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A Historical Confirmation of Rokeach's 1960s and 1970s Findings by a Study of Polarized Value Structures during the 2004 United States Presidential Election

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*Few studies have examined polarized value structures during presidential elections in the United States since Rokeach's original research in the 1960s and 1970s. This study used Rokeach's two-value model of political ideology and polarization to explore value structure differences between voters who supported different political parties during the last presidential election, verifying and expanding upon Rokeach's historical findings. The research results confirmed that Rokeach's two-value bi-polar model of political ideology helped explain the roots of the extensive Democratic and Republican polarization. Research results also showed that the polarization between Democrats and Republicans were rooted in bi-polar political value dimensions: Democrats more highly valued the **equality, a world at peace** and a **comfortable life** dimensions while Republicans more highly valued the **freedom, national security** and **salvation** dimensions. The researchers explained the importance of these findings for practitioners in the 21st century.*

INTRODUCTION

As we move into the 21st century, practitioners, such as managers, marketers and political scientists, need to understand the values, attitudes and behaviors of their stakeholders in order to meet the needs of their customers and employees in the global marketplace. If these practitioners do not understand the highly polarized values, attitudes and behaviors of their constituents and stakeholders, they will be ill-equipped to deal with the intensified competitive forces of the 21st century.

Some guidance about values can be found in the work of Milton Rokeach (1968a, b, c) who studied political party differences during the presidential elections in the 1960s and 1970s. Rokeach found that Democratic and Republican value and attitude differences were based on the political value ideological dimensions of *equality* versus *freedom* and *national security* versus *world peace*. Were these same bi-polar political value ideological dimensions or orientations present during any American political elections in the 1980s and 1990s? Were those same political value ideological dimensions present during the 2004 presidential election?

Values, attitudes and behaviors polarized during the 2004 presidential election as reflected in the outward displays of sometimes-harmful attitudes and behaviors. For instance, David Halberstam, a leading historian on American politics, found this election was more polarized and uglier than any previous election in the 20th century, with violence and intimidation not seen since the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s. "There's a lack of respect for the other side and a sense that there are no rules, no limits, that meanness of spirit if it works is acceptable" (CBS News In-depth: US Election 2004, p. 2). In sharp contrast to the mixed Republican and Democratic neighborhoods of twenty-five years ago, this polarization led to segregation of many neighborhoods as Republicans were found to live near Republicans and Democrats were found to live near Democrats. Halberstam explained that red neighborhoods became redder and blue neighborhoods became bluer following the terrorist attack of 9/11 and the war in Iraq. Old wounds that have been dormant since the Vietnam War have reopened to create a new ideological divide. Does this polarization mean that value structures for the supporters of each political party are significantly different?

It would appear that no significant research has explored the value differences between the major political parties since Rokeach's original studies in the 1960s and 1970s that explored the value differences between Republicans or Democrats. This study fills the gap in research by exploring value structure differences between Democrats and Republicans during the 2004 presidential election using Rokeach's two-value model of political ideology. These constructs were examined using the Rokeach Value Survey (1983) and a demographic questionnaire.

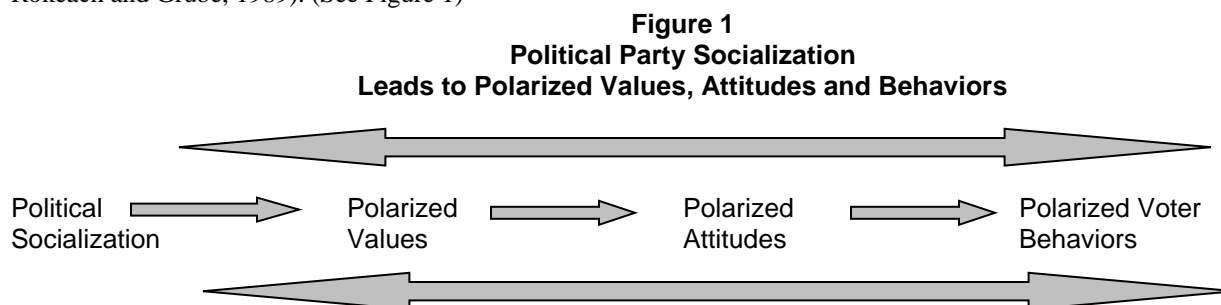
The researchers chose to use the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) because the resulting data can be compared to the results from Rokeach's two-value model of political ideology derived in the 1960s and 1970s.

LITERATURE

To explore why people behave or vote the way they do during political elections, we must first explore their attitudes and value structures. Research has shown that every culture, whether societal, organizational, or family has its own culture that is made up of a unique set of values, attitudes and behaviors (Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1968a, b, c; Schein, 1991).

Values are socialized early in life and become part of each individual's cognitive and mental structure through cultural and social assimilation (Kluckhohn, 1951; Kohlberg, 1970; Rokeach, 1973). The moment people are born they begin the socialization process as they come under the influence of their parents, friends, significant others, lovers, groups, organizations, occupations, and society (Rokeach, 1960).

Values and value hierarchies "develop and are learned by each person...they are the cognitive representations of societal demands and individual needs for competence and morality" (Rokeach, Rokeach, and Grube, 1984, p. 25), and are maintained by society through positive or negative reinforcement. Each person's organization of beliefs, values, and attitudes toward objects and situations influence and guide their behaviors and form an organization of values (Manyak, 1979 & 1980). This organization of values is sometimes called a belief system, schemata of values, or a cognitive map (Rokeach, Rokeach and Grube, 1989). (See Figure 1)



In other words, as people interact in their environment, they place value-based experiences into their cognitions (brains) by grouping or forming collections of values into scripts, maps, or schemata's. As memory, these maps, scripts, or schemata's are used in later environmental interactions. Kluckhohn (1951) and Rokeach (1979) explained that when people encounter new stimuli or a new situation, they will search their cognition to see if there is a similar script, map, or schemata that can be used to satisfy the needs of the situation or environment. More recently, Meglino's (1998) review of the values literature found "the most frequently evoked reason for similarities and differences in values is that they are influenced by personal experiences and exposure to more formal socialization forces...values are the products of a culture of social system" (p. 4). As such, we should be able to distinguish between the different political parties during elections by exploring voter values, attitudes and behavior.

The presidential election in 2004 was one of the most polarized in this century. For instance, Stonecash's (2004) survey of Democrats, Republicans and Independents found that 23 percent of Democrats, 47 percent of Independents and 81 percent of Republicans felt the war in Iraq was worth fighting, while 76 percent of Democrats, 50 percent of Independents and 18 percent of Republicans stated the war with Iraq was not worth fighting. Concerning their approval or disapproval of President Bush's handling of the economy, 16 percent of Democrats, 41 percent of Independents and 80 percent of Republicans approved of President Bush's handling of the economy, while 82 percent of Democrats, 57 percent of Independents and 19 percent of Republicans disapproved (Ibid).

Stonecash (2004) explained that much of the polarization of the electorate reflects the changes in the electoral bases of each party over the last century. First, each party has its competing interests and different views of the roles of government and its responsibility towards members of society. Each party pursues policies that seek to improve their electoral base, and "greater uniformity within each party has created party electorates more united in their positive view of their candidates and more united in their negative view of opponents" (Ibid, p. 2).

Second, since the 1980s the Republican political base has moved to the countryside, suburbs or rural America, while the Democratic base has moved to urban areas (Bishop, 2004). The differences between the Democrats and Republicans began to increase with Democrats adopting more liberal and Republicans more conservative positions. "The differences in party voting records are now greater than at any time in the last fifty years" (Stonecash, 2004, p. 4).

What does the research literature tell us about these value dimensions? Rokeach (1973, 1979) longitudinally explored the value structures of the general population of the United States. He found the value importance assigned to a *world at peace* became much more important during the Vietnam War, moving from one of the bottom five values of importance to one of the top five values of importance (number three) during the 1960s and 1970s. Rokeach's research showed that two

political value ideological dimensions or orientations explained the differences between the Democrats and Republicans during the U.S. presidential elections in the 1960s and 1970s.

Rokeach (1973) explained the political party orientations between the Democrats and Republicans as “Differences in political orientation are manifestations of social conflict arising from difference in perceived self-interest.” (p. 169) These conflicts are really competing proposals over how to solve society’s social and economic problems, and were really over the differing importance placed by the major political parties on the *freedom* and *equality* values in the social system (Ibid) and *a world at peace* and *national security* during wartime.

Rokeach (1979) tested his model in the 1960s and again in the 1970s during the social and political unrest of the Vietnam War. During the 1960s U.S. presidential elections, the major political parties (Democrats, Republicans, and Independents) ranked *freedom* as important, but Republicans ranked *freedom* as higher in importance than did Democrats or Independents. During the 1970s elections, a new two-value political orientation model emerged as all the differing parties possessed statistically significant differences for the values regarding *a world at peace* versus *national security*.

During the political elections in the 1960s and 1970s, Democrats opposed the Vietnam War and ranked *a world peace* much higher in importance than did Republicans. They also ranked *national security* much lower in importance than did Republicans. Rokeach explained that during times of political crisis or rapid social change “only those values directly related to the particular economic, political, and social issues confronting American society would change.” (Rokeach, 1979, p. 130) Rokeach further related that other bi-polar political ideological dimensions might develop in society as new political turmoil or social changes took place.

An analysis of the increased polarization of the 2004 presidential election seems to show that Democrats and Republicans made significantly different choices between the values of *freedom* versus *equality* and *national security* versus *a world at peace*. Rokeach’s research during the highly polarized presidential elections in the 1960s and 1970s implied that what distinguished Democrats and Republicans were differing views on the economy and the Vietnam War. The Democrats then and today argue that “government should do more to help the less affluent with government programs to provide day care for workers, job training for those struggling to adapt to a changing economy and more grants to help the less affluent attend college” (Bishop, 2004, p. 1; Stonecash, 2004, p. 3). On the other hand, Republicans then and today seem to argue for “the need to keep taxes low, oppose government programs and stress the importance of individual responsibility and accountability as the routes to success in American society” (Stonecash, 2004, p. 3). These orientations imply that the differing views between Democrats and Republicans concern the political value ideological orientations of *equality* for Democrats and *freedom* for Republicans.

The same political value ideological orientations also appeared during presidential elections of the 1960s and 1970s in which Democrats advocated for a pull-out from the Vietnam War while Republicans advocated for staying in Vietnam in order to counter the spread of communism. Similarly, during the 2004 presidential election, Democrats and Republicans took opposite stands on the Iraq War. Democrats opposed the war because Iraq did not threaten the US homeland and the war might lead to further expansion of the war around the globe, while Republicans felt the war was needed as the Iraqis were linked to terrorism and threatened our homeland.

These orientations imply that Republicans might place higher value importance on *national security*, because their most important goal is “keeping America safe in a post 9/11 world” (Molin, 2004, p. 1). The Democrats were against the war in Iraq and their opposition seems to imply they will place a higher value importance on *a world at peace* (Molin, 2004). These results are similar to Rokeach’s studies of the U.S. presidential elections in the 1960s and 1970s.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Did these political orientations exist during the highly polarized 2004 U.S. presidential elections? No recent studies have extended Rokeach’s two-value model of political ideology since Rokeach’s studies in the 1960s and 1970s. The researchers propose to test Rokeach’s hypotheses in a modern study in the U.S. The researchers believe the polarization seen during the 2004 presidential election demonstrates that the *freedom* versus *equality* and *a world at peace* versus *national security* political dimensions were present in the value structures of voters and led to the following research methodology. The researchers explored the constructs in this research study using a demographic questionnaire and the terminal values portion of the RVS. Rokeach’s (1973) two-value model only explores the terminal values portion of the instrument.

Problem statement

Many studies have explored social values, attitudes and behaviors, but few have explored social values and attitudes and their relationship to voter behaviors. Moreover, few studies in the U.S. have explored Rokeach’s two-value model of political ideology and have explored whether two sets of bi-polar political ideological value orientations (*freedom* versus *equality*; *a world at peace* versus *national security*) were operationalized during the 2004 presidential election. This problem statement led to the development of the following research hypotheses that will be explored in this study.

Research hypotheses

Hypothesis one (H1): Democrats will place higher importance on the terminal value *equality* as compared to Republicans.

Hypothesis two (H2): Republicans will place higher importance on the terminal value *freedom* as compared to Democrats.

Hypothesis three (H3): Democrats will place higher importance on the terminal value *a world at peace* as compared to Republicans.

Hypothesis Four (H4): Republicans will place higher importance on the terminal value *national security* much higher in importance as compared to Democrats.

Survey instruments

The researchers chose to use the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) because the RVS is more simple to use and interpret than the other value research instruments (Allport, Vernon and Lindzey, 1970, Study of Values; England Personal Value Questionnaire, England, 1978; Kahle, 1984, Value Survey; Schwartz Value Survey, Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987; Hofstede, 1980, Cross-cultural Value Survey Module; Rokeach Value Survey, Rokeach, 1983). Further, the RVS has proven its reliability and validity in numerous research studies, and it simplifies statistical analysis of the hypotheses as compared to the other instruments (Connor and Becker, 2003; Feather, 1984; Rokeach and Ball-Rokeach, 1989; Murphy, 1994; Murphy et al., 1997; Murphy and Anderson, 2003; Murphy, Gordon and Anderson, 2004; Murphy, Gordon and Mullen, 2004; Murphy, Greenwood, and Lawn-Neiborer, 2004). The RVS has shown its reliability and validity in numerous research studies with test-retest reliability for each of the 18 terminal values considered separately (Feather, 1979, 1984; Murphy and Anderson, 2003; Murphy, Gordon and Mullen, 2004; Murphy, Gordon and Anderson, 2004).

Distribution method

The researchers used a convenience sample of voters throughout the U.S. to ensure that a sufficient number of Democrats, Republicans and Independents were included in the sample. The researchers, all of whom live and work in different states (Arizona, California, Florida, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Texas), distributed 2,000 surveys to members of the voting public in their respective states. After obtaining approval from their universities, they distributed the questionnaires to their voting age college students, co-workers, friends, and business acquaintances during the months of October to December 2004. Surveys were distributed in-person and through email. The researchers represent all three major political parties and ensured members of all three political parties received the surveys.

Statistical analysis techniques

The RVS allows a choice of statistical analysis techniques for evaluating the hypotheses. Since the RVS provides rankings, or non-normative data, researchers normally evaluate the hypotheses for statistical significance using non-parametric statistical analysis techniques such as the Chi-Square test, Kruskal-Wallis H ANOVA median test, Mann-Whitney U test, and/or Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Analysis test. More recent studies have used Feather's (1984) z-transformation process that converts the RVS rank-ordered data to normative data and allows researchers to use normative statistical analysis techniques.

The study used both normative (regression analysis, MANCOVA, ANOVA, Pearson's correlation analysis) and non-normative (Mann-Whitney U-test; Kruskal-Wallis H ANOVA median test; Spearman's rank order correlation analysis), statistical techniques in order to verify and re-verify the research results. The researchers will present the results of the hypotheses tests using untransformed means in order to ease understanding and improve the presentation of the results. The standard level of significance for hypothesis testing in the social sciences literature, $p < .05$, was used (Feather, 1975, 1984).

RESEARCH RESULTS

Population under study

A total of 1,476 of the 2,000 instruments sent out were returned for a 73.8 percent return rate. The population consisted of 896 males and 580 females. For age, 27 percent were 18 to 25, 11 percent were 26 to 30, 28 percent were 31 to 39, 16 percent were 40 to 45, 6 percent were 46 to 50, and 13 percent were 50 years of age and older. For race, 74 percent classified

themselves as White, 10 percent as Black, 6.4 percent as Hispanic, 3 percent as American Indian, and 5.5 percent as Asian; 12 respondents classified themselves as other races. For work status, 32.6 percent were in the military. The 996 non-military respondents consisted of 310 managers, 432 non-managers, 282 full-time college students, and 87 high school personnel. For political party, 31% percent classified themselves as Democrats, 18.3 percent as Independents, 40 percent as Republicans and 10.6 percent declared No Party affiliation.

Results of hypotheses tests

The hypotheses were tested with multiple regression analysis, MANOVA, ANCOVA and ANOVA. The independent variables were political party; the demographic variables and the values were dependent variables. The regression analysis showed that statistically significant differences exist between the political parties on **six values**. The statistical results gave us a Beta score of .163447, showing that political party contributed 16 percent of the variance; age contributed 10 percent, and sex contributed 20 percent: [F (3, 1473); R = .193; p = .0001]. The regression equation showed that there were statistically significant political party differences for the political value orientations of *a comfortable life* (F = 141.774; (1, 1475); p = .0001) versus *salvation* (F = 74.377; (1, 1475); p = .0001); *a world peace* (F = 137.376; (1, 1475); p = .0001) versus *national security* (F = 141.774; (1, 1475); p = .0001), and *equality* (F = 59.524; (1, 1475); p = .0001) versus *freedom* (F = 64.145; (1, 1475); p = .0001). The regression equation was followed by an ANCOVA with the independent variable of political party, the demographic variables as the covariates, and the values as the dependent variables. We first tested the model without covariance demographic variables. There were statistically significant political party differences (Wilks' Lamda = .849421; Rao's R = 48.012; df = 18, 1,458; p = .0001).

We added all of the other demographic variables as covariates and it slightly increased the Wilks' Lamda score but decreased the Rao's R (Wilks' Lamda = .850475; Rao's R = 47.62795; df = 18, 1,458; p = .0001), showing that political party produced the majority of the variance among the variables. The researchers next explored each hypothesis using the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis H ANOVA median test, followed by a parametric ANOVA test. Both showed statistically significant differences for each of the six values and two-value political ideological orientations.

Hypothesis one (H1).

Democrats did place significantly higher importance on the terminal value *equality* as compared to Republicans (Table 1) (f = 5.556, df = 3, 1,472, p = .0008; Democrats: mean = 10.5, standard deviation = 5.2; Republicans: mean = 11.1, standard deviation = 4.9). This allowed the researchers to accept the hypothesis and reject the null.

Hypothesis two (H2).

Republicans did place significantly higher importance on the terminal value *freedom* as compared to Democrats (Table 1) (f = 17.027, df = 3, 1472, p = .0001; Republicans: mean = 5.6, standard deviation = 3.6; Democrats: mean = 7.5, standard deviation = 5.3). This allowed the researchers to accept the hypothesis and reject the null.

Hypothesis three (H3).

Democrats did place significantly higher importance on the terminal value *a world at peace* as compared to Republicans (Table 1) (f = 19.825, df = 3, 1,472, p = .0008; Democrats: mean = 10.5, standard deviation = 5.8; Republicans: mean = 11.6, standard deviation = 4.9). This allowed the researchers to accept the hypothesis and reject the null.

Hypothesis Four (H4).

Republicans did place significantly higher importance on the terminal value *national security* as compared to Democrats (Table 1) (f = 30.292, df = 3, 1,472, p = .0001; Republicans: mean = 8.2, standard deviation = 4.2; Democrats: mean = 11.1, standard deviation = 4.7). This allowed the researchers to accept the hypothesis and reject the null.

Table 1
Comparison of Political Party Differences in Terminal Values

	Democrats (N = 456)		Independents (N =270)		Republicans (N = 594)		No Party (N =156)		
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	
A comfortable life	10.421	(9)	9.177	(7)	9.762	(11)	6.358	(2)	<u>p < .05</u> ***
Accomplishment	9.565	(7)	10.266	(12)	8.740	(8)	9.326	(9)	***
A world at peace	10.508	(10)	8.800	(5)	11.670	(14)	10.038	(13)	***
A world of beauty	13.473	(18)	12.785	(17)	14.680	(18)	12.166	(16)	***
Equality	10.543	(11)	11.240	(14)	11.104	(13)	12.275	(17)	***
Family security	7.232	(1)	7.133	(3)	4.594	(1)	7.044	(3)	**
Freedom	7.565	(2)	6.807	(2)	5.658	(2)	5.801	(1)	**
Health	7.833	(3)	5.859	(1)	6.176	(3)	7.410	(5)	**
Inner harmony	10.188	(8)	8.822	(6)	10.592	(12)	9.647	(10)	***
Mature love	10.973	(12)	10.666	(13)	9.601	(10)	9.756	(11)	**
National security	11.043	(13)	10.096	(11)	8.230	(6)	11.365	(14)	***
Pleasure	12.267	(16)	12.200	(16)	12.577	(16)	9.794	(12)	**
Salvation	11.350	(14)	9.970	(10)	7.510	(5)	11.666	(15)	***
Self-respect	8.421	(4)	7.711	(4)	6.936	(4)	7.339	(4)	**
Social recognition	12.526	(13)	14.244	(18)	13.626	(17)	13.012	(18)	*
True friendship	8.565	(5)	9.711	(9)	9.045	(9)	7.705	(6)	**
Wisdom	8.776	(6)	9.296	(8)	8.336	(7)	8.429	(7)	*

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .001$; *** = $p < .0001$

DISCUSSION

The research results found statistically significant differences between Democrats and Republicans for the political value bi-polar dimensions of *equality* versus *freedom*, *a world at peace* versus *national security* and a new dimension of *a comfortable life* versus *salvation*.

Equality versus freedom bi-polar political ideology dimension

The research results extend Rokeach's findings in the 1960s and 1970s. His results found a statistically significant difference between Democrats and Republicans for *equality* but not *freedom*. This study found statistically significant differences for both sides of the *equality* versus *freedom* political ideological dimension, with Democrats placing higher value importance for the value *equality* and Republicans placing higher value importance for *freedom*.

As shown in Table 1, Democrats placed higher value importance on *equality*, with a mean of 10.5 compared to the Republican mean of 11.1, the Independent mean of 11.2, and the No Party affiliation mean of 12.2. Republicans placed a higher value importance on *freedom* with a mean of 5.6 compared to the No Party affiliation group mean of 5.8, the Independent mean of 5.6, and the Democrat mean of 7.5. The results of this study imply that *freedom* was important for all four groups, because *freedom* is a value of importance in the American culture, but *freedom* was statistically more important for Republicans than Democrats (Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2
Democrats versus Republican Importance Placed on Political Value Dimensions

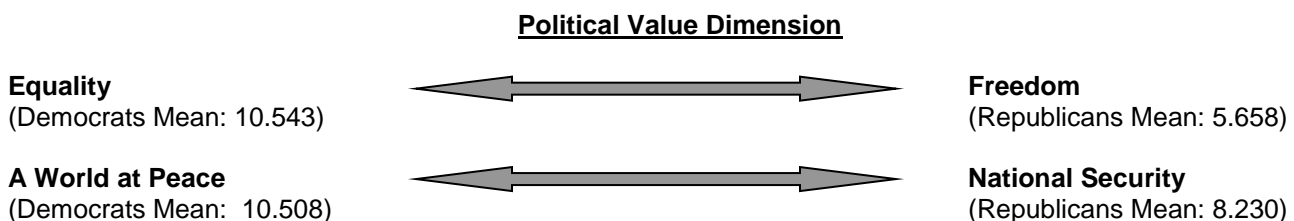
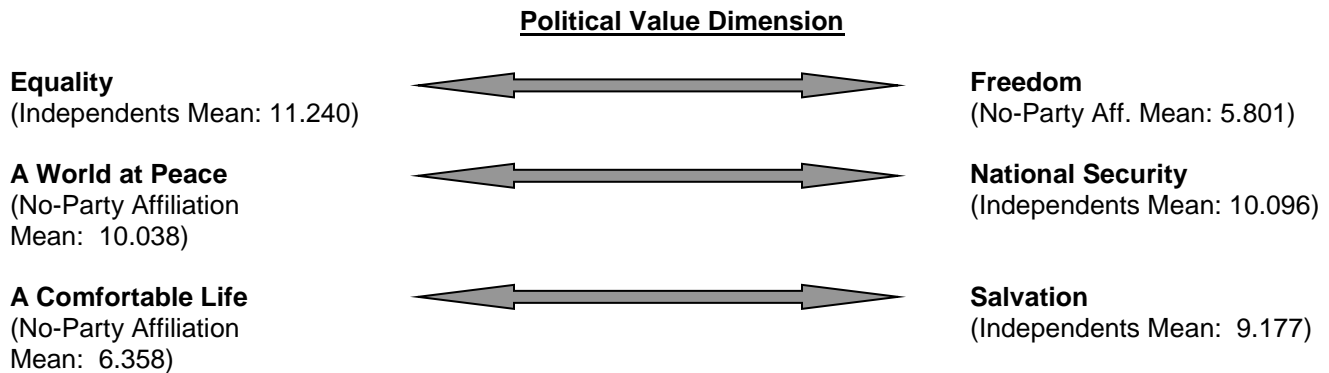




Figure 3
Independents versus No-party Affiliation Importance Placed on Political Value Dimensions



These results confirmed Rokeach's findings that Democrats would more highly value equal treatment of all its constituents and that government should redistribute wealth from the rich to the poor, while Republicans more highly valued *freedom*, which meant capitalism and the free market should decide who receives what in the economy.

A world at peace versus national security bi-polar political ideology dimension

In the 1970s Rokeach found the political ideological orientation *a world at peace* versus *national security* in the value structures of highly polarized voters in the U.S. Rokeach's research implied that Democrats more highly valued *a world at peace* compared to Republicans who more highly valued *national security*.

This research study replicated Rokeach's 1973 findings that Democrats placed higher value importance for *a world at peace* as compared to *national security*, and Republicans placed higher value importance on *national security* as compared to *a world at peace*.

As shown in Table 1 and Figures 2 and 3, Democrats placed higher value importance on *a world at peace* with a mean of 10.5, compared to the Republican importance mean of 11.6, but the Democratic mean was less than the Independent mean of 8.8 and No Party affiliation mean of 10.0. On the other side of the dimension, Republicans placed higher value importance on *national security* with a mean of 8.2 compared to the Democrat mean of 11.1, the Independent mean of 10.1 and the No Party affiliation mean of 11.3.

These results implied the validity of Rokeach's research and imply that Republicans felt that security of the nation was more important than world peace, while the Democrats believed that peace in the world would lead to peace at home.

A comfortable life versus salvation bi-polar political ideology dimension

This research study extended Rokeach's 1960 and 1973 research results in that another political ideological dimension; *salvation* versus *a comfortable life*, appeared, just as Rokeach (1973) predicted might happen during highly polarized elections. As shown in Table 1 and Figures 2 and 3, Democrats had a mean of 10.4 for *a comfortable life*, which was much more important than their mean of 11.3 for *salvation*. This meant Democrats valued prosperity and money much more than the religious values of being saved and having eternal life. Republicans more highly valued *salvation* (mean of 7.5) as compared to *a comfortable life* (mean of 9.7). This meant that Republicans more highly valued the religious values of being saved and having eternal life as compared to having money and prosperity. These results match the public media during the 2004 presidential election, which explained that major differences existed between Democrats and Republicans for morality and honesty values.

Independents more highly valued *a comfortable life* (mean of 9.1) than *salvation* (mean of 9.9). This finding suggests that Independents more highly valued money and prosperity over being saved and having eternal life. Finally, individuals with No Party affiliation valued *a comfortable life* (mean of 6.3) higher than *salvation* (mean of 11.6). These results showed that Democrats, Independents and those with No Party affiliation more highly valued money and prosperity than being saved and having eternal life, while Republicans more highly valued being saved and having eternal life over money and prosperity.

The researchers believe that *salvation*, with its accompanying component morality, was an important reason for the polarity of this election.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

These research results are important because the data imply that Rokeach's two-value model of political ideology distinguished between Democrats, Republicans, Independents and those with No Party affiliation and provided reasons for the high polarization in the 2004 U.S. Presidential elections. There was no middle-ground for either the Republicans or Democrats because members of each party highly valued the opposite ends of the bi-polar political ideology dimensions of *equality* versus *freedom*, *a world at peace* versus *national security* and *a comfortable life* versus *salvation*. The researchers suspect the reason Democrats place higher importance on the *equality* value dimension relates to why the Democrats continually advocate increases in the safety net of social programs for the poor. By contrast, Republicans, who more highly valued the *freedom* dimension (independence and free choice), might believe the poor are responsible for bringing themselves out of poverty.

Rokeach's second two-value model emerged during the 2004 Presidential election with *a world at peace* (being free of war and conflict) versus *national security* (protection from attack and terrorism) distinguishing all four political parties. Democrats placed higher value importance on *a world at peace* than did Republicans who placed much higher value importance on *national security*. This finding helps to explain why Republicans and Democrats were so highly polarized, with Democrats voicing concern about the Iraq War because world peace was more important than the Iraq War and national security. The Republicans felt the U.S. had to go to war with Iraq in order to preserve *national security* and defend the U.S. from terrorism.

Finally, a new political ideological dimension emerged for *salvation* versus *a comfortable life*. Republicans ranked the value *salvation* (being saved and having eternal life) higher in importance and the value *a comfortable life* (money and prosperity) lower in importance, while the Democrats, Independents and those with No Party affiliation placed lower value importance on *salvation* and higher value importance on *a comfortable life* than did the Republicans. This showed up in the extensive polarization of this election with Republicans valuing *salvation* and morality while Democrats more highly valued *a comfortable life* and expansion of the economy. These highly polarized value differences between Democrats and Republicans could have caused the unusually adversarial behaviors demonstrated by some party holders during this election.

Longitudinal studies by the Pew Research Center (2004) and Brookings Institution (2004), confirmed the polarization and partisan prism between the Democrats and Republicans, which lend support to the research findings of this study. The Pew Research Center's 2004 study prior to and after the election indicated that polarization increased because "Republicans and Democrats have become more intense in their political beliefs" (Pew Research Center, 2004, p. 2). They further explained that Republicans have become more supportive of an "assertive national security policy while many Democrats have shifted away from that approach as they have become embittered by the war in Iraq" (Pew Research Center, 2004, p. 3). Further, the Democrats have "become much stronger advocates of the social safety net and their differences with Republicans have increased as a result" (Brookings Institution, 2004, p. 3). The Pew Research Center also confirms that there is a "wider gap in strong religious commitment between Republicans and Democrats than at any time over the past 16 years" (2004, p. 4). Further, the Brookings Institution found that "Moral issues, the new buzzword of the post-2004 election analysis, played a role in the increased red state turnout" and subsequent re-election of President Bush (Brookings Institution, 2004, p. 2). Finally, the Pew Research Center explained that both major political parties have become more polarized in their political and social values, and the nation has become more evenly divided in its "partisan affiliation" (Pew Research Center, 2004, p. 3).

The research results are important for practitioners to understand, whether they be managers, marketers, or political scientists because they demonstrate how one must go beneath outward attitudinal expressions and behaviors of employees and customers to explore the basic underlying assumptions of those attitudes and behaviors. They need to identify the organizing value structures. (See Figure 1) While attitudes do tell how employees, voters, or customers feel about issues, values bring out the robustness of these feelings. For example, by understanding the most important values in the lives of employees, managers and practitioners might be able to develop more attuned reward policies for employees, possibly leading to increased employee motivation, job satisfaction, productivity, person-organization fit, and decreases in sick leave and turnover. Marketers and political scientists, in turn, would be able to target their persuasion campaigns more accurately by focusing on the most important goals or values of their population targets, thus decreasing inefficient advertising expenditures.

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The respondents in this study were more representative of the American working middle class population and did not include the lower or top socio economic rungs of society. Future research should expand to explore voters in more regions of the U.S. and in other market segments, using income and other demographic variables, in addition to the current

demographics. This study should be replicated with a national representative sample in the U.S. in order to confirm the research findings. Future research should also be expanded to explore all the RVS values and how the members of all political parties rank order their values, subsequently exploring their entire value systems. Finally, future research by the researchers will continue in this arena.

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