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**BECOMING A ONE PARTY STATE:
REALIGNMENT OF VOTING PATTERNS IN IDAHO 1980-2012**

By

Michael S. Allen

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submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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To the Graduate Faculty:

The members of the committee appointed to examine the thesis of Michael S. Allen find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

Dr. Sean Anderson
Major Advisor

Dr. Daniel Hummel
Committee Member

Dr. Cindy Seiger
Graduate Faculty Representative
Dept. of Physical & Occupational
Therapy, Division of Health Sciences

DEDICATION

To my BROTHERS and SISTERS in the Armed Forces of the United States of America, without their brave sacrifice the privilege of attending an institution of higher learning would not be possible.

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I want to acknowledge some of the people in my life, without their love and support my achieving the Master of Arts degree in Political Science would not have been possible. My parents, Irene and Arthur Allen, who installed the morals and values by which to live my life and who taught me never to compromise these morals and values regardless of the cost. Brian, for the support and motivation only a big brother can give and for a place to escape the insanity of college. Michael and Carolyn Thomas, for the hours they spent reviewing my work. I also want to thank Dale E. Jones, of the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, who kindly provided data essential for this research.

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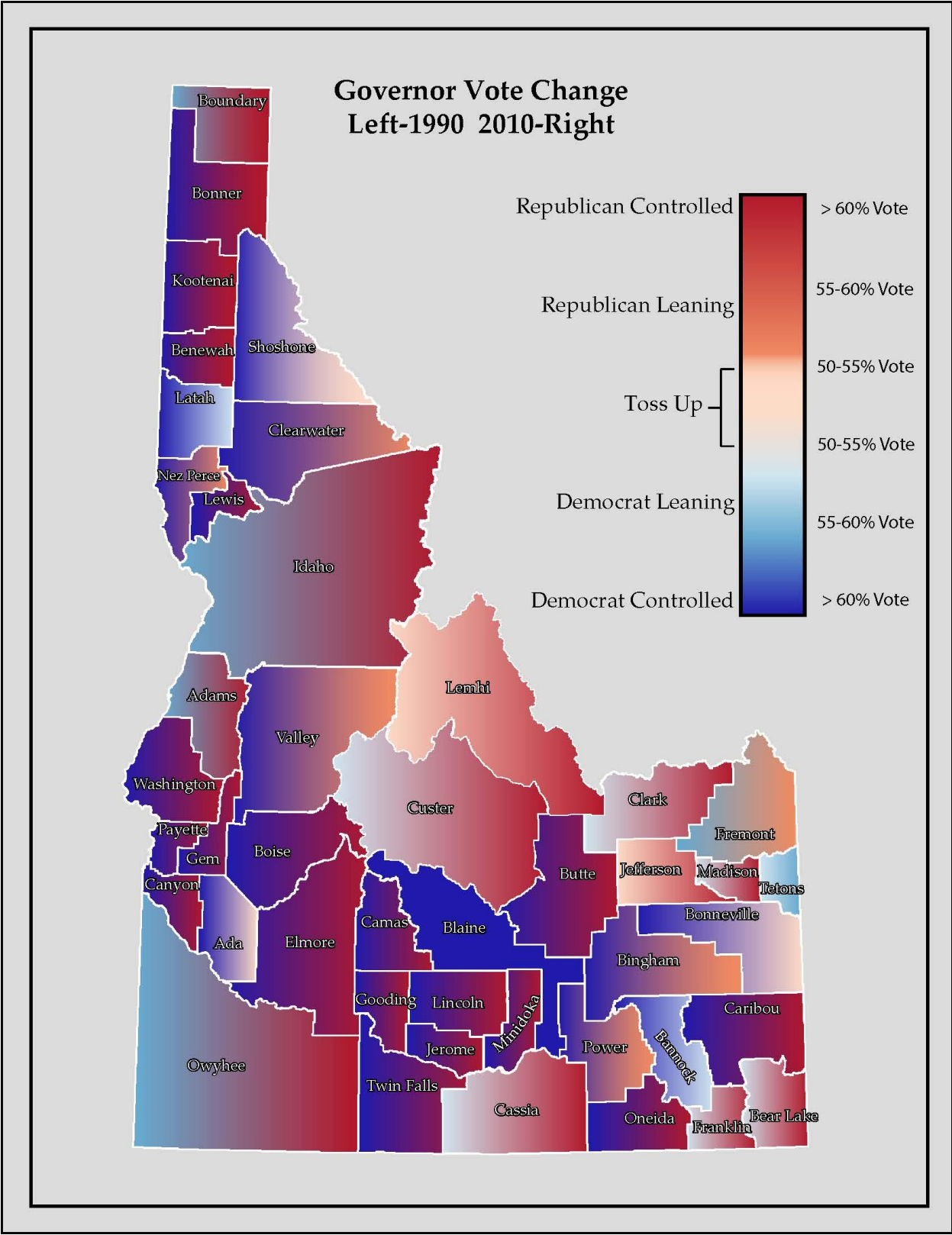


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BECOMING A ONE PARTY STATE:

REALIGNMENT OF VOTING PATTERNS IN IDAHO 1980-2012

Thesis Abstract - Idaho State University (2014)

From 1980 to 2010, and continuing in 2014 as this is being written, Idaho has been undergoing a transformation from being a state with an active Two Party System, to becoming a Dominant Party System, that is, a one-party dominated state. Formerly Idaho's Governors, U.S. Senators, and its two members in the U.S. House of Representatives included some Democratic Party members even though the conservative politics of the State of Idaho meant that Idahoan Independent voters and its Democratic voters often held social and political attitudes more akin to Conservatives than to the political attitudes held by Democrats outside of Idaho. However, within thirty years Idaho became, in effect, a one-party Republican-dominated state in which a few cities or counties might have some Democratic State House and Senate members but in which the offices of Governor, U.S. Senators, and House Representatives went exclusively to Republican candidates. This study explains this change, not as being due mainly to changes in socio-economic influences, such as mean income, levels of education, fields of occupation, but

being due rather to the continuing and growing influence of the political and social values held by an overwhelming majority of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS or "Mormon"). However this influence is not confined to LDS members only but has strongly influenced and shaped the views of non-Mormon Republicans and Independents giving the Idaho Republican Party the same sort of dominance once exercised by the Democratic Parties in the several Southeastern states until the 1994 election.

Chapter One: Idaho Political Culture

Over the last years, there has been a change in the voting patterns in the counties of the State of Idaho. Idaho has been a "red" state, but the changes in the voting patterns have made Idaho one of the "reddest" of the "red" states spanning the period 1980-2010, in the country.¹ The Republican Party has held all state constitutional offices since 2006,² all the federal congressional offices from 1994, except in the First District (comprising the Panhandle and southwestern part of the State centered around Boise) from 2008-2010 held by Democrat Walt Minnick. The Republican Party has controlled the State Legislature since 1961.³

In presidential elections, Idaho has been one of the most reliable states for the Republican Party. The last time a

¹ In the contentious 1980 Presidential election, the colors red and blue were assigned randomly to show Republican and Democratic strongholds on the televised networked electoral maps. Since then "Red", which used to connote socialism and communism, then came to represent Conservatives and Republicans. Many Republicans approved of the red code because they believed themselves to be "red-blooded Americans" while accusing the elites in the Democratic Party, such as the Kennedys, Clintons, John Kerry, and Nancy Pelosi, as being "blue-blooded" aristocratic elitists, populists whose toga yet had a purple hem.

² Idaho Blue Book.

http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/bluebook/2010/04_legislative.pdf, 2010-2011.

³ Ibid

Democratic Party candidate for President won Idaho was the election of Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964.⁴ At the United States congressional level, the Democratic Party has been competitive in one or both seats of the United States House of Representatives. Richard Stallings (D) held the Second Congressional District from 1984 until 1992 when Mike Crapo(R) won the election.⁵ In the First District, Larry LaRocco (D) held the seat from 1990 to 1994 when newcomer Helen Chenoweth(R) won the seat.⁶ In 1980, Steve Simms(R) defeated Senator Frank Church (D), the powerful Chair of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, who had represented Idaho as Senator since 1957.⁷

At the State level, the Democratic Party held the office of Governor of Idaho from 1970 to 1994. The Democratic Party had held the State Controller's office for over 50 years, from 1958 to 2002 when Republican Keith Johnson won the election as Controller. Democrat Marilyn Howard from held the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction 1998-2006, the last state

⁴ Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. March 25, 2014.
<http://uselectionatlas.org>.

⁵ *Idaho Secretary of State*. March 25, 2014.
<http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/results.htm>

⁶ *Idaho Secretary of State*. March 25, 2014.
<http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/results.htm>

⁷ Idaho Blue Book.
http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/bluebook/2010/04_legislative.pdf, 2010-2011.

constitutional office held by a Democrat before the November 2014 elections.⁸

Within the State Legislature while the majority had been Republican from 1961, the number of State House of Representatives who are Democratic Party members has declined from a high of 28 in 1990 to just 18 out of the 70 members in 2014. The State Senate went from being split evenly with 21 in each party in 1990 to having only seven Democrats in the Senate today.⁹ While the Senate had 43 seats in 1990 by 2014, it had only 35 seats, the odd number having been deliberately picked to prevent a future 50-50 split.

At the county level, the voting patterns have reflected this move to the right, to the Republicans. From the 1990 election to the 2010 election, 43 of the 44 counties in Idaho had seen the vote percentage shift right to the Republican Party.¹⁰ Figure 1 shows the voter shift to the Republican Party.

⁸ Idaho Blue Book.

http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/bluebook/2010/04_legislative.pdf, 2010-2011

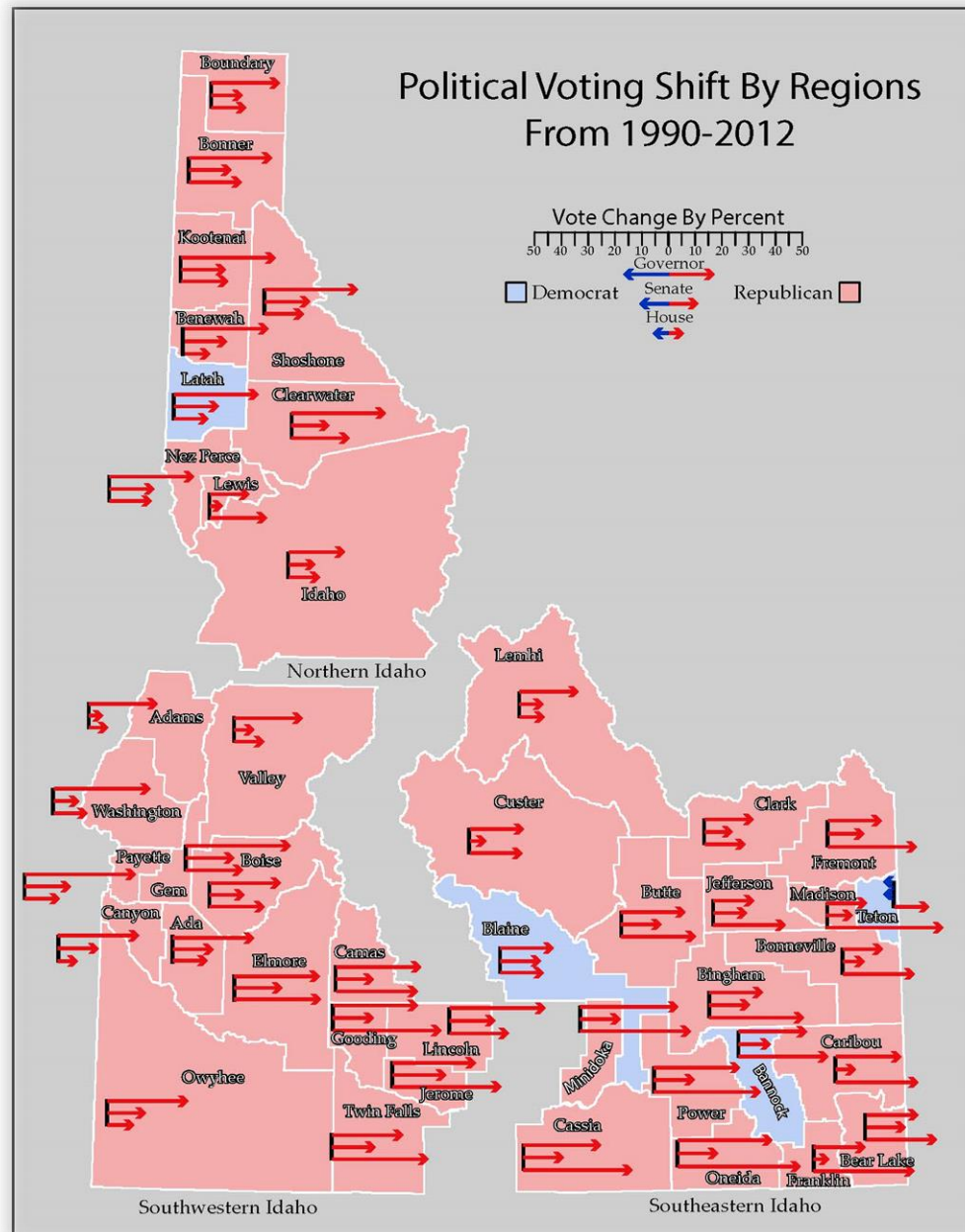
⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ *Idaho Secretary of State*. March 25, 2014.

<http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/results.htm>

Figure 1 Idaho Political Voting Shift

¹¹ The map shows the voting changes for each of Idaho's 44 counties by



geographical and political region. The voting shift is for three at large

¹¹ Map made by Michael S. Allen, shows the voter shift from 1990-2010 Governor, Federal Senate, and House elections.

elections, the Idaho Governor, Idaho Federal Senate, and the Federal House of Representatives.

With this shift over the 30 years in 1980-2010, Idaho has become a one party state. The remaining big name Democrats in Idaho have tried to regain the government seats they once held only to be soundly defeated.

The political voting patterns in Idaho have shifted to the right of the political spectrum. Is this shift caused by what Dr. Robert H. Blank identified in his book, Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture, the reemerging of a specifically Idahoan foundational political culture?¹²

Can the voting pattern shift explained as *due to* an emerging political subculture? Daniel J. Elazar once proposed a novel theory in describing and classifying political culture in the states under the federalist system we have in the United States. Elazar claimed, "The national political culture is a synthesis of three political subcultures... existing side by side or even overlapping".¹³ Elazar believed that each state has a distinct political culture shaped by where the original settlers came from, and their original political cultural stream.¹⁴

¹² Robert H. Blank. *"Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture"*. (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 172.

¹³ Daniel J Elazar. *"American Federalism: a view from the States"*. (New York: Crowell,1970),114.

¹⁴ Daniel J Elazar. *"American Federalism: a view from the States"*. (New York: Crowell,1970),114.

Joel Lieske in his article "Regional Subcultures of the United States" went several steps farther than Elazar and segmented the national political culture into ten subclasses instead of three. Of these ten subclasses, four of them, namely the Rurban, Border, Agrarian, and Mormon Streams, affect Idaho. According to Lieske, how these classes interact determines the changes in the political culture.¹⁵

In the article, "Intrastate Regional Differences in Political Culture: A Case Study of Idaho," by Leslie Alm, Ross Burkhart, David Patton, and James Weatherby, the researchers found that "Idaho can be differentiated by region according to political, economic, and cultural variables".¹⁶ The change of regional economy and cultural changes together would determine how people vote.

These different theories about political culture and voting shift are the main reason I picked this subject for my thesis paper. Most studies are fixated on the minutiae of erratic changes in popular culture and "framing" of issues that become anachronistic by the time the study emerges as a published

¹⁵ Lieske. "Regional Subcultures of the United States." (*The Journal of Politics*, 1993), 898.

¹⁶ Alm, Patton, Weatherby. Burkhart. "Intrastate Regional Difference in Political Culture": A Case Study Of Idaho." (*State and Local Government Review*, 2001), 117.

article. This study holds that what is more fundamental is the relatively fixed streambed of basic political culture in which the bubbling froth and rapids of current politics present a changing picture every minute. However, it is the streambed which slowly but invariably changes its course over time that contains and controls the violence of the flowing water above it. Likewise, it is the fundamental shifts in political values that change the politics of a state rather than the constantly fluctuating changes in the stock market, commodity prices, and philosophical fashions that come and go.

Purpose

Idaho's voting patterns changed over the thirty year period of 1980-2010. This thesis seeks to explore the three major political culture theories and to find out how they can be applied to the social, cultural, and political landscape of Idaho and then to determine by quantitative analysis of the abundant electoral empirical data which theory best explains these changes in Idaho.

Limitations

Many of the more detailed social-economic statistics, such as the five rankings of family incomes and detailed demographic

breakdowns. that were available in the U.S. Census Bureau "County-City Data Handbook" are no longer available since publication of the Handbook ceased around 2006 without being replaced by a digital equivalent by the Census Bureau. While it would have been tempting to expand the number of cases from the 44 counties to the 70 Idaho House single-seat districts and the 35 Senatorial districts, the frequent redistricting of these electoral subdivisions and the lack of a corresponding database either of socio-economic statistics or of reliable measures of political culture made this more refined approach impossible.

Significance

If the thesis holds true that evolving, growing or shrinking, base political subcultures are the key to understanding electoral outcomes then campaigning, regular governance of the people, and creating a common consensus will require recognition of the power of deep-seated traditions and religious values. Taking these influences seriously is quite at odds with the temporary obsession of both academia and the mass media with more concrete yet more ephemeral issues and their becoming entranced by the second-by-second perception of events through the fracturing prisms of the new social media. This task is unwelcome because many in academic circles and the mass media

hold a strongly secularist belief that normatively holds that traditional social and religious values should play little, if any, role in the public square of politics. However, the question we examine is not whether deep-seated religious and traditional values should affect our contemporary politics but whether 1) these forces do affect politics in the state of Idaho? And, if so, 2) how much influence do these forces wield in affecting the outcomes of Idaho elections? Since the religious influence in Idaho appears to be correlated mainly with the LDS population the implications may seem to be limited to Idaho or Utah. However, as one of the fastest growing religious groups in the United States, not only due to higher rates of fertility but also effective missionary efforts attracting converts, the effects of the LDS religious culture may affect the politics of other states as well.

Procedure

We obtained reliable and descriptive socio-economic, income, population density, and employment measures along with “proxy markers” of political culture¹⁷ and we then conducted a principal components analysis that reduces over 70 variables

¹⁷ (Elazar, *Cities of the Prairie* 1979, Tables C-1 and C-2, pp. 470-476.)

into perhaps three or four groupings of distinctly collinear variables known as "Factors" which each are united by some common theme defining them. If the religious and traditional cultural variables do not cluster into one Factor and/or if their measures of collinearity with the other secular variables are low, then the religious-traditional thesis of political change can be considered discredited. If however these variables naturally cluster themselves into a single Factor and have high measures of collinearity with the other variables in the Factor then it will be possible to determine the direction and strength of these values in affecting election outcomes.

The direction and strength of the Traditional Religious Factor would be tested by examining its impact in three sets of Idaho elections, namely the races for the office of Governor, the offices of candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives, and of those elected to serve in the U.S. Senate. These sets of elections will be examined over three decades: the 1981-1990 decade, the 1991-2000 decade, and the 2001-2010 decade. As socio-economic and cultural changes are ongoing for each decade the Factors are recalculated for each decade and their changes noted in the composition of each Factor and especially in the ranking and strength of the Religious-Cultural Factor noted

across time. The researcher then uses only the Factor values for each country generated for each decade as independent variables to explain the strength and direction of each Factor in affecting the dependent variables, namely the percentage of votes won by the Republican candidate for office. A stepwise linear regression will eliminate insignificant variables, and so reveal the multivariate (or possibly univariate) regression model that has the strongest explanatory value.

Such a finding would be a demonstration of a correlation between the Religious-Cultural Factor and the dependent variable. This association is the necessary though not sufficient condition for inferring causality. To demonstrate causality one could attempt some sort of time-series analysis but the low number of periods (three decades) rules this out. One must then argue causality by finding the simplest narrative consistent with the known facts. Although the actual statistical analyses are in themselves value-neutral any plausible interpretation of political, social and cultural phenomena, especially those that affect us personally and directly, must inevitably involve some normative narrative. Therefore if the thesis of the growing impact of religious-cultural values upon elections is correct it may imply a trend that many observers of

U.S. politics would find to be disturbing. Since individuals and groups rarely change their basic religious and traditional values, political increasing clashes along political cultural lines are not likely to be resolved by gentlemanly compromises or cultivation of empathy and "understanding" of the opponents' position. The future of U.S. politics might actually move more in the direction of a cultural civil war no less acrimonious and, possibly, no less deadly than the Civil War, born out the fundamentally different views of States' rights and the "right" to own human beings as chattel property held by U.S. citizens in the decades leading up the outbreak of the Civil War. This is one normative interpretation of what the thesis implies. It may, in fact, be mistaken but it cannot be ruled out a priori merely because it is a normative analysis. All politics imply some normative judgments.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Idaho Political Culture History

When studying the political culture of Idaho several important influences must be taken into account. The first is the geophysical layout of the state that divides the state into at least three distinct regions. The second influence was the type of natural resources and economic opportunities that each of these regions of Idaho offered. The third influence were the migration streams that Elazar used in his political culture theory.¹⁸ These immigration streams identify the pioneers' social and cultural values that they brought with them and that they then adjusted or developed because of the living conditions in the territories as described by Blank.¹⁹

The geographic landscape of Idaho directly influenced the migration patterns of the early settlers in Idaho. By noting these geographical divides in Idaho and the migration patterns that brought in settlers belonging to different political subcultures and noting the different natural resources each

¹⁸ Daniel J Elazar. *"American Federalism: a view from the States"*. (New York: Crowell, 1970), 114

¹⁹ Robert H. Blank. *"Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture"*. (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 22-26

region held, then Idaho can be divided into three distinct political, cultural, and social regions.²⁰

The Northern Region (often referred to as "The Panhandle")

The Northern Region of Idaho is bounded by the Canadian Border along the north, the Bitterroot Mountain Range to the East, to the Salmon River Range in central Idaho. The Salmon River Range forms a natural barrier between Northern Idaho and Southern Idaho. The only way to travel from Southern Idaho to Northern Idaho is to go through Montana in the east or through Oregon and Washington State from the west.²¹ These natural barriers isolate the ten Northern Counties of Benewah, Bonner, Boundary, Clearwater, Kootenai, Latah, Lewis, Nez Perce, Shoshone, and Idaho County from Southern Idaho economically, culturally, and, to some extent, politically.

The Southeastern Region

²⁰ Daniel J Elazar. *"American Federalism: a view from the States"*. (New York: Crowell, 1970), 114.

²¹ Clyde A. Bridger: "The Counties Of Idhaho". (*The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 1940), 189-198.

The Southeastern region of Idaho borders the central Mountains Ranges to the north, the Tetons and Caribou Mountains Ranges to the East. The most prominent geological feature in the Southeast is the crescent-moon shaped Snake River Plain that runs from the eastern edge of Idaho to the western edge. The western divide between Southeastern Idaho and the rest of Idaho is formed by the counties of Lemhi, Custer, Blaine, Minidoka, and Cassia.²²

The Southwestern Region

Southwestern Idaho centers on the Boise Valley as the western part of the Snake River Plain. The Central Mountain ranges to the north form the northern division and the Owyhee Mountain range along the Nevada border form its southern side.²³ The Boise Valley's rich soil enticed the miners to switch from mining to farming. Also the dry Southwest offered good ranges for cattle.

Mining

²² Ibid, 194-201

²³ Clyde A. Bridger: "The Counties Of Idhao". (*The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 1940), 189-198.

Miners migrated into Idaho from California, Oregon, and British Columbia when gold was discovered in the Clearwater area in 1860. Gold was found in the Boise Basin two years later. Thus, Idaho became one of the few states that were settled from the west rather than from the east.²⁴ Although the Oregon Trail brought settlers from the east through Idaho, few of these settlers chose to settle in what they regarded as a barren mountainous region unfit for farming.

Gold and silver later were found in the Owyhee Mountain range south of the Boise Basin in 1863. Lead, silver, and zinc were later found in Northern Idaho in 1884.²⁵ These discoveries brought large numbers of people into Idaho. When the mining of easily accessible river deposits of gold dried up then hard rock subterranean mining was required to access the buried veins of precious ores. Such hard rock mining requires large sums of money, and so eastern corporations moved in, building several large mines in Northern Idaho such as the Sunshine mine.²⁶

Therefore Idaho's mining changed from an individualistic, "strike it rich" capital venture mode to mining centers in which

²⁴ Robert H. Blank. *"Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture"*. (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 18-19.

²⁵ Idaho State Historical Society

²⁶ Idaho State Historical Society.

miners became the lowest part of the division of labor paid set wages for laboring under dangerous conditions. These mines were mainly in Northern and Southwestern Idaho. The capital of the Idaho territory was first located in Lewiston from 1863-64 until it was moved to Boise due to the latter's larger population. This move created the first regional divide with a political significance between the Northern counties and the Southern part of the state.²⁷

Logging

Federal law prevented the timber on federal lands in Idaho from being harvested for use outside the state until the 1890s. Up until then only small local sawmills operated to supply lumber to the mining operations. After the Timber and Stone Act of 1878 was passed, the timber in Idaho could be sold outside of the state. Just like hard rock mining, this required large sums of money and the creation of a division of labor of loggers who worked in often-dangerous operations for relatively little pay. The Potlatch Mill and other mill corporations were mostly from

²⁷ Robert H. Blank. *"Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture"*. (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 20-21.

Minnesota and Wisconsin but extended their operations in 1906 creating the large-scale lumber industry in Idaho.²⁸

Farming

Once the fertile lands in Southeastern Idaho received regular irrigation, the region proved ideal for growing crops. The first farming settlement in Idaho was the town of Franklin in the Cash Valley just north of Logan, Utah. The Civil War and its destruction propelled many in the southern states to migrate to southeastern Idaho looking for farmland and to escape the fighting. To the West the Boise Valley also had rich soil for farming that supplied food to meet the demand in the mining camps.²⁹

Ranching

The hill and mountain ranges in Southeastern Idaho were ideal for raising cattle to supply the demand for meat in the mining camps in Idaho and Montana. In Western Idaho, the land was not suited for farming until the beginning of the 1900s when

²⁸ Robert H. Blank. *"Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture"*. (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 20-21.

²⁹ Idaho State Historical Society

water and irrigation projects were built. The land was good for range cattle herders who migrated from Texas and California in the late 1860s.³⁰

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

Empirical studies of the historical events that helped shape the values and beliefs of the Mormon pioneers and the Mormon Church are crucial to understand the foundations of Idaho political culture since the people of the Mormon faith make up over 33% of the population in Idaho and over 60%³¹ in the Southeastern region in Idaho. Identifying correctly which migration stream best characterizes the LDS religion is essential.

Originally, the Mormon Church was not much different from all the other new churches that were springing up during the Second Great Awakening in the early 1800s. Many were obsessed by millennialist expectations of the imminent return of Christ, attaining the requisite personal holiness to face that day, and a concern about whether one's own denomination held the true faith, which alone could save one. The early Mormons tended to

³⁰ Idaho State Historical Society.

³¹ Jones, Dale. *Religious Congregation and Membership in the United States*. Nashville: Glenmary Research Center, 2012.

live in a small tight knit community, even attempting a communal ownership of all goods at one point, keeping to themselves, following their charismatic religious leader in all matters religious and secular, and, to the dismay of their non-Mormon neighbors, engaging in bloc-voting as a group.

The 1838 "Mormon War" in Missouri started when Joseph Smith, the founder of the Church, declared in 1830 that the second coming of Christ was near.³² By 1831, a large population of Mormons had moved there and was rapidly building their town. The non-Mormon residents became alarmed with their local long-time leaders fearing they would lose political power to an influx of newcomers engaged in bloc voting. In 1833 anti-Mormon, vigilantes drove the Mormons out of Jackson County, Missouri who then fled to Clay County, Missouri.³³ For the next few years, the Mormons lived in peace. They tried to petition the Missouri state officials for redress of their grievances and filed lawsuits to have their properties returned, which all failed. In 1836 the Mormon population in and around Clay County was over 9,000, well on the way in becoming the biggest population in the

³² Allen, James B., and Glen M. Leonard. The Story of the Latter-day Saints. 2nd ed. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret's Books, 1992.

³³ James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard. The Story of the Latter-day Saints. 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret's Books, 1992).

state.³⁴

Once again, the non-Mormons in the counties around Clay County and at the State House feared they were losing their political power base to the Mormons who tended to vote as a bloc. It should be noted that this fear of the cohesiveness of the Mormon faith was also directed at other religious groups and secret societies, suspected of instructing their flocks to engage in bloc voting. The "Know Nothing" attacks on Irish immigrants were motivated by a sectarian Protestant fear that the obedient Catholics would vote as a bloc following cues from their bishops. Similarly, there were anti-Masonic movements and attacks on Freemasons for supposed plots to dominate the nation's politics and economics. The Mormons were not unique in being targeted for their apparent secretive nature and tendency to vote en bloc.

On October 27 1838, Missouri Governor L. W. Boggs issued an order of extermination to General John B. Clark, the commanding general of the state militia to either kill or remove the Mormons from Missouri. This order remained as a *de jure* executive order until Governor Christopher Bond rescinded it 138 years later.

³⁴ Ibid

The people fled to Quincy, Illinois, where they purchased a large tract of land, mostly swamps. Here the people set up the city of Nauvoo. The city of Nauvoo was installed with a charter like the one used in Springfield, Illinois. Over the next few years, the population grew to about 12,000, just smaller than Chicago, which then had a population of 15,000.³⁵

In 1844, the non-Mormons again started to fear a loss of political power because of the growth in the Mormon population. The Illinois State Legislature met in December of 1844, to repeal the Nauvoo Charter.³⁶

By the end of 1845, it became clear to Brigham Young, the new leader of the Mormon Church, that no peace was possible between LDS church members and antagonized locals. The winter of 1845-46 saw preparations for the Mormon Exodus via the Mormon Trail to the Great Salt Lake Basin in the Mexican territory of Utah because there was no place safe for the Mormon religion in the United States, even though the U.S. Constitution embodied the principle that people had a the freedom to worship any way they wished. This exodus was "comparable to the Puritans'

³⁵ Jessie L. Embry: Mormons Polygamy. Orem Utah: Millwnnial press. 2007.

³⁶ Allen, James B., and Glen M. Leonard. The Story of the Latter-day Saints. 2nd ed. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Books, 1992.

decision to abandon England and create their own political and religious order in New England".³⁷

At the end of the Mexican-American war in 1847, with the accession of the Utah territory to U.S. sovereignty the Mormons were once again under U.S. control. President James K. Polk, a Democrat and a political realist who wanted to secure a loyal citizenry within the expanded borders of the United States, appointed Brigham Young as governor of the Utah Territory.³⁸ It should be noted that the provisional "State of Deseret" sent Mormon volunteers to fight alongside regular U.S. troops in the Mexican-American War (1846-1858) so aligning themselves with their inevitable sovereign rulers.

The Utah War

With the election of James Buchanan as President in 1856, the uneasy ten-year truce ended. Governor Young refused most of the advice the political appointees sent to him from Washington. In March 1857, President Buchanan sent 1,500 U.S. troops to create the Military Department of Utah in the Utah Territory. On 29 June 1857, President Buchanan declared Utah to be in a state

³⁷ Sean K. Anderson: "Idaho Elections 1994-1996: The Role of Political Culture in the Making of the Most Republican State." 1996, 11.

³⁸ David. Roberts: "The Brink of War." Smithsonian 39.3 (2008): 44-51

of rebellion against the U.S. government and sent another 1000 troops.³⁹

The troops were forced to spend the winter of 1857-58 at Fort Bridger due to the hit-and-run attacks on the supply trains by Mormon irregular fighters. The political pressure on the Buchanan administration to end this war against fellow American nationals was increasing. Senator Sam Houston of Texas stated,

*a war against the Mormons would be one of the most fearful calamities that has befallen this country, from its inception to the present moment. I deprecate it as an intolerable evil. I am satisfied that the Executive has not had the information he ought to have had on this subject before making such a movement as he has directed to be made,*⁴⁰

Governor Young accepted the terms of a peace committee, which granted a free pardon to the Mormons for any acts related to the conflict if they would submit to government authority. On 12 April 1858, the U.S. Army arrived in Salt Lake City and Brigham Young surrendered the title of governor to Alfred Cumming. There was no further Mormon rebellion, just a political power play to gain political control over the Utah territory.⁴¹

³⁹ James B., Allen and Glen M. Leonard: The Story of the Latter-day Saints. 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Books, 1992).

⁴⁰ James B., Allen and Glen M. Leonard: The Story of the Latter-day Saints. 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Books, 1992).

⁴¹ David Roberts: "The Brink of War." Smithsonian 39.3 (2008): 44-51

These acts and others to follow in later years, of a repressive federal government reinforced upon the Mormon people their cherished belief that the federal government should remain small and limited and also their fear of suspicious of its growing power. These same cultural values were brought to Southeastern Idaho during the Mormon migration north.⁴² The Mormon ethos also demanded a purity of personal conduct from public officials, no less stringent than that expected of their religious leaders. Also while the Mormon faith emphasized self-reliance of individuals and their families this was not the "ward politics" individualism of self-promoting individualism but rather individual freedom wedded to the notion of communal assistance and solidarity when economic exigencies required this. The misidentification of the New England Puritan work ethic as a boundless secular personal "individualism" has been studied and refuted by Barry Alan Shane in his groundbreaking study "The Myth of American Individualism". In which he demonstrated that personal and family freedoms were constrained also by a sense of duty to one's immediate neighbors and larger community in times of distress.⁴³ All of these themes of a

⁴² David Roberts: "The Brink of War." *Smithsonian* 39.3 (2008): 44-51

⁴³ Barry Alan Shane: *The Myth of American Individualism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 128-135.

resistance to centralized federal authority, the stress on individual initiative tempered by the demands of group solidarity, the high standard of behavior expected of public officials, all have found their way into the distinctive political culture of the Mormons which was also implanted in Southeastern Idaho with the spread of Mormon colonization into Idaho.

Railroads

The completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in May 1869 occurred when the two railroads spanning from the eastern and western shores of the United State were joined at Promontory Point in Utah, just 66 miles north of Salt Lake City. Promontory Point was picked for the joining point because the government did not want the rail line, which was originally justified for the military defense of the United States, to go through Salt Lake City, whose Mormon population had been suspected of disloyalty and hostility toward the federal government.

The Mormon Church built a narrow gage light railroad from Salt Lake City through Ogden into Franklin, Idaho. This rail line allowed farmers and ranchers to move their crops to markets

in the east. The Union Pacific (UP) bought the line and extended it to Pocatello Idaho. From Pocatello, which became the central UP repair hub, it went northeast to the mines in Montana and northwest to Boise and on to the West coast to Portland. With this vital transportation infrastructure completed, it opened up the fertile farmlands of Idaho to settlers and provided transportation for their crops to eastern markets.⁴⁴

Unions

When the easy surface pockets of gold "placer" mines were exhausted and hard rock mining became necessary this required large sums of capital. Eastern corporations moved in and miners became organized as hired laborers. The hard bargains of the mine owners, the lack of collective bargaining rights for the miners, low wages for work in dangerous and often fatal conditions created the war between mineworkers and owners. When the law preventing Idaho timber on public lands from being harvested was repealed, large lumber mills from the east moved in. Similar events that started the mining labor war created the war between loggers and sawmill workers and the mills' owners.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ James B., Allen and Glen M. Leonard: The Story of the Latter-day Saints. 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Books, 1992).

⁴⁵ Idaho State Historical Society

This conflict came to a head in 1892 in Coeur d'Alene between the eastern mine owners and the Western Federation of Miners.⁴⁶ Every industry in all three regions suffered from the same problem: big eastern corporations controlled it all. The pricing of the farmers and ranchers' beef was controlled in Chicago. The rail barons in the east controlled the movement of any goods into or out of Idaho. This created a culture of mistrust and dislike of eastern businesses.

Limited Federal Government

From the time Idaho became a territory in 1863 the federal government appointed the territorial governors. Until 1884, all of the governors were eastern politicians appointed by the Radical Republicans. These men only had two interests: expanding their political careers or making money from their appointments.⁴⁷

Idaho had gained the population needed for statehood in the early 1880s but was refused admission into the Union. The main reason was political: the population of Idaho at that time, small farmers, loggers, and miners, were mainly Democrats and

⁴⁶ , Robert B. Fowler. "Religion and Politics" in America. 3rd ed. Boulder, Colorado: West view P, 2004

⁴⁷ Robert H. Blank. "Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture". (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 41.

the federal government was controlled by the Radical Republicans.⁴⁸ The Radical Republicans did not want to create two new Democratic Party-held Senate seats and possibly lose control of the United States Senate.⁴⁹

Anti-Mormon Laws

The anti-Mormon faction, led by Fred Dubois later to be one of Idaho's Senators, pushed for the passage of the Election Oath Act of 1885. This act required voters to swear that they were not part of any organization that supported or taught polygamy. This law was aimed at disenfranchising the Mormon population in southeastern Idaho;⁵⁰ This was done for two reasons: First, to prevent the Mormons from voting for the Democratic Party. The second reason was to ensure that political power remained in Northern Idaho and in the Boise area due to the rapid Mormon population growth in Southeastern Idaho.

Both of these reasons, the mismanagement of the territorial government and disproportionate influence of the eastern

⁴⁸ Robert H. Blank. *"Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture"*. (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 41-42.

⁴⁹ Robert H. Blank. *"Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture"*. (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 42

⁵⁰ Robert H. Blank. *"Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture"*. (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 32

corporations left a lasting impression of mistrust on Idaho's political culture, making both the federal government and eastern-based businesses suspect and distrusted. In all three regions, the Mormons in the southeastern region, the miners and lumbermen in the northern region; and the miners and ranchers in southwestern Idaho all incorporated this mistrust into the regional culture.⁵¹

Impact on Idaho Political Culture

The three-way migration into Idaho from the 1860s created the foundation for Idaho social and political culture.

Daniel J. Elazar proposed a theory for describing and classifying political culture in the states under the federalist system in the United States. "The national political culture is a synthesis of three political subcultures... existing side by side or even overlapping".⁵² The three subcultures in his theory are Moralistic, Individualistic, and Traditionalistic. The key is that the three subcultures started in the thirteen colonies and speeded west in migration streams. Elazar believed that each

⁵¹ Robert B. Fowler. "Religion and Politics" in America. 3rd ed. Boulder, Colorado: West view P, 2004

⁵² Daniel J Elazar. *American Federalism: a view from the States*. (New York: Crowell,1970),114.

state had its own political culture shaped by the original settlers in the state.⁵³

The Traditionalistic stream comes from the southern states. The characteristics of the Traditionalistic stream are:

- Built around a plantation-centered agricultural system based on the feudalism of the European aristocrats' system.
- Ambivalent attitudes toward the marketplace and the common good.
- Government maintains the existing social and economic hierarchy.
- Politicians come from society's elite and have a family obligation to govern.
- Ordinary citizens are not expected to participate in politics or even to vote.⁵⁴

However, the ordinary landless white worker or farm laborer had this consolation: that he was nonetheless in a social standing superior to the chattel class of black slaves who had neither civil rights nor any claim to citizenship even if they attained freedman status.

⁵³ Daniel J Elazar. *American Federalism: a view from the States*. (New York: Crowell, 1970), 115.

⁵⁴ Daniel J Elazar: *Cities on the Prairie The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*. (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 160-165.

The Individualistic stream comes from the Mid-Atlantic States and major port cities. Some of the characteristics of the Individualistic stream are:

- The individualistic subculture relies on the marketplace.
- Government's role is limited, primarily to keep the marketplace functioning.
- Politicians' motives for running for office are based on material self-interests and to advance themselves professionally.
- Bureaucracy is viewed negatively.
- Corruption is tolerated because politics IS dirty.
- Political competition is partisan.⁵⁵

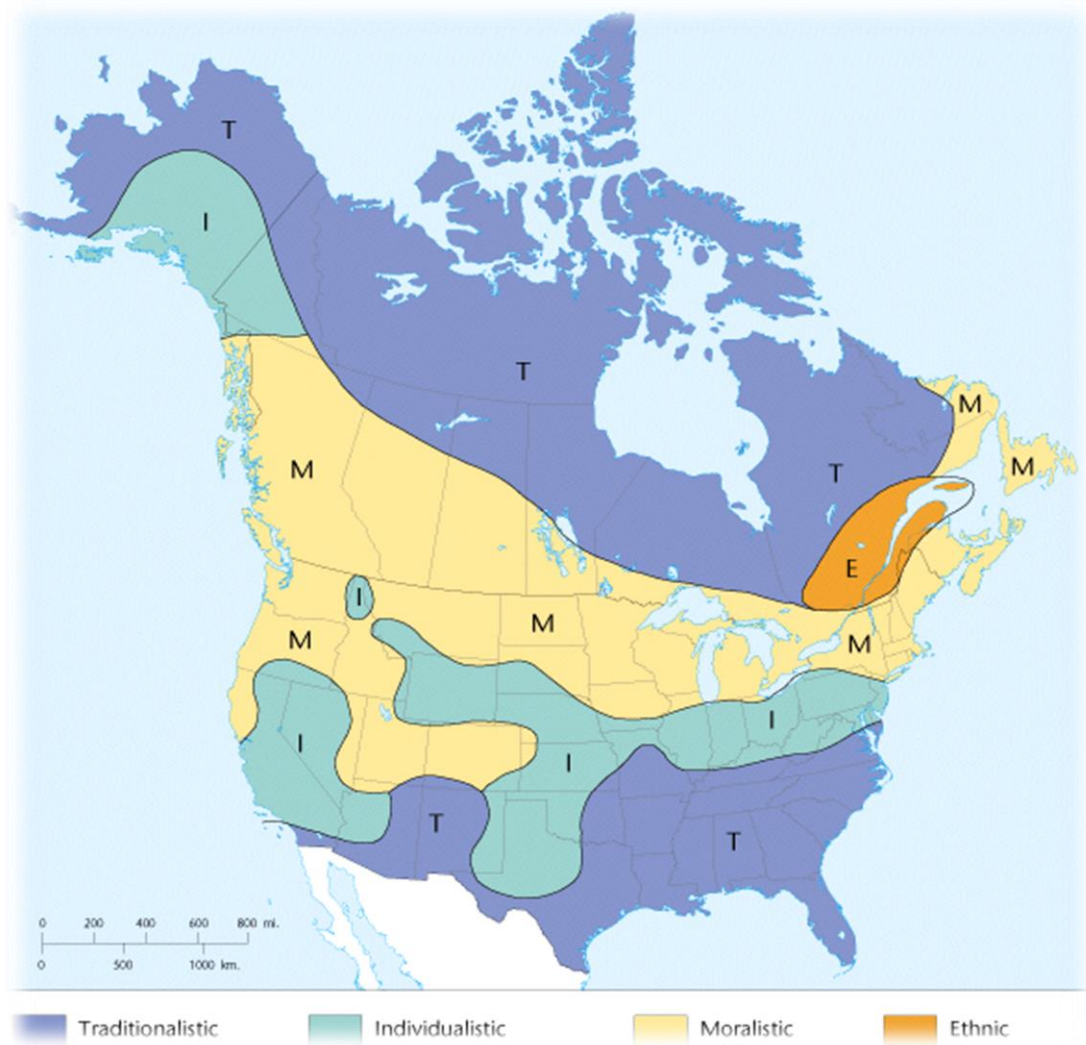
The Moralistic stream is from the New England States (Yankees stream). Some of the characteristics of the Moralistic stream are:

- Government advances the public interest.
- Government is a positive force in the lives of citizens.
- Politics revolves around issues.
- Politicians run for office to advance issues.
- Corruption is not tolerated because election or appointment to office is seen as a trust and public service.

⁵⁵ Daniel J Elazar: *Cities on the Prairie The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*. (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 160-168.

- Bureaucracy is viewed favorably as a way to achieve the public good.
- It is a citizen's duty to participate in politics.⁵⁶

Figure 2 Elazar Cultural Streams



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⁵⁶ Daniel J Elazar: *Cities on the Prairie The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*. (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 160-168.

⁵⁷ <http://www.city-data.com/forum/general-u-s/1842645-there-such-thing-northeastern-midwestern-culture-7.html>

Under Elazar's theory, two of these three cultures directly affected Idaho, namely the Moralistic and Individualistic cultural streams. Elazar classified the Mormons who migrated into the southeastern and southwestern regions of Idaho as being part of the Moralistic cultural stream. The northern regions Elazar placed as part of the Individualistic cultural streams.

Robert H. Blank looked at the pioneers' values and beliefs to determine the social, political, and cultural values of the first Idahoans. These beliefs were passed down from generation to generation and they form the foundation of Idaho social and political beliefs today.

The trait Blank found in all pioneers in all regions was individualism, a hunger for freedom (for the Mormons it was freedom of religion and from the government extermination orders from several states to maintain political power),⁵⁸ property rights, equality, local self-governing, and limited Federal Government powers.⁵⁹ All the people that migrated to Idaho displayed these common core values.

⁵⁸ James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard. The Story of the Latter-day Saints. 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Books, 1992), 27.

⁵⁹ Robert H. Blank. "Regional Diversity of Political Values: Idaho Political Culture". (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 20-21.

However a recent journal article, "Intrastate Regional Differences in Political Culture: A Case Study of Idaho," by Leslie Alm, Ross Burkhardt, David Patton, and James Weatherby, dismisses Blank's theory that the pioneers' values and beliefs still determine the social, political and cultural values and are passed down over time as the bases of Idaho political and social culture. Instead, they hold that this culture has changed over time driven by political, economic, and cultural conditions by regions.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Alm, Patton, Weatherby. Burkhardt. "Intrastate Regional Difference in Political Culture": A Case Study Of Idaho." (*State and Local Government Review*, 2001), 117.

Table 1 Characteristics of the three political cultures

Characteristics of the Three Political Cultures			
Concepts	Individualistic	Moralistic	Traditionalistic
Government			
How it is viewed	A Marketplace responding efficiently to demands	A commonwealth to achieve the ideal community by good action	A means of maintaining the existing order
Appropriate sphere of activity	Encourages private access and development via the marketplace	Whatever enhances community allowed. Economic and social control deemed correct	Those that maintain traditional patterns
New programs	Not initiated unless demanded by the public	Initiated without public pressure if believed to be in public interest	Will initiate if program serves the interest of the governing elite
Bureaucracy			
How it is viewed	Ambivalently: undesirably limits patronage but good for enhancing efficiency	Positive [brings desirable political neutrality]	Negatively {depersonalizes government
Merit system favored	Loosely implemented	Strong	None [should be controlled by elites]
Politics and Patterns of Belief			
How it is viewed	Dirty [those who engage in it soil themselves	Healthy {every citizen's responsibility]	Only those the privileged should participate]
Patterns of participation			
Who must participate	Professional	Everyone	The appropriate elite
Political Parties			
Role of parties	Act as business organizations [dole out favors and responsibility]	Vehicles to attain goals deemed to be in the public interest	Vehicle recruiting people to office not desired by established power holders
Party cohesiveness	Strong	Subordinate to principles and issues	Highly personal [based on family and social ties]
Patterns of competition			
How it viewed	Between parties; not over issues	Over issues	Between elite factions within a dominant party
Orientation	Towards winning office for tangible rewards	To win office in order to enforce policies & programs	Dependent on political values of the elite
Daniel J. Elazar American Federalism a View from the States page 121 ⁶¹			

⁶¹ Daniel J. Elazar American Federalism A View From the States page 121

Chapter Three: Method

Hypotheses

1. The LDS Political Culture is actually distinct from the Moralistic Culture defined by Elazar, nor does it conform to the Traditionalistic or Individualist political subcultures.

2. The LDS Political Culture is strongly aligned with Robert H. Blank's theory of pioneers' values and beliefs and the current goals and platform of the Idaho Republican Party.

3. This LDS Political Culture value is at least as strong as the other socio-economic variables (types of employment, educations levels, median age, and population density) that influence the electoral process.

4. Much of the growing influence of the Republican Party in Idaho is due to the growing LDS population and the distinctive LDS-political culture.

The changes in the voting patterns in the period (1980-2010) can be explained using Robert H. Blank's theory of using the pioneers' values and beliefs to determine the social, political, and cultural values of the first Idahoans installed.

However, based on close personal experience within the Mormon community, I believe that Daniel J. Elazar incorrectly placed the Mormon religion into the Moralistic stream. If the Mormon religion is removed from the Moralistic stream and is identified instead as part of the Individualistic stream, or else is understood as forming a distinctive political culture and thus as an independent political subculture then this allows Elazar's political culture theory to support Blank's theory.

The "Regional Differences Theory" by Alm, Burkhart, Patton, and Weatherby that voting changes are driven by political, economic, and a cultural condition by regions actually identifies symptoms of the voting shift but does not explain the causes of these changes.⁶² The cause is actually that the policies that the national Democratic Party has adopted over the past thirty years go directly against the enduring historic culture values that still define Idahoan culture. This interpretation supports the theories of both Blank and Elazar, and asserts that the Idahoan reaction to more recent Democratic Party policies, originating among the much-distrusted political

⁶² Alm, Patton, Weatherby. Burkhart. "Intrastate Regional Difference in Political Culture": A Case Study Of Idaho." (*State and Local Government Review*, 2001), 117.

and economic elites of the Eastern Seaboard, sufficiently accounts for this shift in voting patterns.

Selection of Data and Models

For the first Hypotheses: Elazar incorrectly placed the Mormon religion into the Moralistic stream. The selection of dependent variables for this study are the total percentage of Republican vote in the first election for State Governor, U.S. Senators and U.S. House of Representatives members, for each of the decades of 1981-1990, 1991- 2000, and 2001-2010. The election data is from the official election returns posted on the website of the Secretary of State of Idaho.⁶³ I used the Republican percentage of votes because right now the voter shift is towards the Republican Party.

Only the election for the offices of Idaho Governor, the United States Senate, and the U.S. House of Representative were used as the dependent variables for this study. In these elections, the Democratic Party seemed to be competitive. These offices were selected because they are the high profile at large elected positions that all the people in the state can vote for. The results were analyzed at the country analysis of analysis, each country being a "case" for the purpose of this study. As a

⁶³ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/results.htm>

Factor Analysis generally requires more cases than variables the data were “bootstrapped” by creating multiple cases for each county, e.g. the data for 44 counties are replicated as, say, 4,400 cases in which for each original county 99 new cases are created which are “clones” of the original county.⁶⁴

The U.S. Presidential election and Idaho’s State House legislative races by district were not selected for use in this study. That is because the Democratic Party has not been competitive at the Presidential level since 1964.

The state legislative races were not selected due to how the re-districting process of placing several counties in one legislative district or several legislative districts in one county changes the Idaho legislative district map every decade while it is difficult, if not impossible, to garner the same sets of socio-economic and cultural data for each of these changing electoral entities.

In addition to the several socio-economic variables selected, the independent variables also include the percentage of Traditionalistic, Individualistic, and Moralistic streams and the Mormon religion by county. The Mormon percentage was removed from the Moralistic stream and used as a stand-alone variable.

⁶⁴ Andy Field: *Discovering Statistics Using IBM SPSS Statistics*. (Washington DC: Sage, 2011.) 353.

The religious demographic data were selected from the *Religious Congregations and Membership in the United States* for the years 1990-2010.

Factor analyses was used to determine the relationship between the Mormon (LDS) stream and Elazar's three political streams, Moralistic, Individualistic, and Traditionalistic streams with each other and with the other secular socio-economic variables. The percentage of Moralistic, Individualistic, and Traditionalistic was calculated for each of Idaho's 44 counties with the LDS number being placed into its own variable for the 1990, 2000, and 2010-decade data sets. This calculation was based on the identification of memberships of the various main Christian denominations in which denominations were identified as "markers" of the subculture as most denominations in the thirteen colonies tended to be separately located. E.g., the Congregationalists originated in New England and so membership in the Congregationalist Church would serve as a marker of persons with a Moralistic cultural background. However, the Southern Baptists originated in the slaveholder states of the Southeastern United States and so membership in this body would be a "marker" for persons with a Traditionalist cultural background. Using Elazar's table of denominations and the association with each of the three subcultures I obtained

county level estimates of each subculture using the three *U.S. Religious Census* handbooks for 1990, 2000, and 2010 in which memberships in various religious bodies have been recorded at the county level by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies (ASARB). For each county church membership were summed under the three headings and their percentage of the total religious base population for each country calculated so yielding the percentage of each subculture county-by-county throughout Idaho. Atheists and agnostics in each county are assumed to reflect the same proportions of the three subculture in each county.

The four variables were then Factor-analyzed to obtain the correlation matrix. The results are presented in Table Two. This original approach to analyzing Idahoan political culture was presented by Sean K. Anderson in his paper "Idaho Elections 1994-1996: The Role of Political Culture in the Making of the Most Republican State".⁶⁵ Interpreting the meaning of each component Factor is not an automatic product of quantitative analysis. Rather it requires the analyst to make reasoned assessments as to why one set of variables are found in one Factor and not another. Taking one's cue from those variables, which have the highest indicated commonality with the Factor one

⁶⁵ Sean K. Anderson: "Idaho Elections 1994-1996: The Role of Political Culture in the Making of the Most Republican State." 1996: 6.

can find a dominant theme, which explains why these variables cluster together. Because the Factors are clustered into a hypothetical three-dimensional mapping, sometimes the positive and negative signs for the coefficients are simply an artifact of the necessity of orienting the Factors in terms of three (or more) axes joined together at 45 degree angles to each other at one intersection, the "origin." Then each Factor is measured as "negative" or "positive" values on either side the point of intersection of the one axis with the other two.

Factor Analysis was repeated for each decade as, in fact, the Factors are dynamic entities subject to change as the socio-economic and cultural values change from decade to decade. Yet in Table II: The LDS variable is weakly but negatively correlated with the Moralistic variable. In fact, it is also strongly and negatively correlated with the Individualistic and Traditionalistic variables. However, for each of the three decades these four cultural variables remained as part of one Factor, with the LDS variable having the highest correlation value with the entire Factor. This demonstrates not only that

Table 2 LDS comparison

Idaho Moral Index					
1990 Correlation Matrix ^a		Moral_	Individualistic	Traditionalistic	LDS_90
Correlation	Moral	1.000			
	Individualistic	.320	1.000		
	Traditionalistic	.102	.489	1.000	
	LDS_90	-.279	-.687	-.521	1.000
2000 Correlation Matrix ^a		Moral	Individualistic	Traditionalistic	LDS_90
Correlation	Moral	1.000			
	Individualistic	.176	1.000		
	Traditionalistic	.207	.429	1.000	
	LDS_90	-.190	-.518	-.528	1.000
2010 Correlation Matrix ^a		Moral	Individualistic	Traditionalistic	LDS_90
Correlation	Moral	1.000			
	Individualistic	.106	1.000		
	Traditionalistic	.188	.432	1.000	
	LDS_90	-.229	-.522	-.420	1.000

the LDS variable is separate from Elazar's original proposed three subcultures but also dominates one entire Factor of the three Factors that emerged in each decade.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Note Moralistic, Individualistic, and Traditionalistic variables have positive correlation coefficients with each other. Since the LDS sum instead has negative correlations with all other variables there is no reason to consider adding the LDS sum to any of these others variables. None of these others variables appears to be measuring the same aspect of political culture implicit in the LDS variable.

Results

Daniel J. Elazar incorrectly placed the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints into the Moralistic stream because of the geographic origins of its founder, Joseph Smith, and his first successor, and Brigham Young. Smith formed the Mormon Church in upper New York State in the 1830s. Brigham Young, Smith's successor, was born in Vermont. The first conversions into the Mormon Church were of people in the New England States. The first appearance of the Mormons in the New England States area is the only reason Elazar placed the Mormon Church in the Moralistic stream.⁶⁷

Elazar did not take into account how the persecution of the Mormon people would affect their belief system that placed them outside of the Moralistic stream. One major characteristic of the Moralistic stream is how its adherents view the role of government.

- Government advances the public interest.
- Government is a positive force in the lives of citizens.

⁶⁷ Daniel J. Elazar: *Cities on the Prairie The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*. (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 476.

- Bureaucracy is viewed favorably as a way to achieve the public good.

The political persecution that drove the Mormons out of the United States led the Mormon people to believe instead that the Federal and State governments should be limited in their scope of power due to their tendency to abuse theirs to the detriment of the public good or public interest. These same issues drove the thirteen colonies to fight for their independence.

In examining the Mormon Church core beliefs, you will find that most of the beliefs of the Mormon Church fall between the Moralistic and the Individualistic characteristics. Some of the Mormon Church core values in this area include:

1. Welfare of the people is a Christian responsibility.

It belongs in the private sector where it will promote people to become self-reliant. Self-reliance provides personal independence, industry, thrift, and self-respect. The prosperous citizens, organized in wards and bishoprics, give a tenth of their earnings to the Church, which, among things, assists to the poor and others who have fallen on bad times.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ <http://www.mormon.org/faq>

2. Politics: "Principles compatible with the gospel are found in the platforms of **all major political parties**. While the Church does not endorse political candidates, platforms, or parties, members are urged to be full participants in political, governmental, and community affairs".⁶⁹

The second error Elazar made in placing the Mormon religion in the Moralistic stream was in overlooking the second cohort of new people who converted to the Mormon religion. Elazar assumed these people would continue to come from the New England area in the Moralistic stream. However, in fact the majority of the new Mormons came from the industrial areas of western Britain and primarily from Wales.

This recruitment of Welsh people was planned by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young well before the forced exodus of the Mormon people. Later the Mormon missionaries spread to other European countries to attract and convert new church members.

Joel Lieske in his article "Regional Subcultures of the United States" also did not agree with Elazar's placement of the Mormon Church into the Moralistic stream. Lieske placed the Mormons into one of the ten streams that he identified to make

⁶⁹ <http://www.mormon.org/faq/topic/politics/question/political-beliefs>

up the regional subcultures in the United States.⁷⁰ "The Mormon Stream can be identified on the basis of a single tag, namely, membership in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints".⁷¹ Lieske justifies this placement by calling Mormonism a "uniquely American Heartland religion that grew out of the second great Awakening".⁷² The church drew most of its membership from the industrialized area of western Great Britain, removing it from the Yankee (Moralistic) stream.⁷³

The problem with Lieske placing the Mormon people into a category by itself is he did not take into account the cultural values of the region in which they lived in determining their political culture. But if the Mormon religion is removed from the Moralistic stream and placed into an Independent stream between the Moralistic and Individualistic streams, then Elazar and Lieske's political culture theories would support Blank's theory on how Idahoan values could have an impact on the voting shift.

The results from the Factor analyses on Table 2 indicate the Mormon Church has significant differences from all three of Elazar's cultural streams to support creating an LDS stream. For

⁷⁰ Joel Lieske. "Regional Subcultures of the United States.") *The Journal of Politics*, 1993), 898.

⁷¹ Joel Lieske. "Regional Subcultures of the United States.") *The Journal of Politics*, 1993), 898.

⁷² Ibid, 905.

⁷³ Joel Lieske. "Regional Subcultures of the United States.") *The Journal of Politics*, 1993), 898.

the analyses, I will be using Moralistic, Individualistic, Traditionalistic, and LDS streams as variables in the Idaho Political Values Factor.

Figure 3 Lienske's Ten Subculture Stream⁷⁴



⁷⁴ Lieske Political subculture
http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/9/7/8/7/pa ges197870/p197870-36.php

Chapter Four: Methods

Hypotheses

1. The LDS Political Culture is actually distinct from the Moralistic Culture defined by Elazar, nor does it conform to the Traditionalistic or Individualist political subcultures.

2. The LDS Political Culture is strongly aligned with Robert H. Blank's proposed matrix of pioneers' values and beliefs and also are attuned to the current goals and platform of the Idaho Republican Party.

3. This LDS Political Culture value is at least as strong as the other socio-economic variables (types of employment, median income, median age, and population density) that influence the electoral process.

4. Much of the growing influence of the Republican Party in Idaho is due to the growing LDS population and its distinctive LDS-political culture.

Selection of Data and Models

The selection of dependent variables for this study are the total percentage of Republican votes in the first election for State Governor, U.S. Senators and U.S. House of Representatives members, for each of the decades of 1981-1990, 1991-2000, and 2001-2010. The election data are from the official election returns posted on the Idaho's Secretary of State Website.⁷⁵ I used the Republican percentage of votes because right now the voter shift is towards the Republican Party.

Only the election for the offices of Idaho Governor, United States Senator, and member of the U.S. House of Representative were used as the dependent variables for this study. In these elections, the Democratic Party seemed to be competitive. These offices were selected because they are the high profile at large elected positions that all the people in the state can vote for.

The Presidential election results would only be used as a comparison to the results of the Factor Analysis and regression analysis to detect a trend in the patterns of voting. The results were analyzed at the county level, each county being a "case" for the purpose of this study. As a Factor Analysis generally requires more cases than variables the data were "bootstrapped" by creating multiple cases for each county, e.g.

⁷⁵ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/results.htm>

the data for 44 counties are replicated as, say, 4,400 cases in which for each original county 99 new cases are created which are “clones” of the original county.

The state legislative races were not selected because the State’s re-districting process performed every ten years of placing several counties in one legislative district or several such districts in one county changes the Idaho legislative district map every decade. In addition, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to garner the same sets of socio-economic and cultural data for each of these changing electoral entities.

The independent variables used in this study sought to determine what socio-economic demographic variables contributed to support for the Republicans.

The economics variables were selected from the economic data from the Department of Commerce Bureau of Economic Analysis,⁷⁶ and the United States Census Bureau data covering the years from 1991 to 2011.⁷⁷ Most of the independent variables data were obtained from the University of Idaho website *Indicators Idaho*.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ <http://www.bea.gov/index.htm>

⁷⁷ <http://www.census.gov/>

⁷⁸ University of Idaho. *Indicators Idaho*.

<http://www.indicatorsnorthwest.org/DrawRegion.aspx?RegionID=16000&IndicatorID>

Interpretation of Factor Results

The Factor Analysis measures correlations between each variable and every other variable. A Scree plot of Eigenvalues against possible numbers of components (possible Factors) revealed that only a small number of components will have Eigenvalues (a measure of significance) greater than 1.0 (See Table 3 on page 54).

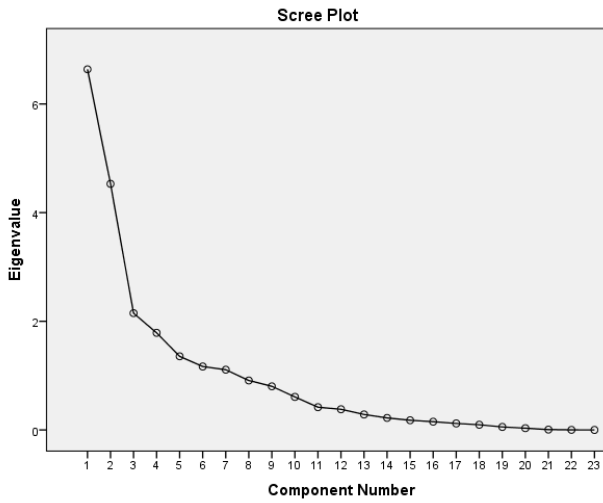
Each of the Scree plots for the Factor Analyses performed with the chosen variables for each decade reveals at least four components with values greater than 1.0 suggesting four underlying Factors for each decade. However an analysis of variance for the Factor Analyses for each of the three decades reveals that in each case only a maximum of three Factors was sufficient to account for over 50 percent of the variance found among all of the 27 variables used in each of the three Factor Analysis (See Tables 4, 5, and 6 below). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy ranged from 0.647 for Decade 1981-1990, 0.738 for Decade 1991-2000, and 0.807 for Decade 2001-2010. While KMO scores above 0.5 are considered definitive proof of model sufficiency even models with a KMO of 0.40 have been shown to provide satisfactory explanations of variable groupings as well. However, the fact that that the KMO scores are all greater than 0.5 and are increasing over the decades does imply

some sort of realignment of voter behavior that is also likely linked to the shift in voting patterns.

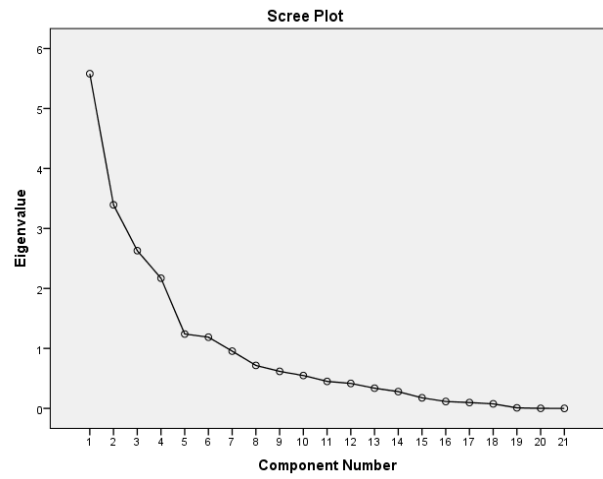
The rule of parsimony in explaining scientific phenomena is that the model, which is the most simple, involving the fewest number of possible causes, is more likely to be the best

Table 3 Determining Correct Number of Factors - Eigenvalues Greater Than One vs. Number of Components

1981-1990 Decade



2001-2012 Decade



1991-2000 Decade

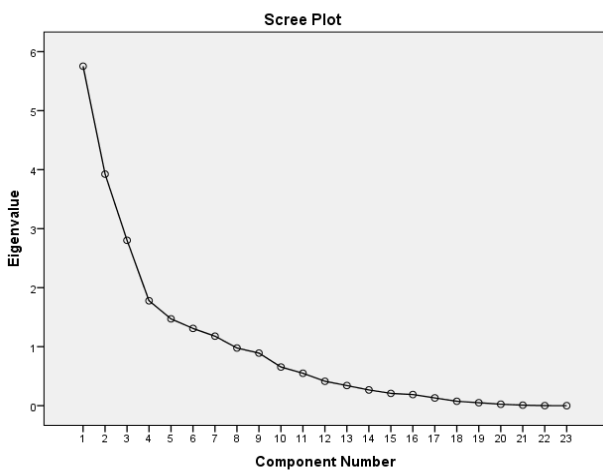


Table 4 1990 Total Variance Explained

1990 Total Variance Explained						
Component	Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1 High Productivity Economy	6.638	28.862	28.862	5.823	25.317	25.317
2 Idaho Political Values	4.530	19.694	48.556	4.197	18.246	43.563
3 Dependent Economy	2.149	9.344	57.900	3.298	14.337	57.900
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = 0.647						

Table 5 2000 Total Variance Explained

2000 Total Variance Explained						
Component	Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1 High Productivity Economy	10.071	59.241	59.241	10.013	58.898	58.808
2 Idaho Political Values	2.976	17.504	76.745	2.752	16.171	75.088
3 Dependent Economy	1.257	7.391	84.136	1.538	9.048	84.136
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = 0.738						

Table 6 2010 Total Variance Explained

2010 Total Variance Explained						
Component	Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1 High Employment Economy	19.861	70.933	70.933	19.861	70.933	70.933
2 Idaho Cultural Values	2.314	10.048	80.982	2.814	10.048	80.982
3 Traditional Pioneer Economy	1.520	5.428	86.409	31.520	5.428	86.409

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy = 0.803

explanation of the phenomenon being studied. However, as the Scree Plot for the 2001-2010 period showed at least five groupings with Eigenvalues in excess of 1.0 an exploratory Factor Analysis was carried out allowing up to five Factors to be selected. When examined closely three of the Factors really appeared to be three segments of the Employment Factor, which emerged in the three Factor models, which was not parsimonious nor capable of ready understanding.

In the 1981-1990 Decade three clearly distinct Factors emerged

Factor 1 = High Productivity Economy

Factor 2 = Idaho Political Values

Factor 3 = Economy Dependent on External Subsidization

Factor 1's three highest values are related to High Productivity Economy, namely, High Employment, Whole and Retail Trade, Services, Finance (including Insurance and Real Estate) all of which are positive in sign. Construction was also positive and high (remember this was the decade of housing expansion).

Table 7 1981-1990 Rotated Component Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix ^a			
Factors for 1981 -1990 Decade	Component		
	1	2	3
Total_Employment	.992		
Wholesale_and_retail_trade	.990		
Services	.985		
Finance_insurance_and_real_estate	.984		
Construction	.982		
Population of County	.975		
Transportation_and_public_utilities	.974		
Government	.948		
Manufacturing	.941		
Agricultural_services_forestry_fishing_and_other_1	.764		
LDS90		-.848	
Individualistic		.807	
Traditionalistic		.786	
Farming			.742
Mining			-.686
Unemployment		.567	-.575
Median_Age			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Factor 1 = High Efficiency Economy and Employment

Factor 2 = Idaho Cultural Values

Factor 3 = Economy Dependent on External Subsidization

In the 1991-2000 Factor, Analysis Factor 1 still seemed to be High Productivity. Factor 2 was still dominated by the LDS cultural variable. How does one explain the negative correlation of the LDS component variable with the Manufacturing variable? It may be that manufacturing involves a larger work force that

Table 8 1991-2000 Rotated Component Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix ^a			
Factors in 1991-2000 Decade	Component		
	1	2	3
Total_Employment	.995		
Construction	.991		
Wholesale_and_retail_trade	.991		
Tn_and_publtransportatioic_utilities	.987		
Services	.986		
Fi0nce_insurance_and_real_estate	.986		
Popcounty	.986		
Manufacturing	.977		
Government	.957		
Ag#_services_forestry_fishing_and_other_1	.879		
Traditionalistic		.820	
LDS2000		-.802	
Unemploy		.740	
Individualistic		.725	
Farm			-.683
Mining			.652
Median_Age		.587	.596

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. A. Rotation converge in 5 iterations.

Factor 1 = High Efficiency Economy and Employment
Factor 2 = Idaho Cultural Values
Factor 3 = Economy Dependent on External Subsidization

is blue-collar therefore more Democrat-aligned voters. In Factor 3 the dominant variables were Mining, Unemployment, and Median

Age with the latter two having negative signs. This Factor we identified with "Economy Dependent on External Subsidization" because unemployed people must depend on unemployment benefits and other social services to survive. The higher the Median Age the larger the proportion of elderly population many of whom must depend on Social Security, Medicare, and sometimes state or local programs to survive.

In the decade 2001-2010 the rankings of the Factors remain the same but the identity of the third Factor appears to have changed. Factor 1 remained dominated by Higher Productivity Economy variable. Government, which was third lowest Factor component variable in the first decade, and then the second lowest in the second decade, has moved up to seventh place from the bottom variable in Factor 1. The highest variable had become the composite variable of Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate while Construction had shifted down to eighth place from the bottom. Following the sub-prime mortgage crisis and given the "Quantitative Easing" for distressed owners of real estate and pension plans ravaged by the financial chaos of the subprime mortgage crisis Finance in the form of financial restructuring has become the order of the day while Construction has clearly suffered from the crisis.

Factors for the 2001-2010 Decade	Table 9 2001-2010 Rotated Component Matrix		
	Component		
	1	2	3
Finance_and_insurance	.986		
Information	.983		
Administrative_and_waste_services	.982		
Real_estate_and_rental_and_leasing	.981		
Accommodation_and_food_services	.976		
Total_Employment	.975		
Health_care_and_social_assistance	.972		
Arts_entertainment_and_recreation	.971		
Retail_trade	.965		
Management_of_companies_and_enterprises	.964		
Other_services_except_public_administration	.962		
Wholesale_trade	.954		
Construction	.952		
Government	.951		
Utilities	.946		
Educational_services	.935		
PopCounty	.932		
Professional_and_technical_services	.922		
Manufacturing	.900		
Transportation_and_warehousing	.880		
LDS2010		-.865	
Unemploy		.760	
Median_Age		.715	
Individualistic		.631	
Traditionalistic		.604	
Farming			.906
Forestry_fishing_related_activities_and_other_3			.692

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

Factor 1 = High Efficiency Economy and Employment
Factor 2 = Idaho Cultural Values
Factor 3 = Traditional Pioneer Economy

The rise in the position of Government from third place to seventh place from the bottom may reflect the growth of government as an employer at the expense of the private sector. Factor 2 is still clearly the **LDS Cultural Values Variable** but Factor 3 has become a grouping including Farming, Fishing, Forestry "and related" activities. This new Factor of a self-

subsistence economy rather than a dependency economy may be labeled as the **"Traditional Pioneer Economy Variable."** In fact another reaction to the financial crisis late in the 2001-2010 decade, particularly within the Western States, has been the "Prepper" phenomenon and a movement to "go off the grid" and be able to live a simpler but self-subsistent lifestyle should another more catastrophic financial Armageddon occur.

Each Factor has become by itself a variable representing the net contributions of its component variables. When you have only 44 cases and at least 27 variables, or perhaps even more variables, there are fewer "degrees of freedom" left. However, 27 variables still leaves only 17 ($44 - 27$) degrees of freedom making it more likely to produce spurious correlations. By reducing 47 or 27 variables to three Factors (each county having only three Factor scores), one then can conduct a regression analysis with just three variables (the Factor scores for each county) to explain the increase voting for Republican candidates.

The negative sign of the LDS Cultural Variable is an artifact of having to spread components out in three-dimensions: the three axes that all intersect at right angles will have "positive" and "negative" spaces and placement of any Factor is

almost random. Since the negative sign of the LDS Cultural Variable is an artifact of having to spread components out in three-dimensions in reading the regression analysis the negative sign should be removed (or rather all of the signs should be reversed for that one Factor. The Individualistic variable is of opposite sign because "cut-throat Yankee" competition is against the communitarianism of the LDS Cultural System, which does emphasize individual work ethic and self-responsibility but also charity and duty towards one's neighbor. The Traditionalistic Culture has always held money-based capitalism in disdain. Therefore it would also be of opposite sign to the LDS Cultural stream.

Results of Regression Analyses: An Interpretation

Regression analyses were calculated for all three decades using the three Factors from each decade's unique Factor Analysis as the three independent variables and different measures of increased Republican voting strength as the dependent variable. The actual numerical regression results are presented in the Appendix and their interpretations provided here.

For the years 1981-1990, the main Factor in the campaigns for 1987 race for Governor, Cecil Andrus (D) vs. Lt. Gov. David Leroy (R)⁷⁹ was Idaho Political Values (+0.045) with the secondary Factor of High Productivity Economy actually being mildly weak (-0.025). It should be noted that Governor Andrus was very conservative compared to other Democratic Governors. When he was asked to give the nominating speech in 1992 on behalf of fellow Democratic Governor Bill Clinton he declined. Years later, during the Monica Lewinsky scandal, when addressing a crowd made up largely of fellow Democrats at Idaho State University former Governor Andrus was asked by an audience member why he had declined to give the nominating speech for

⁷⁹ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

Clinton. Andrus replied that while he had developed great respect for Governor Clinton's administrative efficiency and his grasp of policy issues that he could not bring himself to endorse Bill Clinton so publicly because "the man had certain character defects of which I was aware and that I choose now not to speak of." Many Democrats were shocked that he "broken ranks" with fellow Democrats for not defending Clinton but this is the language of Idaho Cultural Values.

For the 1986 Senate race of incumbent Steve Simms (R) vs. John V. Evans (D)⁸⁰, the main Factor was Factor III (Economy Dependent on Subsidization) (+0.030) and secondary Factor II Idaho Political Values (+0.029). Although both variables are well within the 95% confidence level the coefficients are low and R-squared 0.254 significant but not dramatic. Simms won by a 2% margin. That Factor III was dominant may be because Simms, who had an advanced degree in Agricultural Science, sat on the Senate Agriculture Committee and in the late 1980s farmers felt distressed under low produce prices and high financing debt.

In the 1992 House of Representatives race Mike Crapo (R)⁸¹ won his first term in the U.S. House of Representatives. The

⁸⁰ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

⁸¹ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

Factors of Idaho Political Values (+0.54) and Dependent Economy (+0.468) were the two main Factors. The R-squared for this regression was 0.511, which is strong. He won 61% to J.D. William's (D) 35%.⁸² In the 1994 election, to fill the seat vacated by Crapo who chose to run for the U.S. Senate, Blackfoot dentist Michael K. Simpson (R) ran against a veteran opponent Richard Stallings (D). Simpson winning the election by a margin of 52.5% to 44.7% in which Idaho Cultural Values was the main Factor (+0.601) and Factor III Dependent Economy second (+0.488) with an impressive R-squared of 0.562.

These results would indicate that Idaho Cultural Values was the only variable that was significant in all of the elections for the offices of Governor, House of Representatives member, and Senator with a P = .05 or less. The second most common variable was Factor III Dependent Economy. Coming out of the recessions and stagflation years of the Carter Administrator into the Reagan recovery, this analysis strongly suggests that jobs and core values drove the voting with big government under control.

⁸² <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

For the years 1991-2000, the main Factor in the Governor's race of 1994 between former State House member Phil Batt (R) and Attorney General Larry Echohawk (D) was Factor III of Dependent Economy (-0.346), the second Factor being Idaho Political Culture (+0.338), and last High Productivity Economy (-0.287). Phil Batt won by 52% becoming the first Republican to have won the Governorship in 28 years. In the 1992 Senate race of Boise Mayor Dirk Kempthorn (R) vs. Rep. Richard Stallings (D), Idaho Political Values was the main significant variable (+0.332), the second was the Dependent Economy Factor (-0.309), and third the High Productivity Economy (-0.289) with a $P=.05$ (Significant). Again the R-squared was significant but low. The positive support of Factor III for Simms and low support for Kempthorn may have been because whereas Simms had an agricultural background and served on the Senate Agriculture Committee Kempthorn, as Mayor of Boise, was not perceived as sympathetic to farmers. The negative score for Factor I (High Productivity Economy) may have been due to the sour mood in the nation over a mild recession. This was the year the Clinton campaign adopted as its slogan "It's the economy, Stupid!" Nonetheless Kempthorn won with 56.5% of the vote.⁸³

⁸³ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

The 1992 Senate race would indicate that the Idaho Political Values trumped both High Employment Economy and Dependent Economy (even with farmers as a significant voting bloc) and had more influence on the election results with a $P = .05$ or less. The House races revealed the primacy of Idaho Cultural Values over the other more economically oriented variables. With the good economy in the 1990s, jobs, and core values were still the leading Factors with the fear of government expansion moving up (hence the drop in its position in the loadings of Factor I.)

For the years 2001-2010, there was a qualitative change in Factor III. High Productivity Economy remained the largest Factor, Idaho Political Values remained the second largest Factor, but Factor III had switched from being a Dependent Economy variable to becoming a Self-Subsistence variable. The main Factor in explaining the 2010 race Governor between former U.S. House of Representatives member "Butch" Otter(R) and Keith Allred(D), a career academic, was Factor I, High Employment Economy (-0.297) followed by Idaho Cultural Values (-0.053), and lastly by Traditional Pioneer Economy (+0.165), with $p=.05$, with Otter winning by 53% to 44%.⁸⁴ It is odd to note that Otter had a

⁸⁴ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

weakly negative coefficient for Factor II, Idaho Cultural Values, but a positive coefficient for Traditional Pioneer Economy. Otter has been a colorful and controversial figure in Idaho politics. His personal life included a DUI conviction in 1992 and a long-time public affair with the former Miss Idaho from 1992 to August 2006 when he finally married her just months before his first election as Governor. These behaviors may account for the low support from the Idaho Cultural Values Factor. His positive score for the Traditional Pioneer Economy variable may be explained by his pronounced individualism and resistance to federal authority, including his refusal to vote in favor of the USA PATRIOT Act in 2001 and his executive order in April 2011 prohibiting Idaho State agencies from implementing the Affordable Health Care Act. Otter portrays himself as a "cowboy," wearing Western cattlemen's boots and hats, and he even engages in amateur rodeo sports. The last Governor who deliberately cultivated such a Western frontier image was Cecil Andrus. The support from the Traditional Pioneer Economy variable may support Robert Blank's notion of an individualistic and anti-authoritarian pioneer culture as being the key to understanding Idaho politics.

In the 2010 Senate race between incumbent Mike Crapo (R) and Tom Sullivan (D), only the Idaho Cultural Values (+0.353)

was significant $p=.05$ and Crapo won re-election with 71% of the vote. The 2000 race for the House of Representatives seat left open by Helen Chenoweth (r) had "Butch" Otter (R) winning over Linda Pall (D) by 64.8% to 31.4%.⁸⁵ The main Factor was Dependent Economy (-0.490) and secondarily Idaho Cultural Values (+0.362) with an R-squared of 0.371. The 2010 race for the First District U.S. House of Representatives seat between incumbent Walter Minnick (D) and Raul Labrador (R) led to a victory by Labrador of 51% to Minnick's 41%.⁸⁶ The only variable that was significant was the Idaho Cultural Values Factor (0.669) with an R-squared value of 0.447. Walter Minnick had been a seasoned politician, a former insider of the Nixon White House who later switched from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party in 1996 to run against incumbent Idaho Senator Larry Craig but who lost that election by 17%. In 2009 he had defeated First District incumbent Bill Sali (R). This race could be seen as a vote against Sali's far right "constitutionalist" views more than support of the Liberal democratic view that Walter Minnick held. The 2008 First District race can be seen as a outlier election. Labrador, who hailed originally from Puerto Rico, was a life-long Republican and a member of the LDS Church. He only served

⁸⁵ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

⁸⁶ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

four years in the Idaho House of Representatives, making him a relative newcomer to politics.

The 2000s saw the war on terrorism come to the forefront, and throughout the United States the political focus shifted to public safety, national defense, and the 2008 crash of the economy, driving economic issues to the forefront. The election of Barack Obama as U.S. President seemed to hail in an era of vastly increased federal spending and expansion of federal government power. The narrative that is most consistent with the regression results for this decade is that in reaction to these events Idaho's political culture has moved many of its voters, many of whom consider themselves to be Independents, to vote for Republican candidates and the impact of this unique political culture has trumped both economic and national security concerns among Idahoan voters.

Chapter Five: Evaluation of Results

In the first part of the model, I examined the placement of the LDS stream in the Political Stream Theory of Elazar. There is sufficient evidence to place the LDS stream into a category of its own, which I demonstrated with the Factor Analysis, testing the LDS variable against the other cultural variables proposed by Elazar. The influence of this cultural force has been revealed by using it along with economic variables to explain the rising electoral support for the Republican Party in Idaho. The Factor Analysis and regression analysis showed the influence the LDS stream has had upon the voting patterns and how it is well correlated with the overall voting shift in Idaho.

Yet this alone cannot explain the voter pattern shift in all three regions of Idaho. The demographic make-up of the LDS stream has the majority of the LDS stream in southeastern Idaho while in Northern Idaho the LDS stream made up only 3.87% in 1990, 4.70% in 2000, and 5.70% in 2010 of the population. At the same time, the Republican vote percentage for Governor in the Northern Region increased 30.43% from the election of 1990 to the 2010 election. The Republican Senate vote percentage

Figure 4 LDS Population Changes 1990-2010

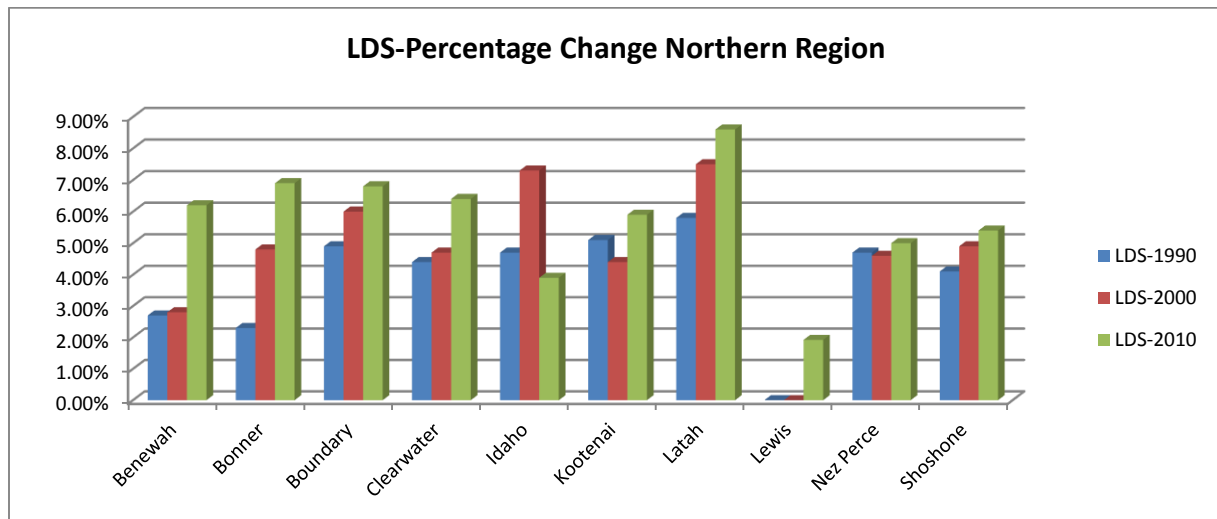


Figure 5 Republican Governor Northern Region

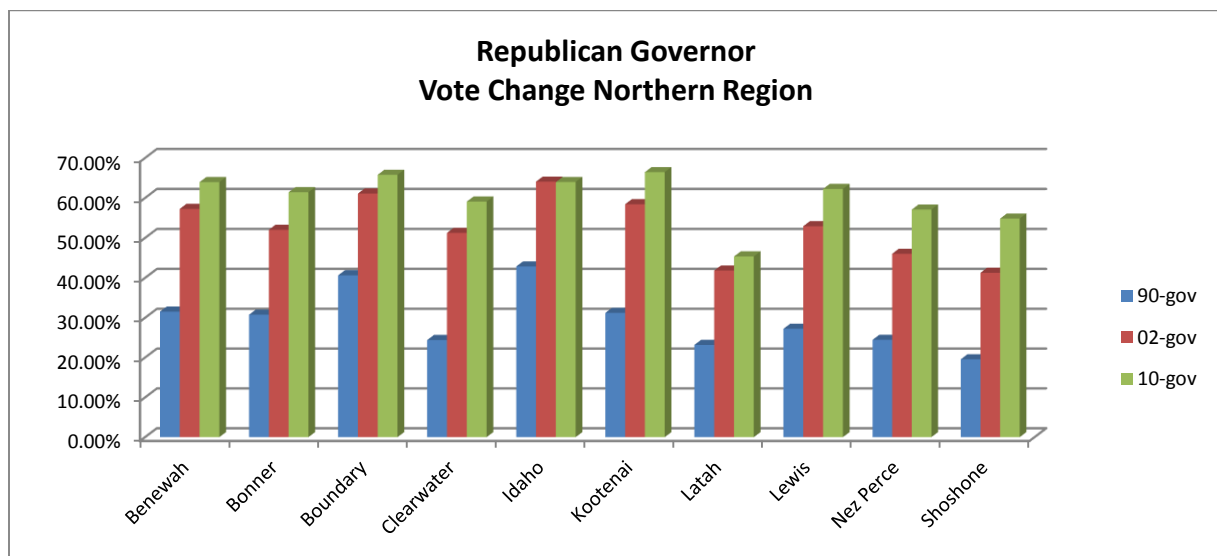


Figure 6 Republican House Northern Region

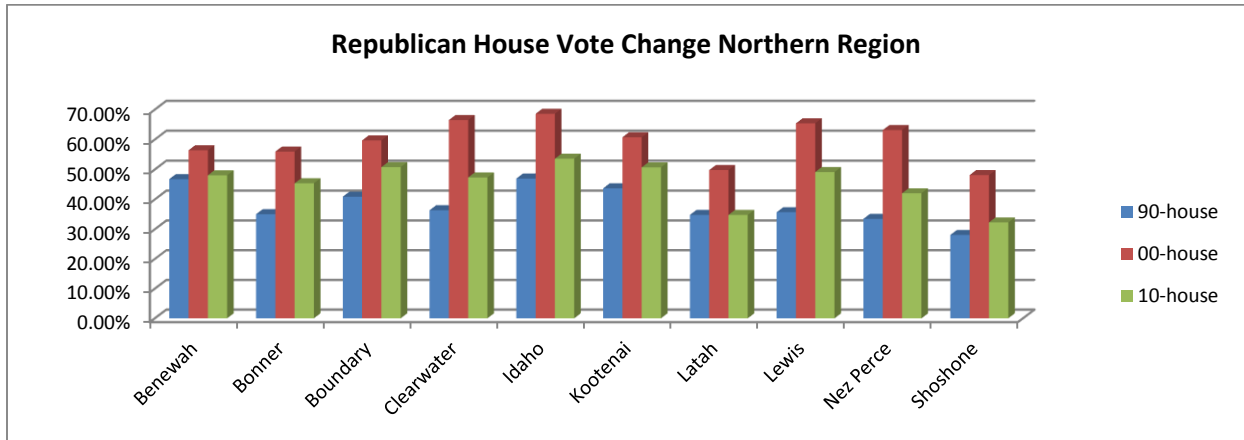
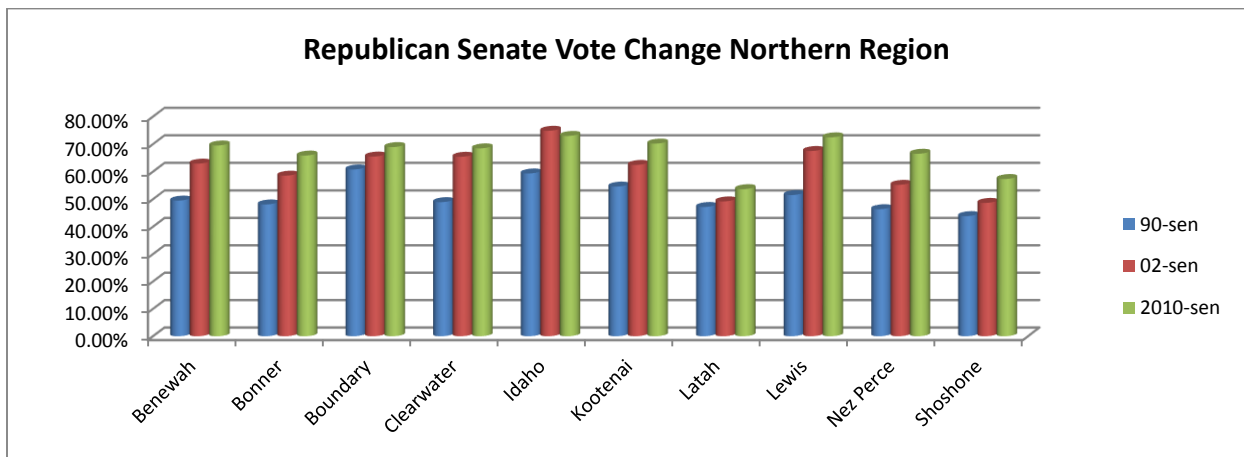


Figure 7 Republican Senate Northern Region



increased 15.57% from 1990 election to the 2010 Election. The votes for Republican candidates to the U.S. House of Representatives increased 7.22% from the 1991 election to the 2010 election.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

In the southeastern region of Idaho the LDS population, as a percentage of the whole population, stood at

Figure 8: Changes in LDS and Voting Southeastern Region

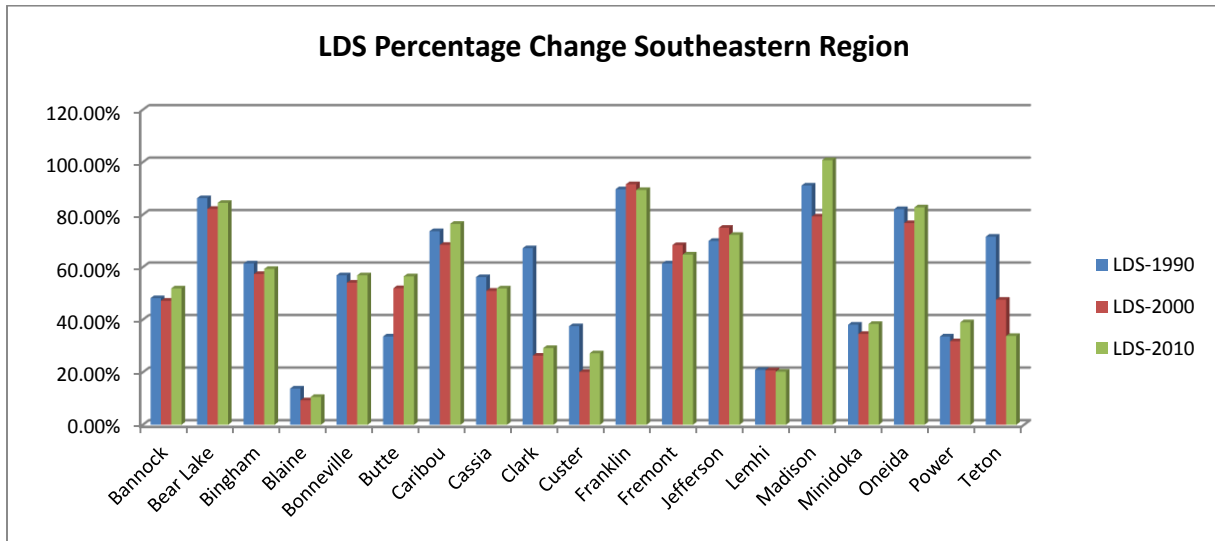


Figure 9 Republican Governor Vote Southeastern Region

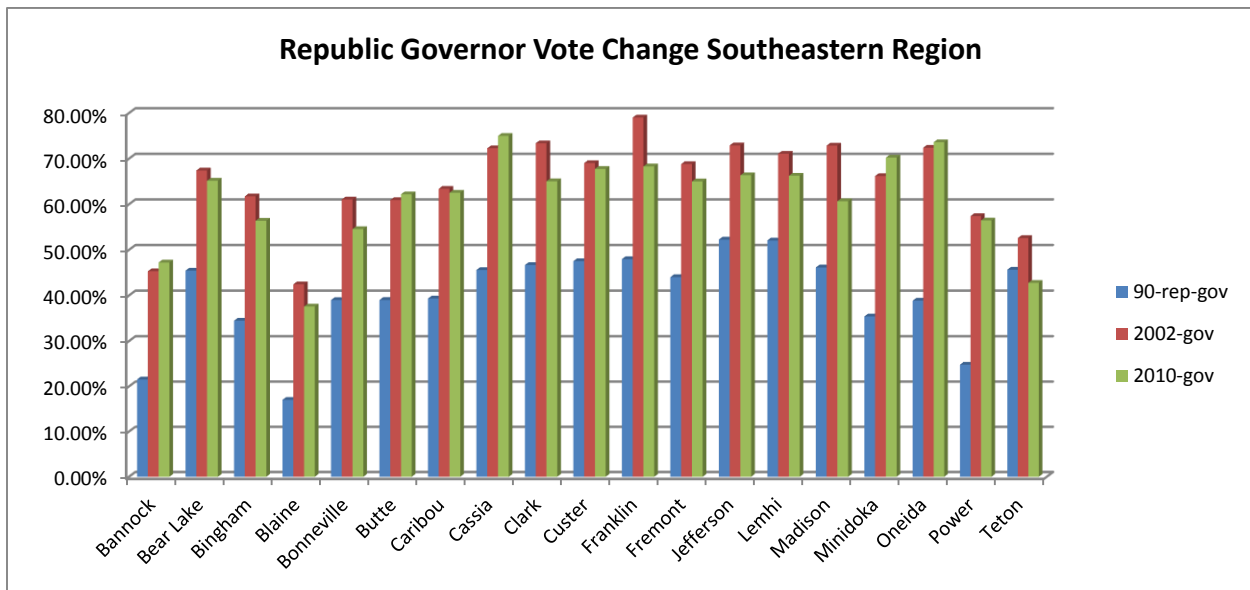


Figure 10 Republican Senate Vote Southeastern Region

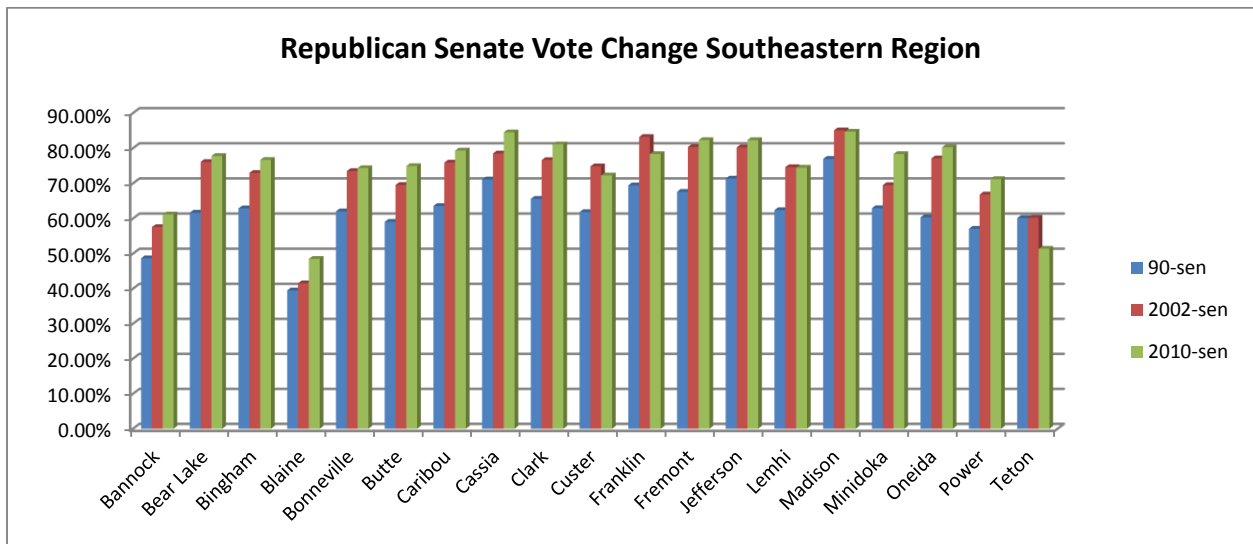
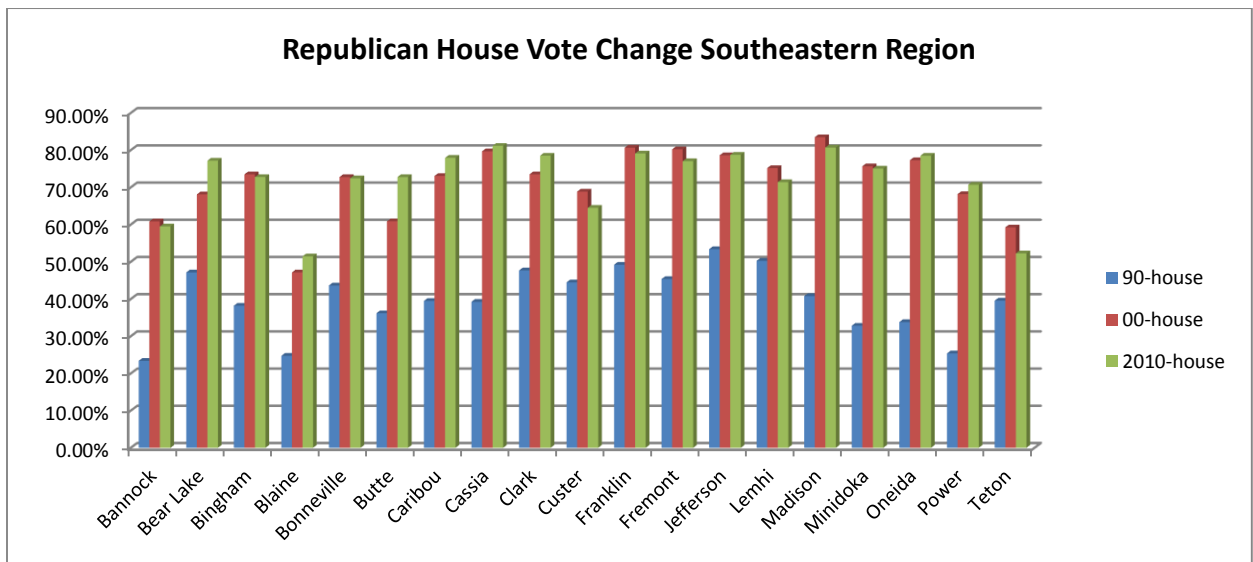


Figure 11 Republican House Vote Southeastern Region



57.54% in the 1990 decade, 52.31% in the 2000 decade, and 55.05% in the 2010 decade. At the same time, the Republican vote percentage for Governor in the Northern Region increased 21.07% from the election of 1990 to the 2010 election. The Republican

Senate vote percentage increased 12.09% from the 1990 election to the 2010 election. The U.S. House of Representatives vote for Republicans has increased 32.49% from the 1991 election to the 2010 election.⁸⁸

In the southwestern region of Idaho, the LDS stream as a percentage of the whole has varied from 14.95% in 1990, 13.66% in 2000, and 16.47% in 2010. At the same time, the Republican vote percentage for governor in the Northern Region increased 31.74% from the election of 1990 to the 2010 election. The Republican Senate vote percentage increased 10.27% from 1990 election to the 2010 Election. The Northern region's support for Republican candidates to the U.S. House of Representatives increased 18.72% from the 1991 election to the 2010 election.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

⁸⁹ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

Figure 12: LDS and Voting Changes Southwest Region 1990-2010

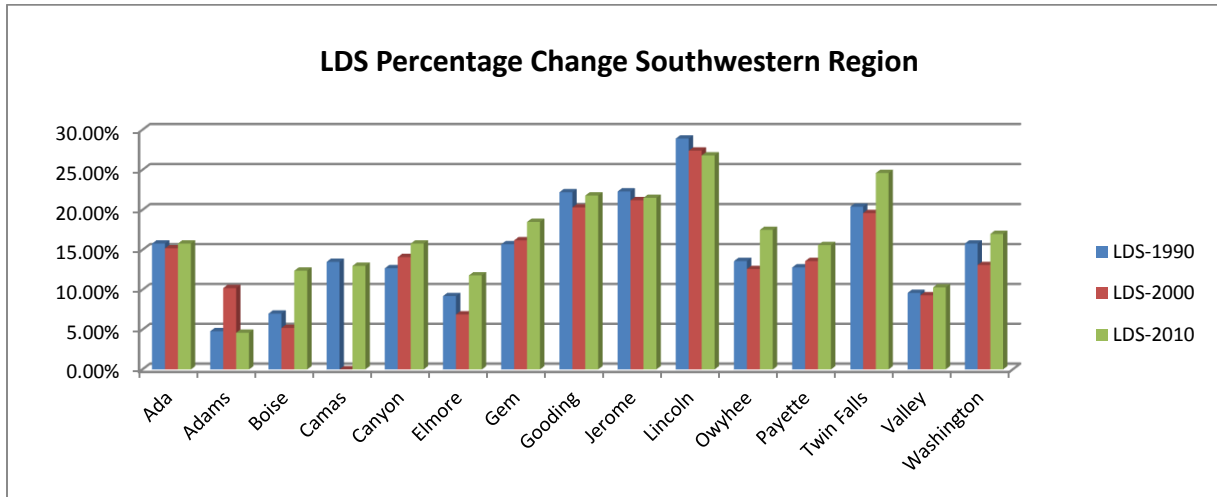


Figure 13 Republican Governor Vote Southwest Region

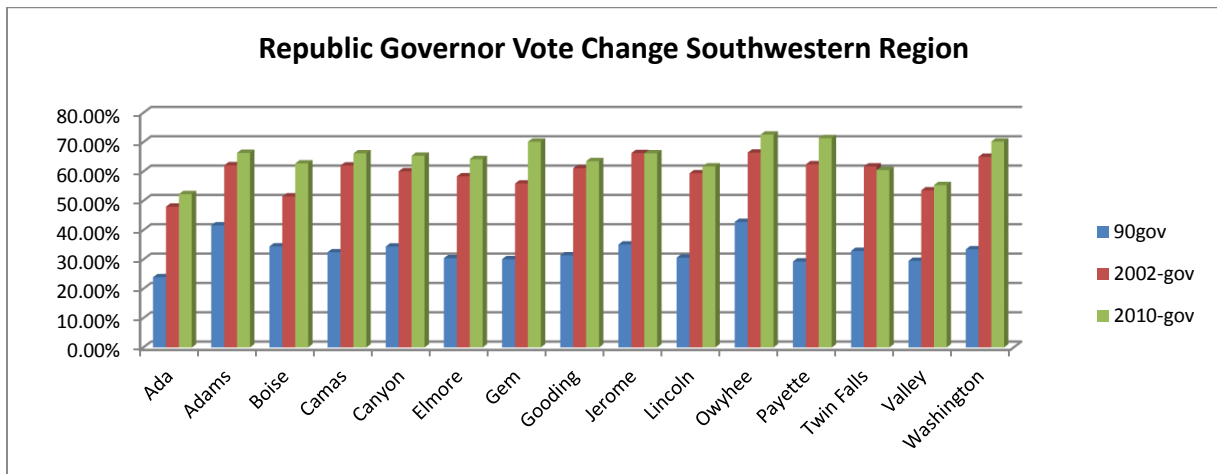


Figure 14 Republican Senate Vote Southwestern Region

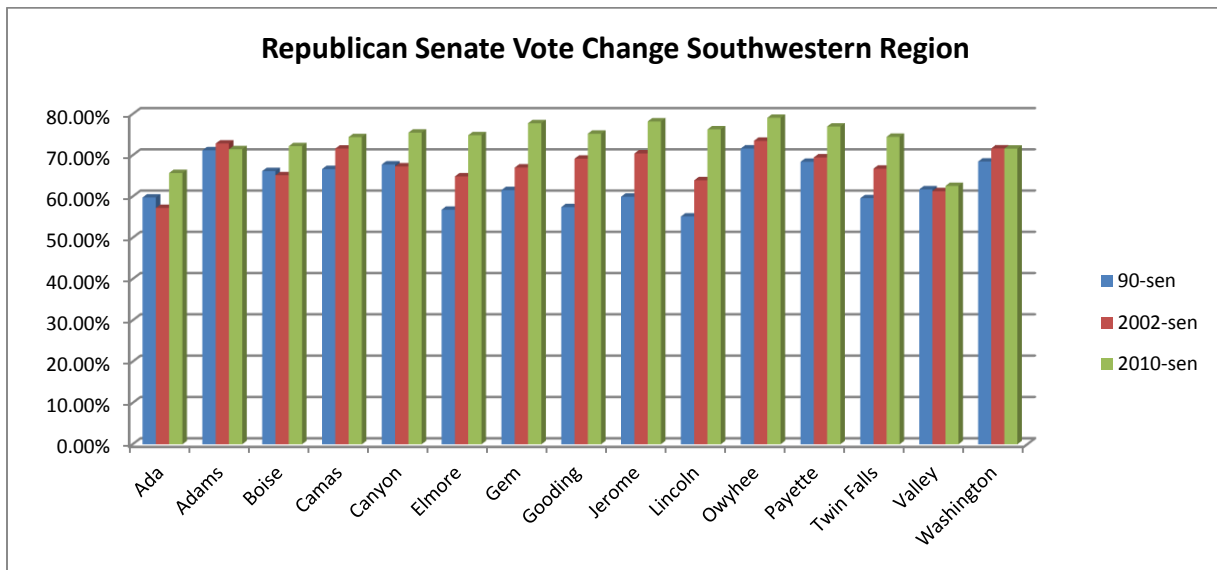
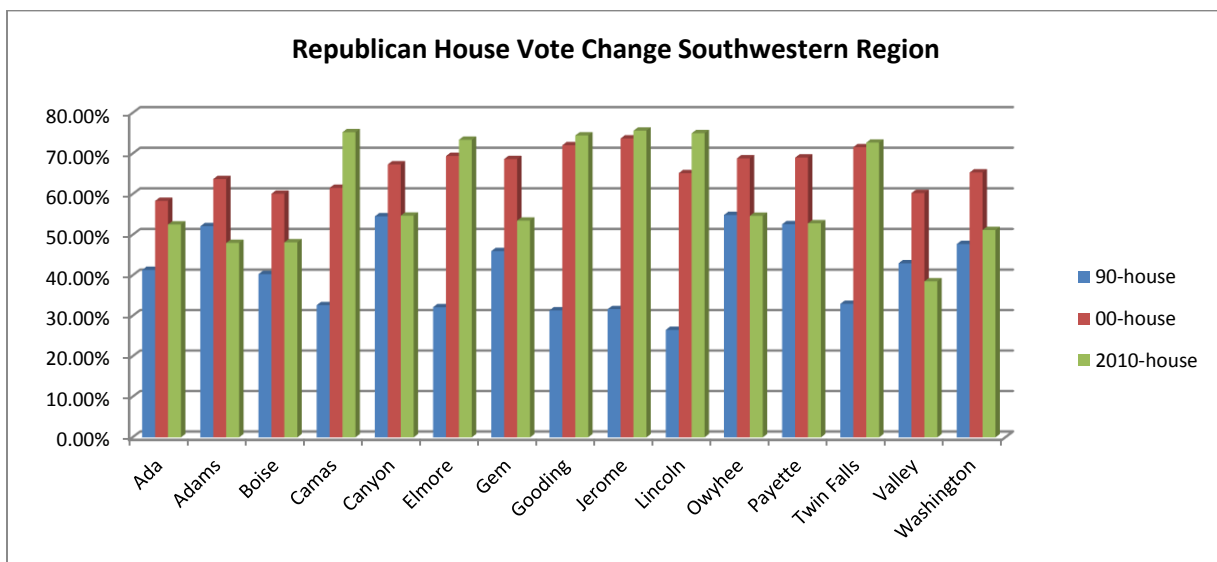


Figure 15 Republican House Vote Southwestern Region



The shift in election results toward the Republican Party cannot have been caused solely by the changes in the LDS population and demographic population changes in the three regions of Idaho.

The economic changes that each of the three regions has experienced from moving from a resource-based to a manufacturing based economy is having some effect as shown in the regression analysis. Again, the shift is not large enough to account for the entire election shift.⁹⁰

With the population growth and migration of people from rural to urban areas, which accrue when the economic base shifted in favor of urban areas over rural areas, one would have expected to see an election shift towards the Democratic Party, not towards the Republican Party.

In Elezar's terms if the original stream of migration held a certain political culture then later newcomers would conform to the prevailing norms rather than marginalizing themselves by adhering to their original personal political cultures. E.g. the original settlers of Boston Massachusetts were English Calvinists with a strong Moralistic orientation but almost 300 years later the original Puritans and their descendants have been displaced by large numbers of people of Irish and Mediterranean ethnicities with Catholicism completely displacing

⁹⁰ Alm, Patton, Weatherby. Burkhart. *"Intrastate Regional Difference in Political Culture": A Case Study Of Idaho.* (State and Local Government Review, 2001), 117.

Calvinism as the predominant religion yet Boston still maintains the Moralistic values of its original settlers. Therefore, the changes in voting behavior cannot be totally accounted for by economic and/or political influences from the growing LDS cultural influence.

The main thesis in the article Intrastate Regional Differences in Political Culture: A Case Study of Idaho by Leslie Alm, and Ross E. : Patton, W. David: Weatherby, James B. Burkhart (hereafter the Alm et al. study) is that "Idaho can be differentiated by regions according to political, economic, and cultural variables".⁹¹ In other words, the political culture and behavior between the three regions could be explained and understood if one understands the "balkanized political cultures"⁹² in Idaho. With this statement, Alm et al. completely disagreed with the theory of Elazar's political streams and Blank's theory of a single political culture.

⁹¹ Alm, Patton, Weatherby. Burkhart. "Intrastate Regional Difference in Political Culture": A Case Study Of Idaho." (*State and Local Government Review*, 2001), 117.

⁹² Alm, Patton, Weatherby. Burkhart. "Intrastate Regional Difference in Political Culture": A Case Study Of Idaho." (*State and Local Government Review*, 2001), 118.

In the study by Alm et al., they found evidence to support a regionalist political culture that divided the state into three regions: the North, the Southeast, and the Southwest.

Alm et al. described the Northern region as being more liberal than the two Southern regions. "The north is economically down-trodden . . . [and] more culturally transitory than the other two regions".⁹³ To support this conclusion they used only the results of the 1996 presidential election. They concluded from this that the voters of the Northern region "were much closer to the national average"⁹⁴ which was less than 50% for the Democratic Party candidate, President Clinton. The Democrats won only three of the 10 counties in the Northern region whereas the Northern regional total was 41.5% for the Republican Party candidate Dole but only 37.09% for the Democratic incumbent.⁹⁵

The unemployment rate and median age were both higher in the Northern region resulting in increasing social welfare rates. According to Alm et al., this "suggests that the Northern

⁹³ Alm, Patton, Weatherby. Burkhart. *"Intrastate Regional Difference in Political Culture": A Case Study Of Idaho.* (State and Local Government Review, 2001), 117.

⁹⁴ Alm, Patton, Weatherby. Burkhart. *"Intrastate Regional Difference in Political Culture": A Case Study Of Idaho.* (State and Local Government Review, 2001), 113.

⁹⁵ <http://www.sos.idaho.gov/elect/eleindex.htm>

voters are more accepting of an increased government role".⁹⁶ This larger government role includes economic, social, and environmental federal governmental policies, such as President Clinton invoking the 1906 Native American Antiquities Act to issue executive orders locking up millions of acres of western lands from economic use or development. Northern loggers and other workers involved in land-based resource economies lost their jobs because of this and similar environmental restrictions imposed during the Clinton era. These are hardly reasons to expect nominally Democrat blue-collar workers to have voted for President Clinton.

Alm et al. used these indicators to support their theory of regionalism, namely, that Idaho's political behavior is determined equally by social, economic, and political culture variables. According to the Alm et al. theory, the state political culture can be seen as just a log drifting on the nation-wide stream of political, social, and economic currents subject to the attraction of any new political, social, or cultural theme without any effect from the influence of Idaho's historical social or political anchor of past generations. Their

⁹⁶ Alm, Patton, Weatherby. Burkhart. "Intrastate Regional Difference in Political Culture": A Case Study Of Idaho." (*State and Local Government Review*, 2001), 113.

thesis and analysis of these issues do not satisfactorily account for the observed shift in the voting pattern in Idaho.

Yet the economic and social Factors in the Alm study and the results of my research presented here can be understood as indicators as to why the Idaho population has shifting to voting the way they do, but only if they are taken into context with Blank's theory of a pioneer political value system. Then the voter shift can be seen as a reaction to federal government policies and actions not in keeping with Idaho's basic political values, of which the LDS stream is a major, but not exclusive, component.

Summary

This research considered three theories to explain the voting shift in Idaho. The first was Elazar's political stream theory. The second was the Blank regional base culture theory and the last was the regionalist theory of Alm et al.

Elazar's political stream theory placed the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons-LDS) into the Moralistic stream. The only reason Elazar did so was that Joseph Smith, the

founder of the LDS church, came from upstate New York, which Elazar counted as one source of the Moralistic stream.⁹⁷

The first error Elazar made was that he did not take into account the historical events leading up to, and after, the great Mormon Exodus from the United States, or the events after the Utah territory was taken over by the United States from Mexico as spoils of their victory in the Mexican-American war (1846-1848). These events shaped the political and social culture of the Mormon people.

The second error by Elazar was that he overlooked the recruitment of new members for the LDS church who did not come from the Northeastern United States, which was the main source of the Moralistic stream. Rather the second wave of converts came mainly from Wales and the industrial areas of England and later waves from all other European countries.

The Mormon culture does not fall within the Moralistic stream nor does it fall within the remaining Individualist or Traditionalistic streams. There is sufficient evidence to place

⁹⁷ Daniel J. Elazar: *Cities on the Prairie The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*. (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 476.

the Mormon culture into its own stream. This is supported by Lieske in his article Regional Subcultures of the United States.

In the demographic make-up of the State of Idaho the majority of the Mormon population resides in the Southeastern region at 57.54% in 1990, 52.31% in 2000, and 55.05% in 2010 of the population. Northern Idaho has a Mormon presence of only 3.87% in 1990, 4.70% in 2000, and 5.70% in 2010 of the population. But Elazar's political stream theory dovetails nicely with Blank's Pioneer values theory. Alm et al. mistakenly used political and social indicators as evidence to support regionalism when these indicators actually show a popular rejection of novel political ideas that are seen as antagonistic to the pioneer values shared by all of the regions of Idaho.

Future Research

This is a lengthy study but far from comprehensive. Due to time limitations I was not able to replicate the survey that Dr. Robert H. Blank conducted and its findings that he reported in his book Regional Diversity of political Values: Idaho Political Culture. If I could replicate this survey and compare the results of my intended survey with his survey in 1972-1974 I daresay we could determine to what extent the Idaho base political culture has changed from the period 1972-1974 when he conducted his survey. This would provide key insights into the political climate within Idaho and identify clues to how the slowly changing political culture would react to the political changes occurring elsewhere in the United States.

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Appendix

Regression Analysis

Table 10 1990 Governor Regression

1990 Governor

Factor 1 = High Productivity Economy

Factor 2 = Idaho Political Values

Factor 3 = Economy Dependent of External Subsidization

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.508 ^a	.258	.240	.07802
2	.580 ^b	.337	.304	.07465

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1

b. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 1 for analysis 1

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	.353	.012		29.968	.000
REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.045	.012	-.508	-3.820	.000
2 (Constant)	.353	.011		31.323	.000
REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.045	.011	-.508	-3.993	.000
REGR Factor score 1 for analysis 1	-.025	.011	-.281	-2.209	.033

a. Dependent Variable: @90repgov

Table 11 1990 Senate Regression

1990 US Senate

Factor 1 = High Productivity Economy

Factor 2 = Idaho Political Values

Factor 3 = Economy Dependent of External Subsidization

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.360 ^a	.129	.109	.07888
2	.504 ^b	.254	.218	.07389

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1

b. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	.602	.012		50.585	.000
REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	.030	.012	.360	2.498	.017
2 (Constant)	.602	.011		54.004	.000
REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	.030	.011	.360	2.666	.011
REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.029	.011	-.354	-2.621	.012

a. Dependent Variable: @90sen

Table 12 1990 House Regression

1990 US House of Representative

Factor 1 = High Productivity Economy

Factor 2 = Idaho Political Values

Factor 3 = Economy Dependent of External Subsidization

Model Summary^c

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.540 ^a	.292	.275	.11107	.292	17.288	1	42	.000
2	.715 ^b	.511	.487	.09343	.219	18.358	1	41	.000

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1

b. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1

c. Dependent Variable: @92house

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	(Constant)	.480	.017		28.683	.000	.447	.514
	REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.070	.017	-.540	-4.158	.000	-.103	-.036
2	(Constant)	.480	.014		34.109	.000	.452	.509
	REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.070	.014	-.540	-4.943	.000	-.098	-.041
	REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	.060	.014	.468	4.285	.000	.032	.089

a. Dependent Variable: @92house

Model Summary^c

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.601 ^a	.361	.346	.10471	.361	23.717	1	42	.000
2	.750 ^b	.562	.541	.08775	.201	18.810	1	41	.000

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1

b. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1

c. Dependent Variable: @94house

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 (Constant)	.650	.016		41.153	.000	.618	.682
REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.077	.016	-.601	-4.870	.000	-.109	-.045
2 (Constant)	.650	.013		49.119	.000	.623	.676
REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.077	.013	-.601	-5.811	.000	-.104	-.050
REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	.057	.013	.448	4.337	.000	.031	.084

a. Dependent Variable: @94house

Table 13 2002 Governor Regression

2002 Governor

Factor 1 = High Productivity Economy

Factor 2 = Idaho Political Values

Factor 3 = Economy Dependent of External Subsidization

Model Summary^d

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.346 ^a	.120	.099	.08747	.120	5.701	1	42	.022
2	.484 ^b	.234	.197	.08258	.114	6.124	1	41	.018
3	.563 ^c	.317	.265	.07897	.083	4.832	1	40	.034

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1

b. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1

c. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 1 for analysis 1

d. Dependent Variable: @2002gov

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
							Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	(Constant)	.602	.013		45.675	.000	.576	.629
	REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	-.032	.013	-.346	-2.388	.022	-.059	-.005
2	(Constant)	.602	.012		48.381	.000	.577	.627
	REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	-.032	.013	-.346	-2.529	.015	-.057	-.006
	REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.031	.013	-.338	-2.475	.018	-.057	-.006
3	(Constant)	.602	.012		50.591	.000	.578	.626
	REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	-.032	.012	-.346	-2.645	.012	-.056	-.008
	REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.031	.012	-.338	-2.588	.013	-.056	-.007
	REGR Factor score 1 for analysis 1	-.026	.012	-.287	-2.198	.034	-.051	-.002

a. Dependent Variable: @2002gov

Table 14 2000 Senate Regression

2000 US Senate

Model Summary^d

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.332 ^a	.110	.089	.08722	.110	5.209	1	42	.028
2	.454 ^b	.206	.167	.08339	.096	4.945	1	41	.032
3	.538 ^c	.290	.236	.07987	.083	4.700	1	40	.036

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1

b. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1

c. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 1 for analysis 1

d. Dependent Variable: @02sen

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized		Standardized	T	Sig.	95.0% Confidence		Correlations			Collinearity	
		Coefficients		Coefficients			Interval for B		Statistics				
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.681	.013		51.782	.000	.654	.707					
	REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.030	.013	-.332	-2.282	.028	-.057	-.004	-.332	-.332	-.332	1.000	1.000
2	(Constant)	.681	.013		54.160	.000	.656	.706					
	REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.030	.013	-.332	-2.387	.022	-.056	-.005	-.332	-.349	-.332	1.000	1.000
	REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	-.028	.013	-.309	-2.224	.032	-.054	-.003	-.309	-.328	-.309	1.000	1.000
3	(Constant)	.681	.012		56.551	.000	.657	.705					
	REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.030	.012	-.332	-2.492	.017	-.055	-.006	-.332	-.367	-.332	1.000	1.000
	REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	-.028	.012	-.309	-2.322	.025	-.053	-.004	-.309	-.345	-.309	1.000	1.000
	REGR Factor score 1 for analysis 1	-.026	.012	-.289	-2.168	.036	-.051	-.002	-.289	-.324	-.289	1.000	1.000

a. Dependent Variable: @02sen

Table 15 2000 House Regression

2000 US House of Representative

Factor 1 = High Productivity Economy

Factor 2 = Idaho Political Values

Factor 3 = Economy Dependent of External Subsidization

Model Summary^c

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.490 ^a	.240	.222	.07592	.240	13.270	1	42	.001
2	.609 ^b	.371	.340	.06991	.131	8.529	1	41	.006

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1

b. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1

c. Dependent Variable: @00house

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 (Constant)	.670	.011		58.509	.000	.647	.693
REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	-.042	.012	-.490	-3.643	.001	-.066	-.019
2 (Constant)	.670	.011		63.537	.000	.648	.691
REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	-.042	.011	-.490	-3.956	.000	-.064	-.021
REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.031	.011	-.362	-2.920	.006	-.053	-.010

a. Dependent Variable: @00house

Table 16 2010 Governor Regression

2010 Governor

Factor 1 = High Employment Economy

Factor 2 = Idaho Political Values

Factor 3 = Traditional Pioneer Economy

Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.344 ^a	.118	.052	.07805	.118	1.788	3	40	.165

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1, REGR Factor score 1 for analysis 1

b. Dependent Variable: @2010Gov

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
			Beta			Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 (Constant)	.621	.012		52.767	.000	.597	.645
REGR Factor score 1 for analysis 1	-.024	.012	-.297	-2.000	.052	-.048	.000
REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	.004	.012	.053	.357	.723	-.020	.028
REGR Factor score 3 for analysis 1	.013	.012	.165	1.113	.272	-.011	.037

a. Dependent Variable: @2010Gov

Table 17 2010 Senate Regression

2010 US Senate

Factor 1 = High Employment Economy

Factor 2 = Idaho Political Values

Factor 3 = Traditional Pioneer Economy

Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.353 ^a	.125	.104	.07868	.125	5.993	1	42	.019

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1

b. Dependent Variable: @2010sen

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 (Constant)	.724	.012		61.049	.000	.700	.748
REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.029	.012	-.353	-2.448	.019	-.054	-.005

a. Dependent Variable: @2010sen

Table 18 2010 House Regression

2010 US House of Representative

Factor 1 = High Employment Economy

Factor 2 = Idaho Cultural Values

Factor 3 = Traditional Pioneer Economy

Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.669 ^a	.447	.434	.10863	.447	34.009	1	42	.000

a. Predictors: (Constant), REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1

b. Dependent Variable: @2010house

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 (Constant)	.620	.016		37.837	.000	.587	.653
REGR Factor score 2 for analysis 1	-.097	.017	-.669	-5.832	.000	-.130	-.063

a. Dependent Variable: @2010house