

The Deep Structure of Ideological Partisanship in the United States

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Over the last 50 years, the U.S. political system has changed from a largely non-ideological political system to a polarized and increasing rigid ideological system.

- We have a series of cross-sectional data sets that examine this transformation and demonstrate that there has been a significant growth of attitude constraint along with the polarization of the political system.**
- The second portion of the analysis will use data from the current World Values Survey to examine whether the growth of ideological politics is rooted in personal social and religious values.**

American political parties in the 20th century have always had some ideological basis:

- **The Democratic Party has been supportive of the labor movement and small farmers.**
- **The Republican Party has been supportive of business interests and the owners of larger farms.**
- **But the long shadow of slavery and the Civil War created pressures that made the New Deal coalition unstable over the second half of the 20th century.**

The current ideological re-alignment of American political parties is the result of:

- **Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka and the mandate to de-segregate public education in the United States.**
- **The Civil Rights Movement and the full embrace of racial equality by the Democratic Party.**
- **The growth and politicization of a largely Protestant fundamentalist religious movement.**
- **The Roe v. Wade decision and the development and politicization of an anti-abortion movement.**
- **Resistance to the speed and content of cultural changes in the United States during the second half of the 20th century.**

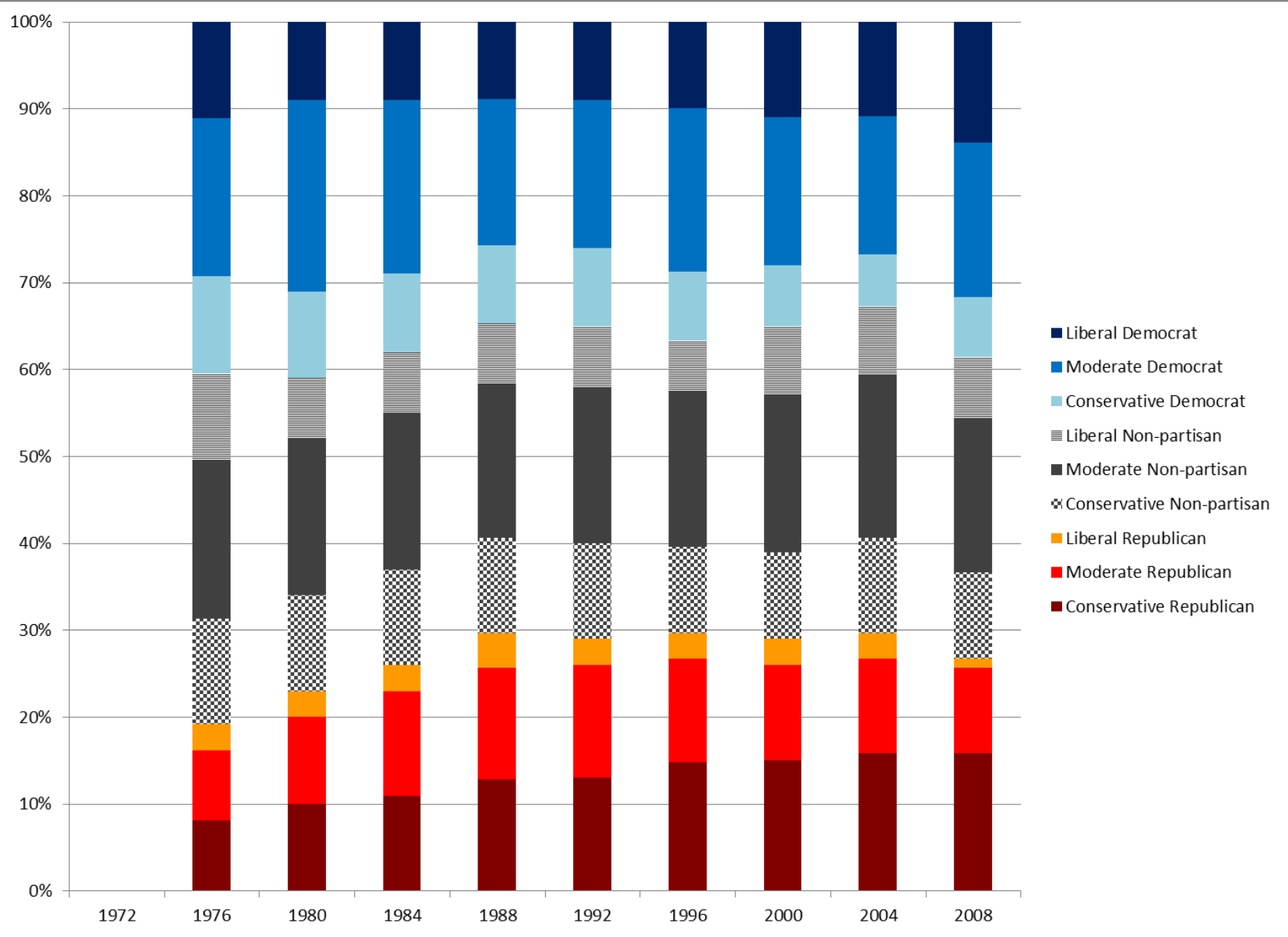
Growth of Ideological Partisanship in the U.S., 1976-2008 (CBS/NYT)

| | 1976 | 1980 | 1984 | 1988 | 1992 | 1996 | 2000 | 2004 | 2008 | Δ 76-08 |
|--------------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|
| Conservative Republican | 9 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 13 | 15 | 15 | 16 | 16 | +7 |
| Moderate Republican | 8 | 10 | 12 | 13 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 11 | 10 | +2 |
| Liberal Republican | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | -2 |
| Republican subtotal | 19 | 23 | 26 | 29 | 28 | 29 | 29 | 30 | 27 | +8 |
| Conservative Nonpartisan | 12 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 10 | -2 |
| Moderate Nonpartisan | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 19 | 18 | 0 |
| Liberal Nonpartisan | 10 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 7 | -3 |
| Nonpartisan subtotal | 41 | 36 | 37 | 35 | 36 | 34 | 36 | 38 | 35 | -6 |
| Conservative Democrat | 11 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 | -4 |
| Moderate Democrat | 18 | 22 | 20 | 17 | 17 | 19 | 17 | 16 | 18 | 0 |
| Liberal Democrat | 11 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 14 | +3 |
| Democrat subtotal | 40 | 41 | 37 | 36 | 35 | 36 | 35 | 33 | 38 | -2 |
| N (CBS/NYT data) | 9,553 | 14,091 | 12,186 | 12,848 | 16,203 | 8,768 | 9,096 | 8,765 | 7,859 | |

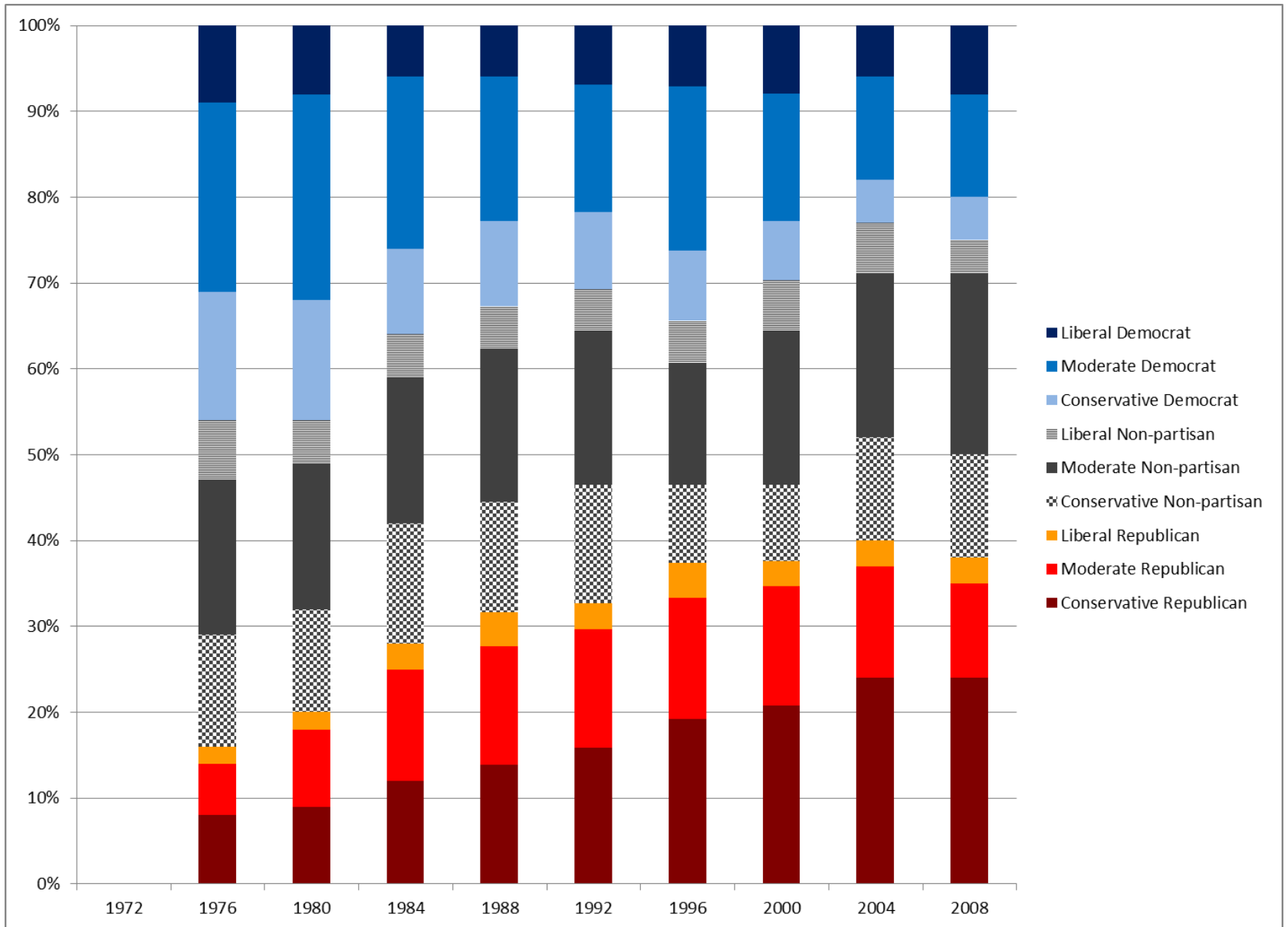
Cell entries are the percentage of adults age 18 and older in each partisan group in each year.

Note: Subtotals may not round to exact number due to rounding.

Change in Ideological Partisanship, All adults, 1976-2008.



Change in Ideological Partisanship, White South, 1976-2008.



Does this growth in ideological partisanship reflect an increase in attitude constraint among adult partisans?

- In the political world of the early 1960's, Converse was undoubtedly correct in concluding that most voters had limited attitudinal constraint. As Burns observed, it was a four-party system.**
- The movement of white southern Democrats into the Republican Party was led by leaders like Strom Thurmond and others who sent strong signals about the need to switch parties.**
- If there has been a significant growth in attitude constraint in recent decades, we should be able to see it in data from 2004 and 2008.**

One part of this problem is that our measures of attitude constraint have been inadequate and we need to develop an improved measure of attitude constraint.

- The measurement of ideology requires separate measures of the *salience* of each major issue and a measure of the *direction* of the individual's views on each issue.**
- To capture salience, each respondent is asked whether each of several issues are very important, important, somewhat important, or not at all important in their decision about voting for President.**
- To capture attitude direction and strength, each respondent is asked agree or disagree with a series of policy statements using a zero-to-10 scale, which converts into a -5 to +5 scale.**

Thinking about this year's election for president, please look at the list of issues below and, for each one, indicate how much, if any, that issue influenced your decision about who to vote for this year.

**[Respondent could check one of the following four choices:
Very important factor, Important factor, Minor factor, Not a factor]**

- 1. the condition of the economy**
- 2. the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan**
- 3. the cost of health care, including prescription drugs**
- 4. the war on terrorism**
- 5. the candidates' views on gay marriage**
- 6. the candidates' views on gun control**
- 7. the candidates' views on abortion**
- 8. the candidates' personal military service record**
- 9. the candidates' views on environmental issues**
- 10. the candidates' views on education issues**
- 11. the candidates' views on illegal immigration and illegal immigrants**
- 12. the candidates' views on stem cell research**
- 13. the candidates' views on Social Security**
- 14. the candidates' views on taxes and tax cuts**
- 15. the candidates' views on health insurance and health care**
- 16. the candidates' views on exporting jobs**
- 17. the candidates' moral and religious values and beliefs**
- 18. the ability of the candidates to be commander-in-chief**
- 19. the ability of the candidates to provide national leadership**

Please read each of the sentences below and indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with that statement, using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you completely disagree, and 10 means you completely agree. You may, of course, choose any number from 0 to 10.

0-10

If the present rate of fossil fuel use continues, serious long-term environmental damage will occur.

Marriage is between a man and a woman and we should amend the Constitution to protect marriage.

The current federal education law – No Child Left Behind – is not working well and needs to be revised substantially.

The current economic policies of the Bush Administration are pushing the United States into a serious recession.

It is important to withdraw most American troops from Iraq within the next year.

The federal government should fund stem cell research on the same basis as other biomedical research.

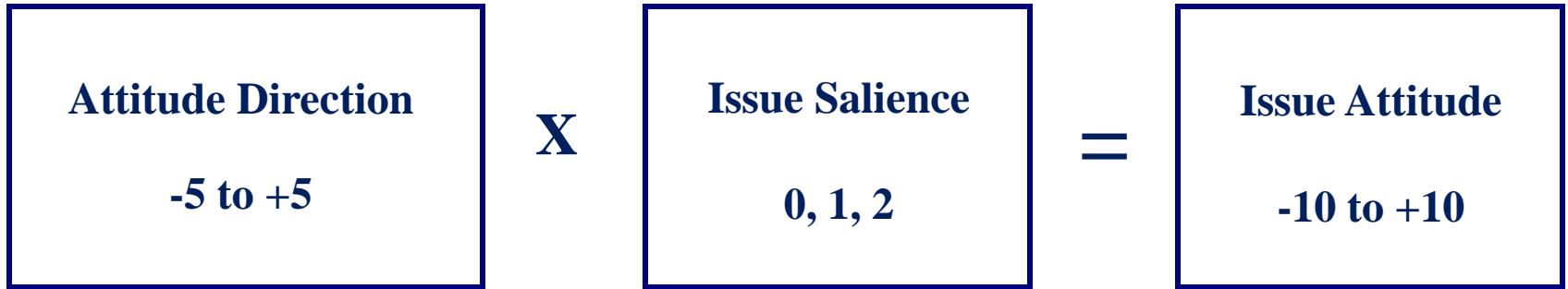
The tax cuts under the Bush Administration were unfair because too much of the money went to the very rich.

The federal government should ban private ownership of automatic guns and assault weapons.

It was a mistake to start the war in Iraq.

The next president should appoint Supreme Court justices who will protect life and reverse the Roe Versus Wade decision giving women the right to an abortion.

Federal law should mandate more fuel-efficient mileage standards for cars and trucks in the United States.



Factor loadings for selected issues, US adults, 2004, 2008.

| | 2004 | | 2008 | |
|--|--------|-------|--------|-------|
| | Policy | Moral | Policy | Moral |
| War issues | .84 | -- | .77 | -- |
| Economic issues | .82 | -- | .92 | -- |
| Health insurance issues | .72 | -- | .84 | -- |
| Tax issues | .75 | -- | .75 | -- |
| Education issues | .71 | -- | .43 | -- |
| Stem cell issues | .49 | -- | .43 | -- |
| Environmental issues | .34 | -- | .81 | -- |
| Gun control issues | .38 | -- | .49 | -- |
| Same sex marriage issues | -- | .88 | -- | .83 |
| Abortion issues | -- | .58 | -- | .28 |
| Religious fundamentalism | -- | .57 | -- | .51 |
| Factor correlation | -.67 | | -.16 | |
| Fit statistics for two-group analysis: Chi-squares = 189.0; degrees of freedom = 66; Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = .044; Upper 90% confidence interval for RMSEA = .051; N (2004) = 1,014; N (2008) = 942. | | | | |

Issue attitudes by 7-group ideological partisanship classification, 2004.

| Mean attitude scores on ... | Liberal Democrat | Moderate Democrat | Liberal Independent | Independent | Conservative Independent | Moderate Republican | Conservative Republican |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| War issues | 7.5 _(.32) | 4.9 _(.25) | 5.0 _(.70) | 1.3 _(.33) | -2.1 _(.63) | -3.1 _(.45) | -4.6 _(.25) |
| Economic issues | 7.0 _(.31) | 5.6 _(.25) | 3.6 _(.66) | 1.7 _(.30) | -0.8 _(.51) | -2.3 _(.38) | -3.3 _(.22) |
| Health insurance issues | 6.3 _(.35) | 5.2 _(.26) | 3.3 _(.56) | 2.1 _(.27) | 0.5 _(.45) | -1.7 _(.38) | -2.4 _(.20) |
| Tax issues | 5.9 _(.36) | 5.0 _(.25) | 3.7 _(.51) | 2.1 _(.31) | -2.1 _(.53) | -0.9 _(.39) | -4.1 _(.28) |
| Education issues | 4.7 _(.35) | 2.8 _(.26) | 1.6 _(.46) | 0.3 _(.22) | -1.1 _(.39) | -2.8 _(.37) | -3.6 _(.23) |
| Stem cell issues | 4.3 _(.39) | 2.0 _(.23) | 3.2 _(.72) | 1.2 _(.28) | -0.3 _(.40) | -0.2 _(.42) | -2.2 _(.28) |
| Environmental issues | 4.0 _(.33) | 2.1 _(.17) | 4.0 _(.47) | 2.1 _(.18) | 1.1 _(.23) | 1.4 _(.22) | 0.8 _(.12) |
| Gun control issues | 3.0 _(.42) | 0.9 _(.22) | 2.1 _(.55) | 0.4 _(.28) | -1.3 _(.54) | 0.0 _(.48) | -2.1 _(.31) |
| Policy issues (summary) | 5.5 _(.21) | 3.8 _(.15) | 3.5 _(.40) | 1.4 _(.19) | -0.8 _(.33) | -1.4 _(.22) | -2.8 _(.13) |
| Same sex marriage issues | -1.4 _(.40) | 0.4 _(.23) | -1.0 _(.81) | 1.4 _(.27) | 3.7 _(.49) | 4.3 _(.45) | 5.5 _(.29) |
| Abortion issues | -3.5 _(.44) | -0.4 _(.25) | -3.1 _(.66) | -1.1 _(.26) | 1.0 _(.41) | 1.5 _(.48) | 3.2 _(.34) |
| Religious fundamentalism | 0.1 _(.38) | 0.4 _(.29) | 0.4 _(.30) | 0.7 _(.19) | 1.0 _(.58) | 2.0 _(.47) | 4.2 _(.32) |
| Morality issues (summary) | -2.8 _(.34) | -0.9 _(.18) | -2.6 _(.57) | -0.5 _(.22) | 1.5 _(.45) | 2.1 _(.39) | 3.9 _(.27) |
| N = | 129 | 315 | 62 | 184 | 78 | 117 | 253 |

Issue attitudes by 7-group ideological partisanship classification, 2008.

| Mean attitude scores on ... | Liberal Democrat | Moderate Democrat | Liberal Independent | Independent | Conservative Independent | Moderate Republican | Conservative Republican |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| War issues | 5.2 _(.48) | 5.0 _(.29) | 4.3 _(.62) | 2.5 _(.25) | -1.1 _(.55) | 0.1 _(.50) | -3.4 _(.39) |
| Economic issues | 6.2 _(.48) | 6.3 _(.28) | 4.6 _(.62) | 3.3 _(.28) | 1.0 _(.54) | 2.0 _(.46) | -0.8 _(.36) |
| Health insurance issues | 5.9 _(.53) | 6.5 _(.30) | 4.8 _(.75) | 3.8 _(.29) | 1.3 _(.47) | 2.1 _(.52) | -1.3 _(.42) |
| Tax issues | 4.2 _(.51) | 4.7 _(.30) | 2.7 _(.59) | 2.2 _(.27) | -0.0 _(.57) | 0.8 _(.54) | -3.2 _(.39) |
| Education issues | 4.4 _(.54) | 3.0 _(.32) | 2.5 _(.55) | 2.5 _(.24) | 1.6 _(.38) | 2.1 _(.41) | 1.1 _(.29) |
| Stem cell issues | 3.9 _(.49) | 1.5 _(.28) | 1.5 _(.42) | 1.4 _(.23) | 0.0 _(.44) | 0.4 _(.39) | -1.4 _(.33) |
| Environmental issues | 4.7 _(.47) | 3.6 _(.24) | 3.8 _(.58) | 2.4 _(.20) | 2.2 _(.39) | 1.7 _(.29) | 0.2 _(.26) |
| Gun control issues | 2.6 _(.53) | 1.2 _(.28) | 1.0 _(.66) | 0.3 _(.23) | -1.6 _(.44) | -0.5 _(.44) | -2.3 _(.42) |
| Policy issues (summary) | 4.6 _(.32) | 4.2 _(.18) | 3.3 _(.32) | 2.3 _(.17) | 0.5 _(.33) | 1.1 _(.27) | -1.6 _(.22) |
| Same sex marriage issues | -2.5 _(.54) | 1.0 _(.27) | -1.4 _(.61) | 1.1 _(.20) | 2.7 _(.45) | 0.5 _(.32) | 4.1 _(.36) |
| Abortion issues | -2.2 _(.54) | -0.0 _(.30) | -1.9 _(.66) | -0.0 _(.19) | -0.7 _(.55) | -0.5 _(.40) | 1.9 _(.43) |
| Religious fundamentalism | 0.3 _(.32) | 1.9 _(.26) | 1.0 _(.44) | 1.1 _(.17) | 2.8 _(.50) | 1.5 _(.35) | 4.6 _(.39) |
| Morality issues (summary) | -1.5 _(.38) | 1.1 _(.22) | -0.6 _(.37) | 0.9 _(.14) | 2.2 _(.39) | 0.7 _(.26) | 3.9 _(.30) |
| N = | 78 | 211 | 51 | 282 | 93 | 88 | 147 |

Ideological consistency between policy and morality attitudes, 2008.

| 2004 | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Policy Attitudes | Morality Attitudes | | | | |
| | Strong Conservative | Moderate Conservative | Neutral on Non-attitude | Moderate Liberal | Strong Liberal |
| Strong Conservative | 0.9% | 0.4% | 0.4% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Moderate Conservative | 4.9 | 4.6 | 5.6 | 1.1 | 0.0 |
| Neutral or Non-attitude | 4.6 | 7.5 | 24.1 | 4.5 | 0.6 |
| Moderate Liberal | 0.6 | 1.9 | 15.4 | 8.8 | 3.1 |
| Strong Liberal | 0.3 | 1.3 | 4.5 | 2.4 | 2.3 |
| 2008 | | | | | |
| Policy Attitudes | Morality Attitudes | | | | |
| | Strong Conservative | Moderate Conservative | Neutral or Non-attitude | Moderate Liberal | Strong Liberal |
| Strong Conservative | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.2% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Moderate Conservative | 1.3 | 2.3 | 3.5 | 0.2 | 0.0 |
| Neutral or Non-attitude | 5.0 | 5.9 | 34.0 | 1.2 | 0.0 |
| Moderate Liberal | 3.0 | 4.9 | 22.6 | 3.5 | 0.7 |
| Strong Liberal | 1.1 | 1.1 | 7.3 | 0.9 | 0.7 |

Importance of Major Life Domains and Ideological Partisanship, 2011.

| Major Life Domains | Ideological partisanship | | | | | | | | | N |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Cons R | Mod R | Lib R | Cons N | Mod N | Lib N | Cons D | Mod D | Lib D | |
| Religion (G = 0.17) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very Important | 25% | 7% | 1% | 12% | 20% | 2% | 6% | 17% | 10% | 896 |
| Rather Important | 13 | 8 | 1 | 8 | 29 | 4 | 4 | 20 | 13 | 616 |
| Not important | 9 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 35 | 8 | 2 | 15 | 16 | 696 |
| Family (G = 0.12) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very Important | 17 | 8 | 15 | 10 | 25 | 5 | 4 | 17 | 13 | 2,012 |
| Rather Important | 9 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 35 | 10 | 2 | 17 | 13 | 164 |
| Not important | 6 | 3 | 0 | 13 | 40 | 6 | 3 | 13 | 16 | 32 |
| Work (G = -0.09) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very Important | 13 | 6 | 2 | 9 | 28 | 5 | 5 | 17 | 15 | 782 |
| Rather Important | 19 | 9 | 1 | 8 | 27 | 4 | 4 | 16 | 12 | 984 |
| Not important | 18 | 8 | 1 | 11 | 28 | 4 | 3 | 17 | 10 | 438 |
| Leisure time (G = -0.08) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very Important | 16 | 8 | 1 | 7 | 25 | 5 | 4 | 17 | 17 | 863 |
| Rather Important | 18 | 8 | 1 | 10 | 27 | 3 | 4 | 18 | 11 | 1,139 |
| Not important | 14 | 4 | 0 | 14 | 37 | 6 | 5 | 11 | 9 | 202 |
| Friends (G = ns) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very Important | 17 | 9 | 1 | 9 | 25 | 5 | 3 | 16 | 15 | 1,190 |
| Rather Important | 16 | 6 | 2 | 9 | 30 | 4 | 5 | 17 | 11 | 875 |
| Not important | 14 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 32 | 6 | 4 | 20 | 11 | 142 |
| Politics (G = ns) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very Important | 23 | 6 | 1 | 12 | 16 | 2 | 4 | 19 | 17 | 250 |
| Rather Important | 20 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 22 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 13 | 926 |
| Not important | 12 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 37 | 5 | 4 | 15 | 11 | 1,031 |

Important Qualities that Children should learn at Home, 2011.

| Important Qualities | Ideological partisanship | | | | | | | | | N |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Cons R | Mod R | Lib R | Cons N | Mod N | Lib N | Cons D | Mod D | Lib D | |
| Religious faith (G = -0.23) | 25% | 7% | 1% | 11% | 21% | 3% | 5% | 18% | 9% | 956 |
| Hard work (G = -0.15) | 20 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 27 | 4 | 4 | 15 | 12 | 1,472 |
| Obedience (G = -0.12) | 21 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 28 | 4 | 5 | 16 | 9 | 619 |
| Thrift, saving (G = -0.11) | 21 | 8 | 1 | 10 | 26 | 3 | 4 | 17 | 10 | 698 |
| Responsibility (G = ns) | 17 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 28 | 5 | 4 | 15 | 13 | 1,445 |
| Determination (G = ns) | 19 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 22 | 6 | 4 | 17 | 14 | 795 |
| Unselfishness (G = ns) | 15 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 28 | 4 | 3 | 17 | 15 | 725 |
| Independence (G = 0.11) | 15 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 26 | 5 | 4 | 18 | 14 | 1,190 |
| Imagination (G = 0.14) | 11 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 31 | 6 | 3 | 18 | 15 | 678 |
| Self-expression (G = 0.18) | 9 | 9 | 1 | 6 | 29 | 8 | 4 | 16 | 18 | 386 |
| Tolerance (G = 0.29) | 12 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 27 | 5 | 4 | 19 | 15 | 1,592 |

Selected Morality Attitudes and Ideological Partisanship, 2011.

| Morality Issues | Ideological partisanship | | | | | | | | | N |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Cons R | Mod R | Lib R | Cons N | Mod N | Lib N | Cons D | Mod D | Lib D | |
| Abortion (G = 0.34) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unacceptable | 30% | 8% | 1% | 14% | 23% | 1% | 5% | 12% | 6% | 763 |
| Mixed | 12 | 8 | 1 | 7 | 30 | 5 | 4 | 19 | 14 | 956 |
| Acceptable | 6 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 25 | 10 | 3 | 20 | 23 | 459 |
| Homosexuality (G = 0.32) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unacceptable | 29 | 7 | 1 | 14 | 23 | 2 | 4 | 13 | 7 | 685 |
| Mixed | 14 | 8 | 0 | 9 | 31 | 4 | 6 | 17 | 11 | 784 |
| Acceptable | 6 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 28 | 8 | 3 | 20 | 21 | 709 |
| Sex before marriage (G = 0.28) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unacceptable | 32 | 7 | 1 | 13 | 22 | 2 | 6 | 11 | 6 | 460 |
| Mixed | 15 | 8 | 1 | 10 | 29 | 3 | 5 | 18 | 11 | 967 |
| Acceptable | 8 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 27 | 8 | 3 | 18 | 20 | 752 |
| Divorce (G = 0.22) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unacceptable | 23 | 7 | 1 | 17 | 27 | 2 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 277 |
| Mixed | 20 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 29 | 3 | 4 | 17 | 11 | 1,184 |
| Acceptable | 9 | 8 | 2 | 7 | 24 | 8 | 4 | 19 | 19 | 715 |
| Suicide (G = 0.17) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unacceptable | 21 | 7 | 1 | 10 | 25 | 3 | 5 | 17 | 11 | 1,376 |
| Mixed | 11 | 9 | 0 | 7 | 33 | 6 | 3 | 16 | 15 | 624 |
| Acceptable | 5 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 26 | 10 | 2 | 15 | 24 | 177 |

WVS Items on Acceptance of the Market Model

| Rejection of market model: | Acceptance of market model: |
|--|--|
| Government ownership of business and industry should be increased. | Private ownership of business and industry should be increased. |
| Competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people. | Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas. |
| Hard work doesn't generally bring success – it's more a matter of luck and connections. | In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life. |
| Government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for. | People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves. |
| People can only get rich at the expense of others. | Wealth can grow so there's enough for everyone. |
| Items in shaded area did not load satisfactorily in confirmation factor analyses in any of the seven countries included in this analysis. | |

Mean scores and distribution of scores on the Acceptance of Market Economics Index

| Country | Acceptance of Market Economy Index | | | | N |
|---------------|------------------------------------|-------|--------|-----------------------|-------|
| | Reject | Mixed | Accept | Mean _(se) | |
| United States | 6% | 30% | 64% | 2.1 _(.04) | 2,232 |
| New Zealand | 6 | 35 | 59 | 1.8 _(.07) | 841 |
| Sweden | 8 | 42 | 50 | 1.3 _(.06) | 1,205 |
| Japan | 5 | 52 | 43 | 1.2 _(.03) | 2,443 |
| Spain | 6 | 53 | 42 | 1.2 _(.05) | 1,189 |
| South Korea | 8 | 51 | 41 | 1.1 _(.05) | 1,200 |
| Russia | 21 | 50 | 29 | -0.3 _(.04) | 2,500 |

Legend: Reject includes values from -5 through -2. Accept includes values from 2 through 5. Mixed includes values for -1 to +1, including zero.

Factor loadings on selected economic and social value issues, 2011-2.

| | U.S. | | Sweden | | Spain | | N. Zealand | | Russia | | Japan | | S. Korea | |
|--|-------|------|--------|------|-------|------|------------|------|--------|------|-------|------|----------|------|
| | E | S | E | S | E | S | E | S | E | S | E | S | E | S |
| Increase private ownership | .58 | -- | .55 | -- | .16 | -- | .39 | -- | .37 | -- | .54 | -- | .19 | -- |
| Competition is good | .79 | -- | .77 | -- | .98 | -- | .92 | -- | .48 | -- | .36 | -- | .42 | -- |
| Hard work pays off usually | .60 | -- | .47 | -- | .37 | -- | .51 | -- | .49 | -- | .10 | -- | .98 | -- |
| Index of Religiosity | -- | -.59 | -- | -.33 | -- | -.45 | -- | -.55 | -- | -.20 | -- | -.13 | -- | -.26 |
| Acceptance of homosexuality | -- | .76 | -- | .68 | -- | .80 | -- | .64 | -- | .41 | -- | .63 | -- | .72 |
| Acceptance of abortion | -- | .84 | -- | .82 | -- | .62 | -- | .77 | -- | .84 | -- | .74 | -- | .77 |
| Acceptance of divorce | -- | .74 | -- | .85 | -- | .82 | -- | .76 | -- | .65 | -- | .80 | -- | .77 |
| Post-material values (12-item) | -- | .28 | -- | .25 | -- | .33 | -- | .22 | -- | -.26 | -- | .20 | -- | .24 |
| Correlation between factors | -.15 | | -.03 | | .08 | | .12 | | .06 | | .18 | | -.19 | |
| N = | 2,232 | | 1,191 | | 1,182 | | 841 | | 2,451 | | 2,443 | | 1,196 | |
| Legend: E = economic and related issues; S = social and morality issues. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Mean scores and distribution of scores on the New Social Attitudes Index

| Country | Acceptance of New Social Values | | | | N |
|---------------|---------------------------------|-------|--------|-----------------------|-------|
| | Reject | Mixed | Accept | Mean _(se) | |
| Sweden | 4% | 24% | 72% | 2.4 _(.06) | 1,193 |
| Spain | 11 | 40 | 49 | 1.3 _(.06) | 1,183 |
| Japan | 14 | 61 | 25 | 0.4 _(.04) | 2,324 |
| New Zealand | 22 | 46 | 32 | 0.3 _(.06) | 827 |
| United States | 34 | 42 | 24 | -0.3 _(.05) | 2,192 |
| Russia | 33 | 59 | 8 | -0.8 _(.03) | 2,451 |
| South Korea | 44 | 46 | 10 | -1.1 _(.05) | 1,197 |

Legend: Reject includes values from -5 through -2. Accept includes values from 2 through 5. Mixed includes values for -1 to +1, including zero.

After a fast run through a lot of data, we conclude that there has been a substantial growth of ideological attitude constraint in the American political system and in selected other countries.

- The growth of ideological conservatism is responsible for the growth of the current Republican Party in the U.S., which was unable to win the presidency this year but still represents a large number of citizens.**
- The extension of this analysis to six other countries found the emergence of a two-dimension structure with emancipative values as one dimension. This emancipative dimension is of varying strength – very strong in Sweden and least strong in Russia and South Korea.**
- There is little or no relationship between a commitment to market economic systems and emancipative values.**

**If you would like to receive a copy of the written paper
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