

Week 12  
Foreign Policy and War Voting

Thiago Nascimento da Silva

*School of Politics and International Relations  
The Australian National University*

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- ▶ Which country do you believe to be the most-peaceful country in the world?

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- ▶ What do you think is the position of Australia in the rank of peace?

### Overall Global Peace Index:

A composite index measuring the peacefulness of countries made up of 23 quantitative and qualitative indicators each weighted on a scale of 1-5.

The lower the score the more peaceful the country.

<https://www.visionofhumanity.org/maps/>

How do war and foreign policy affect voter behavior?

Gadarian, Shana Kushner. 2010. "Foreign policy at the ballot box: How citizens use foreign policy to judge and choose candidates." *The Journal of Politics* 72(4): 1046– 1062.

General research question: How does foreign policy affect vote choice?



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Two specific research questions:

1. **Candidates' Perspective.** Do presidential candidates equally benefit by priming foreign policy?
2. **Voters' Perspective.** How do citizens use their foreign policy attitudes to evaluate presidential candidates?

Assumption on voters' foreign policy attitudes (Hurwitz and Peffley 1987; Wittkopf 1990)

The idea that voters' foreign policy attitudes 1. are structured, meaningful, and accessible, and 2. influence their vote choice.

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Voters consider specific parties to be better able to deal with some issues and, consequently, candidates should focus on the issues that are owned by their parties and mostly avoid issues that are owned by the opposing party.

Can you think of certain issues “owned” by specific Australian political parties?

- ▶ Voters should evaluate parties that are closer to their policy attitudes more positively, but...
  - ▶ They should weigh national security matters more heavily when evaluating Republicans than Democrats.
- ▶ This asymmetry should be especially prominent during campaigns when foreign policy is salient.
- ▶ In times of crisis, citizens may be willing to forego representation of their own foreign policy views in favor of more hawkish leaders.

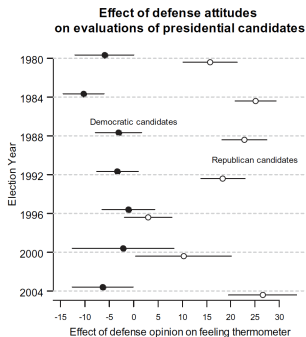
### Hawkish leader

A leader supportive of warlike foreign policy; inclined toward military actions.

### Dovish leader

A leader supportive of peaceable foreign policy; inclined toward conciliatory and diplomatic actions.

**FIGURE 1 Citizens Weigh Foreign Policy Attitudes More for Republican Candidates than Democratic Candidates**



Source: NES cumulative file. Model Specification: OLS. Differences between defense coefficients is significant at the  $p < .05$  level for 1980, 1984, 1988, 1992, and 2004. Thermometers range from 0 to 100, with lower values meaning a “colder” or more negative evaluation of the party and higher values indicating a “warmer” or more positive evaluation of the party. The midpoint of 50 indicates neutral feelings toward the parties. Defense spending is a 7-point scale of how much the federal government should spend on defense that ranges from 0 (spend much less) to 1 (spend much more). These models also include controls for partisanship, ideology, respondents’ gender, and whether the respondent identifies as African American.

TABLE 1 Defense Spending Attitudes Matter More for Evaluating Republican Candidates than Democratic Candidates

	Democrats thermometer 2004	Kerry thermometer 2004	Republican thermometer 2004	Bush thermometer 2004
Hawkishness 2002	-7.62 (1.85)	-10.69 (2.58)	23.28 (2.11)	28.18 (2.77)
Ideology 2000	-8.49 (1.76)	-9.63 (2.46)	15.51 (2.01)	17.31 (2.64)
Black	0.68 (2.59)	1.49 (3.64)	3.41 (2.96)	1.64 (3.89)
Female	1.04 (1.15)	0.57 (1.60)	2.81 (1.31)	0.82 (1.72)
Services 2002	8.81 (2.20)	2.53 (3.08)	-0.82 (2.51)	2.35 (3.30)
Constant	70.87 (2.12)	77.65 (2.96)	17.88 (2.41)	11.28 (3.18)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.53	0.37	0.55	0.50
N	725	716	725	725

Source: NES 2000–2004 panel. Model Specification: OLS. Coefficients in bold are significant at  $p < .05$ . Thermometers range from 0 to 100, with lower values meaning a “colder” or more negative evaluation of the party and higher values indicating a “warmer” or more positive evaluation of the party. The mid-point of 50 indicates neutral feelings toward the parties. Partisanship and ideology are measured in 2000 and range from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating Republican and conservative. The measures of whether a respondent is African American or female are dummy variables with 1 indicating Black and female. Hawkishness is additive, six-item index measured in 2002—spending on foreign aid, defense, border security, and homeland security/ war on terror, support for the war in Iraq, approval of the president’s handling of terrorism. The index ranges from -1 to 1, higher values are more hawkish. Services 2002 is respondents’ placement of themselves on the 7-point scale on how the government should allocate spending and how many services it should provide, with fewer services and lower taxes at the bottom (0) and higher taxes but more services at the top of the scale (1).

Comparability issue: Different measurement of hawkishness.



TABLE 2 Candidate and Party Evaluations Based on Relative Foreign Policy Positions

	Democratic thermometer 2004	Kerry thermometer 2004		Republican thermometer 2004	Bush thermometer 2004
PID	-30.41 (2.00)	-30.21 (2.80)	PID	29.30 (2.27)	37.02 (2.99)
Ideology	-8.05 (1.73)	-8.90 (2.42)	Ideology	13.92 (1.99)	15.77 (2.63)
Dems much more dovish	-13.75 (2.15)	-16.80 (3.03)	Reps much more dovish	-16.14 (5.80)	-21.23 (7.66)
Dems more dovish	-3.85 (1.41)	-3.82 (1.98)	Reps more dovish	-16.78 (2.06)	-0.08 (2.72)
Dems more hawkish	2.20 (1.53)	4.60 (2.14)	Reps more hawkish	-8.64 (1.56)	-10.00 (2.06)
Dems much more hawkish	1.87 (3.29)	4.28 (4.58)	Reps much more hawkish	-22.91 (1.96)	-26.09 (2.59)
Services 2002	7.56 (2.17)	1.70 (3.05)	Services 2002	-0.71 (2.47)	1.54 (3.26)
Constant	68.41 (2.02)	72.35 (2.83)	Constant	41.10 (2.35)	37.36 (3.10)
R <sup>2</sup>	719	710	R <sup>2</sup>	719	719
N	0.55	0.39	N	0.56	0.51

Source: NES 2000–2004 panel. Model Specification: OLS. Coefficients in bold are significant at  $p < .05$ . The thermometers range from 0 to 100, with lower values meaning a “colder” or more negative evaluation of the party and higher values indicating a “warmer” or more positive evaluation of the party. The midpoint of 50 indicates neutral feelings toward the parties. Partisanship and ideology are measured in 2000 and range from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating Republican and conservative. Services 2002 is respondents’ placement of themselves on the 7-point scale on how the government should allocate spending and how many services it should provide, with fewer services and lower taxes at the bottom (0) and higher taxes but more services at the top of the scale (1). Dems/Reps more hawkish or much more hawkish are dummy variables that represent the difference between respondents’ own view on the diplomacy-militarism scale and their placement of the Republican and Democratic parties. If respondents placed the parties .5 units to their right or left, they fall into the category of the party is “more hawkish” or “more dovish.” If respondents placed the parties more than .5 units away, they were placed in the parties are “much more dovish” or “much more hawkish” categories. Placing the parties at one’s own position is the excluded category.

Koch, Michael T. and Nicholson, Stephen P. 2016. “Death and turnout: The human costs of war and voter participation in democracies.” *American Journal of Political Science* 60(4): 932–946.

**Research question:** Whether, and how, combat casualties affect the decision to vote in established democracies?

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**Answer:** Mounting casualties increase the expressive benefits of voting by activating worldview defense.

Aggregate-level data:

- ▶ 23 democracies;
- ▶ 1951-2005;

Individual-level data:

- ▶ Survey data from the US (2006-2012) and the UK (2005-2010) during the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.

Premises that compose Koch and Nicholson's argument:

1. Attitudes about international conflict must be meaningfully held;
2. Combat casualties must inform war attitudes and public opinion on conflict.

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Mortality salience hypothesis (Arndt et al. 1997)

Death-related cognitions increase group identification or worldview defense.

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Worldview defense (Solomon, Greenberg, and Pyszczynski 2004)

The vigorous agreement with and affection for those who uphold or share our beliefs (or are similar to us) and equally vigorous hostility and disdain for those who challenge our beliefs (i.e., are different from us).



- H1. Higher levels of casualties to increase voter turnout.
- H2. Geographically proximate casualties will have a greater effect on turnout than national casualties.
- H3. Casualties that occurred within a month of the election to have a greater effect on turnout than the number of casualties that occur in between elections.
- H4. The total number of casualties will have a greater effect on turnout than recent casualties.
- H5. Casualties, especially those that happen locally, to increase the probability of voting among respondents with minimal political interest.

**TABLE 1 Countries and Elections under Investigation**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Elections</b>	<b>Number of Conflicts</b>
Australia	1951–2001	6
Austria	1953–2002	0
Belgium	1950–2003	5
Canada	1953–2000	5
Denmark	1953–2001	2
Finland	1951–2003	0
France	1951–2002	28
Germany	1957–2002	3
Greece	1977–2000	3
Iceland	1953–2003	1
Ireland	1951–2002	0
Israel	1955–1999	6
Italy	1953–2001	4
Japan	1963–2003	1
Luxembourg	1968–1999	1
Netherlands	1948–2003	6
New Zealand	1951–2002	4
Norway	1957–2001	3
Portugal	1976–2002	2
Spain	1979–2000	2
Sweden	1956–1998	1
Switzerland	1951–2003	0
Turkey	1969–2002	6
United Kingdom	1950–2005	18
United States	1952–2004	18

**TABLE 2 The Effect of Casualties and Conflict on Voter Turnout**

<b>Independent Variables</b>	<b>Coefficients (Std. Errors)</b>
Casualties	.338* (.199)
Total Conflicts	-.835* (.497)
Conflict Duration	.001 (.023)
Previous Voter Turnout	.316* (.073)
Disproportionality	-.067 (.057)
Executive Tenure	-.372 (.250)
Months until Next Election	.020 (.022)
Pure Parliamentary	1.99* (.799)
Unemployment	-.295* (.090)
Inflation	-.008 (.005)
Constant	47.36* (5.01)
N (Countries)	331 (23)
R <sup>2</sup>	.87
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup>	1586.42*

*Note:* Panel-corrected standard errors in parentheses. Fixed effects by country.

\*p < .05, one-tailed test.

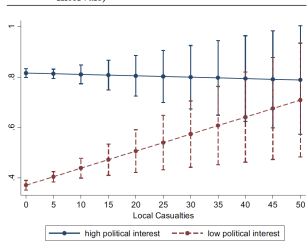
TABLE 3 The Effect of Local and Proximate Casualties on Turnout in the 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2012 U.S. Elections

Independent Variables	Model 1 Inter-Election		Model 2 One Month Prior		Model 3 Two Months Prior	
	Coef.	Std. Errors	Coef.	Std. Errors	Coef.	Std. Errors
Local Casualties	-.000	.002	-.024	.020	-.033*	.015
Low Political Interest	-.445*	.009	-.434*	.008	-.437*	.008
Interest × Casualties	.007*	.001	.072*	.014	.060*	.010
Inter-Election Casualties			.002	.002	.003	.002
Female	-.078*	.007	-.078*	.007	-.078*	.007
Married	.081*	.008	.081*	.008	.081*	.008
Income	.022*	.001	.022*	.001	.022*	.001
College	.228*	.007	.228*	.007	.228*	.007
Age	.011*	.000	.011*	.000	.011*	.000
White	.269*	.009	.268*	.009	.268*	.009
Partisan Strength	.190*	.008	.190*	.008	.190*	.008
Good Economy	.110*	.011	.110*	.010	.110*	.011
Unemployed	-.142*	.013	-.142*	.013	-.142*	.013
Presidential Approval	.040*	.003	.041*	.003	.041*	.003
Iraq War a Mistake	-.024*	.007	-.024*	.007	-.024*	.007
Presidential Election	.104*	.011	.104*	.011	.104*	.011
% Unemployed	-.029*	.002	-.029*	.002	-.029*	.002
Median Income	-.000	.000	-.000	.000	.000	.000
Population Size	-.003	.005	-.003	.005	-.003	.005
% White	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Constant	-.264*	.079	-.271*	.079	-.270*	.079
N		167,892		167,892		167,892
Wald Chi <sup>2</sup>		16071.46*		16069.71*		16071.94*
Lr test of Rho		1381.09*		1360.17*		1352.32*

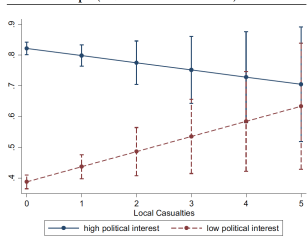
Note: \*p < .05, one-tailed test.

Source: Cooperative Congressional Election Study 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2012.

**FIGURE 1** Probability of Voting by Political Interest and Casualties: U.S. Sample (95% Confidence Intervals)



**FIGURE 2** Probability of Voting by Political Interest and Casualties 30 Days Prior to the Election: U.S. Sample (95% Confidence Intervals)



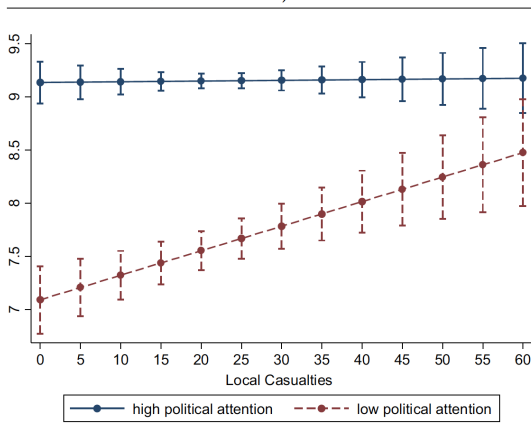
**TABLE 4 The Effect of Local Casualties on Voting in 2005 and 2010 U.K. Elections (by District)**

Independent Variables	Coefficients	Std. Errors
Local Casualties	.001	.004
Low Political Attention	-2.04*	.143
Attention × Casualties	.022*	.005
Female	.150*	.066
Married	.217*	.068
Income Level	.046*	.009
Education	-.011*	.006
Year Born	-.023*	.003
White	.533*	.181
Partisan Strength	.472*	.081
Perception of Economy	.014	.032
Executive Approval	.023*	.012
War Approval	-.012	.030
Unemployment Rate	.085	.045
Median Income	.000	.000
% White	-1.54	1.25
Constant	11.97	2.80
R <sup>2</sup>		.13
N		4847

Note: \*p < .05, one-tailed test.

Source: British Election Study, 2005 and 2010.

**FIGURE 3 Likelihood of Voting by Attention to Politics and Inter-Election Casualties: U.K. Sample (95% Confidence Intervals)**



Higher levels of casualties...

1. Increase turnout;
2. Particularly among those least interested in politics.



# Final Paper Guidelines

## 1. Introduction

- ▶ Provide a research question (puzzle).
- ▶ What is being explained?
- ▶ Why did this phenomenon occur?
- ▶ Introduce your tentative answer (argument).

## 2. Brief Literature Review

- ▶ Why does the phenomenon need to be explained?
- ▶ How would the world be different if previous authors did not do a good job explaining what they claim to be attempting to explain?
- ▶ Situate your work in relation to existing knowledge.

### 3. Theory or Model

- ▶ What is the explanation?
- ▶ Develop the argument introduced previously.
- ▶ Provide a set of logically consistent statements that tell us why the things that we observe occur.

## 4. Hypotheses

- ▶ Empirical implications from your theory.
- ▶ Provide theory-based statements about a relationship that we expect to observe if your theory is correct.
- ▶ How would we know if the explanation is wrong?  
[Falsification Principle.]

## 5. Hypotheses Testing, Results, and Findings

- ▶ A process to evaluate systematically collected evidence to make a judgment of whether the evidence is consistent with your hypotheses or not.
- ▶ Are my hypotheses supported by evidence?
- ▶ Interpret and discuss your results.

For the final paper, you only need to provide *ideas* for empirical tests of your hypotheses and your *expectations* for your results.

## 6. Conclusion

- ▶ Am I wrong?
- ▶ What did we learn from your work?
- ▶ Synthesis of key points (e.g., research problem; argument; findings; takeaways; implications of your results for future research).

**Important deadline:**

**Final paper: 16 June 2022!**



*Thank you, and let's keep in contact!*

Thiago.Silva@anu.edu.au