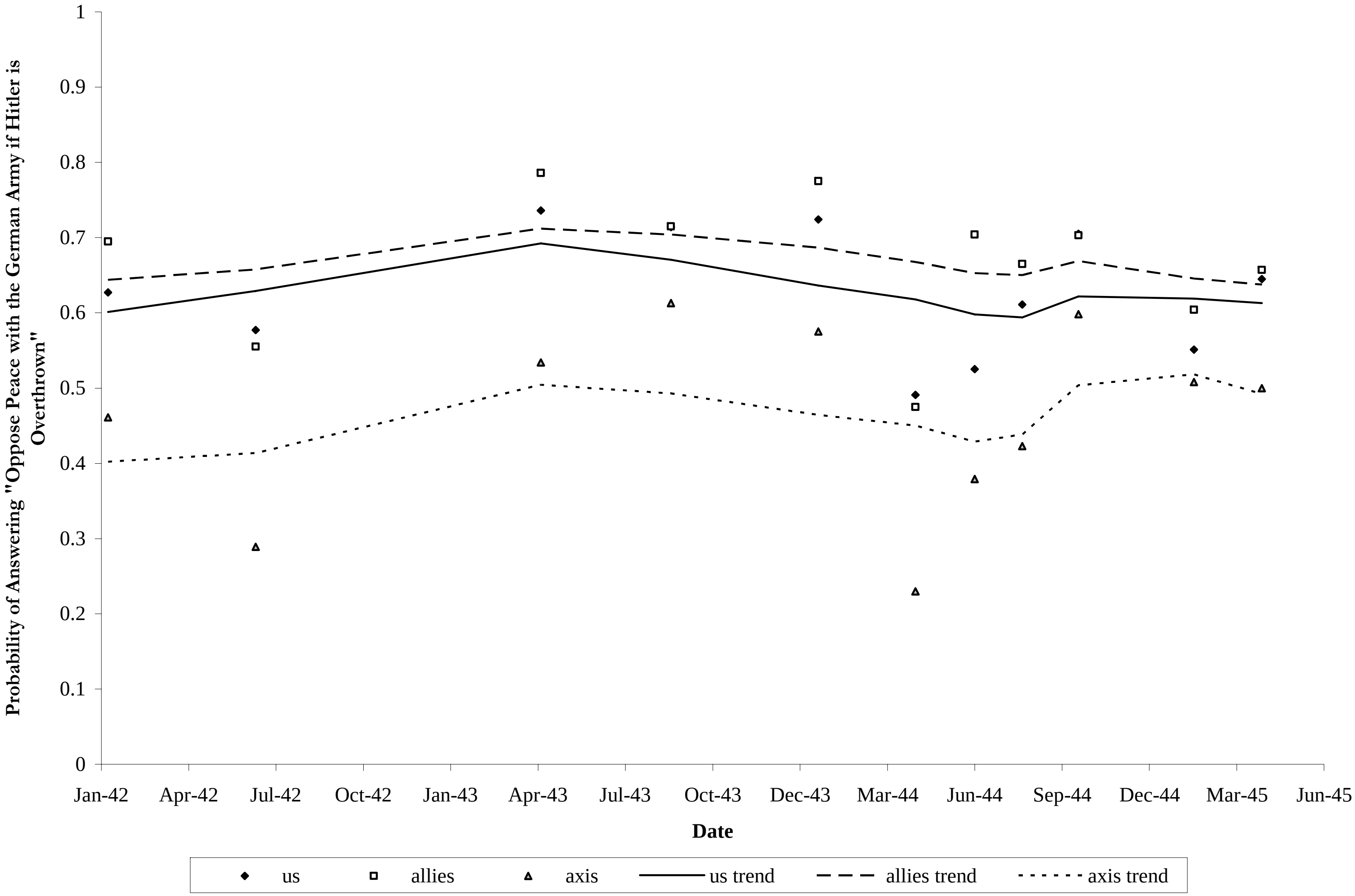


FIGURE 4.5:
MAKE PEACE TREATY MORE SEVERE THAN LAST WAR

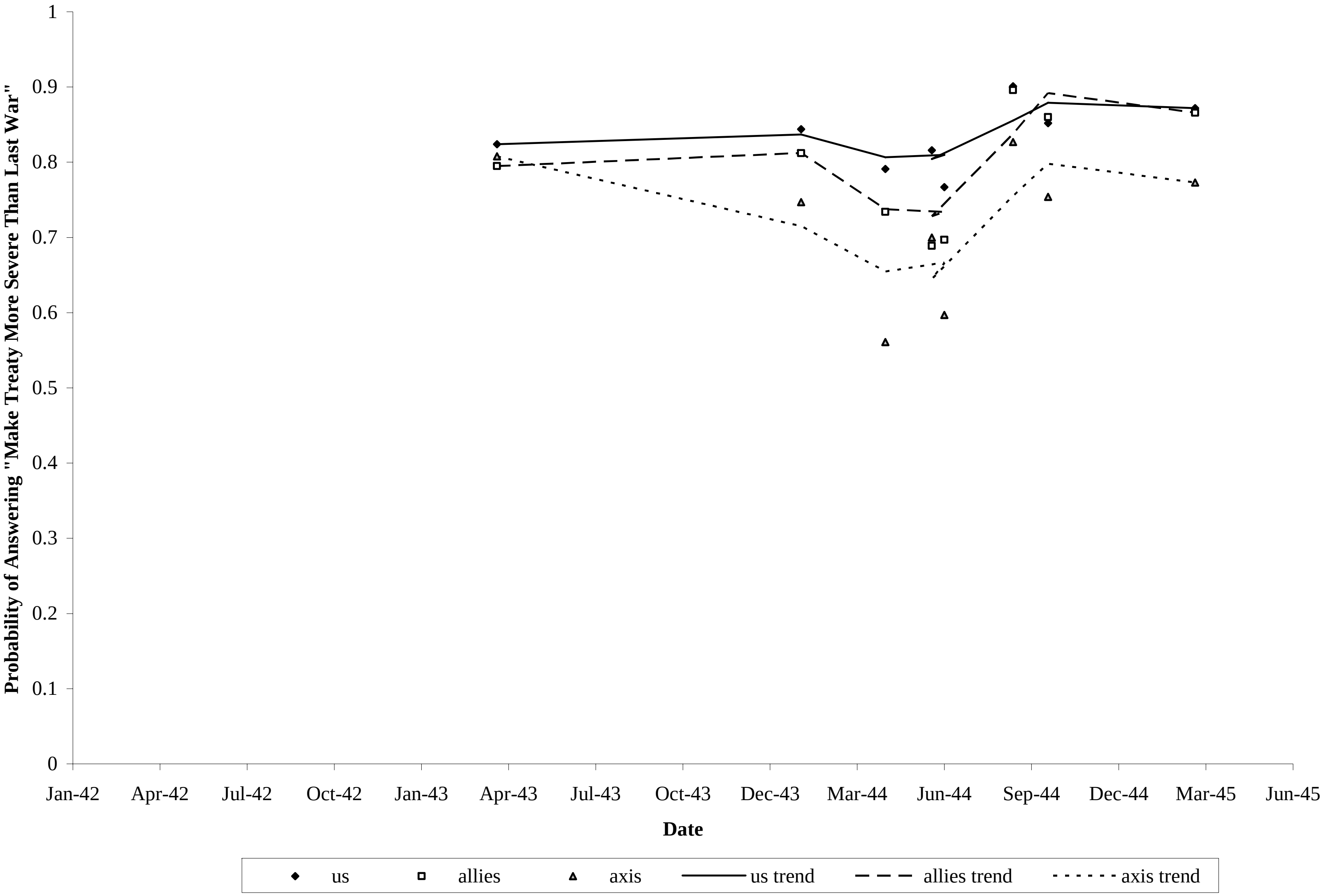


FIGURE 4.6:
TAKE AN INTERNATIONALIST POSTURE AFTER THE WAR

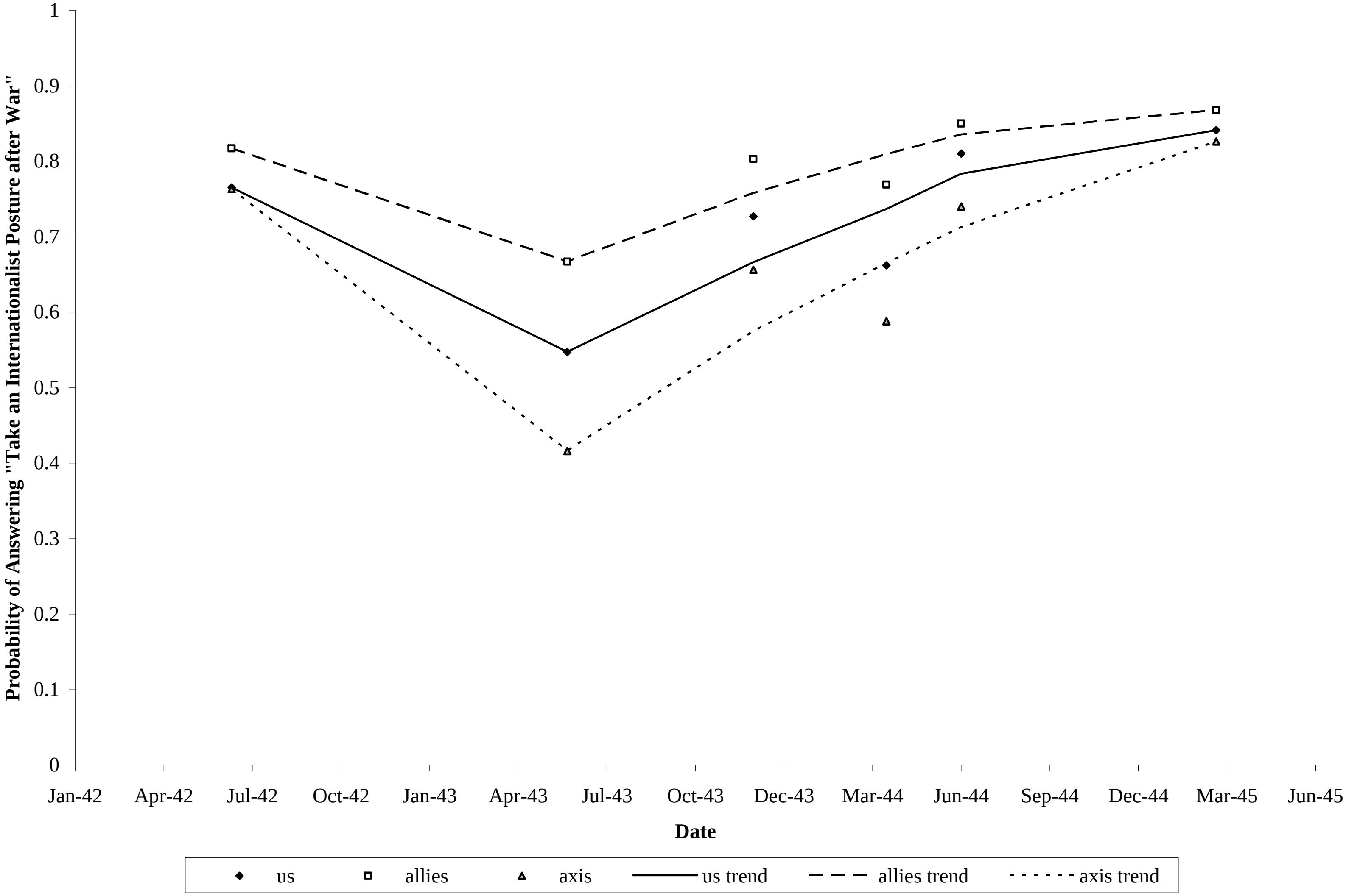
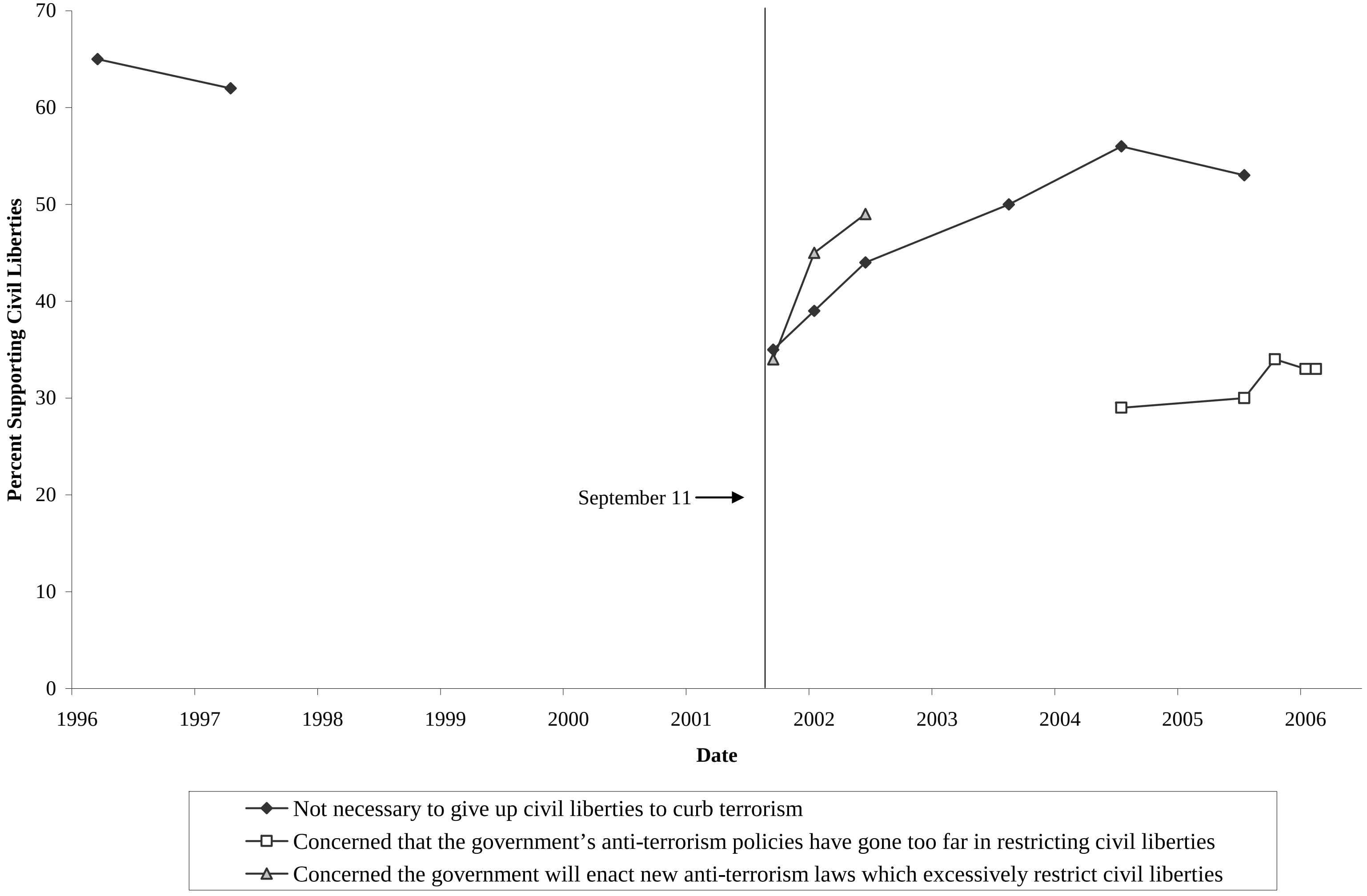
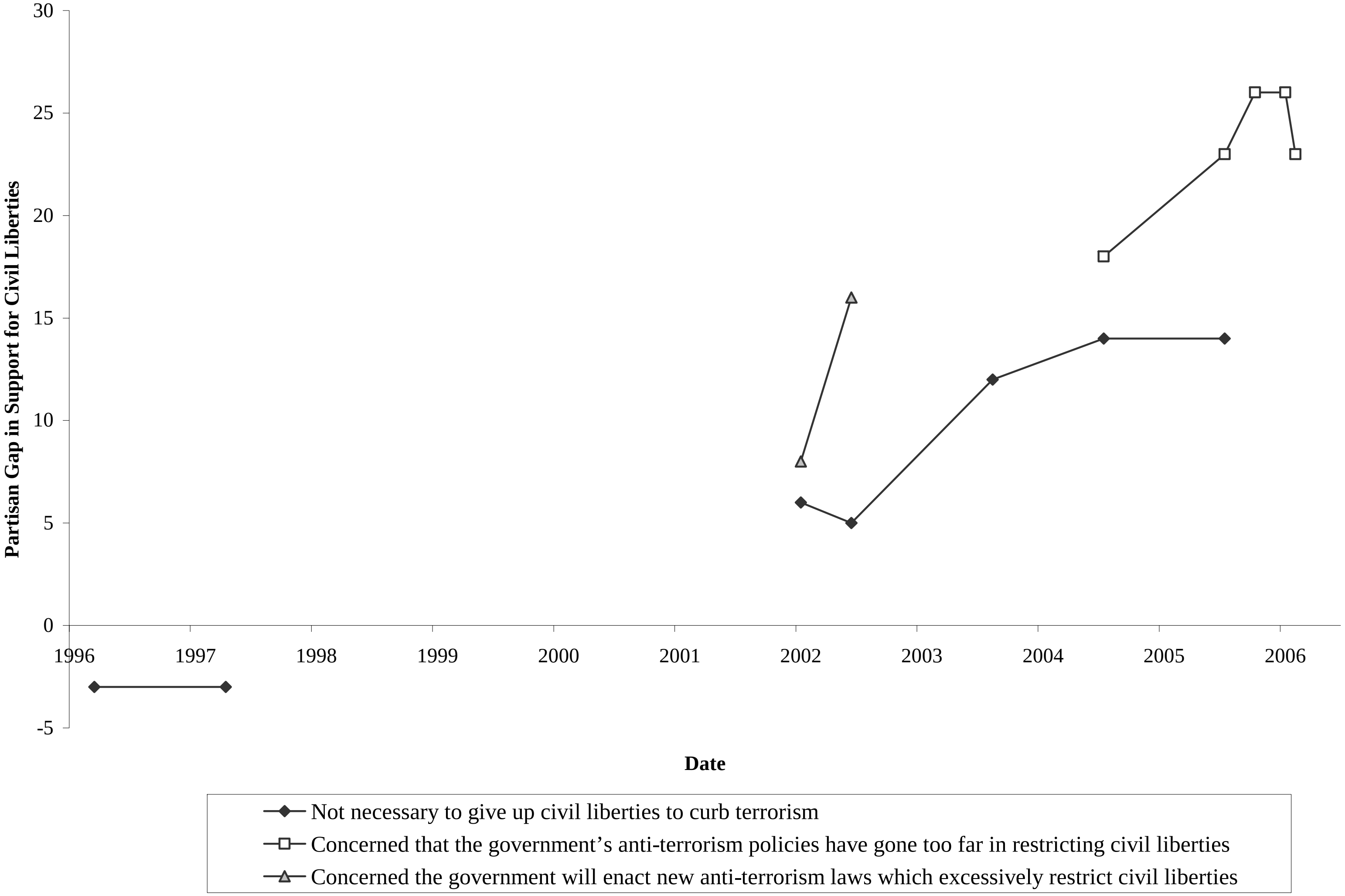


FIGURE 5.1:
SUPPORT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, 1996-2006



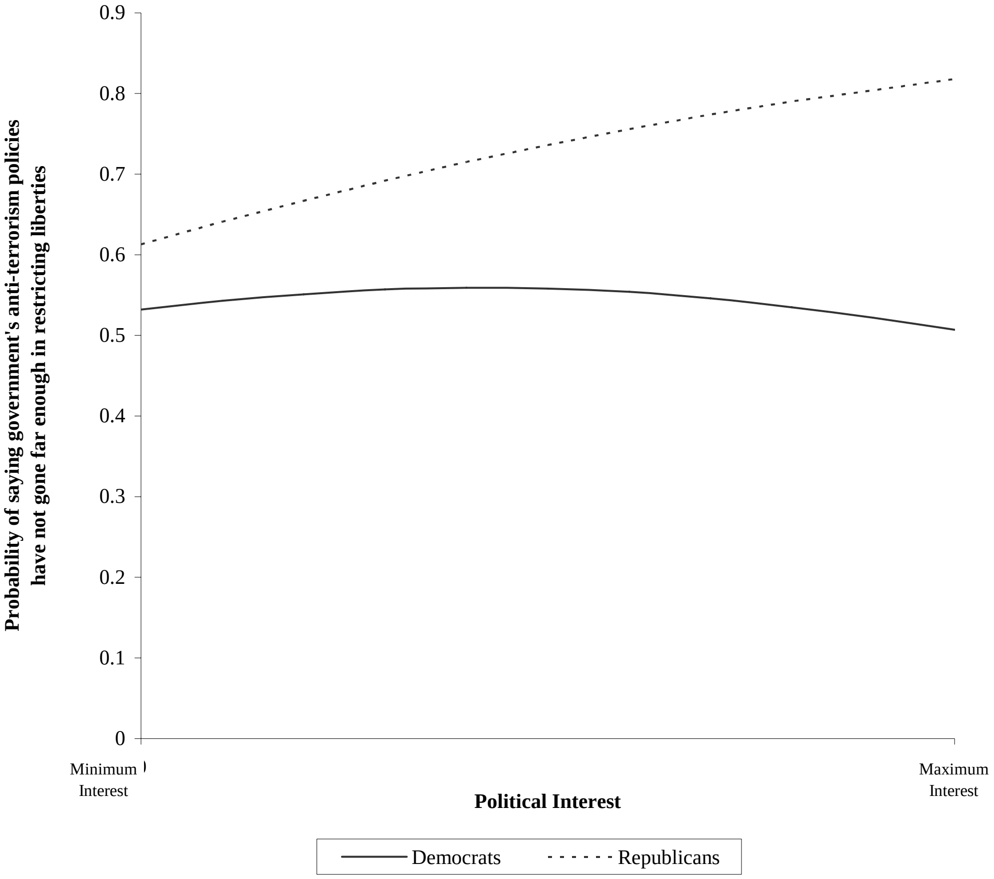
Source: Analysis of Data from Pew Center for the People and the Press

FIGURE 5.2:
PARTISAN GAP IN SUPPORT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, 1996-2006



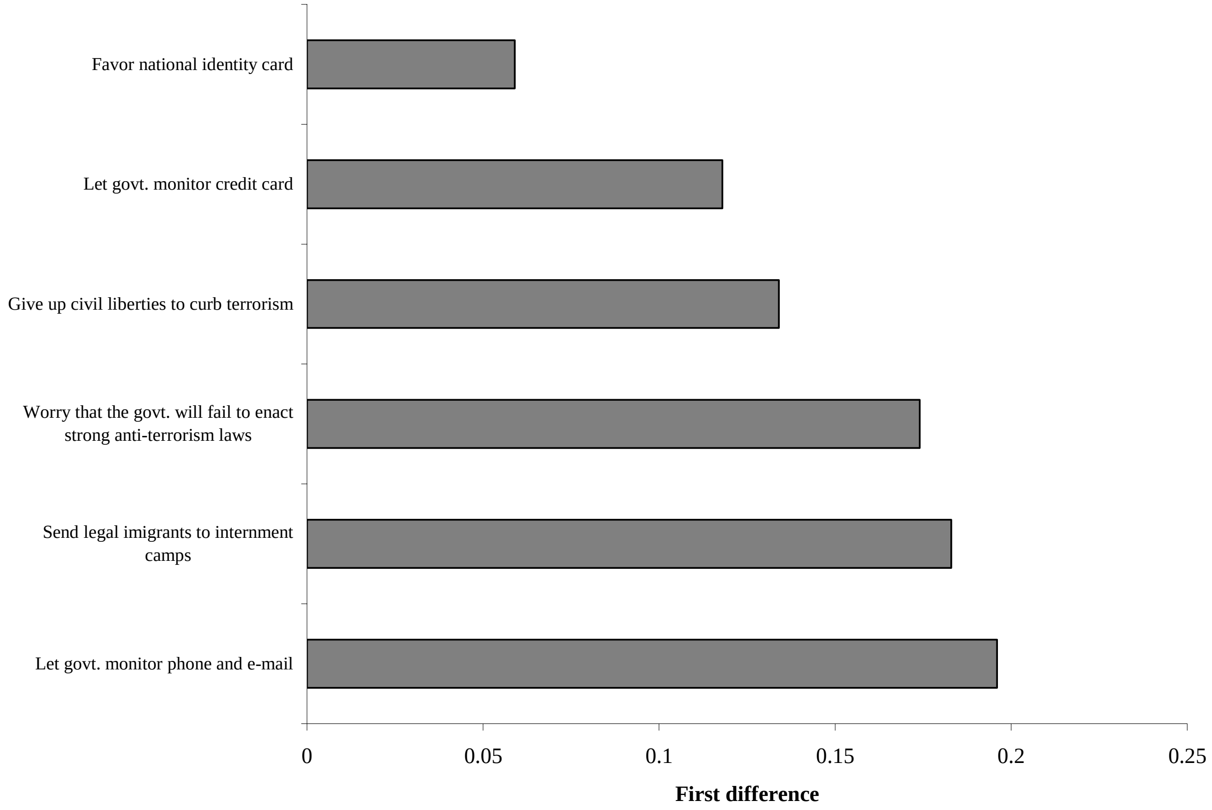
Source: Analysis of Data from Pew Center for the People and the Press

FIGURE 5.3:
PARTISAN POLARIZATION IN SUPPORT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, JANUARY 2006



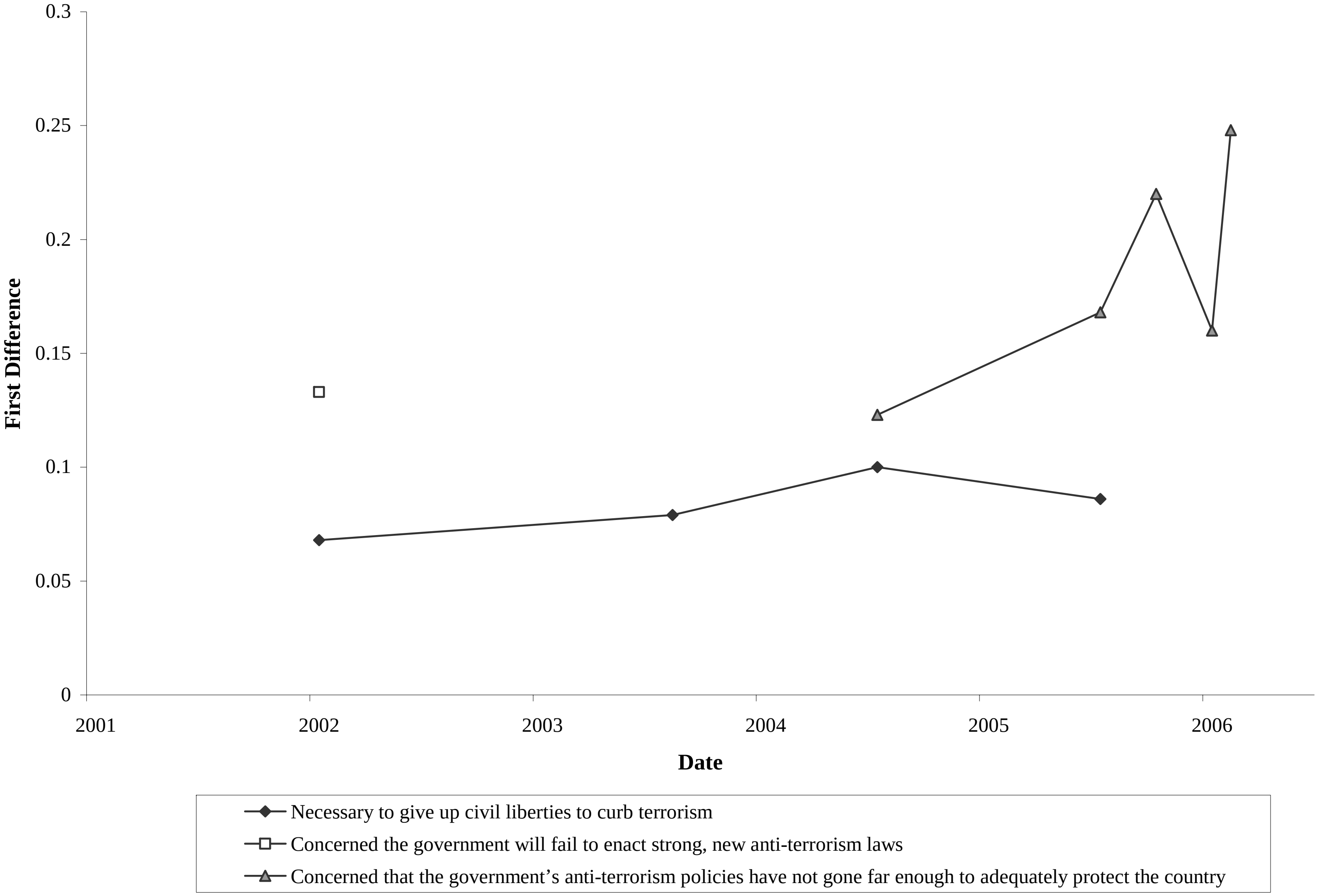
Source: Analysis of Data from Pew Center for the People and the Press

FIGURE 5.4:
EFFECT OF SUPPORT FOR RETALIATION FOR 9/11 ON SUPPORT FOR RESTRICTING CIVIL LIBERTIES, SEPTEMBER 2001



Source: Analysis of Data from Pew Center for the People and the Press

FIGURE 5.5:
EFFECT OF SUPPORT FOR THE IRAQ WAR ON NEGATIVE CIVIL LIBERTIES JUDGMENTS, 2001-2006



Source: Analysis of Data from Pew Center for the People and the Press

FIGURE 5.6:
EFFECT OF SUPPORT FOR VIETNAM WAR ON CIVIL LIBERTIES JUDGMENTS

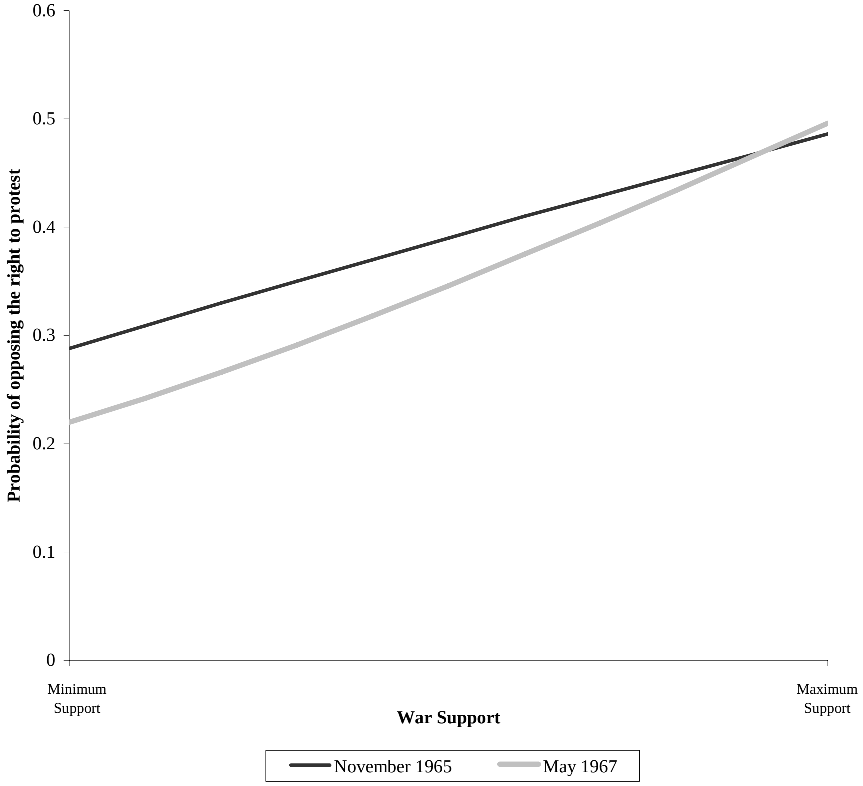


FIGURE 5.7:
SUPPORT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, 1938-1945

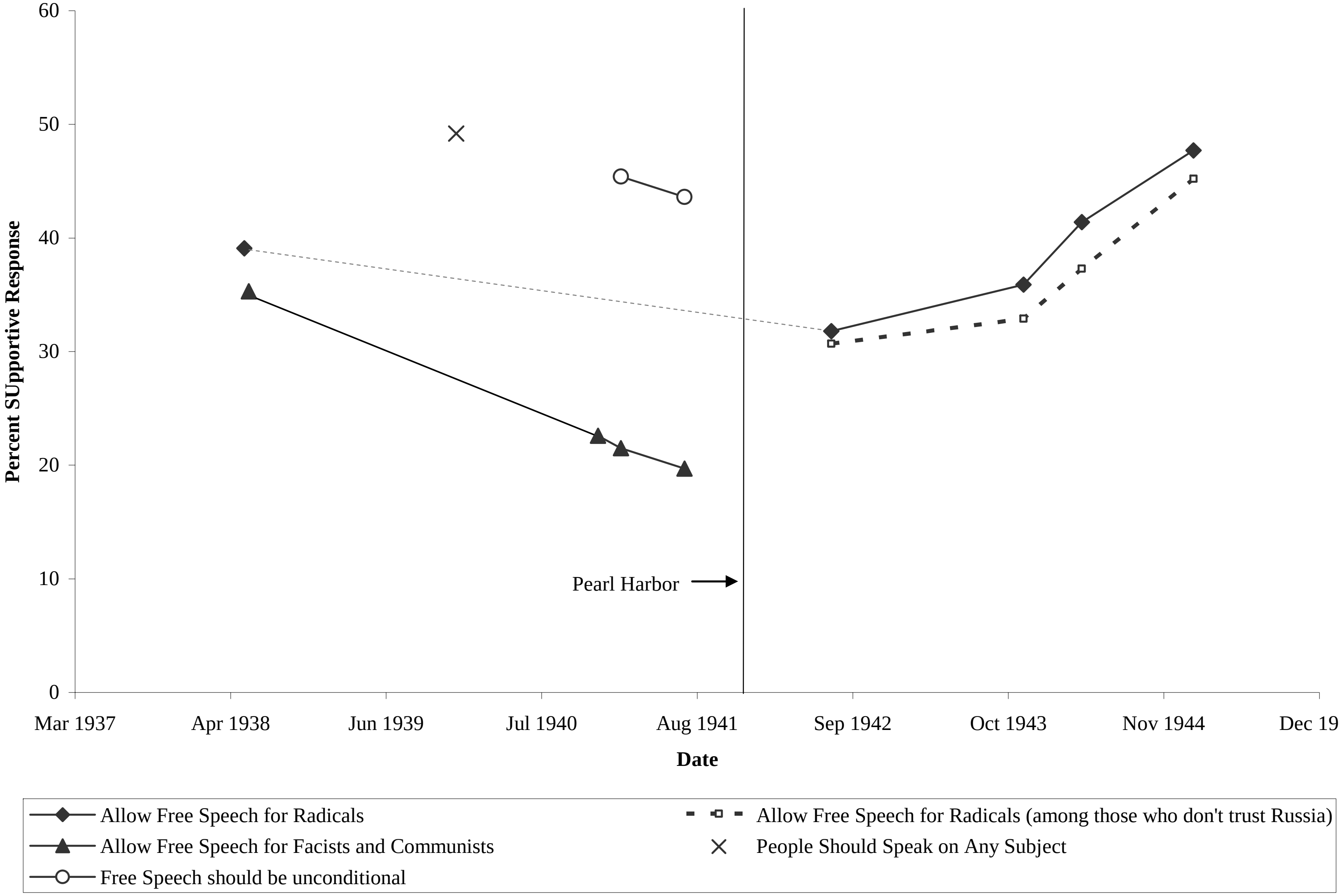


FIGURE 5.8:
EFFECT OF SUPPORT FOR WORLD WAR II ON NEGATIVE CIVIL LIBERTIES JUDGMENTS

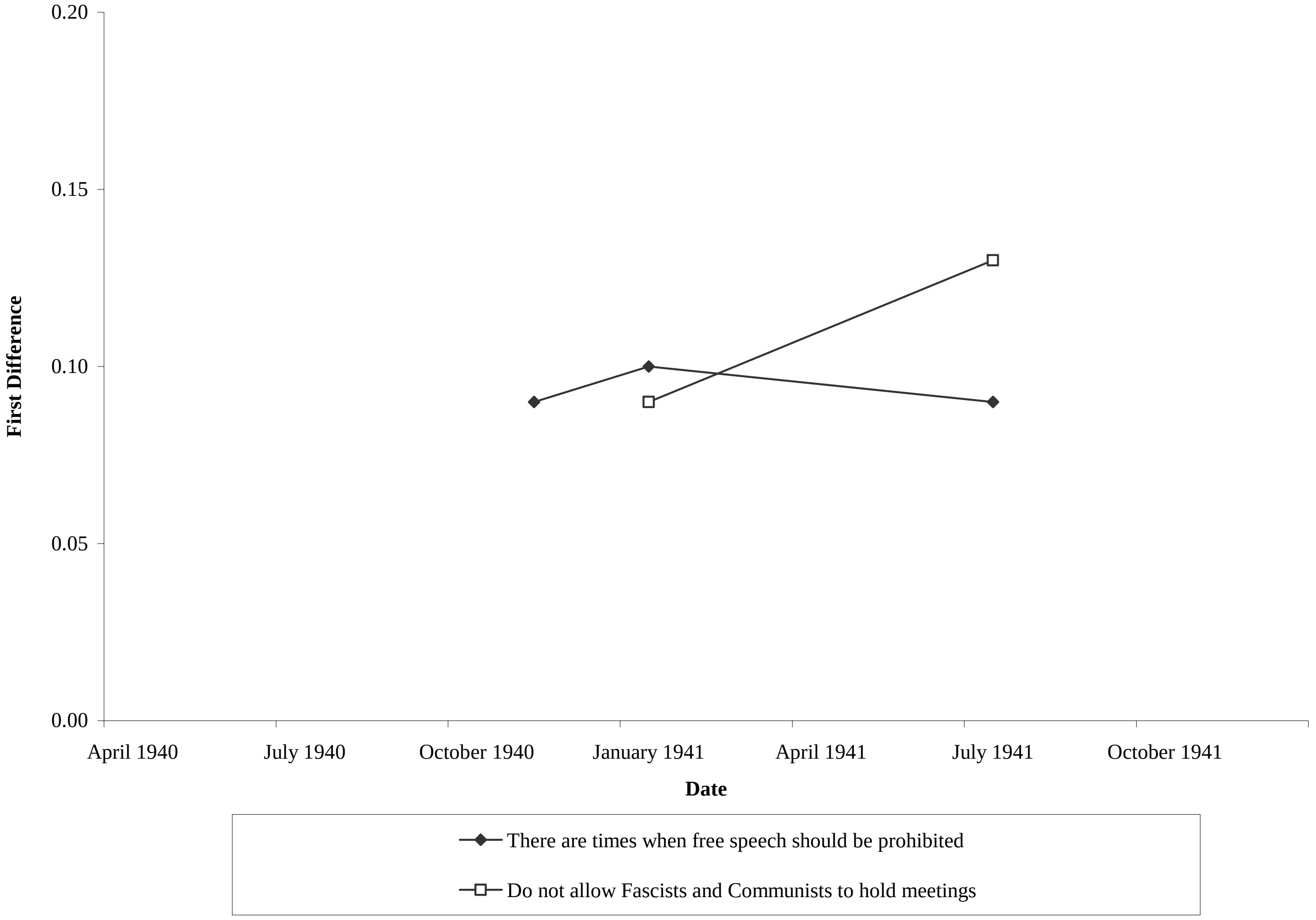


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FIGURE 5.9:
EFFECT OF SUPPORT FOR WORLD WAR II ON ALLOWING FREE SPEECH FOR RADICALS

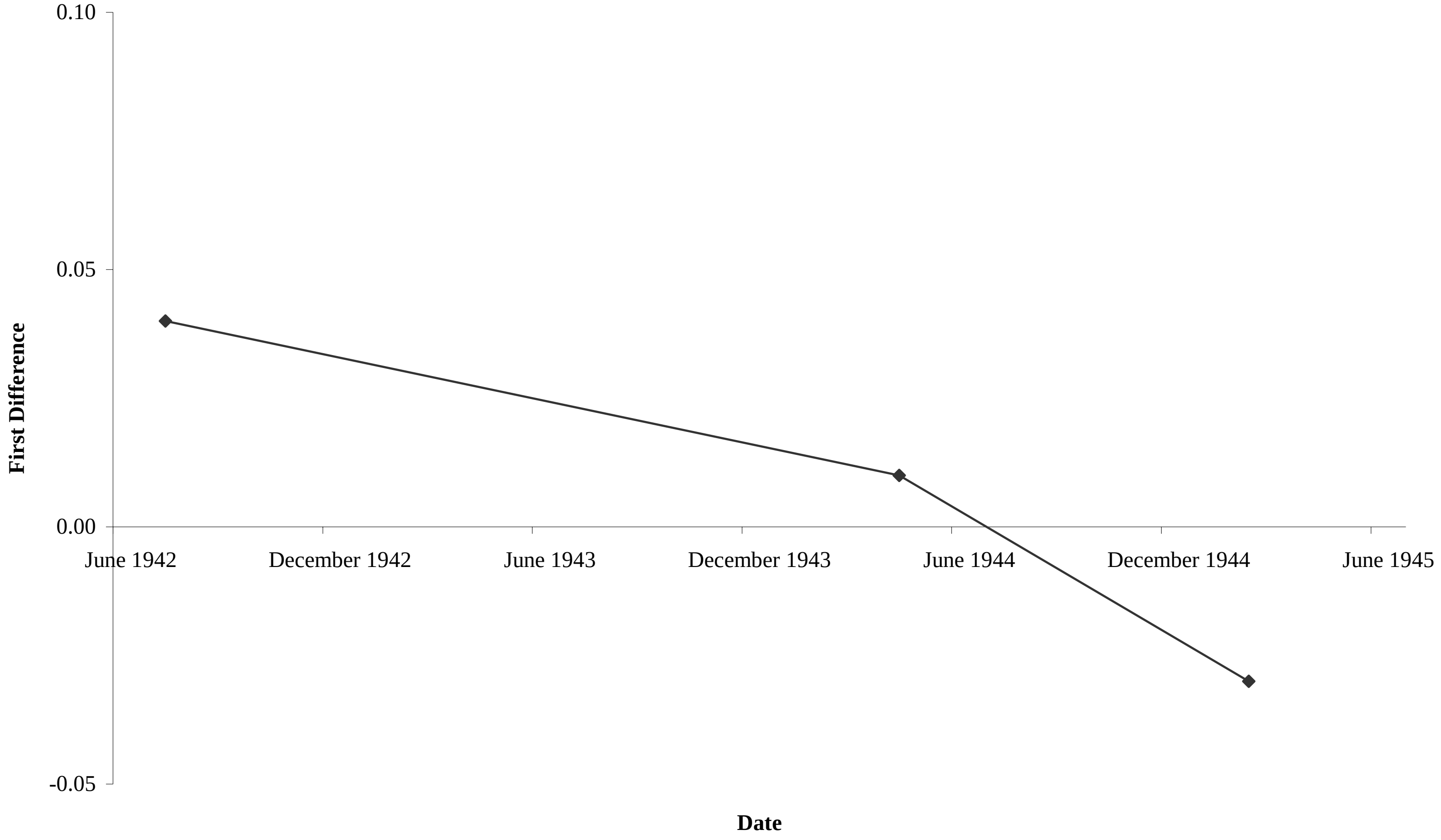


FIGURE 6.1:
JOHNSON, NIXON, AND HUMPHREY PLACEMENT ON THE VIETNAM FUTURE ACTION SCALE

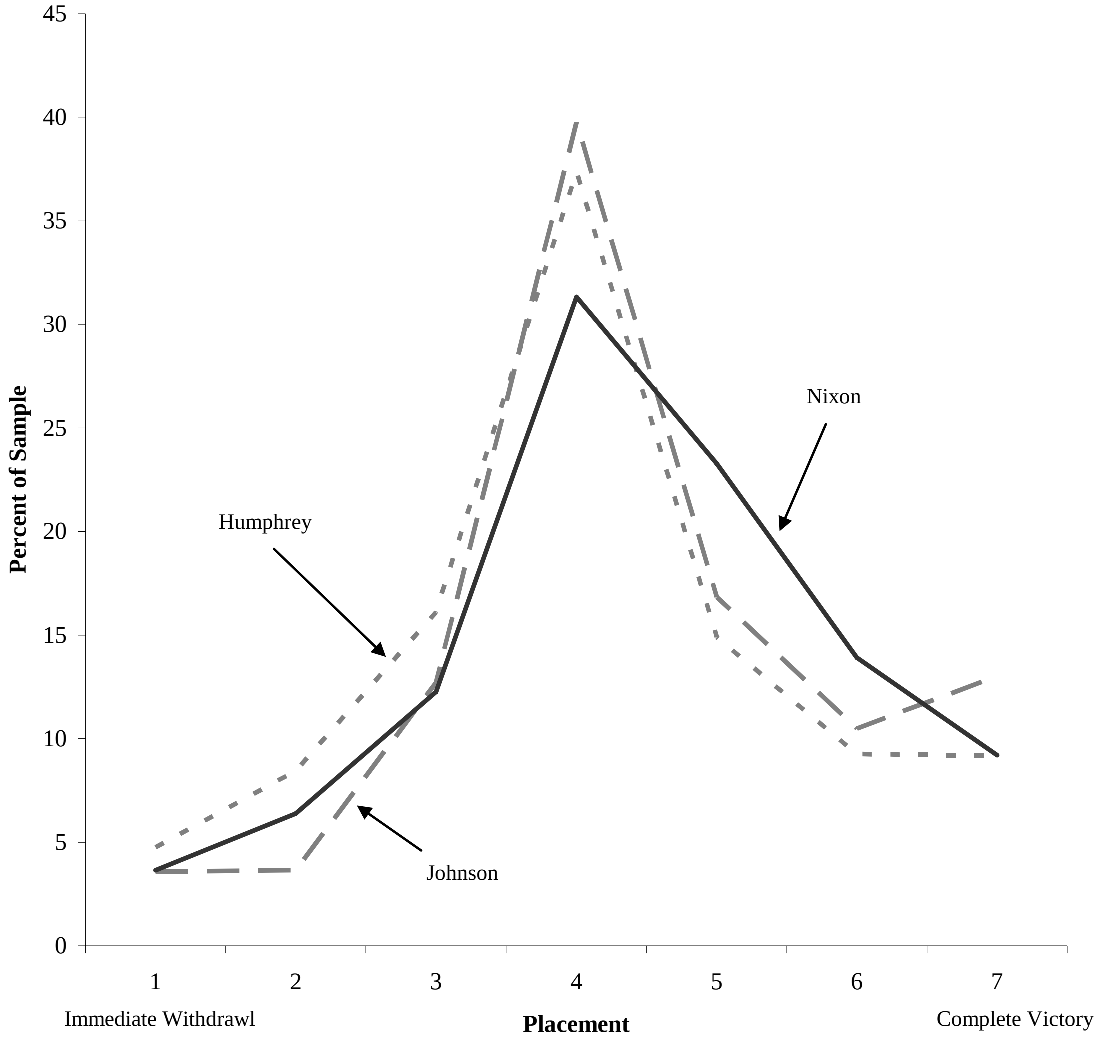


FIGURE 6.2:
WEIGHTED CHANGE IN REAL DISPOSABLE INCOME AS A PREDICTOR OF INCUMBENT VOTE SHARE OF TWO-PARTY VOTE

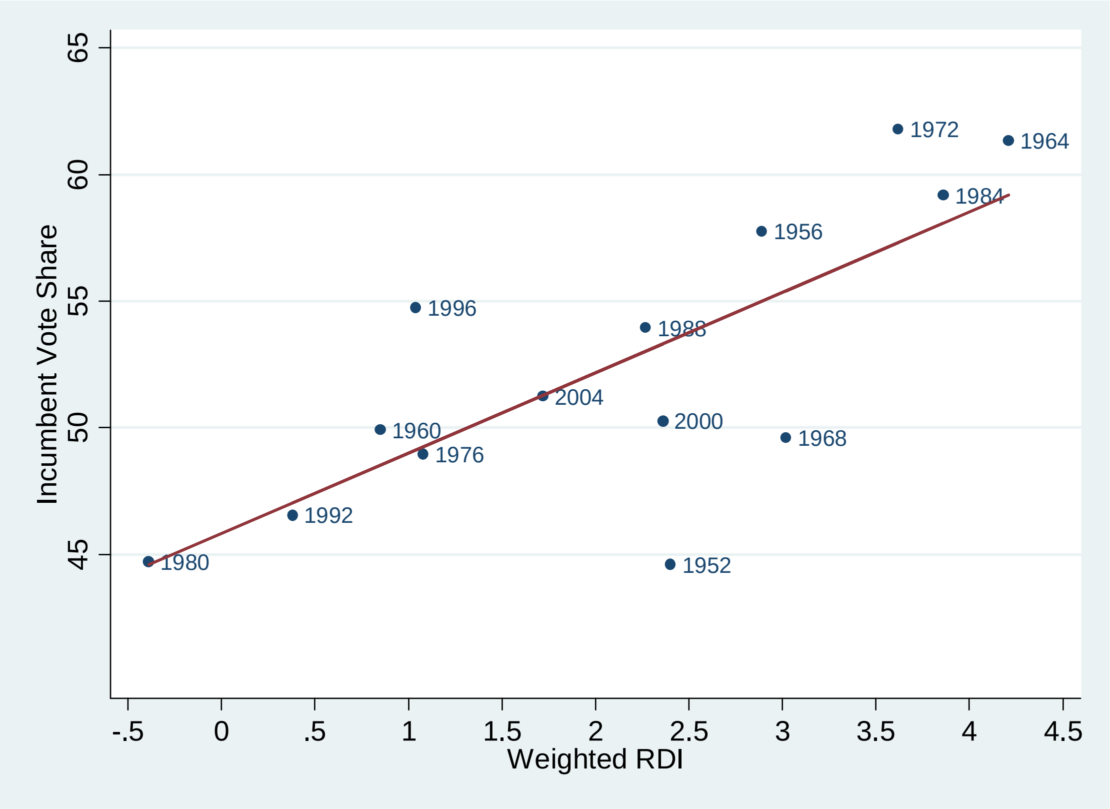


FIGURE 6.3:
TRENDS IN FEAR OF TERRORISM, 2001-2006

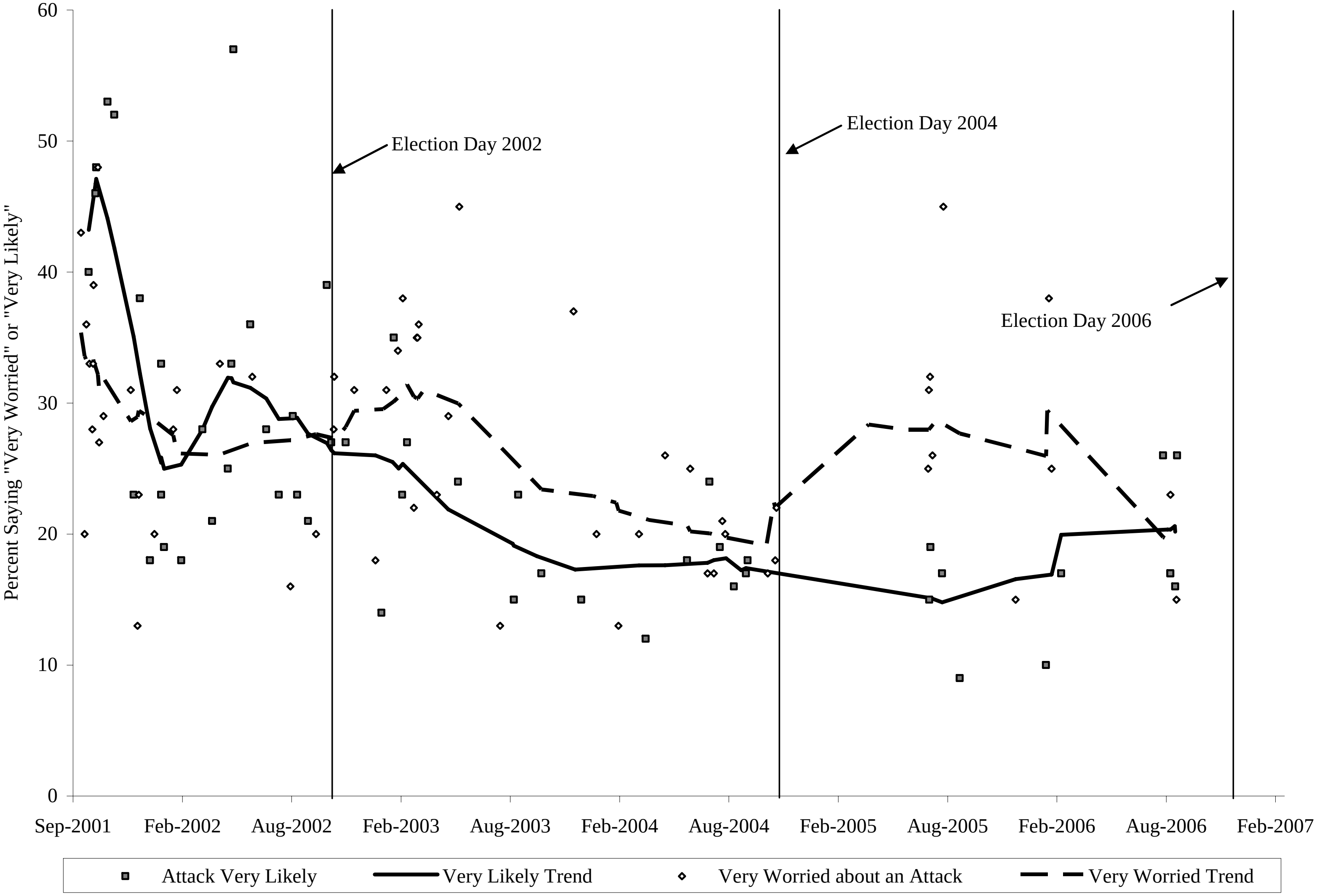


FIGURE 6.4:
BUSH LEADERSHIP RATINGS, 2000-2004

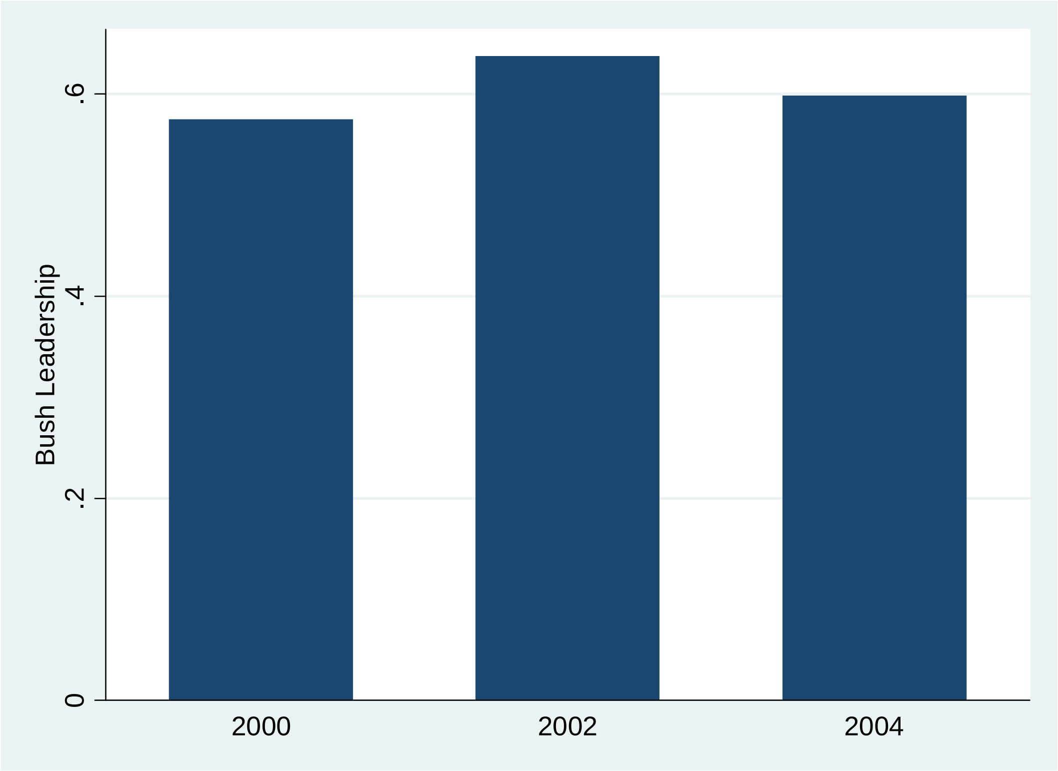


FIGURE 6.5:
BUSH FEELING THERMOMETER RATINGS, 2000-2004

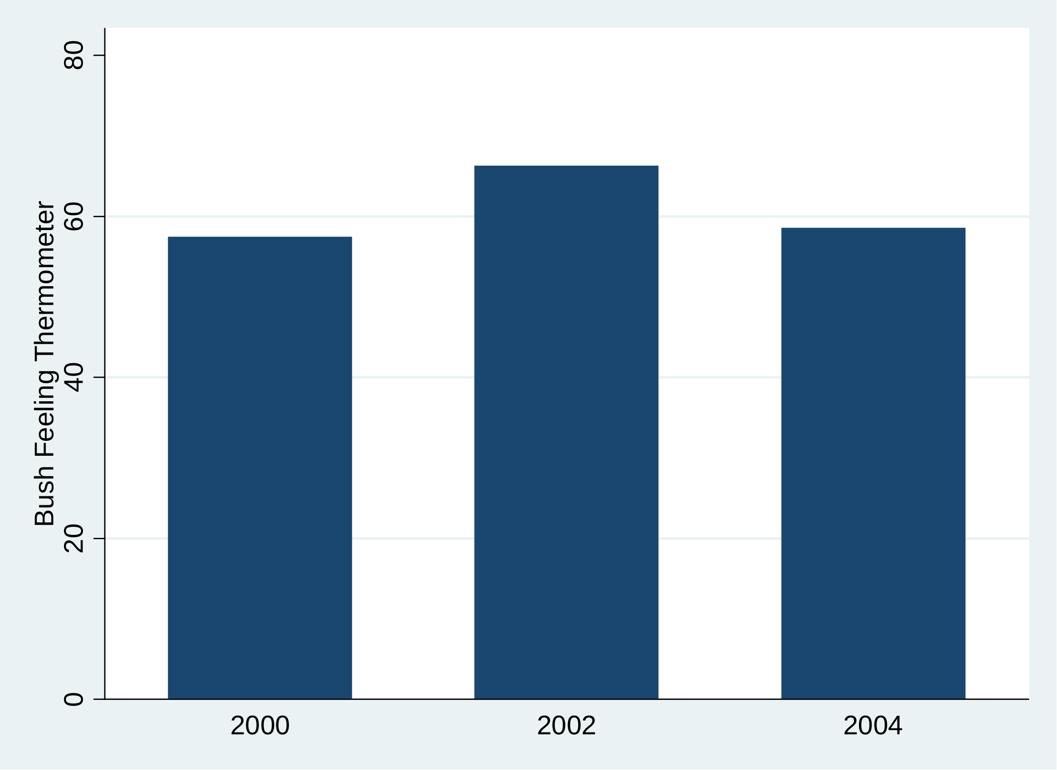


FIGURE 6.6:
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BUSH LEADERSHIP AND BUSH EVALUATION, 2000-2004

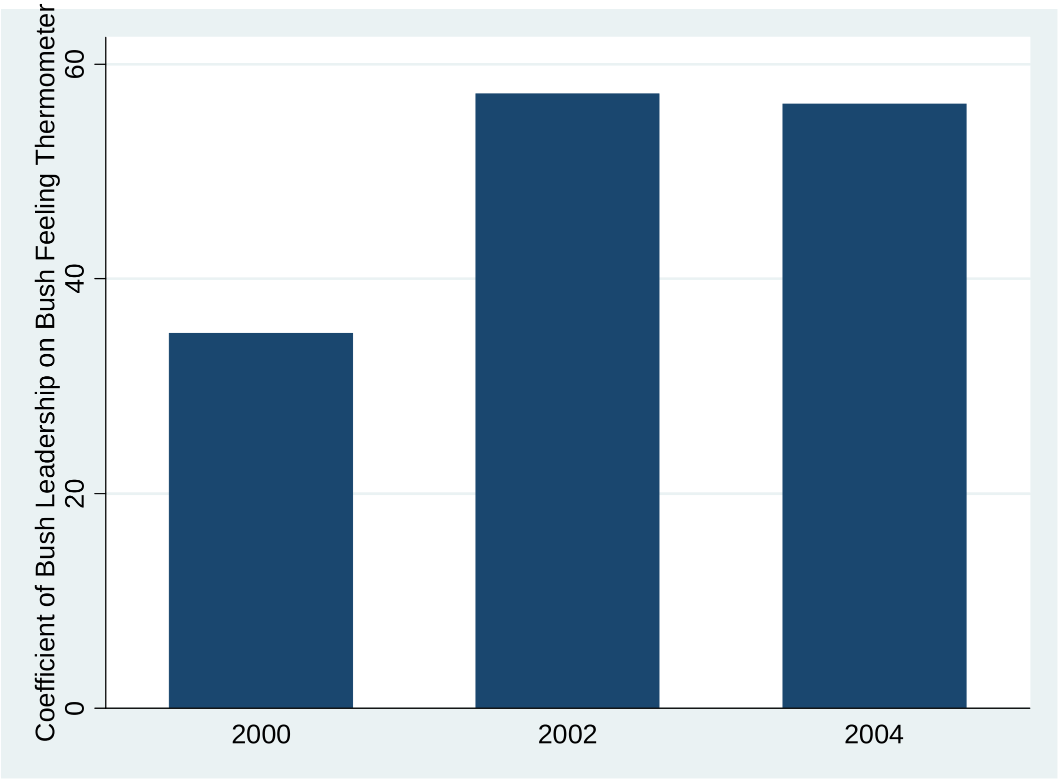
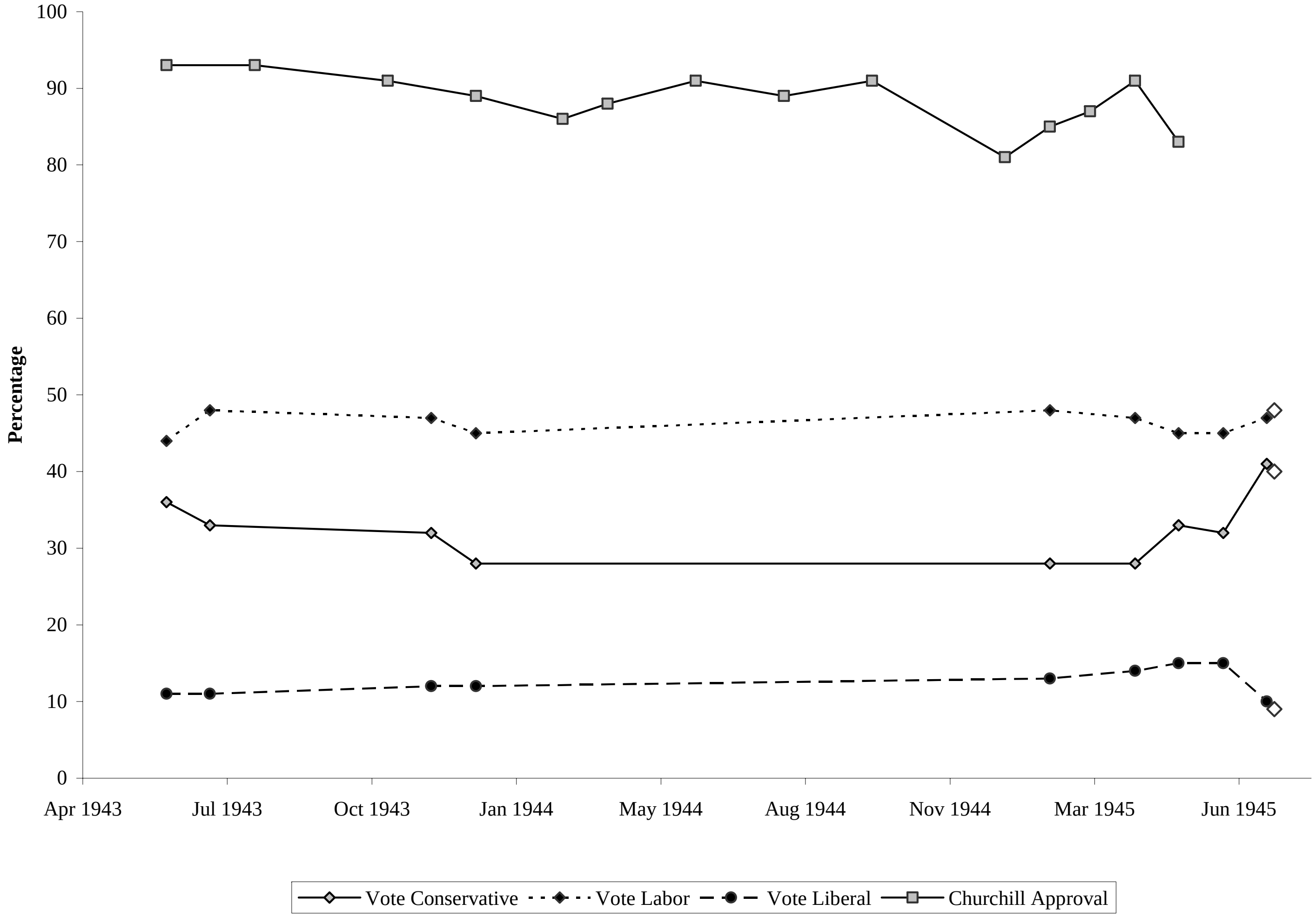


FIGURE 6.7: POLITICAL PREFERENCES, BIPO POLLS 1943-1945



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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 1:

Description of Data and Weighting

Modern opinion polls are conducted using probability sampling to ensure that every citizen has an equal chance of being interviewed. However, polls in the U.S. before the 1950s were conducted using quota-controlled sampling methods, where pollsters sought to interview certain predetermined proportions of people from particular segments of the population (see Berinsky 2006 for a description of the quota sampling practices). While some pollsters used quotas in seeking a descriptively representative group of citizens (Roper 1940), others designed quotas to produce sample proportions that differed systematically from the population. George Gallup was most interested in predicting elections, so he drew samples to represent each population segment in proportion to the votes it usually cast in elections. Because Southerners, African Americans, and women turned out at low rates in this period, these groups were deliberately underrepresented in opinion polls. For example, the 1940 Census found that 50 percent of the U.S. population were women, 10 percent were African American, and 31 percent lived in the South. By contrast, a December 1940 Gallup poll included only 34 percent women, 3 percent African Americans, and 13 percent Southerners.[1] Thus, the Gallup data that scholars use to represent the voice of the mass public, in fact, come from a skewed sample of that public.

The practice of quota sampling also introduced unintended distortions. Apart from having to fulfill certain demographic quotas, interviewers were given much discretion to select particular citizens to interview. Since interviewers preferred to work in safer areas and tended to survey approachable respondents, the "public" they interviewed often differed markedly from the public writ large. For example, the 1940 census indicated that about 10 percent of the population had at least some college education, while almost 30 percent of a typical 1940 Gallup sample had attended college. Similarly, polls conducted by Gallup and Roper tended to include more "professionals" than identified by the Census. The skew in these variables is not surprising, given that education and occupation were not quota categories. It is likely that the highly-educated and professionals were more willing to be interviewed, and as a result, comprise a disproportionately large share in these samples.

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[1] These figures are typical of the polls we have examined through the early 1940s. By the mid-1940s, however, Gallup adjusted his gender quotas to interview equal numbers of men and women. This change in the composition of the sample makes it difficult to track real changes in opinion over time.

For the purposes of interpreting frequencies on variables of interest, the central problem is that many of the survey samples do not represent certain groups in proportion to their population share. But though the quota-controlled sample data were collected in ways that appear from a modern vantage point to be haphazard, the data collection process introduced *predictable* deviations between the characteristics of the sample and that of the population. I can therefore employ methods designed to account for these measurable differences to make reasonable inferences.

A Weighting Solution

The quota-controlled sampling procedures introduced a unit non-response problem – certain classes of individuals were either willingly or inadvertently underrepresented in the samples. When we have detailed information about the characteristics of non-respondents, we can employ selection bias techniques to account for the differences between the sample and the population (Achen 1986; Breen 1996; Heckman 1979). But when we only have information about the population relative to the sample – auxiliary information taken from the census – weighting adjustments are typically applied to reduce the bias in survey estimates that nonresponse can cause (Holt and Eliot 1991; Lohr 1999; Kalton and Flores-Cervantes 2003).[2]

I employ a model-based poststratification weighting scheme.[3] Under the model-based approach to sampling – which provides the foundation for our weighting strategy – the values of the variables of interest are considered to be random variables. Model-based approaches therefore involve employing a model of the joint probability distribution of the population variables (Thompson 2002). It is necessary to take a model-based approach to draw inferences from quota samples because, as Lohr (1999) notes, we do not know the probability with which individuals were sampled. Through the use of weights, I can have greater confidence that the inferences I draw about public opinion more accurately reflect underlying public sentiment.

Though the use of weights to adjust for non-response is common, there is controversy about the best way to implement weighting (Lohr 1999). In a preliminary analysis, I therefore implemented four solutions recommended by the survey weighting literature (see Bethlehem 2002; Deville and Sarndal 1992; Deville, Sarndal, and Sautory 1993; Kalton and Flores-Cervantes 2003; Little 1993; Gelman 2005; Gelman and Carlin 2002). These methods were cell-weighting, raking, regression estimation, and a regression modeling approach advanced by Gelman (2005). Each of these techniques has its own strengths and weaknesses, and I used all four methods in order to gauge their robustness. In the end, I found that all the methods gave roughly equivalent answers (see Berinsky 2006 for details). I prefer cell weighting because it is simple to employ and requires minimal assumptions. All of the aggregate opinion results presented in this book are therefore weighted through the cell-weighting method. It should again be noted that researchers employing different weighting methods will come to similar pictures regarding the shape of public opinion from this era – conclusions that are sometimes different than those reached using the raw survey marginals.

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[2] The use of weighting adjustments can lower the precision of survey estimates because we trade off a reduction in bias for an increase in variance (Kalton and Flores-Cervantes 2003). Given the compositional imbalance in the quota samples, we believe that this is a worthwhile tradeoff.

[3] The poststratification weights we employ are different from probability weights, which are known at the time the survey is designed and are used to adjust for non-constant probability of sample inclusion. It is not possible to employ probability weights for the quota samples we examine here.

Cell weighting is a simple way to bring the sample proportion in line with auxiliary information – namely census estimates of the population proportion. I stratify the sample into a number of cells (*J*), based on the characteristics of the population deemed important (the matrix of X variables). If the distribution of demographic variables in the sample differs from the distribution in the population, poststratification weights are used to combine the separate cell estimates into a population estimate by giving extra weight to groups underrepresented in the sample and less weight to overrepresented groups. Using cell weighting to adjust for non-response requires us to assume that the respondents within a given cell represent the non-respondents within that cell. That is, I must assume that the data is missing at random (MAR) (Little and Rubin 2002; I discuss possible violations of this assumption below). Under post stratification, the estimate of the population mean for our quantity of interest (for instance, support for FDR) is:

$$\hat{\theta} = \sum_{j=1}^{J} \frac{N_j}{N} \hat{\theta}_j$$

where N_j refers to the population size in each poststratification cell *j*, N is the total population size , $\hat{\theta}$ is the weighted estimate of the mean, and $\hat{\theta}_j$ is the sample mean for poststratification cell *j* (Lohr 1999).

A well-known practical limitation of cell weighting is that as the number of stratification variables increases, the number of weighting cells becomes larger. With fewer cases in each cell, the aggregate estimates derived from the weighting estimator are less stable. Still, cell weighting has advantages. First, as Lohr notes, cell weighting requires minimal assumptions beyond that the data is MAR (an assumption common to all forms of weighting, including those discussed below). For instance, as Kalton and Flores-Cervantes (2003) note, unlike other methods, cell weighting requires no assumptions regarding the structure of response probabilities across cells. In addition, cell weighting allows the researcher to take advantage of information concerning the joint distribution of weighting variables – information I have from census data.

What to weight on? The art of selecting weighting variables

Poststratification weighting rests on a firm statistical foundation, but in practice requires a series of data analytic choices. All weighting methods, after all, rely on auxiliary information to arrive at valid inferences. Kalton and Flores-Cervantes (2003) note that it is important to choose auxiliary variables that predict the response probabilities of the different cells. To make the case that our methods capture and correct for differences between the survey samples and the population, I discuss how auxiliary information from the census can be used to correct the problems introduced by quota sampling.

The distortions introduced by quota sampling can be divided into two types: “non-representative strata size” and “non-random selection within strata.” Non-representative strata size distortions arose through the instructions the central survey offices of the polling firms gave to the field staff – for example, by setting the quota of female respondents below their true population proportion, the pollsters deliberately skewed their samples. By contrast, “non-random selection within strata distortions” are a result of interviewer discretion in respondent selection. This discretion ensured that the citizens who were interviewed differed in systematic ways from citizens who were not. Though these distortions arise through different processes, both can be addressed with a common solution. By employing auxiliary information about the population, I can correct for the known differences between the sample and the population.

The use of auxiliary information is an especially powerful way to correct for non-representative strata size distortions. There is no reason to suspect that the members of deliberately under-represented groups – such as women and Southerners – who were interviewed were systematically different from the members of those groups who were not interviewed (conditioning on the interviewer-induced differences that I address below). After all, the sample imbalance exists because the pollsters deliberately drew non-representative samples based on these characteristics. Thus, using the cases of the underrepresented groups who were interviewed to represent those respondents who were not interviewed is appropriate. I can simply use the observable characteristics of the respondents to reweight the data.

Auxiliary information can also be used to correct for distortions arising from non-random selection within strata. The latitude given to interviewers in selecting their subjects ensured that the probability of being interviewed depended on respondent characteristics that interviewers found attractive. Thus, within quota categories, those citizens who were interviewed were not necessarily representative of the population in that category, potentially violating the MAR assumption. Correcting for non-random selection within strata is difficult because I do not have information on the people who were not interviewed. However, I do sometimes have important information that can be employed in analysis – namely the education level of the respondent. While interviewers did not explicitly select respondents on the basis of their schooling, education is the best proxy the surveys have for the “observables” that made an interviewer more likely to pick one individual from a given demographic group than another individual. The key is that education: (1) is a powerful predictor of who is a desirable interview subject, (2) affects politically relevant variables, (3) was *not* used as a quota control, but (4) was often measured by survey organizations. Therefore, by utilizing auxiliary information on education levels, I can account for at least some of the problems introduced by non-random selection within strata. Although education measures were not included in every survey in this period, a respondent's occupation can serve a similar purpose. For the same reason that interviewers gravitated to highly educated respondents, they tended to interview professionals at the expense of laborers and other members of the work force. In addition, occupation, like education, was not used as a firm quota variable. Thus, even when education is not available, I can correct for non-random selection within strata with auxiliary information on occupation.

The use of auxiliary data – particularly on education and occupation – to account for differences between the sample and the population is imperfect. It is possible that the low-education respondents selected by interviewers were not fully representative of the population of low education citizens. Thus, controlling for education does not completely solve the non-random selection within strata problem because the use of weights may multiply the influence of respondents who are "unusual." However, education captures many of the important interviewer-induced differences between respondents and non-respondents. While quota-controlled sampling procedures reduced the probability that certain individuals – women, southerners, non-professionals, and those with low education – would be interviewed, no individuals were excluded from the sampling scheme. Every individual therefore had some probability – no matter how low – of being included in the survey samples of this era. By using auxiliary information on education and occupation, I can take advantage of the residue of interviewer-induced distortions to correct at least some of the problems caused by non-random selection within strata. Controlling for some of the problem through the use of proxy variables, such as education, is preferable to completely ignoring the problem. In essence, by conditioning on the variables that affect the probability that a given individual would be interviewed, I can better fulfill the conditions required by the MAR assumption. Without detailed information on non-respondents, this strategy is the best solution available to modern researchers.

In sum, the use of auxiliary information can mitigate the deficiencies of quota controlled sampling procedures. Thus, in aggregate analysis, I argue that researchers should weight the data on education levels and occupation and those quota category variables – such as gender, region, and age – that can be matched to census data. The necessary population counts for the 1940 census are available from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (Ruggles et al. 2004). Even when weighting makes only a modest difference in conclusions, it nonetheless provides more confidence that our estimates are not attributable to problematic sample design.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 2:

SURVEY QUESTION WORDING – IRAQ WAR ANALYSIS

Independent Variables – Media Use

Information Scale – items are recoded into an additive scale, rescaled to the 0-1 interval

1. Which party has the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington … the Democrats or the Republicans?
    A. Democrats
    B. Republican

2. Whose responsibility is it to decide if a law is constitutional or not … the President, Congress, or the Supreme Court?
    A. The President
    B. Congress
    C. The Supreme Court

3. Whose responsibility is it to nominate judges to Federal Courts … the President, Congress, or the Supreme Court?
    A. The President
    B. Congress
    C. The Supreme Court

How closely are you following the news about the situation in Iraq now?

A. Very closely
B. Somewhat closely
C. Not very closely
D. Not closely at all.

Do you ever watch Fox News?

A. Yes
B. No

Note: Partisanship is measured using a branching 7-point scale, rescaled to the 0-1 interval, with Strong Democrats as “1” and Strong Republicans as “0.”

Experimental Treatments – Rs are randomly assigned to one of 4 conditions

Condition 1 – No introductory Questions Asked

Condition 2 – Casualty Guess Only

1. Please give your best guess to this next question, even if you are not sure of the correct

answer. As you know, the United States is currently involved in a war in Iraq. Do you happen to know how many soldiers of the U.S. military have been killed in Iraq since the fighting began in March 2003?

Enter number: _____
[If DK or no answer, probe:] "What is your best guess?"
[If DK or no answer again, probe a second time:] "Even if you are not sure, I'd like you to give me your best guess."
[If DK or no answer to the second probe, record the answer as given.]

[Condition 3 – Correct Information Only]

1. As you know, the United States is currently involved in a war in Iraq. You might be interested to know that since the fighting began in March 2003, 901 soldiers have been killed in Iraq. [NOTE: The casualty count was updated once to 915 in the course of the experiment.]

[Condition 4 – Both Questions Asked:]

1. Please give your best guess to this next question, even if you are not sure of the correct answer. As you know, the United States is currently involved in a war in Iraq. Do you happen to know how many soldiers of the U.S. military have been killed in Iraq since the fighting began in March 2003?

Enter number: _____
[If DK or no answer, probe:] "What is your best guess?"
[If DK or no answer again, probe a second time:] "Even if you are not sure, I'd like you to give me your best guess."
[If DK or no answer to the second probe, record the answer as given.]

2. Many people don't know the answer to this question, but according to the latest estimates, 915 soldiers have been killed in Iraq since the fighting began in March 2003.

Dependent Variables

1. Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?
    a. Right
    b. Wrong

1a. Do you feel strongly or not strongly that the U.S. made the [right/wrong] decision?
    a. Strongly
    b. Not Strongly

2. All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the current war with Iraq has been worth fighting, or not?
    a. worth fighting
    b. not worth fighting

2a. Do you feel strongly or not strongly that the war in Iraq [has/has not] been worth fighting?
a. Strongly
b. Not Strongly

These dependent variables are recoded as a 4-point scale with support for the war as “4” and opposition to the war as “1.”

Coding Rules:

Information is measured by the number of correct answers to three multiple-choice questions concerning the roles of the different branches of the U.S. government (see Mondak 2001). Attention paid to Iraq is measured on a 4-point scale ranging from “very closely” to “not at all closely.” Education is measured on a 4-point scale (less than high school/high school graduate/some college/college graduate). Partisanship is measured using the standard 7-point National Elections Study scale

MNL ANALYSIS OF DETERMINANTS OF ESTIMATES OF WAR DEATHS

Variable	**Correct Answer vs. Underestimate**	**Correct Answer vs. Overestimate**
	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)
Constant	1.67 (0.45)**	-0.08 (0.70)
Information	-0.94 (0.31)**	-1.44 (0.48)**
Education	0.10 (0.09)	0.06 (0.15)
Gender	0.03 (0.18)	-0.02 (0.29)
Follow Iraq News	-2.06 (0.38)**	-1.33 (0.61)**
Watch Fox News	-0.14 (0.53)	0.42 (0.85)
Party Identification (Strong Dem High)	-0.51 (0.26)**	0.11 (0.43)

N=621
LL=-544.58

PROBIT ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF CASUALTY ESTIMATES ON SUPPORT FOR THE IRAQ WAR

Variable	**U.S. Made Correct Decision**	**War Has Been Worth Fighting**
	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)
Constant	1.69 (0.36)	1.23 (0.35)
Log (Casualties)	-0.05 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.11)
Party Identification	-2.09 (0.17)**	-1.95 (0.17)**
N	609	610
LL	-335.76	-343.31

**=p<.05; *=p<.10

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 3

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD CONTENT ANALYSIS

In order to measure the balance of elite rhetoric for the period between 1938 and 1945, I coded the text of the *Congressional Record*. To collect relevant entries, I had my research assistants consult the Record's index for each year from 1938 to 1945 and gather all entries under the headings "war" and "World War Two."[1] Excluding all entries referring to either the appendix or to particular bills, the internationalist tone of every speech and remark made on the floor of Congress was assessed. [2]

Creating the relevant codes was not a straightforward task. The meaning of any particular statement within the *Congressional Record* is entirely dependent upon the context in which it was presented. Consider the hypothetical example of a Congressman arguing that the United States ought to send weapons and other supplies to the Allies, but not send American troops; the argument would have been strongly interventionist in 1939, moderately interventionist in most of 1941, and isolationist in 1942 or thereafter. Additionally, there is the issue of coding speeches in which a Congressman argues that it had been a mistake to aid the Allies initially, but having already done so the U.S. was now committed, and must therefore undertake other interventionist policies in order to win the war. In order to avoid confusion, each statement was coded based on two criteria: tone and position. For both criteria, we used the same three-category coding scheme: internationalist, isolationist, and indifference.

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[1] It should be noted that the entry for "World War Two" varies from year to year; one year it may read "World War Two," while in others it reads as "World War 2" or "World War no. 2."

[2] The index sometimes refers to a page number including only part of a speech, debate, or other exchange on the war; in those cases it is necessary to backtrack to the beginning of the debate, and then follow through to the end.

The tonal code refers to the overall theme or message of the speech. If the statement conveys sympathy for the Allies or antipathy for the Axis, then it is coded as interventionist, even if it does not advocate helping the Allies. If the tone implies that little difference lies between the Allies and the Axis[3], then the tone is coded as isolationist. If the tone seems genuinely indifferent, it is coded as neutral. If a statement advocates helping the Allies (independent of the form that help might actually take), the statement is coded as pro-interventionist; alternatively if it advocates keeping out of the conflict or suggests an ambivalent stance towards the allies, it is coded as pro-isolationist. Thus, statements referring to the moral worth or suffering of British friends, the evil and mendacity of Hitler/Germany, or the greatness and importance of democracy (to name just a few), are coded as pro-interventionist *even if they do not advocate military aid*. Similarly, statements that malign allied propaganda, draw moral equivalence between the belligerents, or stress the primacy of American security are coded pro-isolationist *even if they do not expressly advocate neutrality*.

The positional code refers to the actual policy position taken in the speech regarding either the bill, measure, or other specific issue at hand. For example, if the speaker advocates extending additional lend-lease aid to the Allies, or increasing America's own defense preparation, then that remark is coded as interventionist. If the speaker argues against aiding the Allies, their remark is coded as isolationist. The remarks suggesting indifference are coded as neutral. For instance, in the debate over the amendment of the Neutrality Act allowing for greater aid to the Allies, speeches supporting the amendments are coded as pro-interventionist, while those opposing the amendments are coded as pro-isolationist. This measure helps to illustrate how the debate was viewed at the time.

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[3] For example, an isolationist tone may be inferred from a statement that compares German imperialism in Eastern Europe to British imperialism in India, questions the moral difference between Hitler and Stalin, or suggests that America should not concern herself over who wins the war.

Given that content analysis of a text is somewhat subjective, and given that we had multiple researchers coding different years, it was necessary to take steps to ensure inter-coder consistency. Each coder went through a two-hour training session in which sample passages were coding and discussed. To measure the degree of consistency, we gave each coder the same several pages from the record as a sample to code independently, in order to compare their respective results and ensure their consistency. Furthermore, in a few instances we had one coder independently recode randomly chosen selections from another coder's assigned year, without having first seen that other coder's results, in order to ensure consistency. We found that, in these tests, inter-coder consistency was approximately ninety percent.

In Figure 3.1, I present the proportion of pro-war to anti-war statements of members of Congress from 1938-1945, broken down by party. In addition to the raw data points, I present smoothed data series. I created these series using a loess smoother, employing Cleveland's tricube weighting function, with a bandwidth of 40 percent of the data. In Figure 3.1, I present the tonal data, but the results from the two coding systems yielded results that were highly similar; the positional data graph looks nearly identical to Figure 3.1.

WORLD WAR II ANALYSIS

While the World War II data was collected using quota-sampling methods, as noted above, it is possible to draw inferences about the U.S. population from this data through methods that account for bias in the sampling procedures. In the appendix to Chapter 1, I outlined a strategy to estimate aggregate statistics, such as population means from the survey data using poststratification weights. In this chapter I am also interested in estimating more complex relationships among the variables available in the data through individual level regression analysis. Whether or not to include weights in regression analysis is a source of ongoing controversy in the survey research literature.[4] Several authors caution against the use of weights in this manner (see Lohr 1999, pp. 362-365 for a review). This admonition is especially pertinent here because my weights are poststratification weights, not sampling weights. Winship and Radbill (1994) note that when weights are solely a function of observed independent variables that can be included in a regression model – as is the case with our data – unweighted OLS will yield unbiased parameter estimates. Thus, the most straightforward method of dealing with the potential bias created by quota sampling is simply to include the weighting variables as independent variables in the regression model (Gelman 2005; Gelman and Carlin 2002).[5] In this case, the problem is similar to omitted variable bias: the oversampling of certain types of respondents – namely highly educated white males – may mask the true relationship among other predictors if these variables are not controlled for. In this way, the individual and aggregate analysis are closely related, in that in order to get aggregate estimates, we average over the proportions of different types of respondents present in the population. Just as the cell weighting and the regression estimation methods incorporate information about the joint distribution of the sample, introducing the quota variables – and relevant interaction terms – as independent variables allows us to control for the sample imbalances introduced by the quota sampling methods of the time (see Berinsky 2006 for further discussion)

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[4] The concern here with the use of weights in regression analysis is distinct from the regression estimation methods discussed above.

[5] As Gelman counsels, "In a regression context, the analysis should include as 'X variables' everything that affects sample selection or nonresponse. Or, to be realistic, all variables should be included that have an important effect on sampling or nonresponse, if they also are potentially predictive of the outcome of interest" (2005, p. 3).

While it is possible to control for the bias in the coefficient estimates, compiling accurate measures of uncertainty is a complicated process. Standard tests of statistical significance assume that the data are drawn through probability sampling. Quota samples, however, rely on interviewer discretion for respondent selection, thereby diverging from strict random sampling. Thus, as Gschwend notes, “it is neither clear according to statistical theory how to compute a standard deviation, nor how to estimate standard errors.” (2005, 89).

In the analyses in this book, I follow the convention of other scholars who have analyzed the data (Baum and Kernell 2001; Schlozman and Verba 1979; Verba and Schlozman 1977; Weatherford and Sereyev 2000) and present standard errors for the estimated coefficients. In effect, I analyze the data as though it were generated through probability sampling. However, my confidence in the validity of the results does not rely on the statistical tests alone. The convergence of the results in the same period (pre-December 1941 versus post-December 1941) for both the information analyses in Chapter 3 and the group-based analyses in Chapter 4 speaks to the robustness of my results, given that the polls were conducted by different organizations that implemented quota sampling in different ways (see Berinsky 2006 for discussion of the different quota-sampling methods).

It should also be noted that tests of statistical significance on the individual coefficients are not sufficient to address the hypotheses evaluated in Chapter 3. My central argument is that supporters and opponents of FDR came to different conclusions regarding U.S. entry into the war as their information levels increased before December 1941. After Pearl Harbor, however, the effect of information on support for the war should be the same for both supporters and opponents of the president. I performed two sets of tests to assess my level of confidence in the analyses supporting this argument. I first performed a likelihood-ratio test to assess whether the information interactions were equivalent for supporters and opponents of FDR. Second, I used CLARIFY (2000) to put confidence bounds on the behavior of supporters and opponents of FDR at endpoints of information scale. This analysis allows me to test if, as I claim, high information supporters of FDR behaved differently than low-information supporters and, furthermore, if these two groups behaved differently than their corresponding numbers among FDR's opponents.

In almost all cases, both sets of tests confirmed my conclusion. However, I will briefly discuss cases where both tests did not yield the expected results. In two instances of the demonstration of the mainstream effect, I find that the null hypothesis of the equality of interactive terms is rejected, contrary to expectation. These two analyses are those using the October 1940 AIPO poll and the March 1943 Roper poll. However, while the coefficients are statically different in magnitude, the effect of information is in the same direction for both groups; higher levels of political information lead to higher levels of support for war. Thus, the substantive conclusion of the analysis is the expected one; the elite cue theory is supported.[6] The only test that is potentially problematic is the test for the equality of interactive terms in the January 1941 AIPO analysis. I cannot reject the null hypothesis that the coefficients are equal. However, the predicted probabilities of supporting England yield statically distinct results for supporters and opponents of FDR, as expected. Moreover, these results are almost identical to those found in an analysis performed on another dataset collected by OPOR at the exact same time. This convergence across independent data sets further bolsters the robustness of this result.

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[6] In the 1940 analysis, I find that information has a greater effect among opponents of FDR. This result makes sense given the context of the 1940 election. Given the stability of the pro-FDR war message and the sudden change in the anti-FDR war message, we would expect that opponents of FDR would be more responsive to changes in political knowledge.

The full results of the analysis are available in the on-line appendix, but I present several pieces of information about the analysis here. First, for each poll, I present: (1) the variable(s) used to measure FDR predispositions (2) The items used to create the information scales, with complete question wording, and (3) The wording of the dependent variable(s) – the measures of war support. Second, to give readers a flavor of the raw statistical analysis, I present the full logit results for two of the analyses (the remainder of the tables can be found in the on-line appendix). Finally, I present the tests of significance – both the LR tests and the predicted probability tests for each of the analyses.

SURVEY QUESTION WORDING – WORLD WAR II ANALYSIS

Note: All information measures are additive scales, rescaled to the 0-1 interval.

AIPO 176 – November 1939

FDR Predispositions:

A combination of the respondent's vote in the 1936 election and approval of FDR.

Information Scale:

1. 1. Have you heard of the Townsend Plan for Old Age Pensions? ("Yes" is scored as 1, else 0)
2. Do you recall how much per month each person is supposed to receive under the Townsend Plan? (Correct answer – $200 – is scored as 1, else 0).

Dependent Variable:

Do you approve of the change which Congress made in the Neutrality Act which permits nations at war to buy arms and airplanes in this country?

AIPO 215 – October 1940

FDR Predispositions:

The respondent’s vote in the 1936 election.

Information Scale:

1. Have you heard of the Wagner Labor Act? (“Yes” is scored as 1, else 0)
2. Have you heard of the Gallup Poll? (“Yes” is scored as 1, else 0)

Dependent Variables:

If it appears certain that England will be defeated by Germany and Italy unless the United States supplies her with more food and war materials, would you be in favor of this country giving more help to England?

In order to help England … should the United States send more airplanes to England even though this might delay our own national defense program?

OPOR 806 – January 1941

FDR Predispositions:

A combination of the respondent’s vote in the 1940 election and approval of FDR.

Information Scale:

1. Can you tell me the name of country where the armies of Greece and Italy are fighting? (Correct answer – Albania – is scored as 1, else 0).
2. Can you name four leaders of European countries and tell me what country each one heads? (Respondents are given 1 point for each correct answer)
3. Can you tell me name of five countries that Germany has conquered since the war began? (Respondents are given 1 point for each correct answer)
4. Can you tell me which country controls Gibraltar? (Correct answer – England – is scored as 1, else 0).
5. Do you happen to know how many years Hitler has been in power in Germany? (Correct answer – 8 years – is scored as 1, else 0).

Dependent Variable:

Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to do: to keep out of war ourselves or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into war?

AIPO 239 – June 1941

FDR Predispositions:

A combination of the respondent's vote in the 1940 election and approval of FDR.

Information Scale:

1. Can you tell me briefly what Colonel Lindbergh's views are on what our country should do about giving aid to Britain? (Correct answer – defeatism regarding Britain, America First, Pro-Germanism – is scored as 1, else 0).
2. Have you heard about Defense Savings Bonds and Stamps? ("Yes" is scored as 1, else 0)
3. Do you know what the difference is between Defense Bonds and Stamps? ("Yes" is scored as 1, else 0)

Dependent Variables:

If peace could be obtained today on the basis of Germany holding the countries she has conquered so far, and with Britain keeping the British Empire as it now stands, would you be in favor of such a peace?

Do you think the United States Navy should be used to guard (convoy) ships carrying war materials to Britain?

AIPO 243 – July/August 1941

FDR Predispositions:

A combination of the respondent's vote in the 1940 election and approval of FDR.

Information Scale:

1. Do you happen to know who General de Gaulle is? (Correct answer – "He is with the Free French" "A Free French General", "Leader of Free French Forces," "French General who is fighting against Germans" – is scored as 1, else 0).
2. Do you happen to know about where Dakar is? (Correct answer – West Africa, Northwest Africa, West Coast of Africa, across from Brazil, Africa near South America, French-west Africa – scored 1, else 0).

Dependent Variable:

Do you think the United States Navy should be used to guard (convoy) ships carrying war materials to Britain?

OPOR 817 – June 1942

FDR Predispositions:

The respondent's vote in the 1940 election..

Information Scale:

1. Here is a map of the world: Can you [correctly identify] Alaska on the map?
2. Can you find Brazil?
3. Can you find China?
4. Can you find Iceland?
5. Can you find Peru?
6. Can you find India?
7. Can you find Central America?

Dependent Variables:

Which of these two things do you think the U.S. should try to do when the war is over: Stay out of world affairs as much as we can, or take an active part in world affairs?

If Hitler offered peace now to all countries on the basis of not going farther, but of leaving matters as they are now, would you favor or oppose such a peace?

AIPO 300 – August 1943

FDR Predispositions:

The respondent's vote in the 1940 election.

Information Scale:

1. What do you understand by the term inflation? (Correct answer – lower value of dollar, skyrocketing prices, higher cost of living, dollar buys less, person with fixed income finds prices too high, money without good metal behind it, spending of money, more money than stuff to buy, using too much money, too much debt for current ability to pay, when demand exceeds supply – scored 1, else 0).
2. Do you happen to know what steps are being proposed to stop inflation? (Correct answer – price ceilings, price control, roll-back prices, curbing food prices, rent and other cost of living items-form commodities, wage ceilings, freezing salaries, subsidies, help farmers, rationing, taxation, taxes paid as you go, selling war bonds (diversion of surplus wealth), cutting out installment buying, bigger down payments – scored 1, else 0).

Dependent Variable:

If the German military leaders removed Hitler from office and offered peace now to all countries on the basis of not going farther, but of leaving matters as they are now, would you favor or oppose such a peace?
.

Roper 34 – March 1943

FDR Predispositions:

Respondent is scored as a supporter of FDR if s/he supports FDR in 1944 regardless of whether war is over or not. Respondent is scored as an opponent of FDR if s/he opposes FDR in 1944 regardless of whether war is over or not.

Information Scale:

1. Do you happen to remember the name of the man who is now Commander-In-Chief of the Allied force in North Africa? (Correct answer – Eisenhower – scored as 1, else 0).
2. Do you happen to remember who is now head of the Chinese government? (Correct answer – Chiang Kai-shek – scored as 1, else 0).
3. Do you happen to remember who became famous for betraying Norway? (Correct answer – Quisling – scored as 1, else 0).
4. Have you happened to notice, has Brazil declared herself an ally on our side? (Correct answer – Yes – scored as 1, else 0).
5. Have you happened to notice, has New Zealand declared herself an ally on our side? (Correct answer – Yes – scored as 1, else 0).
6. Have happened to notice, has Ireland declared herself an ally on our side? (Correct answer – No – scored as 1, else 0).

Dependent Variable:

Which one of these statements comes closest to what you would like to see us do when the war is over? (1) Stay on our side of the oceans and have as little as possible to do with Europe and Asia, (2) Try to keep the world at peace, but make no definite agreements with other countries, (3) Take an active part in some sort of an international organization with a court and police force strong enough to enforce its decisions

OPOR 21 – January 1944

FDR Predispositions:

The respondent's vote in the 1940 election.

Information Scale:

1. Can you tell me whether or not the Japanese now occupy these places in the Pacific? The Philippines? ("Yes" is scored as 1, else 0).
2. Wake Island? ("Yes" is scored as 1, else 0).
3. Burma? ("Yes" is scored as 1, else 0).
4. Dutch East Indies? ("Yes" is scored as 1, else 0).
5. Malay Peninsula? ("Yes" is scored as 1, else 0).
6. French Indo-China? ("Yes" is scored as 1, else 0).

Dependent Variable:

If the German army overthrew Hitler and then offered to stop the war and discuss peace terms with the Allies, would you favor or oppose accepting the offer of the German army?

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Roper 38 – February 1944

FDR Predispositions:

Respondent is scored as a supporter of FDR if s/he supports FDR in 1944 regardless of whether war is over or not. Respondent is scored as an opponent of FDR if s/he opposes FDR in 1944 regardless of whether war is over or not.

Information Scale:

1. Which of these figures do you think is closest to the size of the population of Japan proper (their home islands)? (Correct answer – 75 million – scored as 1, else 0).
2. How do you think Japan's steel industry compares in size with ours – would you say it is larger, about the same or smaller? (Correct answer – smaller – scored as 1, else 0).
3. Do you feel that Japanese industry in an equal length of time can produce more goods per workman than American industry, about the same, or less? (Correct answer – less – scored as 1, else 0).
4. Is it your impression that the Japanese army is larger than the German army, smaller, or about the same size? (Correct answer – smaller – scored as 1, else 0).
5. About how many Japanese do you feel can read their own language? Nearly all of them, most of them, about half of them, only a few of them? (Correct answer – most of them – scored as 1, else 0).

Dependent Variable:

> Which one of these programs would you prefer the next administration to follow through on: Take care of people, work with business men, or do you think they should do both?

SAMPLE LOGIT ANALYSIS

Table A3.1: AIPO 176 – October 1939

Do you approve of the change which Congress made in the Neutrality Act which permits nations at war to buy arms and airplanes in this country?

Variable	**Yes vs. DK**	**No vs. DK**
	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)
Constant	2.73 (0.61)**	1.11 (0.66)*
Male	0.92 (0.22)**	-0.31 (0.24)
Economic Class		
Upper Class	0.91 (0.97)	0.58 (0.68)
Middle Class	0.71 (0.22)**	0.35 (0.23)
On Relief	-0.35 (0.35)	-0.20 (0.38)
Census Region		
Midwest	-0.28 (0.21)	-0.28 (0.22)
South	0.55 (0.32)	-0.10 (0.36)
West	-0.12 (0.28)	0.15 (0.29)
Occupation		
Professional	0.13 (0.44)	-0.12 (0.47)
Farm	-0.60 (0.47)	-0.33 (0.51)
Labor	-0.10 (0.44)	0.01 (0.48)
Other	-0.36 (0.37)	-0.51 (0.40)
Information	0.38 (0.45)	0.87 (0.48)
Support FDR	0.14 (0.43)	-0.11 (0.49)
Oppose FDR	2.22 (0.86)*	2.51 (0.89)**
Info X Support FDR	0.13 (0.60)	-0.42 (0.66)
Info X Oppose FDR	-3.08 (0.98)**	-3.00 (1.00)**

N= 1548
LL= -1292.82

* = *p* < .10; ** = *p* < .05 (two-tailed test)

Table A3.2: AIPO 215 – October 1940

If it appears certain that England will be defeated by Germany and Italy unless the United States supplies her with more food and war materials, would you be in favor of this country giving more help to England?

Variable	**Send Supplies vs. Undecided**	**Do Not Send Supplies vs. Undecided**
	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)
Constant	1.73 (0.40)**	0.22 (0.49)
Support FDR	-0.30 (0.32)	-0.20 (0.41)
Oppose FDR	-0.54 (0.40)	-0.17 (0.49)
Information	0.98 (0.47)**	0.79 (0.55)
Info X Oppose FDR	0.82 (0.62)	-0.08 (0.73)
Info X Support FDR	0.56 (0.55)	-0.06 (0.65)
Male	0.45 (0.23)**	0.41 (0.28)
Occupation		
Professional	0.39 (0.33)	0.34 (0.38)
Farm	-0.24 (0.31)	-0.15 (0.37)
Unemployed	0.05 (0.42)	0.19 (0.52)
Other	-0.11 (0.31)	-0.10 (0.38)
Economic Class		
Upper Class	0.95 (1.03)	0.76 (1.12)
Middle Class	0.11 (0.22)	0.04 (0.26)
On Relief	-0.51 (0.34)	-0.49 (0.43)
Census Region		
New England	0.31 (0.36)	-0.38 (0.44)
Middle Atlantic	0.31 (0.23)	-0.26 (0.28)
West Central	0.07 (0.26)	0.11 (0.31)
South and Southwest	0.81 (0.34)**	-0.31 (0.42)
Rocky Mountain	0.64 (0.40)	0.10 (0.48)
Pacific	-0.11 (0.33)	-0.24 (0.39)

N= 2957
LL= -1434.07

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$ (two-tailed test)

STATISTICAL TESTS OF DIFFERENCES

Table A3.3: AIPO 176 – October 1939

Do you approve of the change which Congress made in the Neutrality Act which permits nations at war to buy arms and airplanes in this country?

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)= 11.51$; prob>$\chi^2=0.03$

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of "Approve of Changes" (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.65 (0.07)	0.68 (0.08)
Highest Information	0.71 (0.05)	0.34 (0.06)

High information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.4: AIPO 215 – October 1940

If it appears certain that England will be defeated by Germany and Italy unless the United States supplies her with more food and war materials, would you be in favor of this country giving more help to England?

* = *p* < .10; ** = *p* < .05 (two-tailed test)

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)= 0.68$; prob>$\chi^2=0.71$

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of "Send Supplies" (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.84 (0.03)	0.80 (0.04)
Highest Information	0.93 (0.01)	0.94 (0.01)

High information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are not statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.5: AIPO 215 – October 1940

In order to help England … should the United States send more airplanes to England even though this might delay our own national defense program?

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)= 6.35$ prob>$\chi^2=0.04$

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of “Send Airplanes to England” (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.56 (0.04)	0.49 (0.02)
Highest Information	0.71 (0.03)	0.75 (0.05)

High information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are not statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.6: OPOR 806 – January 1941

Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to do: to keep out of war ourselves or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into war?

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)= 3.38$; prob>$\chi^2=0.18$

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of “Help England” (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.31 (0.07)	0.35 (0.11)
Highest Information	0.73 (0.06)	0.44 (0.08)

High information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are not statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.7: AIPO 239 – June 1941

If peace could be obtained today on the basis of Germany holding the countries she has conquered so far, and with Britain keeping the British Empire as it now stands, would you be in favor of such a peace?

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)= 15.5$; prob>χ^2=0.0004

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of "Opposed to Peace" (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.52 (0.05)	0.56 (0.08)
Highest Information	0.76 (0.03)	0.47 (0.05)

High information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are not statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.8: AIPO 239 – June 1941

Do you think the United States Navy should be used to guard (convoy) ships carrying war materials to Britain?

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)= 5.29$; prob>χ^2=0.07

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of "Support convoy" (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.44 (0.05)	0.26 (0.06)
Highest Information	0.67 (0.04)	0.24 (0.04)

High information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are not statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.9: AIPO 243 –July/August 1941

Do you think the United States Navy should be used to guard (convoy) ships carrying war materials to Britain?

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)= 8.44$; prob>χ^2=0.01

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of "Support convoy" (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.57 (0.03)	0.33 (0.03)
Highest Information	0.75 (0.03)	0.33 (0.03)

High information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are not statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.10: OPOR 817 – June 1942

Which of these two things do you think the U.S. should try to do when the war is over: Stay out of world affairs as much as we can, or take an active part in world affairs?

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)= 10.65$; prob>χ^2=0.005

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of "Take active role" (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.59 (0.05)	0.67 (0.05)
Highest Information	0.97 (0.01)	0.89 (0.03)

High information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.11: OPOR 817 – June 1942

If Hitler offered peace now to all countries on the basis of not going farther, but of leaving matters as they are now, would you favor or oppose such a peace?

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)$= 3.13; prob>χ^2=0.21

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of "Take active role" (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.90 (0.04)	0.89 (0.05)
Highest Information	0.98 (0.01)	0.98 (0.02)

High information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are not statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are not statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.12: AIPO 300 – August 1943

If the German military leaders removed Hitler from office and offered peace now to all countries on the basis of not going farther, but of leaving matters as they are now, would you favor or oppose such a peace?

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)$= 1.97; prob>χ^2=0.37

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of "Reject Peace" (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.76 (0.05)	0.69 (0.06)
Highest Information	0.98 (0.02)	0.91 (0.06)

High information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are not statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are not statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.13: Roper 34 – March 1943

Which one of these statements comes closest to what you would like to see us do when the war is over? (1) Stay on our side of the oceans and have as little as possible to do with Europe and Asia, (2) Try to keep the world at peace, but make no definite agreements with other countries, (3) Take an active part in some sort of an international organization with a court and police force strong enough to enforce its decisions

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(3)= 7.32$; prob>$\chi^2=0.06$

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of "Take active role" (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.25 (0.03)	0.23 (0.03)
Highest Information	0.80 (0.02)	0.72 (0.03)

High information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are not statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

Table A3.14: OPOR 21 – January 1944

If the German army overthrew Hitler and then offered to stop the war and discuss peace terms with the Allies, would you favor or oppose accepting the offer of the German army?

LR Test of equality of information terms: $\chi^2(2)= 1.23$; prob>$\chi^2=0.54$

Confidence Intervals of Endpoints on Probability of "Reject Peace" (standard error in parenthesis)

	FDR Supporters	FDR Opponents
Lowest Information	0.57 (0.05)	0.46 (0.07)
Highest Information	0.86 (0.06)	0.72 (0.10)

High information FDR supporters are statistically different from low information FDR supporters.
High information FDR opponents are not statistically different from low information FDR opponents.
High information FDR supporters are not statistically different from high information FDR opponents.
Low information FDR supporters are not statistically different from low information FDR supporters.

PROBIT RESULTS: IRAQ ANALYSIS

U.S. made the right decision in using military force against Iraq

Variable	Coefficient (SE)
Constant	0.62 (0.26)
Education	-0.06 (0.04)
Female	-0.00 (0.08)
Black	-0.71 (0.14)**
Hispanic	-0.09 (0.14)
Party ID	-0.29 (0.34)
Information	0.91 (0.27)**
Party ID * Info	-2.00 (0.42)**

N = 1205
Log Likelihood: -666.35

Current war with Iraq has been worth fighting

Variable	Coefficient (SE)
Constant	0.27 (0.25)
Education	-0.02 (0.04)
Female	0.01 (0.08)
Black	-0.57 (0.14)**
Hispanic	-0.16 (0.14)
Party ID	-0.36 (0.33)
Information	0.73 (0.25)**
Party ID * Info	-1.66 (0.41)**

N = 1216
Log Likelihood: -707.47

War will be successful?

Variable	Coefficient (SE)
Constant	0.27 (0.25)
Education	-0.02 (0.04)
Female	0.01 (0.08)
Black	-0.57 (0.14)**
Hispanic	-0.16 (0.14)
Party ID	-0.36 (0.33)
Information	0.73 (0.25)**
Party ID * Info	-1.66 (0.41)**

N = 1216
Log Likelihood: -707.47

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 4

In Chapter 4, I presented the substantive effect of the group attachment enmity variables on opinion toward the war. The full model results used to estimate these effects are presented in the web-based appendix to this book. In this appendix, I present tests of the statistical significance of the ethnic variables. Though it is not technically possible to compute the standard errors needed to construct statistical tests, the consistency of the sign and magnitude of the ethnic effects speaks to their robustness across a number of data sets. In each of the tables below, the entries represent the results of a likelihood-ration test against the null hypothesis that each of the ethnic variables has "no effect."

Roper, August 1939

	Tend to Own business	No question so important that US should risk war	Don't allow England/France buy food
English Best	$\chi^2(3)=27.20$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(3)=8.14$; $pr>\chi^2=0.04$	$\chi^2(3)=14.72$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$
Germans Best	$\chi^2(3)=0.19$; $pr>\chi^2=0.98$	$\chi^2(3)=9.16$; $pr>\chi^2=0.03$	$\chi^2(3)=1.93$; $pr>\chi^2=0.59$
Italians Best	$\chi^2(3)=2.63$; $pr>\chi^2=0.45$	$\chi^2(3)=0.72$; $pr>\chi^2=0.87$	$\chi^2(3)=0.62$; $pr>\chi^2=0.89$
Germans Worst	$\chi^2(3)=3.36$; $pr>\chi^2=0.34$	$\chi^2(3)=4.26$; $pr>\chi^2=0.23$	$\chi^2(3)=6.69$; $pr>\chi^2=0.08$
Italians Worst	$\chi^2(3)=11.96$; $pr>\chi^2=0.01$	$\chi^2(3)=14.05$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(3)=9.13$; $pr>\chi^2=0.03$
Restrict Rights of Jews in America†	$\chi^2(3)=4.11$; $pr>\chi^2=0.25$	$\chi^2(3)=17.06$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(3)=17.16$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$

	Don't allow England/France buy war supplies	Don't send Army and Navy Abroad to Help
English Best	$\chi^2(3)=16.23$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(3)=30.91$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$
Germans Best	$\chi^2(3)=5.42$; $pr>\chi^2=0.14$	$\chi^2(3)=12.92$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$
Italians Best	$\chi^2(3)=4.15$; $pr>\chi^2=0.24$	$\chi^2(3)=3.70$; $pr>\chi^2=0.30$
Germans Worst	$\chi^2(3)=9.08$; $pr>\chi^2=0.03$	$\chi^2(3)=15.87$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$
Italians Worst	$\chi^2(3)=34.58$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(3)=26.00$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$
Restrict Rights of Jews in America†	$\chi^2(3)=10.30$; $pr>\chi^2=0.02$	$\chi^2(3)=6.47$; $pr>\chi^2=0.09$

THE POWER OF ETHNIC ATTACHMENTS, PRE-AMERICAN ENTRY INTO WWII

POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING

Date	Axis Variable Test	Allies Variable Test
England is Winning the War		
January 28, 1941	$\chi^2(3)=5.59$; pr$>\chi^2=0.13$	$\chi^2(3)=4.41$; pr$>\chi^2=0.22$
England will Win the War if No Other Countries Enter		
March 12, 1941	$\chi^2(3)=12.49$; pr$>\chi^2=0.01$	$\chi^2(3)=5.05$; pr$>\chi^2=0.17$
If England Looses, Germany and Italy Will Start a War		
March 12, 1941	$\chi^2(2)=42.81$; pr$>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=6.71$; pr$>\chi^2=0.03$
If Germany Wins, I Will Be As Free As I Am Now		
March 12, 1941	$\chi^2(2)=26.68$; pr$>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=3.31$; pr$>\chi^2=0.19$
If Germany Wins, They Will Control Trade		
March 12, 1941	$\chi^2(2)=18.07$; pr$>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=0.94$; pr$>\chi^2=0.63$
England Will Win The War		
March 28, 1941	$\chi^2(3)=35.83$; pr$>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(3)=15.05$; pr$>\chi^2=0.00$
Italy and Germany Will Start a War within 10 Years		
March 28, 1941	$\chi^2(4)=80.87$; pr$>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(4)=2.73$; pr$>\chi^2=0.60$

EUROPEAN THEATER

Date	Axis Variable Test	Allies Variable Test
Help England vs. Stay Out		
January 28, 1941	$\chi^2(1)=27.65$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(1)=12.03$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$
March 12, 1941	$\chi^2(1)=74.26$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(1)=3.78$; $pr>\chi^2=0.05$
March 28, 1941	$\chi^2(1)=76.21$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(1)=2.41$; $pr>\chi^2=0.125$
Defeat Germany vs. Stay Out		
January 28, 1941	$\chi^2(1)=12.22$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(1)=2.29$; $pr>\chi^2=0.13$
Willing to Fight in Europe if U.S. Gets Involved?		
March 12, 1941	$\chi^2(2)=17.99$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=6.19$; $pr>\chi^2=0.05$
Vote to Go to War?		
January 28, 1941	$\chi^2(2)=10.93$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=6.66$; $pr>\chi^2=0.04$
Favor War if Convoy is Sunk?		
January 28, 1941	$\chi^2(3)=14.09$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=3.82$; $pr>\chi^2=0.28$

PROXIMATE QUESTIONS

Date	Axis Variable Test	Allies Variable Test
The U.S. should fight Preemptive Wars?		
March 12, 1941	$\chi^2(2)=23.51$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=5.17$; $pr>\chi^2=0.08$
U.S. Should Risk War to Keep Japan Down		
March 28, 1941	$\chi^2(2)=12.08$; $pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=5.07$; $pr>\chi^2=0.08$
Defend Latin America if Attacked by European Power?		
March 28, 1941	$\chi^2(2)=4.67$; $pr>\chi^2=0.10$	$\chi^2(2)=0.81$; $pr>\chi^2=0.67$

THE POWER OF ETHNIC ATTACHMENTS, POST-AMERICAN ENTRY INTO WWII

Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us when the war is over?

OPOR Survey Number	Date	Axis Variable Test	Allies Variable Test
817	June 1942	$\chi^2(2)=3.70; pr>\chi^2=0.16$	$\chi^2(2)=6.60; pr>\chi^2=0.04$
6	April 1943	$\chi^2(2)=5.26; pr>\chi^2=0.07$	$\chi^2(2)=3.13; pr>\chi^2=0.21$
9	May 1943	$\chi^2(2)=1.77; pr>\chi^2=0.41$	$\chi^2(2)=0.88; pr>\chi^2=0.64$
18	October 1943	$\chi^2(2)=11.06; pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=0.67; pr>\chi^2=0.71$
19	November 1943	$\chi^2(2)=5.65; pr>\chi^2=0.06$	$\chi^2(2)=6.16; pr>\chi^2=0.05$
21	January 1944	$\chi^2(2)=0.82; pr>\chi^2=0.66$	$\chi^2(2)=1.89; pr>\chi^2=0.39$
22	January 1944	$\chi^2(2)=1.94; pr>\chi^2=0.38$	$\chi^2(2)=0.93; pr>\chi^2=0.63$
23	March 1944	$\chi^2(2)=4.56; pr>\chi^2=0.10$	$\chi^2(2)=12.72; pr>\chi^2=0.00$
26	April 1944	$\chi^2(2)=12.11; pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=5.89; pr>\chi^2=0.05$
27	June 1944	$\chi^2(2)=4.46; pr>\chi^2=0.11$	$\chi^2(2)=1.58; pr>\chi^2=0.45$
28	June 1944	$\chi^2(2)=2.17; pr>\chi^2=0.34$	$\chi^2(2)=3.29; pr>\chi^2=0.19$
32	September 1944	$\chi^2(2)=4.93; pr>\chi^2=0.09$	$\chi^2(2)=16.47; pr>\chi^2=0.00$
33K	October 1944	$\chi^2(2)=0.47; pr>\chi^2=0.79$	$\chi^2(2)=0.80; pr>\chi^2=0.67$
34	November 1944	$\chi^2(2)=2.12; pr>\chi^2=0.35$	$\chi^2(2)=5.63; pr>\chi^2=0.06$
35	December 1944	$\chi^2(2)=3.24; pr>\chi^2=0.20$	$\chi^2(2)=17.05; pr>\chi^2=0.00$
37	January 1945	$\chi^2(2)=6.19; pr>\chi^2=0.05$	$\chi^2(2)=5.60; pr>\chi^2=0.06$
38	February 1945	$\chi^2(2)=13.65; pr>\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=7.36; pr>\chi^2=0.03$
39	March 1945	$\chi^2(2)=10.20; pr>\chi^2=0.01$	$\chi^2(2)=3.64; pr>\chi^2=0.16$
41	March 1945	$\chi^2(2)=3.94; pr>\chi^2=0.14$	$\chi^2(2)=5.06; pr>\chi^2=0.08$
43	April 1945	$\chi^2(2)=2.08; pr>\chi^2=0.35$	$\chi^2(2)=3.09; pr>\chi^2=0.21$
46	May 1945	$\chi^2(2)=2.61; pr>\chi^2=0.27$	$\chi^2(2)=4.47; pr>\chi^2=0.11$
51	July 1945	$\chi^2(2)=4.44; pr>\chi^2=0.11$	$\chi^2(2)=4.86; pr>\chi^2=0.09$

Which of these two things do you think the United States should do when the war is over-Stay out of world affairs as much as we can, or Take an active part in world affairs?

OPOR Survey Number	*Date*	Axis Test	Allies Test
817	June 1942	$\chi^2(2)=7.88; pr>\chi^2=0.02$	$\chi^2(2)=3.78; pr>\chi^2=0.15$
9	May 1943	$\chi^2(2)=4.38; pr>\chi^2=0.11$	$\chi^2(2)=4.33; pr>\chi^2=0.11$
19	November 1943	$\chi^2(2)=1.74; pr>\chi^2=0.42$	$\chi^2(2)=5.62; pr>\chi^2=0.06$
24	April 1944	$\chi^2(2)=1.52; pr>\chi^2=0.47$	$\chi^2(2)=5.52; pr>\chi^2=0.06$
27	June 1944	$\chi^2(2)=1.02; pr>\chi^2=0.27$	$\chi^2(2)=0.61; pr>\chi^2=0.43$
40	March 1945	$\chi^2(2)=0.17; pr>\chi^2=0.91$	$\chi^2(2)=2.29; pr>\chi^2=0.32$

Do you think England can be depended upon to cooperate with us after the war?

OPOR Survey Number	Date	Axis Test	Allies Test
28	June 1944	$\chi^2(2)=1.34$; pr>$\chi^2=0.51$	$\chi^2(2)=6.75$; pr>$\chi^2=0.03$
33K	October 1944	$\chi^2(2)=7.62$; pr>$\chi^2=0.02$	$\chi^2(2)=1.17$; pr>$\chi^2=0.56$
37	January 1945	$\chi^2(2)=7.02$; pr>$\chi^2=0.03$	$\chi^2(2)=3.82$; pr>$\chi^2=0.15$
38	February 1945	$\chi^2(2)=0.09$; pr>$\chi^2=0.96$	$\chi^2(2)=2.83$; pr>$\chi^2=0.24$
39	March 1945	$\chi^2(2)=3.51$; pr>$\chi^2=0.17$	$\chi^2(2)=0.71$; pr>$\chi^2=0.70$
41	March 1945	$\chi^2(2)=21.75$; pr>$\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=0.71$; pr>$\chi^2=0.70$

If the German army overthrew Hitler and then offered to stop the war and discuss peace terms with the Allies, would you favor or oppose accepting the offer of the German army?

OPOR Survey Number	Date	Axis Test	Allies Test
811T	January 1942	$\chi^2(3)=15.21$; pr>$\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(3)=4.56$; pr>$\chi^2=0.21$
817	June 1942	$\chi^2(2)=29.71$; pr>$\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=0.25$; pr>$\chi^2=0.88$
6	April 1943	$\chi^2(2)=20.74$; pr>$\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=1.96$; pr>$\chi^2=0.38$
15	August 1943	$\chi^2(2)=5.18$; pr>$\chi^2=0.08$	$\chi^2(2)=4.86$; pr>$\chi^2=0.09$
21	January 1944	$\chi^2(2)=9.45$; pr>$\chi^2=0.01$	$\chi^2(2)=3.20$; pr>$\chi^2=0.20$
26	April 1944	$\chi^2(2)=25.15$; pr>$\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(2)=0.21$; pr>$\chi^2=0.90$
27	June 1944	$\chi^2(1)=3.10$; pr>$\chi^2=0.08$	$\chi^2(1)=5.47$; pr>$\chi^2=0.02$
30	August 1944	$\chi^2(2)=9.27$; pr>$\chi^2=0.01$	$\chi^2(2)=1.26$; pr>$\chi^2=0.53$
33K	October 1944	$\chi^2(2)=9.39$; pr>$\chi^2=0.01$	$\chi^2(2)=0.47$; pr>$\chi^2=0.79$
38	February 1945	$\chi^2(2)=0.26$; pr>$\chi^2=0.88$	$\chi^2(2)=1.45$; pr>$\chi^2=0.48$
43	April 1945	$\chi^2(2)=6.65$; pr>$\chi^2=0.04$	$\chi^2(2)=1.84$; pr>$\chi^2=0.40$

Which of these two statements do you think is closer to the truth? England is now fighting mainly to preserve democracy against the spread of dictatorship; or England is now fighting mainly to keep her power and wealth?

OPOR Survey Number	Date	Axis Test	Allies Test
806	January 1941	$\chi^2(3)=11.62$; pr>$\chi^2=0.01$	$\chi^2(3)=3.69$; pr>$\chi^2=0.30$
15	May 1942	$\chi^2(3)=4.33$; pr>$\chi^2=0.23$	$\chi^2(3)=4.83$; pr>$\chi^2=0.19$
26	April 1944	$\chi^2(3)=3.90$; pr>$\chi^2=0.27$	$\chi^2(3)=10.05$; pr>$\chi^2=0.02$
35	December 1944	$\chi^2(3)=3.45$; pr>$\chi^2=0.33$	$\chi^2(3)=2.16$; pr>$\chi^2=0.54$
40	March 1945	$\chi^2(3)=5.11$; pr>$\chi^2=0.17$	$\chi^2(3)=8.13$; pr>$\chi^2=0.04$

When the war is over, should the peace treaty be less severe, or more severe, than the treaty at the end of the last war?

OPOR Survey Number	Date	Axis Test	Allies Test
3	March 1943	$\chi^2(2)=0.01$; pr>$\chi^2=0.99$	$\chi^2(2)=0.37$; pr>$\chi^2=0.84$
22	January 1944	$\chi^2(3)=9.03$; pr>$\chi^2=0.03$	$\chi^2(3)=4.74$; pr>$\chi^2=0.19$
26	April 1944	$\chi^2(3)=22.95$; pr>$\chi^2=0.00$	$\chi^2(3)=4.21$; pr>$\chi^2=0.24$
27	June 1944	$\chi^2(3)=6.27$; pr>$\chi^2=0.10$	$\chi^2(3)=1.95$; pr>$\chi^2=0.58$
28	June 1944	$\chi^2(3)=12.57$; pr>$\chi^2=0.01$	$\chi^2(3)=15.64$; pr>$\chi^2=0.00$
32	September 1944	$\chi^2(3)=5.63$; pr>$\chi^2=0.13$	$\chi^2(3)=0.88$; pr>$\chi^2=0.83$
33K	October 1944	$\chi^2(3)=9.34$; pr>$\chi^2=0.03$	$\chi^2(3)=0.22$; pr>$\chi^2=0.97$
40	March 1945	$\chi^2(3)=7.21$; pr>$\chi^2=0.07$	$\chi^2(3)=1.15$; pr>$\chi^2=0.77$

ECONOMIC POLICY ANALYSIS

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Variable	*Coefficient (SE)*
OUTCOME EQUATION	
Constant	0.12 (0.31)
Black Feeling Thermometer (rescaled)	0.71 (0.27)**
Black	0.64 (0.17)**
Party Identification	0.64 (0.16)**
Liberal	0.34 (0.14)**
Conservative	0.10 (0.12)
No Ideology	0.22 (0.17)
Male	-0.22 (0.10)
Education	0.45 (0.24)*
Age	-1.32 (0.32)**
SELECTION EQUATION	
Constant	-1.59 (0.20)**
Black Feeling Thermometer (rescaled)	0.53 (0.20)**
Black	0.62 (0.13)**
Party Identification	-0.20 (0.13)
Liberal	0.19 (0.12)
Conservative	-0.17 (0.10)
No Ideology	-0.29 (0.12)**
Male	0.28 (0.08)**
Education	0.62 (0.19)**
Age	0.19 (0.26)
Political Information	2.75 (0.24)**
Discuss Politics	0.69 (0.18)**
Interviewer Experience	0.17 (0.09)*
Refusal Conversion	-0.23 (0.26)
CORRELATION PARAMETERS	
ρ	-0.24 (0.17)
N/Log Likelihood	1346/-1164.12

* = $p < .10$; ** = $p < .05$

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 5

To Come

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 6

To Come