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This work examines the role political culture plays on Senatorial elections within different geographic regions of the United States. Content analysis was used on a representative set of commercials aired in different political cultural regions to construct a dataset. Two statistical tests, chi-squared analysis and factor analysis, were used to examine the symbols and issues candidates used when running for office and test for regional patterns. Distinct differences in political culture were found and specific variables associated with each culture.

**POLITICAL CULTURAL REGIONS AND ELECTORAL STRATEGIES: AN  
ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL CULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE  
MEDIUM OF TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS**

By

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## DEDICATION PAGE

For my dad for getting me through elementary school.

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## Chapter I

### Introduction

With the integration of television into the lives of citizens of the United States on a large scale, a new arena was opened in which political battles could be fought; new opportunities were created for candidates to win or lose political battles. New strategies were developed in this medium to “sell” candidates to a mass audience of constituents. This study attempts to assess the role political culture has on election campaigns in different geographic areas of the country.

In the modern United States electoral system, image is critical for anyone seeking elected office. Being able to project an image in accordance with the values of the largest number of constituents has become a critical component of any candidate’s election strategy. Candidates not conforming to these norms are not often elected or appointed to office (Wirt, 1991). In many high profile elections, television campaign commercials have become the most important tool many candidates have for developing and conveying their image (Goldstein and Travis, 2004).

Political geographers and political scientists recognize the existence of distinct political cultural regions within the United States. Different sections of the country exhibit distinctly different attitudes towards the political process on issues ranging from what the role of the

individual and political parties should be to what the function of government should be (Elazar, 1994: 229-257).

Building on other works in the field of political geography this study attempts to determine if regional patterns can be detected in how candidates portray themselves and their opponents in television campaign commercials. The hypothesis is that candidates running for office from one political culture will choose to portray themselves differently from candidates running in a different political culture. In order to show they represent the values of their constituents, candidates from different regions will choose to employ different symbolism and to raise different issues to portray themselves as positively as possible. Since television commercials have become the most important tool many candidates have in seeking national office, this study relies on political advertisements as the medium for studying how regional differences are expressed (Goldstein and Travis, 2004).

#### Political regions in the United States

In their work Section and Party: A Political Geography of American Presidential Elections: From Andrew Jackson to Ronald Reagan, J. Clark Archer and Peter J. Taylor use election returns to classify distinct electoral regions. Using factor analysis to analyze election returns in presidential elections from 1872 through 1980 they find three distinct electoral sections in the United States. The analysis calculated a factor loading for each state based on

three factors. The loadings show how similar in terms of historical voting patterns each state is to every other state (Archer and Taylor, 1981).<sup>1</sup>

## Top Factor Score for each State

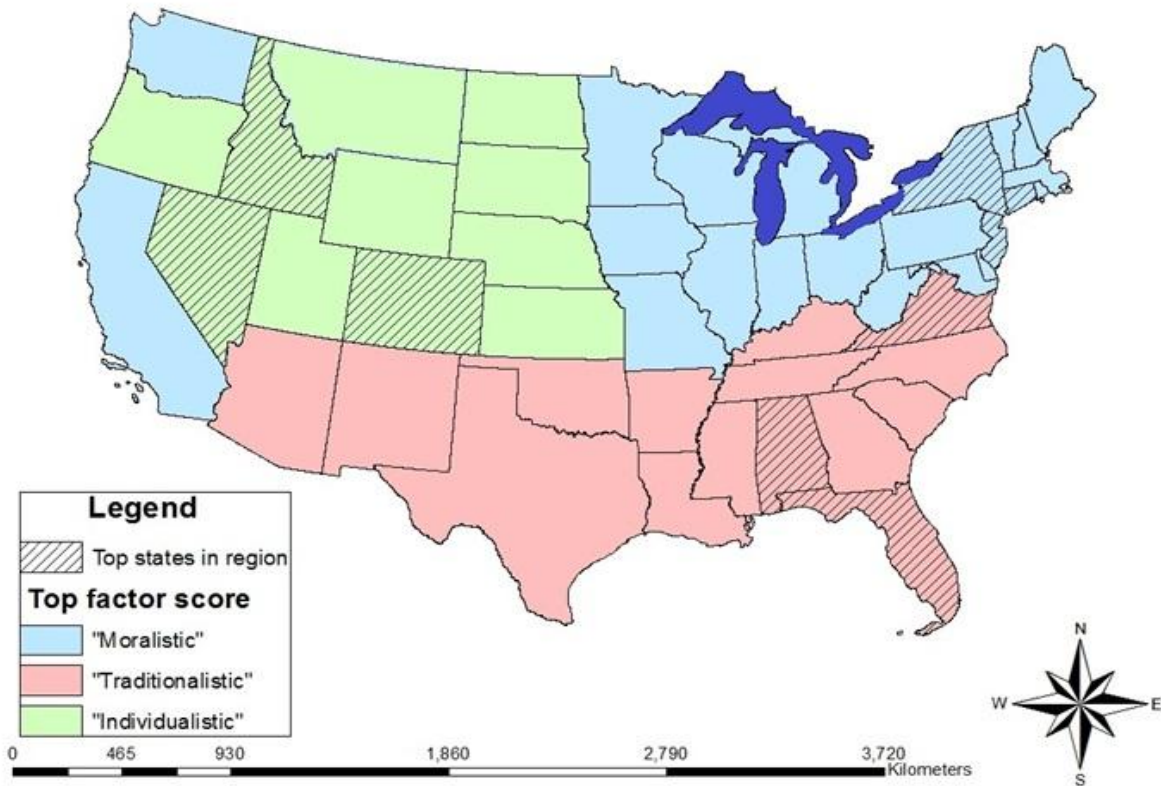


Figure 1.1

Map of the U.S. showing which factor each state scored highest upon. Factor I corresponds closely with the area Elazar classified as the Moralistic region, Factor II with the Traditionalistic region, and Factor III with the Individualistic region. The three states in each category which scored the highest are shaded (Archer and Taylor, 1981:104-105).

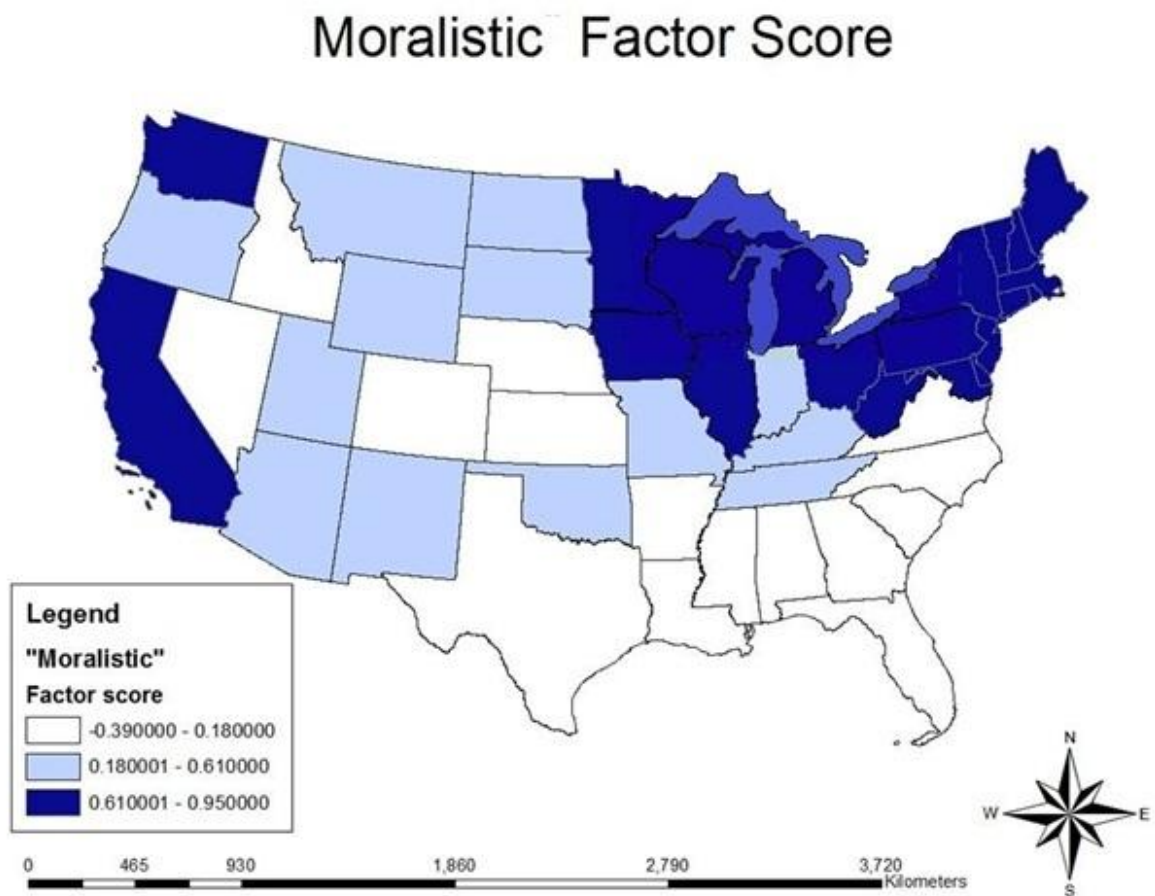
<sup>1</sup> Alaska and Hawaii were both excluded from the calculation

When each state is sorted into categories based on which factor loading was highest, distinct geographic patterns emerge (see Figure 1.1). States which score high on Factor I, Moralistic, are primarily located in the Northeastern section of the United States (U.S.). States scoring the highest on Factor II, Traditionalistic, without exception fall in the southern portion of the United States, while states scoring the highest on Factor III, Individualistic, without exception fall in the western portion of the United States. States which score high on multiple factors tend to be located in border regions, between two sections. The results of the Archer and Taylor's (1981) factor loading provide the basis for selecting the states which are most representative of the three political cultural regions.

In the 1950's, political scientist Daniel Elazar defined characteristics and core areas for the three distinct political cultures he argued existed in the U.S. Due to migration, elements of all three of these cultures are present in every state while the degree to which any given state is representative of a distinct political culture may shift over time (Archer and Taylor, 1981: 101-111).

Elazar believed that all three of the political cultures he defined originated along the Atlantic Seaboard and date back to the earliest days of the Republic. He termed the New England "Yankee" culture as being primarily Moralistic, the Mid-Atlantic region as being Individualistic, and the southern region as Traditionalistic. Elements of these distinct political cultures have been transported from their core areas to new areas through migration, primarily in a direct westward pattern. In the process of transportation these distinct political cultures were

affected by new environments and by migrants from other countries with their own distinct cultural identities (Archer and Taylor, 1981: 101-111; Elazar, 1984: 123-142).



**Figure 1.2**

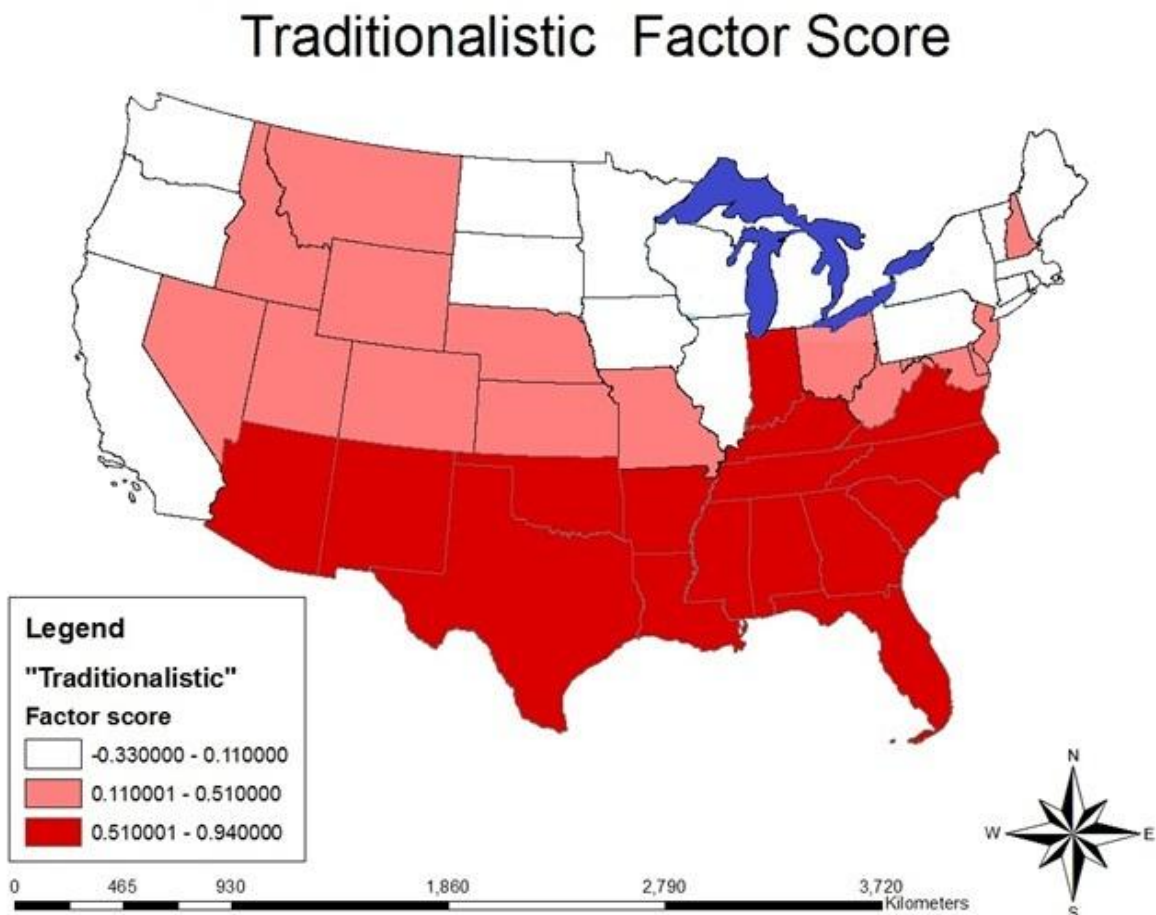
**Map showing individual states scores on the Moralistic factor (Archer and Taylor, 1981: 104-105).**

In the Moralistic political culture, an emphasis is placed on the social good of the community over the role of the individual. A commonwealth form of government is valued with the ultimate role of politics being to form a better society for all. Political participation is viewed as being the responsibility of all citizens. Participation by non-professionals is valued and encouraged. Much of the legislation considered in these regions deal with social issues, with government being seen as a force for promoting social good. In moralist political culture, political parties are de-emphasized. Strict loyalty to one party is not as common as elsewhere, with many elected officials emphasizing personal morals and ethical deliberation over strict party affiliation. The culture as a whole tends to be less partisan, with parties and individual politicians more readily switching positions on crucial issues (Brunn, 1974: 262-267). In Archer and Taylor's (1981: 104-105) work this cultural region can be seen as Factor I (see Figure 1.2).

In Traditionalistic political culture, individuals tend to hold to views of society which predate the industrial revolution. Value here is placed not on individual advancement but rather on social or family ties. Government's primary role is seen as being to interfere as little as possible in citizens' lives. Individual citizens are not expected to be active in governing or the political system generally. Politicians are primarily chosen from a small political elite who inherit the role through family or social ties. Their role within the government is viewed as being primarily one of a caretaker, maintaining the existing social conditions. For example, they are not expected to take an active role in creating new social programs. Political parties under this system are kept to a minimum since party systems allow for openness which is not



encouraged (Brunn, 1974: 262-267). In Archer and Taylor's work this region shows up as including the states loading highest on Factor II (see Figure 1.3).



**Figure 1.3**

**Map showing individual state scores on the traditionalistic factor (Archer and Taylor, 1981: 104-105).**

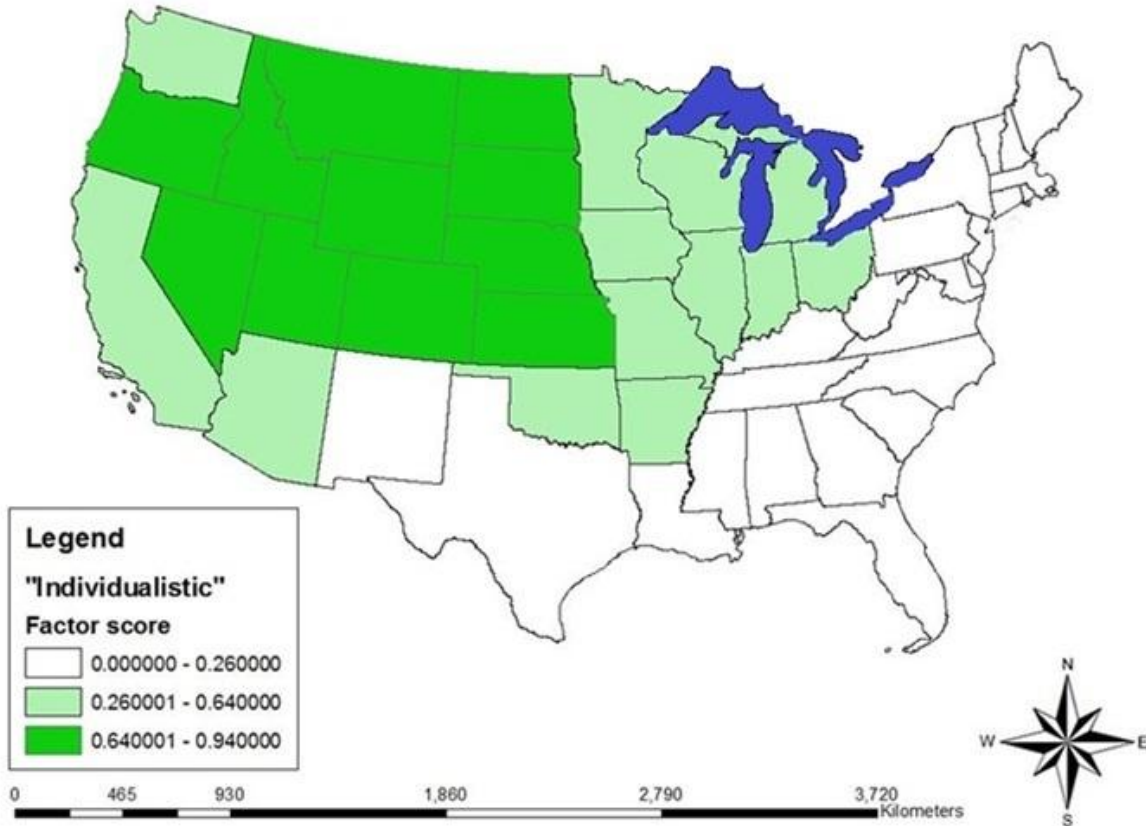
The Individualistic political culture, by contrast, views the individual as paramount in society. This political culture is often associated with business interests (Archer and Taylor, 1981: 101). Political involvement by the citizenry is not actively encouraged. Government is not seen as a tool for addressing social wrongs unless there is a critical issue amiss. In general, a cynical view of government persists among the populous with an expectation that individuals elected to political office are self-serving, interested mostly in personal, financial, or social gains. Politics tends to be viewed as “dirty.” Partisanship and party loyalty are both strong in this political culture (Brunn, 1974: 262-267).

An issue which arises using Elazar’s model of political cultural regions within the United States is that it does not include a distinctive Western political culture even though western states appear as a distinct bloc in Archer and Taylor’s (1981) work. Elazar viewed much of the West as being an amalgam of elements from each of these cores. For example,

...[T]he West’s predilection for third party revolts is said to be derived from a blend of the Moralistic culture’s attitude toward political parties as subordinate to principles and the Individualistic culture’s emphasis upon private initiative and reward (Archer and Taylor, 1981: 102).

Elazar argued that as westward migration occurred, groups of settlers brought their political cultures with them, melding with other groups. The Western portion of the United States now appears as a distinct voting bloc dominated largely by the Individualistic political culture though it is heavily influenced by other political cultures (Elazar, 1984:122-137), (see Figure 1.4).

## Individualistic Factor Score



**Figure 1.4**

**Map showing individual state scores on the individualistic factor (Archer and Taylor 1981: 104-105).**

Outline of the study

This study examines television advertisements aired by candidates running for the United States Senate in different regions of the country over four complete decades of elections, 1970

through 2008. These dates were selected because 1970 was the first year for which significant amounts of data were available and 2008 was the most recent year for which data were available and because it complete 2000's decade. The results of Archer and Taylor's (1981) factor analysis were used as the basis for selecting states to include in the study with the three states most representative of each section being used. Connecticut was calculated to be most representative of Moralistic political culture followed by New Jersey and New York. In the South, Virginia was found to be most representative of Traditionalistic political culture followed by Alabama and Florida. In the West, Idaho was the most representative of Individualistic political culture followed by Colorado and Nevada (see Figure 1.1). A representative sample of commercials from each senatorial election during the time period was used as the medium for studying political culture. Content analysis was used to quantify the symbolism used in each commercial and track how issues were treated. Once completed, chi-squared tests and factor analyses were used to find regional variations and characteristics. Certain characteristics were found to be specific to a region while others transcended region. This suggested both regional and national cultural traits affect how candidates run for office.

## Purpose

This study attempts to determine if regional electoral strategies corresponding with Archer and Taylor's (1981) and Elazar's (1984: 114-130) political cultural regions can be found.

Arguments persist over the role political culture has played in shaping elections in the U.S. This study adds to the debate by providing more evidence supporting the existence of distinctive political cultural regions, and by providing descriptions of how the portrayal of candidates varies between regions.

In the following chapters a detailed description of the study and the conclusions reached is provided. Chapter II provides a brief overview of other literature germane to the topic, including other studies testing Elazar's theory of political culture, the role television plays in the modern election cycle, and the role individual candidates play in campaigns. Chapter III covers the methods used during each phase of the process and provides an explanation for all important decisions taken in the course of the study. Chapter IV provides a description of every statistical test carried out in this process and presents the results. Chapter V provides an interpretation of the findings and argues specific symbols and issues are representative of a national political culture while others are representative of individual regions. The appendices at the end provide descriptions of the datasets and the exact methods used to classify each variable.

## Chapter II

### Literature Review

This chapter provides a brief overview of previous studies germane to this study. Political communication and regional sectionalism are multi-faceted topics. Subjects in this chapter will be handled topically beginning with the question of whether Daniel Elazar's work on sectionalism is still relevant in today's context. Some political scientists and political geographers have questioned the validity and applicability of Elazar's theory (King, 1994).

The next section in this chapter examines the role television advertising plays in the modern electoral cycle. Television commercials are far from the only way candidates spread their message and attempt to portray a positive image of themselves. This section considers other campaign strategies and provides arguments for why television commercials are the most appropriate media for this study.

The third section in this chapter analyzes the role individual personalities play on the election cycle. Many scholars argue that in recent decades there has been a shift away from political party centered politics towards individual candidates. Some have argued that reform efforts to make the political system more transparent combined with technological innovations

such as television advertising are responsible for this shift. These changes further highlight the importance of candidates presenting a positive image and the centrality of mass advertising.

### Sectionalism in America

Questions over the role sectionalism plays in the United States are not new, dating back over a century (Turner, 1908). Daniel Elazar's theory on cultural political differences grew out of several previous works which also attempted to define regions within the U.S. Since being put forth however, Elazar's model of three dominant political cultures associated with historic migrations of peoples, their religions, and distinctive location, has been the prevailing paradigm most cultural political geographers have worked within (Wirt, 1991). Some have challenged this paradigm. James King for example criticized Elazar as being too intuitive with not enough data to support his claims (King, 1994). Others have argued against Elazar's model, putting forth a view of a national political culture in today's highly mobile world (Nardulli, 1990; Applebome, 1996). Since being proposed, several works have attempted to confirm or reject the existence of these cultural regions. Over the past forty years much of the debate on political culture has centered on the validity of Elazar's model.

The factor analysis of presidential voting patterns performed by Archer and Taylor (1981:104-105) strongly supports the existence of three distinct voting regions corresponding

closely with Elazar's proposed regions. Shelley et al (1984) further lend support to these regions by examining county level support for third party candidates. They find that candidates who have strong appeal to one political culture often garner support in like-minded counties even when the rest of the state is dominated by another political culture.

Other methods have been used to test the existence of these regions with varying success. Virginia Gray (1990: 3-35) looked at the role political culture plays along with other variables such as socioeconomic status, location, natural resource distribution and demographic data in public policy formation. In several areas she finds political culture playing a significant role in shaping public opinion and policies in ways which align with Elazar's predictions.

Attitudes among citizens using public opinion data have also been used to attempt to identify political cultural regions. Here the results have been surprisingly negative in locating distinct regions. Questions examining ideas of civic involvement tended to reveal the greatest differences in political culture (Kincaid, 1982: 21). Other studies using exit polling and county level returns on voting suggest that certain political candidates come to represent one political culture and do disproportionately well in small geographic areas which represent this culture (Erikson et al, 1987; Shelley et al, 1984).

Using the attitudes of the "elites" in society towards politics has also produced some interesting results with variations corresponding with Elazar's theory. The idea behind this approach was that elected officials must closely represent the views of their constituencies in



order to win an election. When a large number of these officials were surveyed, patterns emerged which could be explained by regional differences (Kincaid, 1982: 21).

Yet another study designed to classify cultural regions used state laws on voter registration and levels of voter turnout. Daniel Elazar's theory makes several predictions about which states are more likely to encourage turnout by removing barriers to voting. States might restrict voting by passing restrictive registration laws and limiting times when the polls can be accessed. Voter turnout can be an indicator of areas where these laws are most lax and also where there is a culture of citizen participation. James King (1994) concludes from an analysis of state laws on voting and voter turnout that distinct regions emerge conforming closely to those Elazar proposed. In the Moralistic region, state laws pertaining to voter registration tended to be much laxer with voter turnout higher. State laws in the Traditionalistic region tended to be much more restrictive, with lower rates of turnout among the general public. In the Individualistic region, state laws tended to be neutral towards voter participation, with turnout in between the other two areas. Other studies have also found correlations between state laws and Elazar's theory (Kincaid, 1982: 8-23)

State budgets also provide a good way to study different political cultures when factors such as state income, legislative party affiliation and urbanization are controlled statistically. Koven and Mausolff (2002) found patterns in state spending corresponding with Elazar's predictions. For example, state budgets among states in Traditionalistic areas tended to be lowest while those in the Moralistic political culture are the highest. Spending differences did

not follow this pattern among all parts of the budget however. The study examined spending in seven parts of the budget. Spending only showed a correlation with political culture in the areas of education and hospitals. Spending on corrections, highways, police, public welfare, and health had no correlation with political culture. These findings suggest political culture is still relevant in the American political system; however other factors are also significant (Koven and Mausolff, 2002).

After conducting a review of studies dealing with Elazar's theory or other similar theories, Koven and Mausolff (2002) conclude that over 100 studies supporting various aspects of Elazar's formulation have been completed over the past several decades (Koven and Mausolff, 2002). However, Miller et al., (2005) argued that recent technological innovations have had the effect of slowly homogenizing political culture in ways which Elazar's theory does not take into account. At the same time these changes have sharpened differences in political outlooks between rural and urban areas leading to our modern formulation of "Red" verses "Blue" areas. They argue Elazar's theory needs to be updated to account for recent developments (Miller et al., 2005). Current political trends may indeed lead to a reformulation of Elazar's work; however, for the past 40 years it has proved to be a very resilient theory, appropriate for use in this study.

## Analysis of the role political advertising plays in the modern electoral cycle

Television advertising has in recent years become the primary way many candidates seeking a broad audience attempt to appeal to potential voters and win elections. Campaign commercials generally attempt to gain support for a candidate in three different ways. One way is to rally support among segments of the population most likely to support the candidate, leading them to turn out and vote in large numbers. A second strategy is to persuade undecided voters, or voters who might normally vote for a different party, to vote for the candidate. The final strategy is to attempt to dishearten voters who are likely to vote for a different candidate, encouraging them not to vote at all (Goldstein and Travis, 2004).

Television commercials run by a candidate have only one goal, to help a candidate receive more votes than his or her opponents. As such the primary goals of campaign ads are to portray their candidate and his or her stances on issues in as positive a light as possible while portraying their opponents in as negative a light as possible. All other issues such as accurately informing the public or involving people who are unlikely to support the candidate become secondary (Goldstein and Travis, 2004).

A number of studies have attempted to quantify the precise affect television commercials have on the voting public. A significant problem with clearly determining the exact role of television is the number of different media sources candidates use to disseminate information. Aside from television, radio commercials still play a significant role as do Internet advertising and targeted email campaigns. Another complicating factor is the ability to more narrowly target

audiences with commercials. This is particularly true with both radio advertising and email campaigns started by the candidate. Another problem has been the growing ability of the electorate to self-select what messages to which they will be exposed (Overby and Barth, 2009).

One study found different forms of media advertising affect voter's basic attitudes towards politics in different ways. For example, radio advertisements tended to make listeners more positively disposed towards democracy and the political process. Television advertisements, even those which were positive, tended to lead viewers to feel higher levels of cynicism (Overby and Barth, 2009).

The role negative advertising plays in increasing or suppressing electoral turnout has yet to be fully determined, however there may be an emerging consensus in the literature that television commercials, on average, increase turnout (Lau et al, 1999). Daniel Stevens (2009) argues, based on a review of recent literature in the field, that there is an emerging consensus that television advertising increases turnout. Part of the challenge of exactly quantifying the effect of television and negative advertising is understanding how several complex variables interact. For example many campaigns are never truly competitive while in others incumbency and or name recognition must be considered. All of these variables interact with each other. Kim Fridkin Kahn and Patrick J. Kenney (2004) in their book, No Holds Barred: Negativity in U.S. Senate Campaigns estimate that today approximately 60% of all senate campaigns remain relatively civil while 40% of campaigns turn into hard fought negative campaigns. Campaigns which are most likely to turn negative tend to be the ones which are closest. Campaigns where one

candidate is an incumbent or has some other clear advantage over the opponent tend to remain much more civil (Kahn and Kenney, 2004:xi-xii).

A number of studies have examined the impact of negative advertising on the electorate. The results have been inconclusive. Some argue negative advertising, particularly “mud slinging,” alienates independent voters and suppresses turnout (Ansolabehere et al., 1994; Ansolabehere et al., 1999; Kahn and Kenney 1999). Others conclude that in races where there is a great deal of negative advertising, turnout is actually increased (Jackson and Carsey, 2007; Brooks, 2006). Kahn and Kenney (2004) in their book conclude the way negative campaigns effect turnout is largely dependent on the content and way the negativity is presented. For example, when campaigns devolve into simple mudslinging with shrill irrelevant mean-spirited accusations being passed back and forth, voter turnout tends to be depressed. Those citizens least likely to vote in the first place tend to be the ones most affected by these types of messages (Kahn and Kenney, 2004:69-79).

Negative advertising does seem to raise awareness of who both candidates are, and what they stand for. This does not hold true when the media goes negative about one or both candidates. Heightened voter awareness only seems to occur when the candidates or their campaigns become negative. This suggests that attacks from a candidate may be seen as being much more personal and therefore much more attention grabbing (Kahn and Kenney, 2004:72-84).

Today television commercials are one of the most important tools political candidates have to reach a mass audience when running for office. They are a critical tool for shaping public perception of a candidate. As such they provide insight into how candidates believe they need to portray themselves to align themselves with the majority of their constituents. The issues and symbols they choose to incorporate into their message provide insight into the political culture they are running for office in. Television political campaign commercials provide an excellent data source for studying political culture.

#### Candidate centered politics and the role of party

In recent years there have been several studies focusing on the role individual candidate personalities play in the election cycle (Shelley et al, 1984). In his book The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics: Presidential Elections of the 1980s, Martin Wattenberg argued that the period between 1950 and 1990 saw a large decline in the importance of party structure and an increase in the importance of individual candidates. A comparison of the role influential party members played in selecting the nominee in the 1960s to how they were nominated in the 1990s confirmed these changes. Votes cast in primary elections or caucuses in 1960 made up only 18% of the total number of delegates needed to win the democratic nomination. By comparison today's primary election cycle is a grueling, months long process, where candidates are required to show an ability to mobilize massive numbers of voters at the grass roots level (Wattenberg, 1991:1-

12). In effect this has increased the importance of an individual candidate's ability to show they represent the prevailing political culture.

Wattenberg argues that the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 was a natural result of the weakening of the party and the increased importance of individual personalities. In that year the electorate focused more on a charismatic, polarizing figure, than on the parties. Many subsequent presidential races have also followed this pattern. In this type of atmosphere other factors such as, incumbency, wealth and name recognition also take on a much bigger role. In the elections of 1986 and 1988 there were relatively few close races for the House of Representatives. Incumbents who sought reelection succeeded 98% of the time (Wattenberg, 1991:1-12 ).

Fareed Zakaria (2003) makes a similar argument on the decline of party in his book The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad. Today candidates from both parties are expected to raise the majority of their election funds. With the ability to fundraise now a prerequisite for seeking many offices, political parties have lost a significant amount of control over who appears on the ticket. Often those who are able to mount a successful campaign are those who already have significant reserves of money or who have broad name recognition on which they can capitalize. Today those people who can gain election are not necessarily the people most qualified to govern. The importance of how candidates portray themselves has grown (Zakaria, 2003:184-186).

Zakaria (2003) further argues that the process of governing has shifted until today the election cycle has become the most important concern of many elected officials, overshadowing the process of actually governing. He believes these changes are largely a result of efforts to make the political process more transparent following the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon. Reforms such as opening committee meeting records to the public have made the government more transparent and thereby more democratic. However these changes also resulted in a new populism which in turn has resulted in a new emphasis on candidates presenting themselves positively to the public at all times. It also resulted in an increased focus on elections with increased public scrutiny on every vote cast. This in turn made candidates more subject to partisan pressure and less likely to solve difficult issues with bi-partisan solutions (Zakaria, 2003:169-172).

This increasing focus on individual candidates can be seen in other aspects of the election process. Prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century candidates for the office of the Presidency of the United States did not attend nominating conventions, preferring instead to maintain the ideal of a citizen called upon by the people to serve (Gould, 2003). Andrew Johnson, 17<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, is generally considered the first President to campaign for individual legislators while in office during the midterm election of 1866. He was roundly criticized for these actions and the entire campaign was deemed a failure (Castel, 1979:215-218). Not until the 1910s would presidents begin campaigning for themselves. President Woodrow Wilson became the first U.S. President to openly campaign for office. Gould (2003: 149-150) argues this innovation is what won him a second term in office, making him the first Democrat to be reelected to a consecutive



term as president in almost a century. With Wilson a new precedent was set which would grow in importance throughout the years. Presidential candidates are now expected to take a very active role in campaigning (Gould, 2003: 48-52). These changes highlight some of the changes leading to an increased focus on candidates. A candidate centered political process has increased the importance of advertising in the political process and the importance of candidates showing they represent an area's values.

## Chapter III

### Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the methods used, and rationale for critical decisions, in this study, beginning with the selection of the data source. Television commercials for the U.S. senate were selected for study over other possible campaign material and races for a number of reasons. In today's election cycle campaign commercials serve as a central component of any Senatorial run (Kahn and Kenney, 2004:1-12). Television commercials have a number of elements which make them interesting to study. They combine a visual and audio message, presenting the candidate, opponent, and other symbols with spoken words, music and other sound effects. Commercials also provide a very limited time frame to present a candidate and her or his distilled core message.

The second section of this chapter provides an explanation of how the data was captured using content analysis. Methodologically this study is structured similarly to one carried out by Kahn and Kenny (1999) which examined the role negativity plays on a campaign. They performed a content analysis on four commercials selected randomly from every campaign for the U.S. Senate between 1988 and 1992. Their analysis coded the overall message and tone of

the commercial. From this they were able to analyze how and in what kinds of races negativity was used. The content analysis of this study is designed similar to that used in their study.

The third section of this chapter explains how individual commercials for this study were selected. During the selection process careful thought was given as to how to identify appropriate commercials to study the desired topic, geographic region, without fatally biasing the dataset. Careful thought was also given to the types of commercials which should be included.

The fourth section of this chapter provides an explanation of the time frame the study encompasses. Nineteen-seventy through two-thousand eight is a large time frame in terms of an individual politician's political career. However 1970-2008 brackets other political changes nicely, and provides a way to consider temporal affects on political regions.

The fifth section of this chapter focuses on other cultural geography studies. The methodology used in this study, including the use of content analysis to construct a dataset, is similar to several previous studies. The section focuses on other studies which used content analysis and how their datasets were constructed.

The sixth section provides a brief description of the two statistical tests used to analyze the dataset, chi-squared and factor analysis. A brief description is also provided of how data was aggregated for some of the analysis to distil the core message of each commercial.

The final section examines possible sources of error within this study. Two main sources are identified and the impact each might have on biasing this study is considered.

## Data source

All commercials analyzed in this study were used courtesy of the Julian P. Kanter Political Commercial Archive, Political Communications Center at the University of Oklahoma. This study would not have been possible without the archivist's assistance as no other source for this type of political campaign material could be located.

This study was limited to certain types of political campaign commercials. Most campaign ads are designed to communicate a message to voters in 60 seconds or less. A 60-second commercial must concisely summarize a candidate's core message and quickly convey the image the candidate wishes to present. A few commercials run by candidates are longer than 60 seconds, with some more than 30 minutes in length. For this study only commercials designed to appeal to a broad audience were used. A 30-minute advertisement is more of an infomercial than a commercial and is not a tool used by all campaigns, particularly in recent years. This study limits the commercials analyzed to ones which were 60 seconds or shorter. In this way a more uniform sample was insured.

Elections for the United States Senate were selected for this study for a number of reasons. States provide clear geographic boundaries within which a candidate must compete but are a small subsection of the country as a whole. U.S. Senate elections are at-large elections with a single winner from each state taking the seat. Candidates for the U.S. Senate must appeal to a broader coalition than candidates for the United States House of Representatives. U.S. House districts are drawn within the state borders and often include more homogenous constituencies

(i.e. disproportionate numbers of racial minorities, areas of relatively homogeneous economic classes or disproportionately liberal or conservative areas) (Leib and Webster, 1999). Political regional culture is less likely to be influenced by smaller regional variation in senatorial races. Gubernatorial races would also have been appropriate to use in this study, however because of varying terms in office, laws about incumbency and availability of gubernatorial television commercials, senate races were selected.

In their work No Holds Barred: Negativity in U.S. Senate Campaigns authors Kim Fridkin Kahn and Patrick J. Kenney (1999) perform a similar study of commercials in the U.S. Senate, using content analysis to analyze when candidates employ negative advertising as a part of their campaign strategy. For them U.S. Senate elections were appropriate elections to study because,

U.S. Senate elections are an ideal laboratory for examining the impact of negative messages because these campaigns vary dramatically in terms of candidate messages, media coverage, and voters' views of the candidate. Furthermore, the level of competition varies sharply from one senate campaign to another (Kahn and Kenney, 2004: 13)

All of these reasons apply to this study of regional variation.

## Content Analysis

Creating an appropriate set of variables to use in this content analysis was one of the most critical steps of the project. Using content analysis to create the dataset is similar in approach to studies performed by other cultural geographers attempting to find regional differences. For example, in “North America’s Vernacular Regions,” Wilbur Zelinsky performed a similar type of study looking to see if the prevalence of specific place names could be used to create regional maps. For his dataset a list of 73 place names were created. Using local phone books for metropolitan areas he was able to chart where various names appeared and found distinct regions (Zelinsky, 1980).

The approach taken in this study to formulate a list of variables was similar to Zelinsky’s. A preliminary set of variables was created, tested, and refined. Unlike Zelinsky’s work, the content analysis for this study could not be fully calibrated at the beginning of this process because a representative sample of commercials was not available until data collection began. Following data collection any variable present less than 2% of the time was excluded. Zelinsky by contrast added several variables and deleted several others before collecting data. The original dataset for this study consisted of 150 variables describing the content of the commercial and 14 variables providing background information about the candidate. Background information included information such as region, incumbency and outcome of the election (Zelinsky, 1980).

Fifty-five of the variables from the original dataset dealt with the symbolism the commercial contained, for example images of the American Flag, people working blue collar jobs or the candidate talking with a crowd of people. All variables in this category were coded either 0 for not present or 1 for present.

An important symbol every political advertisement uses is the commercial's setting. With the time constraints inherent in any political advertisement small details become important. In studying product sales, Tony Schwartz argues that it is the "environmental surrounding that gives commercials or advertisements meaning, and determines their effects on consumer purchase of products" (Shwdawartz, 1973: 56). Stephen Ansolabehere and Shanto Iyengar argue that all of the factors which make product advertising successful also can be applied to political campaigns (Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1994). Setting was therefore interpreted as an important symbol which the candidate used.

The other 95 variables focused on issues which the commercial raised related either to the candidate or to the opponent. Issues raised in commercials ranged from the candidate and or opponents stance on tax policy to positions on abortion and school bussing. These 95 variables were coded either 1,0 or -1. If the candidate or opponent agreed with or supported the issue the variable was coded 1. If the issue was not mentioned it was coded 0. If the candidate or opponent did not support or agree with an issue it was coded -1. Every variable in this category was written as a statement such as the candidate supports lower taxes.

After conducting research, variables which were present in less than two percent of all commercials were excluded<sup>2</sup>. In the final analysis 47 variables dealing with symbolism were included and 53 variables dealing with issues were included. See Appendix A for a more complete explanation of how variables were quantified, and which variables were excluded.

### Selection process

Data from commercials from both general elections and primary elections were collected for this study. Three commercials were analyzed from every candidate who ran a commercial during an election cycle. Incumbents and candidates seeking election multiple times were handled the same way as everyone else. Candidates who only ran one or two commercials in a given election cycle were also included in the sample.

Primary and general election commercials were treated the same way because the archive records make no distinction between primary and general elections. No other source could be found to distinguish between primary and general election commercials for every state dating back to the 1970's. Limiting the study to candidates who only ran commercials in the general

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<sup>2</sup>The issues variables which presented the candidate's views and the opponents were considered one variable for this process. In the event an opponent's view on an issue was present less than 2% of the time but candidate's position was presented frequently enough to be retained both variables were kept. In other tests the candidate's position and the opponent's position were aggregated into one variable and so for the sake of consistency retaining both variables during the initial reduction phase was important variables were retained.



election would not have insured a uniform sample as some of the commercials selected could have also been run in the primaries.

Including both types of commercials without distinction should not distort the results too greatly since the primary purpose of this study is to examine how regional characteristics vary between geographic areas. Winning a primary election is generally the first step to winning in the general election. Winning in a primary election is the same as winning in a general election in that candidates must show they share the same values as the majority of their constituencies. The only data analysis which may have been biased by including both primary and general elections, is the test examining the differences between parties. Primary elections are fundamentally centered on the party. Individuals who vote in a primary election are much more likely to be committed to a certain political philosophy. In order to win in this type of election candidates must highlight their connection to this philosophy. In the general election that same candidate is likely to portray themselves as more moderate to attract voters not as firmly committed to that philosophy. As such, some of the variables which showed a great deal of variation between parties might have showed less had only general election advertisements been considered.

In the selection process a random number generator was used to select which commercials would be analyzed. All commercials from an individual candidate run in a single election cycle were assigned a number beginning with one and ending when all commercials had been assigned a number. The Random number generator would then select a random number

between one and whatever the total number commercials was. A total of 202 commercials were analyzed from the Moralistic region, Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, 203 were analyzed from the Traditionalistic region, Virginia, Alabama, and Florida, and 171 were analyzed from the Individualistic region, Idaho, Colorado and Nevada.

### Time Frame

The date 1970 was selected as the starting date for analysis for a number of reasons. The most significant reason involves the availability of data. The earliest television commercials for the U.S. Senate date back to the 1950s, however the archive did not have a significant number of senate commercials prior to 1970. Prior to the 1970s there was not enough data from the states selected for significant analysis, particularly in the Individualistic political cultural region.

The 1970s was the first decade during which television commercials were used almost without exception by all major party candidates who ran for the office of U.S. Senate. Beginning the study at the time commercials first came into wide use provided the opportunity to study how the commercials evolved over time. The Archer and Taylor (1981) study which was used to select the top states in each region was published in 1981, providing the opportunity to examine commercials before and after the study. Two-thousand eight was used as the last year of the

study because it was the most recent data available and because it was the last election of the 2000's decade, providing a sample of four complete decades.

### Regional approach to studying geography and statistical tests

In studying regions cultural geographers often cannot directly measure or study their topic of interest. Instead they rely on somewhat indirect data sources which hint at regional traits to gather data for their study (Meinig, 1965; Zenlinsky, 1980; Gade, 2003; Shortridge, 2003). This work follows previous works in the field of cultural geography in selecting a specific aspect of culture to focus on, political culture. Often regional cultural borders cannot be drawn as neatly or precisely on a map as political or physical borders. Cultural transition zones between regions can be particularly troublesome. This being the case, an understanding of approximately where geographic regions and transition zones are located and how they vary, can be useful in understanding culture. This study emulates other cultural geographical studies in selecting a medium, political television commercials, to study political cultural regions. A dataset was then built to quantify the content of each commercial and allow for statistical analysis. Based on this analysis distinct patterns emerged.

Once every commercial's meaning was quantified, statistical tests were used to interpret the data. In the analysis phase, two statistical tests were used, chi-squared analysis, and factor

analysis. Also during this phase some of the data were aggregated to refine the dataset. An entirely new dataset was created which was designed to distil the core message of the commercials further. The new dataset relied on a combination of the original variables. The new dataset had only 29 variables instead of the 96 originally used. Appendix C provides a complete description of this process. The combined dataset was particularly useful in the factor analysis section. Further descriptions of statistical tests are described in the results section (see chapter IV).

#### Possible sources of error

Sampling error is the most likely source of error in this study. Despite repeated viewings of individual commercials undoubtedly some variables which were present were not recorded, or were incorrectly recorded. Commercials were viewed in no particular order with many skips between states and time periods. Any errors of this type are likely to be randomly distributed throughout the dataset and not concentrated in any given region or era.

Other biases to the dataset included those variables selected for sampling. Variables were designed to be as inclusive as possible although in a few cases the intentions of the commercials designers may not have been captured. Many variables proved not to be significant and were excluded from analysis. However no issues or symbols came up during the research process

which should have been included in the dataset but were not. As a result, any bias from the selected variables is likely to be small.

## Chapter IV

### Results

This chapter covers the two statistical tests used to analyze the data. It explains every critical step taken during this phase. A preliminary analysis of findings is also provided. See Appendix B for a complete list of variables and the percentage of time each was present.

A chi-squared test was first performed to explore some of the characteristics of the data. The test was first used to examine whether or not the regional variation between presence or absence of individual variables was random. The same test was then performed to see if variables showing differences between decade and party were random. The results of this test provided insight into differences between commercials run in different regions, commercials run by members of different parties, and how commercials changed during the time period of study. From this analysis specific variables were found to be associated with a specific region, party, and or decade or some combination of the three.

A factor analysis was also used to test for broad patterns. Regional patterns emerged with the top three factors representing one of the three specific regions. Several of the individual variables had high loadings on specific factors. This provided insight into which variables are closely associated with a specific region and which are not.

## Chi-squared analysis

Several variables showed a large amount of variation in the frequency they were present when compared by region. A chi-squared test was used to determine whether this variation was statistically significant. Besides region, party and decade were also tested. For the chi-squared test the variables which compared a candidate's stance on an issue and his or her opponent's stance on the same issue were combined. For example the variables, "Candidate will stand up to lobbyists and other special interest groups" and the variable "opponent will stand up to lobbyists and other special interest groups" became one variable. Differences between supports and does not support were also removed. The chi-squared test shows whether an issue was raised, not what the candidate or the opponent's stance was.

The chi-squared test showed 20 variables had more variation between regions than could be accounted for by random chance. Table 4.2 shows the variables which had significant regional differences at the 0.05 level and the 0.01 level.<sup>3</sup> In total 202 commercials were analyzed from the Moralistic region, 203 from the Traditionalistic and 171 from the Individualistic region (see Table 4.1).

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<sup>3</sup> The variable "Church, cross, Christian flag, Ten Commandments, or other Christian symbols" was excluded because it had an expected value of less than five in a cell.

Table 4.1

## Variables which showed regional variation

<b>Variables with regional variation</b>	<b>Chi-squared statistic</b>	<b>degrees of freedom</b>	<b>significant<sup>4</sup> at 0.05 level</b>	<b>significant at 0.01 level</b>
Candidate talking to commercial viewers or to people in commercial	15.11	2	Yes	Yes
Somebody else talking about candidate (not including campaign slogan at end)	10.59	2	Yes	Yes
somebody else talking about opponent	6.85	2	Yes	No
Wilderness or natural landscape	61.80	2	Yes	Yes
Classroom	6.37	2	Yes	No
Clips of opponent	6.62	2	Yes	No
Light Classical/ Musac	10.55	2	Yes	Yes
No Music	11.44	2	Yes	Yes
racial minority with candidate (not just in large crowd or candidate)	20.18	2	Yes	Yes
Explicit Identification of party affiliation (In text at end or by person in add)	9.22	2	Yes	Yes
Celebrity, politician, private citizen and or other organization endorsement	11.51	2	Yes	Yes
Candidate will (has) bring jobs back to state/ prevent job loss/ bring in federal money	22.10	2	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports other state issues	27.10	2	Yes	Yes
what candidate has done (will do) to improve country/state (specifics)	8.87	2	Yes	No
Candidate is aware of local state issues	10.47	2	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports environmental protection	9.83	2	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports gun rights	29.09	2	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports our troops/veterans	15.96	2	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports limited government	7.27	2	Yes	No
Candidate explicitly says he/she has good values/family values/ state values	30.58	2	Yes	Yes

<sup>4</sup> With two degrees of freedom a variable was statistically significant at the 0.05 level with score of 5.991. It was significant at the 0.01 level with a score of 9.210.



A total of 17 variables showed a statistically significant amount of variation between candidates running as a Democrat and candidates running as a Republican. Table 4.2 shows all of the variables which differed by party at the 0.05 level or 0.01 level.<sup>5</sup> In total 251 Republican and 287 Democratic commercials were analyzed. Candidates running commercials as a third party candidate made up only 3.6% of the total commercials selected for this study. Third party candidates were excluded from this table (see Table 4.2).

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<sup>5</sup> The Variable "Supports consumer protection" was excluded from this table even though it was significant at the 0.01 level because it had an expected value of less than five.

Table 4.2

## Variables which varied between Democrats and Republicans

Variable which vary between Parties	Chi-squared	Degrees of Freedom	Significant <sup>6</sup> at 0.05 level	Significant at 0.01 level
Near national monument/icon	6.67	1	Yes	Yes
racial minority with candidate (not just in big large crowd) or candidate	7.26	1	Yes	Yes
supportive crowds	3.99	1	Yes	No
References current occupant of White House	4.22	1	Yes	No
Explicitly asks for viewers to vote for candidate	18.58	1	Yes	Yes
support lower taxes	60.84	1	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports states rights (attacks federal government)	8.06	1	Yes	Yes
Candidate qualifications/experience/work ethic	9.1	1	Yes	Yes
what candidate has done (will do) to improve country/state (specifics)	6.06	1	Yes	No
Candidate is aware of local state issues	5.35	1	Yes	No
Candidate supports gun rights	4.38	1	Yes	No
Candidate supports eliminating of federal Deficit/inflation	7.24	1	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports Medicare/Social Security/ other senior issues	52.18	1	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports being tough on crime	6.65	1	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports welfare reform	9.79	1	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports limited government	10	1	Yes	Yes
Candidate supports reducing government corruption/waste	6.73	1	Yes	Yes

A total of 32 variables showed statistically significant variance when a chi-squared test was used to test for differences between decade. These results suggest that commercials varied more over time than they did between party or between region. Table 4.3 shows all variables which

<sup>6</sup> With one degree of freedom variables were statistically significant at the 0.05 level with a score of 3.841, at the 0.01 level with a score of 6.635.

differentiated by decade at the 0.05 level or 0.01 level.<sup>7</sup> In total 122 commercials from the 1970s were analyzed, 139 from the 1980s, 174 from the 1990s and 144 from the 2000s (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3

Variables which varied between the 1970s,1980s,1990s, and 2000s

Variables which varied between decade	Chi-squared	Degrees of Freedom	Significant <sup>8</sup> at 0.05 level	significant at 0.01 level
Candidate talking to commercial viewers or to people in commercial	15.70	3	Yes	Yes
Somebody else talking about candidate (not including campaign slogan at end)	15.23	3	Yes	Yes
somebody else talking about opponent	21.47	3	Yes	Yes
Personal Office (of candidate or person endorsing candidate)	10.02	3	Yes	No
Classroom	16.34	3	Yes	Yes
Candidate talking with/listening to people	13.59	3	Yes	Yes
Clips of opponent	32.31	3	Yes	Yes
No Clear setting/ Other	21.99	3	Yes	Yes
Public areas, (town/city street/community gathering area)	13.83	3	Yes	Yes
Light Classical/ Musac	70.96	3	Yes	Yes
Scary (anything in a minor key)	11.35	3	Yes	Yes
No Music	124.49	3	Yes	Yes
Military uniforms or pictures of soldiers	23.29	3	Yes	Yes
Family	38.41	3	Yes	Yes
American Flag alone	45.38	3	Yes	Yes
supportive crowds	13.22	3	Yes	Yes

<sup>7</sup> The following variables also showed regional variation by decade with a significance level of 0.05 or higher however had an expected value of less than 5 and so were excluded from the table: "Other Music," "Church, cross, Christian flag, ten commandments, or other Christian symbols," "Reference to either candidate's military service," "gun rights," "Candidate or opponent supports our troops," "Candidate or opponent explicitly says he/she has good values/ family values/ state values."

<sup>8</sup> With three degrees of freedom a variable was significant at the 0.05 level with a score of 7.815, at the 0.01 level with a score of 11.345.

Table 4.3 Continued

<b>Explicit Identification of party affiliation (In text at end or by person in add)</b>	<b>14.76</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>References current occupant of White House</b>	13.43	3	Yes	Yes
<b>Explicitly asks for viewers to vote for candidate</b>	10.47	3	Yes	No
<b>support lower taxes</b>	12.81	3	Yes	Yes
<b>Candidate will (has) bring jobs back to state/ prevent job loss/ bring in federal money</b>	11.05	3	Yes	No
<b>Candidate qualifications/experience/work ethic</b>	11.19	3	Yes	No
<b>what candidate has done (will do) to improve country/state (specifics)</b>	52.09	3	Yes	Yes
<b>accuses opponent of lying</b>	27.80	3	Yes	Yes
<b>Candidate is aware of local state issues</b>	14.45	3	Yes	Yes
<b>Candidate supports environmental protection</b>	8.05	3	Yes	No
<b>Candidate supports education</b>	20.73	3	Yes	Yes
<b>Candidate supports Medicare/Social Security/ other senior issues</b>	16.42	3	Yes	Yes
<b>Candidate supports our troops/veterans</b>	18.37	3	Yes	Yes
<b>Candidate supports strong national defense / reference to Cold War or War on terrorism</b>	32.41	3	Yes	Yes
<b>Candidate will stand up to lobbyist and other special interest groups</b>	10.53	3	Yes	No
<b>Candidate tries to down play partisanship</b>	16.03	3	Yes	Yes

#### Changes over decade

Of the three factors analyzed in this study, change over decade affected more variables than either region or party. Testing which variables showed statistically significant amounts of change over the time period provides insight into how commercials changed and developed over the 40 year study period. Many of the variables which varied only by decade reflect broad national trends and changes in American culture.

Part of the reason more variables were distinguished by decade is due to the maturation of political advertising during this time period. Political commercials from the 1970s were relatively simple compared to those produced later. A commercial from the 1970s might simply

be the candidate talking directly to the camera either introducing himself or herself or addressing one or two issues believed to be important. By contrast, commercials made in the 2000's used more symbolism with rapid clips and scenes in quick succession. The candidate or narrator was more likely to run through a list of social and economic issues giving the candidate's position on everything in a sentence or two.

Each decade saw an increase in the average number of variables used per commercial. Other variables also show a growing sophistication. The variable "no clear setting" was used most in the 1970s and declined every subsequent decade. Commercials which had no clear setting were generally fairly simple, often just the candidate standing in front of a white screen talking or a set of text boxes highlighting points. The variable "scary music," defined for this project as anything set in a minor key, also shows commercials becoming more sophisticated. In the later commercials music became integrated into the commercial in a much more professional way. The number of times scary music was used increased every decade.

Other patterns may also provide insight into trends in society. The number of commercials where candidates addressed the issue of special interest groups and lobbyists increased from the 1970s peaking in the 1990s, then slightly declining in the 2000s. The number of times families appeared in the commercial nearly doubled in the 1990s and 2000s when compared to the 1970s and 1980s. The decline in interest of special interest groups after the 1990s may be a result of other important developments in the 2000s such as war and economic

recession. The increased use of families could have a number of explanations though clearly the symbolism resonated well with voters.

Another fascinating pattern was the number of commercials dealing with national defense issues and the use of soldiers in uniform. Both show a slight rise from the 1970s to the 1980s then a drop in the 1990s, and a dramatic rise in the 2000s. These variables seem to follow world events with the issue of a strong national defense declining in the 1990s after the breakup of the Soviet Union then sharply rising with the events of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The number of commercials which showed American flags also follows this pattern to some extent. The number of commercials which used an American flag more than doubled between the 1990s and the 2000s. A number of the variables which were excluded because they were not statistically significant also support this conclusion. For example, there was only one commercial referring to a candidate's military service in the 1970s, but in the 1980s it climbed to three, to four in the 1990s, and in the 2000s it jumped to eleven. The variable "Supports our troops or veterans" followed a similar pattern having three commercials in the 1970s, two in the 1980s, zero in the 1990s and eleven in the 2000s.

This study cannot precisely determine what changes over the decades were caused by shifts in the issues being addressed and which were caused simply by the increasing sophistication of the commercials. However, it is clear that some of the changes in commercials were the result of shifting interests and problems which politicians felt needed to be addressed

Table 4.4 lists all of the variables which varied only by decade and not by region or party. Next to each variable is the percentage of time that variable was present in each decade. Because of this the percentages visible in the table do not necessarily add to 100% (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4

Variables which varied by decade but not by region or party

Variables which varied by decade <sup>9</sup>	% in 1970	% in 1980	% in 1990	% in 2000
Office	8.2%	21.6%	14.9%	12.5%
Candidate talking with/listening to people	18%	14.4%	12.1%	17.8%
No Clear setting/ Other	28.7%	25.2%	16.7%	8.3%
Public areas, (town/city street/community gathering area)	32.8%	15.8%	20.7%	29.9%
Scary music (anything in a minor key)	0.8%	2.9%	6.3%	9.0%
Military uniforms or pictures of soldiers	3.3%	4.3%	2.9%	14.6%
Family	4.1%	14.4%	29.3%	29.2%
American flag alone	4.1%	13.7%	14.9%	34%
Accuses opponent of lying	0%	3.2%	8.9%	4.5%
Education	3.3%	6.1%	8.3%	13.5%
Strong national defense/ reference to Cold War or War on terrorism	1.2%	4.7%	0.6%	8.3%
Stand up to lobbyist and other special interest groups	0.8%	4.0%	6.0%	5.2%

<sup>9</sup> The following variables were excluded from the table because the expected value is less than five: "other music," "Church, cross, Christian flag, ten commandments, or other Christian symbols," "Reference to candidates military service," "Gun rights," "support our troops/veterans," and "Play down partisanship."

## Variables which varied by party

A very interesting pattern emerges among variables which only varied by party and not region or decade. Every variable which fits in this category was overwhelmingly raised by Republican candidates. In every case the percentage of time a Republican raised the issue was at least double the percentage of times a Democratic candidate raised the same issue. These results cannot be attributed to Republican commercials covering more of the variables in the dataset. On average commercials run from both parties covered approximately the same number of variables. Out of the 96 possible variables, on average Republican commercials had 10.2 variables present versus Democrats who on average had 9.9 variables present. These results may suggest some larger differences between the two parties. This data shows there are several partisan issues which transcend time and region. In every case the candidates running as Republicans were more likely to use these strictly partisan issues to gain election. Some have argued that during most of the time period studied Republicans and conservative ideology has controlled most of the issues and rhetoric in politics (Perlstein, 2001: xii; Lakoff, 2006; Patterson, 2007). These results appear to support this argument with all of the most partisan issues being controlled by conservative candidates.

Table 4.5 provides a list of all variables which only varied by party (see Table 4.5). During the research phase all candidates who ran commercials including third party candidates were included in the dataset. A total of 21 third party commercials were analyzed. Most of these commercials came from the Traditionalistic and Moralistic regions. Both regions had nine



commercials. The Individualistic region had only three commercials. Because these numbers are small compared to the total number of Democratic commercials, 287, and Republican commercials, 251, third party commercials are excluded from this table. Third party commercials are included in the regional and decadal tables.

Table 4.5

Variables which varied by party but not region or decade

<b>Variables<sup>10</sup></b>	<b>% of Republicans</b>	<b>% of Democrats</b>
<b>Near national monument/icon</b>	8.8%	3.5%
<b>lower taxes raised as issue</b>	19.5%	4.4%
<b>Federal deficit</b>	7.4%	3.7%
<b>Tough on crime</b>	6.0%	2.8%
<b>Welfare reform</b>	2.6%	0.3%
<b>Reducing government corruption</b>	5.0%	0.3%

<sup>10</sup> The variables “Supports states rights (attacks federal government)” and “Consumer protection” also fits into this category but were excluded because they had an expected value of less than five.

## Changes by region

Only four variables varied by region and not by party or decade. Many of the variables which varied by region also showed a great deal of variation over time, possibly as a result of commercials becoming more sophisticated and targeted. The variables which varied only by region however reveal significant regional patterns.

One of the variables which varied was “Other state issues,” with commercials in the Individualistic region having it present far more often than anywhere else. This suggests that politicians from both parties in the Individualistic region attempted to clearly distinguish themselves from Washington D.C., and to establish a local connection more frequently. Examples of the issues being raised under this category include the Yucca Mountain Nuclear Waste Dump, the MX Missile project, and other public lands issues. In other regions of the country commercials raising individual state issues and candidates promising to fight for the state were rare. This variable fits in with a larger pattern of politicians in the Individualistic region attempting to distinguish themselves from Washington, D.C.

The use of outdoor natural landscapes is another way politicians in the Individualistic region distinguished themselves. Almost one third of all commercials sampled in the West employed some form of natural landscape such as images of natural landscapes or people in the outdoors hiking, climbing, mountain biking. These images suggest a distinct Western culture where outdoor activity and preservation of natural areas is valued. These images may serve as another way of distinguishing the candidate from Washington, D.C. and of establishing a strong

local connection. Other variables also support this conclusion. However, they did not vary uniquely by region and are covered elsewhere.

Candidates in the Traditionalistic region were more likely to appeal to voters by explicitly claiming to have “good values” whether they were family, Christian, or state values. All candidates cover values issues by the issues or symbols they choose to raise in their commercials. What distinguished the Traditionalistic region is that candidates would often directly assert they share the viewer’s values without having to elaborate. Candidates from both parties in the region were more likely to raise values related issues. Other variables seemed to highlight the candidate’s moral character, for example, showing the candidate with his or her family or raising other moral issues such as abortion. These did not show up as unique only to the Traditionalistic region however, and are covered elsewhere.

The only variable which was dominated by the Moralistic region was the use of “Celebrity, politician, private citizen, or other group endorsements.” An interesting further study would be to determine if endorsements come more frequently from well known figures or from the general public. Based on Elazar’s theory, endorsements in the Moralistic region might be expected to come more frequently from the general public.

Table 4.6 lists all variables which varied between region, but which remained constant over the time period and in between the parties in the region (see table 4.6). The table shows the percentage of time a variable was present in a region.

Table 4.6

## Variables which varied by region but not by party or decade

Variable <sup>11</sup>	% of Moralistic	% of Traditionalistic	% of Individualistic
Wilderness or natural landscape	5.4%	3.9%	27.5%
Celebrity, politician, private citizen and or other organization endorsement	13.9%	5.9%	5.3%
Other state issues	1.0%	0.2%	5.3%
Explicit statement of “good values”	0.5%	7.4%	2.3%

## Regional and party variation

Only two of the 96 variables showed a statistically significant level of variation both by party and by region. This suggests there are significant differences both between the parties and between the regions. However these issues for the most part do not overlap.

The “Gun rights” variable was one of the variables which had regional and party variation. The actual issue might seem to be most important to the Individualistic and Traditionalistic regions. However not a single commercial raised the issue either in support or opposition in the Individualistic region. Only a very few commercials raised the issue in the

<sup>11</sup> The variable “church, cross, Christian flag, ten commandments, or other Christian symbols also fits into this category but was excluded because it had an expected cell value of less than five.

Traditionalistic region. In the Moralistic political culture, by contrast, it was raised in nearly five percent of all commercials. In all but two cases the candidate was opposed to unrestricted gun rights or portrayed their opponent as not being opposed to them. These results fit nicely with Elazar's predictions about how the different political cultures view government involvement. Support for government regulation on this issue is used by candidates in campaigns in the Moralistic region. In the other two regions, support for government regulation on this issue was almost non-existent (Elazar, 1974:114-130).

Another surprising aspect of the gun rights issue is the party it was being raised by. Based on a number of current trends in National Rifle Association lobbying and political organizing (Rose, 2010), to the 2008 Republican nominee for Vice President, Sarah Palin, gun rights would seem to be an issue more associated with the Republican Party. In this sample however, only two of the 251 Republican commercials raised the issue. In both cases the candidate supported gun rights and said nothing about the opponent. This pattern suggests a significant difference between the parties and their view of government.

The other variable which varied by party and region also aligns nicely with Elazar's predictions and reveal key differences in both parties attitudes towards government. Support for a limited government is highest in the Individualistic and Traditionalistic regions. By contrast candidates in the Moralistic region are many times less likely to raise the issue (Elazar, 1974:114-130). Republican candidates are also more likely to raise the issue than their Democratic counterparts. This finding aligns with both parties' national platforms (Democratic

National Convention Committee, 2008; 2008 Republican National Convention, 2008). Table 4.7 shows the percentage of commercials which raised both of these issues at the regional and party levels (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7

Variables which varied significantly by region and by party

Variables	% of Republican	% of Democrat	% of Moralistic	% of Traditionalistic	% of Individualistic
gun rights	0.3%	1.7%	4.7%	0.5%	0.0%
limited government	3.0%	0.5%	0.5%	3.0%	2.6%

Regional and decadal variation

A total of 10 variables showed a statistically significant amount of variation between region and decade. Of these only three of the variables dealt with issues, the other seven all highlighted differences in the setting or symbols used in the commercials.

According to Elazar's theory political differences play out in how candidates relate to one another, with politicians in the Moralistic region more likely to compromise on issues, politicians in the Individualistic region more likely to engage in bitter partisan battles, and politicians in the

Traditionalistic region not needing to do either because of the single party domination and caretaker role they play. The first three variables in this table may hint at these differences (Elazar, 1994:229-257).

The first two variables the table show significant differences in how candidates chose to deliver their message. In the Moralistic political culture candidates were much less likely to address viewers directly, instead relying on surrogates to take their message to viewers. In the Traditionalistic and Individualistic regions the patterns were reversed, candidates were much more likely to speak directly to viewers and not rely on other people. This pattern combined with the fact that commercials in the Moralistic political culture were also much more likely to rely on endorsements from celebrities, politicians, or everyday people (see Table 4.2). This may suggest a political culture which is less centered on individual personalities. In a way this has the effect of removing the candidate from the political process, making differences less personal.

The third variable in this table, showing how candidates talk about their opponent, may also suggest cultural differences which are in accord with Elazar's theory. The variable shows what percent of the time somebody else talked about the opponent. Generally when a candidate raises the subject of his or her opponent, negative aspects of their campaign or record are raised. Having somebody besides the candidate raise issues about his or her opponent removes the candidate from the direct attack, keeping it less personal. In the dataset, candidates relied on surrogates to talk about the opponent almost an equal percentage of time between the Moralistic and Individualistic regions. However there was a significant difference between these two

regions and the Traditionalistic region. The Traditionalistic region had surrogates talking about the opponent much less often, suggesting there might be fewer differences between candidates in this region. Looking at the original dataset, the commercials in the Traditionalistic region raised the fewest number of issues related to the opponent, even though that region had the largest total number of commercials.

The next four variables in Table 4.8 relate to the setting of the commercial. Of these, the variable “commercial showed clips of the opponent” highlighted the biggest differences in political culture of the setting variables group. Candidates in the Traditionalistic region were less likely to show pictures of their opponent. This suggests that differences between the two candidates might be less, and that commercials in the region were more likely to remain civil.

Some of the musical and setting selection variables also showed significant differences. These however are probably not as reflective of differences in political culture. The fact that musical selection changes so much throughout time maybe a reflection of growing technological and media sophistication.

The final three variables deal with issues which varied significantly between region and over time. These highlight deeper political cultural differences. In the Traditionalistic political culture, candidates generally did not attempt to win by highlighting how they had procured federal money to improve the state. The opposite was true in the Moralistic region. These differences align with Elazar’s theory of people’s view of the government’s role in the different regions (Elazar, 1974: 114-130).



The other two variables do not fit neatly into Elazar's theory, but highlight other important issues which differ between the three regions. Both of the issues, "environmental protection" and "support for the military," were raised most frequently in the Individualistic region. Environmental protection was also raised frequently in the Moralistic region, leaving the Traditionalistic region as the area which was significantly different from the other two regions. Based on Elazar's theory the individualist region, with supposedly the most friendly business culture, might have been expected to have the least support for environmental protection. However other factors such as the amount of public land in the West, and a culture which encourages outdoor activity, may be more significant. The other variable, looking at support for the military, showed the Individualistic political culture to be most different from the other regions. The Individualistic political culture raised the issue of support for the military most frequently. Table 4.8 lists all of the variables which varied by region and decade showing the percentage of time the variable was present in each region and in each decade (see Table 4.8).

Table 4.8

## Variables which varied significantly by region and decade

Variable	% of Moralisti c	% of Traditionalisti c	% of Individualisti c	% of 1970	% of 1980	% of 1990	% of 2000
Candidate talking to commercial viewers	30.6%	48.3%	46.2%	55.7%	40.3%	40.8%	31.9%
Somebody else talking about candidate	63.4%	48.3%	46.2%	72.1%	56.8%	51.7%	51.4%
Somebody else talking about opponent	25.2%	15.8%	25.1%	7.4%	20.9%	28.2%	27.1%
Classroom	7.9%	10.3%	3.5%	3.3%	2.9%	8.6%	13.9%
Clips of opponent	16.8%	8.4%	14.0%	0.0%	9.4%	20.7%	18.1%
Light classical music	36.6%	30.5%	46.8%	6.6%	36.7%	50.0%	50.0%
No music	47.5%	41.4%	30.4%	73.0%	54.7%	28.7%	11.8%
Candidate will (has) bring jobs back to state	11.6%	3.0%	8.5%	4.5%	6.8%	6.9%	11.8%
Environmental protection	5.9%	2.5%	7.3%	2.5%	5.8%	4.3%	7.6%
Support for troops	0.5%	0.5%	3.5%	1.2%	0.7%	0.0%	3.8%

## Variables which varied by region, party, and decade

Three variables varied significantly when randomness between region, party, and decade were tested. Two of these variables dealt with specific issues. The third variable showed differences between when commercials included specific party identification.

The first variable in this table shows that commercials in the Traditionalistic political cultural region were most likely to provide an explicit identification the candidate's political party affiliation. According to Elazar's theory, explicit party identification might be expected to be highest in the hyper-partisan atmosphere of the Individualistic region, less present in the Moralistic and almost nonexistent in the single party system of the Traditionalistic political culture (Elazar, 1974: 114-130). The dataset does not follow this pattern with party identification being highest in the Traditionalistic region and lowest in the Individualistic region. It may be that other shifts in the political system account for these results.

The presidential election of 1964 saw a massive realignment of American politics with the South radically shifting from being a Democratic bulwark to a Republican stronghold (Archer and Taylor 1981: 143-202). The 1970's were the decade which saw the highest percentage of commercials explicitly identifying party affiliation. It may be that explicit party identification in the Traditionalistic region became important during this time period precisely because of the realignment turmoil. By the 2000's only approximately 12% of all commercials aired had party identification. Republicans tended to self identify at a higher rate. The second variable in this table fits well with Elazar's theory. Candidates in the Traditionalistic political cultural region do not tend to highlight what they have done to improve the country as often as they do in other regions. Democrats also raise this issue more often than Republicans. This too aligns with both parties general attitudes towards the role of government.

The final variable in this table does not directly relate to Elazar's theory, but does align with other variables in the dataset. Politicians in the West seem more interested in showing less of a connection to Washington, and more of a connection to local issues. This may in part be a result of politicians' greater geographic removal from their constituencies, or some other factor. Republicans tend to highlight local connections more than Democrats, possibly because of how both parties view states rights (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.9

Variables which varied significantly by region, party and decade

Variable	% of Moral	% of Tradition	% of Individual	% of Rep	% of Dem	% of 1970	% of 1980	% of 1990	% of 2000
Identification of party	19.3%	21.2%	9.9%	20.4%	14.7%	27.9%	18.0%	13.2%	11.8%
What candidate has done to improve country	37.4%	27.6%	32.2%	31.9%	33.9%	13.5%	33.8%	39.9%	37.2%
Candidate is aware of local state issues	19.1%	16.7%	26.0%	22.5%	20.0%	12.3%	19.4%	22.7%	24.7%

Factor Analysis

To find statistical patterns within the dataset a factor analysis was performed. The top three factors were found to represent the three political cultures while explaining a significant

portion of the variance within the dataset. Factor loadings were calculated for individual variables and compared to determine which variables loaded highest on each factor. The results of this analysis produced some significant patterns.

Initially all variable and data points were entered into the equation. The eigenvalues for the top three factors were all fairly low. The top factor had an eigenvalue just above 6.0 while the next two values were just above 3.0. In total only 13.3% of total variance could be accounted for by the top three factors. However, each of these factors was found to strongly relate to a region.

To determine if three factors were related to region, a factor score on the top three factors was calculated for every commercial. Commercials were then separated by region and the average factor score was calculated for each factor. Commercials taken from the Traditionalistic political cultural region on average scored highest on Factor I while commercials from the Moralistic political cultural region scored highest on Factor II and commercials from the Individualistic political cultural region scored highest on Factor III. Table 4.10 shows the average factor scores in each political cultural region. Commercials in the Moralistic region scored highest on Factor II and lowest on Factor III. Commercials in the Traditionalistic region scored highest on Factor I and lowest on Factor II. Commercials in the Individualistic region scored highest on Factor III and lowest on Factor I. The right column of the table shows what the difference was between the highest and the lowest factor (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10

Table showing the average factor scores of commercials in each region

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Difference between highest and lowest score
Moralistic	average -0.08767	0.124284	-0.15078	0.275065
Traditionalistic	average 0.074274	-0.18813	0.023587	0.262405
Individualistic	average 0.017289	0.072868	0.152153	0.134864



Highest average factor score in region



Lowest average factor score in region

The difference in the average factor scores does not appear to be great. However, they proved to be statistically significant when a chi-squared test was used to test for randomness in how the commercial scores were distributed. To test the significance of these differences one half of a standard deviation for all of the commercial's Factor I factor scores was calculated. One half of a standard deviation for every commercial's Factor II and Factor III scores was also calculated. Commercials were then grouped according to region. The number of commercials

scoring one half of a standard deviation above the mean factor score on Factor I in the Moralistic region was found along with the number of commercials scoring one half of a standard deviation below the mean factor score and the number of commercials scoring in-between these two numbers. The number of commercials scoring above, below and in-between on Factor II and Factor III were also found for each region. A chi-squared test was then used to test for randomness in how commercials scored on different factors. For example, the first test compared the number of commercials scoring above one half of a standard deviation in the Moralistic region on Factor I, Factor II and Factor III. The next test compared commercials scoring above one half of a standard deviation in the Traditionalistic on Factor I, Factor II, and Factor III. A total of nine chi-squared tests were used on the data set. Table 4.11 shows the results of these tests. The differences in how commercials scored between different factors proved to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level in all but two cases. The two tests which did not show a statistically significant amount of variation came from the Moralistic and Individualistic regions. In both cases the other two tests run on those regions showed a statistically significant difference at the 0.01 level (see Table 4.11). These results support the conclusion that Factor I is associated with the Traditionalistic region, Factor II is associated with the Moralistic region and Factor III is associated with the Individualistic region.

Table 4.11

Table showing differences in how commercials scored on different factors

Region and factor score	Chi-squared	Degrees of Freedom	Significant at 0.05 level	Significant at 0.01 level
Moralistic commercials above ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II and Factor III	1.949	2	No	No
Traditionalistic commercials above ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II, and Factor III	6.515	2	Yes	No
Individualistic commercials above ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II, Factor III	31.301	2	Yes	Yes
Moralistic commercials between ½ standard deviation above and ½ standard deviation below on Factor I, Factor II and Factor III	23.772	2	Yes	Yes
Traditionalistic commercials between ½ standard deviation above and ½ standard deviation below on Factor I, Factor II and Factor III	9.74	2	Yes	Yes
Individualistic commercials between ½ standard deviation above and ½ standard deviation below on Factor I, Factor II and Factor III	36.079	2	Yes	Yes
Moralistic commercials below ½ standard deviation on factor I, factor II, and factor III	17.418	2	Yes	Yes
Traditionalistic commercials below ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II, and Factor III	26.888	2	Yes	Yes
Individualistic commercials below ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II, and Factor III	2.327	2	No	No

A new dataset which combined several variables was created for a separate factor analysis. The newly created dataset aggregated several similar variables to identify broad patterns. For example one of the newly created variables dealt with tax issues. This variable was created by aggregating the following variables together: “Candidate supports lower taxes,” “Opponent supports lower taxes,” “Candidate supports tax cuts,” “Opponent supports tax cuts.” The combined dataset removed differences between a candidate’s position and the opponent’s



position. It also removed differences between supports and does not support. The newly created dataset only shows whether a variable was raised or not. The newly created dataset consists of only 24 variables related to issues or symbolism. Appendix C provides a complete description of which variables were aggregated to create the new dataset.

A chi-squared test was used to determine which of the aggregated variables showed regional variation. All of the variables which showed statistically significant amounts of regional variation were used in a second factor analysis. Under these conditions, the first three factors accounted for 46.6% of the total variance. When a factor loading for each commercial was calculated, the same pattern emerged with Factor I being most closely associated with the Traditionalistic region. Factor II being most closely associated with the Moralistic region and Factor III being associated with the Individualistic regions. Table 4.11 shows the commercials average factor scores by region with the combined dataset. Commercials in the Moralistic region scored highest on Factor II and lowest on Factor III. Commercials in the Traditionalistic region scored highest on Factor I and lowest on Factor II. Commercials in the Individualistic region scored highest on Factor III and lowest on Factor I (see Table 4.12). A chi-squared test was then used to test the association between region and factor as previously described. The test showed all of the factors to be associated with their region at the 0.01 significance level.

Table 4.12

Table showing the average factor score for commercials from combined dataset

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Difference between highest and lowest score
Moralistic	0.047766	0.213061	-0.17143	0.384494
Traditionalistic	0.171861	-0.20081	0.065327	0.372669
Individualistic	-0.25896	-0.00449	0.118081	0.37704



Highest average factor score in region



Lowest average factor score in region

The same methods as described above were used to test the significance of these differences. The number of commercials scoring above one half of a standard deviation above the mean, below one half of a standard deviation below the mean, and in-between these two numbers was found. Table 4.13 shows which regions had a statistically significant amount of variance between the three factors. All of the regions showed a statistically significant amount of variance between factors when commercials scoring above one half of a standard deviation

were compared. All of the regions also showed a statistically significant amount of variation between factors when commercials scoring between one half of a standard deviation above and one half of a standard deviation below were compared. Interestingly none of the regions showed a statistically significant amount of variation between factors when the number of commercials scoring below one half of a standard deviation was compared (see Table 4.13). These results support the conclusion that Factor I is associated with the Traditionalistic region, Factor II is associated with Moralistic region and Factor III is associated with the Individualistic region.

Table 4.13

Table showing differences in how commercials scored on different factors for the combined dataset

Region and factor score	Chi-squared	Degrees of Freedom	Significant at 0.05 level	Significant at 0.01 level
Moralistic commercials above ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II and Factor III	14.952	2	Yes	Yes
Traditionalistic commercials above ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II, and Factor III	27.178	2	Yes	Yes
Individualistic commercials above ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II, Factor III	7.001	2	Yes	No
Moralistic commercials between ½ standard deviation above and ½ standard deviation below on Factor I, Factor II and Factor III	24.447	2	Yes	Yes
Traditionalistic commercials between ½ standard deviation above and ½ standard deviation below on Factor I, Factor II and Factor III	6.578	2	Yes	No
Individualistic commercials between ½ standard deviation above and ½ standard deviation below on Factor I, Factor II and Factor III	9.767	2	Yes	Yes
Moralistic commercials below ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II, and Factor III	2.329	2	No	No
Traditionalistic commercials below ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II, and Factor III	4.888	2	No	No
Individualistic commercials below ½ standard deviation on Factor I, Factor II, and Factor III	1.670	2	No	No

The dataset meets Thurstone's (1947:194-220) five criteria of when it is appropriate to perform a factor rotation. Since the variables show very low correlation, two orthogonal rotations were used to attempt to account for more of the variance. A Varimax rotation and a Quartimax rotation were used on the dataset (Kieffer, 1998). The results did not significantly

alter the factor scores for the commercials. All factor scores and loadings presented in this paper come from the unrotated results.

Factor analyzing the commercials produced results which align closely with the results of the chi-squared tests. The factor loadings from this test show certain variables loading highly on specific regions.

In the combined dataset under the Moralistic factor there was a strong negative loading (-.849) with having the candidate talk about themselves. There were also high loadings with the Moralistic factor and having somebody else talk about the candidate (.401) and having somebody else talk about the opponent (.606). All three of these variables showed up in the chi-squared test with the Moralistic factor being different from the others.

Looking at individual variables there is a mild negative loading with an opponent supporting abortion rights (-.409) and the Moralistic political culture. There is also a weak (.304) loading with a candidate supporting abortion rights. There is also a mild negative loading on supporting gun rights (-.416) and a weak loading, (.390) on having the opponent support gun rights. These results are particularly interesting next to the Individualistic region where there is a weak loading (.395) between a candidate supporting gun rights and a mild loading (-.452) with an opponent not supporting gun rights.

Other weak loadings emerged on the Individualistic factor which may hint at the character of the region. For example, there was a weak loading (.255) on candidates in the

region protecting the environment and a weak negative loading (-.325) on the opponent protecting the environment. These findings align with other findings in this study.

In the Traditionalistic region several variables loaded highly. There was a high loading with the region and another person speaking about the candidate. There was also a strong loading with the region and commercials with a positive tone. There was also a strong negative loading with the region having a negative tone. These results support the conclusion that candidates in the Traditionalistic region generally use more positive commercials than the other regions.

The Traditionalistic region was the only area with any significant loading on race issues in the combined dataset. Many commercials in this region specifically focused on an African American. School bussing achieve racial balances was also a frequently raised issue in this area. Commercials in the other regions rarely raised race related issues

Some other variables showed weak loadings with the Traditionalistic region. One was the use of families. The Traditionalistic region had a .332 loading with using families; neither of the other regions showed any significant loading with this variable. The variable “presence of a racial minority” also had a weak loading (.276) with the region. It also was not present in either of the others.

In the Individualistic political culture, state issues and religious issues loaded highly in the combined dataset. In the original dataset the candidate’s positions on guns and abortion were loaded highly. Looking at the weak loadings a few other patterns emerge. There was a .254

loading with the region and the use of military imagery. There was also a .274 loading with the candidate supporting lower taxes and a -.296 correlation with the opponent supporting lower taxes. The Individualistic region had a -.345 loading with the opponent supporting military troops, -.219 with the opponent being tough on crime and a -.317 loading with the opponent supporting a strong national defense. None of these had any significant loading with the candidate's own views.

When Varimax and Quartimax rotations were performed on the data there was little change to the factor loadings. Some of the variables loaded slightly higher. However the basic patterns laid out above remained unchanged.

Table 4.14 uses the combined dataset to show where similar types of variables loaded highly on a region. Table 4.15 uses the original dataset and shows where individual variables loaded highly in a region. The tables use the unrotated factor loadings. The tables only include variables which had a loading of .400 or higher (see Table 4.14 and Table 4.15). Other variables expressed a weak factor loading on a specific region, but were left out of the table for simplification. For the most part variables with a weak loading on a given factor supported regional differences seen elsewhere.

Table 4.14

Variables which had a mild or strong loading on a specific factor from the combined dataset

Variable	Moralistic factor	Traditionalistic factor	Individualistic factor
Candidate talking about themselves	-.849		
Somebody else talking about candidate	.401	.700	
Somebody else talking about opponent	.606	-4.31	
State government issues			.632
Race issues		.621	
Religious issues			.772
Populist issues		.691	

Table 4.15

Variables which had a mild or strong loading on a specific factor from the uncombined dataset

Variable	Moralistic factor	Traditionalistic factor	Individualistic factor
Somebody else talking about opponent		-.694	
Clips of opponent		-6.16	
No music	-.536		
Positive		.730	
Negative		-.787	
Opponents qualifications		.417	
What opponent has done to improve the country		.571	
Opponent supports abortion rights	-.409		.473
Candidate supports gun rights	-.416		(.395)



Opponent supports gun rights	(.390)		-.452
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Factor analyzing the data reveals distinct regional patterns which provide insight to the characteristics of the data. These patterns mostly support the results of the chi-squared analysis. The following chapter draws together several larger trends, summarizing characteristics which emerge. These characteristics are then discussed in relationship to Daniel Elazar's theory of political culture.

## Chapter V

### Conclusion

This study reveals the existence of distinct regional patterns in how candidates run for office in different geographic areas. These patterns support the existence of distinct political cultural differences. In interpreting the regional differences, Daniel Elazar's model of American political culture provides insight. However not all of the variables align perfectly with what might be expected based on Elazar's theory. Elazar's theory examines broad cultural traits while this study mostly focuses on individual variables. In many instances factors other than the political cultural traits Elazar defined proved more influential on individual variables. Examining where and when these discrepancies occur provide important insight into other important factors.

In addition to studying regional differences, examining how the regions were similar provides insight. Many of the issues and symbols studied transcended region, suggesting some issues may be more influenced by a national culture than by regional differences. Identifying national traits provides further insights into regional distinctiveness.

## Variables which support Elazar

One of the areas in which Elazar's theory aligns closely with this dataset is in expressed attitudes towards government and its proper role. Candidates in the Moralistic region used the issue of government involvement much more frequently than in other regions. For example the variables: "Running as an insider who will 'get things done,'" "Candidate will (has) bring (brought) jobs back to the state/prevent job loss/bring in federal money" and "What candidate has done (will do) to improve the country/state (specifics)" all show a statistically significant amount of variation between region. In every case these were used most in the Moralistic region. The Individualistic region usually had these variables present next most often and the Traditionalistic region had them present the least often. The variable "Candidate supports limited government" showed just the opposite pattern with the candidates in the Traditionalistic and Individualistic political cultural regions most often supporting this point of view and candidates in the Moralistic region almost never supporting it.

Other variables dealing with individual issues also support this view of government. For example the variable "candidate supports environmental protection" was most common in the Moralistic and Individualistic regions. Candidates in the Traditionalistic region rarely raised support for, or opposition to, environmental protection laws as a way to gain election. The same is true with the "gun control" variable. Candidates in the Moralistic region brought up the issues of government control of fire arms much more frequently than anywhere else in the country.

Most candidates in the region supported government control of fire arms, while several others accused the opponent of not supporting government control of fire arms. In the other two regions, government control of guns was not a significant issue, rarely even being mentioned.

Elazar's theory also explains many of the symbols used in the Traditionalistic region. In Virginia, Alabama and Florida it was very common to have candidates explicitly state they have good "traditional values." One candidate went so far as to run two different variations of a commercial showing he and his family praying before a meal. Religious symbolism was almost exclusively used in this part of the country.

#### Variables which do not support Elazar

Some variables might have been expected to exhibit certain regional patterns according to Elazar's theory but instead showed no statistically significant differences, or conflicted with predictions based on his theory. Variables which fall into this category may be representative of a national political culture. For example, candidates' promising to lower taxes was a significant variable in all of the regions. According to Elazar's theory it might be expected that support for lower taxes would be strongest in the Traditionalistic and Individualistic political cultural regions. In the dataset there was not a great deal of difference between the regions in candidates' support for the issue. The Moralistic region actually appeared to have the strongest support of

lower taxes because it was common for one candidate to accuse another candidate of not supporting lower taxes. In the other two regions it was less common to have such accusations. This suggests that as a nation promising to lower taxes maybe the best way to gain election. The fact that the Moralistic region had the greatest debates over tax policy may support Elazar's views on attitudes toward government and civic involvement.

Another issue which might be expected to be most important in the Moralistic region is education. In the dataset education was actually raised as a variable most frequently in the Traditionalistic region. Education probably had factors other than political culture strongly affecting it. In the 1970s, education was raised frequently in the Traditionalistic region, usually in the context of the candidate's opposition to bussing to achieve racial balance. In later decades it was raised as an issue which needed to be improved to meet national standards.

An area which did not align with Elazar's predictions was partisanship and political tone. Based on Elazar's theory, the Individualistic region shows the highest levels of partisanship, the Moralistic region shows the highest levels of bipartisanship, while the issue would be less likely to be raised in the single party dominated Traditionalistic political culture. In races with a hyper-partisan atmosphere, commercials are more likely to have a more negative tone and candidates are more likely to make personal attacks (Kahn and Kenney, 2004:19-36). The dataset does not follow these predictions with commercials in the Traditionalistic region generally being the most civil and commercials in the Moralistic region having the most negative commercials.

The Chi-squared tests showed explicit party affiliation being least closely associated with the Individualistic region and most closely associated with the Traditionalistic region. The variable “candidate plays down partisanship” shows no statistically significant variation between the regions. In the Moralistic region it was common for candidates to make comparisons between their positions and their opponents. For comparison a total of 205 statements were made about an opponent’s position on an issue in the Moralistic region, more than the total number of commercials analyzed from the region.<sup>12</sup> By comparison the Traditionalistic region had 122 commercials dealing with the opponent while the Individualistic region had 134. The fact that the Traditionalistic region scored lowest even though it had the most commercials, could be interpreted as showing differences between candidates in the region was lowest. Other factors such as generally having a more positive political tone could also explain the difference. These differences may show that in the Moralistic political culture, genuine political differences exist between candidates and arguments over policy differences take place.

The factor analysis shows commercials with a positive tone loading very highly on the Traditionalistic factor. There was also a very strong negative loading between the Traditionalistic region and a negative tone. Many variables could lead to the South having a generally more positive tone in politics; however Elazar’s theory may provide an explanation. If the candidates running in the South are more similar than in other areas of the country, they may have fewer issues to disagree upon. Rather than relying on issues to separate them, they may

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<sup>12</sup> Absolute values rather than percentages were used in this section because of the aggregation process.

rely on other ways to distinguish themselves such as showing they have “good” values. Under these conditions denigrating an opponent may reflect poorly on the candidate’s character.

Other patterns emerged particularly in the West which do not fit neatly into Elazar’s theory. For example, several of the variables show candidates in the Individualistic region are more concerned with showing a strong local connection than in other areas. The variable “candidate supports other state issues” looked at issues specific to that state. Campaigns in the Individualistic region were almost the only ones to have this variable present. The variable “Candidate is aware of local state issues” was also most prevalent in the West. Politicians in the Individualistic regions clearly feel a greater need to show they have not lost contact with their constituencies.

## Conclusion

Many of the variables in this study showed no regional variation, suggesting that although there are distinct political cultural regions with distinct attitudes towards politics there are also values which transcend region. For example, the country values much of the same political iconography. The prevalence of the American flag and other patriotic symbols did not vary significantly from region to region. Other symbols such as the use of family in a

commercial were also similar in all regions. These variables may reflect values which transcend regional differences.

Regional differences in political culture are still clearly present however. This study finds these differences play a significant role in the image a candidate attempts to disseminate through television. Differences in the types of issues a candidate chooses to highlight and the types of symbolism the candidate employs are clearly present. Differences in party affiliation and in time period also clearly affect candidates portray themselves. However, many of the ways candidates portray themselves transcend both of these other factors and are significantly influenced by region.

Elazar's theory of three distinct political cultures within the United States provides a useful model for understanding regional differences in the electoral strategies employed in different geographic regions. Many of the regional differences in how candidates portray themselves support Elazar's model. Differences in political culture are clearly visible within the United States and influence the strategies candidates use when running for office.



## Appendix A

### Explanation of how Variables were Quantified

The content analysis for this study was designed to encompass a wide range of variables. Each variable was worded as generally as possible so as to capture the candidate's intent and not limit the sample. Some variables however require further explanation as to how they were coded. Despite attempting to create an objective content analysis some of the variables included may need further explanation as to how they were coded. Following is a detailed explanation of how certain variables were coded along with a few specific examples.

Table 6.1 shows all the variables included in this study. The table is divided into three sections. The top section provides background information on the commercials. The second section quantifies different aspects of the commercial's symbolism. It is broken into several subsections grouping variables which deal with different aspects of the commercial such as music, setting, and tone. The final section shows the issues each commercial raised. Variables

in this section are also grouped into subsections such as social issues, business issues and economic issues.

The first section of this table provides background information for every advertisement aired. All data was gathered from the Senate Historical Office or from the University of Oklahoma's political archive. Party affiliation and length of commercial were recorded along with the candidate's incumbent status and whether the party controlling the senate seat changed. All of this data was used to sort commercials in the analysis phase.

The next section deals with the symbolism each commercial used. Every variable in this section was coded "0" for not present or "1" for present. The first subsection of the symbolism section provides information on the perspective of the commercial. In several cases an advertisement would have multiple perspectives. For example, the candidate might talk about herself, an off camera voice might talk about the candidate, and an off camera voice might talk about the opponent. A commercial like this would have a "1" next to each appropriate variable.

The next subsection groups together variables dealing with the commercial's setting. "Commercial setting" variables were very inclusive. For example the "personal office" variable was not restricted to the candidate's office. It included any personal office. In a few commercials the President of the United States provided an endorsement of the candidate. If filmed in the Oval Office the "personal office" variable was coded "1" for that advertisement. The "home" category was treated similarly. Any commercial which was set in, or directly in front of a home, was coded "1." The "wilderness" category included any outdoor setting which

appeared to be well outside of town. Images of people hiking or biking in the mountains were counted as wilderness.

Symbolism was the next subsection; it too was designed to be as inclusive as possible. For example, the “military uniforms or pictures of soldiers” variable covered any visual reference to the U.S. armed forces, even a framed photograph of a soldier. The “Family” category included any portrayal of a family not just the candidate’s own. In this sample no same sex parents were presented.

The “Racial minority” and “elderly person” variables were also grouped into the symbolism category. A commercial was not coded as having a racial minority or elderly person if they only appeared in a large crowd scene. The camera had to specifically focus on one of these individuals to count. Both of these variables required some subjectivity in determining if a camera shot intentionally focused on a person. Most commercials however were clear. If the candidate was a racial minority or elderly, that variable was not coded simply because the candidate appeared in the commercial.

The final subsection dealt with the tone of the commercial. A commercial was considered “Positive” when it highlighted good things the candidate had accomplished or would accomplish. Any commercial which belittled the opponent or his or her accomplishments was coded “1” for negative. Several commercials had both a negative and positive tone.

“Explicit party identification” and “Calls for people to vote” also fit under this category. Both of these variables did not have to be presented verbally, they also included text

identifications of party or vote requests. Any commercial in which the candidate explicitly talked about what they had done for the state, or portrayed themselves as having a lot of influence in congress, ability to bring home money, and get work done was coded “1” for the variable “Running as an insider who will ‘get things done.’” Commercials in which the candidate attacked the congress or promised to reform the system and presented his or her inexperience as an asset were coded “1” for “Running as an outsider who will “reform the system.””

The third section deals with the issues and core messages of the commercials. Variables in this section were coded “1” for supports, “0” for not brought up and “-1” for does not support. For every variable talking about the candidate there was another variable worded exactly the same talking about the opponent. Variables in this section were only coded “1” if the candidate completely supported the issue. They were coded “-1” if the candidate or opponent did not completely support the issue. For example in the Moralistic region several candidates supported some restrictions on gun rights and were coded “-1.”

Most of the variables in this section were not ambiguous. However in a couple of cases code words were used to address an issue. For example a couple candidates in the Traditionalistic region referred to supporting the “traditional family structure.” This was interpreted as meaning they did not support same sex marriage. Another code word which appeared occasionally was “right to work.” This was interpreted as being anti-union, pro-business and against workers rights. A third code word was “supporting good government.”

This was interpreted to mean the candidate supported reducing government corruption and waste. Often this variable went along with lower taxes. The phrase “crossing the aisle” was

interpreted as supporting bipartisan work. Code phrases required some interpretation; however usually the candidates meaning was not subtle.

The variable “candidate supports universal government healthcare” was narrowly worded and made it appear as if healthcare was not an issue used by candidates. Many candidates supported expanding access or reforming the corporate system. However, because of the way the question was worded, a candidate had to specifically say they supported or did not support government healthcare. It was excluded from analysis because of how rarely it appeared.

Table 6.1 lists all of the variables included in the original dataset. Each section and subsection is labeled. Variables which are italicized, underlined, and in bold were excluded from analysis because the variable was present less than 2% of the time. Some the excluded variables were aggregated along with other variables to create the combined dataset (See Table 6.1)

Table 6.1

Table listing all variables including ones excluded from analysis

State
Decade
Year
Candidate
Party
Number of commercials run
Title

Table 6.1 continued

Length coded 1,2,3
Code
<b>Background information coded 0 for absent or 1 for present</b>
Republican
Democrat
Other
Incumbent
Open Seat
won election
Change in party holding seat
<b>Backdrop coded 0 for absent or 1 for present</b>
<u>Perspective of add</u>
Candidate talking to commercial viewers or to people in commercial
Somebody else talking about candidate (not including campaign slogan at end)
Candidate talking about opponent
somebody else talking about opponent
<u>setting</u>
Personal Office (of candidate or person endorsing candidate)
Home
Wilderness or natural landscape
Place of work (office complex, research lab, factory etc.)
<b>Church</b>
Near national monument/icon
Classroom
<b>Outside state capital</b>
Candidate talking with / listening to people
Clips of opponent
No Clear setting/ Other
Interviews with people on the street
Public areas, (town/city street/community gathering area)
Farm/ agricultural area
<u>Music</u>
Patriotic
Light Classical/ Musac
Scary (anything in a minor key)
<b>Religious music</b>

Table 6.1 continued

Other
No Music
<u>Symbolism used</u>
Military uniform, pictures of soldiers
Family
Church, cross, Christian flag, ten commandments, or other Christian symbols
<b><u>Religious symbol from other faith</u></b>
American flag alone
<b><u>State flag alone</u></b>
<b><u>State and national flag</u></b>
<b><u>Confederate battle flag, uniforms, monuments</u></b>
Eagle, constitution, Liberty Bell, U.S. Constitution, White House, capital
People working blue collar jobs
<b><u>Disabled person/person in wheel chair (not including elderly person)</u></b>
Elderly person or persons (not candidate)
supportive crowds
racial minority with candidate (not just in big large crowd or candidate)
Reference to candidates military service
Police officer
<u>Tone of the Add</u>
Positive
Negative
looking to future
Looking past
<b><u>Society headed in the "right direction"</u></b>
<b><u>Society headed in the "wrong direction"</u></b>
Explicit Identification of party affiliation (Including text at end of commercial)
<b><u>mentions opponent campaign scandal</u></b>
<b><u>address own campaign scandal</u></b>
Celebrity, politician, private citizen and or other organization endorsement
Running as an insider who will "get things done"
Running as an outsider who will "reform the system"
References current occupant of White House
References to congress
Calls for people to vote or asks for viewers vote (including text)
<b><u>Issues coded -1 for don't support, 0 for not mentioned, 1 for support</u></b>



Table 6.1 continued

<u>Economic Issues</u>
support lower taxes
opponent supports lower taxes
<b><u>support tax cuts</u></b>
<b><u>opponent supports tax cuts</u></b>
<b><u>support flat tax</u></b>
<b><u>opponent support flat tax</u></b>
Candidate will (has) bring jobs back to state/ prevent job loss/ bring in federal money
Opponent will (has) bring jobs back to state/ prevent job loss/ bring in federal money
<b><u>Candidate supports government action on oil embargo</u></b>
<b><u>Opponent supports government action on oil embargo</u></b>
<b><u>Candidate supports energy independence</u></b>
<b><u>Opponent supports energy independence</u></b>
<u>Local state issues</u>
<b><u>Candidate supports local ballot initiative</u></b>
<b><u>Opponent supports local ballot initiative</u></b>
Candidate supports other state issues
Opponent supports other state issues
Candidate supports states rights (attacks federal government)
Opponent supports states rights (attacks federal government)
<u>Qualifications</u>
Candidate qualifications/experience/work ethic
opponent qualifications/experience/work ethic
what candidate has done (will do) to improve country/state (specifics)
what opponent has done (will do) to improve country/state (specifics)
accuses opponent of lying
rebuffs charges of lying
Candidate is aware of local state issues
Opponent is aware of local state issues
<u>Business</u>
Support big business
support small business
Opponent supports business interests
<b><u>challenge corporate corruption</u></b>
<b><u>accuse opponent of being associated with/supporting corporate corruption</u></b>
<b><u>Candidate support workers rights</u></b>

Table 6.1 continued

**opponent support worker rights**

[view on social issues](#)

**Candidate supports same sex marriage**

**Opponent supports same sex marriage**

Candidate supports women's right to choose abortion

Opponent supports women's right to choose abortion

Candidate supports legal protection for women (ERA), homosexuals, minorities

Opponent supports legal protection for women (ERA), homosexuals, minorities

**Candidate supports poverty reduction programs**

**Opponent supports poverty reduction programs**

Candidate supports environmental protection

Opponent supports environmental protection

**Candidate supports "strict constructionist" judges**

**Opponent supports "strict constructionist" judges**

Candidate supports gun rights

Opponent supports gun rights

**Candidate support school prayer/display of ten commandments**

**Opponent supports school prayer/ display of ten commandments**

**Candidate supports domestic energy development**

**Opponent supports domestic energy development**

Candidate supports eliminating of federal Deficit/inflation

Opponent supports elimination of federal deficit/inflation

Candidate supports education

Opponent supports education

Candidate supports Medicare/social security/ other senior issues

Opponent supports Medicare/social security/ other senior issues

**Candidate supports universal government healthcare**

**Opponent supports universal government healthcare**

**Candidate supports stopping illegal immigration**

**Opponent supports stopping illegal immigration**

**Candidate supports increasing legal immigration**

**Opponent supports increasing legal immigration**

**Candidate supports bussing**

**Opponent supports bussing**

Candidate supports our troops

Opponent supports our troops

Table 6.1 continued

**Candidate supports war effort in Vietnam or Operation Iraqi Freedom**

**Opponent supports war effort in Vietnam or Operation Iraqi Freedom**

**Candidate supports current military action (besides Vietnam and Iraqi Freedom)**

**Opponent supports current military action (besides Vietnam and Iraqi Freedom)**

Candidate supports being tough on crime

Opponent supports being tough on crime

Candidate supports strong national defense / reference to Cold War or War on terrorism

Opponent supports strong national defense / reference to Cold War or War on terrorism

Candidate supports welfare reform

Opponent supports welfare reform

Candidate supports limited government

Opponent supports limited government

Candidate will stand up to lobbyist and other special interest groups

Opponent will stand up to lobbyist and other special interest groups

**Candidate thinks executive power needs to be checked**

**Opponent thinks executive power needs to be checked**

**Candidate denounces Richard Nixon and Water Gate break in**

**Opponent denounces Richard Nixon and Water Gate break in**

**Candidate supports involvement with NATO or UN**

**Opponent supports involvement with NATO or UN**

Candidate tries to down play partisanship

Opponent tries to down play partisanship

Candidate supports consumer protection

Opponent supports consumer protection

Candidate supports reducing government corruption/waste

Opponent supports reducing government corruption/ waste

Candidate explicitly says he/she has good values/ family values/ state values

Opponent is explicitly said to have good values/ family values/ state values

## Appendix B

### Frequency each variable occurred

Table 6.2 shows all of the variables included in the analysis. Next to each is the percentage of time each was present.

Table 6.2

### Prevalence of variables

<b>Background information 0,1</b>	<b>% of total candidates in each category</b>
Republican	44.9%
Democrat	51.5%
Other political party	3.6%
Incumbent	32.0%
Open Seat	36.6%
won election	43.7%
Change in party holding seat	37.7%
Moralistic	35.4%
Traditionalistic	35.1%
Individualistic	29.5%

Table 6.2 continued

decade 1970	21.1%
decade 1980	23.5%
decade 1990	30.1%
decade 2000	25.4%
<b><u>Backdrop 0,1</u></b>	
<b><u>Perspective of add</u></b>	
	<b>% of commercials which have variable</b>
Candidate talking to commercial viewers or to people in commercial	43.0%
Somebody else talking about candidate (not including campaign slogan at end)	58.4%
Candidate talking about opponent	9.5%
somebody else talking about opponent	22.1%
<b><u>Setting</u></b>	
Personal Office (of candidate or person endorsing candidate)	14.7%
Home	15.4%
Wilderness or natural landscape	11.4%
Place of work (office complex, research lab, factory etc.)	9.7%
Near national monument/icon	7.4%
Classroom	7.9%
Candidate talking with/listening to people	18.0%
Clips of opponent	13.3%
No clear setting/ other	19.9%
Interviews with people on the street	4.7%
Public areas, (town/city street/community gathering area)	25.0%
Farm/ agricultural area	4.8%
<b><u>Music<sup>13</sup></u></b>	
Patriotic	4.1%
Light Classical/ Musac	38.9%
Scary (anything in a minor key)	5.4%
Other	3.1%
No Music	40.4%
<b><u>Symbolism used</u></b>	
Military uniforms or pictures of soldiers	6.7%
Family	21.2%

<sup>13</sup> Totals from music category do not add up to 100% because some music variables were removed and some commercials played more than one type of music in a single commercial.

Table 6.2 continued

Church, cross, Christian flag, ten commandments, or other Christian symbols	2.2%		
American flag alone	18.3%		
Eagle, constitution, liberty bell, U.S. constitution, Whitehouse, Capital	12.6%		
People working blue collar jobs	8.1%		
Elderly person or persons (not candidate)	15.2%		
supportive crowds	13.8%		
racial minority with candidate (not just in big large crowd) or candidate	10.9%		
Reference to candidates military service	3.3%		
Police officer	4.8%		
<b><u>Tone of the Add</u></b>			
Positive	63.0%		
Negative	30.6%		
looking to future	18.5%		
Looking past	11.7%		
Explicit identification of party affiliation (In text at end or by person in add)	18.0%		
Celebrity, politician, private citizen and or other organization endorsement	9.2%		
Running as an insider who will "get things done"	7.8%		
Running as an outsider who will "reform the system"	12.4%		
References current occupant of White House	6.4%		
References what congress has done recently	2.1%		
Explicitly asks for viewers to vote for candidate	11.4%		
<b><u>Issues -1 don't support 0 not mentioned 1 support</u></b>			
<b><u>Economic Issues</u></b>		<b>% Which support (1)</b>	<b>% Which Don't support (-1)</b>
support lower taxes	18.7%		0.3%
opponent supports lower taxes	0.0%		5.2%
Candidate will (has) bring jobs back to state/ prevent job loss/ bring in federal money	13.3%		0.0%
Opponent will (has) bring jobs back to state/ prevent job loss/ bring in federal money	0.0%		1.9%
<b><u>Local state issues</u></b>			
Candidate supports other state issues	3.3%		0.0%

Table 6.2 continued

Opponent supports other state issues	0.0%	1.2%
Candidate supports states rights (attacks federal government)	2.4%	0.0%
Opponent supports states rights (attacks federal government)	0.0%	0.0%
<b>Qualifications</b>		
Candidate qualifications/experience/work ethic	41.1%	0.0%
opponent qualifications/experience/work ethic	0.7%	10.2%
what candidate has done (will do) to improve country/state (specifics)	48.7%	0.0%
what opponent has done (will do) to improve country/state (specifics)	1.0%	15.9%
Accuses opponent of lying	6.6%	0.0%
Responds to charges of lying	2.8%	0.0%
Candidate is aware of local state issues	33.2%	0.0%
Opponent is aware of local state issues	0.3%	7.6%
<b>Business</b>		
Support big business	1.6%	3.5%
Support small business	2.9%	0.0%
Opponent supports business interests	1.8%	0.3%
<b>views on Social Issues</b>		
Candidate supports women's right to choose abortion	2.4%	1.0%
Opponent supports women's right to choose abortion	0.0%	1.6%
Candidate supports legal protection for women (ERA), homosexuals, minorities	1.6%	0.5%
Opponent supports legal protection for women (ERA), homosexuals, minorities	0.0%	0.7%
Candidate supports environmental protection	7.8%	0.2%
Opponent supports environmental protection	0.0%	2.6%
Candidate supports gun rights	0.3%	2.1%
Opponent supports gun rights	1.2%	0.2%
Candidate supports eliminating of federal deficit/inflation	9.2%	0.0%
Opponent supports elimination of federal deficit/inflation	0.3%	1.9%
Candidate supports education	13.3%	0.2%
Opponent supports education	0.0%	2.6%
Candidate supports Medicare/Social Security/ other senior issues	10.9%	0.0%
Opponent supports Medicare/Social Security/ other senior issues	0.0%	5.4%
Candidate supports our troops/veterans	2.2%	0.0%
Opponent supports our troops/veterans	0.0%	0.5%

Table 6.2 continued

Candidate supports being tough on crime	7.4%	0.0%
Opponent supports being tough on crime	0.0%	1.9%
Candidate supports strong national defense / reference to Cold War or War on terrorism	5.9%	0.7%
Opponent supports strong national defense / reference to Cold War or War on terrorism	0.0%	0.7%
Candidate supports welfare reform	2.2%	0.0%
Opponent supports welfare reform	0.0%	0.7%
Candidate supports limited government	4.7%	0.0%
Opponent supports limited government	0.0%	0.0%
Candidate will stand up to lobbyist and other special interest groups	5.7%	0.0%
Opponent will stand up to lobbyist and other special interest groups	0.0%	2.9%
Candidate tries to down play partisanship	3.3%	0.0%
Opponent tries to down play partisanship	0.0%	0.2%
Candidate supports consumer protection	2.2%	0.0%
Opponent supports consumer protection	0.0%	1.4%
Candidate supports reducing government corruption/waste	4.8%	0.0%
Opponent supports reducing government corruption/ waste	0.0%	3.6%
Candidate explicitly says he/she has good values/family values/ state values	6.4%	0.0%
Opponent explicitly is said to have good values/family values/ state values	0.0%	0.7%



## Appendix C

### Explanation of How the Combined Dataset was created

In order to create a more manageable dataset for parts of the statistical analysis a new dataset was created which aggregated several variables together. Every newly created variable highlights broad trends raised in commercials. For example the newly created variable “Polarizing moral issues” ties together several social issues which sharply divide the country such as a women’s right to have an abortion or whether or not school bussing to achieve racial quotas is acceptable. The broad trends raised in the commercials provide a good summary of issues in the commercial.

Table 6.3 shows all of the newly created variables. Next to each variable in the table is the frequency of time that variable appeared expressed as a percentage. Some commercials put forth the same message in different ways. For example a commercial might emphasize how patriotic the candidate is by showing him next to a national monument with American flags all around and patriotic music playing in the background. All three of these variables would be aggregated under the patriotism variable. Since each of these separate variables attempts to drive home the same point in a different way, they are combined. Because of this, a few of the

variables are counted more than once in a commercial. This makes some of the variables present more than 100% of the time (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3

Table showing how strongly present each variable was from the combined dataset

<b>State</b>	
<b>Decade</b>	
<b>Year</b>	
<b>Candidate</b>	
<b>Party</b>	
<b>Number of commercials run</b>	
<b>Title</b>	
<b>Length coded 1,2,3</b>	
<b>Code</b>	
<b><u>Background information 0,1</u></b>	
Republican	44.9%
Democrat	51.5%
Other	3.6%
Incumbent	32.0%
Open Seat	36.6%
won election	43.7%
Change in party holding seat	37.7%
Moralistic	35.4%
Traditionalistic	35.1%
Individualistic	29.5%
1970 decade	21.1%
1980 decade	23.5%
1990 decade	30.1%
2000 decade	25.4%
<b><u>Perspective</u></b>	

Table 6.3 continued

Candidate talking about self	<b>41.6%</b>
somebody else talking about candidate	57.2%
Candidate talking about opponent	9.5%
somebody else talking about opponent	21.4%
<b>Issues</b>	
Positive	64.6%
Negative	53.5%
Attack tactics	73.7%
Candidate plays down partisanship	83.9%
Limited government issues	47.2%
State government issues	2.4%
Strong connection to local state	123.1%
Strong connection to Washington	34.5%
Asks people to Vote	10.5%
Qualification issues	131.8%
No setting	20.6%
Tax issues	27.6%
Business issues	25.7%
Consumer protection issues	4.3%
Crime issues	21.4
Crime issues	13.8%
Education issues	23.5%
Race issues	11.6%
Government corruption issues	29.0%
Military Issues	23.0%
Religious issues	3.5%
Welfare liberalism issues	48.5%
Populist issues	97.9%
Patriotism issues	51.6%
Polarizing moral issues	11.1%

The background information on each commercial remained the same in the combined dataset as the original dataset. The variables dealing with the perspective of the commercial also remained the same. All other variables in the combined dataset are made up of at least two variables from the original dataset. Table 6.4 shows which variables from the original datasets

were combined to create each new variable in the combined dataset (see Table 6.4). Variables were included in this process even if they were excluded from other analysis due to lack of frequency. Any variables from the original data tables which were completely absent from the data sample were excluded from this process. For example the “opponent tries to down play partisanship” variable from the original dataset had no entries and so was excluded even though the “Candidate tries to down play partisanship” variable was included. In some instances a variable from the original dataset was used multiple times. For example the variable “Candidate tries to down play partisanship” was used to create both the “positive” variable and the “candidate down plays partisanship” variable.

Table 6.4

Table showing which variables were aggregated to create the combined dataset

<u>Positive variable</u>	<u>Total</u>
Positive	345
Candidate tries to down play partisanship	19
<i>Sum</i>	<i>374</i>

<u>Negative variable</u>	<u>Total</u>
Scary music (anything in a minor key)	27
Negative	167
Accuses opponent of lying	36

Table 6.4 continued

Responds to charges of lying	<b>16</b>
Opponent qualifications/experience/work ethic	4
<i>Sum</i>	<i>310</i>
<hr/>	
<b><u>Attack tactics variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Negative	170
Opponent qualifications/experience/work ethic	59
What opponent has done (will do) to improve country/state (specifics)	88
Accuses opponent of lying	37
Clips of opponent	73
<i>Sum</i>	<i>427</i>
<hr/>	
<b><u>Candidate plays down partisanship variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Candidate tries to down play partisanship	9
Opponent tries to down play partisanship	5
Explicit identification of party affiliation (in text at end or by person in add) <sup>14</sup>	472
<i>Sum</i>	<i>486</i>
<hr/>	
<b><u>Limited government issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Candidate supports states rights (attacks federal government)	8
Candidate supports welfare reform	13
Opponent supports welfare reform	4
Candidate supports eliminating of federal Deficit/inflation	52
Opponent supports elimination of federal deficit/inflation	13
Candidate supports limited government	23
Support lower taxes	106
Opponent supports lower taxes	30
Support tax cuts	15
Opponent supports tax cuts	9
<i>Sum</i>	<i>273</i>

<sup>14</sup> For this variable commercials which did not explicitly identify party affiliation were counted

Table 6.4 continued

<u>State government issue variable</u>	<u>Total</u>
State flag alone	6
Candidate supports states rights (attacks federal government)	8
<i>Sum</i>	<i>14</i>

<u>Strong connection to local state variable</u>	<u>Total</u>
Home	86
Outside state capital	8
Interviews with people on the street	29
Public areas, (town/city street/community gathering area)	139
Family	118
State flag alone	6
State and national flag	7
Candidate will (has) bring jobs back to state/ prevent job loss/ bring in federal money	77
Candidate supports other state issues	19
Candidate supports states rights (attacks federal government)	10
Candidate is aware of local state issues	187
Police officer	27
<i>Sum</i>	<i>713</i>

<u>Strong connection to Washington variable</u>	<u>Total</u>
Near national monument/icon	39
Eagle, Liberty Bell, U.S. Constitution, White House, capital	71
Running as an insider who will "get things done"	44
References current occupant of White House	35
References what congress has done recently	11
<i>sum</i>	<i>200</i>
<u>Ask people to vote variable</u>	<u>Total</u>

Table 6.4 continued

Explicitly asks for viewers to vote for candidate	63
<i>Sum</i>	<i>63</i>
<b><u>Qualification issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Personal office (of candidate or person endorsing candidate)	84
Celebrity, politician, private citizen and or other organization endorsement	49
Running as an insider who will "get things done"	44
Candidate will (has) bring jobs back to state/ prevent job loss/ bring in federal money	77
Candidate qualifications/experience/work ethic	232
What candidate has done (will do) to improve country/state (specifics)	277
<i>Sum</i>	<i>763</i>
<b><u>No clear setting</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
No Clear setting/ other	107
<i>Sum</i>	<i>107</i>
<b><u>Tax issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Support lower taxes	107
Opponent supports lower taxes	29
Support tax cuts	15
Opponent supports tax cuts	9
<i>Sum</i>	<i>160</i>
<b><u>Business issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Place of work (office complex, research lab, factory etc.)	54
People working blue collar jobs	46
Support big business	29
Support small business	11
Opponent supports business interests	9

Table 6.4 continued

<i>Sum</i>	149
<b><u>Consumer protection issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Candidate support workers rights	5
Opponent support worker rights	3
Candidate supports consumer protection	11
Opponent supports consumer protection	6
<i>Sum</i>	25
<b><u>Environment issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Wilderness or natural landscape	66
Candidate supports environmental protection	44
Opponent supports environmental protection	14
<i>Sum</i>	124
<b><u>Crime issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Police officer	26
Candidate supports being tough on crime	41
<i>Sum</i>	78
<b><u>Education issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Classroom	43
Candidate supports education	77
Opponent supports education	16
<i>Sum</i>	136
<b><u>Race issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Racial minority with candidate (not just in big large crowd) or candidate	60



Table 6.4 continued

Candidate supports bussing	6
Opponent supports bussing	1
<i>Sum</i>	<i>67</i>
<b><u>Government corruption issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Running as an outsider who will "reform the system"	70
Candidate will stand up to lobbyist and other special interest groups	32
Opponent will stand up to lobbyist and other special interest groups	17
Candidate supports reducing government corruption/waste	28
Opponent supports reducing government corruption/ waste	21
<i>Sum</i>	<i>168</i>
<b><u>Military issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Military uniforms or pictures of soldiers	36
Reference to candidates military service	19
Candidate supports our troops/veterans	13
Opponent supports our troops/veterans	3
Candidate supports war effort in Vietnam or Operation Iraqi Freedom	7
Opponent supports war effort in Vietnam or Operation Iraqi Freedom	4
Candidate supports current military action (besides Vietnam and Iraqi Freedom)	5
Opponent supports current military action (besides Vietnam and Iraqi Freedom)	4
Candidate supports strong national defense / reference to Cold War or war on terrorism	38
Opponent supports strong national defense / reference to Cold War or war on terrorism	4
<i>Sum</i>	<i>133</i>
<b><u>Religious issues variable</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Church	2
Religious music	2

Table 6.4 continued

Church, cross, Christian flag, ten commandments, or other Christian symbols	12
Religious symbol from other faith (all in this category were of Islamic clerics)	4
<i>Sum</i>	<i>20</i>

**Welfare liberalism issues variable****Total**

Disabled person/person in wheel chair (not including elderly person)	4
Elderly person or persons (not candidate)	86
Candidate supports poverty reduction programs	2
Candidate supports education	77
Opponent supports education	16
Candidate supports Medicare/social security/ other senior issues	63
Opponent supports Medicare/social security/ other senior issues	30
Candidate supports universal government healthcare	3
<i>Sum</i>	<i>281</i>

**Populist issues variable****Total**

Place of work (office complex, research lab, factory etc.)	54
Farm/ agricultural area	28
Candidate talking with/listening to people	98
Interviews with people on the street	27
Public areas, (town/city street/community gathering area)	141
People working blue collar jobs	46
Disabled person/person in wheel chair (not including elderly person)	4
Elderly person or persons (not candidate)	86
Supportive crowds	80
Candidate supports universal government healthcare	3
<i>Sum</i>	<i>567</i>

**Patriotism issues variable****Total**

Near national monument/icon	39
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Table 6.4 continued

Outside state capital	6
Patriotic music	22
Military uniforms or pictures of soldiers	36
American flag alone	99
State and national flag	7
Eagle, Liberty Bell, U.S. Constitution, Whitehouse, capital	71
Reference to candidates military service	19
<i>sum</i>	299

**Polarizing moral****Total**

religious	2
Church, cross, Christian flag, ten commandments, or other Christian symbols	12
Religious symbol from other faith (All in this category were of Islamic clerics)	4
Candidate supports women's right to choose abortion	20
Opponent supports women's right to choose abortion	9
Candidate supports "strict constructionist" judges	6
Opponent supports "strict constructionist" judges	3
Candidate supports busing	7
Opponent supports bussing	1
<i>sum</i>	64

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