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# A Letter From the Editor

Welcome to the 2015 edition of *Sigma*. We (myself and the leadership team) thank you for supporting the impressive student scholarship in Brigham Young University's Political Science and International and Area Studies departments. *Sigma* represents a sample of some of the most outstanding papers produced in the past academic year, and we are confident that you will find each paper worthy of recognition and intellectual engagement.

Our journal contains papers from a broad range of political and international topics; some relate to each other in clear ways and others do not. However, at the heart of each paper is a question of how, why, why not, what about, or what if. Our hope is that in publishing these papers, we can magnify and applaud incidents of inquisitive nature that have led to meaningful analysis and new knowledge. *Sigma* serves to prove that anyone can ask questions, and no one need wait until graduation to start answering them.

I am extremely grateful for the wonderful authors, the editing team, and the professors who have helped find, write, and polish these papers. I am also grateful to you, the reader, for giving your time and attention to the works that follow. I hope the journal will be instructive and enjoyable, and that you will find occasion to share what you learn, and spread these powerful voices.

Sincerely,

Kylan Rutherford  
Editor-in-Chief



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# How to Hold on to Hierarchy: Russia and the Near Abroad

by Andrew Jensen

## Introduction

The smoldering wreckage of a commercial airliner in an Eastern Ukraine farm field signified so much more than just hundreds of innocent deaths; the downing was a bloody symbol of just how far Ukraine had fallen. Peace agreements between the rebels and government forged in Minsk in September 2014 and February 2015 failed to stamp out the persistent violence. Not simply a civil war, the rebels had been trained, armed, and assisted by the Russian military. While Russia flatly denied its contribution of men and munitions, few in the West believed the claims. Despite several rounds of sanctions by the EU and the U.S., rockets and bullets continued to take the lives of soldiers and civilians (CSIS 2015). How could peaceful protests against an unpopular president have caused this? Why has Russia persisted in this course of action? Considering the precipitous decline of the domestic economy exacerbated by the sanctions, Russia seems to be paying a high cost for its actions. In addition, encouraging instability on its border seems contrary to Moscow's security interest. So what is the Kremlin gaining with its war in Ukraine?

Of course, the conflict extends well beyond the borders of the Ukraine. The Ukrainian war must be understood in the larger context of Russian and European foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. One major consequence of the crisis was the Russian annexation of Crimea in the summer of 2014. This unauthorized seizure of territory threatens the international system wherein nation-states possess ultimate sovereignty over their borders (Lake 8–9). However, it appears unlikely that Russia will return control of the peninsula back to Ukraine despite the loss of international prestige and the heavy sanctions imposed by the EU and United States. Instead, Moscow has maintained the threat of further annexation and military involvement. East-

ern European nations, particularly former Soviet nations, rightly fear they may be the next victims of Russian aggression (Oliker et al., 2009, 110). Thus, the Ukrainian conflict is both a European conflict and a threat to the international system. The war between sovereign states and territories seeking self-determination includes not only Kiev and Donetsk but also Chisinau, Transnistria, Tbilisi, and South Ossetia.

In Ukraine, Russia is pursuing a familiar strategy to retain control of its former subordinate, while blunting perceived Western encroachment. Under the doctrine of the Near Abroad, as first laid out by Boris Yeltsin, Russia has attempted to construct and maintain hierarchal relationships with its neighbors. Putin has intensified this policy while seeking to “regain predominant influence in the Baltic states and Eastern Europe, as well as over Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova and the rest of what Russians call their ‘Near Abroad’” (Kagan 2008). Viewed this way, the Ukrainian conflict is no aberration but rather a dramatic manifestation of the coercive force used to compel subordinate states to abide by the terms of explicit or implicit hierarchal contracts. In fact, the specific tactic used against Ukraine (creating breakaway provinces by encouraging domestic divisions and giving extensive military assistance to the opposition) has been used by Moscow on various occasions to preempt its subordinates from inking deals with Western institutions. The 2008 war with Georgia over South Ossetia and Abkhazia and the conflict in Moldova over Transnistria both bear striking resemblances to the current violence in Donetsk.

This paper will carefully evaluate the effectiveness of David Lake’s theory of hierarchy in international relations in explaining these conflicts. It will establish the commonalities between the current conflict in Ukraine, the 2008 war in Georgia, and the Transnistria question in Moldova. In each case, it will determine whether a legitimate contract existed between Russia and the country in question prior to military intervention, whether the nation was attempting to violate the terms of that contract, and whether the military action prevented or attempted to prevent the country from leaving the contract with Russia.

## **Theory**

David Lake’s theory of hierarchy is primarily a challenge to the foundational idea of anarchy that forms the basis of the Westphalian international system (Lake 3–4). Rather than nations existing as entities of equal legitimacy and authority, a hierarchal view proposes that bilateral relations are often unequal and that this inequality is sometimes legitimized by the consent of both parties. Adapting realism, this hierarchy theory sees “authority as a form of international power, coequal with and perhaps even more important than coercion” (Lake XI). Subordinates grant dominant states some of their sovereignty in either economic or security affairs. The subordinate state may hope to gain economic stability, as in the case of dollarization in Panama and Zimbabwe, or security such as in the case of Western Europe during the Cold War (52–6). In return, the dominant nation gains additional prestige by imposing and protecting both domestic and foreign interests (8–9). Although the costs of establish-

ing and maintaining these relationships can often be high for dominant nations, their existence suggests that dominant states find the costs worth the reward.

As opposed to realism, the hierarchy theory does not interpret Russia's aggressions in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus as coercion. Rather than military involvement in an equal partner against its will, hierarchy theorizes that these wars are a form of discipline. Discipline, unlike coercion, carries with it legitimacy from the implicit agreement between the nations and, like coercion, can be exhibited in many forms. It is important to recognize that the subordinate rarely welcomes discipline and will likely resist it. The discipline and, by extension, the relationship can continue to have legitimacy if the community to which these nations belong also approves. This community may be as large as the UN or as small as a few neighboring states, but regardless of the size of the community, discipline is legitimized by international acceptance. Furthermore, it is crucial to note that military intervention is only one of the many forms of discipline (Lake 13).

To evaluate the effectiveness of the hierarchy theory in explaining Russia's wars, a few factors must be determined. First, a hierarchal relationship must have existed prior to the beginning of the disciplinary action. Thus, Russia must have assumed some authority or decision-making power over economic or security concerns within the subordinate country. This assumption of sovereignty must result in some demonstrable benefit for each country. Ideally, a formal agreement or treaty will have formalized this special relationship. Meeting these requirements will indicate that a hierarchal relationship existed prior to Russia's military interventions.

Second, in order for intervention to be identified as discipline, the subordinate must have attempted to violate the implicit or explicit terms of the authoritative agreement with the dominant state. In these specific cases, it appears that the subordinate nations attempted to replace Russia (or Russian-dominated international organizations, such as the Commonwealth of Independent States) as the dominant nation with another nation or organization of nations, specifically the EU or NATO (Donaldson 2000; Alison 2013, 121–22). The subordinate state will likely have attempted to replace some of the sovereignty previously enjoyed by Russia with respect to economic or security policy. Likely this means bilateral agreements with either a Western body that moves the subordinate nation closer to economic integration with the EU or security cooperation with NATO. In addition to public steps toward Western integration, the subordinate state may withdraw itself from prior agreements with Russia, limiting Russia's control of sovereignty (Oliker et al., 106–08).

Next, Russia must have taken concrete and punitive steps in order to punish disobedience. These actions must have the express purpose of punishing the subordinate nation by constricting important economic activity or by threatening the nation's national security, with the hope that the actions will prevent the shift of the subordinate nation to the influence of another dominant power (Lake 112–13). This strategy is effective in preventing EU accession of subordinate countries, because

it “is not willing to import possible security conflicts which may arise due to contested borders or territorial disputes between new member states and their eastern neighbours” (Arnswald 2000, 135). Unfortunately, Russia’s military and political leaders are unlikely to describe the genuine geopolitical reasons for its action. While difficult to precisely measure the motivations of the leaders of Russia in choosing military intervention due to a lack of transparency, it can be assumed that military action taken immediately after a major alignment shift by the subordinate was caused by a threat to the hierarchal relationship. Thus, establishing a timeline of events may approximate a causal chain leading to the beginning of war.

Finally, having established that a hierarchal relationship existed and that disciplinary action was taken with the aim of maintaining the status quo of the relationship, the results of the intervention will be evaluated. Understanding whether military action contributes to the success of Russia’s neighborhood policy in Eurasia may give insight to how Moscow intends to proceed in coming decades. If an aggressive geopolitical policy allows Russia to prevent Western hierarchal dominance, then it is likely that Putin and his successors will continue to resist integration and continue in a course of belligerence. On the other hand, the general failure of the policy to prevent realignment does not bode well for continuing violence and intimidation. The policy will be considered successful if the subordinate was frustrated in its attempt to draw closer to the West.

If the conflicts in Transnistria, Ukraine, or Georgia fail to meet the criteria of a hierarchal relationship with Moscow as the dominant state, the attempted violation of the terms of this contract by the subordinate state, and discipline by Russia intended to maintain hierarchy, then the causal link cannot hold and hierarchy theory will lack internal validity. For instance, if Russia intervened militarily when the subordinate had not attempted a shift to the West by seeking membership in Western institutions or if the subordinate state had never entered into any semblance of an agreement with Russia, the theory would not apply.

### **Case Selection**

Russia has or has attempted to have hierarchal relationships with many of its neighbors, especially with former members of the USSR (Oliker et al., 93–4). The Near Abroad policy pursued so aggressively by Moscow is received in degrees among the intended subordinate states. Some, particularly the Baltic States and the former Warsaw Pact members, fully integrated with the West after the dissolution of the Soviet Union; as they are current members of the EU and NATO, Russian military intervention appears unlikely (Allison 2013, 18–183). Thus, nations that rapidly integrated with the West are poor candidates to examine Russian influence. Other nations, such as Armenia and Belarus, have consistently followed and accepted Russian leadership and domination (Oliker et al., 93–9). They act in accordance with Moscow’s wishes and are, therefore, poor candidates to examine hierarchical discipline. Nations that have attempted to integrate with the West against Moscow’s wishes

are the best candidates to study. “Neighborhood wars” in Nagoro-Karabakh and Chechnya will not be considered despite Russian involvement, because they were domestic in nature and were not conducted in order to escape Russian dominance (Croissant 1998; Zürcher 2007, 70, 157). The first is a conflict primarily between two Russian subordinates and the second is domestic in nature and was not conducted against a subordinate.

This paper will study three cases to evaluate how well the hierarchy theory explains Russian intervention. The first is the Moldovan conflict in Transnistria (also Trans-dniestr) beginning in 1992. The second case is the 2008 war in Georgia over the provinces of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. While not the first war over these provinces since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, this conflict is distinguished by the size of the Russian invasion as well as the explicit anti-Western motivations (Zürcher 97–8). Finally, the war in Eastern Ukraine will be evaluated to the extent possible given the recent nature of the violence.

### **Moldova**

Moldova is a nation between nations. Formerly known as Bessarabia, it was annexed by the USSR in 1944 after the Red Army displaced Romanian troops. Shortly thereafter, the Moldovan SSR was created from the Romanian Bessarabia and several other Russian and Ukrainian counties (Roper in Bahcheli, Bartmann, and Srebrnik 2004, 103–04), thus, diluting the Romanian majority in culture and language. As a part of Bessarabia, many Moldovans feel pulled inexorably toward Romania (Dima 157). Their influence was countered by the politically favored Russian minority that benefited from the Russian language and a strong relationship with Moscow. These two competing views of the ethnic and cultural foundation of Moldova provided a foundation for the future conflict in Transnistria (Roper in Bahcheli, Bartmann, and Srebrnik 2004, 102–03).

Like most SSRs, Moldova moved toward independence and democracy in the late 80s as the formation of informal discussion groups led to formal political parties. The Christian Democratic Popular Front (FPCD) advocated democracy and a return to the Romanian language and culture and, along with its allies, won 66 percent of the vote in the last Supreme Soviet election in 1990 (Roper in Bahcheli, Bartmann, and Srebrnik 107). The year before, Moldovan (a variant of Romanian) was declared to be the official language of the republic, replacing Russian, which had served as the unofficial language (Dima 158). During this time of political upheaval, the larger implications of the resurgence in Romanian identity were expressed by Iurie Rosca, leader of the FPCD parliamentary bloc, when he stated, “Moldova will unify with Romania—it is inevitable. We need time for Russia to lose power in Moldova. People do not remember what it is like to be part of Romania” (Roper in Bahcheli, Bartmann, and Srebrnik 107). Moldova’s new government made independence official in August 1991 and pursued a policy of reunification with Romania.

The revival of old identities threatened Russians in Moscow and Moldova alike. In Transnistria, which had never been part of Bessarabia or Romania, the majority were Russian, Ukrainian, or Bulgarian and feared the Moldovan speaking majority that had replaced them as the political elite. Almost immediately following the election of the FPCD, elites in Tiraspol and other cities of Transnistria refused to recognize the new government. A referendum in January 1990 registered overwhelming support for territorial autonomy, and in September, the Transnistria Moldovan SSR was formed. Following Moldovan independence in August, Transnistria formerly declared independence on the second of September and began to prepare for the inevitable military conflict (Roper in Bahcheli, Bartmann, and Srebrnik 106–08).

Boris Yeltsin's newly endorsed policy regarding the Near Abroad compounded the domestic issues of ethnic and linguistic identity (Donaldson 2000). Of this policy, Nicolas Dima stated, "The initial post-Soviet doctrine, the Near Abroad, referred to vital interests in the former Soviet republics and claimed Moscow's right to intervene throughout this region. . . . Large amounts of money were spent and great efforts were made to keep Moldova under Russian control" (Dima 2001, 158). The conflict between Romanians and Russians became a proxy test of the hierarchal relationship of the former SSRs as a whole. David Lake wrote that

Like rules within countries, dominant states will, therefore, be very likely to punish and make an example out of any subordinate that renounces their authority, not only in an effort to regain their dominance over that individual (or set of individuals), but also to deter further challenges by others . . . The failure to stand up to defiance—or worse, to condone it, even implicitly—threatens the collective's agreement on the rights of the ruler and their individual duties. (Lake 114)

As a part of the Soviet Union, Chisinau had previously taken political and economic direction from Moscow; furthermore, reunification with Romania presented a greater threat to continued Russian domination among its former republics than mere independence. Russia exercised considerable sovereignty in the Moldovan economy and kept nearly 70,000 soldiers stationed in Moldova as a part of the 14th Army. Garrisoned in Transnistria, the army remained as the Soviet Union dissolved and was transferred to the control of CIS (Roper in Bahcheli, Bartmann, and Srebrnik 108). Though Moscow relinquished nominal control of Moldova, conservatives in the government wished to preserve the status quo of Russian domination. The army allowed these conservatives to exert a massive influence on the conflict and ensured the sovereignty of Moldova remained an open question.

As Transnistria prepared for the inevitable Moldovan response to its separatist actions in late 1991 and early 1992, the new government (including the Russian military leadership) appointed the commanding 14th Army general to the position of defense minister. In March, Moldova declared a state of emergency and began an attempt to disarm the paramilitary groups in the breakaway region. Violence erupted immediately and did not subside until June when the 14th Army took control of the

last police station loyal to the Moldovan government. Recognizing their overwhelming disadvantage in men and material, Moldova signed a ceasefire agreement with Russia and Transnistria in July. The war ended leaving more than a thousand dead and immeasurable damage to the national psyche (Roper in Bahcheli, Bartmann, and Srebrnik 109, Kosienkowski and Schreiber 2012, 267). Agreements signed in 1994 and 1996 included guarantees of noninterference by Moldova in Transnistria and provisions for peacekeepers (Roper in Bahcheli, Bartmann, and Srebrnik 112). In addition, Moscow currently stations soldiers in Moldova, thereby maintaining security hierarchy.

The political consequences of the conflict have dramatically altered the course of Moldova, preventing the Popular Front's intended reunification with Romania in at least two ways. The FPCD, and by extension the policy of reunification, fell out of favor with the public who blamed the party for hawkish rhetoric that incited the war. By 1994, it lost its absolute majority to the Democratic Agrarian Party (PDA) thus indicating that "only a small minority of the Moldovan population embraced the pro-Romanian, anti-state position of the FPCD" (Roper in Bahcheli, Bartmann, and Srebrnik 111). By this time, the idea of Moldovan statehood had become entrenched within the public, while support for reunification had evaporated. In addition, the unresolved issue of Transnistria made Moldova an unattractive candidate for annexation by Romania. For their part, the Romanians were not eager for additional conflict with Russia or further impediments to their goal of unification with Europe (Kosienkowski and Schreiber, 159–60).

Of course, even if Moldova could have joined Romania, the lack of authority over its claimed borders created an insurmountable obstacle, the EU is hesitant to accept a member without sovereignty over its borders (Arnswald 153). The EU leadership considers Transnistria a "deeply criminalized territory and source of festering soft security challenges" (Allison, Light, and White 2006, 86–7). For this reason, the EU will not offer Moldova full membership fearing that accession would lead to the similar results within Cyprus, which the EU misguidedly hoped would reunify upon receiving membership in 2004 (Bahcheli in Bahcheli, Bartmann, and Srebrnik 2004, 175–78). Having a member nation with sovereignty limited by separatist factions challenges the extent of the sovereignty of the EU: How could the EU claim sovereignty over territory its member-state does not control? The Cyprus experience soured the EU's willingness to consider membership for nations with unresolved sovereignty, including Moldova.

Despite these challenges, Moldova desperately desires the economic incentives and market access that accompany membership in the EU (Munteanu 2013). Since its first agreement in 1994, Moldova has signed a series of treaties and bilateral agreements signaling its desire to join the EU. The EU has attempted to engage Moldova and has included it in the Polish-led Eastern Partnership. Russia has responded with strong disciplinary tactics. For example, in 2006, Russia embargoed Moldovan wine. In 2013, Russia placed an embargo on Moldovan produce as Moldova considered

signing an Association Agreement (AA) with the EU, an important step to accession. Ironically, these sanctions forced Moldova to expand trade with the EU and improve the quality of its products, thus, reducing Moldovan dependence on Russian markets (Kosienkowski and Schreiber 2012, 185).

Unlike the EU, Russia has been resistant to resolutions that freeze the status of Transnistria and has been adamantly against Moldovan accession to NATO. Moscow fears that reunification will reduce its leverage in Moldova: “The Russian government, for example, might not accept willingly or gracefully the settlement of conflicts that have given Russia leverage with its neighbors. Russia’s initial reaction to the notion of an EU-led peace support operation in Moldova was barely lukewarm” (Lynch 2004, 126–27). In addition, Moscow feared the larger implications of NATO expansion. “Russian officials have set themselves against ‘NATO’s mandate being extend to the Black Sea through an expansion of its Active Endeavour naval operation in 2006 . . . They look warily at Moldova’s proposal in June 2005 for a shift from PfP cooperation to the deeper relationship represented by an Individual Partner Plan (IPAP) and resent President Voronin’s request for NATO political support to achieve withdrawal of Russian troops from Moldova” (Allison, Light, and White 2006, 120–21).

No matter how close Moldova draws to the West, it will be denied entrance into the most important European organizations as long as Transnistria claims sovereignty. Furthermore, Russia demands constitutional neutrality and promises it will not join NATO as preconditions for the return of an autonomous Transnistria (Kosienkowski and Schreiber, 192). Although Moldova desires to leave the Russian sphere of influence and join Romania (its sister state) as a member of the EU, Russian military leverage, along with near-total dependence on Gazprom gas, allows Russia to dictate and limit Moldovan foreign policy. Russia still sees Moldova as its subordinate and continues to search for ways to prevent Moldova from ending their hierarchal relationship.

## **Georgia**

The August War, as the 2008 invasion of Georgia by Russia came to be known, is strikingly similar to the conflict in Transnistria. It began with attempts to defend an ethnic minority from the supposed abuses of their current nation and ended in decisive victory for Moscow. Perhaps most importantly, it prevented the accession of the invaded state to NATO and the EU. However, Georgia surpasses Moldova in the scale and duration of the conflict as well as international intention. Its history reads like a classic Greek tragedy: Georgia, the protagonist, began a noble quest to Westernize and could not complete the initiative, not because of a lack of will but due to its unfortunate location between Russia and the West.

Georgia joined the Soviet Union in 1921 after a brief experiment with democracy. The homeland of Joseph Stalin, Georgia prospered and became the wealthiest SSR. As the winds of independence swept across Eastern Europe, Georgian elites demanded independence and democracy and, in 1991, achieved both. Like in Moldova, the

euphoria of “Georgia for the Georgians” caused non-Georgian ethnic groups to fear domination (Cornell and Starr 2009, 16–8). The provinces of South Ossetia, Adjara, and Abkhazia called for autonomy. The brash new government pushed against these calls and in 1992 invaded Abkhazia killing thousands. Russian and Chechen soldiers poured across the border and pushed Georgian troops back. The initial humiliation of this defeat was compounded by the terms of the peace agreement, which mandated that Georgia join the CIS and the Collective Security Treaty, Russia’s new answer to NATO. In addition, four Russian bases opened on Georgian soil and Russian peacekeepers patrolled autonomous South Ossetia and Abkhazia (22–7, 35).

This first, smaller, conflict established Russia’s domination over Georgian security. Russia acted boldly, twice attempting to murder President Edward Shevardnadze. Georgia was furious about Russia’s control, which was formalized and legitimized through the various agreements that Georgia had been forced to sign. In the late 90s, while Moscow was fixated on its war in Chechnya, Georgia began to resist Russia’s pull and turned westward. The frustrations with corruption in its own government and with Russia’s demeaning policies boiled over in 2003’s Rose Revolution, the inspiration for Ukraine’s Orange Revolution. This popular protest, which demanded better democratic institutions and a new leadership, began as massive demonstrations and ended in the election of a new pro-Western government. Under the new leadership of President Mikheil Saakashvili and with a popular mandate, Georgia began to enact reforms that would qualify it for membership in both the EU and NATO (Gahton 2010, 125–31).

Russia feared Georgia would join the ranks of formerly subordinate Baltic States that had joined the security umbrella of NATO and began to actively prepare for war against Georgia (Cornell and Starr 54–5). Moscow replaced South Ossetia’s leaders with more aggressive and pro-Russia officials and ratcheted the level of military aid well above Georgia’s own capabilities. Between sabotaging the power grid and boycotting Georgian wine and other products, Russia continuously attempted to discipline Georgia. Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov declared in April 2008 that Russia “would do its utmost not to allow Georgia and Ukraine into NATO” (Cornell and Starr 127).

Ultimately, Russia’s trump card was the breakaway regions. As in Moldova, Georgia’s eligibility for the EU and NATO hinged on these issues. In April 2008, Angela Merkel stated that countries with unresolved territorial questions would be unable to join NATO (Cornell and Starr 126). As long as Russia could prevent a permanent resolution to Georgia’s sovereignty, it would dominate the entire Caucasus region. Thus, Georgia and Russia’s 2005 agreement that Russia would vacate its Georgian bases by the end of 2008 threatened the security status quo and gave Tbilisi an advantage in regaining control of the separatist regions (Oliker et al., 101–02). To prevent the possible reunification of Georgia and possible entrance into European institutions, Russia intended to decimate Georgia’s capacity to retake sovereignty in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, thereby ensuring their place in international limbo.

Following years of training separatist forces and constructing an adequate invasion infrastructure, Russia began the war slowly in June 2008 with the downing of drones. With large-scale military maneuvers on the northern border throughout the summer, Russia signaled its readiness to attack. Finally, on the seventh of August, Russian battalions crossed the border and poured into South Ossetia. Recognizing the commencement of war, Tbilisi ordered Georgia's armies to enter and occupy South Ossetia. Despite initial Georgian resistance, the invaders were too many and too well equipped. Russian forces occupied most of the country by the time of the cease-fire on the twelfth of August (Cornell and Starr 168–80; Gahrton 176–80).

Russia was successful in its main objective to punish Georgia in three ways. First, Russia degraded Georgia's security sovereignty and made it unable to resist Russian intervention. Following the cease-fire, Russia acted with impunity as peacekeepers. Russia dismantled as much of Georgia's military apparatus as possible, carrying away large amounts of Western technology in the process. Without munitions and materiel, Georgia was far less equipped to resist future Russian intervention to say nothing of intervention in the breakaway provinces (Gahrton 179–83; Cornell and Starr 177).

Second, Russia diminished the international credibility of the Georgian regime through an information war that was as aggressive as the ground offensive (Cornell and Starr 181–82). In preparation for its offensive, Russia brought at least fifty Russian journalists to the front, just days before the commencement of hostilities (183–84). These journalists presented a unified message of unprovoked Georgian aggression and ethnic cleansing against autonomous South Ossetia as the impetus for Russian intervention. Simultaneously, Russia limited Georgia's ability to provide a competing narrative both by beginning the assault unannounced and by destroying cable and telephone lines with the West (186). Initially much of Western media, relying on Russian reports, found fault with Saakashvili as an overreaching despot trying to reclaim territory by violence. This portrayal damaged much of the credibility Georgia and Saakashvili had gained in the aftermath of the Rose Revolution (Gahrton 151). In the months following the invasion, Russian accusations of genocide were debunked, though ambiguity remained over which army entered South Ossetia first (a widely read 2009 EU report assigned blame to Georgia). Despite continued Western support, Georgia was no longer considered the beacon of freedom it had been just three years earlier, due to lingering doubts among some about Georgia's actions before and during the war (Gahrton 190). Thus, Russia facilitated damage to Georgia's international reputation among European organizations while simultaneously damaging its own (Cornell and Starr 181–95).

This loss in military capability and international prestige contributed to the Russian objective of preventing Georgia from replacing Russia as its dominant partner. As Russian military analyst Pavel Felgenhauer noted, "The main task of the Russian invasion was to bring about state failure and fully destroy the Geor-

gian army and centralized police force. A failed Georgian state, torn apart by political rivalry and regional warlords, cannot ever become a NATO member and could be easier to control from Moscow” (Cornell and Starr 177). Georgia was left in an insecure and economically compromised state and became even less attractive for immediate accession to EU and NATO membership. Publically, the U.S. and, to a lesser degree, Europe promised military aid and future NATO accession; however, without firm deadlines, Georgia’s membership seems distant. James Sherr wrote that as a result of the August War “Russia was far stronger in the region than it was in 2006. For the foreseeable future, NATO enlargement is dead in the water” (Cornell and Starr 215). Russia denied Georgia alternative partners for a hierarchal relationship for the near future.

In Georgia, Russia followed the familiar tactics in order to keep Georgia within a hierarchal relationship. It used troops—both regular soldiers and peacekeepers—on Georgia sovereign soil to maintain security sovereignty. Georgia attempted to leave this arrangement by negotiating the closure of Russian bases and by applying for NATO membership. To discipline its often-wayward subordinate, Russia used sanctions and sabotage, propaganda and planes, and intimidation and invasion. All these actions had the effect of preventing Georgia from fulfilling its European inclinations and reinforcing the ambiguous autonomous status of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

## **Ukraine**

Having examined two cases of Russian discipline against its subordinates, the war in Ukraine no longer appears surprising. Like other post-Soviet nations, Ukraine is caught in a crisis of identity. Suspended between the West and East, Ukraine has swung between its dual European and Eurasian identities (Plokhly 2008; Velychenko 2007). Only in the past year has this search for Ukraine’s future turned violent, and the violence refuses to be quenched by cease-fire agreements and promises. The rebels gained ground, Ukraine teetered on economic collapse, and the casualty count grew (CSIS 2015). As opposed to the other cases, the ongoing nature of the war prevents establishing a complete picture. It may not be clear for years (if ever), the extent to which Russia has financed and instigated this war. However, what is clear is that Russia has been instrumental in organizing and maintaining the separatists, all while using familiar tactics and justifications for familiar reasons. There is doubt that the eventual fallout—breakaway states and lingering questions of sovereignty—will also be familiar.

Ukraine’s identity is linked tighter to Russia than either Georgia or Moldova. Ukrainians are often referred to in Soviet and Russian media as little Russians, and Russian plays a major linguistic and cultural role in Ukraine (Velychenko 1–5). Furthermore, Ukraine, after Russia, possesses the largest population and economy of the nations of the former Soviet Union, while its position on the Black Sea and its border with Russia makes it strategically important for Moscow. Unlike other formerly Soviet states, Ukraine experienced no serious ethnic conflicts following its indepen-

dence in 1991. Instead, it remained a close ally of Russia, and the West paid it little attention until the 2004 Orange Revolution (inspired by Georgia's similarly named Rose Revolution) brought a pro-Western government into power (Allison 133). The newly elected President Viktor Yushchenko emphasized themes similar to political and economic reform, similar to those espoused by Georgia's President Saakashvili (134). These reformers preached the European identity of Ukraine and sought integration with the EU and NATO.

The Orange Revolution (and the strengthening of relationships with the West that it represented) threatened Russia's special relationship with this subordinate. The souring of the Russian-Ukrainian relationship was summarized in a release by the Russian Information and Press Department:

Yet a radical new expansion of NATO may bring about a serious military-political shift that will inevitably affect the security interests of Russia . . . Ukraine's likely integration into NATO will seriously complicate the many-sided Russian-Ukrainian relations . . . One has the impression that the present Ukrainian leadership regards rapprochement with NATO largely as an alternative to good-neighborly ties with Russian Federation. (Kropatcheva 2010, 72)

Tensions increased between Moscow and Kiev culminating in the gas crisis of 2008–09. Russia, emboldened by a global economic crisis and its crushing victory in that summer's war in Georgia, demanded that Ukraine pay massive price increases in natural gas. Gazprom cut off gas supplies on 1 January 2009, when Yushchenko's government refused to pay the new prices, beginning a major international crisis (Kramer 2009). Ukraine suffered serious economic losses and Southern Europe was deprived of gas until finally on the twentieth of January, Moscow and Kiev negotiated a new contract. President Putin admitted that the gas crisis stemmed from the Orange Revolution declaring that, "This cannot be tolerated" (Kosienkowski and Schreiber 2012, 186). While unclear which side was primarily responsible for the crisis, the dispute clearly demonstrated Russia's economic of leverage over Ukraine.

The pro-Western movement suffered another tremendous blow when 2010 elections brought pro-Russia Yanukovich to power (besting the coalition beat that of Yulia Tymoshenko, the prime minister of the former administration). Tymoshenko, who supported accession to both the NATO and EU while opposing the proposed Eurasia Union, was arrested and convicted of abusing public power in 2011 (Kramer 2011). By jailing the lead opposition voice (citing her signature of the 2009 deal that ended the gas crisis) Yanukovich revealed his authoritarian leanings and pro-Russia stance (Economist 2012). The pro-West opposition frustrations boiled-over in 2013, when Yanukovich scuttled negotiations for a long anticipated Association Agreement with the EU, opting instead for a massive aid deal with Russia. The prosecution of Tymoshenko sparked massive protests, and the rejection of the Association Agreement intensified protester resolve to remove Yanukovich from office (CSIS 2015).

Escalation on both sides led to dramatic violence in Kiev forcing Yanukovich to flee the country in late February. The opposition's euphoria over his impeachment was short-lived, as rumors of a renewed autonomy movement in Crimea surfaced in early March. Mysterious militants with no identifying insignia took control of major strategic points across the peninsula. By the end of March, Crimea's parliament staged a referendum in which 97 percent of population supported annexation by Russia; shortly thereafter, masked Russian soldiers completely took control of the peninsula (Yurchak 2014). The conflict spread in early April to the western Russian-speaking provinces of Donetsk and Luhansk. Supplied with Russian arms and Russian soldiers, separatists claimed autonomy for their regions and pushed government troops eastward. Meanwhile, massive Russian military exercises brought tens of thousands of soldiers to Ukraine's western border. This aggressive action conjured memories of the 2008 war in Georgia, and the Ukrainian government feared an imminent invasion. The perils of Russian-armed rebels was driven home by the seventeenth of July downing of a civilian airliner by separatists using Russian anti-aircraft missiles. Despite international outrage, thousands of Russian soldiers entered Donetsk to prevent a successful government counteroffensive in the late summer (CSIS 2015).

Partly due to the international furor and increasingly punitive sanctions from the EU and U.S., Russia withdrew its soldiers; in September a ceasefire agreement was signed in Minsk. The first Minsk agreement tenuously held for two months and failed to prevent hundreds of deaths. In October, the rebels resumed the violence and were successful in pushing the Kiev government back further. The second Minsk agreement in February 2015 proved more successful in staunching the violence. While the fighting had subsided—though it had not stopped at the time of this writing—the international situation of Donetsk, Luhansk, and Crimea remained unresolved. Russia has shown no inclination to withdraw from Crimea or cease its support of Donetsk or Luhansk. Instead, these provinces appear to be destined for the same limbo as Transnistria, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia (CSIS 2015).

While an \$18 million IMF loan and EU and U.S. sanctions against Russia illustrate Western solidarity with Ukraine, Russia has frustrated Ukrainian aspirations to join Western organizations (CSIS 2015). The member states of NATO and the EU are not willing to risk war by letting a country in deep financial struggles and a compromised security apparatus join their ranks. Russia on the other hand, has proven it is willing to risk its international reputation, endure severe sanctions, and go to war in order to maintain Ukraine as a buffer state. By creating an unstable situation of questioned sovereignty in Ukraine, Russia has condemned it to the same status as Georgia and Moldova—an outsider, looking in on the EU.

Ukraine and Russia once enjoyed a special relationship. As recently as December 2013, Russia extended massive amounts of credit and gas discounts (CSIS 2015). When large portions of the country rejected this hierarchical relationship in favor of another, Russia began to discipline, first by annexing Crimea, then by creating linger-

ing instability. Given Ukraine's unwillingness to respond to the discipline and cave to Russian demands, Moscow may have ensured that Ukraine will never be willing to return to its former status. As long as the government in Kiev does not fully control its own territory, Ukraine's sovereignty will be in question, and it will be unable to fully realize its dreams of membership in the EU and NATO (Economist 2015).

## **Conclusion**

This paper seeks to answer whether the hierarchy theory can adequately explain war-marred relationships between Russia and other former Soviet Republics. While the fog of war obscures each case, Russia's relationships and wars appear to fit the descriptions of hierarchy and discipline, respectively. In each of the three countries, Russia maintained soldiers prior to the conflicts, signifying some amount of control over security sovereignty. Furthermore, Russia owned large portions of capital and, therefore, had an economic interest in each nation. Also, Russia exercised a high amount of political influence in domestic politics by encouraging, supporting, and funding pro-Russian candidates while discouraging pro-Western politicians, occasionally resorting to assassination. In each of the cases, Russia maintained a dominant relationship before war.

Each of the wars was preceded by deviation of the subordinate state from the hierarchal relationship. Moldovan politicians spoke of reunification with Romania, Georgians strove for NATO membership, and Ukraine struggled with its identity before deciding to attempt unification Europe rather than Eurasia. Russia's military maneuvers were intended to prevent the realization of these intentions by creating a permanent question of sovereignty, casting doubt on the economic and security strength of the country, and by reducing the nation's liberal reputation among the Western world. Furthermore, in each case, Russia used pre-existing ethnic and cultural divides to legitimize its involvement. Russia was so concerned about the perception of legitimacy that it engaged in an extensive media war in Georgia and disguised its troops in Ukraine. Russia's concern for legitimate intervention is consistent with the hierarchy theory's emphasis on authority.

Ultimately, Russia was successful in preventing the subordinate states from joining European organizations and apparatus. To this day, none of the nations discussed have achieved their goals of full European integration. Given the greater Euro crisis and the rise of anti-EU parties in many of the member nations, the era of EU expansion may have come to a close (Economist 2013). Of course, Russia has suffered consequences as its wars delegitimize its foreign policy to its subordinate states and make it a near pariah in the world's eye. Whether such actions have negatively affected Russia's sphere of influence has yet to be seen. It is important to note that Moldova remained an ally of Moscow for more than a decade following the war in Transnistria.

As long as Russia holds to the goal of maintaining its sphere of influence, it is likely that its aggressive and belligerent behavior will continue. Moscow has demonstrated its resolve in the face of enormous international pressure to discipline its

subordinates and prevent them from defecting. However, in the long run, the Western carrot will triumph over the Russian stick. The counterexample of the Baltic States, demonstrates that integration of post-Soviet nations can be successfully achieved without violence but only if Europe seeks strong economic and cultural ties and scrutinizes Russian relations to prevent violence (Kolsto 2002). Ultimately, the economic and political opportunities represented by the European Union will be more attractive than the current Russian alternative. Therefore, even with her hand on the gas spigot and her armies ever prepared, authoritarian Russia will be unable to maintain its relationships, because it lacks the legitimacy of democratic Europe. How does one state maintain their hierarchal relationships? It seems the EU understands that better than Russia.

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# Economic Consequences of the Palestinian Multi-Currency System: A Cost Benefit Analysis

by Brandon Willmore

News coverage that chronicles the most violent events in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is nearly constant. References to the Palestinian desire for autonomy from the Israeli government may, therefore, conjure images of separation walls, rocket fire, forced resettlement, housing demolition, and suicide bombings. The movement for Palestinian sovereignty, however, is not just a violent campaign, and it does not solely protest territorial encroachment.

In 2011, two men living in the West Bank began a campaign on social media to encourage Palestinians to write “Free Palestine” on Israeli currency bills (Oster 2011). This form of demonstration is similar to the Palestinian graffiti that covers the separation walls, which were built by Israel to divide Israeli and Palestinian communities. The walls and many other buildings in the Levant bear spray-painted boycott slogans, such as “don’t buy into occupation” (Bdshm 2010). Throughout Israel, “Free Palestine” graffiti demands change.

Upon hearing about the currency-marking demonstrations, the Palestinian Banking Society, a society of private bankers, quickly countered the protest by informing their clients that Palestinian banks would refuse to accept marked bills due to the likelihood that Israeli banks would not accept them as legitimate money (Oster 2011). While graffiti of personal and governmental property has become widespread, it never became mainstream among Palestinian activists to brand Israeli currency with protest slogans (Oster 2011). This anecdote shows how far advocates still have to go in their promotion of Palestinian autonomy. The response of the Palestinian bankers is indicative of the fact that the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is more than political, militaristic, and territorial. Since the beginning of the occupation of Palestinian territories in 1967, economic dependency has

also been a major element of Palestinian dissatisfaction with their Israeli occupiers (Romero 2014). In particular, this paper examines the potential economic costs and benefits of the Palestinian territories' introducing a new national currency in order to increase their monetary autonomy.

### **Thesis/Argument**

Although Palestinians in Israel's occupied territories have far more autonomy over the lands they govern than at any other time since the occupation began, the West Bank and Gaza Strip communities continue to function under economic systems that leave their monetary policies deferential to Israeli influence (Al-Ghoul 2015). Perhaps the clearest example of this monetary policy subordination has been Israel's refusal to allow its occupied territories to issue their own currencies. Though held to this standard by previous agreements, the issue recently caused unrest among the Palestinian Authority's top economic officials. Jihad Al-Wazir, governor of the Palestine Monetary Authority (PMA) argued in October of 2015 that the Palestinians of the West Bank "have a sovereign legal right to approve a legal tender of our choice and to subsequently decide, of our free political will, the form of the monetary system that suits our economy, rather than maintaining the current monetary and economic dependency on Israel" (Al-Ghoul 2015). Supporting this logic, the Federation of Palestinian Chambers of Commerce Chair Khalil Rizk argued that previous agreements preventing the Palestine Monetary Authority from introducing a new currency are "mere ink on paper given Israel's noncompliance with many of its articles" (Melhem 2015B). Specifically, Palestinian authorities have argued that Israel preventing the free trade of some Palestinian goods and using permits to decrease the inflow of Palestinian workers violate the 1994 Israeli-Palestinian Protocol on Economic Relations (Melhem 2015A).

According to Israeli economist Arie Arnon, Israel is not prepared to allow its occupied territories more sovereignty over currency matters (Zacharia 2010). One Israeli official mocked Palestinian demands for a national currency, saying, "Currency is not like a stamp or an international dialing code, which [the occupied Palestinian territories] have . . . But to have a currency of your own, it's a whole other ballgame. They don't have what it takes" (Zacharia 2010). Nevertheless, PMA Governor Wazir has said, "All options are open;" and has suggested that the Palestine Monetary Authority is considering linking a future currency to the euro or the U.S. dollar. The addition of specialized vaults in the newly constructed Palestine Central Bank seems to indicate the possibility (Zacharia 2010). These political statements, however, beg the question of whether or not it makes good economic sense for the PMA to issue a new national currency. Especially considering that a Palestinian state does not currently exist and that Israel remains heavily involved in the affairs of its occupied territories.

This paper will examine the economic costs and benefits of issuing a Palestinian national currency in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It is the assumption of this

paper that introducing a new currency in Israel's occupied territories will be more of a political, than an economic decision. A former economic minister in the Palestinian Authority has specifically stated that the will to "break [their] economic dependency with Israel" is "based on a political, and not an economic, background" (Melhem 2015), demonstrating that the dissatisfaction with present dependency may push the Palestinian territories to switch their currency despite potential economic consequences.

Based on the above hints by Jihad Al-Wazir, as well as the expectations of many other economists, I further assume that should a new currency be introduced in the near future it would be designed to have a highly inflexible exchange rate (Al-Ghoul 2015). Specifically, its value would be linked through either a simple fixed exchange rate or through a currency board to that of the U.S. dollar or the euro. I will not focus on analyzing the major differences between potential currencies but will analyze the economic advantages and disadvantages of moving to a Palestinian national currency with an exchange rate fixed to the euro.

The following paragraphs will examine the historical background behind the occupied territories' currency situation, review other research that has addressed the economic aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and make the case that, although the governments of the occupied territories should be considering plans for the release of a Palestinian national currency, the economic costs of doing so in the near future and under current conditions would outweigh the potential benefits. Particularly, based on the economic shocks resulting from the Palestinian territories' current reliance on several currencies, and the foregone revenues available to governments that print their own currencies, it seems wise for the Palestinian territorial governments to prepare for a day when they can release their own currency. However, the potential economic consequences of backlash from the Israeli government, as well as the prospect that the Palestinian governments will be unable to establish a credible currency are both plausible dangers as long as political enmity between Israel and its occupied territories continue.

## **Literature Review**

The economic aspects of the conflict have received considerable attention. In particular, the Israeli-Palestinian economic integration, established first through military force and subsequently modernized through the Oslo Accords is the subject of vast amounts of literature (Hamed and Shaban 1993; Naqib 2015, 5–7; Arnon and Weinblatt 2001). Despite some positive gains from economic integration between Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, the current system seems to be built in a manner that benefits Israelis at the expense of Palestinians (Hamed and Shaban 1993). For example, the currency union gives all tariff collection authority to the Israeli government. Meanwhile, Palestinians are required to pay value added taxes to the Israeli government on raw materials imported through Israel (Naqib 2015, 5–7). Palestinians working in Israel must also pay income and social security taxes. These extractions are then used by the Israeli government to fund projects in its own communities

and are, therefore, lost to the Palestinian economies (Naqib 2015, 5–7; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development 2013; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Secretariat 1996). Additionally, Israel has placed some limitations on imports from the Palestinian territories, while allowing its own products to enter Palestinian markets without restriction (Arnon and Weinblatt 2001; Naqib 2015, 5–7; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development 2013; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Secretariat 1996).

Palestinian monetary policies, including its currency union with Israel are areas of relatively scant research. Yet, as with the aforementioned trade, taxation, natural resource, and territory policies, Israel also stands accused of building an Israeli-Palestinian monetary system that left the Palestinian economies weak and has sometimes enriched Israel at the expense of those living in its occupied territories. Arie Arnon and Avia Spivak, long-term researchers of Palestinian monetary policy have argued: “Clearly the [Israeli-Palestinian] monetary union is the outcome of war and occupation and not of free negotiations” (1996, 259).

Fellow researchers on this issue, Hamed and Shaban have added that although the “fundamental need for resolving the Palestinian question is not economic, we maintain [revising Israel and Palestine’s current economic relationship] is essential for reaping any economic benefit that may flow from a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict” (Hamed and Shaban 1993, 117). As evidenced by the lack of academic focus on Palestinian monetary conditions, currency reform in the occupied territories may not be the top priority of the Palestinian governments, but it is an issue that they will eventually have to deal with in order to reap all of the benefits of a resolution to the larger conflict.

### **Status Quo Currency System and the Plausible Alternative**

#### *Currency Use in the Occupied Territories Today*

The reliance on multiple currencies within Israel’s occupied territories is a cause for concern for economists. The Palestinian Authority and the people to whom it is beholden continue to use the Israeli Shekel, Jordanian dinar, and U.S. dollar for varied and specific purposes. The shekel continues to be a significant currency in the occupied territories, because about 11 percent of Palestinian workers (roughly 99,000 people) are employed either in Israel or in Israeli settlements within territory that is technically part of the West Bank or Gaza Strip (Palestine Monetary Authority 2014, 15). Trade with Israel constitutes around 82 percent of the Palestinian territories’ exports and about 71 percent of their imports (Ibid., 49–50). In accordance with the Paris Protocol, all official transactions between Israel and its occupied territories must be made in shekels (Valensis and Missaglia 2010, 10). For these reasons, the shekel is the primary currency in terms of transactions via cash and checks (Femise 2006, 34).

On the other hand, there is little trade between the occupied territories and Jordan. The dinar maintains its place in the Palestinian economies, because several of the territories’ largest companies, as well as Jordanian banks, which make up a large

share of West Bank financial institutions, pay their employees in dinars (FEMISE 2006, 34). The dinar is often used as a currency of deposits and land purchases, due to the fact that it holds its value better than does the shekel and can be saved with confidence in its stability (Ibid.). The dinar is also the primary currency for the purpose of buying and selling stocks on the Palestine Exchange (Ibid.). The dollar is used for most of the same purposes as the dinar and has become the main currency through which loans are denominated in recent years (FEMISE 2006, 34). Figure 1 provides a more in-depth look at the way each of these legal tenders is used within the West Bank territory.

**Figure 1: Use of the Dollar, Dinar, and Shekel in Transactions**

Transaction	U.S. Dollar	Jordanian Dinar	New Israeli Shekel
Loans	High	Low	—
Overdrafts	High	Low	High
Deposits	High	Moderate	Low
Checks Transactions	Moderate	Moderate	High
Government Budget	Low	—	High
Payments for Land	High	High	—
Daily Transactions	Low	Low	High
Financial Stock Exchange	Moderate	High	—

Information used in the creation of Figure 1 was taken from a similar table produced by The Economic Research Forum, Egypt (Sabri and Jaber 2006, 58).

Because of inconsistency in the ways these currencies are used, there have not been successful efforts to estimate the proportion of the total money stock that is denominated in each of the three major currencies. However, customer deposits in Palestinian banks, as well as data on check clearing, give an idea of the liquidity and stock of the three currencies. In 2013, the U.S. dollar comprised 41.7 percent of customer deposits in Palestinian banks, while the Israeli shekel and Jordanian dinar comprised 29 percent and 25.4 percent respectively (Palestine Monetary Authority 2014, 95). Of the checks cleared by the Palestine Monetary Authority, those backed by shekels comprised 73.1 percent of the total value of all checks cleared, while those backed in dollars and dinars comprised about 20.2 and 4.4 percent, respectively (these calculations are based on statistics provided in Palestine Monetary Authority 2014, 146). While these statistics do not give an exact breakdown of currency stocks, they do corroborate reports that the shekel has high liquidity, while the dollar and dinar are used to store value and make large payments. They also show that the euro is not presently used within the West Bank for the purpose of savings or domestic transactions. Though holdings in euros have increased slightly over time, the large amount of donor aid that is denominated in euros is primarily used for foreign trade,

while currencies that have had longer to gain influence within the occupied territories continue to be used domestically (Beidas and Kandil 2005, 11–2).

*Designing a Palestinian National Currency for the Occupied Territories*

When designing a new national currency, states must choose between crafting a currency with a stable exchange rate or a system wherein the value of money is set by a central monetary authority—presumably the government or an independent central bank (Cohen 1995, 245–56). Upon introducing a new currency, the Palestine Monetary Authority will have to choose whether to peg the currency value to that of a foreign country. As noted above, Palestinian officials have been considering creating a currency and pegging its value to the U.S. dollar or euro. Because the West Bank and Gaza Strip economies are small, relatively open to trade, and expected to become even more open to trade, experts tend to recommend that any Palestinian currency should, at least initially, be pegged to a foreign currency (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 112; Beidas and Kandil 2005, 3; Cobham 2004, 55; Femise 2006, 35).

While independent monetary authority can be an advantage to an economy—in that it can be used to manipulate the currency supply and value, to respond to economic shocks and change the relative prices of exports and imports—there are also many risks associated with flexible exchange rate systems (Cohen 1995, 245–56). Most relevant to the case at hand, effectively managing a currency requires credibility, something that the relatively new and inexperienced PMA does not have (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 112). Without strong currency credibility, neither Palestinians nor foreigners are likely to want to use the new currency due to the high risk of devaluation. This would make a currency transition either useless or net-harmful. (More on the importance of this later.) Additionally, even with a flexible exchange rate, “attempts to pursue an independent monetary policy would likely lead to swings in the nominal exchange rates” and result in domestic price instability (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 116–17). The Israeli hyperinflation discussed above is just one of many examples of the potential dangers of flexible exchange rates in a small, open economy.

Theoretical disadvantages of a flexible exchange rate aside, signals from Palestinian officials indicate that if a new currency is introduced in the occupied territories, it would function under a fixed exchange rate system wherein the new currency is pegged to either the U.S. dollar or the euro (Zacharia 2010). For the sake of comparing policy options, this paper assumes a peg to the euro, as it appears that future trade diversification will lead to the “Eurozone [becoming] Palestine’s most important trading partner” (Cobham 2004, 55). Estimates show that Palestinian exports to the EU will be nearly four times as great as those to the U.S., while imports from the EU will be nearly double those from the U.S. (Allman and Fischer 2001, 122; Banister and Allmen 2001, 83–98). The euro also has a track record of constancy and economists expect that it will function as a stable anchor currency (Cobham 2004, 55; Melhem 2015).

Consensus among economists familiar with the situation seems to suggest that a new Palestinian currency would have maximum credibility if its fixed exchange rate

were to be maintained through a currency board (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 120; Beidas and Kandil 2005, 3; Femise 2006, 35). In the proposed currency board system the PMA would issue a new Palestinian currency but would back up the issued money at a fixed rate with foreign currency reserves, such as the euro (Allmen and Fischer 2001; Selgin 2005, 141). Whether the new currency is fixed via a currency board or simply pegged to the euro, the introduction of a Palestinian currency could result in major changes to the West Bank and Gaza Strip economies.

### **Potential Benefits of Creating a National Currency in the Occupied Territories**

#### *Solving Seigniorage Leakage in the West Bank and Gaza Strip*

In October 2015, economics professor Mouin Rajab of Cairo's Al-Azhar University made the accusation that "Israel is hindering any decision on issuing a Palestinian currency, as long as it is benefitting from the Palestinian dependency on its [own] currency" (Al-Ghoul 2015). The idea that Israel has been accruing significant benefits from Palestinian use of the shekel, however, is not a new idea. A few economists have even made efforts to calculate the GDP the Palestinian economies lose annually due to this specific aspect of its dependency on the Israeli shekel, Jordanian dinar, and the U.S. dollar.

The Palestinian territories do not have a fully functional central bank or an independent currency of their own, and they have agreed by treaty to make the Israeli shekel a legal tender in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In the case of the West Bank, both the Israeli shekel and the Jordanian dinar fulfill this role. These states, as issuers of their own currencies, make profit through government spending that is financed simply by the printing of their own money. This "seigniorage" profit necessarily has the effect of reducing the purchasing power of money through inflation (Cohen 1998, 39). Theoretically, the Israeli and Jordanian central banks profit from printing currency that is then used within the Palestinian territories, while the Palestinian economies receive any resulting inflation due to these expansionary monetary policies (Helleiner 2003, 91–5). It is also important to note that the printers of these three currencies do not share seigniorage with the occupied territories (Allmen and Fischer 115; FAMISE 2006, 35)—though this argument is hardly applicable to the U.S., which gives significant foreign aid to the Palestinian territories, including \$440 million in 2014 (Zanotti 2014, 2).

Osama Hamed and Radwan Shaban were the first academics to publish concern that the Israeli-Palestinian currency union functions as a "mechanism of resource transfer from the Palestinians to the Israeli Central Bank" (1993, 130; Cobham 2004, 43). They were also the first scholars to attempt to estimate the seigniorage profits gained by Israel and lost to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. To quantify these transfers, they first needed to "estimate Israeli currency in circulation in the occupied territories, a quantity that is not provided in official statistics" (Hamed and Shaban 1993, 130). To do so, they multiplied the total value of shekels that were circulating

in Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip by the fraction of Israeli-Palestinian GDP that is attributed to the Palestinian economies. Because Palestinians prefer to use cash and rarely use checks or credit cards, the authors provided an alternative measurement by adding Israeli demand deposits to the initial currency in circulation measurement. The authors argue that although this calculation does not account for large purchases, such as home purchases, for which Palestinians tend to rely on non-Israeli currencies, this is “more than offset by ignoring the Israeli use of credit cards and traveler’s checks” (131). A third measure averaged the above two calculations. In each case, these estimations of the total shekels in circulation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were then compared across years and against the change in the value of the money (inflation or deflation). This yielded a low and high estimate of the profit made by the Israeli Central Bank due to the Palestinian territories’ integration of the shekel. The authors concluded that the seigniorage represented “a significant fraction of the Palestinian GNP . . . for the period 1970–87,” ranging from 1.6 to 4.2 percent (132). Hamed later used the same theoretical framework to calculate for years 1994–98, an era of much lower inflation, and found that the occupied Palestinian economies lost between .31 and 1.68 percent of GNP to Israeli seigniorage (Cobham 2004, 43–4; Hamed 1999).

In a different estimate, Arnon and Spivak based their estimation of lost seigniorage revenue on a well-backed theory that Palestinian money demand was dissimilar to Israeli money demand—another fundamental assumption of Hamed and Shaban’s estimate. However, the manner of calculating seigniorage differed. Arnon and Spivak provided evidence that Palestinian money demand was similar to other Arab countries in the region, such as Syria and Egypt, and that the velocity of money in Israel is higher than in Syria, Egypt, and theoretically in the occupied territories (1995, 4). They then used empirical money demand data from Syria and Egypt and calculated the seigniorage profits that the West Bank and Gaza Strip could potentially obtain by issuing their own currency at a variety of given inflation rates, which they assumed would determine the cost to individuals of using the new currency (1995, 9–13). They conclude that Hamed and Shaban likely underestimated the opportunity costs of the occupied territories’ reliance on Israeli and Jordanian currencies. Arnon and Spivak’s final estimate indicated that in the long run, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip could increase their GDPs by 1.2 percent annually by issuing their own currency, assuming 5 percent yearly inflation. Significantly, under the same inflation assumptions, the authors make clear that initial revenues would be even greater (about 4.4 percent annually for the first five years) due to the one-time transition in currencies and upfront printing (Arnon and Spivak 1995, 14).

An International Monetary Fund commission is responsible for the most recent attempt to estimate the occupied territories’ resource leakage due to lack of a national currency. In a 2001 report, Allman and Fischer attempted yet another seigniorage calculation using the currency-to-GDP ratio of one hundred countries with per capita

income that is most similar to that of the Palestinian territories; they find the median ratio to be 5.5 percent (2001). Assuming a similar currency-to-GDP ratio for the Palestinian territorial economies, this would indicate a currency stock of the equivalent of about \$230 million. They next assume that demand for money is met by a new Palestinian currency, which is backed by foreign exchange reserves with a 5 percent interest rate. Under these assumptions the authors calculate that the Palestine Monetary Authority would make a profit from seigniorage equal to about 0.3 percent of the occupied territories' GDP (Allman and Fischer 2001, 125–26). This calculation does not take into account the Hamed and Shaban analysis that the Palestinian economies tend to have a high currency-to-GDP ratio. On the other hand, none of the seigniorage calculations cited above took into account the salaries and administrative costs associated with actually creating a new currency (Allman and Fischer 2001, 26). These admissions, if taken into account, would decrease the total estimated profit associated with the creation of a new Palestinian currency (Allman and Fischer 2001; Arnon and Spivak 1995; Hamed and Shaban 1993; Hamed 1999).

In a nod to these attempts to calculate potential seigniorage, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development released a report in 2009 estimating the total seigniorage leakage from 1995 to 2007. Not even taking “into account transitional phase seigniorage, which is expected to be far more substantial” the conference estimated that foregone seigniorage revenues range from 0.3 to 4.2 percent of gross national income, meaning that “the cumulative seigniorage loss between 1995 and 2007 could be anywhere between \$178 million and \$2.5 billion” (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development 2009, 13). Under this same range of assumptions, the West Bank and Gaza Strip economies, in the years 2008 through 2014, have lost an additional \$209 million–2.9 billion, with between \$38–540 million being lost in 2014 alone (World Bank 2015). The occupied territories had a 2014 GDP of \$12.7 billion (World Bank 2015), while the 2014 Palestinian Authority budget totaled \$4.2 billion (Toameh 2014). For the West Bank and Gaza Strip economies, which desperately need to invest in their infrastructure in order to achieve sustainable economic growth, this lost GDP cumulatively means millions of dollars annually in forgone transactions and investment (Mody 1999, 181–93; Palestine Monetary Authority 2014, 79).

Creating a new currency would provide a potential way for the Palestine Monetary Authority to capture seigniorage that will otherwise continue to be lost to the occupied territories. Circulating a new Palestinian currency that is pegged to the euro, as Arnon and Spivak show, would provide seigniorage gains that would be especially high in the initial years of its circulation due to the fact that the new currency would ing currencies at only the price of printing the currency. In future years, the Palestine Monetary Authority would be able to fund its spending projects simply by printing new money and decreasing the value of the currency in circulation (1995). A currency board system would forego the high initial seigniorage revenue due to the fact that

each new piece of Palestinian currency would need to be backed up by a reserve of purchased Euros. In this case, the likely seigniorage benefits would be more in line with the Allmen and Fischer estimates (2001). As they assume, a currency board makes seigniorage revenues by collecting interest on its foreign reserve holdings (Selgin 2005, 141). In other words, if the Palestine Monetary Authority chose to hold its foreign reserves as bonds or other assets denominated in euros then it would make money from interest accrued by holding these assets. Under either system, the occupied territories would gain seigniorage that they do not currently receive, assuming that the new currency is successfully integrated into their economies.

*Resolving the Adverse Effects of Economic Fluctuations across Multiple Currencies*

Because of the multi-currency system, the occupied territories' economies are affected by foreign shocks that occur in the U.S. (or other dollar-using economies), Jordan, and Israel. Because Israel is the primary trade partner of the occupied territories, shocks to the shekel affect the occupied territories through their current account balance (FEMISE 2006, 35). This cannot be meaningfully balanced through the capital account balance because it is primarily denominated in dollars and dinars (Hamed 2000, 7). The costs associated with changes in exchange rates are therefore exacerbated by the multi-currency system (Naqib 2015, 13). The PMA has argued that these "fluctuations in the exchange rates of currencies used in Palestinian territory . . . are considered the most significant source of [economic] concern" in regard to creating economic growth (2010, II). The ever-changing and widely fluctuating exchange rates frequently distort the relative purchasing power of the cash and savings of the West Bank and Gaza Strip citizens and, therefore, have a "direct impact on people's standards of living and ultimately on poverty rates," inflation, and the unemployment rate (Palestine Monetary Authority 2011, II-3).

The volatility of exchange rates not only affects individuals, it also has adverse effects on the Palestinian Authority's ability to create and manage its budgets and analyze the economic impacts of its policies. Due to the complex nature of the multi-currency system, both the U.S. dollar and the Israeli shekel are used as units of account for the Palestinian Authority's budgets (Valensisi and Missaglia 2010, 13). The budgets are prepared in terms of both currencies using an average exchange rate between the two. This means expenses are sometimes calculated in dollars but paid in shekels and vice versa. Additionally, the average exchange rate can fluctuate, at times up to 30 percent, which hinders "the formation of quarterly, or semiannual reports that are beneficial for follow up efforts" and obstructs "the preparation of balance sheet reports" (FEMISE 2006, 34). This leaves the Palestinian Authority with little chance of analyzing the effects of its policies or effectively budgeting funds for its key projects.

The multi-currency system also contributes to the "inability of the [occupied territories'] private sector to support national economic development" (Palestine Monetary Authority 2014, VI). Legitimate financial institutions are left shouldering the burdens associated with accepting payments and deposits, as well as provid-

**Figure 2: Official Exchange Rate**  
(LCU per US\$, Averaged Yearly)

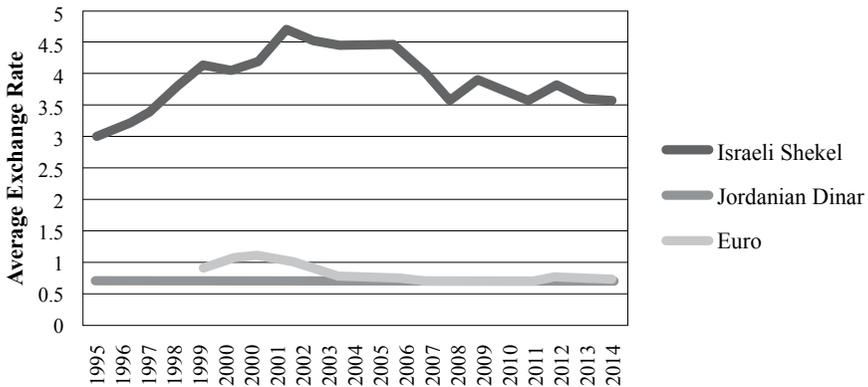


Figure 2 created using a downloaded version of the World Bank Official Exchange Rate data (World Bank 2015B).

ing loans in three currencies. This contributes to insecurity, instability, and unease about lending prospects because the returns on these investments are capable of major fluctuations. This has been especially true in recent years due to “notable fluctuations in the exchange rate of the U.S. dollar against the Israeli shekel,” as is demonstrated in Figure 2 (Palestine Monetary Authority 2011, 11). Commercial banks become unwilling or unable to confidently “perform their function of transforming debt maturities, because of the problem of currency mismatching inherent in portfolios. This discourages them from extending long-term loans, which are essential for investment and growth” (Naqib 2015, 7). This argument is corroborated by the World Bank’s World Development Indicators, which demonstrate that Palestinian financial institutions provide very little credit in contrast to other Arab states in the region (Valensisi and Missaglia 2010, 18). As a percentage of 2006 GDP, for example, credit made up about 8 percent of the Palestinian economy. This is in steep contrast to the credit-to-GDP ratio found in Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt for the same year, which is estimated at about 97 percent, 77 percent, and 55 percent respectively (Ibid.). As Stanley Fischer, former governor of the Bank of Israel, and current member of the U.S. Federal Reserve’s board of governors, has explained, the occupied Palestinian communities “have the entrepreneurship, and savings necessary for economic growth”—with savings rates in the West Bank and Gaza Strip comprising somewhere between 40 and 70 percent of GDP (Fischer 1994, 60). What they have consistently lacked is effective financial investment in domestic projects (Fischer 1994, 70).

Just as the multi-currency system decreases the incentives for banks to provide long-term loans, uncertainty about investment returns has had major adverse effects on financial intermediation. Osama Hamed argues that although the occupied ter-

ritories' "financial system is limited by economic and political uncertainties . . . some growth and deepening of the financial system can be achieved before [a political settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is reached,]" specifically through expansion of the Palestinian equity market (1999b, 108–09). Recent data seems to show a strong relationship between exchange rate fluctuations and stock investment in the Palestine Exchange (Palestine Monetary Authority 2011, 11). From 2006 to 2008, the dollar and dinar depreciated relative to the shekel, causing a decline in the Palestine Exchange's Al-Quds index. From 2008 to 2009, the relative appreciation of the dollar relative to the shekel led to an increase in the Al-Quds index (Ibid.). Looking at stock investments in 2010, the PMA argues that "due to volatility and persistent declines in the exchange rate of the dollar and dinar . . . the real value of shares and profits" fell by 9.8 percent, causing "banks to reduce their investments in shares of companies in Palestine" by 27.1 percent, or about \$106.5 million (2010, 59). Instead of investing domestically, Palestinian banks turned to company stocks outside of the occupied territories (2010, 58–9).

Because these problems stem, in large part, from the instability of exchange rates between the shekel, dinar, and dollar, there is a large incentive for the occupied territories to move to a new currency system that reduces current volatility. The Palestinian communities have learned to weather the fluctuations in any currency by using them for different purposes. But without more stability in the fluctuations of these three currencies relative to one another, risks for investors will remain high, thus, crippling economic growth. Given the ability of the Palestinian Authority to promote widespread use of a new currency within the West Bank and Gaza Strip, a currency board or a pegged exchange rate system could provide decreased volatility necessary for investors to confidently invest and expect profits.

### **Potential Costs of Creating a Palestinian National Currency**

#### *Potential Economic Consequences of Israeli Backlash*

Regardless of the Palestine Monetary Authority's decision to move toward an independent national currency, Israel will continue to hold major economic leverage over its occupied territories in the near future. A shift in currency will have little immediate effect on the Israeli-Palestinian economic integration, which includes inter-reliant labor markets, trade provision, and cooperating financial networks (Elizur 2003, 106–19; Hever 2010, 51–7; Peleg and Waxman 2011, 19–47). This interconnection is significant, because Israeli officials have a long history of using their hegemony to coerce Palestinian minority groups into complying with their desires (Ibid.). This creates great risk for the occupied territories any time their governing institutions make unilateral policy decisions to the vexation of the Israeli government and its people. Past retaliations likely set meaningful expectations for Israel's future response should the Palestinian territories choose to adopt a new national currency.

This is especially relevant in the case of a potential bid by the PMA to establish a new currency, because Israel refused during Paris Protocol negotiations to allow the governments of the occupied territories to have the right to establish a new legal

tender. Specifically, Israeli officials believed that a national currency was too bold of “a symbol of national independence” (DATA Studies and Consultations, Bethlehem1999) and set aside the idea until later negotiations (Arnon and Spivak 1996, 264; Haaretz Service 2010). As recorded above, however, officials at the PMA have shown disregard for any agreements binding them to the shekel and have threatened a unilateral break from the current monetary system as recently as October 2015 (Al-Ghoul 2015).

Issuing a new legal tender would violate the Paris Protocol. It would also be a flagrant demonstration of Palestinian self-reliance. Similar political situations in the recent past have resulted in Israeli damage and threatened damage to the occupied territories’ economies. These events are indicative of the potential—even likely—economic retribution that the Palestinian territories could face upon declaring their intention for a currency transition. They also show just how reliant the Palestinian communities are on Israeli political and economic systems.

First, Palestinians in the West Bank rely on Israeli banks to hold many of their shekel deposits. On a number of occasions, the Israeli government and Israeli banks have responded to Palestinian political decisions with heavy-handed measures that prevented Palestinian banks from storing deposits within Israel, thus damaging the West Bank economy. In 2009, Israeli banks faced public relations pressure and refused to accept shekel deposits from the West Bank. This led to a situation wherein banks in the West Bank had no more physical capacity to accept shekel deposits. Cash stocks reached an unprecedented “1.2 billion shekels, whereas the banks need[ed] only 300 million” (Al Arabiya News 2009). Palestinian holders of the shekels lost profits, as their money was not being reinvested. Meanwhile, West Bank financial institutions incurred “bigger insurance premiums, security fees, and other expenses from having to secure the heaps of shekels” (Al Arabiya News 2009).

In 2014, Fattah (the leading Palestinian political party in the occupied territories) made an attempt to reconcile and form a unity government with Hamas (a political organization that holds control of the Gaza Strip and is considered by Israel to be a terrorist organization) (Bassok and Bar-Eli 2014). Although the Fattah-Hamas compromise ultimately failed, Israel responded to the possibility of reunification by passing “an inner cabinet resolution” restricting Palestinian banks from depositing shekels in Israel (Bassok and Bar-Eli 2014). This move, which Palestinian bankers said was “strangling the Palestinian economy,” had a number of adverse effects (Ibid.). Shekel and foreign currency transfers to Israeli accounts have long been used to fund financial transactions with other countries, as well as with Israeli businesses. Business confidence and efficient transactions declined within the occupied territories as some Palestinian businesses avoided shekels as a form of payment (Bassok and Bar-Eli 2014). The ban on shekel transfers also left Palestinian banks without opportunities to trade shekels for foreign currencies—a function performed in the Israeli Banking sector (JTA 2014). Compounding the economic woes

in the occupied territories, Palestinians rely on transactions between the Palestinian and the Israeli banking system in order to pay for goods and services “such as electricity, petroleum, natural gas, foodstuffs, medical care at Israeli hospitals, etc.” (Bahour 2014). These financial controls restricted the flow of these needed goods and services and constituted what has been called a “war on the Palestinian economy” (Bahour 2014).

This so-called war, which is an example of the economic backlash the Palestinian territories could see again should they adopt a national currency, did not stop with capital controls. In response to the Palestinian Authority’s 2012 bid in the UN to gain recognition as an independent state, the Israeli government threatened to withhold funding from the Palestinian Authority (Charbonneau and Nichols 2012). The Paris Protocol provided the Palestinian Authority with the legal right to collect taxes from the people of the occupied territory. It also set up a system whereby Israel would return some of the tax revenues that it collected from Palestinian transactions and economic activities to the Palestinian Authority. For example, because people living in the Palestinian territories must perform their international trade through Israeli intermediaries, the Paris Protocol created a system whereby customs duties on Palestinian goods are returned to the Palestinian Authority. Likewise, some excise taxes from goods purchased by Palestinians and some payroll taxes taken from Palestinians working in Israel are returned to the Palestinian Authority (Engber 2006). In 2014, Israel was withholding up to \$16 million of this tax revenue per month as a punitive measure when Fatah sought reconciliation with Hamas (Bassok and Bar-Eli 2014). Later that year, Israel’s Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, displeased by the Palestinian Authority’s efforts to join the International Criminal Court, froze around \$125 million in tax revenues that were bound for the occupied territories. The Israeli government also warned that efforts to join the International Criminal Court would possibly result in the construction of additional Israeli settlements within Palestinian territories (Makovsky 2015).

Finally, at the same time that Israel established bank sanctions following the attempted Fatah-Hamas reconciliation, Israeli utility companies cut off electricity to the occupied territories. Subsequent prohibitions of electricity have affected an estimated 700,000 Palestinians (Abukhater 2015). Though the companies cited outstanding debts owed by the Palestinian Authority, this was seen as an additional punitive measure (Bassok and Bar-Eli 2014; JTA 2014). Whatever the reasoning, this situation shows yet another example of the occupied territories’ reliance on Israel, and denotes the ability of the Israeli government to quickly and adversely affect living standards within the Palestinian communities that do not submit to Israel’s wishes (Bahour 2014). These past responses to Palestinian attempts at greater autonomy are the best indicators available for gauging Israel’s likely response to the creation of a Palestinian national currency. They reveal that the risks associated with such a move are high and should not be taken lightly.

*Effects of Palestinian Economic Underdevelopment on Potential Currency Credibility*

A critical element to the success of any currency is the way its management is perceived. Using money is a trust exercise. Problems with currency credibility arise when its managers, whether a currency board, a central bank, or some other institution, cannot sufficiently assure users of the currency that their money will have a stable value (Allmen and Fischer 113–17). As noted above, lack of credibility is the reason why Palestinians stopped holding Israeli shekels; the purchasing power of the shekel continued to decline, making it costly to hold. Governing institutions have an incentive to manipulate the value of money, as surprise inflation may increase economic activity in the short-run, and the printing press can be used to print additional money and pay bills. These deviations, however, change the worth of money and decrease trust in the currency's stability (Barro and Gordon 1983, 1–4). This credibility is key both to the initial demand of the populace for the currency and in its continued use.

If the PMA is not seen as a credible actor, capable of maintaining the value of its new currency, then the consequences could be severe. A loss of credibility is a recipe for economic commotion. Loss of credibility can lead to decreased demand for the currency in question, which in turn leads to the currency's devaluation (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 115–16). This often destabilizes domestic prices and financial institutions. Lack of credibility creates an environment with unknown returns on investment and high risk premiums. Interest rates on loans increase to compensate for risks and, therefore, decrease investment (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 115–17; CFR.org Editors 2015).

Hypothetically, under a fixed exchange rate system the PMA would peg the value of its new currency to that of the euro and not manipulate its value. Under a currency board, the new Palestinian currency would need to be backed by euro reserves. This facilitates but does not ensure credibility. These limitations on monetary policy can break down or be disregarded at any time, and “even the mere possibility of the [Palestine Monetary Authority] conducting discretionary monetary and exchange rate policies might lead to a high risk premium on investments in the new currency and might induce considerable macroeconomic instability” (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 117). Fixed exchange rates, and especially currency boards, may recommend themselves to currency credibility, but consumers will inevitably decide whether they trust their monetary authority to pursue currency stability and convertibility (Beidas and Kandil 2005, 3). In the case of the occupied territories, there are many reasons to believe the PMA would not perform effective currency management. The risk of currency crises and high risk premiums, therefore, looms over any discussion of the merits of a new Palestinian currency.

First, the PMA has no track record in managing exchange rates, which casts doubt upon its ability to inspire confidence in a new currency. Under the Paris Protocol, the PMA was given few of the responsibilities of traditional central banks. With no national currency, it has simply fulfilled its charge to manage and regulate banking

activities in the West Bank (Beidas and Kandil 2005, 23). The problem with the PMA is not that it has a bad reputation. "It simply does not have any reputation when it comes to monetary policy" (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 119). The public, as well as financial institutions have no way of evaluating PMA officials' ability or desire to tightly control monetary policy and to maintain a stable, fixed exchange rate. Even under a currency board system, the PMA will only establish currency credibility as it slowly builds a reputation for monetary policy rigidity. Any perceived deviations from such a course could quickly jeopardize the new currency and hamper Palestinian economic development (Allmen and Fischer 119–20; Beidas and Kandil 2005, 23).

Second, the Palestinian Authority runs large budget deficits and struggles to maintain fiscal discipline. "Weak fiscal discipline is the classic buster of fixed exchange rate regimes," because it gives the impression that the government will eventually need to turn to the central monetary authority to fund its deficits (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 120). This makes it impossible to maintain currency credibility (Beidas and Kandil 2005, 23). In this way, neither the Palestinian Authority nor the PMA has a confidence inspiring record. In recent years the Palestinian Authority has consistently run budget deficits. Even after receiving \$1.2 billion in foreign aid in 2014, it still ran a budget deficit equal to nearly 12 percent of Palestinian GDP (International Monetary Fund 2015, 6). Both the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have advised the Palestinian Authority to reduce its budget deficit by refining its tax system, which indicates that some of the fiscal discipline issues are structural (Hass 2015). These consistent budget deficits, while problematic in themselves, serve to further increase skepticism in the credibility of a new currency system because the PMA has already been lending money to finance the budget deficits of the Palestinian Authority. In the year 2000, for example, the Palestinian Authority borrowed \$23 million from the PMA (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 120). If "the success of a fixed exchange rate regime would highly depend on fiscal discipline in the face of potentially huge shocks," argued by Beidas and Kandil. At the time, the record of both the Palestinian Authority and the PMA did not provide confidence that the occupied territories could maintain a stable currency system of their own (2005, 13).

Third, the occupied territories' dependency on Israel harms their ability to effectively and autonomously manage their own monetary system. As described in the previous section, the occupied territories depend on Israeli intermediaries to perform international trade transactions. The Palestinian Authority depends on the State of Israel to provide it with custom duties and income taxes levied on Palestinian labor working in Israel. In addition to its incapacity for collecting revenues and executing trade, the Palestinian Authority also depends on Israel for many of its utilities, resources, and banking services. By cutting off any of these services, the Israeli government is capable of harming the Palestinian economies and forcing the Palestinian Authority to run major budget deficits. When Israel withheld tax revenues from the Palestinian Authority in early 2015, 180,000 public workers were forced to go

without full salaries (Abukhater 2015). With the continuing political conflict between Israel and the Palestinian territories, Israel could use these punitive measures at any time. As long as the occupied territories remain dependent on the Israeli economic and political systems, it will be difficult for the PMA to establish and maintain confidence in a new national currency. Whether or not Israel will apply punitive measures is beside the point; as long as the Palestinian population and financial institutions believe that a Palestinian currency is highly vulnerable to manipulation, it will not be seen as a credible alternative to the current multi-currency system (Allmen and Fischer 2001, 119–21; Beidas and Kandil 2005, 22–5).

Without a credible monetary authority, the introduction of a new currency is not likely to be beneficial to the occupied territories, at least, in the short term. The PMA could potentially lack credibility due to its lack of repute, its relationship to the Palestinian Authority, and its inability to isolate itself against outside pressure. It is critical to note that these conditions will exist regardless of whether the Palestinian Authority chooses to set up a currency board, where a fixed exchange rate is set in law, or a currency that was simply pegged to the euro. This means that no matter the initial attempt at establishing a credible currency, there is strong room for skepticism. In the case that Israel cuts off Palestinian Authority revenues, the PMA will have to choose between breaking from its fixed exchange rate system and funding governmental operations by printing currency, or attempting to maintain its credibility while depriving the Palestinian Authority of needed resources. Both cases would be detrimental to Palestinian economic growth, and neither option would provide confidence for potential investors in Palestinian markets. Introduction of a new Palestinian currency opens the occupied territories up to potential for high risk premiums, rising interest rates, price instability due to currency devaluation, and the potential that a defunct Palestinian currency will simply begin to circulate alongside the dollar, dinar, and shekel.

### **Comparing the Potential Costs and Benefits of Palestinian Currency Reform**

There is no doubt that the present multi-currency system in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is an inappropriate long-term arrangement. Its negative impacts are systematic; each passing month millions of dollars of potential seigniorage revenue is leaked from the occupied territories' economies. Meanwhile, fluctuations in the relative exchange rates of the dollar, dinar, and shekel straddle financial institutions with risks and prevent them from extending credit and investments to preexisting and potential businesses. "Thus the monetary arrangements combine some of the worst aspects of [the] two polar-type exchange rate regimes. The absence of a national currency renders monetary policy ineffective, as in a fixed exchange rate regime" (Naqib 2015, 9). Meanwhile, the occupied territories also face fluctuating exchange rates, as is "typical of a flexible exchange rate regime" (Naqib 2015, 9). By switching to a new national currency with a fixed exchange rate, the Palestinian territories cannot hope to capture the advantages of monetary policy autonomy—especially because changes in

monetary policy are likely to decrease the currency's credibility (Allmen and Fischer 2001). The most they can hope for in introducing a new currency is exchange rate stability. The PMA has argued that exchange rate instability and its effects on investment returns comprise the largest of concerns with regard to the occupied territories' economic development. Therefore, decreasing these fluctuations should certainly be prioritized as one of the most desirable policy outcomes when weighing the merits of a new Palestinian national currency (Palestine Monetary Authority 2011, II).

Taking the above evidence into account, it is obvious that departure from status quo currency policy could provide major economic benefits to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Certainly, it is true that introducing a new national currency has the potential to resolve systematic burdens that the occupied territories have been carrying since the Six-Day War. However, the possibility of solving these problems is far different than the plausibility of solving them. It may be that current conditions are untimely for the creation of a Palestinian national currency. First, Israel has a clear history of retaliating against the Palestinian Authority's policies that it deems undesirable. Israel's control over many of the occupied territories' utilities, tax revenues, and banking services provide it with the ability to immediately apply economic pressure on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israel can instantaneously begin to starve the Palestinian governments of funding or shut down electricity to Palestinian businesses. In the time it would take to design and begin circulating a new currency, Israel is capable of wreaking economic havoc throughout the occupied territories. These conditions make it difficult to justify a shift toward implementing a new Palestinian currency.

Structural conditions make it doubtful that simply introducing a new currency will provide a meaningful way to minimize the investment risks associated with the multi-currency system. As shown above, the Palestinian territories' most important trade partner is Israel, and Israel requires that its trade with the occupied territories be facilitated through Israeli shekels. Additionally, people who live in the occupied territories work in Israel and are paid wages denominated in shekels (Elizur 2003, 106–19; Hever 2010, 51–7; Peleg and Waxman 2011, 19–47). Even if a new Palestinian currency were to achieve widespread circulation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the shekel would continue, at least in the near future, to play an important role in Palestinian communities. The side-by-side use of the shekel and a Palestinian currency linked to the euro would continue the status quo trend of fluctuating exchange rates and unstable investment returns. Until the occupied territories are capable of diversifying their trade and decreasing their reliance on the Israeli economy, exchange rate fluctuations will continue to harm investment. In addition, while exchange rate fluctuation certainly makes investment risky, weak governing institutions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the expansion of Israeli settlements, and the ongoing violence between Israel and Palestinian rebels also contribute to uncertainties that make investment risky (Hamed 1999b, 97; Palestine Monetary Authority 2014, VI). The simple introduction of a new currency is incapable of resolving some

of the most destabilizing elements of the Israeli occupation and should not be viewed as a golden bullet solution to investment risk.

Even assuming the Israeli government chooses not to retaliate against the occupied territories for establishing a national currency, such a decision will still be fraught with heavy risks and few benefits under current circumstances. If it is true that instability due to political factors will continue to smother investment even with an end to the multi-currency system, then seigniorage revenue remains the only major advantage to the new currency. The few percentage points by which seigniorage revenue would increase Palestinian GDP must then be compared with the risks of establishing a new currency that will be managed by the PMA. Continuing under the assumption that exchange rate stability and low-risk investment should be highly prioritized, it does not make sense to establish a new Palestinian currency under present political and economic circumstances. The Palestine Monetary Authority has no track record of successful monetary policy implementation; meanwhile, it has been funding Palestinian Authority deficit spending. These circumstances, as well as the fact that the occupied territories are politically and economically reliant on Israel indicate that the PMA has little hope of being seen as a credible monetary arbiter under current conditions. Without this credibility a new Palestinian currency is either unlikely to be widely integrated into the West Bank and Gaza Strip economies or is likely to lead to high risk premiums, and high interest rates, thus adversely affecting investment (Allmen and Fischer 2001). Lack of confidence in a currency can also lead to its devaluation, thus causing exchange rate fluctuations and disincentives for investment (Ibid.).

This evaluation shows that moving to a new Palestinian currency could certainly be an improvement upon today's multi-currency system. However, the timing is key to minimizing the risks and maximizing the benefits of establishing a new currency. Without decreasing their dependence on the Israeli government and its economy, and without taking steps to boost the Palestinian Authority's fiscal discipline, the Palestinians living within the occupied territories have little chance of reaping the benefits of a national currency.

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# Unpopular but Effective? The Drone Strike Dilemma

by Jake Berlin

## Introduction

In the mountainous region of northwestern Pakistan known as Waziristan, local tribesmen have grown accustomed to living in a state of constant vigilance. Death from above can come at virtually any time in the form of laser-guided missile strikes launched by U.S. predator and reaper drones. The drones are controlled remotely by pilots thousands of miles away at bases in the U.S. and can hover for hours before delivering their deadly payload. Advanced cameras allow drone operators to see their targets from distances that are impossible for the targets to see them, and the missiles launched by drones exhibit astounding accuracy and precision.<sup>1</sup> Drone attacks constitute an understandably terrifying prospect to residents of Waziristan, and locals have nicknamed the drones “wasps” for the ominous buzzing sound they make (Bergen and Tiedemann 2012, 12). There is something disconcerting about the video game-like ease with which drone strikes can deal out death. Within the U.S. and throughout the world, debates have raged over the morality and legality of drone strikes. Even though drones strikes are designed to discriminate between terrorist targets and innocent civilians, there have been many instances of drone strikes causing tragic collateral damage.

This analysis will shy away from legal and ethical debates about drone strikes and will instead focus on the effectiveness of drone strikes as a counterterrorism strategy. President George W. Bush and President Barack Obama have strongly supported the use of drones to combat the international terrorist threat. In a June 2011 speech, John Brennan, Obama’s former counterterrorism advisor and current CIA director, declared that “Going forward, we will be mindful that if our nation is threatened, our best offense won’t always be deploying large armies abroad but delivering tar-

geted, surgical pressure to the groups that threaten us” (Dilanian 2011). Proponents of drone strikes argue that drones are cost-effective and less invasive than traditional counterterrorism efforts involving ground troops or Special Forces (Obama 2013). In addition, drone strikes avoid casualties involving American military personnel. Critics argue that drone strikes alone are incapable of defeating major terrorist organizations, that they isolate potential allies, and that the strikes often do more harm than good by enraging local populations and providing terrorists with a steady supply of new recruits (Kilcullen and Exum 2009).

For the purposes of this paper, the “effectiveness” of the drone strike campaign in Pakistan will be measured using three criteria: Do drone strikes correlate with a reduction in the number of attacks successfully carried out by the organization being targeted? To what extent are drone strikes successful in eliminating key terrorist leaders whose skills cannot easily be replaced by the terrorist organization? And does the animosity generated by drone strikes facilitate terrorist recruitment? Many have argued that this is the case, but it is also plausible that the threat of drone strikes deters potential terrorists from joining a terrorist organization out of fear for their lives. In order to examine the answers to these questions, I performed a case study of the drone strike campaign against the Taliban<sup>2</sup> and the al Qaeda core in Pakistan. My analysis shows that drone strikes correspond with a slight, short-term reduction in terrorist activity and that drone strikes have resulted in the deaths of key terrorist leaders. The loss of leadership and the threat of drone strikes have significantly decreased the threat posed by the al Qaeda core. The operational capacity of the Taliban remains high, however, and the number of terrorist attacks in Pakistan has increased over the past several years.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, drone strikes have caused outrage amongst Pakistanis, but this outrage is matched, or perhaps even exceeded, by the disapproval that Pakistanis feel toward al Qaeda, the Taliban, and terrorist activity in general. In spite of their unpopularity, there is little substantial evidence to indicate that drone strikes have bolstered terrorist recruitment. It is worth noting that information on terrorist funding, recruitment, morale, and operational capacity is limited and at times nonexistent. The challenge of obtaining accurate information makes it difficult to arrive at any definitive conclusions. Hopefully, the insights gained from this analysis will inform the ongoing debate about the efficacy of drone strikes as a counterterrorism strategy.

This paper begins with a brief discussion of several theories about terrorist motivation and appropriate counterterrorism strategies. Next, I justify my case selection and then provide an overview of the U.S. drone strike campaign in Pakistan. The following three sections present my analysis of the three criteria I used to determine the overall effectiveness of drone strikes. I will finish by offering some tentative conclusions as well as recommendations for further research.

### **Strategic Considerations of Counterterrorism Policy**

American political and military leaders have little hope of designing an effective counterterrorism strategy without a firm understanding of terrorists’ motivations. In

their article, "Strategies of Terrorism," Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter (2006) outline five rational strategies of terrorism: attrition, intimidation, outbidding, spoiling, and provocation. The "provocation" strategy has garnered a significant amount of attention in the wake of the devastating attacks of 9/11. Many experts feel that the primary goal behind the 9/11 attacks was to incite the U.S. into engaging in a drawn-out war in the Middle East, thereby draining U.S. resources (Cullison 2004, 58). Furthermore, goading the U.S. into war would engender a powerful anti-American sentiment among Middle Eastern Muslims, which sentiment would help al Qaeda accomplish its goal of overthrowing secularized regimes with Western sympathies (such as the Saudi monarchy in Saudi Arabia) and replacing them with theocratic regimes governed by Sharia law (Doran 2002). While it is often difficult to ascertain the motives of terrorists with complete certainty, statements by Osama bin Laden and other key al Qaeda leaders provide evidence to support the notion that al Qaeda has carried out attacks in order to provoke punitive reactions by the U.S. and other foreign governments (Blanchard 2007, 5).

David Lake (2002) provides additional insight into terrorist strategies. Lake argues that terrorists engage in acts of terrorism in order to create a favorable bargaining range in the future. In addition, he points out that terrorist groups generally seek to represent a broader, more moderate community, so counterterrorism actions must discriminate between actual terrorists and moderates to avoid radicalizing a greater proportion of the larger group. In both Pakistan and Yemen, al Qaeda seeks to represent the broader Muslim community or *ummah* and hopes to galvanize more moderate individuals in these areas into joining the *jihad* against the West. Therefore, it is imperative that U.S. responses to terrorism in these regions avoid engendering feelings of hatred against the U.S. that would facilitate al Qaeda recruitment and operations. Lake summarizes this point nicely as follows:

At each step toward expanding the conflict, the United States increases the probability of success [i.e. destroying the terrorist group] and, simultaneously, the risk that it will drive moderates into the arms of the extremists. The danger is that in seeking the first it may lose track of the importance of the second. (Lake 2002, 23)

Members of the national security community share this understanding, and drone strike campaigns were designed in an effort to avoid larger-scale responses involving ground troops or traditional aerial bombardments. When asked about the U.S. drone strikes in Pakistan, General David Petraeus claimed that "the collateral damage in such strikes is minimal" (Aslam 2011, 315). This is a hotly disputed claim, and people have argued that the number of civilian deaths from drone strikes is much higher than U.S. military and intelligence leaders acknowledge (Wood and Hall 2016). Amidst the controversy, the question remains whether or not the drone strikes are successful in targeting terrorists without driving moderates into their open arms.

Another strategic consideration is whether drone strikes are capable of defeating terrorist organizations or if they only serve to wound terrorist groups without depriving them of the ability to retaliate. This concern is magnified when dealing

with groups such as al Qaeda and its various affiliates, which have adopted a loose network structure since the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 (Cronin 2006). Scholars have argued that network organizations like al Qaeda and other terrorist groups exhibit greater resiliency and adaptability than hierarchical organizations,<sup>4</sup> and these advantages could prove crucial in terms of a terrorist organization's ability to withstand a sustained drone strike campaign.

A review of the existing literature on drone strikes illustrates the divergent opinions on whether or not drone strikes constitute an effective counterterrorism strategy.<sup>5</sup> The debate has raged among scholars, and a call has been made for "a thorough study of the effect of these drone strikes on the population in Pakistan" (Callam 2013). My study may not settle the debate over the efficacy of drone strikes, but it should help to inform it. A greater understanding of the effectiveness of drone strikes in Pakistan will also shed light on the use of drones in other critical areas (like Yemen) as well as the implications for the use of drone strikes in the future.

### **Case Selection**

Journalists and academics have paid considerable attention to drone strikes, and particular emphasis has been directed toward the drone strike campaign in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. The U.S. has carried out more drone strikes in Pakistan and along the Afghan border than in any other region of the world, and drone strikes in Pakistan have been ongoing since 2004 (Roggio 2016). The frequency of drone strikes in Pakistan, along with the prolonged nature of the campaign there, make it a compelling case to study. In addition, more information about the drone campaign in Pakistan has been compiled than for other areas, which situation makes hypothesis testing easier and more accurate.

The drone strike campaign in Pakistan also exhibits variance on key variables, such as the makeup of the terrorist organizations targeted and the frequency of strikes, which provides additional insight into the effectiveness of drone strikes. An analysis of the drone strike campaign in Pakistan may help determine whether drone strikes are more effective versus particular types of terrorist organizations. The campaign in Pakistan has targeted both the Taliban and the al Qaeda core. These two groups share similarities, but differ with respect to their size and primary targets (al Qaeda has striven to attack the U.S. homeland and other Western nations while the Taliban have focused their attacks within Pakistan<sup>6</sup>). Also, the number of drone strikes has fluctuated widely over the years, which allows for a comparison between the frequency of drone strikes and the frequency of terrorist attacks. Lessons from the analysis of the drone strike campaign in Pakistan should help inform policymakers about the usefulness of drone strikes in other countries, such as Yemen or Somalia, which share many similarities with the Pakistan case (remote areas with little government control, threats from Salafi jihadist groups, etc.).

The inherent difficulties associated with gathering information about drone strikes and terrorist groups in general, and particularly with gathering information about al Qaeda and the Taliban in the FATA, impose a number of limitations on the results of

this case study. The FATA are virtually inaccessible to foreigners, especially Western journalists and scholars. This makes gathering reliable data extremely difficult. Information about the number of drone strikes and their resulting casualties is controversial and often relies solely on partially verifiable estimates. Furthermore, Pakistani media outlets often inflate the number of civilian casualties, and U.S. officials have denied that drone strikes result in significant collateral damage despite evidence to the contrary.<sup>7</sup> The data on drone strike casualties I refer to come from the New America Foundation, which employed a methodology designed to ensure the most accurate results possible given the circumstances. Information was gathered from international, Western, and regional media outlets, and figures on terrorist/civilian casualties represent an average of the high and low estimates from all the most widely reputable sources. In addition, an effort was made to confirm all data on drone strikes using information from at least two sources.

I utilized the *Long War Journal* for statistics on the number of drone strikes that have occurred in Pakistan since the onset of the drone strike campaign there. The journal is an online publication providing regularly updated information on drone strikes and other U.S. counterterrorism efforts. It is published by Public Multimedia Inc., a nonprofit media company, and it is a project of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, a nonpartisan policy institute. The journal employs reporters on the ground to obtain information on drone strikes, and it also gathers information from other Western and regional media outlets (*The Long War Journal* 2016).

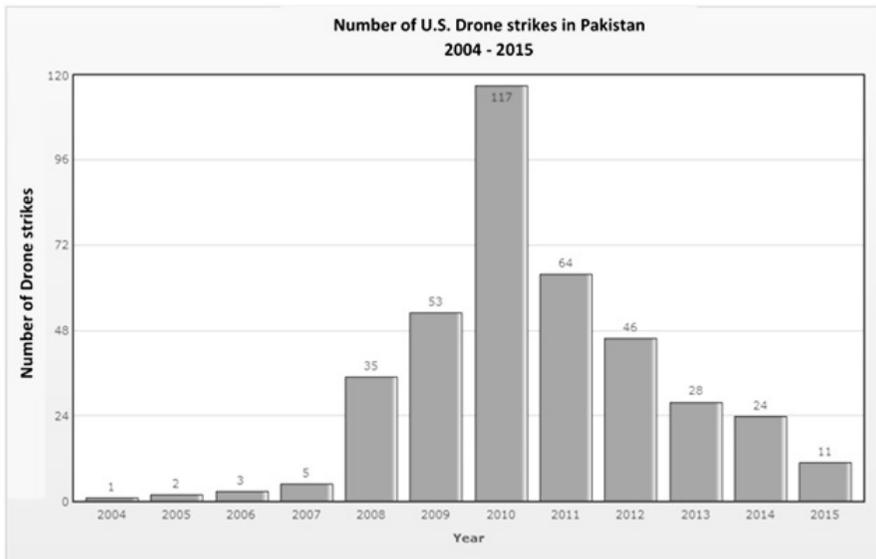
While I used data from accurate sources, the relative scarcity of reliable data makes it difficult to analyze drone strike effectiveness solely through statistical methods. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that there are so many potential variables that could affect the operational capacity of a terrorist group that it becomes nearly impossible to adequately control for all of the variables in a purely quantitative study. Because of these challenges, I chose to employ a case study approach to analyze the effectiveness of drone strikes, since a case study allows for an analysis of both quantitative and qualitative evidence. Indeed, my case study relies heavily on statistical results from previous studies, but I seek to place these results in greater context and compare them with qualitative indications of the effectiveness of the drone campaign in Pakistan as well.

### **An Overview of the U.S. Drone Strike Campaign in Pakistan**

After the 2001 U.S. invasion of Afghanistan overthrew the Taliban regime, many al Qaeda operatives and Taliban members took refuge across the border in the FATA of Pakistan. The FATA are extremely remote, mountainous areas that are only nominally controlled by the Pakistani government.

North and South Waziristan compose a large portion of the FATA, and these areas have provided a safe haven for Taliban leaders and al Qaeda operatives. This region has been the focus of a U.S. drone strike campaign since June 2004 (Bergen and Tiedemann 2011). Drone strikes have been launched in coordination with the Pakistani military, but Pakistani leaders have decried the attacks in public (Bergen

**Figure 1: Chart from Roggio 2016 (modified)**  
<http://www.longwarjournal.org/pakistan-strikes>



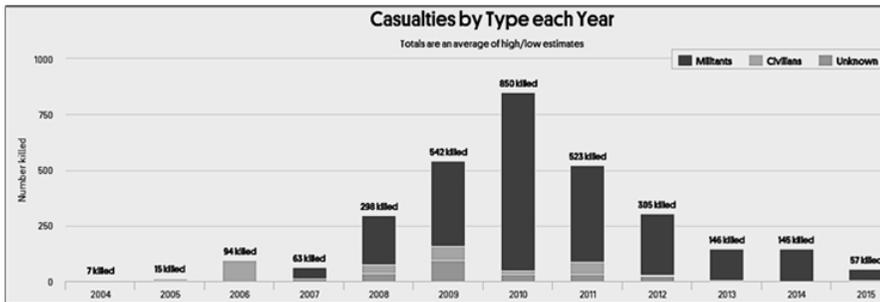
and Tiedemann 2011, 15). Furthermore, the U.S. has received harsh criticism internationally over the use of drones, and many have accused the U.S. of asserting too much autonomy in deciding when and where to attack. There were relatively few drone strikes in Pakistan during the Bush administration, but the rate of drone strikes increased significantly in 2009 when President Obama took office. Since its peak in 2010, the number of drone strikes has decreased substantially (see Figure 1), leading some to speculate that the drone campaign in Pakistan is nearing its close (Yamin 2012).

Drone strikes have primarily targeted high-level operatives within al Qaeda and the Taliban.<sup>9</sup> Al Qaeda leadership remains the focus of drone strikes, but in 2010, the scope of drone strikes expanded to include unnamed, lower-level members of terrorist organizations as well (Cronin 2013). These so-called “signature strikes” target individuals engaging in terrorist behavior rather than focus on specific terrorist leaders (Byman 2013). Signature strikes allow the U.S. greater leeway in deciding when and where to carry out attacks (which could increase the ability of drone strikes to disrupt terrorist networks), but they also increase the risk of collateral damage. This in turn leads to greater resentment from Pakistanis and the international community.

### **The Relationship between Drone Strikes and Terrorist Attacks in Pakistan**

In an unpublished paper completed in 2013,<sup>10</sup> Patrick Johnston and Anoop SARBahi explore the impact of the U.S. drone campaign in Pakistan on the frequency of terrorist attacks. They used a fixed-effects regression with time-series data to examine the correlation between U.S. drone strikes and the number and lethality of terrorist

**Figure 2: Chart from New America Foundation 2016 (modified)**  
<http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/pakistan-analysis.html#page12>



attacks in the FATA from 2007–11. The fixed-effects regression helps control for potential omitted variables to reduce bias in the results of the regression. In addition, they employed a geospatial analysis to test whether a concentration of drone strikes in one particular region caused terrorists to shift their attacks to neighboring regions. Their results indicate that drone strikes significantly reduced terrorist attacks in north-western Pakistan. The probability of a terrorist attack occurring the week following a drone strike was 24 percent lower according to their estimates, and the lethality of attacks fell from 2.77 casualties per week to 2.33 casualties per week with an increase of one drone strike per week (Johnston and Sarbahi 2013, 29).<sup>11</sup> These results were all statistically significant and provide strong evidence that drone strikes increase the difficulty of planning and carrying out successful terrorist attacks.

There are issues with Johnson and Sarbahi’s study, however. Because the authors only looked at the number of attacks, drone strikes, and fatalities per week, it is uncertain whether drone strikes lead to a long-term reduction in terrorist attacks and terrorism-related casualties or if drone strikes simply force terrorists to lie low for a short period of time before continuing their attacks. Johnson and Sarbahi also reported the following:

Drone strikes have a violence-reducing effect only for nearby areas. . . . Militants operating further from these areas are less likely to be concerned in the aftermath of a drone strike that their activities are likely to be detected by loitering drones, and may even believe that these platforms are being focused on those areas where strikes are taking place, leaving them confident of having enough breathing room to conduct business as usual. (25–6)

A similar study was performed by David A. Jaegar and Zahra Siddique in 2011, and they found that

Insofar as the incapacitation effect of the drone strikes comes from targeted killing of Taliban leaders, we find that such an incapacitation effect (in the sense of reducing Taliban violence) is minimal but that there is some deterrent effect of drone strikes on Taliban violence. (13)

Figure 3

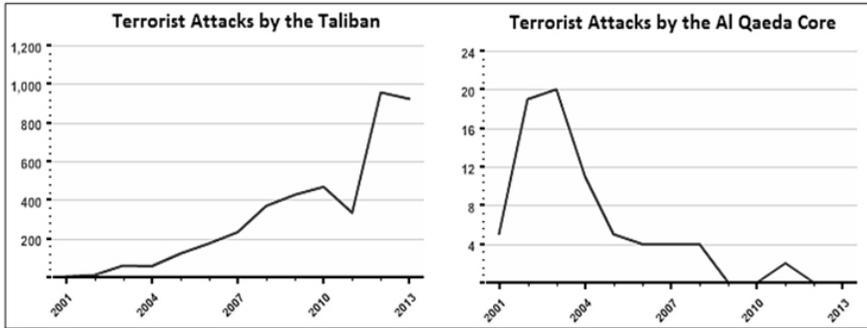


Chart generated using Global Terrorism Database from National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) 2012.

The assertion that drone strikes have had little success in incapacitating the Taliban is consistent with the fact that the number of terrorist attacks perpetrated by the Taliban increased significantly from 2007–10 as the rate of drone strikes intensified (see Figure 3).<sup>12</sup> This evidence does not imply that drone strikes cause more terrorist attacks; indeed, the causal logic likely runs in reverse. An increase in terrorism motivates a greater number of drone strikes. There are many other factors that help account for the dramatic increase in Taliban attacks, including the fact that in July 2007, a treaty between the Pakistani government and the Taliban broke down after the government besieged Islamic militants who had taken refuge within the “Red Mosque” in Islamabad (Jaegar and Siddique 2011, 3). Conflict between the Taliban and the Pakistani government has continued since that time. While the data from Figure 3 does not provide a causal link between drone strikes and an increase in the number of terrorist attacks, it does demonstrate that drone strikes failed to cripple the Taliban and reduce their long-term ability to carry out attacks.

On the other hand, al Qaeda has struggled to carry out recent attacks, and since 2007, the attacks that have been attributed to the al Qaeda core resulted in fewer casualties than previous al Qaeda attacks. Admittedly, the decline in al Qaeda attacks cannot be attributed entirely to drone strikes since the U.S. government has employed a variety of counterterrorism measures against al Qaeda, but drone strikes seem to have played an important role in al Qaeda’s demise. Overall, statistical analyses suggest that drone strikes have had a slight reduction effect on terrorist activity in the short term and that drone strikes have had greater success in debilitating al Qaeda than the Taliban.

### The Effect of Drone Strikes on Terrorist Leadership and Operational Capacity

The second component involved in gauging the effectiveness of drone strikes is determining whether drone strikes have succeeded in eliminating key terrorist leaders. Data compiled by the New America Foundation (2016) lists the names of sixty-five

high-level leaders of the Taliban and al Qaeda who have been killed by U.S. drone strikes since 2005.<sup>13</sup> Among the list are individuals such as Baitullah Mehsud, the overall leader of the Taliban in Pakistan, who was killed by a drone strike in 2009 (Shah, Tavernise, and Mazzetti 2009). Senior leaders also include Atiyah Abd al-Rahman and Abu Yahya al-Libi, who at the time of their respective deaths were considered al Qaeda Central's "number two."<sup>14</sup> It is difficult to imagine the Taliban and al Qaeda are capable of continually replacing senior-level commanders without suffering a loss in operational capacity and facing internal strife and power struggles.

Information gleaned from the documents and data drives recovered after the raid on the Abbottabad complex where Osama Bin Laden spent the last several years of his life helps validate this claim. An analysis of the correspondence between Bin Laden and other terrorist leaders reveals that al Qaeda was under considerable strain due in part to the damage caused by drone strikes. According to a U.S. counterterrorism official, a 2010 message from Atiyah Abd al-Rahman (who was at the time the third-highest ranking member of al Qaeda) to Bin Laden "expressed frustration with the CIA drone campaign . . . because many of his predecessors in the third-ranking slot had been killed in strikes by the unmanned aircraft" (Miller 2011). One of these predecessors was Mustafa Abu al-Yazid, who was killed along with his family in a 2010 drone strike. Rahman wrote Bin Laden describing Yazid's death, and he outlined the continued menace posed by drones saying, "The planes are still circling our skies nearly every day" (Deverauz 2015).

Bin Laden's own living conditions highlight the complications terrorists face due to the threat of drone strikes. He spent several years living in a specially built compound without an Internet connection or phone line—forced to rely on couriers to transmit messages for him. This severely restricted his ability to communicate with lower-level operatives, plan attacks, recruit new members, and organize fund-raising efforts. Admittedly, this level of security was necessitated by more than just the threat of drone strikes, but drone strikes certainly posed a grave threat to Bin Laden and likely motivated him to flee the FATA in the first place. Other al Qaeda leaders faced similar challenges, and correspondence between Bin Laden and other terrorist leaders reveals that by 2011, al Qaeda Central faced financial difficulties, lacked control over affiliates, such as al Qaeda in Iraq (the forerunner to ISIS), and suffered from a lack of communication and coordination.<sup>15</sup>

There are caveats to the success of drones at eliminating terrorist leaders. While the al Qaeda core appears to have been substantially weakened by the drone strike campaign in Pakistan, the Taliban continue to pose a significant threat to stable governance in Pakistan. The greater level of effectiveness versus al Qaeda is likely due to the fact that al Qaeda is regarded as a greater threat by U.S. policymakers and focuses on carrying out more complicated attacks directed against the U.S. homeland rather than focusing on targets within Pakistan. International terrorist attacks require more sophisticated planning and coordination—the very type of coordination

inhibited by drone strikes, which have forced some terrorists in North Waziristan to resort to living in tunnels (Bergen and Tiedemann 2011, 16–7). In addition, the Taliban have more members than the al Qaeda core, and this may account for the fact that the group has continued to carry out attacks despite facing substantial casualties from drone strikes.

Critics of drone strikes are quick to point out the fact that the sixty-five al Qaeda/Taliban leaders who have been killed represent only about 2 percent of the total number of drone strike casualties (civilian and terrorist) in Pakistan (Boyle 2013, 10). Also, while drone strikes have helped debilitate al Qaeda Central in Pakistan, some scholars have hypothesized that drone strikes in Pakistan have encouraged high-ranking al Qaeda leaders to migrate to other areas where they can expand al Qaeda operations (Cronin 2013, 51–2). This claim is logically intuitive, but it suffers from a paucity of hard evidence to support it.<sup>16</sup> Overall, it appears that drone strikes have been quite successful at eliminating terrorist leaders, but the Taliban, and to a lesser extent the al Qaeda core, remain threats due to the resiliency of their network structures and their ability to adapt to changes in leadership (Zimmerman 2013, 23).

### **The Effect of Drone Strikes on Terrorist Recruitment**

Another question to consider is whether drone strikes result in an anti-American backlash that facilitates radicalization and terrorist recruitment. International opinion is harshly critical of drone strikes. Polling data published by the Pew Research Center in July of 2014 showed that “In 39 of 44 countries surveyed, majorities or pluralities oppose U.S. drone strikes targeting extremists in countries such as Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia.” Furthermore, there were only three countries (including the U.S.) where more than 50 percent of the population supported the use of drone strikes (Pew Research Center 2014). While international opinion does carry some weight, the primary concern for U.S. policymakers should be the sentiments held by Pakistani citizens about U.S. drone strikes and the degree to which Pakistanis sympathize with these groups, such as al Qaeda and the Taliban. It lies within the realm of possibility that virulent opposition to U.S. drone strikes could motivate international al Qaeda and Taliban sympathizers to join those organizations, but the most pressing concern is that Pakistani civilians who face the direct effects of drone strikes will become radicalized and join the jihad against the United States.

There is an overwhelming consensus that drone strikes are extremely unpopular amongst Pakistanis. In 2013, there were several mass protests against drone strikes in major Pakistani cities (Fair, Kaltenthaler and Miller 2014, 2), but data from public opinion surveys in Pakistan show that sympathy for religious-extremist terrorist groups like al Qaeda and the Taliban has decreased since the drone strike campaign began.

The International Republican Institute carried out widespread public opinion polling in Pakistan from 2006–09, and their results provide valuable insight into Pakistani opinion on drone strikes, terrorism, and U.S.–Pakistani cooperation in

combating terrorism. The survey found that a large majority of Pakistanis opposed Pakistani and U.S. joint counterterrorism efforts, with numbers tending to fluctuate between 60 and 75 percent during all the months the question was asked.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, 76 percent of Pakistanis disagreed with the Pakistani government partnering with the U.S. to carry out drone strikes against extremists (2009, 18–9). These results clearly indicate that drone strikes are unpopular, but they provide little support to the hypothesis that drone strikes do more harm than good by encouraging otherwise peaceful citizens to enlist in terrorist organizations. This is true for several reasons. First, there is a substantial difference between simply feeling upset about drone strikes and risking one's life to join a radical terrorist group that happens to be the target of such strikes. Second, while most Pakistanis oppose drone strikes, they also strongly oppose the activities of the Taliban and al Qaeda.

Those surveyed were also asked whether they thought the Taliban/al Qaeda operating in Pakistan was a serious problem. In September 2007, only 57 percent of respondents viewed the Taliban/al Qaeda as a serious problem, but by July 2009 (the last time the survey was performed) an overwhelming 86 percent of Pakistanis viewed al Qaeda and Taliban operations in Pakistan as a serious problem (International Republican Institute 2009, 15). Eighty percent of Pakistanis indicated they disliked Osama bin Laden in the July 2009 survey, while only 9 percent indicated they liked him (11 percent either did not respond or were unsure). Feelings toward Baitullah Mehsud, the leader of the Pakistani Taliban at the time, were even more negative (2009, 41). A more recent survey performed by the Pew Research Center in 2013 confirms many of the findings from the IRI survey. According to the Pew survey, 93 percent of Pakistanis viewed terrorism as a "very big problem," and 49 percent saw the Taliban as "a serious threat," which nearly matches the percentage of respondents who considered India a serious threat (52 percent) (Pew Research Center 2013).<sup>18</sup> The survey results also indicate that drone strikes remain highly unpopular, with 68 percent of Pakistanis opposing them. Meanwhile, 72 percent of respondents had an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. in general. Two clear trends emerge from the data on Pakistani public opinion: 1) Pakistanis hate drone strikes, and 2) the majority of Pakistanis hate terrorism just as much if not more. This suggests that while drone strikes certainly will not make the U.S. any more popular, there is little reason to believe that Pakistanis are sympathizing with the Taliban or al Qaeda and rushing to join their ranks in large numbers.<sup>19</sup>

Due to the instability and danger of the FATA region, no recent public opinion polling has been conducted in the FATA. All the data on Pakistani opinions of terrorism, the U.S., and drone strikes come from surveys conducted in the four main provinces of Pakistan (the Punjab, Balochistan, Sindh, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Survey data provide an accurate representation of Pakistani public opinion in general, but individuals living within the FATA region are the most likely to face the adverse consequences of drone strikes, and theoretically they are also the most likely to join the Taliban and al Qaeda. Collecting information about the sentiments of Pakistanis

within the FATA would be extremely difficult, but such information would provide valuable insight into the effectiveness of drone strikes.

There is some anecdotal evidence that points to drone strikes as a catalyst for terrorist recruitment, but this view is more of a popular theory than a well-substantiated fact. One notable case of drone strikes helping to radicalize an individual is that of Faisal Shahzad—the man who attempted to detonate a bomb in Times Square in 2010. In a videotape he recorded before the attempted bombing, Shahzad claimed his attack was motivated by a desire for revenge against the U.S. for carrying out drone strikes (Dolmetsch 2014). Interviews with tribesmen in Yemen also provide evidence that collateral damage from drone strikes has helped increase support for al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and radicalize locals who are now seeking revenge against the U.S. (Raghavan 2012). It is commonly believed that the same phenomenon is occurring in Pakistan, but there is little concrete evidence to confirm such a claim.

Additional information about drone strikes, the Taliban, and al Qaeda almost certainly exists yet remains classified due to its sensitive nature. The lack of open-source information makes it difficult to come to firm conclusions about the effectiveness of drone strikes, and further research should focus on obtaining information from primary sources to the extent possible. Other case studies examining the use of drones in Yemen and Somalia would also help extend our understanding of the implications of drone strikes. These studies could highlight certain situations or factors that may make drone strikes a more or less effective strategy, and they could also help validate or challenge the conclusions from this analysis of the drone strike campaign in Pakistan.

## **Conclusion and Recommendations**

Evidence from the U.S. drone strike campaign in Pakistan leads to several conclusions about the effectiveness of drone strikes. First, drone strikes have a deterrent effect on terrorist attacks in the short term, but they do not necessarily cause a long-term reduction in the overall amount of terrorism or the outright defeat of resilient terrorist organizations. Interestingly, the al Qaeda core in Pakistan has seemingly suffered greater disruption than the Taliban since the initiation of the drone campaign in Pakistan. It is somewhat curious why the Taliban has proved more resilient in the face of drone strikes than the al Qaeda core, but the most likely explanation is that the large size of the Taliban's membership enables the group to continue functioning in spite of hundreds or even thousands of drone-related casualties.

Second, drone strikes have achieved notable success in eliminating key terrorist leaders, and the loss of leadership places a strain on terrorist organizations. This is especially true for small, close-knit groups like the al Qaeda core. The Taliban have shown greater resilience to drone strikes because they have focused their attacks on soft targets within Pakistan, and these attacks require less coordination, making them harder to disrupt.<sup>20</sup>

A third key takeaway from this study is that the analysis of Pakistani public opinion clearly shows that most Pakistanis have harshly negative views of both the U.S. and extremist terrorist groups. This suggests that while drone strikes may generate animosity toward the U.S., it is unlikely that the strikes are driving significant numbers of Pakistanis into the arms of the Taliban and al Qaeda. Anecdotal evidence lends support to the theory that drone strikes fuel terrorist recruitment, but there is a paucity of systematic evidence to support this notion. This finding supports the continued use of drone strikes albeit in a carefully controlled manner to minimize civilian casualties.

Furthermore, much of the outrage over drone strikes is driven by public criticism and complaints from Pakistani government officials, but it is evident that the Pakistani government privately has been complicit in the strikes. A large proportion of the strikes have been aimed at the Pakistani Taliban, who pose a greater threat to the Pakistani government than they do to the U.S. (State Department 2014),<sup>21</sup> and Pakistani Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani said in a state department cable in 2008, "I don't care if they [the Americans] do it [i.e. carry out drone strikes]. We'll complain in the National Assembly and then we'll ignore it" (Bergen and Tiedemann 2011, 16). There may be an under-the-table agreement between the U.S. and Pakistani governments about official government stances on drone strikes, but the lack of transparency regarding drone strikes is giving the U.S. a figurative black eye in international politics. The U.S. would benefit from increased transparency regarding drone strikes and should pressure the Pakistani government to match its public statements on drone strikes with its private statements. If the Pakistani public, as well as the international community, were better informed about drone strikes and the rationale for their use, the opposition to drone strikes would likely diminish significantly. This in turn would help ameliorate concerns about radicalization and growing sympathy for the Taliban and al Qaeda.

To employ a medical comparison, drone strikes are a counterterrorism prescription that addresses the symptoms rather than the causes of terrorism, and they come with unwanted side effects. In spite of these limitations, it is difficult, if not impossible, to prescribe a strategy that could disrupt and damage the al Qaeda core and the Taliban without risking the lives of many U.S. citizens, increasing the costs of counterterrorism, and infringing on Pakistani sovereignty to an even greater extent. These factors make drone strikes an appealing, albeit imperfect, tactic. Even though drone strikes provide formidable advantages compared to other counterterrorism tactics, U.S. policymakers should be wary of continuing the drone strike campaign unnecessarily in Pakistan. The al Qaeda core has been severely weakened by drone strikes and other counterterrorism efforts, and the likelihood that they can successfully execute a major attack against the U.S. homeland is miniscule at best. Therefore, continued strikes against al Qaeda and the Taliban will likely bring diminishing marginal returns, especially if the attacks are not welcome by the Pakistani public.

The frequency of drone strikes has declined in recent years, and U.S. officials should continue striving to transition to alternative counterterrorism strategies in Pakistan that will help address the root causes of terrorism fueled by religious extremism and radicalization through social networks.

Eventually, the counterterrorism efforts in Pakistan will come to an end, but terrorism itself has existed for hundreds, if not thousands, of years and is a tactic particularly suited to the modern era. The enthusiastic opinion many decision-makers in Washington have toward drone strikes is a strong indicator that drone strikes will continue to play an important role in U.S. counterterrorism efforts. Indeed, the partial success of drone strikes in Pakistan begs the question of whether drone strikes should be used in the fight against ISIS. Drones allow for greater precision and discrimination than traditional air strikes, and they may be a useful alternative to placing boots on the ground. On the flip side, however, the controversy over the use of drones could damage U.S. political interests in the Middle East if drones were deployed to combat ISIS. Questions about the use of drones are not likely to go away in the near future, so it is imperative that scholars and policymakers come to a fuller and more nuanced understanding of the effects of drone strikes. This knowledge will enable military and political leaders to make correct decisions regarding when, where, and how best to employ drone strikes as a counterterrorism strategy.

#### NOTES

1. A 2010 report published by the George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs states that “The Predator, the most commonly used [and the least advanced] drone in the American arsenal, can loiter at 25,000 feet for nearly 40 hours, and is equipped with two Hellfire missiles and two cameras—one infrared and one regular—that can read a license plate from two miles up” (Callam 2010). 2. There are several militant/terrorist groups that operate in the FATA region of Pakistan. The term “Taliban” is the generic name used to refer to these groups collectively. The Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) is the main terrorist group in the FATA, but I will refer to them simply as the “Taliban.” For more information on the origins and history of the Tehrik-i-Taliban see Abbas 2008.
3. See Figure 3.
4. For a detailed discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of a network-based terrorist organization, see Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Calvert Jones, “Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks: Why Al-Qaida May Be Less Threatening than Many Think,” *International Security*. 33, no. 2 (2008): 7–44.
5. For an illustration of the contrasting opinions about drone strikes, see Cronin 2013 and Byman 2013. Statements made by U.S. government officials have tended to exhibit an extremely favorable view of drone strikes while the opinions of journalists and academics are more mixed.
6. See the Global Terrorism Database provided by the National Consortium for Terrorism to see the locations of all recorded al Qaeda and Taliban attacks: [www.start.umd.edu/gtd](http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd).
7. Bergen and Tiedemann 2011 p. 13.
8. For a complete breakdown of the methodology employed by the scholars at the New America Foundation, see <http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/methodology.html>.
9. Some members of the Haqqani militant network, a terrorist/insurgency group allied with both al Qaeda and the Taliban, have also been targeted, but these strikes are far less common. For a breakdown of the targets of drone strikes, see <http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/pakistan/analysis>.

10. While the manuscript remains unpublished, earlier versions of the paper were presented at the 2011 Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, and the New America Foundation.
11. See pages 12–39 of their paper for a full discussion of the empirical methods and results of the study. Also, see the appendix of their report to see the regression output tables used to obtain the results.
12. Note that the overall number of attacks carried out by the al Qaeda core is dramatically lower than the number of terrorist attacks carried out by the Taliban. Al Qaeda has gained notoriety for its ability to execute high-casualty attacks like the 9/11 attacks, the Bali night club bombings, and the Madrid subway bombings, however. The vast majority of terrorist attacks in Pakistan are carried out by groups like the TTP that have been targeted by U.S. drone strikes. These attacks are generally small and result in few if any casualties (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism).
13. <http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/leaders-killed.html?country=Pakistan>. Accessed February 10, 2016.
14. Both were killed after the death of Bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri's assumption of the role of Emir of the al Qaeda core.
15. For a detailed analysis of the documents retrieved from the Abbottabad compound made available for the public record, see Lahoud, et al., "Letters from Abbottabad: Bin Laden Sidelined?" *Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*, May 3, 2012.
16. For example, Cronin suggests that drone strikes may be a driving force behind the spread of al Qaeda, but the only validation she offers for this claim is that repressive counterinsurgency efforts by Russia in Chechnya (which didn't involve drones) led to a spread of violence throughout the Caucasus region.
17. The precise question was, "Do you think that Pakistan should cooperate with the U.S. on its war against terror?"
18. India and Pakistan have gone to war within the last several decades, and because both countries possess nuclear missiles, the possibility of further conflict between them is a major concern.
19. The possibility exists that citizens from other countries may be motivated to join al Qaeda or the Taliban due to their indignation over drone strikes, and this could be an interesting topic for further study.
20. The Taliban also benefit from a number of cultural factors unique to the Pashtun tribes that live in the FATA and surrounding areas. See Asfar et al., 2008.
21. The TTP has carried out a couple of attacks against U.S. citizens in Pakistan such as the 2010 suicide bombing of the U.S. consulate in Peshawar.

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# Do You Hear the People Sing?: Populist Discourse in the French Revolution

by Rebecca Dudley

The rallying cry of the French Revolutionaries was “*Liberté! Egalité! Fraternité!*” (liberty, equality, fraternity), and the French Revolution, a pivotal moment in French, European, and world history, has been consistently considered one of the first and most significant nationalist movements. Research and literature thus far on discourse in this revolution have focused on nationalism (Jenkins 1990; Hayward 1991; O’Brien 1988), along with the discourses of violence and terror that led to the graphic revolution (Ozouf 1984; Leoussi 2001). The presence of nationalist discourse and nationalist sentiment in the French Revolution is undeniable, but there are other elements potentially missing from the current analyses.

This focus in scholarly literature on nationalism in the French Revolution has crowded out discussion for other types of discourse potentially present in revolution rhetoric. Thus, a study of other types of political discourse could fill gaps in existing literature about the French Revolution. Since most historical and political analyses confidently present class conflict and anti-elite sentiments among the lower classes as the cause of the revolution, the specific discourse I call into question is populism. Populism is defined as a dualistic, Manichean discourse in which the “good” is the will of a good people or common man, and the “evil” is the will of the conspiring elite (Hawkins 2010). Populism calls for a return of power to the people, often calling for dramatic social reform or revolution. The French Revolution has not yet been considered as a case study in populism, but it seems to fit the mold due to the class conflicts at its heart.

I assert that the French Revolution will show elements of populist discourse because of the theme of class conflicts as well as the passionate and dramatic leaders and movements that it inspired. I theorize that populist discourse propelled the revolution forward, especially in its earliest stages, as the revolution was based on the

idea of “the people” rising up against the spoiled, minority “elite,” whose inefficiency and wastefulness as rulers culminated in the extravagance and excess of Versailles and the Royal Court (amid the squalor of the common people’s daily lives). Therefore, the discourse of the French Revolution should include moderate to strong populist elements. A study of this movement in terms of populist discourse will be interesting, as the revolution propelled France onto a rocky path toward an ultimately stable democracy, although the initial result of the revolution was the First Empire under Napoleon Bonaparte. This movement with outcomes that are only clear through the lens of history will be an interesting case study in terms of political discourse that also supports both democracy and totalitarianism. Understanding the French Revolution as a populist case could aid in understanding the revolution, as populism can explain why a movement that began with such pure democratic ideals and values descended into the terror and ended in a military dictatorship-turned-empire.

To analyze the French Revolution as a populist case, I will start by giving the context for the revolution and analysis through a content analysis, history of the revolution, and a brief explanation of how an understanding of the French Revolution through the lens of populism will aid and add to the existing understanding. I will then go through the method of analysis and the results: the quantitative analysis that uses holistic grading to look at the amount of populism in speeches in the revolution, and the qualitative analysis that looks at the specific aspects of populist discourse that are found in the same speeches. I end with conclusions drawn from this analysis along with implications and suggestions for future study.

### **Context and Justification: The Revolution as a Populist Case Study**

#### *A Brief History of the Revolution<sup>1</sup>*

Historians traditionally divide the French Revolution into five major phases, traditionally marking the storming of the Bastille as the beginning. The five periods are generally divided as follows: The Estates-General (1788–89), Revolutionary Consensus (1790–91), Republican Revolution and Legislative Assembly (1791–93), Reign of Terror (1793–94), and the Directory and End of the Revolution (1795–99) (Doyle 1989). Each period of the revolution showed a marked difference in power and pointed the course of the movement down different roads, showing different levels of radicalism.

Many of the ideals set forth in the French Revolution had their basis in its predecessor, the American Revolution. When French soldiers returned home from the fledgling United States of America after helping fight in the American Revolutionary War, they returned home with ideas of liberty, equality, and revolutionary fervor. However, the France they returned to was not like the free state they had just fought to create. Although historians are uncertain what exact combination of factors led to the point that sparked the revolution, one aspect is certain: the widening gap between the rich and the poor was becoming too much for the poor to handle, but the nobility did not notice, because they were sequestered in the luxury and excess of the courts of Versailles. Meanwhile, the country was slipping into a financial crisis. While Marie Antoinette’s

infamous words “let them eat cake” were never actually spoken, the sentiment was clear to her suffering subjects.

In 1789, the king convened the Estates-General, a governing body that was meant to appease and give more power to the people. However, they were divided among themselves on class issues, specifically whether or not to vote by class. The political situation continued to destabilize, the economy continued to worsen, and the situation of the subjects continued to become desperate, therefore, the people took drastic action. On July 14, 1789, Parisian revolutionaries and mutinous troops stormed the Bastille, an old prison in Paris used to store weapons and armor. According to legend, on July 14, 1789 a passionate revolutionary jumped up on the tables of a Parisian café, yelled “To the Bastille!” and all of the people rushed to storm the prominent armory and prison, ushering in the ten riotous years of the French Revolution. Although this dramatic envisagement of the event is far from what likely happened, the glamorization shows the importance of revolutionary themes: unity of the people, action from the people, and bold, dramatic action.

The monarchy was not overthrown immediately. For a time, the king stayed in France while the National Assembly (the former Estates-General) somewhat took control of the country, as the future of the country was in question. Initially, they examined the idea of a constitutional or limited monarchy until the initial, though vague and uneasy, support shown by Louis XVI for the revolution was withdrawn. The country began to erupt into groups with levels of radicalism: the most radical group was the Jacobins, while the Girondins were considered more moderate. Shifts in power between these groups would change the trajectory of the revolution.

The most well-worn chapter in the story of the French Revolution is that of the Reign of Terror, with the Jacobin Maximilien Robespierre as its beloved protagonist (or possibly its antagonist) and the guillotine as his sidekick. In 1792, France declared itself a Republic and set about forming a National Convention. However, the radical Jacobins gained control of this legislative assembly through a coup, and the most radical period of the revolution began. From 1793–94, approximately forty thousand Frenchmen lost their heads at the guillotine as the accusatory fingers of the Committee of Public Safety (the arm of the government controlled by Robespierre to do his bidding) pointed out everyone and anyone who posed any threat to the radical purpose. Louis XVI and his wife Marie Antoinette were executed along with the former nobles and other revolutionaries. Eventually, the moderate Girondins came back to power in the Thermidorian Reaction, and Robespierre himself met the same headless fate as the terror’s victims.

After the radical Reign of Robespierre and the Jacobins, the second half of the revolution was significantly more conservative. The Constitution of 1795 created a tame Republic that attempted as conservative a democracy as possible. Although the next four years saw attempted coups and staged rebellions, the Directory that ran the country from 1795–99 was generally in control of things. In 1799, a strapping

young lad by the name of Napoleon Bonaparte ended the French Revolution when he overthrew the Directory and the First Republic. Bonaparte established the First Consul, which would become the First Empire in 1804. The Napoleonic Era had begun, and this era ushered in a century and a half of toggling between republics, monarchies, consulates, and empires.

*Filling the Gap: Populism as an Addition to Understanding the French Revolution*

The stark differences in each period of the revolution help to explain why the French Revolution should be considered as a populist case study. Populism can help explain these differences, as intense populism at the beginning of the revolution can account for the descent into radicalism later. I propose that the earliest periods of the revolution will show moderate amounts of populism, peaking with the Reign of Terror, and subsiding into the more moderate and conservative Directory.

Historians, political scientists, sociologists, and other social scientists have looked at and analyzed the French Revolution since its beginnings but never yet as a case of populism. In order to provide justification and context for studying populism in the French Revolution, I performed a content analysis aimed at discovering how and if populism has been previously associated with the French Revolution. The results of the content analysis are summarized in Table 1.

**Table 1: Populism in the French Revolution**

	Total Sources	"Populism"	Percentage
Hugo Chavez	3,489	126	3.61%
French Revolution	3,748	1	0.02%
Robespierre	200	0	0%
Bonaparte	1,373	0	0%

Source: Compiled by author, data from Academic Search Premier

I followed the same process for the four variables I analyzed. I used Ebscohost's Academic Search Premier and included all types of sources. I searched within the titles and basic subjects of each source, and this led to a smaller but more specific sample size. The first search was done using only the key words indicated above, and the second search added the requirement of "populis" to catch references to populism or a populist. The search became semi-automated rather than a fully computer-automated analysis, because I finished by going through the entries in the second search to ensure that the source was affirmatively labeling the individual or movement as populist, rather than claiming they / it was "not populist." I began the content analysis with an anchor for comparison; Hugo Chavez of Venezuela is widely considered a strong populist, so he was the first search that I ran. I then repeated the process for "French Revolution," "Robespierre," and "Bonaparte."

The results of the content analysis are not surprising considering the focus on nationalism in the literature on the French Revolution. While a relatively significant portion of the literature on Hugo Chavez considered him populist, only one of the sources on the French Revolution considered it in the same realm of populism; in addition, this article did not explicitly refer to the revolution as populist but rather referred to the “populist reactions” to the revolution. Two major leaders in the revolutionary time period, Robespierre and Bonaparte, have not been considered populist in any literature thus far. The results of this quantitative content analysis are significant, because it shows a gap in the existing literature and creates an opportunity for additional understanding.

The existing literature on the French Revolution focuses on the nationalist elements of the revolution (Jenkins 1990; Hayward 1991; O’Brien 1988), as it was a movement that took the idea of the nation and country and lauded it above the individual. They created a new flag for a new nation that would be heralded as the Fatherland: *la Patrie*. According to this nationalist theory, the citizens of France stood up for their rights and overthrew the monarchy, creating a new government for themselves, because they believed in the power of their country. In *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution*, Otto Dann and John Dinwiddy state that “it is common for scholars to apply the term ‘nationalism’ not only to chauvinistic tendencies but to any political movement by which a social group, regarding itself as a nation, aims at political sovereignty in its area of settlement and claims political participation and autonomy.” (1988). The French Revolution fits this mold as the rising bourgeoisie stood up to take control of their country from the gluttonous hands of the elite. The French Revolution, in fact, brought the idea of the nation out of obscurity and into the forefront of the ideals of European patriotism and nationalism (Dann and Dinwiddy 1988). Nationalism is a clear theme in the French Revolution, but there is room for additional analysis.

The nationalist significance of the French Revolution is certain and undeniable; however, the French Revolution has not been considered from a populist standpoint, despite its appreciation for the people. The movement that released the Declaration on the Rights of Man clearly has a vested interest in more than just the people as a nation but also the people as a plurality of the common man. In a way, a nationalist movement can be seen as a special case of mobilized populism. While populist discourse is often confined to rhetoric, if the call for social change and revolution is heeded and the people rise up to liberate themselves, the resulting movement would likely fit the definition of a nationalist movement.

Understanding the French Revolution in terms of populism, in addition to the nationalist themes and elements that have been so thoroughly explored, will aid in the understanding of the revolution as a whole. The motivations behind the movement are crucial to the historical analysis of the time period, and understanding the key political discourses in use at the time will give insight into the values held by

the revolutionaries and their contemporaries. Populism has implications of a world-view that is divided: a Manichean outlook that separates the world between the good and the bad, the people and the elite. Populism can explain the trajectory of the revolution: A purely democratic movement at first that descended into radicalism and ended in a military dictatorship. Also, since the French Revolution is a historical case in which the implications and consequences can be clearly studied, understanding the degree of populist discourse and populist motivations in the revolution will provide a case study of a populist movement in history.

Because of the underlying appreciation for the people and the class conflicts, I hypothesize that the French Revolution will show elements of populist discourse. Specifically, due to the trajectory of the revolution, I hypothesize that the earlier periods of the revolution will show more populist discourse, peaking in intensity during the Reign of Terror, and then subsiding during the more conservative Directory. The periods of the revolution and the changes between them can be explained in part by populist discourse during the early stages.

### **Discourse in the French Revolution: Method and Results of Analysis**

In order to determine the level of populism in the French Revolution, this project looked at French Revolutionary discourse through quantitative and qualitative analysis. The quantitative analysis looked at discourse in the French Revolution using holistic grading to measure how much populism was in the speeches, while the qualitative analysis looked at individual aspects of what is included in populist discourse. This section highlights the method and results from the analysis, including average scores given to speeches from the revolution for the quantitative content analysis and direct quotes (some translated) taken from the speeches for the qualitative content analysis.

#### *Quantitative Analysis: Populist Discourse in the Revolution*

To analyze the discourse, this project looked at speeches from time periods of the revolution. For the purposes of the quantitative analysis, the time periods are divided based on the traditional five periods of the revolution. Speeches for each period<sup>2</sup> were chosen based on available data and relevance to the revolution; however, not all periods had available data. The summarized results include only the periods in which there was material to analyze.

The process of the quantitative content analysis involved two coders looking at this set of speeches from the time periods of the French Revolution. Using anchor texts from Evo Morales, Stephen Harper, and Tony Blair to determine extremes of text containing populist discourse, each speech was rated on a zero to two scale using a rubric outlining different aspects of populist discourse<sup>3</sup> (Hawkins 2010). For this scale, a zero represents a speech that shows no populist discourse, a one represents a speech with limited populist discourse, and a two represents a speech with extreme populist discourse. A raw (decimal) score was given, as well as a rounded

**Table 2: Raw and Average Speech Scores for Populism in the French Revolution**

Period	Speeches	Raw Score	Average	Rounded Score	Average
The Estates-General 1788-1789	"...impending storm" (Mirabeau)	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Revolutionary Consensus 1790-1791	"...State of the Republic" (Barère)	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.15
	"...War and Peace" (Mirabeau)	1.0		0.8	
Republican Revolution and Legislative Assembly 1791-1793	"Manifesto..." (Roux)	0.5	0.79	0.35	0.76
	"French People" (Roux)	2.0		1.8	
	"...revolutionary France" (Vergniaud)	0.0		0.25	
	"...charges of moderation" (Vergniaud)	0.0		0.2	
	"...to the People" (Vergniaud)	1.0		0.9	
	"...Louis XVI" (Gensonné)	2.0		1.5	
	"...Jacobins" (Guadet)	0.0		0.3	
Reign of Terror 1793-1794	"...virtue and terror" (Robespierre)	2.0	1.67	1.55	1.44
	"...Enemies of the Nation" (Robespierre)	2.0		1.75	
	"...Political Morality" (Robespierre)	1.0		1.4	
	"Speech (1)..." (Robespierre)	2.0		1.9	
	"Speech (2)..." (Robespierre)	2.0		1.9	
	"Last Speech..." (Robespierre)	2.0		1.5	
	"To the Tribunals" (Danton)	2.0		1.6	
	"...his countrymen" (Danton)	1.0		1.35	
"Last Speech..." (Danton)	1.0	0.5			
The Directory and End of the Revolution 1795-1799	"Proclamation..." (Bonaparte)	0.0	0.0	0.05	0.05

Source: Author and quantitative coders' data

score. Reported scores are averaged between the two coders. Table 2 reports the raw and average scores for all speeches divided into each period. This process represents a holistic grading technique for a quantitative content analysis of political discourse.

For the speeches that were coded by both coders, the percent agreement for the rounded scores was 88.9 percent with a Cohen's kappa of 0.83. Due to the size of the scale, there was no weighting for intermediate values in this agreement and kappa. This is a strong Cohen's kappa statistic (Cohen 1968), and it reflects a high level of agreement between the coders. The Krippendorff's alpha for rounded scores was 0.927, and the alpha for the raw scores was 0.926. These alpha statistics also reflect a high level of agreement between the coders and strong intercoder reliability (Freelon 2010).

This quantitative analysis can be summarized by the averages of the content analysis. For the Estates-General, there is a moderate level of populism (1.0, 1.0), as well as the Revolutionary Consensus (1.5, 1.15). The Republican Revolution and Legislative Assembly showed a more moderate degree of populism (0.79, 0.76), while the end of the revolution showed no populism (0.0, 0.05). The most populist discourse occurred during the Reign of Terror (1.67, 1.44).

The speech scores can also be summarized by individual orator, as most orators were relatively homogeneous in their personal level of populism. Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau showed moderate levels of populism, with an average score of 1.0; Bertrand Barère of the same time period showed more populism with a score of 2.0. Jacques Roux showed diversity in his scores, scoring a 0.5 and 2.0. Armand Gensonné scored highly (2.0) while Marguerite-Élie Guadet of the same period scored low (0.0). Maximilien Robespierre and Georges Danton of the Reign of Terror had the highest scores, a period rife with high levels of populist discourse and scores of 2.0. All speeches analyzed during the Reign of Terror showed at least moderate levels of populism. Napoleon Bonaparte rounded out the revolution with no populism and a score of 0.0. It is critical to note, however, that orators with a larger sample, such as Robespierre, show a more accurate representation of their level of populism.

These results match with the radicalism of the movements and periods of the revolution. The Reign of Terror is considered the most radical, dramatic, and graphic part of the revolution, with Maximilien Robespierre as its brainchild and dramatist. However, as the revolution moves on toward the Directory and the end of the revolution, the discourse becomes flatter and tamer; therefore, the speeches by Napoleon Bonaparte showed no populist elements.

Limitations to this quantitative analysis rest mainly on the limited amount of speeches available for analysis. While some orators had abundant records, most had little to none. Even Bonaparte, a critical figure in French and European history, had only one speech related to the French Revolution. Because of the limits in speech availability, this analysis provides a better idea of the level of populism during the first half of the revolution, focusing on the Republican Revolution and the Reign of Terror.

Overall, the results from this quantitative analysis are significant, because they show tendencies toward populist discourse, especially during the most radical periods of the revolution (i.e., the Reign of Terror). These results support the hypotheses: there was moderate populism at the beginning of the Revolution, peaking in the Reign of Terror and fully subsiding during the Directory. The prevalence of populist discourse in the French Revolution informs the previous scholarly literature on the revolution to include it as a populist movement.

*Qualitative Analysis: Elements of Populism*

This qualitative analysis includes speeches<sup>4</sup> given by major orators and leaders of the French Revolution, but most of the speeches used came from the first half of the revolution. In the quantitative analysis, I have shown that there are moderate amounts of populist discourse in the first half of the French Revolution. This qualitative analysis is meant to illustrate the aspects of populist discourse that are included in the speeches. Using the definition of populism as a Manichean worldview where the good is the will of the people and the evil is the conspiring elite, I looked for evidence of a “good people,” a “bad elite,” as well as “cosmic proportions,” and a “need for social change.” Understanding these elements in the discourse of the revolution will give a clearer picture of the levels of populism in the French Revolution.

THE GOOD PEOPLE

The notion of the good people as the French citizens is the easiest to identify in the revolutionary discourse. This is logical when considered along with the ideas of both nationalism and populism; types of discourse involve a notion of a people that have the rightful claim to power. In populism, however, this notion of the people is tainted by the Manichean worldview that is crucial to populist discourse; therefore, moral value is ascribed to the idea of the people and thus becomes “the good people.” References to the good people in discourse of the French Revolution are abundant, and the French citizenry, the lower class and rising bourgeois, constitute the good people.

References to the good people become a common theme among the speeches of the revolution, and the phrase “the people” is littered throughout the orations of these periods. In his speech “To the Tribunals,” Georges Danton uses variations of that basic phrase: “the last resort of the people,” “the French people,” “the splendor of the state, the prosperity of the French people,” “the most forceful lever of the revolution, the firmest rampart of liberty were the people’s societies.” In his analysis “On the Judgement of Louis XVI,” Armand Gensonné refers consistently to the people as the authority that should determine the fate of the former king: “But should this judgement be sanctioned by the people?” Continual references to the people clearly identify “the people” as the focus of the entire revolutionary movement.

The lauding of the people as the virtuous majority and rightful controllers is illustrated clearly through the graphically glamorous speeches of Robespierre. In his speech “On the Principles of Political Morality,” Robespierre refers distinctly to the

virtues and moral superiority of the French people: "Happily virtue is natural in the people, despite aristocratical prejudices." That same speech references the "resource" that exists "in that of the people." "On the Enemies of the Nation" uses a blatant reference to the superior moral beings in the common man: "the virtuous people." In his second speech at the Festival of the Supreme Being, Robespierre refers to the "Heroes of the Fatherland" as the people. Robespierre had a dramatic style of oration in which he would speak directly to the people, encourage and idealize them, and then call them to action against the "enemies of the people." This pattern can be seen in Robespierre's first speech at the Festival of the Supreme Being: "Republicans of France, it has finally arrived, this day has never yet blessed the French people. . . . Tomorrow, we fight again against the vices and the tyrants; we will give the world the example of republican virtues and this will be to honor once more!" Robespierre's inflated rhetoric and glorification of the people gives a semblance of context to his radical politics during the Reign of Terror.

#### THE BAD ELITE

The distinguishing factor that takes populism a step farther than nationalism is the idea of the evil and conspiring elite that is the reason that the good people must rise up and take control or effect social change. This bad elite is the opposing side of the Manichean outlook; the "evil" and conspiratorial group of people who mean to attack the "good." It is interesting and important to note that initially the French people saw the nobility as more of the enemy than the king; the king was too far separated from their lives, which strengthened the disdain and even hatred for the aristocracy.

The revolutionary discourse shows a blatant distaste for the elite, a theme that echoes through the speeches of most of the orators. In Jacques Roux's speech "On the Majesty of the French People," he refers to the "crowned tigers whose barbarian hordes have soiled the land of liberty," the "corrupted representatives, faithless administrators, prevaricating agents," and "pious lunatic fanatics, who stupidly disseminate the principles of their imbecilic superstition." In Armand Gensonné's speech "On the Judgement of Louis XVI," he stated that "Louis is guilty, Louis deserves death." The Count of Mirabeau, in "On the Right of Declaring War and Peace," referred to the "abuse from the ancient royalty," and Robespierre's "Last Speech to the Convention" refers to how "the tyrants seek to destroy the defenders of liberty." This dramatic oratory paints a picture of distaste for the elite, the political leaders and economic beneficiaries whom the revolutionary leaders felt had soiled their beloved country.

An interesting and unexpected shift occurred during the revolutionary discourse in terms of the elite. Logically, when thinking of the French Revolution, in retrospect it is a simple division between the people and the elite: the citizens versus the monarchy and nobility. However, due to the historical context of the speeches, the elite in question was not the former monarchy. Since the monarchy had been overthrown (and decapitated), some of the radical leaders chose to point to other revolutionary

leaders as elites who did not have the best interests of the people at heart in their attempts at social change. This distinction between the old elite and the new elite is evident in Jacques Roux's "Manifesto of the Enragés" in which he points out the evil of an elite as well as the elites that have plagued the French people:

Freedom is nothing but a vain phantom when one class of men can starve another with impunity.

For the last four years the rich alone have profited from the advantages of the Revolution. The merchant aristocracy, more terrible than that of the noble and sacerdotal aristocracy. . . .

In the first quote, Roux points only to the evils of class distinctions, not to a specific elite. However, in the second quote, he is quick to point to the elites who rose up during the revolution as more of a threat to the people than the noble aristocracy that had come before. Although he does point out "the cruel Louis XVI," Roux is making a statement on the consequences thus far in the revolution with the distinction that draws a line between the elite before the revolution and the elite during the revolution. According to these orators, however, both are equally harmful to the cause of the revolution since both stifle the rights of the people. This shift in "who" the elite were did not affect the strength of the discourse, but this shift does provide insight into the populism of the French Revolution: The orators consistently saw the French people as the good people and any enemies to the people as a threat to the republic they attempted to establish.

Robespierre provides the most dramatic examples of references to the elite. Interestingly, even throughout his years in power during the Reign of Terror, after the king had been executed and while most of the nobility and anyone found offensive in the slightest met the guillotine as well, he continued to reference back to the *ancien régime* and the aristocracy as the elite. In his speech "On the Enemies of the Nation," Robespierre created some of the most colorful descriptors for the elite and their heinous actions, including "bearers of the daggers of tyranny" and "the monsters of the universe that conspire against you." Addressing the evil and conspiring motivations of kings and aristocracy in that same speech, Robespierre said

They once hoped to succeed in starving the French people; the French people still lives and will survive all its enemies. . . . They attempted to deprave public morality and to extinguish the generous sentiments of which the love of freedom and of the fatherland . . . slander, treason, arson, poisoning, atheism, corruption, famine, assassinations. They were lavish with these crimes.

In his first speech at the Festival of the Supreme Being, Robespierre referred to kings as "devouring the human race," and at his second speech of the festival, he commented on the "monster that the genius of kings had vomited on France" and that the kings "always conspire to assassinate humanity." Robespierre demon-

strated a radical and enhanced view of the nobility and aristocracy that were the cause of the revolution.

#### COSMIC PROPORTIONS

One theme throughout the populist revolutionary discourse shows the cosmic proportions of the people and the eternal importance of the movement as a whole. The Count of Mirabeau idealizes this notion clearly in his speech "Mirabeau warns the nobility and clergy of Provence of the impending storm," when he states: "If to be such be to become the man of the people rather than of the nobles, then woe to the privileged orders! For privileges shall have an end, but the people are eternal!" Robespierre echoes this in "On the Enemies of the Nation" when he remarks, "the French people still lives and will survive all its enemies." These orations take the idea of the people and extend them from the present moments of the revolution to a concept that will be everlasting, and in so doing, they assign eternal consequences to the outcomes of the revolutionary movement.

The dramatic orations of Robespierre are once again good examples of populist discourse, as they assign cosmic proportions to the motives and actions of the revolution. This happens most dramatically in, unsurprisingly, his speeches at the Festival of the Supreme Being. In his first speech at that festival, Robespierre refers to the "immortal hand" in the revolution, and the "consecration of the French people to the Supreme Being." Robespierre's second speech states: "The Supreme Being has not been annihilated . . . you can once again with impunity turn your eyes towards the Heavens . . . they can no longer snatch the world from the breast of its author." These dramatic speeches give eternal moral significance to the work of the French Revolutionaries.

Most of the cosmic proportions assigned to the duties of the revolutionaries involve the eternal nature of truth and the importance of the movement on the future of the country and the world; however, there is slight reification of history through these speeches that looks back in history to past French philosophers or revolutionaries. Robespierre's speech "On the Enemies of the Nation" references previous revolutionaries: "into the tomb the spirits of Brissot, Hebert, and Danton would emerge triumphant." Even more dramatic are the references to past philosophers by Georges Danton in "To the Tribunals," where he says to "consult such sources as Locke, Montesquieu and Franklin" or "we had in our midst Malby and Rousseau, those immortal torches of legislation." Danton speaks of humanists who believed in the power of the individual and the importance of freedom and democracy. Jacques Roux calls on the power of history in "On the Majesty of the French People" when he refers to the people as "carry[ing] the pride of Spartans and the courage of Brutus." Roux refers to the Brutus who played a pivotal role in the assassination of Julius Caesar, calling into the minds of the French people the comparison between the glory of Rome and the glory of France and the responsibility they have to rid their glorious country of despotic leaders and Caesars. By this dramatic reification of history and

association with the revolution, the references to past leaders, philosophers, and politicians dramatize the necessity of turning France into a republic.

Cosmic proportions and eternal meanings are also assigned to the revolution as a whole in terms of its predicted effect on history. In Danton's speech "Danton reinvigorates his countrymen," he comments that "France is saved and the world is free." This bold statement encapsulates the ideals that many of these revolutionaries felt they were fighting for the French Revolution to set a precedent for the liberation of oppressed people across the world. In "Let France Be Free," Danton echoes a similar sentiment: "you have a whole nation as a lever, its reason as your fulcrum, and you have not yet upturned the world! . . . who thought the methods of the ancien régime could smother the genius of liberty breathing in France." In "On the Enemies of the Nation," Robespierre glorifies the role of the revolutionaries in the eternal Manichean struggle: "Defending liberty against the wickedness of men." This moral significance is heightened as the revolution is associated with truth, and this truth becomes an eternal struggle. In Roux's speech "Manifesto of the Enragés," he says, "Long live the truth, long live the National Convention, long live the French Republic!" Roux's parallel structure in this statement equates the truth with the National Convention and the National Convention with the French Republic. It shows an inherent belief that a republic or a democracy is the true form of government, and Roux believes the National Convention is, at that point, the way to truth and the Republic of France. This link between the significance of the revolution, eternal truth, and the importance of the revolution on the world not only shows populist discourse in the speeches but also glorifies the French Revolution as an immortal event that would be crucial in shaping history.

#### NEED FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

The need and call for social change in populist discourse comes from themes in the speeches of the French Revolution. Since there is no full canon of speeches that trace the movement up to the storming of the Bastille, we are left to uncover the motivations based on the discourse of a country that was already thrown into political turmoil and social and political change. This revolution was a part of their past, present, and future, and this is reflected in the manner in which they refer to the need for social change—either a continuance of the change that is occurring, a dramatization of the changes being made, or a change in the manner of revolution.

Despite the relative success by this point in the revolution,<sup>5</sup> the revolutionary discourse still shows a call for continual change and movement toward the brighter future of France, even if that included moving through the graphic and bloody revolution. In "Danton reinvigorates his countrymen," Danton exclaims, "The people have nothing but blood,—they lavish it!" and "Let us drink the blood of the enemies of humanity, if needful." Robespierre continues this as he calls for continual violence and effort to rid France of the germs of aristocracy and counter-revolutionaries. In "On the Enemies of the Nation," Danton calls the people to action: "Examine who

they are who protect the rogues who encourage counter-revolutionaries, who execute attacks, who hold virtue in contempt, who corrupt public morals . . . What remains to them? Assassination. . . They will perish, all of the tyrants armed against the French people! They will perish, all the factions that rely upon their power in order to destroy our freedom." These speeches show a continued call for social change, even after the monarchy had been overthrown.

In the middle of the French Revolution, these dramatic leaders continued to demand social change. Jacques Roux encouraged the people with his cries of destiny: "There is no destiny as glorious as that of crushing despotism, that of smashing, pulverizing, and annihilating those illustrious brigands." A sentiment that Robespierre echoed when he said, "We must crush both the interior and exterior enemies of the republic, or perish with her," as he reasons "Let tyranny but reign one day, and on the morrow there would not remain a single patriot" ("Robespierre recommends virtue and terror" 1794). Robespierre had a glamorous and compelling style of oratory meant to stir the Frenchmen in their boots and move them to stand up for their country: "How long yet will the madness of despots be called justice, and the justice of the people barbarity or rebellion?" ("On the Principles of Political Morality"). In "To the Tribunals," Danton continues these ideas of continuing the fight: "Against the traitors, against the enemies of the fatherland and public happiness the sword of the law that they wanted to guide in your hands against the apostles of liberty." Even five years after the beginning of the revolution, the most radical orators were still commanding continual and dramatic social change.

#### OTHER DISCOURSES IN THE REVOLUTIONARY RHETORIC

It should be noted that there were speeches involved in this analysis that showed little to no populist discourse. For example, the speech by Napoleon Bonaparte was a narrative of a military event, which was inherently pragmatic rather than showing elements of populism. Bonaparte does not point out any bad elite, and though he speaks of a good citizen devoted to the Republic, he does not refer to the French people as inherently virtuous in any way. Bonaparte's speech was dry and neither passionate nor bellicose, a far cry from the impassioned speeches of Robespierre and other predecessors. Bonaparte showed no populism, favoring instead a dry and pragmatic approach.

The speeches of Pierre Vergniaud were also almost fully devoid of populist discourse, favoring instead the discourse of pluralism. Vergniaud still frames the will of the common Frenchman as the good the government should strive to protect, but the key difference between the rhetoric of Vergniaud and his contemporaries is that Vergniaud calls for moderation and compromise. His speech "Vergniaud admits to Robespierre's charges of moderation" was a reaction to claims made by others, and thus becomes a tame speech spoken to other members of the government. He mentions a people but does not single out a bad, ruling, or conspiring elite. He admits to being more moderate than Robespierre and in this way calls for an end of the inflated populist rhetoric and dramatic movements in order to move forward to a brighter and stronger France.

Although there was a good amount of populist discourse in the speeches of some orators of the French Revolution, and this populist discourse has implications for the movement as a whole, not all of the revolutionaries and orators can be considered populist.

Overall, however, the aspects of populist discourse found in the speeches in the first half of the French Revolution demonstrate that the speeches of the French Revolution can be considered populist. This adds another dimension and political discourse to the work of the French Revolution, and another element to aid the understanding of the revolution. The populist discourse was likely effective in motivating and mobilizing the cycles that propelled the revolution forward for ten years.

### **Conclusion: Implications of a Populist Revolution on Future Study**

This analysis focused on the speeches in the French Revolution in order to determine whether or not the French Revolution invoked populism. The analysis confirms the hypotheses, as there were clear populist elements found in the discourse of the first half of the revolution. The moderate to strong results from the quantitative analysis and the abundance of examples of the aspects of populism explored in the qualitative analysis show that at least the first half of the revolution was a considerably populist movement. However, since most of the analysis in this paper focused on the discourse in the first half of the revolution, there is room for future research that expands upon discourse in later periods of the revolution.

One important conclusion that can be drawn from an understanding of the French Revolution through a populist lens is an increased explanation for its trajectory. The intensity of the populism in the first periods and the peak in the Reign of Terror can act as a guide for the following periods of the revolution. The lens of populism explains a great deal of why a movement that began with pure democratic undertones, descended into the Reign of Terror, ended in a military dictatorship, and set the basis for over a century of political instability. Populism is, at its heart, a democratic movement calling for popular sovereignty, but as it overlooks minority rights it sets the stage for totalitarianism, which can be seen in the military dictatorship that ended the French Revolution.

Populism can explain the trajectory of the revolution during the revolution but also helps to explain the political instability afterward. Despite its lasting legacy and impact on French and European history, the French Revolution could not be called immediately successful. The First Republic that was its first result was overthrown by one of the same men who claimed to be a part of the revolutionary movement. France was propelled through a century and a half of empires, monarchies, and attempts at democracy until Charles de Gaulle established the Fifth Republic in 1958, a democracy successful to this day. These fluctuant ramifications of the revolution can be interpreted as a case study in the effects of populism. The French Revolution provides a historical example of the consequences of populism. An analysis of the complicated historical consequences of French Revolution could provide interesting analysis of the effects of populism: For example, whether intensely populist discourse leads to overall political instability. As populism is a relatively new scholarly topic, the effects of a truly populist movement have not been

established. There is, however, evidence that populism degrades democracy and sets the basis for an authoritarian state, but the ideals of populist discourse are democratic in the appreciation of the people as the rightful rulers of the state (Mudde 2007). The French Revolution catapulted France on a rocky path that shifted between democracy and totalitarianism for close to two centuries, so an analysis of the consequences of this historical event could aid in understanding of the potential effects of populism. To find a dramatic example and potential warning of the consequences of a populist movement, future scholars can look, as did that legendary revolutionary, "To the Bastille!"

#### NOTES

1. Several sources were used as references for this simplified history; they are not directly referenced in this section unless quoted.
2. A complete index of speeches analyzed can be found in the Appendix.
3. A blank rubric can be found in the Appendix.
4. The speeches used for the qualitative analysis are the same speeches used for the quantitative analysis; see the Appendix for a full index.
5. As the majority of the speeches occurred in the first half of the Revolution, once the Bastille had been stormed and monarchy had been overthrown. Louis XVI was guillotined in January 1793.

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## Appendix

### Index of Speeches and Revolutionary Leaders

Revolutionary Period	Individual/ Leader	Speeches Used
The Estates-General September 1788– July 1789	Bailly	None
	Sieyès	None
	Marquis de Lafayette	None
	Barère	None
	Mirabeau	"Mirabeau warns the nobility and clergy...of the impending storm" (February 1789)
Revolutionary Consensus 1790–1791	Mirabeau	"On the Right of declaring War and Peace" (May 1790)
	Barère	"Report on the State of the Republic" (August 1793)
Republican Revolution and Legislative Assembly October 1791– January 1793	Brissot	None
	Roux	"Manifesto of the Enragés" (1793) "On the Majesty of the French People" (1793)
	Hébert	None
	Vergniaud	"Vergniaud reveals the desperate position of revolutionary France" (July 1792) "Vergniaud admits to Robespierre's charges of moderation" (April 1793) "On the Appeal to the People" (December 1792)
	Gensonné	"On the Judgement of Louis XVI" (January 1793)
	Guadet	"On the Conduct of the Jacobins" (May 1793)
Reign of Terror 1793–1794	Robespierre	"Robespierre recommends virtue and terror" (February 1794) "On the Enemies of the Nation" (May 1794) "On the Principles of Political Morality" (February 1794) "Speech (1) at the Festival of the Supreme Being" (June 1794) "Speech (2) at the Festival of the Supreme Being" (June 1794) Last Speech to the Convention (July 1794)
	Carnot	None
	Danton	"To the Tribunals" (August 1792) "Danton reinvigorates his countrymen" (March 1793) "Last Speech Delivered in the Convention" (March 1794)
	Saint-Just	None
Thermidorian Reaction 1794-1795	Barras	None
	Tallien	None
	Fouché	None

The Directory 1795-1799	Babeuf	None
	Louvet	None
The End of the Revolution 1799-1802	Bonaparte	"Proclamation to the French People" (November 1799)

**Blank Rubric Used for Holistic Grading in Quantitative Analysis**

Name of politician:

Title of Speech:

Date of Speech:

Category:

Grader:

Date of grading:

Final Grade (delete unused grades):

**2** A speech in this category is extremely populist and comes very close to the ideal populist discourse. Specifically, the speech expresses all or nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse, and has few elements that would be considered non-populist.

**1** A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

**0** A speech in this category uses few if any populist elements. Note that even if a manifesto expresses a Manichean worldview, it is not considered populist if it lacks some notion of a popular will.

Populist	Pluralist
<p>It conveys a Manichaeic vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.</p>	<p>The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.</p>
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them; that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p>
<p>Although Manichaeic, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the U.S. or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers, or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Ernesto Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>



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# At What Cost? Discrepancies between Women's Legislative Representation and Effective Policy to Protect Women from Violence in Argentina

by Madeline Gannon

## Introduction

The first country to institute a national-level quota law for the inclusion of female candidates was Argentina in 1991 (Franceschet and Piscopo 2014, 86). In a basic sense, "A substantial increase in the number of women in political legislatures is expected to strengthen women's unity and political advocacy, leading to changes in policy content" (Sacchet 2008, 369). Exactly how the policy content is likely to or ought to change is debated. Both expectation and research has shown that, "Women legislators are more likely than their male colleagues to represent women's interests and to support legislation that is beneficial to women" (Jones 1998, 3-4), but the expectation of women in office to have feminist policy agendas is arguably sexist. Some feminists have suggested that categorizing politically active women by their perceived, "shared 'identity' or 'interests,'" assumes more than is justifiable about what is important to them (Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi 2013, 98). Similarly, expecting female legislators to introduce effective policies on women's issues, "holds these women, often political newcomers, to unrealistically high standards of success" (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008, 400). Some female legislators may pursue policies focused on women's issues as a result of the gender quota, because they feel that otherwise they would not have been elected (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008, 408).

There are many reasons why a female legislator may or may not be inclined to pursue what would be considered feminist policies. There are, however, some issues that most people in support of an increase in women's political participation, or status in general, agree are critical in addressing, such as the belief that women should be protected against violence. Failure to have adequate policy to protect women's lives is counterintuitive to any initiative to encourage women's political participa-

tion. In cases where a country enacts a gender quota, but does not produce effective policies to protect women from violence, one must ask what other factors contributed to that outcome. If an increase in female government officials has not coincided with establishing foundational policy that promotes equal opportunity, it seems that female legislators may face additional obstacles after being elected that inhibit them from pursuing such changes.

### **Violence against Women in Argentina in 2015**

Gender quota theory was first put to the test when Argentina successfully passed a national mandate to meet a minimum inclusion of female candidates for political office in 1991 (Franceschet and Piscopo 2014, 86). As a legislative pioneer and trendsetter, Argentina would presumably be considered a frontrunner in women's rights, but a substantial number of Argentine women would disagree. In June 2015, an Argentine journalist disillusioned by a string of media reports of femicide took to social media to rally support with the cry, "They're killing us" (Goñi 2015). This claim awakened a sentiment that moved hundreds of thousands to march for an end to the violence (Goñi 2015).

Argentina does not lack specific legislation against domestic violence and murder, but is not effectively enforcing it (Argentina, Social Institutions & Gender Index). According to the Social Institutions and Gender Index, multiple offices and commissions responsible for enforcing the laws are poorly funded and no national data on violence reports or convictions is publicly available (Ibid.). In 2010, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) declared, "Argentina lacks national, provincial, and local public policies for the prevention and eradication of violence . . . [and] current attempts to prevent or address the issue of violence are isolated actions that do not amount to a government policy" (Argentina, Social Institutions & Gender Index). In response to the June 2015 march, "Supreme court justice Elena Highton announced a registry of femicides would be set up at the court. The office of President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner set off a series of tweets emphasizing her government's concern. Meanwhile, the government's Human Rights Secretariat announced it, too, would start to compile statistics on femicides" (Pomeraniec 2015). Additionally, female legislators introduced several bills to protect women from violence through the summer (Dirección de Información Parlamentaria, Honorable Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, República Argentina).

The protest against gender-based violence, made primarily by women, reflects the desires of women to have those issues addressed by lawmakers. Proponents of gender quotas expect that increases in the number of women in legislatures will help in, "Encouraging more women to come forward as candidates and favouring the building of alliances between grassroots women and women in political institutions" (Sacchet 2008, 370). However, the connection between grassroots women and women in government showcased in the events above were not the result of the gender quota. In fact, it seems more likely that the female politicians were enabled by the

protest to address the issue. The phrasing of the quota law dictates that its intended result was “actual equality of opportunity for men and women for elective and political party positions shall be guaranteed by means of positive actions in the regulation of political parties and in the electoral system” (Constitución de la Nación Argentina, art. 37, sec. 2). Although the gender quota law has been relatively effective at including more women in the legislature, it has not been as successful at including more policy to benefit women on the legislative agenda. The women being elected may want to introduce these policies but most face substantial obstacles in their pursuit. Based on the response of female government officials in Argentina to the protests of violence against women, it is possible that these obstacles result from party politics. Do women entering a legislative body, in part as a result of a quota law, jeopardize their political futures by championing policies that directly benefit women?

### **The Potential for Party Leaders’ Power in the Argentine Political System**

According to WomanStats, in 2010, Argentina ranked among the highest countries in the world with 30–39 percent descriptive representation of women in parliament (WomanStats). In 2015, WomanStats also reported, however, that Argentina’s “laws are consonant with CEDAW, but there is spotty enforcement, the government may or may not signal its interest in challenging cultural norms harmful to women.” An additional report ranks Argentine women as having low levels of physical security (WomanStats). Argentina is puzzling, because it has high rates of descriptive representation for women but low substantive representation in the areas of physical security and protecting women from violence. What is impeding the substantive representation of women in the Argentina legislature?

Passing the 1991 Mandate was truly an accomplishment in a country where only 6 percent of the Chamber of Deputies and 9 percent of the Senate were female (Driscoll and Krook 2012, 210). It would be a mistake, however, to assume that this indicated the male legislators were proponents of more women in government. In fact, it was reported that the bill was approved only because most senators expected it to be rejected (Driscoll and Krook 2012, 211). Once it became clear the bill would pass, “the hostility of male deputies was overcome via the mechanism of party discipline, as well as the expectation that the law would have little impact” (Driscoll and Krook 2012, 211). Argentina’s elections operate under a closed list proportional system, which “allocate[s] seats among lists in accordance with their respective shares of the vote” (Schmidt 2009, 191). In legislative elections, voters vote for a party rather than a specific candidate. Once the votes are counted, each party is allotted a specific number of seats and the candidates listed in those spots on the party list are placed in power. This means that “with closed lists, in fact, party leaders can effectively nominate candidates to the Parliament by allocating them in the secure positions at the top of the party list” (Galasso and Nannicini 2015, 2). This system gives party leaders great power to almost determine the future of each candidate, because candidates largely campaign to party leaders rather than to voters (Galasso and Nannicini 2015, 11). Although

a provision of the Argentine quota law mandates that a specific ratio of women must be placed within particular sections of the list, parties generally do not place more women than what is mandated near the top (Sacchet 2008, 372).

Working within the closed list proportional system, there is considerable opportunity for party leaders to impose an electoral cost on legislators who make policy decisions that differ from what the party or its leaders want. Female legislators may neglect to address creating effective policies to protect women from violence, even when those policies are in their best interests, if they believe that doing so will contribute to party leadership penalizing them once it is time to draw up party lists (Sacchet 2008, 372). They may think that introducing such policies will deprive them of power and legitimacy in their other legislative projects, as well as threaten their ability to maintain office. Using Argentina as a case study, this research intends to show that by introducing women's rights bills in the legislature, female legislators face marginalization by the party leaders and risk reelection, having jeopardized their place on the party list. These findings will suggest whether or not there is a cost for female legislators to pursue a political agenda to protect the rights of women.

### **Methods for Empirical Analysis**

Because investigation is impractical and unlikely, it is difficult to assess the validity of the hypothesis that this kind of intimidation from party leaders occurs. An alternative is to examine the hypothesized result of such use of party power, or reelection. In order to detect an electoral cost for sponsoring bills that protect women from violence, this study analyzes the relationship between the number of such bills sponsored by female legislators and whether or not female legislators were reelected. The sample is of forty-six females in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies who were elected to serve from 2009 to 2013. The reelection data was taken from the 2013 legislative election. This offers the most recent and complete set of data available and the results from testing it will give the most accurate depiction of any limitations on the power of female deputies in dealing with policy to protect women from violence previous to the 2015 demonstration. The Argentine Chamber of Deputies was chosen because it is the larger parliamentary house and offered more observations than the Senate.

Rather than use any bill that related to women, the only bills considered by the data are those sponsored by the legislators that required specific action to be taken to protect women from violence. Other methods of classification for bills reflecting women's issues would be subjective and would make drawing accurate conclusions more difficult. Additionally, women's physical security is a foundational goal and acts as a prerequisite to other rights such as reproductive and economic.

This study is limited because of its small sample size. Further areas of study include testing the theory on another set of deputies from another term to assess validity, as well as including data about whether or not male deputies sponsored such bills or data on how male and female deputies voted on these bills could be beneficial

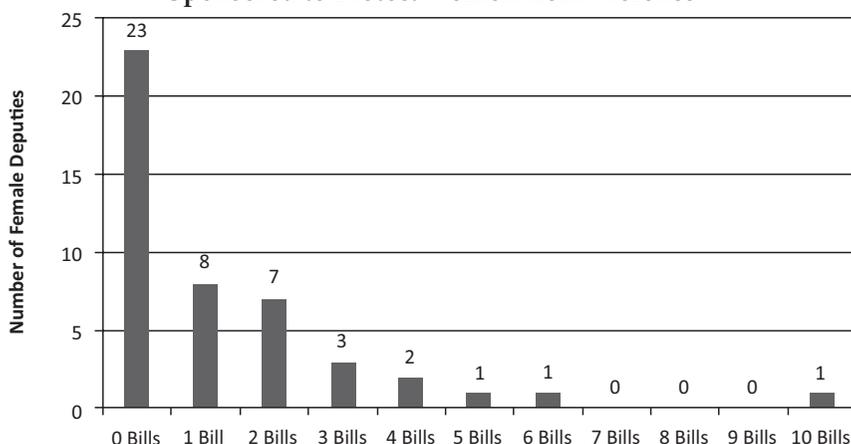
as well. Additionally, there are many factors contributing to a candidate's prospects for reelection and status within the party and in relation to party leaders. This study does not address each of these possible factors.

If the hypothesis is proven correct and sponsoring bills that protect women from violence has a negative correlation with being reelected, then it will support the idea that parties impose an electoral cost on female legislators who seek to represent women substantively. If the hypothesis is proven incorrect, and there is not a correlation between sponsoring bills benefiting women and not being reelected or being demoted on the party list in Argentina, the results will still be meaningful. Since qualitative analysis of the perceptions of female legislators, particularly in Argentina, indicates that they fear political backlash for sponsoring women's rights bills, a lack of correlation with reelection prospects will prove those fears may be unwarranted (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008, 420). Inconclusive results will likely indicate the need of a larger and more inclusive sample.

### Preliminary Data Analysis

The sample for this data includes forty-six women who served in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies from 2009–13. Figure 1.1 shows that of these forty-six women, half did not sponsor any bills to protect women from violence. Eight women (17%) sponsored one bill each. Seven women (15%) sponsored two bills each. Three women (6.5%) sponsored three bills each. Two women (4%) sponsored four bills each. The last three women sponsored five, six, and ten bills respectively. Only 17 percent of all of the female deputies sponsored three or more bills. Such a limited

**Figure 1.1: Female Deputies from 2009–13 and the Number of Bills They Sponsored to Protect Women from Violence**

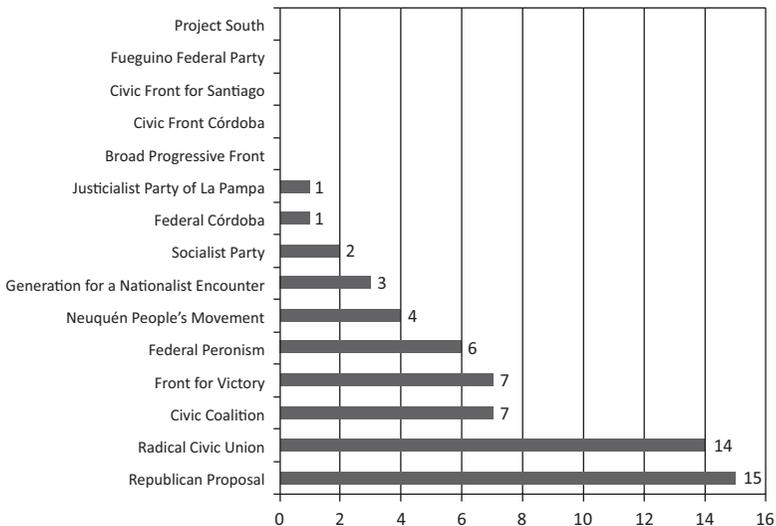


Source: Author's calculations, compiled from data retrieved from the Dirección de Información Parlamentaria.

involvement with these kinds of issues is not likely to brand a legislator as having a particularly “feminist” agenda. Those women who sponsored three or more bills are more likely to have been at risk of garnering attention for their actions by the party and will be most affected if an electoral penalty sponsoring such legislation is proven.

Even if there is not much of a penalty for a deputy’s future within the party, the reputation of the deputy’s legislative work may be at stake. Studies have found that women’s rights bills tend to have even less legislative success than other bills (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008, 416). Studies cite: “Women’s issues bills . . . fail more often in the Senate, and over twice as frequently in both chambers. Given that female legislators introduce most women’s issues bills, the data indicate that women change policy outcomes in women’s issue areas at rates proportionally below the norm in the Argentine Congress” (Dirección de Información Parlamentaria, Honorable Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, República Argentina). A bill to protect women from violence may not only alert party leaders of a feminist agenda, but they may also add failures to a legislative record. Some studies have found that as the number of women in legislative offices increases, “the approval rates of women’s rights bills decrease” (Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi 2013, 97). This may reflect growing perceptions among male legislators that such policies are less legitimate and perceptions among female legislators that supporting such policies will delegitimize themselves.

**Figure 2.1: Instances of Female Deputies Sponsoring Bills to Protect Women from Violence in Each Party, 2009–13**



Source: Author’s calculations, compiled from data retrieved from the Dirección de Información Parlamentaria.

Although the Front for Victory had 35 percent of the deputy seats in 2010 and claimed 37 percent of the female deputies serving from 2009–13, their deputies were responsible for only seven of the sixty instances of deputies sponsoring bills to protect women from violence (Dirección de Información Parlamentaria, Honorable Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, República Argentina). The frontrunners were the Republican Proposal and Radical Civic Union. Each party had six female deputies and each saw an average of more than two instances of sponsoring such bills per deputy. This may reflect the personal policy objectives and political stances on women’s issues of the deputies, but it would be a mistake to assume that these results reflect the party’s position on bills that protect women from violence before considering whether or not these deputies had much of a chance of being reelected. To be sure, in Argentina, “gender activism is not concentrated within one party,” and no Argentine Party has championed the successful introduction of effective policies to protect women’s rights (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008, 410).

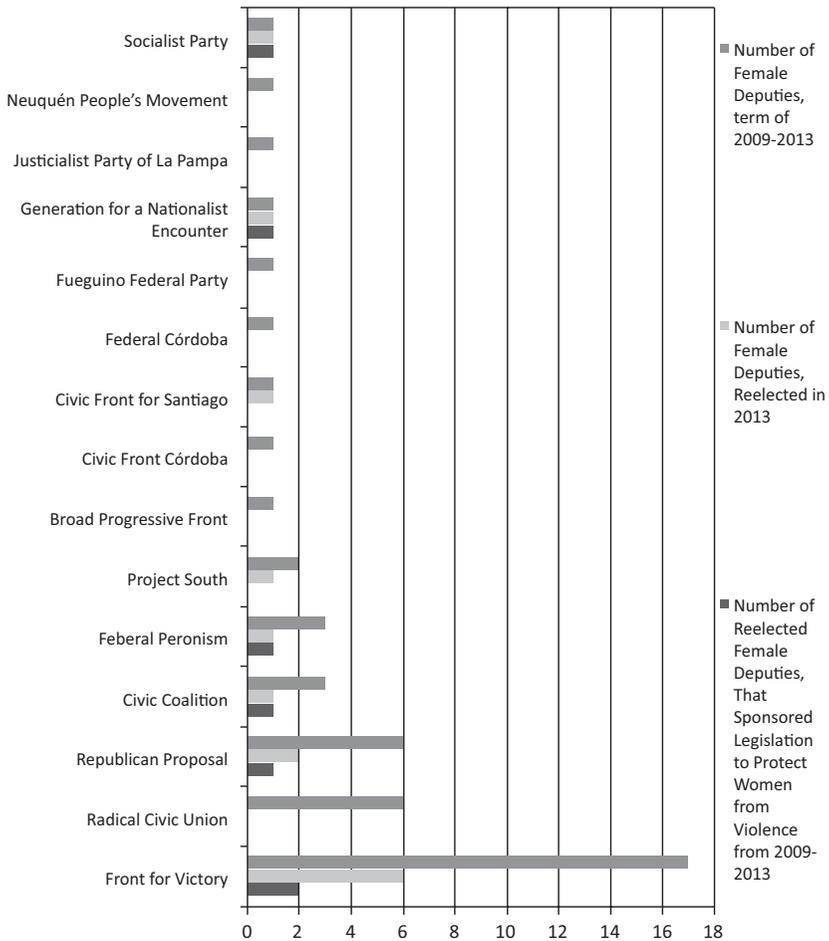
Figure 2.2 gives a visual representation of the number of female deputies in each party, how many of those deputies were reelected in 2013, and of those reelected, how many had sponsored bills to protect women from violence. Only eight of the fifteen parties show any women being reelected, demonstrating that reelection is not common. Six of those parties reelected female deputies that had sponsored bills to protect women from violence. Front for Victory saw two such women reelected, and the other five parties had one each. In Front for Victory, 35 percent of female legislators were reelected, one-third of whom sponsored a bill that protected women from violence. The Republican Proposal, whose female deputies sponsored more bills to protect women from violence than any of the other parties, reelected two female deputies, which is one-third of their total number of women. Of those two deputies, one sponsored bills protecting women from violence. The Radical Civic Union deputies sponsored one less bill than the Republican Proposal, but none of the party’s female deputies were reelected. Although many smaller parties did not reelect their female deputy or deputies, both the Generation for a Nationalist Encounter and the Socialist Party were notable cases. Each had one female deputy that was reelected and had sponsored legislation to protect women from violence.

### Regression Analysis

With such a small sample, observations in which large parties saw 35 percent of their female deputies reelected are compared against other observations with only one female deputy that sometimes saw 100 percent reelection within the party seemed likely to pose a problem in statistical analysis. Political scientists have debated the influence of size on women’s substantive representation in government, citing that, “newer parties may be more flexible, innovative, and open when promoting women’s candidacies” (Franceschet and Piscopo 2014, 95). Even if a party’s motives are not so positive, it may be small enough that it is willing to allow its “token woman,” whom they are required by the quota to have on their ballot, to pursue gendered issues. In

larger parties, this “label effect” can be much more damaging if the size of the party provides more female options for candidates or has more likelihood of achieving major policy goals in the parliament (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008, 394–95). Sponsoring gendered policies could be more detrimental to a female in a larger party with more female deputies than one from a smaller party with few or no other female party members within the parliament. Robustness checks confirmed that party size

**Figure 2.2: Comparative Graph of Total Number of Female Legislators Up for Reelection in 2013, Total Number of Female Deputies Reelected in 2013, and the Number of Female Deputies that Were Reelected and Sponsored Bills to Protect Women from Violence, 2009–13**



Source: Author’s calculations, compiled from data retrieved from the Dirección de Información Parlamentaria; Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, República Argentina.

was necessary to control for, and eliminated from the sample were ten observations of deputies who were the only woman or one of two women in their parties serving from 2009–13. The deputies' party affiliations were not included in the regression but rather the parties were grouped into their national ideological coalitions of Justicialists, Progressive Civil and Social Front, Social and Civic Agreement, and Other. By excluding observations based on the party's number of female deputies, the "Other" coalition was eliminated from the sample. The Justicialist coalition, which is the largest, was omitted from the test as the control. Additionally, variables to control for the number of female deputies up for reelection in 2013, total female deputies in the party outside of the specified term limits, and the total number of seats that each party had within the Chamber of Deputies were included. Each of these variables controlled for a specific characteristic of party size.

Table 3.1 displays the results of the final regression. The results indicate there is a highly statistically significant relationship between the number of bills to protect women from violence that a female deputy sponsored and her likelihood of being reelected in 2013. With each of these kinds of bills sponsored, a female deputy's chance of being reelected decreases by 21.2 percent. In cases where a deputy only sponsored one or two such bills, their chances of reelection would not change dramatically, especially considering the low reelection rates within the Chamber of Deputies. However, if a female deputy makes protecting women from violence a main policy objective and sponsors five, six, or ten such bills, as did occur with some of these deputies, she seems to have no chance of reelection.

Additionally, there was a positive correlation between having been a deputy for more than one term, although incumbency is not common in the Argentine parliament, and none of the female deputies had served more than two terms by the time of the 2013 election. There is also a significant relationship that shows an increase in likelihood of being elected if the number of women from the party is greater in the Chamber of Deputies. It is important to note here that this is only the case if there are three or more women in the party since all other observations were excluded from the test. Conversely, there is a statistically significant negative correlation between party size and reelection. While the exact implications of these relationships are inconclusive, it indicates that party size matters on multiple levels.

If the results of this test accurately reflect party dynamics within the Argentine parliament, there are several possible explanations that can be pieced together by the studies of political scientists and observations from female legislators in Argentina. If party leadership decides which party members will be legislative candidates and where they will be placed on the party list, they have considerable influence in determining whether or not that candidate has a shot at election or reelection. Studies have proven that "fewer women have held positions that provide access to resources, status, and prestige. Men therefore dominate the elite political networks that structure Argentina's political landscape even as the number of women in congress grows sub-

stantially” (Franceschet and Piscopo 2014, 95). With most party leaders being male, there is a diminished influence of women in the candidate selections process (Marx, Borner, & Caminotti, 2007, 178). Party leaders have an incentive to keep control of the policies supported by their deputies, and they may be disapproving of legislation focused on improving the status of women. Imposing a penalty by limiting their likelihood of being reelected can help maintain that control. Accordingly, more female party leaders contributing to decisions like the makeup of the party list could diminish this practice.

**Table 3.1: Probit Regression of the Impact of Sponsoring Bills that Protect Women from Violence on Reelection for Female Deputies in 2013 (excluding Any Observations of Parties with Two or Less Females within the Chamber of Deputies).**

Likelihood of Female Deputies Being Reelected in 2013			
Variable	Coefficient	Variable	Coefficient
Number of Bills Sponsored to Protect Women from Violence	-0.212*** (0.075)	<b>Total Female Deputies in the Party</b>	0.628 (0.142)
Total Terms in Office as a Deputy	0.710*** (0.042)	<b>Total Party Seats in Chamber of Deputies</b>	-0.374*** (0.071)
Provincial Unemployment Rate	2.828 (6.453)	<b>Progressive Civil and Social Front</b>	(omitted)
United Nations Human Development Index of Province	-40.555 (5.582)	<b>Social and Civic Agreement</b>	-5.515*** (0.888)
Female Deputies in the Party Up for Reelection in 2013	0.297*** (0.350)	_cons	37.286 (4.615)

Number of Observations = 36. Pseudo  $R^2 = 0.275$ . Robust standard errors within parentheses.

\*Significant at the 0.10 level; \*\*significant at the 0.05; and \*\*\*significant at the 0.01 level.

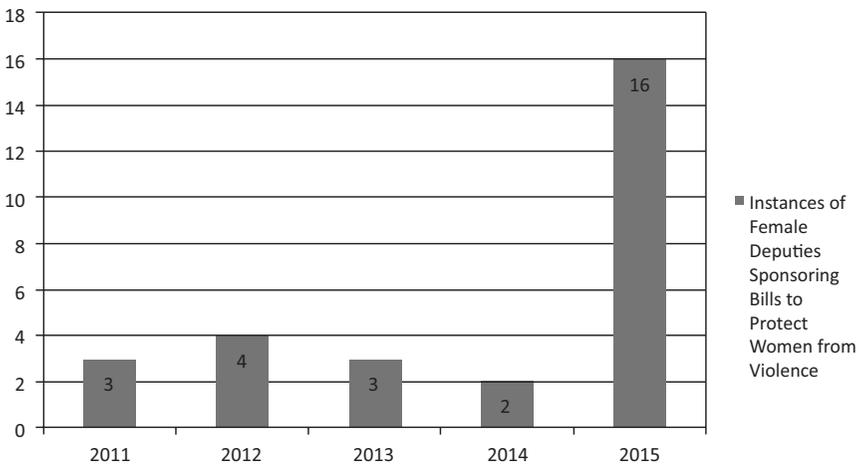
Source: Author’s calculations, compiled from data retrieved from the Dirección de Información Parlamentaria; Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, República Argentina; United Nations Human Development Index.

Reports from female deputies show that the perception of these and other penalties for sponsoring bills to protect women from violence are prevalent. In response to an interview performed by Susan Franceschet and Jennifer M. Piscopo, they discussed how female legislators in Argentina fear marginalization over supporting feminist

policies, because “it limits them to dedicate themselves to women’s rights themes, so they prefer a public profile that is more expansive.’ If there are fewer women willing to associate themselves with feminist initiatives, then those legislators who do engage in substantive representation as process may encounter greater difficulties finding allies, thereby making substantive representation as outcome even less likely” (2008, 420). Argentine deputies fear that their involvement with women’s policy issues will delegitimize their legislative work and make for a dim political future.

Historically, women’s rights issues have been seen as weak, particularly in the Peronist parties like Front for Victory. Peronism reached its popularity by championing welfare and women’s rights, and women played a particular role in those movements (Auyero 1999, 472). Following the example of Eva Perón, “Being a Peronist woman in politics ‘naturally’ implies taking maternal care of the poor, doing ‘social’ (as opposed to ‘political’) work, and collaborating with the man who makes the decisions” (Auyero 1999, 472). Although increasing the number of women in parliament, particularly in the large Peronist parties, is breaking down the confines of gender in this political hierarchy, the categorization of women’s issues as social rather than political remains intact.

**Figure 3.2: Instances of Female Deputies Sponsoring Bills to Protect Women from Violence, Serving 2011–15**



Source: Author’s calculations, compiled from data retrieved from the Dirección de Información Parlamentaria.

Waiting on party leaders to change their attitudes toward female deputies or to see more women included in party leadership and other high ranking offices is not satisfactory for those actively pursuing women’s substantive representation in government. The data in Figure 3.2 offers a hopeful prospect for change. In looking at

instances in which bills proposed by female deputies serving from 2011–15, there is a clear spike in 2015. The steep increase in the number of legislators sponsoring these bills in 2015 is a reaction to the public outcry over femicide and gender-based violence in June 2015. The majority of the bills from 2015 were introduced between June and the end of the term in October.

According to the data, the women who sponsored bills in 2015 did not face less of an electoral penalty for their sponsorship in the 2015 elections than those in 2013, but it appears to show a greater level of commitment to the issues in spite of any penalty (*La Nación* 2015). The actions of these deputies were reactions to their constituents who either persuaded them of the importance of legislation to protect women from violence, or more likely, empowered female deputies to sponsor the legislation in spite of the negative effects that those actions might have on their status within the party. Perhaps gender quotas are most effective when they result in the construction of alliances between women working within political institutions and women at grassroots levels (Sacchet 2008, 369). The support of female voters can help to legitimize policy goals that improve the status of women, but a lack of support keeps power in the hands of party leaders who are usually male, and in the case of Argentina, unlikely to support the pursuit of such policies. Even in a closed list proportional system, where party leaders wield so much power, voters can check that power, because “the extent to which parties are able to use the selection and allocation of candidates as a tool of political persuasion rests ultimately on the voters’ preferences for the type of candidates, and hence on their voting behavior” (Galasso and Nannicini 2015, 2).

## Conclusion

Argentina was the first country to enact a nationally mandated gender quota, but its lack of effective policy to protect women from violence is puzzling to proponents of the gender quota theory. An increase of the descriptive representation of women in government is expected to bring about more effective policy that benefits women. Although it is not justifiable to expect that a legislator’s gender necessitates that she focus on women’s policy issues or have particular opinions about those issues, it is permissible to expect interest in measures to increase women’s physical security, considering Argentina is ranked among the lowest countries worldwide (WomanStats).

Various studies have researched the effectiveness of gender quotas at producing these kinds of results in a closed list proportional system, because it allows for party leadership to maintain gender hierarchies within legislative bodies. Historically in Argentina, women’s issues were thought of as social rather than political and enacting the gender quota was fairly uncharacteristic (Auyero 1999, 472). This proposes the question as to whether or not these party leaders indeed discourage female legislators from sponsoring policy that protects women from violence by imposing a consequence of decreased chances of reelection due to lowering their placement on the party list.

The study’s statistical analysis determined that for women in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies who served from 2009–13 and faced reelection in 2013, every

bill that was sponsored to protect women from violence decreased the deputy's chances of being reelected by around 21 percent. For women who made such policies a main part of their agendas, their reelection prospects were severely diminished. This finding was true for women in larger parties with three or more women in the Chamber of Deputies. It is likely because those party leaders have more to gain or lose by maintaining such control of their deputies that such penalties are imposed.

A recent increase in instances of sponsoring bills to protect women from violence from female deputies serving from 2011–15 was likely a response to a major public demonstration calling for such legislation. Public support of these bills may be key in overcoming or eventually eliminating the electoral penalties imposed by party leaders for such actions. Voters have the opportunity to make women's issues, often viewed as social in Argentina, political.

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# Does Large Family Size Predict Political Centrism?

by Benjamin Schmidt

## Introduction

Suggesting that voting might be correlated with the number of children voters have has been rare but not unheard of in the last decade. In a 2004 article for *American Conservative*, Steve Sailer noted a correlation between states with higher birth rates among white voters and the support for incumbent Republican President George W. Bush. Sailer recognized that Bush won the nineteen states with the highest white fertility while Senator John Kerry won the sixteen with the lowest (2004). He also suggested that the lifestyle preferences of white, conservative parents might be to blame for the apparent Republican tilt among states with higher birth rates. A similar trend occurred again in 2012 when majorities in every state with fertility rates higher than 70 per 1,000 women went to Mitt Romney, while all states with fertility rates below 60 per 1,000 women went to Barack Obama (Sandler 2012). While more editorial than academic, the simple correlations identified between high fertility states and support for the Republican presidential candidate and lower fertility states and support for the Democratic candidate was an abnormality that has not received additional scrutiny.

My research differs from Sailer and Sandler's in several respects. First, while the level of analysis of these two journalists was that of large groups—indeed, entire states—my research analyzes the decisions of individuals. This is an important difference, because even if Sailer and Sandler's correlation between high-birth-rate states and votes for Republican presidential candidates were substantiated by more robust evidence, it would be an ecological fallacy to assume that the same correlation exists at the individual level. Secondly, my research arrives at a different conclusion than that presented by Sailer and Sandler. Rather than predict

support for Republican candidates, my tests indicate that larger family size has a moderating influence on voting and political attitudes.

Moreover, if the number of children parents choose to have makes a measurable difference to how those parents vote, those differences will inform policymaking. For example, if a causal link were identified between family size and particular voting trends, adjustments to government programs or policies that encourage or discourage having children could affect future elections as well as demographics. However, it is more likely that, instead of causing individuals to vote a certain way, the number of children voters have is merely correlated with certain voting preferences. This would make the number of children a voter has an indicator of certain beliefs or attitudes rather than a direct cause of those beliefs and attitudes.

Given the limitations of proving causality, in this paper I investigate possible correlations between birth rates and voting decisions made by individual voters. Specifically, I use results from the 2012 American National Election Studies (ANES) survey to analyze the impact of family size on voting in the 2012 national elections and on attitudes toward society and certain policy issues.

### **A Theory for Politically Moderate Families**

There are several plausible theories for why the number of children might correlate with unique voter inclinations. For instance, it is reasonable to assume that parents with more children tend to be more family-focused than their peers with few or no children. It is also reasonable to assume that some of the same differences that motivate some voters to have more children will affect their political attitudes and behaviors. Undoubtedly, family size also has a deep and long-lasting impact on the lifestyle, responsibilities, and financial obligations of parents. The difference in child-related spending between parents raising three children and parents raising only one amounts to nearly half a million dollars spent over decades (Hicken 2013).

Because the marginal effect of having one more child is so massive, choices about family size may pinpoint important differences between voters that are not captured by demographic or socioeconomic information. For example, suppose that two hypothetical voters have the same income, ethnicity, marital status, religion, and ideology, but the first has four children while the second has only one. Assume also that the number of children in each family is a direct result of each adult voter's choices. The first voter's choice to have a larger family will dramatically affect his or her lifestyle, spending, and use of time for decades—perhaps their entire life—making it nearly impossible to hold constant all the relevant factors between the two hypothetical voters that might affect their voting choice. In turn, these differences will affect how each voter views party platforms, government policies, and political candidates on the ballot.

Recent research confirms that patterns of religiosity and ideology are correlated with family size. The research indicates that adults who have more children tend to be comparatively more religious, and more religious individuals also tend to be more

supportive of conservative social stances represented by right-leaning parties (L. De La O and Rodden 2012; Berghammer 2012). It makes sense that parents with more children might be especially concerned about teaching values to their children compared to parents with fewer or no children. Having additional children at home also offers already religious individuals additional opportunities to practice and teach their religious beliefs. Thus, larger family size may strengthen pre-existing religiosity and strengthen support for moral or family-related social issues championed by many Republican candidates and political leaders.

Having more children may also affect voters by making individuals more sensitive to harmful influences in society. Children are an emotional as well as a financial investment; having more children means more is at stake for their parents when things go wrong in society or in government. Consequently, parents with several children will have greater reason to worry about the influence that negative media stereotypes, poor quality schools, harmful peer pressure, and other societal dangers will have on their children, and will consequently be more likely to support government policies that seek to mitigate them. In addition, by having more children in school, such parents are likely to be more engaged in community and school activities than other adults. This involvement may encourage greater sensitivity to and support for issues like education funding, community safety, gun control, and drugs. In contrast to the Republican tilt of greater religiosity, being more involved in the community may give parents reason to support issues related to gun, education, and drug laws that have traditionally been heralded by officials and legislators in the Democratic Party. Putting these two countervailing trends together muddies the partisanship of ideology and could make it more difficult for voters with larger families to be ideologically pure on either end of the political spectrum. Indeed, this combination would appear to make voters with larger families more moderate.

The results of my statistical tests confirm this marriage of traditionally clashing ideologies. The voting behavior of individuals with larger families is significantly different than that of their ideological peers, and my tests show that large-family voters who identify with the mainstream left and the mainstream right are less likely to vote exclusively for Republicans or Democrats than those of the same ideology who have fewer children. Furthermore, my tests also show a significant correlation between family size and political attitudes that cut across traditional Republican or Democratic Party lines.

## **Literature Review**

Previous literature does not single out the impact of birth rates or family size on voting behavior, and related literature is also sparse. One recent study did analyze the impact of the gender of children on political attitudes, finding that having female offspring leads to more conservative political identification (Conley and Rauscher 2010). However, while Conley addressed the marginal impact of one additional daughter on voting, my research is focused on how overall family size affects electoral decisions and stances on political and societal issues.

The most closely related published study may be the article published by Ron Lesthaeghe and his associate Lisa Neidert in 2009 that highlighted a trend between U.S. voting results and indicators of change in family formation patterns. This analysis included a composite variable that represented differences in family formation and fertility. These differences included birth rates as well as the occurrence of unconventional forms of family formation such as cohabitation, children born with cohabiters, and postponement of partnership, marriage, and parenthood. The authors found the variable representing these unconventional forms of family formation was negatively correlated with support for the Republican Party in 2004 and 2008, and the negative correlation remained significant even after controlling for alternative explanations including religion, income, education, urbanness, and ethnic composition.

However, the effect of fertility on voting patterns was not analyzed by itself since Lesthaeghe and Neidert were primarily concerned with studying the effects of the second demographic transition (SDT) in the U.S. (2009). Indeed, no currently published study has investigated whether or not the number of children significantly predicts voting on its own.

The lack of study about family size decisions and its connection to voting decisions is a noteworthy oversight in the literature. The decision to have children has the potential to reveal important distinctions in values between individuals and groups of voters. Indeed, the link between values or ideology and voting choices is extremely well established in the present literature (Barnes and Kaase 1979; Tetlock 1983; Scarborough 1983). This link has been tested again in more recent studies that have measured and confirmed the significance of basic and core political values on voting (Vecchione et al., 2013). And while countless psychological studies have analyzed how circumstances of birth, siblings, and family nurturing affects development, the effect of family creation on the political views of parents is still a mystery.

Additionally, since access to modern contraception makes effective family planning more common, insight that can be gleaned about adults based on the size of their families should be more precise today than ever. As discussed earlier, this means that differences in family sizes may shed light on otherwise indistinguishable value distinctions between voters, as well as attitude differences that are caused or strengthened by having more children. These value differences are explored in the tests below.

### **American National Election Study (ANES) 2012 Survey**

The ANES survey is conducted once every four years using a representative national sample, and data is gathered in face-to-face or online interviews a few months before and after Election Day. While I ran initial tests using the 2004, 2008, and 2012 ANES surveys, there are several reasons why only the tests using the 2012 survey were fitting enough to include. To start, with more than 5,500 total interviews, the 2012 survey is almost twice the size of previous studies in the ANES series, and, importantly, it includes much more complete information on control variables rel-

evant to my tests. The 2012 survey's larger sample size is especially essential, because my research focuses primarily on voters with three or more children in their household, an increasingly uncommon demographic in the United States. Of about 3,600 voters, only 248 (6.6 percent) of them in the 2012 survey reported having three or more children at home. By contrast, the 2008 survey tallies just 138 voters with three or more children, and only half of these were asked to respond to all the questions concerning control variables relevant to my research question, making the 2008 survey practically useless to my research. As a result, all of the tests included in this paper are run on the 2012 dataset. Nevertheless, despite the small number of respondents in the target category of voters with larger-than-normal families, I found significant relationships in the 2012 dataset that should provide easy comparison with future ANES and similar survey studies.

The organization of the tests are as follows: In the first section, I analyze regression tests that highlight the impact of family size on votes cast in the 2012 national election. In the second section, I analyze the significance of family size on attitudes about political and social issues and about U.S. society generally, and I briefly discuss how the voting and attitudinal connections may be related.

### **Regression Tests, Variables, and Limitations**

To simplify the interpretation of my analysis, I used multinomial logistical (*logit* and *probit*) regressions. These regressions are used for predictions of a binary Y variable, which in this case is the likelihood of voting for the Republican candidate in the election: 1 if the vote was cast for the Republican candidate, 0 if it was not. For the presidential election, I created a modified version of the presidential vote choice variable that listed a 1 if the voter voted for Republican Candidate Governor Mitt Romney and 0 if they voted for incumbent President Barack Obama or any other candidate. Similarly, for the Senate and House of Representatives elections I coded my variables a 1 if the Republican candidate was selected and a 0 if the Democratic or any other candidate was chosen. Lastly, the control variables that included in these tests to account for alternative theories were political ideology (1–7, liberal to conservative scale), religiosity—both in terms of attendance and as a guide in life, party identification, income, ethnicity, and marital status.

There are some limitations with the variable indicating the number of children in the household, because the 2012 survey only asked respondents if they had 0, 1, 2, or 3+ children. As a result, the variation among those voters in the *three or more* children category is lost in the conglomeration. Since a single variable is used to represent this spread, the median number of children in households in the 3+ category lies somewhere above 3. This makes the average marginal difference between voters who report 2 children and those who report and 3+ children larger than the marginal difference between voters reporting 1 and 2 children. To estimate the likely size of this marginal difference, I used data from the 2008 survey where respondents could report between 0 and 7 children in the household. In 2008, the average number of chil-

dren for households with between 3 and 7 children was 3.4 with a standard deviation of 0.69. Assuming the spread of family sizes in 2008 closely mirrors that in 2012, there is 95 percent confidence that the true average number of children for families with 3+ children lies somewhere between 3 and 4.78, making the marginal gap between a reported 2 and a reported 3+ somewhere between 1 and 2.78. However, if the average can be trusted here, the average number of children is probably likely to be around 3.4 or 3.5.

From a different perspective, the gap between the 2 and 3+ category is useful to my analysis because it exaggerates the difference between voters with small families (zero, one, or two children) and those with larger ones. On the other hand, it also leads to the possibility of making generalizations about voters with three or more children than may not be valid for all voters in the category. Indeed, if I hypothesize that voters with families with three or four children will vote differently than voters with none or only one or two children, it would follow that voters with seven children may vote differently than them all? A single 3+ variable is ignorant of any such differences.

Fortunately, there is evidence that this variance is not a large problem in the 2012 ANES dataset. In the more complete family size variable of the 2008 ANES survey, voters with more than four children at home were rare (just four voters in the 2008 survey, or less than 1 percent of the 3+ category). Thus, if demographic trends in 2012 mirror those of 2008, roughly two-thirds of the voters in the category should be expected to have three children, just under a third to have four, and the remaining 1 percent to be split among families of more than four.

### **Regression Tests of Family Size for Presidential, Congressional Voting**

As summarized on Table A1 (all Tables are found in the Appendix), straightforward *logit* logistical regressions for the 2012 presidential, House, and Senate elections unanimously reject the validity of family size as a significant predictor for voting. With z-scores of just 0.39 and 0.28 (a score of 1.96 is needed for 95 percent confidence) on the presidential and House elections, respectively, I also found no drop in fit when the family size variable was removed from the regressions. In the Senate election, the z-score was higher (1.27) but still far from significant, and pseudo-R<sup>2</sup> value representing the fit of the model only dropped from 0.311 to 0.310 when I dropped the family size variable from my model. With or without family size included, 31–39 percent of the variance of the votes was explained by the independent variables included to account for alternative theories. Clearly, family size has no obvious, linear effect on voting when included in a simple logistical regression.

However, to test if family size is predictive of voting among specific ideological subgroups, I created an interaction variable to inspect combinations of different numbers of children and political ideology. Political ideology, which is coded from 1 to 7 on a scale (1=extremely liberal, 2= liberal, 3= slightly liberal, 4=moderate, 5=slightly conservative, 6=conservative, 7=extremely conservative), is by far the most predictive of the variables

in my initial regressions. Moreover, by looking at certain groupings of ideology and family size (for example, political moderate with two children), it is possible to see if family size makes a significant impact on voting within more specific categories. (Note: The total number of survey respondents in each ideology / family size category for the presidential, Senate, and House votes is summarized on Tables B1–B3.)

In contrast to the first set of regressions, several significant relationships were apparent in these regressions. An initial set of tests (see Table C1.1) shows the results of regressions on the presidential, House, and Senate elections, and they test whether voters in each category (ideology + family size) was significantly more or less likely to vote Republican than “average” voters. In this test, “average voters” are those with an ideology of 4 (or moderate) who have a single child, which is as close as possible to the survey’s statistically calculated average voter (ideology 4.15 and 0.54 children). Interpreting the coefficients on these tests is fairly simple: ideology + family size categories with coefficients larger than 0 are *more likely* to have voted Republican than the baseline ideology + family size group, while those with coefficients smaller than 0 are *less likely* to have voted Republican.

As is shown on the table, many ideology / family size categories have likelihoods of voting for a Republican candidate that are different enough from the baseline to be statistically significant. Of course, as is clear from Tables B1–B3 because some of the ideological / family size categories do not include at least 30 voters, the coefficients cannot be fully trusted to represent that demographic’s likelihood of voting Republican. Even so, several statistically significant combinations are composed of more than 30 voters, indicating that the interaction between ideology and family size, at the least, add statistically significant information to the model.

One important trend stands out among the significant ideology / family size categories. Looking at the regressions for the House and Senate votes on regressions 2 and 3 on Table C1.1, a comparison between the coefficients of liberals (ideology 2) with no children with liberals with 3+ children reveals a large difference, and a similarly large difference is evident between conservatives (ideology 6) with no children and conservatives with 3+ children. To be sure, liberals with 3+ children at home are still less likely to vote for a Republican than baseline moderates with one child. Yet the magnitude of the negative coefficient is smaller for large-family liberals than for liberals who have no children. Similarly, judging by the magnitude of the coefficients, conservatives that have 3+ children are generally not as likely to vote Republican as their peers without children. On the presidential election test, the same trend differentiating liberals with 3+ children from those with no children is evident, but this time it does not reappear on the conservative side. Indeed, conservative voters in the 2012 election who had 3+ children might have been even more likely to vote for Mitt Romney than conservatives with no children.

The difference in coefficients between liberals and conservatives at each family size can be used as a rough measure of how respondents in the same ideological cat-

egories but who have different numbers of children choose to cast their votes differently. As seen on Table C1.2, the spread in the coefficients between liberals (ideology 2) and conservatives (ideology 6) that have no children is much larger than that of conservatives and liberal respondents that have 3+ children. While this is a rough measure, it captures the overall trend of more moderate voting among respondents with more children.

I ran a second round of regression tests to evaluate the statistical significance of the apparent difference among self-proclaimed liberals and conservatives based on their family size. In these tests (summarized in Tables C2–C4), I made liberal voters (ideology 2) and conservative voters (ideology 6) who do not have any children my baseline ideology/family-size categories for regressions that I ran on each election type. As is evident on Table C2, on the test of the House of Representatives vote, liberal voters with three or more children were not significantly less likely to vote Republican than their associates with no children. However, conservatives with three or more children were significantly less likely to vote Republican than their childless peers. On a *probit* run of the model (regression 2), the z-score for the conservative/3+ children category was 1.95, well above the 1.645 required for 90 percent confidence and just a hair below the 1.96 score indicating 95 percent confidence. This level of confidence was present even though just forty-four respondents on the 2012 ANES survey reported being in this category.

Moreover, on the presidential election tests (Table C4), liberal voters with 3+ were less likely to vote Republican than their ideological associates with no children, with significance at above a 90 percent confidence level. While this result should be treated skeptically since just 21 respondents in the survey were in this category, the trend fits both the theoretical explanation and the results of the issue-level tests explained in the next section. Furthermore, the results of both the House and presidential election tests are mirrored by the trends on the Senate tests (Table C3); both big-family liberal voters and conservative voters were less extreme in their voting than their ideological peers according to the coefficients, although neither trend was strong enough to be significant.

Taken together, these results provide modest evidence that voters with larger families tend to be more centrist in their voting than their ideological peers. While additional testing with larger sample sizes would be needed to be more certain, the pattern of less extreme voting among voters with more children is evident across several vote types and fits well with the results of my issue-related regressions covered in the next section.

## **Opinions on Social Issues**

If having more children is distinguished by more moderate voting, it makes sense that it should also be correlated with unique attitudes toward society and government policy. To test this hypothesis, I ran regressions analyzing the impact of family size on attitudes toward abortion, gay marriage, and gun control as well as in levels of

community involvement, support for education, and societal trust. These tests were controlled for other factors that could affect attitudes toward these issues, including marital status, ideology, income, age, religiosity, their 2012 presidential vote, and (when significant) ethnicity. By including a control for the 2012 presidential vote, only respondents who voted in 2012 are included in these regressions, allowing the trends evident in this data to be generalized to likely voters as opposed to the general population.

The first issue regression model predicts support for or opposition to abortion when there is no health risk to the woman. (Note: the variable for this abortion question has been recoded so that a negative coefficient infers opposition to a policy allowing abortion while a positive coefficient infers support for such a policy). As shown on Table D1, compared to a baseline of no children in the household, higher numbers of children is a significant ( $P < 0.05$ ) predictor of greater opposition to this form of abortion. In this instance, having more children is correlated with support for a traditionally conservative confirming the conservative tilt that has accompanied larger families in previous tests. This finding also supports my hypothesis that more individuals with larger families are more likely to hold more traditional family and moral values.

On the issue of gay marriage, however, there is not an obvious connection between the number of children in the family of the voter and voter opinions about the issue. As Table D3 shows, only one interaction between number of children and marital status is significant, and the pattern is crosscutting: widowed individuals with 3+ children or who have never married tend to oppose gay marriage, while those with two children and were never married are more likely to support it. These and all other interaction variables on my tests follow no clear pattern, indicating no clear link between family size and either opposition to or support for gay marriage. Support or opposition is better explained by ideological beliefs, religion, and other factors.

However, while individuals with larger families support mainstream conservatives on abortion, they break with the Republican right on gun control. My regression analysis showed that having more children predicted a small but significant increase in support for greater gun control laws in the United States.

On these issue-level tests, family size proves to be significantly correlated with greater support for one traditionally conservative issue (opposition to abortion) and one traditionally liberal issue (support for greater gun control). As such, these tests provide at least two explanations of why voters with more children might find it harder to be strongly ideologically aligned with the political far left or far right. The following hypothetical examples illustrate how this might occur. Imagine male voter *A* has identified with liberal viewpoints for several years. As he gets married and watches his several children grow into teenagers, he becomes more sensitive to issue of abortion laws and their possible negative effect on the lives of his kids and on the kids of his neighbors and friends. Over time, his traditionally liberal view that abor-

tions should be freely accessible to everyone is moderated by a desire to encourage his children to act responsibly. He may become more supportive of limits on access to abortions, because he believes such barriers will help discourage reckless sexual activity and avoid painful consequences. Or, just as probable, voter *A*'s traditional views about abortion are related to why he decided to have more children in the first place.

To propose a second example, traditionally strong conservative female voter *B* also gets married and has several children. As the rate and toll of school shootings continues to increase, she becomes comparatively more worried about the risks her children are exposed to as a result of people having easy access to guns. Consequently, her support for greater controls on gun sales increases, diverging her attitudes from her strong-conservative peers.

While these examples are hypothetical and cannot be proven by the data presented here, both cases provide a comprehensible illustration of how the presence of more children in the home may make it harder for voters to identify completely with the far left or far right of the political spectrum. Most importantly, these results concerning attitudes toward political issues are in line with the trend of more centrist voting patterns identified in my regression tests.

### **Attitudes toward Society**

Lastly, my final tests (Table D2) confirm that individuals with larger families are significantly more involved in their communities and more supportive of increased spending on education. And although these results should come as little surprise, the strength of the correlation despite the presence of control variables shows a clear and robust link between family size and community involvement and awareness of education issues. Significant at a  $P < 0.01$ , a marginal increase of one additional child increases the likelihood of participating in a community or school meeting by 23 percent and the probability of engaging in a community work project by 15 percent. While substantively small, having more children also noticeably increases support for higher government spending on education. Somewhat counterintuitively, these more community and family-minded individuals also express significantly less trust in society than average. These higher levels of distrust are likely connected to the fact that parents of several children stand to lose more at the hands of society than single individuals or couples with a single child or who have no children at all. Furthermore, it is also possible that greater involvement in the community exposes parents with larger families to more negative personal experiences that make them more distrustful of other people than their peers. From these results, it is possible that parents with more children will support tougher law enforcement, a position often taken by Republican leaders, while also supporting greater government spending on education, an issue often taken up by Democratic candidates. Once again, the results of these tests indicate that parents with more children will be more likely to support issues that cut across party lines, making political extremism especially unlikely.

## Conclusion

Overall, the findings reviewed here not only confirm the existence of important relationships between family size and voting, they also largely support that voters with more children tend to be more centrist in their voting and political attitudes. This moderating effect is evident among self-identifying liberals with three or more children who voted considerably more moderately than other liberals, and among conservatives who were significantly less committed to voting Republican than their ideological peers. These results are further supported by tests that reveal a link between larger family size and opposition to abortion and, on the other hand, greater support for gun control. Attitudinal tests reveal additional concerns, including support for greater educational spending and higher levels of distrust in society, which would provide reason for big-family voters to divide their support between Republican and Democratic candidates more often than other voters. Importantly, an increased likelihood for supporting issues that cut across party lines helps explain why voters with larger families would be less likely to vote in sync with the extreme arms of either party. Further, it suggests that declining birthrates and family sizes may have a hand in the increasingly divided political landscape in the U.S. and other prosperous Western democracies. At the least, these tests underscore the importance of family size as a significant and understudied cleavage among U.S. voters that, given their community involvement and demographic effects on the nation, are likely to have an outsized influence on future generations of Americans and on U.S. government policy.

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## APPENDIX

### SECTION A

#### *Initial Regressions for Voting Test*

**Table A1: Regression on voters in 2012 survey**

VARIABLES	(1) Vote Romney (Y/N)	(2) House of Rep	(3) Senate
Number of Children	0.026 (0.066)	0.018 (0.06)	0.088 (0.07)
Ideology	1.31*** (0.06)	1.13*** (0.057)	1.113*** (0.06)
Party ID	0.097*** (0.03)	0.047 (0.03)	0.1** (0.04)
Income	0.04*** (0.008)	0.009 (0.008)	0.021** (0.009)
Ethnicity	-0.6*** (0.08)	-0.48*** (0.08)	-0.31*** (0.08)
Religion—Guide	0.18*** (0.04)	0.13*** (0.038)	0.1** (0.043)
Religious Group	-0.086* (0.05)	-0.064 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.055)
Marital Status	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.036 (0.033)
Constant	-5.3*** (0.34)	-4.2*** (0.32)	-5.1*** (0.35)
Observations	3,749	3,567	2,828

*Robust standard errors in parentheses*

\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , ^  $p < 0.1$

**SECTION B**

Tables showing number of respondents by category for Family-Size/Ideology interaction regressions (categories where  $n < 30$  are marked by light red background)

**Table B1: 2012 Presidential Vote**

Indicating the frequency (n) of survey respondents by ideology (rows) and number of children (columns)

Ideology	Number of Children				Total
	0	1	2	3+	
1	83	18	13	7	121
2	318	69	60	21	468
3	303	63	41	25	432
4	880	204	178	109	1371
5	366	65	66	29	526
6	512	75	72	44	703
7	95	10	19	13	137
Total	2557	504	449	248	3758

**Table B2: 2012 Senate Vote**

Indicating the frequency (n) of survey respondents by ideology (rows) and number of children (columns)

Ideology	Number of Children				Total
	0	1	2	3+	
1	75	15	10	4	104
2	248	41	39	15	343
3	232	47	33	21	333
4	621	149	115	84	969
5	285	45	51	28	409
6	415	59	60	33	567
7	82	7	12	9	110
Total	1958	363	320	194	2835

**Table B3: 2012 House Vote**

Indicating the frequency (n) of survey respondents by ideology (rows) and number of children (columns)

Ideology	Number of Children				Total
	0	1	2	3+	
1	92	18	14	6	130
2	313	56	53	17	439
3	280	56	39	24	399
4	811	175	147	97	1230
5	360	58	63	27	508
6	532	76	72	44	724
7	104	11	20	12	147
Total	2492	450	408	227	3577

**SECTION C**

*Voting Test Interaction Regression Tables*

**Table C1.1**

Coefficients >0 indicate a HIGHER likelihood of voting Republican than the average voter, coefficients <0 a LOWER likelihood of voting Republican.

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Vote Romney (Y/N)	House of Rep	Senate
No children, ideology 1 (very liberal)	-2.7* (0.86)	-3.5** (0.9)	-1.95** (0.62)
No children, ideology 2 (liberal)	<b>-2.99**</b> <b>(0.4)</b>	<b>-2.2**</b> <b>(0.39)</b>	<b>-3.2**</b> <b>(0.51)</b>
No children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	-1.86** (0.38)	-1.31** (0.34)	-1.29** (0.38)
No children, ideology 4 (moderate)	0.04 (0.24)	0.08 (0.25)	-0.17 (0.28)
No children, ideology 5 (slightly cons)	1.28** (0.27)	1.3** (0.29)	0.82** (0.29)
No children, ideology 6 (conservative)	<b>2.9**</b> <b>(0.29)</b>	<b>2.5**</b> <b>(0.29)</b>	<b>2.48**</b> <b>(0.3)</b>

No children, ideology 7 (very conservative)	2.96** (0.45)	2.84** (0.47)	2.53** (0.51)
1 child, ideology 1 (very liberal)	-3.16** (1.1)	0 (0)	-1.97^ (1.13)
1 child, ideology 2 (liberal)	-2.36* (1.04)	-1.3^ (0.68)	0 (0)
1 child, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	-1.26* (0.5)	-1.4** (0.54)	-0.73 (0.52)
<b>BASELINE: 1 child, ideology 4 (moderate)</b>	<b>0 (0)</b>	<b>0 (0)</b>	<b>0 (0)</b>
1 child, ideology 5 (slightly cons)	1.18** (0.38)	0.85* (0.4)	0.51 (0.44)
1 child, ideology 6 (conservative)	2.68** (0.45)	2.04** (0.43)	1.98** (0.48)
1 child, ideology 7 (very conservative)	3.61** (1.06)	3.5** (1.07)	2.37* (1.02)
2 children, ideology 2 (liberal)	0 (0)	-2.7** (0.78)	-2.2* (1.03)
2 children, ideology 4 (moderate)	-0.08 (0.34)	0.196 (0.338)	-0.22 (0.4)
2 children, ideology 5 (slightly cons)	0.87* (0.39)	1.32** (0.44)	0.56 (0.45)
2 children, ideology 6 (conservative)	3.22** (0.54)	2.4** (0.54)	3.13** (0.6)
2 children, ideology 7 (very conservative)	2.36** (0.72)	2.87** (0.63)	0 (0)
<b>3+ children, ideology 2 (liberal)</b>	<b>-1.46^ (0.86)</b>	<b>-1.57^ (0.84)</b>	<b>-2.13* (1.07)</b>
3+ children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	-0.6 (0.86)	-0.04 (0.68)	0.04 (0.77)
3+ children, ideology 4 (moderate)	0.3 (0.32)	0.27 (0.34)	0.093 (0.43)
3+ children, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	1.26* (0.59)	1.86** (0.64)	1.31* (0.63)
<b>3+ children, ideology 6 (conservative)</b>	<b>3.09** (0.6)</b>	<b>1.49** (0.53)</b>	<b>1.92** (0.57)</b>
3+ children, ideology 7 (very conservative)	1.9** (0.6)	1.73* (0.67)	0 (0)

Party ID	0.1** (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	0.11** (0.04)
Income	0.03** (0.01)	0.011 (0.01)	0.023* (0.01)
Ethnicity	-0.6** (0.08)	-0.46** (0.08)	-0.32** (0.086)
Religion - Guide	0.18** (0.04)	0.13** (0.038)	0.11* (0.04)
Attend Relig. Group	-0.1^ (0.05)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.0574)
Marital Status	-0.12* (0.03)	-0.12** (0.032)	-0.04 (0.03)
Constant	-0.09 (0.3)	0.24 (0.34)	-0.5 (0.36)
Observations	3,669	3,529	2,752

Family-size/Ideology combinations dropped from all regressions due to too few observations are 3+/7, 2/7, 1/2, 1/1, 3+/1, 2/2, and 2/1.

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , ^  $p < 0.1$

**Table C1.2: Difference in Spread of Coefficients Between Liberal (2) and Conservative (6) Voters**

Since larger coefficients indicate a greater likelihood of being different from moderate voter with 1 child, a smaller spread in coefficients implies a smaller difference in voting patterns from moderate voters.

Interaction Variable Category	Spread of Coefficients – Presidential Vote	Spread of Coefficients – House Vote	Spread of Coefficients – Senate Vote
Voting respondents with no children	5.90	4.72	5.68
Voting respondents with 3+ children	<b>4.55</b>	<b>3.06</b>	<b>4.05</b>

**Table C2**

House Vote Regressions Testing Significance of Different Voting Patterns Between Conservative Voters with 0 and 3+ children (Regressions 1 & 2) and Liberal Voters with 0 and 3+ children (Regression 3)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
	House logit, 0/6 base	House probit, 0/6 base	House logit, 0/2 base
No children, ideology 1 (very liberal)	-5.983** (0.870)	-3.225** (0.355)	-1.262 (0.882)
<b>No children, ideology 2 (liberal)</b>	<b>-4.721**</b> (0.376)	<b>-2.713**</b> (0.181)	<b>0</b> <b>(0)</b>
No children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	-3.799** (0.292)	-2.231** (0.159)	0.922** (0.396)
No children, ideology 4 (moderate)	-2.413** (0.196)	-1.432** (0.108)	2.309** (0.353)
No children, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	-1.178** (0.225)	-0.686** (0.125)	3.544** (0.380)
<b>No children, ideology 6 (conservative)</b>	<b>0</b> <b>(0)</b>	<b>0</b> <b>(0)</b>	<b>4.721**</b> <b>(0.376)</b>
No children, ideology 7 (very conservative)	0.349 (0.442)	0.172 (0.218)	5.070** (0.535)
1 child, ideology 2 (liberal)	-3.787** (0.669)	-2.259** (0.359)	0.935 (0.730)
1 child, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	-3.907** (0.511)	-2.292** (0.275)	0.814 (0.593)
1 child, ideology 4 (moderate)	-2.489** (0.290)	-1.486** (0.171)	2.232** (0.389)
1 child, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	-1.638** (0.362)	-0.953** (0.217)	3.084** (0.473)
1 child, ideology 6 (conservative)	-0.450 (0.389)	-0.237 (0.215)	4.271** (0.492)
1 child, ideology 7 (very conservative)	1.013 (1.053)	0.553 (0.495)	5.734** (1.093)
2 children, ideology 2 (liberal)	-5.174** (0.768)	-2.934** (0.356)	-0.453 (0.818)
2 children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	-4.201** (0.674)	-2.436** (0.350)	0.520 (0.737)
2 children, ideology 4 (moderate)	-2.293** (0.298)	-1.357** (0.177)	2.428** (0.426)

2 children, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	-1.172** (0.417)	-0.670** (0.237)	3.549** (0.503)
2 children, ideology 6 (conservative)	-0.0923 (0.500)	-0.0584 (0.256)	4.629** (0.589)
2 children, ideology 7 (very conservative)	0.376 (0.615)	0.204 (0.311)	5.097** (0.681)
<b>3+ children, ideology 2 (liberal)</b>	<b>-4.060**</b> (0.831)	<b>-2.376**</b> (0.428)	<b>0.66</b> <b>(0.88)</b>
3+ children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	-2.530** (0.668)	-1.501** (0.404)	2.191** (0.727)
3+ children, ideology 4 (moderate)	-2.217** (0.322)	-1.318** (0.190)	2.504** (0.433)
3+ children, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	-0.633 (0.604)	-0.365 (0.333)	4.088** (0.678)
<b>3+ children, ideology 6 (conservative)</b>	<b>-1.001*</b> <b>(0.520)</b>	<b>-0.573*</b> <b>(0.294)</b>	<b>3.721**</b> <b>(0.597)</b>
3+ children, ideology 7 (very conservative)	-0.758 (0.656)	-0.399 (0.398)	3.963** (0.726)
Party ID	0.0477 (0.0333)	0.0272 (0.0190)	0.0477 (0.0333)
Income	0.0106 (0.00862)	0.00667 (0.00495)	0.0106 (0.00862)
Ethnicity	-0.475** (0.0788)	-0.273** (0.0435)	-0.475** (0.0788)
Religion - Guide	0.134** (0.0378)	0.0763** (0.0217)	0.134** (0.0378)
Relig - Attend Group	-0.0740 (0.0521)	-0.0446 (0.0292)	-0.0740 (0.0521)
Marital Status	-0.117** (0.0320)	-0.0638** (0.0183)	-0.117** (0.0320)
Constant	2.725** (0.275)	1.587** (0.152)	-1.996** (0.407)
Observations	3,529	3,529	3,529

*Family-size/Ideology combinations dropped from all regressions due to too few observations are 3+/1, 2/1, and 1/1.*

*Robust standard errors in parentheses*

**\*\***  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , ^  $p < 0.1$

**Table C3: Senate Vote**

Regressions Testing Significance of Different Voting Patterns Between Conservative Voters with 0 and 3+ children (Regression 1) and Liberal Voters with 0 and 3+ children (Regression 2)

VARIABLES	(1) Senate Vote (0/2 base)	(2) Senate Vote (0/6 base)
No children, ideology 1 (very liberal)	1.246 <sup>^</sup> (0.718)	-4.431** (0.594)
<b>No children, ideology 2 (liberal)</b>	<b>0</b> <b>(0)</b>	-5.677** (0.484)
No children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	1.909** (0.534)	-3.768** (0.344)
No children, ideology 4 (moderate)	3.033** (0.464)	-2.644** (0.221)
No children, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	4.018** (0.476)	-1.659** (0.236)
<b>No children, ideology 6 (conservative)</b>	5.677** (0.484)	<b>0</b> <b>(0)</b>
No children, ideology 7 (very conservative)	5.729** (0.627)	0.0516 (0.470)
1 child, ideology 1 (very liberal)	1.229 (1.166)	-4.448** (1.088)
1 child, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	2.466** (0.633)	-3.211** (0.491)
1 child, ideology 4 (moderate)	3.198** (0.509)	-2.479** (0.304)
1 child, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	3.708** (0.568)	-1.969** (0.391)
1 child, ideology 6 (conservative)	5.179** (0.622)	-0.498 (0.476)
1 child, ideology 7 (very conservative)	5.566** (1.093)	-0.111 (1.010)
2 children, ideology 2 (liberal)	0.965 (1.098)	-4.712** (1.008)
2 children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	2.970** (0.707)	-2.707** (0.588)
2 children, ideology 4 (moderate)	2.975** (0.541)	-2.702** (0.363)

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2 children, ideology 5 (slightly conserva- tive)	3.761** (0.575)	-1.916** (0.400)
2 children, ideology 6 (conservative)	6.331** (0.724)	0.654 (0.567)
<b>3+ children, ideology 2 (liberal)</b>	<b>1.066</b> <b>(1.137)</b>	<b>-4.611**</b> <b>(1.063)</b>
3+ children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	3.238** (0.851)	-2.439** (0.754)
3+ children, ideology 4 (moderate)	3.291** (0.573)	-2.386** (0.406)
3+ children, ideology 5 (slightly conserva- tive)	4.504** (0.720)	-1.173* (0.593)
<b>3+ children, ideology 6 (conservative)</b>	<b>5.116**</b> <b>(0.686)</b>	<b>-0.561</b> <b>(0.555)</b>
Party ID	0.106** (0.0401)	0.106** (0.0401)
Income	0.0228* (0.00999)	0.0228* (0.00999)
Ethnicity	-0.318** (0.0856)	-0.318** (0.0856)
Religion—Guide	0.110* (0.0440)	0.110* (0.0440)
Religion—Attend Group	-0.0512 (0.0574)	-0.0512 (0.0574)
Marital Status	-0.0371 (0.0334)	-0.0371 (0.0334)
Constant	-3.693** (0.517)	1.984** (0.291)
Observations	2,752	2,752

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*Family-size/Ideology combinations dropped from all regressions due to too few observations are 3+/7, 3+/1, 2/7, 2/1, and 1/2.*

*Robust standard errors in parentheses*

**\*\***  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , ^  $p < 0$ .

**Table C4: Presidential Vote**

Regressions Testing Significance of Different Voting Patterns Between Conservative Voters with 0 and 3+ children (Regression 1) and Liberal Voters with 0 and 3+ children (Regression 2)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)
	Vote For Romney (0/2 base)	Vote For Romney (0/6 base)
No children, ideology 1 (very liberal)	0.269 (0.900)	-5.631** (0.855)
<b>No children, ideology 2 (liberal)</b>	<b>0</b> <b>(0)</b>	-5.900** (0.392)
No children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	1.131* (0.455)	-4.768** (0.384)
No children, ideology 4 (moderate)	3.024** (0.354)	-2.875** (0.218)
No children, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	4.272** (0.373)	-1.628** (0.243)
<b>No children, ideology 6 (conservative)</b>	5.900** (0.392)	<b>0</b> <b>(0)</b>
No children, ideology 7 (very conservative)	5.947** (0.525)	0.0468 (0.443)
1 child, ideology 1 (very liberal)	-0.174 (1.119)	-6.074** (1.089)
1 child, ideology 2 (liberal)	0.627 (1.067)	-5.273** (1.040)
1 child, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	1.729** (0.581)	-4.171** (0.507)
1 child, ideology 4 (moderate)	2.988** (0.400)	-2.912** (0.292)
1 child, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	4.170** (0.461)	-1.730** (0.373)
1 child, ideology 6 (conservative)	5.672** (0.519)	-0.228 (0.441)
1 child, ideology 7 (very conservative)	6.600** (1.096)	0.700 (1.060)
2 children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	2.476** (0.582)	-3.424** (0.518)
2 children, ideology 4 (moderate)	2.908** (0.427)	-2.992** (0.325)

2 children, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	3.862** (0.473)	-2.038** (0.385)
2 children, ideology 6 (conservative)	6.203** (0.614)	0.303 (0.521)
2 children, ideology 7 (very conservative)	5.345** (0.774)	-0.555 (0.719)
<b>3+ children, ideology 2 (liberal)</b>	<b>1.530^ (0.893)</b>	<b>-4.370** (0.855)</b>
3+ children, ideology 3 (slightly liberal)	2.384** (0.895)	-3.515** (0.868)
3+ children, ideology 4 (moderate)	3.288** (0.420)	-2.612** (0.307)
3+ children, ideology 5 (slightly conservative)	4.251** (0.641)	-1.649** (0.581)
<b>3+ children, ideology 6 (conservative)</b>	<b>6.082** (0.623)</b>	<b>0.182 (0.558)</b>
3+ children, ideology 7 (very conservative)	4.853** (0.701)	-1.046 (0.633)
Party ID	0.0986** (0.0317)	0.0986** (0.0317)
Income	0.0310** (0.00858)	0.0310** (0.00858)
Ethnicity	-0.605** (0.0823)	-0.605** (0.0823)
Religion—Guide	0.176** (0.0409)	0.176** (0.0409)
Religion—Attend Group	-0.0996^ (0.0529)	-0.0996^ (0.0529)
Marital Status	-0.121** (0.0332)	-0.121** (0.0332)
Constant	-3.076** (0.409)	2.824** (0.308)
Observations	3,669	3,669

*Family-size/Ideology combinations dropped from all regressions due to too few observations are 3+/1, 2/2, and 2/1.*

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, ^ p<0.1

## SECTION D

*Regression Tables for Political Issues and Attitudes Tests***Table D1: Issues and Characteristics Tests**(1) Support for Abortion, (2) Support for Education Spending, (3) School/  
Other Involvement last 12 months, (4) Community work in last 12 months;  
among voters in 2012.

IND. VARIABLES	(1) Support: Abortion	(2) Edu Spending	(3) Community Involvement	(4) Community Work
# of Children	-0.16* (0.07)	0.05* (0.02)	0.23** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)
VoteRomney (Y/N)	-0.83** (0.16)	-0.37** (0.05)	-0.34** (0.11)	-0.24* (0.11)
Marital Status	0.044 (0.03)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Ideology	-0.46** (0.05)	-0.21** (0.0195)		
Income	0.05** (0.01)		0.02* (0.007)	0.02** (0.007)
Age	0.03 (0.02)			
Church Member	-0.25** (0.06)	0.03** (0.01)	0.11** (0.03)	0.17** (0.03)
Religion—Pray	0.23** (0.06)			
Religion— Guide	0.12* (0.06)			
Social Trust			0.1^ (0.06)	0.14* (0.06)
Ethnicity				-0.08 (0.06)
Observations	3,734	3,747	3,756	3,741
R-squared	0.25	0.119		

*Robust standard errors in parentheses**\*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, ^ p<0.1*

**Table D2: Issues and Characteristics Tests, Continued**

Gun Control Regression (1), negative coefficient implies supports more control,  
and Social Trust (2) among voters in 2012.

VARIABLES	(1) Supports Access To Guns	(2) Social Trust
No. of Children	-0.023 <sup>^</sup> (0.014)	-0.044* (0.02)
VoteRomney (Y/N)	0.26** (0.03)	0.09* (0.04)
Ideology (self eval)	0.09** (0.01)	
Birth Year	-0.03** (0.005)	0.015* (0.01)
Income	-0.005** (0.002)	0.02** (0.002)
Ethnicity	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.2** (0.02)
Religion—Born Again	-0.023** (0.008)	
Marital Status	-0.02** (0.007)	
Religion—Daily Guide	.007** (.008)	-0.025* (0.01)
Constant	-0.52** (0.08)	1.97** (0.09)
Observations	3,741	3,747
R-squared	0.18	0.08

*Robust standard errors in parentheses*

\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , <sup>^</sup>  $p < 0.1$

**Table D3: Gay Marriage Regression**

Gay Marriage Support among (1) General population voters

VARIABLES	(1) Support for Gay Marriage Laws
1.No. of Children	<b>0.126<sup>^</sup></b> (0.08)
4.No. of Children	<b>-0.53**</b> (0.16)

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2.Married, spouse absent	<b>0.22<sup>^</sup></b> (0.12)
3.Widowed	<b>0.26<sup>**</sup></b> (0.08)
4.Divorced	<b>0.13<sup>^</sup></b> (0.07)
5.Separated	<b>0.34<sup>*</sup></b> (0.17)
6.Never Married	<b>0.15<sup>*</sup></b> (0.067)
<b>1 Child, Widowed</b>	<b>-0.96<sup>**</sup></b> (0.21)
<b>2 Children, Married + spouse absent</b>	<b>-0.66<sup>*</sup></b> (0.28)
<b>2 Children, Separated</b>	<b>-0.63<sup>^</sup></b> (0.36)
<b>2 Children, Never Married</b>	<b>0.26<sup>*</sup></b> (0.13)
<b>3+ Children, Widowed</b>	<b>-0.86<sup>**</sup></b> (0.13)
<b>3+ Children, Never Married</b>	<b>-0.56<sup>^</sup></b> (0.3)
VoteForRomney	-0.27 <sup>**</sup> (0.05)
Ideology	-0.12 <sup>**</sup> (0.016)
Income	0.006 <sup>*</sup> (0.003)
Ethnicity	-0.05 <sup>*</sup> (0.02)
Social Trust	0.08 <sup>**</sup> (0.02)
Birth Year	-0.02 <sup>*</sup> (0.01)
Religion—Daily Guide	-0.12 <sup>**</sup> (0.02)
Attend Church Group	

Work/Responsibility Church	-0.12** (0.028)
Religious Identity: None	-0.021 (0.04)
Urbanness (partial)	0.02 (0.01)
Attend Church Group (excl)	-0.02 (0.02)
Observations	2,320
R-squared	0.31

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*Robust standard errors in parentheses*

\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , ^  $p < 0.1$

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# Immigrants and Voting: How a Personal Relationship to Immigration Changes the Voting Behaviors of Americans

by Mandi Eatough and Jordan Johnston

In the last thirty years the number of immigrant voters, in the U.S. has increased from less than 5 percent of the population to more than 13 percent. With such an unprecedented increase in such a short amount of time, immigration reform has become one of the most significant and controversial issues in elections nationwide. Since the 1980s, the U.S. has faced consistently increasing levels of both legal and illegal immigration, an issue that is personally relevant to all immigrants regardless of legality (Tichenor 1994). This influx of immigrants has made immigration policy more important for politicians. Understanding the attitudes and opinions of voting immigrants is becoming increasingly important as the percentage of immigrant voters in the U.S. continues to grow.

Of course, there have been studies about the voting population, including Harvard's Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES), that can be used to predict how any voter will feel about immigration based on socioeconomic factors, such as age, race, gender, and political ideology (CCES 2016). The most prominent theory regarding how a personal connection to immigration—whether brought about by family or other experiences—may affect opinions and, consequently, the voting behaviors of these American voters, is the contact theory (Schildkraut 2005). Deborah Schildkraut has suggested that an individual's contact with family, friends, and others in their lives will likely influence their own political behaviors and opinions. However, our research hopes to examine how generational distancing from immigration changes political opinions, specifically in relationship to immigration reform. This is potentially an important factor affecting the views of millions of Americans toward politicians, based on their immigrations policies and because of personal relationships with immigration.

The general support for open immigration policies by immigrants is not surprising. Current immigrants to the U.S. generally see direct benefits from open immigration policies, such as an increased ability to gain legal citizenship for themselves or their family, better employment and education opportunities, and increased access to health care and public benefits (Harwood 1986). This makes the relationship between first-generation immigrants and support for open immigration policies intuitive. However, it is unclear if a generational or multi-generational distancing from immigration reduces support for open immigration policies. Some research suggests that the formal integration of an individual into a new country or culture can significantly alter the opinions of individuals on major political issues, such as immigration (Just and Anderson 2015). However, research also supports that a majority of political socialization in the U.S. is brought about from the individual's family or home culture. Studies have shown that immigrants to the U.S. are likely to transfer their pre-existing beliefs about major social issues such as immigration to their new political system (White, Nevitte, et al., 2008).

While these hypotheses seem to be in direct conflict with one another, we expect to see a combination of both, dependent on the generational distancing from immigration. For first-generation immigrants, Stephen White and Neil Nevitte's hypothesis that immigrants to the U.S. will likely transfer their preexisting political behaviors to their new country seems most probable. However, as we look at second- and third-generation immigrants, we expect to see a greater manifestation of Just and Anderson's theory that formal integration into a new country leads to a change in political thought more than with first-generation immigrants.

While there is a substantial amount of literature focusing on the political assimilation (or non-assimilation) of immigrants into the U.S., there is little focusing on how this translates to the voting habits of these individuals within the country. Not accounting for the voting patterns of immigrants and their children has the potential to further alienate citizens who may already feel segregated from the general American public. Our findings bring a unique observation of immigrant citizens and their opinions on immigration reform that we hope to be a beneficial contribution to the understanding of immigrant voters by political scientists and politicians alike.

### **Theory and Hypothesis**

Our analysis has a two-part theory driving the research. The first part of our theory is that the culture and traditions of families also influence political behavior. Because of this theory, we assume that individuals who have a familial connection to an immigrant culture will show a greater support for open immigration policies than those who do not have a strong connection to an immigrant culture.

The second part of the theory extends the same ideas behind our theory of support for immigration policies and applies them to voting behaviors in presidential elections. This theory assumes that individuals who have familial connections to immigrant culture will show a greater support for presidential candidates who sup-

port open immigration policies, rather than candidates who support closed immigration policies. By taking our theory a step further by applying it to the voting behaviors of four major “immigrant relation” groups (first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants, as well as nonimmigrant citizens), we can operationalize the concept of immigrant distance to examine how an increasing distance from immigration changes the political behavior of an individual. Based on both of our major theories, we assume the actual and intended voting behavior of individuals in the 2008, 2012, and 2016 presidential elections will be reflective of their personal distance from immigration. In other words, the further removed from immigration an individual is, the more likely they are to vote for a candidate who supports closed immigration policies.

The basic premise for both of our theories is that the closer an American voter’s personal relationship is with immigration, the more likely they are to be supportive of immigration policies that provide greater benefits to immigrants to the United States. There are two major theories that allow us to expect these behaviors in immigrants to the U.S.: the “contact theory” as outlined by Schildkraut and the “assimilation theory” as outlined by White and Nevitte.

Schildkraut’s explanation of the contact theory is the major premise for our theory, with the major idea behind it being that the more contact an individual has with subscribers to any sort of political ideology or opinion, the more likely the individual is to have strong opinions regarding it, whether they are positive or negative (Schildkraut 2005). We consider there are six major groups of political influence: familial, racial, economic, religious, educational, and gender (Glass 1986). Four of these factors (family, race, economic status, and religion) have direct relationships with immigration. Because of this direct relationship between political socialization factors and immigration status, we expect immigrants and their direct descendants will have political opinions based on their “contact” with immigration. Individuals who come from a family of immigrants or a race/ethnic group that is commonly associated with immigrant issues should be far more likely to support open immigration policies than the average nonimmigrant citizen of the United States.

We are assuming that in most cases, a child of an immigrant will experience a greater amount of political influence from their immigrant parent than a grandchild would receive from an immigrant grandparent. Because of this lower degree of contact, we expect to see the greatest support for open immigration policies from immigrant voters, with support decreasing as individuals become generationally distanced from immigration to the United States. We expect this policy support pattern to directly translate to support for politicians who support the immigration policies they prefer.

While the contact theory provides the largest support for our theory, the assimilation theory presented by White and Nevitte also plays a large role in the theory behind our research (White, Nevitte, et al. 2008). White and Nevitte claim that the majority of political assimilation in the U.S. comes from the home or family life of an

American citizen. Specifically, they address what this means for immigrants, claiming that the culture of an immigrant's country of origin is likely to influence their children's political assimilation alongside their current country of residence. This idea matches the results of a study conducted by Irene Blowemraad, et al. regarding political socialization and immigration assimilation within the United States. These researchers claim that the longer an individual has been within a culture, the more likely they are to adjust their political views toward the cultural median (Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul 2008). Because of the process of assimilation, we assume that as an individual's generational distance from immigration increases, their political opinions will become more conservative, meaning that a child of a first-generation immigrant will be less likely to support open immigration policies than their parents, with this support level continually decreasing as the generational distance continues to increase. We expect this policy support pattern to directly translate to support for politicians who support the immigration policies that they prefer.

Another essential premise for our study is empathy. Studies show that empathy plays a pivotal role in political opinions as citizens tend to side with people who are similar them (Masuoka 2008). Moreover, we recognize that immigration issues within the U.S. are often associated with Hispanic immigrants from Mexico rather than immigrants with other ethnic backgrounds. Studies illustrate the homogeneity of this specific ethnicity and how Hispanics often share political opinions (Claassen 2004). We theorize that empathy will play a large role in the formation of opinions toward immigration policy. Understanding this, we predict that Hispanics will be especially empathetic toward the opinions of those who share their ethnic background. Hence, we expect that Hispanics will demonstrate a stronger tie to the well-known preference of open immigration policies of their immigrant family and friends.

Using these major research theories, we have constructed a two-part theory to guide our research of immigrants and their political opinions. We expect that in both cases of policy opinion and voting behaviors, the personal distancing of an individual from immigration, will lead to a greater amount of support for closed immigration policies and the presidential candidates who support those policies.

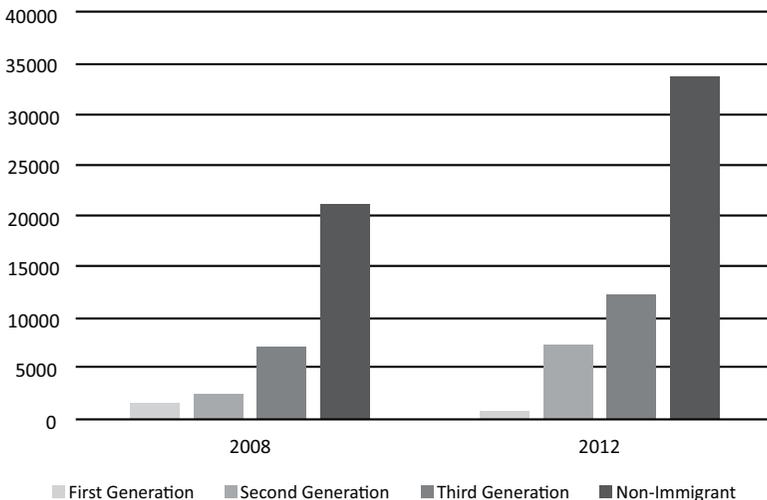
## **Data and Method**

In order to test these theories, we have conducted a data analysis of the 2008 and 2012 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) datasets. The CCES is a survey that has adjustments made to create an assumed nationally representative sample. Both the 2008 and 2012 CCES datasets include weighted variables to allow for a greater nationally representative sample, but we have chosen not to include those variables, as we are looking specifically for differences in immigration distance groups, which does not require this set of weights to be included to get a usable set of results (Vavreck 2008). In both years of CCES data, we will look at how likely each group is to vote for a candidate based on the type of immigration policies they support. Because the 2012 CCES data uniquely included a set of six questions specifically

about immigration policies in the U.S., we will examine the relationship between the opinions expressed within these questions by respondents and their personal distance from immigration (Ansolabehre 2013). In this study, we hypothesize that we will see a positive relationship between distance from immigration and support for closed immigration policies, as well as a significant positive change in support for closed immigration policies.

For this analysis, we broke down the population by their personal distance from immigration as seen in Figure 1. The CCES dataset provides information on the immigration status of all respondents by having them put themselves in one of four categories: first-, second-, third-generation immigrants, or nonimmigrant citizens. A first-generation immigrant is anyone who directly immigrated to the United States. While a second-generation immigrant is any U.S. born individual who has at least one immigrant parent, and a third generation immigrant is any U.S. born individual who has at least one immigrant grandparent. The nonimmigrant group is anyone with a fourth generation or further distancing from immigration to the United States. By dividing respondents to the CCES into these groups, we can operationalize the contact hypothesis in a way that allows us to study already existing data about a large sample of Americans.

**Figure 1: CCES Immigration Distance Summary**



We assume that for each level of generational distancing from direct immigration, immigration will have less of an influence on their opinions of immigration policies. Respondents were also asked if they were American citizens. For our analysis, we omitted any respondents who were not citizens or who were not registered voters, as their voting patterns are not possible to analyze. In both 2008 and 2012, a large

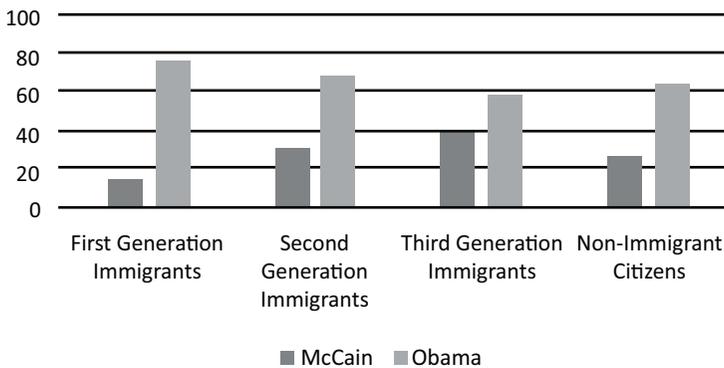
majority of the population was comprised of nonimmigrant citizens, but there is a large sample of each group regardless. The smallest population sample was for first-generation immigrant citizens, where the sample was only 937 individuals. While the other sample populations contained at least 1,500 individuals.

**CCES Data Analysis**

In order to demonstrate our theory on a larger scale, we examined data about presidential vote shares from the CCES datasets for both 2008 and 2012. According to our hypothesis, in both election years, we should see a positive relationship between immigrant distance and voting for the Republican candidate in the presidential election.

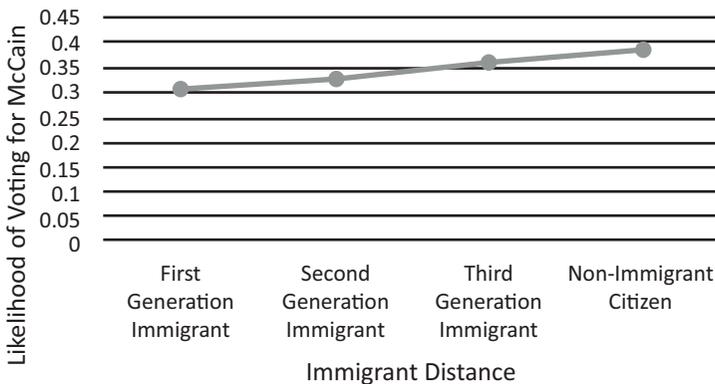
We began by analyzing the four immigration distance groups based on how they voted in the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections. In both 2008 and 2012, the Democratic candidate won the election.

**Figure 2: 2008 Presidential Vote Percentages**



**Likelihood of Voting for McCain in 2008**

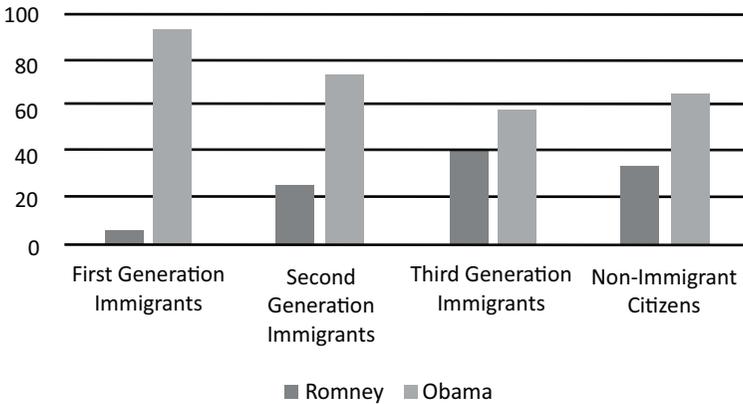
When Controlling for Other Socioeconomic Factors



In Figures 2 and 3, the raw vote share distribution between the Democratic and Republican candidates for both the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections can be seen for each of the four distance groups. Based on the raw data, in both election years, the first two generational changes from a first-generation immigrant show significant increases in the support for the Republican candidate. However, when looking at the groups of third-generation immigrants and nonimmigrant citizens, instead of seeing greater support for a candidate, which supported closed immigration policies, we actually see a smaller amount of support.

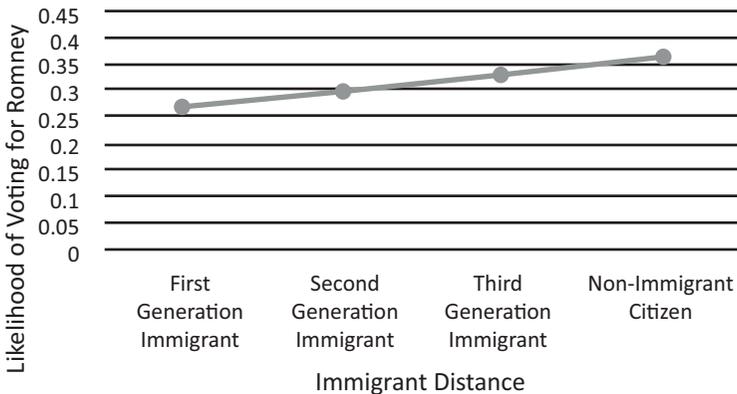
In the same figures, the raw probability of voting for the Republican presidential candidate can be seen for the 2008 and 2012 elections. Based on the raw data for the 2008 election, for each increase in immigrant distance, the probability of any voter within that group to vote for the Republican candidate increased by approxi-

**Figure 3: 2012 Presidential Vote Percentages**



**Likelihood of Voting for Romney in 2012**

When Controlling for Other Socioeconomic Factors



mately 2 percentage points. In 2012, the increase was closer to 2.5 percentage points. This means that in 2008 an individual with no relationship to immigration was 8 percentage points more likely to vote for a Republican candidate than a first-generation immigrant, while in 2012 they were 10 percentage points more likely to do so.

However, because our dataset is not comprised of four, equal-sized groups with the same socioeconomic status outside of immigrant distance, we cannot say these direct vote comparisons show that immigrant distance is actually what influences voting behaviors. To account for both sample size and socioeconomic differences we created the following logistic regression model:<sup>1</sup>

$$\Pr(\text{vote}=1 \mid X=1,2,\dots) \\ =F(\text{con}+\text{immdist}+\text{hispanic}+\text{immdist}*\text{hispanic}+\text{age}+\text{gender}+\text{democrat}+\text{state} \\ \text{fixed effects})$$

Using this model with the interaction term for both the 2008 and 2012 elections, the probability of voting for the Republican candidate for each of the four immigrant distance groups was calculated, while keeping all other controls at their means, as seen in Table 1. These probability percentages show that the largest political ideology gap is between first- and second-generation immigrants, with a change of 9 percentage points in 2008 and 21 percentage points in 2012. After the first generational gap, there is a smaller change between second- and third-generation immigrants, 6 points in 2008 and 10 points in 2012. With an even smaller change between third-generation and nonimmigrant citizens, 1 percentage point in 2008 and 4 percentage points in 2012. Interestingly, third-generation immigrants seem to be more politically distanced from first-generation immigrants than voters who have no personal connection to immigration.

**Table 1: Probability of Presidential Vote**

	(1) McCain 2008	(2) Romney 2012
First Generation	23%	7%
Second Generation	32%	28%
Third Generation	38%	38%
Non-Immigrant	37%	34%

These probabilities are evidence that our hypothesis predicting that the further distanced an individual is from immigration the more likely they are to support candidates with closed immigration policies is likely to be true. However, it does not support our theory that we would see a large change between voters with a personal connection to immigration (a first-, second-, or third-generation immigrant) and voters without a generational connection. In fact, it seems that the third-generation immigrants are more likely to support closed immigration policies than a nonimmigrant

citizen when controlling for additional socioeconomic factors, but the changes are not large enough to warrant a claim of statistically significant differences between third-generation immigrants and nonimmigrant citizens. We expect this result is because the largest personal distancing from immigration is changing from being an immigrant to being a descendant of an immigrant. Once an individual is not an immigrant themselves, they are less likely to have had long periods of contact with the culture of their family's country of origin, meaning that they will likely be more assimilated.

Using this model, we conducted two regressions for each election year, the first without the interaction term between immigration distance and the Hispanic dichotomous variable, and the second including this interaction term. These results can be seen in Table 2, with a more detailed table in the Appendix Table 1. The model including this interaction term proved to increase both statistical and substantive significance as well as increase the pseudo-R<sup>2</sup> term, showing it to be a better model regardless of the significance of the results. In 2008, the model gives a logistic coefficient of 0.536, showing a positive relationship between the probability of voting for McCain and personal distance from immigration with 99 percent certainty. In 2012, the model gives a logistic coefficient of 0.714, showing an even stronger positive relationship between the probability of voting for Romney and personal distance from immigration.

The second part of our analysis deals with opinions about specific policies. The 2012 CCES included six immigration-specific policy questions asking respondents whether

**Table 2: Logistic Regressions of Immigration Distance on Presidential Votes (Summary)**

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	mccain2008	mccain2008	romney2012	romney2012
<b>Immigration Distance</b>	<b>0.158***</b> (0.0151)	<b>0.536***</b> (0.0902)	<b>0.182***</b> (0.0134)	<b>0.714***</b> (0.0459)
Hispanic	-0.353*** (0.0624)	-2.182** (1.025)	-0.201*** (0.0438)	-0.193*** (0.0549)
Age/Gender/Political Party Controls?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Imm. Dist*Hispanic Inter- action Control?	No	Yes	No	Yes
State Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	54.52*** (1.650)	50.29*** (1.723)	18.26*** (1.383)	15.94*** (1.399)
Observations	32,800	32,800	54,535	54,535

Robust standard errors in parentheses

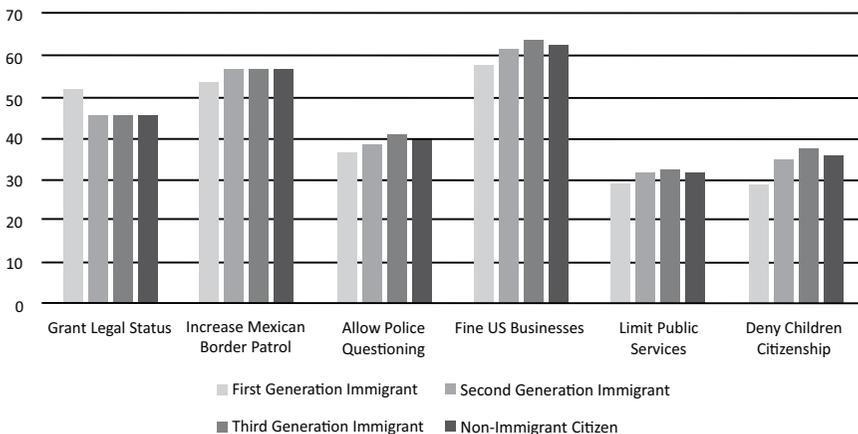
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

they supported the policy detailed in the question. Our theory suggests that for open immigration policies, we should see a negative relationship between immigration distance and support for the policy, while for closed immigration policies we should see a positive relationship between immigration distance and support for the policy.

Figure 4 shows the basic distribution of the immigrant distance sample populations and their support for the six immigration-specific policies (the open-immigration policy is italicized):

- Grant legal status to all illegal immigrants who have held jobs and paid taxes for at least three years, and have not been convicted of any felony crimes.
- Increase the number of border patrols on the U.S.–Mexican border.
- Allow police to question anyone they think may be in the country illegally.
- Fine U.S. businesses that hire illegal immigrants.
- Prohibit illegal immigrants from using emergency hospital care and public schools.
- Deny automatic citizenship to American-born children of illegal immigrants.

**Figure 4: Percent of Support for Immigration Policies**



As with our analysis of voting based on immigration policies, a view of raw data shows only an overview of the distribution of these four groups when not controlling for other socioeconomic factors. So while the distribution above shows some changes in support for these policies based on immigrant distance, and in the directions we would expect based on the type of policy being discussed, we cannot say anything about statistical or substantive significance without running a regression. Since we are using the same data used with the model used to analyze voting behaviors of the four immigrant distance groups, we created this model with the immigrant distance and Hispanic dichotomous variable interaction term, as it will improve the reliability of our model. For this analysis our logistical model was the following:

$$\Pr(\text{support}=1 \mid X=1,2,\dots)$$

$$=F(\text{con}+\text{immdist}+\text{hisp}+\text{immdist}*\text{hisp}+\text{age}+\text{gender}+\text{democra}+\text{2008vote}+\text{2012vote}+\text{state fixed effects})$$

This logistic model was run for each of the six immigration policies outlined previously, with the results varying in statistical significance as seen in Table 3. However, in this model we found that for policies dealing specifically with Mexican–U.S. immigrant issues, immigrant distance did not show a difference in the possibility of supporting an immigration policy. However, when examining whether or not an individual was His-

**Table 3: Logistic Regressions of Immigration Distance on Immigration Specific Policies**

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	legalstatus	bordere- curity	police- quest	busfine	pubservice	denycit
Immigrant	-0.0391	-0.00595	0.00515	0.0283	0.0188	0.0756***
Distance	(0.0253)	(0.0254)	(0.0259)	(0.0247)	(0.0261)	(0.0263)
Hispanic	0.763***	-0.689***	-1.021***	-0.914***	-0.821***	-0.939***
	(0.0494)	(0.0478)	(0.0597)	(0.0461)	(0.0600)	(0.0590)
Hisp. First Gen.	0.530*	-0.670***	0.00330	-0.353	-0.544	-0.898**
	(0.281)	(0.256)	(0.300)	(0.246)	(0.363)	(0.421)
Hisp. Second Gen.	-0.00205	-0.00670	0.00182	0.140	-0.0196	0.154
	(0.113)	(0.108)	(0.132)	(0.103)	(0.133)	(0.129)
Hisp. Third Gen.	0.0909	0.0471	0.117	0.208**	0.0598	0.00207
	(0.0995)	(0.0952)	(0.116)	(0.0887)	(0.118)	(0.119)
Democrat	0.0342	0.00263	-0.0595**	-0.0324	0.0278	-0.0693***
	(0.0223)	(0.0222)	(0.0235)	(0.0222)	(0.0233)	(0.0233)
Male	-0.241***	0.221***	0.292***	0.355***	0.204***	0.304***
	(0.0188)	(0.0187)	(0.0197)	(0.0189)	(0.0195)	(0.0194)
Age	0.0159***	-0.0180***	-0.0294***	-0.0187***	-0.0178***	-0.0219***
	(0.000609)	(0.000607)	(0.000646)	(0.000605)	(0.000630)	(0.000629)
2008 Vote	1.481***	-1.309***	-1.810***	-0.757***	-1.256***	-1.575***
	(0.0193)	(0.0190)	(0.0218)	(0.0189)	(0.0213)	(0.0216)
2012 Vote	-0.0406*	0.0209	0.0728***	0.0343	-0.00541	0.0832***
	(0.0225)	(0.0224)	(0.0237)	(0.0225)	(0.0235)	(0.0234)
State Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	54,535	54,535	54,535	54,535	54,535	54,535

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

panic when combined with generational immigration distances, it showed a significant change in the probability of a respondent supporting the legislation.

In Table 4, we see the probability percentages for each immigrant distance population sample to support any given policy, as well as the probability of support from an individual in any of the groups if the individual is Hispanic.

**Table 4: Probability of Support for Legislation**

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Grant Legal Status	Increase Border Security	Police Questioning
First Generation ( <i>Hisp</i> )	49% (73%)	55% (29%)	40% (22%)
Second Generation ( <i>Hisp</i> )	45% (62%)	58% (42%)	41% (22%)
Third Generation ( <i>Hisp</i> )	46% (64%)	56% (43%)	41% (24%)
Non-Immigrant ( <i>Hisp</i> )	46% (61%)	56% (42%)	41% (23%)
	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Fine Businesses	Deny Public Services	Deny Citizenship
First Generation ( <i>Hisp</i> )	62% (33%)	32% (11%)	33% (8%)
Second Generation ( <i>Hisp</i> )	64% (45%)	33% (17%)	38% (21%)
Third Generation ( <i>Hisp</i> )	65% (47%)	32% (19%)	38% (20%)
Non-Immigrant ( <i>Hisp</i> )	64% (43%)	33% (18%)	37% (21%)

For each of the policies, there is a large margin of change in support between Hispanic and non-Hispanics regardless of immigration distance. For non-Hispanic immigrants, we see minimal change in support for a policy based on their immigration distance, with the average distance between generations being about 1.5 percent. However, for Hispanics the changes between generations is much greater, with the average distance between generations on all six policies being just under 12 percent.

These data show us that the majority of the actual changes seen between immigrant distances are influenced by ethnicity. In the U.S., a majority of immigration issues focus directly on Mexican–U.S. immigration. This means that in the U.S. the racial group that is most likely to face prejudices due to changes in immigration laws are Hispanics, regardless of if they immigrated from Mexico or another primarily Hispanic country. Because this group is a majority of the immigrant minority within the U.S., it makes sense that the most opposition and support for policies, depending on whether they harm or help immigrants, would come from this group.

These probabilities show that if the ethnicity of the immigrant voter is taken into account, our hypothesis that the further distanced an individual is from immigration, the more likely they are to support closed immigration policies, and are less likely to support open immigration policies. As with the data from the presidential voting analysis, we do not see a large change between voters with a personal connection to immigra-

tion and voters without one of those personal connections. We still see the assimilation theory hold true when looking at specific policies, because an increase in distance from immigration increases the probability that an individual will support a policy that hurts immigrants. However, this discrepancy between voting behaviors and policy opinions is likely due to the complexity of a voting decision in the United States.

When a respondent was presented with a specific policy and asked how they felt about that policy, they likely answered based on their personal opinions on that immigration policy alone. However, when a respondent to the CCES was voting, their choice of presidential candidate was likely based on additional factors and not entirely on the candidate's immigration policies—meaning the relationship is not likely as strong.

### **Analysis**

While the CCES data analysis did not give us our complete hypothesized outcomes, we saw a clear relationship between immigrant distance and voting behavior and specific policy preferences, allowing us to conclude that immigration distance does change the way an individual thinks about the immigration policies of the candidates.

In the CCES data analysis, we found that when looking only at the raw data, there is anywhere from a 6 percent to 21 percent increase in the probability of voting for a candidate who supports closed immigration policies when jumping between immigrant generations. These changes show a statistical and substantive relationship between immigration distance and voting behavior.

The CCES data analysis also showed that for Mexican–U.S. immigration specific policies, the levels of support of Hispanic immigrants combined with immigrant distance strongly supports our original hypothesis. The further removed an immigrant is from a first-generation immigrant, the more likely they are to support closed immigration policies, and the less likely they are to support open immigration policies. While we did not initially account for the specification of Hispanic immigrants, it makes sense that they would be the most affected group of immigrants. Mexican–U.S. immigration issues make up a major proportion of the U.S. political controversy surrounding immigration, so Hispanics would be the immigrants most affected by any changes to immigration policy in the United States. The higher probabilities for support for open immigration policies found among Hispanics are consistent with our theory.

It is also important to recognize the limitations of our analysis. In our analysis of the CCES dataset, we were limited, because the data we collected did not perfectly fit our particular research. Additional research and experimentation regarding our hypotheses would be beneficial to understanding the actual relationship between immigrant distance and political behaviors.

### **Conclusion**

While our data analysis did not completely satisfy all of our original hypotheses, we found sufficient data between the two studies to allow us to firmly

state that immigration distance is a contributing factor to political behaviors, such as voting and policy opinions. We specifically found our theory that a first- or second-generational relationship to immigration causes an individual to be more likely to support open immigration policies is correct. However, we did not consistently see support for our theory that for each generational “distancing” from immigration we would see increasing support for closed immigration policies. Instead, we found that the largest difference between immigrant generations is between first-and second-generation immigrants. We also found that individuals with a personal relationship with immigration were more likely to vote for candidates who supported open immigration policies, and that this factor does have a consistent correlation with immigration distance.

We hope that our analysis may be used as a stepping stone for additional research to contribute to researching our theories. We would suggest further exploration of the way that racial and ethnic backgrounds may interact with immigration distance to influence political opinions on immigration policies. Immigration is an increasingly important issue in American politics, and understanding the opinions of immigrants with regard to these issues, and what causes immigrants to have these political opinions, should be considered important by both political scientists and politicians alike.

#### NOTE

1. The model was run both with and without dummy variables for all dependent variables. There was no change in the results when the regression was used the dummy variables so the original model was kept.

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# How Partisan Identification on the Ballot Affects Individuals' Vote Choices

by Jennica Petersen and Rebecca Shuel

## Introduction

Political parties are both praised and criticized in our society. People acknowledge that parties serve important functions as they organize the electorate, simplify voter choices, and help voters elect leaders that will carry out their desired policies (Dalton, Farrell, and McAllister 2011). However, other people blame political parties for the increasing polarization and gridlock in our government, and some people claim that individuals rely too heavily on partisan cues and not enough on information about political candidates when determining their vote choice. Because political parties perform such important tasks, we expect individuals to vote differently in the absence of party cues. We use a survey experiment to assess the extent to which the indication of candidates' partisanship on a hypothetical ballot actually affects vote choice.

We randomly assigned participants into two groups. Participants in both groups saw a hypothetical ballot with the two hypothetical presidential candidates with certain qualifications and issue positions, but only those in the experimental group saw the political partisanship of the candidates. We then asked the survey participants to indicate the presidential candidate they would choose. By using the indication of partisanship on the hypothetical ballot as the independent variable in our study, we determined that those who identified with a particular political party voted for their own party's candidate at a higher rate when partisanship was indicated on the ballot compared to when it was not—even after controlling for a wide range of factors. This experiment allowed us to isolate the independent effect of party labels on determining individuals' vote choices, which enabled us to understand to what extent individuals are influenced by party cues. We found that even when exposed to the same two candidates, individuals change their voting behavior significantly in the presence of

partisan cues, permitting us to infer that party labels still play a tremendous role in our society today.

### **Literature Review**

Party identification or an emotional or psychological attachment to a political party (Campbell et al., 1960, Goren 2005) is typically formed early in childhood through socializing agents such as family, schools, media, and peers; however, the family appears to be the most significant predictor of an individual's party identification (Jennings and Niemi 1968, 169). Party identification remains relatively stable throughout an individual's life (Green and Palmquist 1994, 437, Bartels 2002, 133). And for decades, political science research has shown party identification to be the strongest predictor of individual vote choice (Campbell et. al 1960, Bonneau and Cann 2013, 43) as party labels provide a readily available cue for voters to quickly differentiate between candidates (Leighley 2010, 264). Party identification is more than a summary of individuals' political opinions; rather, it is a powerful and pervasive influence on how they see events and interpret the world around them (Bartels 2002, 120). Party labels are quickly accessible and provide generally accurate policy information about candidates to voters. This ultimately helps voters reach reasonable decisions without having to research each individual candidate and their personal issue positions (Schaffner, Streb, and Wright 2001, 9; Burnett and Tiede 2015, 232).

Given that voters most commonly vote for the candidates from their own party, we might expect voters to behave differently if there were no indication of partisanship on the ballot. Previous researchers have studied local and judicial elections, most of which are nonpartisan, to discover that when party labels are not included on the ballot, individuals often rely on other candidate characteristics to select a candidate (Dubois 1984, 397-398). Compared to partisan elections where voters often use party as their main voting cue, incumbency and name recognition seem to be the major predictor of vote choice in these nonpartisan elections (Schaffner, Streb, and Wright 2001, 7; Nelson 1978, 674). However, although researchers have found that voters rely on elements other than party in order to choose a candidate in nonpartisan elections, several researchers have found that voters still often bring partisan information into nonpartisan elections. Even in nonpartisan elections, candidates often provide some partisan indications to voters, causing voters to substitute this for a clear party label in order to choose a candidate, rendering nonpartisan elections ineffective at actually taking the party out of elections (Squire and Smith 1988, 169; Bonneau and Cann 2013, 43).

### **Our Contribution**

We believe our research resolves some of the conflicting conclusions found in previous studies of partisan and nonpartisan elections. Although many researchers have previously compared partisan to nonpartisan elections, their findings are limited, because the majority of these studies have been observational in nature. This means that previous inferences are potentially affected by factors including the differences in

the locations of the elections, individual characteristics of the candidates, or multiple other factors rather than an indication of the types of elections themselves. Our research makes a unique contribution, because we take an experimental approach to compare whether the indication of partisanship on the ballot affects individuals' voting choices, while holding the candidates and all other factors constant. This isolates the effect of party cues and ensures that possibly confounding variables will no longer be an issue.

We chose to model the hypothetical candidates in our experiment after low-profile individuals with relatively moderate and generic issue positions (details will be discussed below). This ensures that survey participants were not relying on incumbency or name recognition as a substitute for party identification, as they have shown to do in previous judicial and nonpartisan elections (Schaffner, Streb, and Wright 2001, 7; Nelson 1978, 674). Furthermore, whereas previous researchers have focused on local or judicial elections, we put our study into the context of a presidential election, enabling us to extend our understanding of the role of party cues beyond the local and judicial sphere. Although researchers have shown that individuals can typically infer candidates' partisanship from information they divulge in their campaigns, the information we provided about the candidates was as moderate as possible to ensure that participants would not deduce the partisanship of the hypothetical candidates without partisan labels (details and full text of the candidates' issue positions is below). Overall, because we conducted an experiment to hold constant the factors that other researchers have found to influence nonpartisan elections, we determined the independent effect of party labels in determining how individuals choose to vote.

### **Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses**

Although partisan identification strongly predicts an individual's vote, we believe this is only the case when voters clearly know the party affiliations of the prospective candidates. We predict that without a party label or strong party cues (such as extremely ideological issue positions), individuals who self-identify with any given party will not be more likely to vote for any given candidate if their issue positions and personal qualifications seem roughly equal. However, when the candidates' party affiliations are included on the ballot, we predict that co-partisans will be significantly more likely to vote for the candidate from their own party.

*Hypothesis #1: When there is no indication of partisanship on our hypothetical ballot, we do not expect people who identify with a certain political party to favor one candidate over another.*

Because the candidates will have identical experience and moderate issue positions, we do not expect voters will infer candidate partisanship, when we do not include party labels on the ballot. Because of this, we expect each survey participant to focus on something different (i.e., personal qualifications, a certain issue position, etc.) to make their voting decision. Thus, we do not expect to see Republicans vote more strongly for one candidate than another or Democrats to vote more strongly for one candidate than

another. Ultimately, we expect individuals' voting decisions will be based off more than a simple party cue in our replication of a nonpartisan election. That is, because individuals assigned to the "nonpartisan election" group cannot rely on the party label as a crutch, we expect they will take more factors about the candidates into account when determining their voting choice. In other words, we do not expect that the party identification of individuals assigned to the control condition (the replication of a nonpartisan election) alone will determine their vote choice; instead, we believe their vote choice will be more complex and impossible to predict by their party identification alone.

*Hypothesis #2: When individuals know the presidential candidates' partisan identifications, we predict they will be significantly more likely to vote for the candidate that aligns with their own personal party identification.*

We hypothesize that individuals' party identification is only the major predictor of their vote choice when they clearly know the partisanship of the candidates. In our replication of a partisan election, we believe that self-identified Democrats will be significantly more likely to vote for the identified Democratic candidates and self-identified Republicans will be significantly more likely to vote for the identified Republican candidate, holding all else constant. We also believe this effect will be especially strong for those individuals who self-classify themselves as "strong Democrats" or "strong Republicans."

## Research Design

We used Amazon Mechanical Turk to perform a survey experiment of 748 adults from across the United States. The treatment variable is the inclusion of the candidates' partisanship on the hypothetical ballot, and we studied whether individuals who self-identify with a political party reacted differently to the candidates in the two types of election replications (nonpartisan and partisan). To do this, we measured each individual's party identification by having participants place themselves into one category on the typical seven-point scale. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself to be a(n):

- Strong Democrat
- Not so strong Democrat
- Independent leaning Democrat
- Independent
- Independent leaning Republican
- Not so strong Republican
- Strong Republican
- Other
- Don't Know

Amazon Mechanical Turk then randomly assigned each participant into either the control or the treatment condition. In each of the conditions, participants were asked to read about two hypothetical candidates and then indicate the candidate they would vote for if it were an actual presidential election.

Because we wanted to study the independent effect of party labels on determining individuals' vote choices, the only difference between the hypothetical nonpartisan and partisan elections was the inclusion of party labels on the ballot. We also attempted to

make the candidates appear as moderate as possible to enable us to isolate the effect of clear party labels on the ballot, because we did not want survey takers in the control condition to substitute any information we gave them for a party cue. Therefore, to make the candidates as moderate as possible, but still realistic, we used the 2013 Senate report cards from GovTrack to identify the two median U.S. Senators in the 2013 legislative session. Senators #50 and #51 on the list are Senator Susan Collins (R-ME), and Senator Cory Booker (D-NJ). Each of the senators has the same “report card” score of 0.39 (GovTrack 2013), but the candidates are from opposite political parties, which meant they were the perfect models for our experiment. To create the hypothetical candidate profiles, we used these two senators’ web sites to pull facts and issue positions to create the candidate profiles for our survey. We kept the qualifications and issue positions consistent for each candidate across the control and treatment conditions (in both conditions, candidate A is modeled after Senator Cory Booker and candidate B is modeled after Senator Susan Collins), but we only included the candidate’s actual political party in the treatment condition. Although we aimed to select moderate issue positions for both candidates, we acknowledge that there is always a potential for bias, because every issue has the potential to be partisan. However, even if survey participants determined the partisanship of the candidates in the control condition, making the inclusion of party labels the only difference between the control and treatment condition ensures that any effects we found were due to the party labels themselves, rather than an effect driven by other factors. Ultimately, our experiment allowed us to isolate the independent effect of party labels on determining voters’ choices.

The participants assigned to the *control condition* saw the following information and answered the follow-up question:

Imagine that you are voting in the next presidential election. The following two candidates are on the ballot:

#### Candidate A

- Currently serving a 4th term as a U.S. Senator (19 years)
- Serves on the Senate’s Commerce, Science and Transportation, Small Business and Entrepreneurship, and Environment and Public Works Committees
- Working to protect Medicare and rejects any efforts to turn it into a voucher program
- Has worked to extend long-term unemployment insurance
- Promotes small business and entrepreneurship

#### Candidate B

- Has served in the U.S. Senate since 1996 (19 years)
- Currently serves as chairman of the Special Committee on Aging; and serves on the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions
- Encourages improvement of public education and promotes higher education

- Wants to cut taxes for employees and employers to incentivize business growth
- Has consistently supported programs to expand access to health care, particularly for citizens living in rural areas

Which candidate would you personally vote for?

- Candidate A
- Candidate B
- Don't know /no preference

The participants assigned to the *experimental condition* saw the following information and answered the follow-up question:

Imagine that you are voting in the next presidential election. The following two candidates are on the ballot:

Candidate A (D)

- Currently serving a 4th term as a U.S. Senator (19 years)
- Serves on the Senate's Commerce, Science and Transportation, Small Business and Entrepreneurship, and Environment and Public Works Committees
- Working to protect Medicare and rejects any efforts to turn it into a voucher program
- Has worked to extend long-term unemployment insurance
- Promotes small business and entrepreneurship

Candidate B (R)

- Has served in the U.S. Senate since 1996 (19 years)
- Currently serves as chairman of the Special Committee on Aging; and serves on the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions
- Encourages improvement of public education and promotes higher education
- Wants to cut taxes for employees and employers to incentivize business growth
- Has consistently supported programs to expand access to health care, particularly for citizens living in rural areas

Which candidate would you personally vote for?

- Candidate A, the Democrat
- Candidate B, the Republican
- Don't know /no preference

As seen above, the only difference between the control and treatment conditions was the indication of the candidates' partisanship in the treatment condition. Because we used random assignment in the survey, this enabled us to determine that any difference between individuals' vote choices in the two groups was due to the indication (or lack thereof) of party on the ballot.

We also controlled for demographic factors that may have influenced whether individuals chose to vote for the candidate from their party and included these

variables in our statistical models (details will be explained more fully below). We asked participants to identify their likelihood of voting in the next presidential election, religion, race, age, political ideology (on a scale from extremely conservative to extremely liberal), and gender.

### **Explanations of Key Variables**

We wanted to test whether voters reacted differently in our replications of the two types of elections (partisan and nonpartisan), based on the lack or presence of party cues, even when presented with the same candidates. Therefore, while the main independent variable in our study is the type of election that is replicated (partisan or nonpartisan), we compared its effects across the classifications of partisans. We grouped survey takers by their self-identified political party to test how strongly party identification on the ballot affected their vote when filtered through their own partisan identification. Specifically, we coded individuals who identified as either strong, weak, or independent-leaning Democrats as Democrats, and individuals who identified as either strong, weak, or independent-leaning Republicans as Republicans. For further analysis, we also studied how our treatment affected those who identified as strong partisans, because we expected strong partisans to be especially loyal to the candidate from their party when presented with the candidates' party labels.

We restricted our analysis to only individuals who identified as either Republican or Democrat, because we were testing how the candidates' own partisan identifications (Republican and Democrat) affected the vote choices of individuals who shared their partisanship. This means we dropped all of the observations for individuals who self-identified as "Independent," "Other," or "Don't Know" with regard to their political party, because we only wanted to determine how party labels affect co-partisans' vote choices. We also did this because it is impossible to measure whether people who identified as Independents or with another political party voted with their party, since the experiment only included a Democratic and a Republican candidate.

Our dependent variable is whether the individuals voted for the candidate from their own party, and it is measured with a binary variable (coded as 0/1). Specifically, if an individual identified as a Democrat (either strong, weak, or Independent-leaning) and voted for the Democratic candidate (candidate A) in either the control or treatment condition, this was coded as a 1. While if they voted for the Republican candidate (candidate B) or indicated that they did not know who they would vote for, this was coded as a 0. Likewise, for Republicans, those who identified as a strong, weak, or independent-leaning Republican were coded as a 1 for the dependent variable if they voted for the Republican candidate (candidate B) in either condition, and coded as a 0 if they voted for the Democratic candidate or indicated that they did not know who they would vote for.

## Results

As previously stated, we only analyzed the results for individuals who identified as either Democrats or Republicans. However, even after excluding individuals who identified as Independents, another party, or did not know which party they identified with, we had 583 observations, which was more than enough to draw firm conclusions.

As expected, we found that individuals were more likely to vote along party lines when they knew the party affiliations of the candidates than when they did not. The figure below shows the predicted probability (measured as a proportion) that individuals in the two groups chose to vote for the candidate from their party.

**Figure 1: Predicted Probability of Voting with Party, with 95% Confidence Intervals**

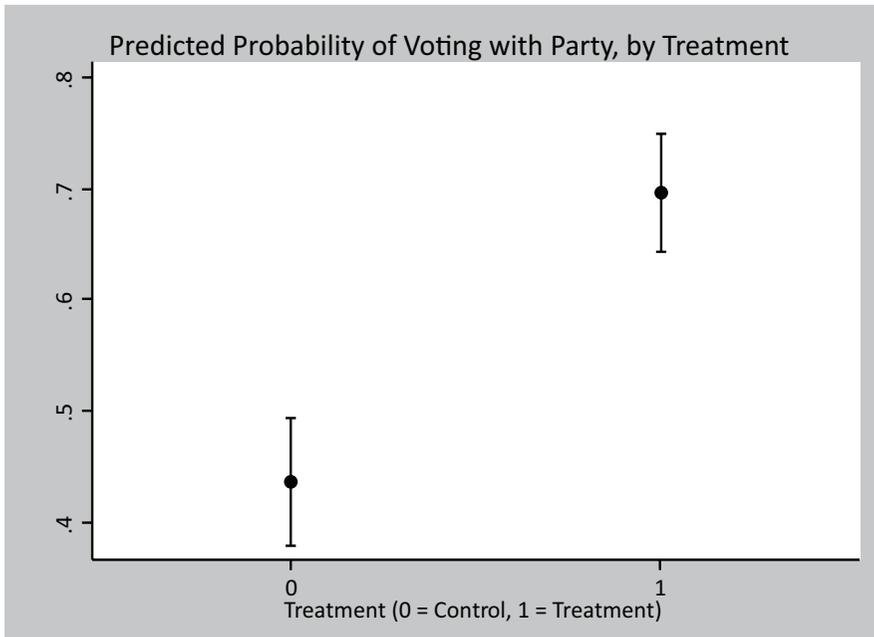


Figure 1 illustrates that when individuals did not know the partisanship of the candidates, their likelihood of choosing the candidate from their own party was 43.9 percent. However, when they *did* know the candidates' partisanship, this probability increased to 69.5 percent, a large increase of approximately 26 percentage points.

After finding these significant results, we also wondered whether this strong association between party labels and vote choice could be driven by other factors. To test for this, we first ran a logit regression including other independent variables of interest, because the dependent variable in our study (whether individuals chose to vote for the candidate from their party) is dichotomous. However, because coef-

**Table 1: Linear Probability Model: What Affected Individuals' Likelihood of Voting with Their Party? (Dependent Variable: Voted with Party)**

VARIABLES	(1) Vote with Party
<b>Assigned to Treatment Condition</b>	<b>0.261**</b> <b>(0.040)</b>
Likelihood of Voting in Next Presidential Election	0.026 (0.014)
Protestant	-0.210 (0.188)
Catholic	-0.071 (0.188)
LDS	-0.352 (0.284)
Jewish	-0.300 (0.226)
Other Religion	-0.047 (0.196)
No Religious Preference	-0.158 (0.184)
Indian	0.024 (0.132)
Asian	-0.031 (0.100)
Black	0.049 (0.116)
Latino	-0.067 (0.105)
White	0.025 (0.097)
Islander	0.047 (0.350)
Male	0.072 (0.043)
Age	0.003 (0.002)
Education	0.010 (0.023)

Income	-0.007 (0.015)
Ideology	-0.012 (0.020)
Constant	0.281 (0.250)
Number of Observations	583
R-squared	0.099

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\*\*  $p < 0.01$

ficients from logit regressions are difficult to interpret, we developed a linear probability model because the coefficients can be interpreted directly. Because the linear probability model yielded almost identical results to the logit regression in this case, we include the results from the linear probability model in Table 1 (results from the logit regression can be found in the Appendix).

From Table 1, the only factor that was statistically significant at predicting whether individuals chose to vote along party lines is whether individuals were assigned to the treatment condition ( $p < .01$ ). Because this is a linear probability model, the coefficient of .261 can be interpreted directly and indicates that when individuals were assigned to the treatment condition, they were 26.1 percentage points more likely to vote along party lines, compared to those in the control condition—even after controlling for individuals’ religion, race, gender, age, education, income, and ideology. This is a significant increase on the 100-point scale and indicates that voters rely heavily on party labels in partisan elections.

After discovering these significant results, we also considered whether the results could have been driven by some inherent differences between the participants in the two groups. Although we used random assignment to determine whether participants were in the control or the treatment group, we worried that the randomization may have somehow not worked as intended. To check for this, we performed “balance tests” comparing the characteristics of the participants in the two groups. Results are presented in Table 2.

As seen in Table 2, the  $p$ -values on almost all of the variables are large, indicating the participants in the groups do not significantly differ from each other on most of these factors. The only variable that has a statistically significant difference between the groups is “No Religious Preference,” where 51.1 percent of participants in the control group indicated they had no religious preference compared to 41.5 percent of participants indicating no religious preference in the treatment group ( $p < .05$ ). However, as shown above, this variable was not correlated with individuals’ likelihood of voting with their party, so this difference between the groups likely did not prove detrimental to our analysis.

**Table 2: Balance Table: Did the Randomization Work?**

Variable	Mean: Control	Mean: Treatment	Absolute Value of the Difference between Groups	2-sided p-value
<b>Likelihood of Voting in the Next Presidential Election</b> (1 = Very Unlikely, 7 = Very Likely)	6.149	6.041	.108	.388
<b>Party ID</b> (1 = Strong Democrat, 7 = Strong Republican)	3.130	3.263	.133	.416
<b>Ideology</b> (1 = Strongly Conservative, 5 = Strongly Liberal)	3.593	3.497	.096	.337
<b>Education</b> (1 = Some High School or Less, 5 = Post-Graduate)	3.673	3.614	.059	.440
<b>Income</b> (1 = Under \$25,000; 7 = Over \$150,000)	2.959	2.900	.060	.616
<b>Protestant</b>	.222	.256	.034	.337
<b>Catholic</b>	.174	.190	.016	.622
<b>LDS</b>	.007	.009	.002	.785
<b>Jewish</b>	.019	.025	.007	.578
<b>Other Religion</b>	.056	.089	.033	.127
<b>No Religious Preference</b>	.511	.415	.097	<b>.019*</b>
<b>Indian</b>	.022	.025	.003	.807
<b>Asian</b>	.133	.092	.042	.111
<b>Black</b>	.074	.066	.008	.719
<b>Latino</b>	.059	.085	.026	.226
<b>White</b>	.785	.797	.012	.716
<b>Islander</b>	.004	.003	.001	.911
<b>Male</b>	.585	.525	.060	.147
<b>Age (Years)</b>	35.528	34.022	1.506	.115
<b>Democrat</b>	.693	.690	.003	.944
<b>Republican</b>	.304	.310	.006	.867

Note: Significance is indicated at the \*5% significance level.

We also wondered whether there were heterogeneous treatment effects (that is, whether the treatment affected self-identified Republicans differently than it affected self-identified Democrats). To test for this, we ran two linear probability models—each included the same independent variables that we included in our main linear probability model (Figure 1), but one was restricted to self-identified Democrats and the other was restricted to self-identified Republicans (full results of both of these models can be found in the appendix). Again, the variable that was the most statistically and substantively significant at predicting whether individuals chose to vote along party lines was whether they were assigned to the treatment condition. The coefficient for Republicans was .259, and the coefficient for Democrats was .293. We wondered whether the larger coefficient for Democrats indicated that the treatment was especially strong at increasing Democrats’ likelihood of voting with their party, relative to Republicans. To test for this, we conducted a hypothesis test to determine if these coefficients were statistically significantly different from one another. Results are shown in Table 3.

**Table 3: Hypothesis Test for Difference in Treatment Effect (Republicans vs. Democrats)**

	Treatment Effect	95% Confidence Interval
Republicans	.259	[.195, .323]
Democrats	.293	[.249, .337]

$\Pr(|\text{Treatment Effect for Republicans} - \text{Treatment Effect for Democrats}|) = .4011$

$\Pr(\text{Treatment Effect for Democrats} > \text{Treatment Effect for Republicans}) = .800$

The two-sided p-value is .4011 and the one-sided p-value is .800, indicating there is no statistical difference between the treatment effect for Republicans and Democrats. This allows us to conclude that although the treatment effect appears larger at first glance for Democrats than for Republicans, the difference is not statistically significant, meaning we can conclude that the treatment affected members of both parties to approximately the same degree.

However, we also wanted to discover whether the differences could simply have been driven by a higher proportion of individuals in the control group, indicating they did not know which candidate to choose. Individuals in both the treatment and control group were automatically given a value of “0” for the dependent variable if they did not choose one of the two candidates. If more people truly chose the “don’t know” option in the control condition relative to the treatment condition, this would automatically lead to a lower proportion of individuals in the control condition voting for the candidate from their party, because there would be more values of “0” for the dependent variable. To discover whether this was the case, we again ran most of the same tests, restricting our analysis to only those participants who selected one of the two candidates.

First, we tested the proportion of individuals who indicated they “did not know” which candidate they would vote for in both the control and treatment conditions. In the control condition, 59 out of the 269 participants (or 21.93 percent) said they did not know which candidate they would vote for, but of those assigned the treatment condition, only 52 out of the 316 participants (or 16.46 percent) were unsure who they would vote for. We then performed a hypothesis test (or a difference-in-proportions test) to determine whether these numbers were statistically different from one another. We found that the two-sided  $p$ -value for the difference between these proportions was .097 (with a 1-sided  $p$ -value of .049). The one-sided  $p$ -value is significant at the value of  $p < .05$ , so this indicates that participants were statistically more likely to choose the “don’t know” option in the control condition. However, the substantive size of this effect is not large enough for us to discard our previous results. Additionally, as will be shown below, the results remain robust (even more so than previously) when restricting the analysis to only those who selected one of the two candidates, so we remain confident in our results.

Figure 2 shows the predicted probability that individuals would choose to vote for the candidate from their party when excluding participants who chose the “don’t know” option for candidate choice.

**Figure 2: Predicted Probability of Voting with Party; Limited to Individuals Who Selected One of the Two Candidates**

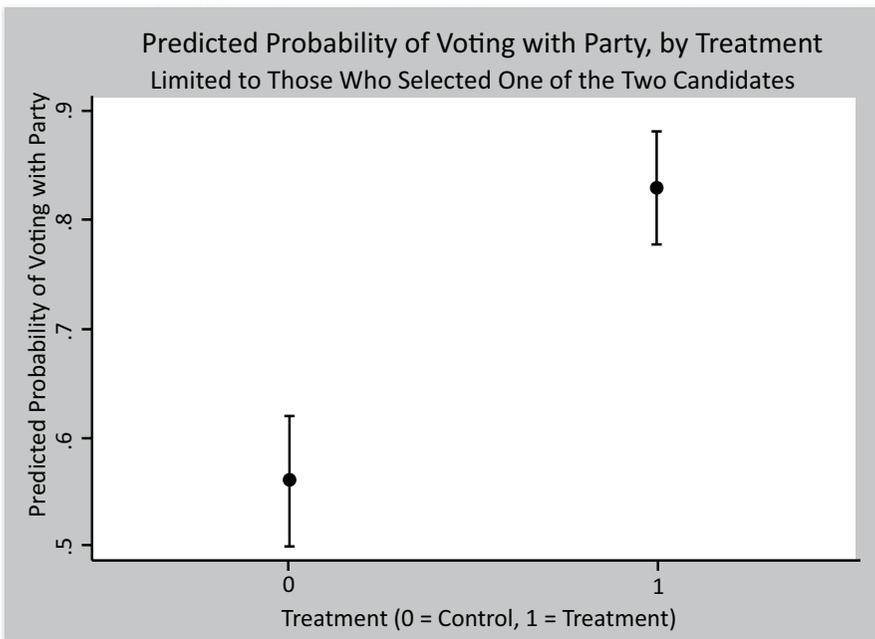


Figure 2 shows that for individuals who selected one of the two candidates, in the control condition they chose the candidate from their party approximately 56.1 percent of the time, but in the treatment condition, they selected the candidate from their party approximately 83 percent of the time. The “treatment effect” in this case is .269, which means that being assigned to the treatment condition increased individuals’ likelihood of voting for the candidate from their party by approximately 26.9 percentage points. These results are even stronger than the results we found when we still included the individuals who chose the “don’t know” option for their candidate choice, giving us further confidence in our results.

These results remain robust when we include controls. We developed a new linear probability model with the same variables as we included in Table 1, but we restricted the analysis to participants who selected one of the two candidates (dropping the observations when participants said they did not know which candidate they would vote for). Results are shown in Table 4.

**Table 4: Individuals’ Likelihood of Voting with their Party,  
Restricted to Those Who Selected One of the Two Candidates  
(Dependent Variable: Voted with Party)**

VARIABLES	(1) Vote with Party; Coefficient (Standard Error)
<b>Assigned to Treatment Condition</b>	<b>0.269** (0.041)</b>
Likelihood of Voting in Next Presidential Election	0.030* (0.014)
Protestant	-0.190 (0.185)
Catholic	-0.145 (0.185)
LDS	-0.479 (0.268)
Jewish	-0.324 (0.222)
Other Religion	-0.095 (0.193)
No Religious Preference	-0.140 (0.181)
Indian	0.138 (0.145)

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Asian	0.021 (0.104)
Black	0.043 (0.117)
Latino	0.064 (0.116)
White	0.076 (0.101)
Islander	0.022 (0.320)
Male	0.045 (0.044)
Age	0.003 (0.002)
Education	0.035 (0.024)
Income	-0.017 (0.015)
Ideology	-0.026 (0.020)
Constant	0.338 (0.257)
Observations	473
R-squared	0.127

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\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$

Again, being assigned to the treatment condition is highly statistically significant. The coefficient of .269 indicates that individuals assigned to the condition where they saw the party labels of the candidates were 26.9 percentage points more likely to vote for the candidate from their party, all other factors held constant ( $p < .01$ ). In this analysis, as individuals' likelihood of voting in the next presidential election increased they were also more likely to vote for the candidate from their party ( $p < .05$ ), but the coefficient of .030 is smaller than the coefficient of .269 for being assigned to the treatment condition. Even when analyzing only the responses for individuals who selected one of the two candidates, there remains a strong treatment effect. Thus, indicating that the lower proportion of people voting with their party in the control condition in the first analysis was not just a function of more people in the control condition indicating that they did not know which candidate they would vote for.

We also hypothesized that the treatment effect would be stronger for those who identified as either “strong Democrats” or “strong Republicans,” because we believed these people would be more loyal to their party when they clearly knew the partisanship of the candidates. We again limited our analysis to participants who actually selected one of the two candidates in either condition. The results for strong Democrats are in Table 5.

**Table 5: Treatment Effect for Strong Democrats (Analysis Restricted to Only Those Who Selected One of the Two Candidates)**

Group	Number of Observations	Mean
Control	72	.554
Treatment	70	.917
Difference Between Groups (Treatment Effect)		.363***

\*\*\* $p < .01$

The results in Table 5 show that in the control condition, 55.4 percent of strong Democrats selected the Democratic candidate, but in the experimental condition 91.7 percent of strong Democrats selected the Democratic candidate (meaning there was a treatment effect of over 36 percentage points). Again, because this analysis was restricted to only those participants who selected one of the two candidates, we can conversely see that approximately 45 percent of strong Democrats selected the Republican candidate in the control condition, and about 8 percent of strong Democrats selected the Republican candidate in the experimental condition. This means that voters presented with the same candidates appear to vote differently in partisan and nonpartisan elections. Specifically, it shows that voters may take more factors about the candidate into account when deciding whom to vote for in nonpartisan elections, but in partisan elections, strong partisans appear to use party labels as a substitute for these other factors and may vote for the candidate they may not actually prefer otherwise.

Likewise, we repeated this type of analysis for self-identified strong Republicans, again restricting our analysis to those who selected one of the two candidates. The results are shown in Table 6.

Table 6 shows that in the control condition, approximately 85 percent of strong Republicans chose the Republican candidate, while 100 percent of strong Republicans chose the Republican candidate in the experimental condition. The large proportion of strong Republicans who chose the Republican candidate in the control condition makes it appear as though it is possible that even in the control condition, strong Republicans may have determined which candidate was the Republican. We

**Table 6: Treatment Effect for Strong Republicans (Analysis Restricted to Only Those who Selected One of the Two Candidates)**

Group	Number of Observations	Mean
Control	13	.846
Treatment	17	1
Difference Between Groups (Treatment Effect)		.154*

\* $p < 0.1$

hypothesize that this may be because we included this candidate's belief in cutting taxes to incentivize business growth, which is typically a Republican idea. However, although this leads to a smaller treatment effect than any of the other treatment effects we previously observed, this may also simply be a factor of the small number of observations for this test (there were only 30 total strong Republicans in this analysis). These results are significant, because the treatment effect for the treatment condition remains highly positive. While 85 percent of self-identified strong Republicans still voted for the Republican candidate in the control condition, 100 percent of strong Republicans chose the Republican candidate when they knew the candidates' partisanship. Again, this indicates that voters who identify as strong partisans especially appear to change their voting behavior when presented with party labels. While individuals may prefer the other candidate when they do not know the partisanship of the candidates, it appears that voters may use party labels as a crutch instead of carefully considering all factors about the candidate in partisan elections.

### Limitations

There are a few limitations by using Amazon Mechanical Turk. The first limitation is that those who use this web site to take surveys are not fully representative of the general population. The types of people who take the surveys tend to be younger, more liberal, and not as wealthy as the population of the U.S. as a whole. There also is a concern with the validity of responses regarding survey data in general. We cannot assess the honesty of the respondents nor their motives behind taking the survey.

Additionally, although we took the candidates' issue positions from real senators' web sites, they are not real presidential candidates, and this is not an actual election. It is possible voters would behave differently in a real election, because there would be more cues about the candidates' partisanship even if there were no inclusion of party label on the ballot. Previous research has shown that nonpartisan elections often become partisan contests anyway, because candidates and voters provide their own party cues despite the lack of party identification on the ballot. We do not claim to believe that real elections would be unaffected by partisanship in nonpar-

tisan elections, so while we believe that our results are highly valid internally, our findings may not be as applicable in the real world.

In addition, some may question why we only analyzed how self-identified Republicans and Democrats responded to the treatment, excluding those who identified as Independents or something else. However, as previously discussed, we could only test how the treatment affected Republicans and Democrats, because the candidates belonged to these two parties. In addition, despite the increasing claim that Independents are on the rise, self-identified Republicans and Democrats together continue to remain the largest portion of the population. For example, although 748 individuals took our survey, 583 (or approximately 78 percent) of the participants identified at least loosely with either of these two parties. In addition, because almost every political candidate in the United States belongs to one of these two parties, the results are still applicable to the real world.

Therefore, despite these limitations, we conclude that this study still allows us to determine the independent effect of how party labels affect individuals' vote choices. While real elections have more factors at play, our experiment simplifies the process to allow us to determine the size, strength, and direction of the effect of party identification on vote choice.

## **Conclusion**

Overall, our results indicate that although voters frequently complain about the increasing "gridlock" between the two parties in government and call for more moderation, they may actually contribute to reinforcing the increasing polarization, because they continually vote for the candidate from their own party in partisan elections. Our results show that when all is equal, it is difficult to predict which candidate an individual will vote for when they do not know the partisanship of the candidates; however, it becomes easier to predict their vote choice when the candidates' partisanship is labeled. This necessarily implies that although an individual may actually prefer one candidate (and may select accordingly when party labels are absent), they may simply vote for the candidate from their own party, without taking their true preferences into account, when party labels are present. Ultimately, our results show that voters (especially strong partisans) appear to rely strongly on partisan cues.

Even after controlling for a wide range of factors, individuals appear to be significantly more likely to vote for a candidate who shares their personal party identification when they clearly know the candidates' partisanship—all else being equal. Again, although previous researchers have frequently compared partisan to nonpartisan elections through observational studies, no one has quantified the exact extent to which party labels predict partisans' vote choices. Our analysis shows that all else being equal, individuals display at least a 25 percentage point increase in voting for the candidate from their party when they clearly know the candidates' partisanship, a huge increase on the 100-point scale, and this effect is even stronger under some conditions.

Ultimately, our research enables us to understand that party labels continue to have a pervading influence on society today. Even when individuals are presented

with the same candidates, they are significantly more likely to vote along party lines in partisan elections. This raises the question of whether individuals take the other information about the candidates into account when voting in partisan elections, or whether they simply use party labels as a crutch. While our analysis is not qualified to answer the question of whether party-line voting is harmful or beneficial for society, it does show that party-line voting remains rampant in partisan elections.

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## APPENDIX

**Table A1: Description of Independent Variables**

Variable Name	Description
Assigned to Treatment Condition	Coded as "1" if assigned to the condition where candidates' party labels were included; "0" if assigned to condition without the candidates' party labels
Likelihood of Voting in Next Presidential Election	Coded in increasing levels on a 7-point scale (1 = Very Unlikely, 7 = Very Likely)
Protestant	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as Protestant, "0" otherwise
Catholic	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as Catholic, "0" otherwise
LDS	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as LDS, "0" otherwise
Jewish	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as Jewish, "0" otherwise
Other Religion	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as "Other Religion, "0" otherwise
No Religious Preference	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified they had no religious preference, "0" otherwise
Indian	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as Indian, "0" otherwise
Asian	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as Asian, "0" otherwise
Black	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as Black, "0" otherwise
Latino	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as Latino, "0" otherwise
White	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as White, "0" otherwise
Islander	Coded as "1" if survey participant identified as Islander, "0" otherwise
Male	Coded as "1" if survey participant indicated they were male; "0" if female
Age	Coded by age (in years)
Education	Coded by increasing level on 5-point scale (1 = Some High School or Less; 5 = Post-Graduate)
Income	Coded by increasing level on 7-point scale (1 = Under \$25,000; 7 = Over \$150,000)
Ideology	Coded on 5-point scale (1 = Strongly Conservative, 5 = Strongly Liberal)

**Table A2: Logit Regression (Dependent Variable: Voted with Party)**

VARIABLES	(1) Voted with Party; Coefficient (Standard Error)
<b>Assigned to Treatment Condition</b>	<b>1.130** (0.181)</b>
Likelihood of Voting in Next Presidential Election	0.116 (0.064)
Protestant	-1.008 (0.916)
Catholic	-0.375 (0.918)
LDS	-1.620 (1.309)
Jewish	-1.404 (1.069)
Other Religion	-0.239 (0.959)
No Religious Preference	-0.771 (0.901)
Indian	0.105 (0.600)
Asian	-0.140 (0.443)
Black	0.215 (0.514)
Latino	-0.310 (0.468)
White	0.109 (0.433)
Islander	0.210 (1.487)
Male	0.324 (0.191)
Age	0.015 (0.008)

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Education	0.048 (0.104)
Income	-0.030 (0.067)
Ideology	-0.055 (0.087)
Constant	-0.911 (1.167)
Observations	581

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\*\* p&lt;0.01

**Table A3: Linear Probability Model, Democrats Only  
(Dependent Variable: Voted with Party)**

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VARIABLES	(1) Voted with Party; Coefficient (Standard Error)
<b>Assigned to Treatment Condition</b>	<b>0.293** (0.049)</b>
Likelihood of Voting in Next Presidential Election	0.009 (0.017)
Protestant	-0.310 (0.192)
Catholic	-0.070 (0.191)
LDS	-0.759* (0.385)
Jewish	-0.210 (0.231)
Other Religion	-0.043 (0.198)
No Religious Preference	-0.196 (0.184)
Indian	0.242 (0.156)
Asian	-0.089 (0.103)

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Black	0.065 (0.121)
Latino	-0.066 (0.113)
White	0.012 (0.101)
Islander	-0.143 (0.354)
Male	0.082 (0.052)
Age	0.005* (0.002)
Education	-0.014 (0.028)
Income	-0.018 (0.018)
Ideology	0.075* (0.033)
Constant	0.079 (0.278)
Observations	405
R-squared	0.145

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\*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05

**Table A4: Linear Probability Model, Republicans Only  
(Dependent Variable: Voted with Party)**

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VARIABLES	(1) Voted with Party; Coefficient (Standard Error)
Assigned to Treatment Condition	0.259** (0.071)
Likelihood of Voting in Next Presidential Election	0.038 (0.029)
Protestant	0.709* (0.329)

Catholic	0.771*
	(0.331)
LDS	0.858*
	(0.425)
Jewish	-
Other Religion	0.721*
	(0.360)
No Religious Preference	0.782*
	(0.333)
Indian	-0.613*
	(0.259)
Asian	0.895*
	(0.441)
Black	0.751
	(0.505)
Latino	0.525
	(0.356)
White	0.683
	(0.424)
Islander	-
Male	0.075
	(0.074)
Age	-0.001
	(0.003)
Education	0.075
	(0.043)
Income	-0.002
	(0.027)
Ideology	-0.016
	(0.047)
Constant	-1.386*
	(0.594)
Observations	178
R-squared	0.169

\*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05

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# “All Things Denote There Is a God”: Platonic Metaphysics, Thomistic Analogy, and the Creation of a Christian Philosophy

by Neil Longo

## Introduction

In Raphael's *School of Athens*, Plato famously points upward, while Aristotle brings his hand forward, parallel to the ground. Western thought has positioned itself between these two poles. Its dual purpose was to explain what was and explore what could be. This distinction worked its way into Christianity, which quickly divided itself between the spiritual and the physical, the church militant and the church triumphant, the city of God and the city of man. The audacious goal of St. Thomas Aquinas was to synthesize these urges in such a way as to logically describe the Kingdom of God using the physical building blocks he found in the lowly fallen world, thereby maximizing both its vertical reach and its horizontal breadth, ultimately encompassing the whole of human existence.

Aquinas is considered by many to be the official philosopher of traditional Christendom. His synthesis of Christianity and the rediscovered writings of Aristotle have proven to be the authoritative solution to the Western world's torn origins in both Hellenistic philosophy and Judaic revelation. However, the modern classification of Aquinas as a Christianized Aristotle ignores an immense, neo-Platonic influence inherited from the early church fathers. While Aquinas uses typical Aristotelian metaphysics to explain the things of the world, he deviates from his own norm by applying a Christianized Platonic metaphysics to government, giving it a purpose and pointing it to a celestial and supra-natural object. While typically Aquinas uses metaphysics to describe the nature of a thing, he uses it to describe not the nature but the purpose, meaning, and value of the state. This differentiation in metaphysical approaches indicates movement to a higher rung on the ladder of moral analogy, by which the lowly physical things of the earth can enter communion with God. Ulti-

mately, to ignore Aquinas's non-Aristotelian influences is to cut the ladder of moral analogy short and to dramatically misunderstand the purpose of government and social order in Aquinas's writings.

### **Platonic Metaphysics and Politics**

Before Aquinas's reintroduction of Aristotle, the primary loci of philosophical influence for early Christianity were the various schools stemming from the philosophy of Plato. Indeed, Plato's *Republic*<sup>1</sup> remains the most widely read and influential of ancient political texts. *Republic* defines its goal as the creation of a state that allows for the "greatest happiness of the whole," for in such a state "we should be most likely to find justice."<sup>2</sup> Thus, immediately, the pragmatic goal of the state (the good of all) is defined in terms of and, in a way, pointed toward a metaphysical goal (the discovery of justice). The roots of Plato's quest can be found within the human soul, for "in each of us there are the same principles and habits which there are in the State."<sup>3</sup> A consistency is woven through the fabric both of the human soul and the city alike. For Plato, metaphysical ideals are discovered first through the "needs of mankind," as "no one is self-sufficing, but all of us have many wants."<sup>4</sup> This city of human wants quickly gives way to a proto-philosophical city, however, as the survival and increase of the city are dependent upon "the rule of the better part over the worse."<sup>5</sup>

One of the primary goals of the proto-philosophical city is the maintenance of peace and proper relations between the classes. This gives way to an understanding of temperance, which, as a virtue, "extends to the whole, and runs through all the notes of the scale, and produces a harmony of the weaker and the stronger and the middle class, whether you suppose them to be stronger or weaker in wisdom or power or numbers or wealth, or anything else."<sup>6</sup> The discovery of temperance, along with the other virtues (courage and wisdom), reveals the need for the final virtue, which alone has not yet been discovered in the city. This virtue, "which makes a state virtuous," is justice.<sup>7</sup> Justice, the focus of *Republic*, is concerned "not with the outward man, but with the inward, which is the true self and concernment of man."<sup>8</sup> Justice as defined by Socrates is "desirable not only because of its consequences but above all for its own sake."<sup>9</sup> This justice is defined ultimately as the right working of all the parts in relation to each other and to the whole, creating peace and stability. Nonetheless, it is not defined by its earthly benefit but as a metaphysical ideal that exists outside of mankind and is merely discovered or partaken of by him.

Since the world of the Forms is inaccessible to common man, the proto-philosophical city gives way to the rule of the philosopher-king. In Plato's ideal conception, the natural ways of man give way to the government of those who are dispassionate, wise, and concerned with the "eternal nature not varying from generation and corruption."<sup>10</sup> This philosopher's rule is presented as a panacea:

Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one,

and those commoner natures who pursue either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never have rest from their evils—no, nor the human race, as I believe—and then only will this our State have a possibility of life and behold the light of day.<sup>11</sup>

The whole quest of the state becomes not as it was the beginning, the meeting of human needs, but rather the elimination of all problems, the attainment of virtue, and the good life of man. The state, aimed originally at the needs of man, becomes aimed toward the metaphysical world, which the philosopher alone can truly comprehend. It is important to note that the city will never itself *be* just, or good but can only ever “approximate justice itself with particular closeness,” as “only justice itself is perfectly just.”<sup>12</sup> Thus, the divide separating the physical world from the world of Forms is translucent but not permeable. There is no moral analogy, as such, in Plato.

The Platonic state is, therefore, ironically torn between the heavenly and the earthly. On the one hand, “the States are as men are; they grow out of human characters.”<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, the state is only properly governed by one “ruled by divine wisdom dwelling within him.”<sup>14</sup> The object of this wisdom is analogous to the Christian heaven.

There abides the very being with which true knowledge is concerned; the colourless, formless, intangible essence, visible only to mind, who is the pilot of the soul. The divine intelligence, being nurtured upon mind and pure knowledge, and the intelligence of every soul which is capable of receiving the food proper to it, rejoices at beholding reality, and once more gazing upon truth, is replenished and made glad, until the revolution of the worlds brings her round again to the same place. In the revolution she beholds justice, and temperance, and knowledge absolute.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the focus of the state is to solve the problems of mankind with the insight gained from beholding the world of Forms, the higher reality of the metaphysical world. The state becomes a tool pointed to unchanging goodness, anchored both in earth and heaven, but with its gaze fixedly upward, for upward is the only way out of Plato’s cave of human ignorance.

### **Aristotle’s Metaphysics and Politics**

In contrast to the metaphysical foundations of Plato’s state, Aristotle limits his understanding of the state to the earthly sphere. For Aristotle, the metaphysical world was not a celestial world of Forms and ideas but simply the animating part of the physical earthly world. The essence that made a rock a rock did not mean “rockness” was simply a reflection of some celestial rock. Thus, Aristotle can speak of virtues, governments, and men without reference to any celestial world.

This is not to say that Aristotle’s state is rooted in the animal needs of physical beings. Indeed, he says, the state “exists for the sake of a good life, and not for the

sake of life only: if life only were the object, slaves and brute animals might form a state, but they cannot, for they have no share in happiness or in a life of free choice."<sup>16</sup> Rather than being a ladder, from the top of which the celestial world could be perceived, the state "is a community . . . established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good." The state, which is higher than the community, "aims at good in a greater degree than any other, and at the highest good."<sup>17</sup> The good of which Aristotle speaks is different than that of Plato, as will be seen.

For Aristotle, the central question of politics is the teleology of man. "Man is, by nature, a political animal,"<sup>18</sup> and as such, cannot realize his potential unless united with other individuals. Unlike for Plato, community is not a source for introspective philosophical thought, but the end of man. Man cannot be considered good unless he lives harmoniously with his fellow men in a virtuous society. Aquinas will later attempt to synthesize this by saying that while the state of salvation and the beatific vision will be uniquely individual experiences, society is the most heavenly order for men while they live on the earth.

The origin of the state is the forming of relationships of codependence. "In the first place there must be a union of those who cannot exist without each other; namely, of male and female, that the race may continue."<sup>19</sup> These relationships of dependency continue until "several villages are united in a single complete community, large enough to be nearly or quite self-sufficing" at which point the "state comes into existence, originating the bare needs of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of the good life."<sup>20</sup> Simply put, "only in the city [ . . . ] does man fulfill his potential for happiness [ . . . ] and because the city is essential to the fulfillment of man's natural potential, the city itself is preeminently natural."<sup>21</sup> Thus, the origin and nature of the state is defined in earthly terms, as "the state is a creation of nature."<sup>22</sup> While Plato sees the origins of the city in the human desire to eliminate evils, Aristotle sees it in the fact that "man is the only animal whom [nature] has endowed with the gift of speech."<sup>23</sup>

This is not to say that the state is merely a human, earthly construct. It seems in some way to be written into our nature, necessary for our existence, for the "individual, when isolated, is not self-sufficing; and therefore he is like a part in relation to the whole."<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, it cannot be reduced merely to natural necessity, as the state's goal is the refinement of man, for man, "when perfected, is the best of animals, but, when separated from law and justice, he is the worst of all."<sup>25</sup> However, even this refinement is in terms of earthly matters. The goal of Aristotle is the achievement of peace and order in human society as it is presently constituted.

Having established the natural and earthly roots of government, Aristotle turns the rest of his attention to the discovery of the best organization for government to take. Unlike Platonic politics, meant only as a jumping-off point to the exploration of virtues, "Aristotelian political science is above all the science of regimes."<sup>26</sup> To guide

this quest, he states, “the form of government is best in which every man, whoever he is, can act best and live happily.”<sup>27</sup> This happiness is to be found not in contemplation, as in Plato, but in “virtuous active” for “the active life will be the best, both for every city collectively, and for individuals.”<sup>28</sup>

Given these distinctions, Aristotle does borrow Plato’s understanding of the individual (not necessarily the soul, as in Plato) as the template for the city: “Since the end of individuals and of states is the same, the end of the best man and of the best constitution must also be the same.”<sup>29</sup> While Aristotle sees the origin of the state in the nature of man, he rejects Plato’s idea that “political expertise is essentially the same as the expertise involved in kingship, household management, and the rule of a master over slaves. The city as a form of human association differs essentially not only from the sub-political associations of persons in the household but even from the rule of a king over a tribe or people.”<sup>30</sup> This is vitally important, as Plato sees the state, the household, and the soul as being various receptacles for the shadows cast from the world of Forms, whereas Aristotle sees them as being related by distinct species of social organism.

In his ensuing exploration of various kinds of regime, Aristotle leans, as always, to the systematic and practical ends of knowledge. Aristotle seems to have considered Plato’s politics “inadequate in failing to provide in a generally accessible form the knowledge most needful for practicing statesmen.”<sup>31</sup> Simply put, where Plato reached for an inexplicitly unachievable goal, Aristotle sought a regime that could be readily implemented in the real world.

The best regime, for Aristotle, cannot be easily put into modern terms. It “rests on a form of social and economic organization [ . . . ] comprising a single class of citizens who enjoy complete leisure for political and military activity, and an unfree or semi-free class of agricultural laborers.”<sup>32</sup> This form of government was already known in Greece at the time of his writing. Although it can hardly be called a modern liberal democracy, Aristotle is nonetheless “at pains to rebut the (characteristically Platonic) depreciation of the political competence of the many . . .”<sup>33</sup> Having removed Plato’s insistence that the state should be governed by those who have insight into the metaphysical world, Aristotle insists that government should be constituted such that order and freedom are maximized. Notably, there is no reference whatsoever in a metaphysical or celestial world in Aristotle’s regime. By redefining the good in earthly terms, Aristotle implicitly places the state at the service of the individual; it is not for Good, but for *man’s* good.

### **Thomas Aquinas**

Thomas Aquinas was a Dominican monk who completed his mentor Albertus Magnus’s goal of proliferating the newly rediscovered texts of Aristotle within the Medieval Christian world. As such, Aquinas typically took the approach of taking Aristotelian epistemology and applying it to a Christian ontology, creating a systematic, philosophical Christianity unlike any that had ever been seen before. In his most famous and comprehensive work, *Summa Theologica*, Aquinas explicitly refers to Aris-

title as “*the philosopher*” and applies Aristotelian metaphysics (especially the hylomorphic union of matter and form, as well as a study of the metaphysical powers of an object) to just about everything.<sup>34</sup> This Aristotelian understanding of metaphysics is rooted in physics and seeks largely to explain why certain objects can and cannot do certain things and why we recognize objects as being some specific thing (i.e., why is it that a round bit of rubber and a round bit of wood can both be called a ball? Aristotle and Aquinas would say that it is because they share the same form).

Like Aristotle, Aquinas puts great weight in the word *nature*. Aquinas learns from Aristotle that that which is natural is that which is good, for “nature always operates for the best.”<sup>35</sup> However, this nature is fundamentally different from Aristotle’s understanding of nature. For Aquinas, “divine grace [perfect nature] by elevating it to an end that is higher than any to which it could aspire by its own means.”<sup>36</sup> Thus, Aquinas’s natural law cannot be seen as an extension of Aristotle’s natural right, as, on the one hand “natural law shares in reason and cannot be reduced exclusively to the will of God,” but on the other “as a law [ . . . ] it also contains an explicit reference to God’s will, to which it owes its moving force.”<sup>37</sup> The actions of man according to natural law “are intrinsically good or bad; they are not good or bad simply as a result of their being commanded or forbidden by God.”<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, the good enjoyed as a result of following the natural law are stated in explicitly heavenly and celestial terms, with reference to closeness to God:

Through knowledge of the natural law man accedes directly to the common order of reason, over and above the political order to which he belongs as a citizen of a particular society. By sharing in that law he finds himself, along with all other intelligent beings, a member of a universal community or cosmopolis ruled by divine providence and whose justice is vastly superior to that of any human regime.<sup>39</sup>

The result of this is that, for Aquinas, “Human excellence is no longer defined or circumscribed by the conditions of the political life.”<sup>40</sup> While “Aristotle deals primarily with man’s happiness in this life, [Aquinas] is preoccupied above all with man’s happiness in the life to come.”<sup>41</sup> The political society as such only exists as a reflection of and a pointer towards a higher, universal, and celestial existence.

In connection to this, natural law is different from, although expressed through and reflected in, eternal law and positive law. This is important to note, as the roots of Aquinas’s separation from Aristotle in natural law lead him to favor, rather than an Aristotelian understanding of ethics, “a modified Platonic-Stoic framework which reduces all the moral virtues to the so-called cardinal virtues of moderation, courage, justice, and prudence.”<sup>42</sup> Again, as in Plato, these virtues are thought to be mind-independent, outside of the human sphere and eternal. They are “linked to one or the other of the powers of the soul which it determines and whose operations it perfects.”<sup>43</sup> Although couched in Aristotelian terms, Aquinas creates an ethical foundation for his metaphysics, and his politics have a distinctly Christian and Platonic flavor.

Aquinas notably departs from this Aristotelian metaphysic in two major arenas, namely, the teleology of the soul and government. Concerning the first, all that needs to be said is that Aquinas adopted Aristotle's form/matter understanding of the soul, but by moving the rational capability under the exclusive power of the soul, Aristotle added a spiritual and eternal purpose to human reason. Put simply, while Aristotle was attempting to understand the human beings he found around him, Aquinas audaciously asserted that the human being (*ousia*), and human reason in particular, is pointed heavenward, reminding us of our heavenly origin and ultimately brings us back home. Unlike Aristotle's theory, that home would be defined not by community but by the salvation of individuals and the individual experience of the beatific vision.

One of the purposes of human reason for Aquinas, we can assume, is to recognize the patterns that elucidate to us the cosmological hierarchy of which we are a part. In laying the introduction to his understanding of politics and government, Aquinas appeals not to an Aristotelian classification of a good regime but to a Platonic understanding of the universal principles that undergird not only government but the organization of all existence. This order, found throughout the physical universe, decrees that all "bodies are ruled by the first or heavenly body, as divine providence directs, and all material bodies are ruled by rational creatures." From this principle, Aquinas deduces that "likewise among the part of the body there is one ruling part, either the heart or the head that moves all the others. So in every group, there must be something that rules."<sup>44</sup> Already, the Platonic foundation is obvious: There must be a ruler (notably singular), not necessarily for the good of all, although this pattern will benefit all as we shall see, but because it is a good pattern, set out by nature, and found everywhere from the functioning of a body through the functioning of the universe as a whole. Put simply, this system benefits man, but even if it did not, it would still be right because it is orderly, and because it fits man into the cosmic order. Aquinas says this explicitly when he says:

Whatever is in accord with nature is best, for nature always operates for the best. But in nature government is always by one. Among the members of the body, the heart moves all the other parts; among the parts of the soul one power, reason, predominates. Among the bees there is one king bee, and in the whole universe one God is the Maker and Ruler of all.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, unlike Aristotle, who prefers a quasi-aristocratic polity, Aquinas unequivocally condones monarchy.

Like Plato, Aquinas prefers monarchy not for its own sake or for efficiency's sake, but conditionally upon a responsibility to something higher. Unlike Plato, it is not a philosophical understanding of "reality" that justifies a king but a sense of responsibility before God. Concerning this responsibility, Aquinas says, "The king should recognize that he has a duty to act in his kingdom like the soul in the body and God in the world."<sup>46</sup> The king is responsible, above all else, to reflect the order of nature: "The particular rule that is found in man is like God's rule, and therefore he is called

a microcosm (*minor mundus*) because the form in which the universe is ruled is also found within him."<sup>47</sup> In short, the king must be aware of his responsibility to "the moral and spiritual guidance of the church, and above all, [his] own awareness of his responsibilities to God."<sup>48</sup> For Aquinas, "The simply best regime is not, as it was for Aristotle, the work of man or of practical reason guided by philosophy. It is synonymous with the kingdom of God and is actual or attainable at all times through God's saving grace."<sup>49</sup> It is necessary for a king to govern his people in a way that reflects the love and concern of Christ and to point them, through the implementation and enforcement of laws, toward their heavenly goal.

Not only is the king to be responsible to the spiritual powers-that-be, but Aquinas specifically says that he should be responsible to their representatives on earth, the church, for "under the New Law there is a higher priesthood that leads men to the joys of heaven, so that under the law of Christ, kings should be subject to priests."<sup>50</sup> Thus, as there is no separation between soul and reason in the body, there can similarly be no separation between religion and state in the community.

Like man in society, the king has a special obligation to his people, which seems to foreshadow (or rather to have been twisted into) social contract theory. Aquinas uses scriptures, stating, "God warns such rulers in the Book of Ezekiel . . . shepherds must seek the good of their flocks, and rulers, the good of those subject to them."<sup>51</sup> Indeed, Aquinas sees this shepherd-like responsibility and care for the "common good of all" to be the very "nature of kingship."<sup>52</sup>

If this alone was not enough of a departure from Aristotle, Aquinas further widens the gap by radically redefining the common good of the people. No longer is it to live in a peaceful and orderly society, to find joy, or to live a life of virtuous action, but it is now nothing less than the "enjoyment of God which awaits [man] after death."<sup>53</sup> The aim of the human individual points beyond this fallen world: "Some partial happiness can be achieved in this life, but true perfect happiness cannot."<sup>54</sup>

As one might expect, this heavenly understanding of happiness extends to the political sphere, for "the same conclusion must be drawn for the end of a whole society as that of an individual man."<sup>55</sup> Aquinas explicitly says "the final end of organized society then is not to live the life of virtue but through a life of virtue to attain the enjoyment of God."<sup>56</sup> And, since human society points to heavenly bliss, "it is the duty of the king to promote the good life of the community so that it leads to happiness in heaven."<sup>57</sup> Thus, Aquinas has used Aristotelian epistemology and phraseology to come to a conclusion radically more vertical even than Plato's.

Aquinas's conclusion here is more radical than Plato's because, unlike Plato, Aquinas actually sees the metaphysical world not as being translucent from the top of some philosophical ladder but permeable for every man through the grace of Christ. This is a reality we can hope to attain, rather than simply perceive. Thus, government plays a saving role in the lives of men. In this, Aquinas builds upon Dionysius the Areopagite, who said, "The purpose of hierarchy then is to provide to creatures as far

as is possible a resemblance with the divine and to unite them with God."<sup>58</sup> We begin to see the ladder of moral analogy that by climbing brings us from a lowly physical and animal state, through phases of refined manhood, ultimately to the throne of God itself. God and man, radically different, separated by a seemingly infinite chasm, can be concerned and enter dialogue one with another.

### Interpretations of Aquinas

Most historical understandings of Aquinas tend to overemphasize his Aristotelian tendencies. This is understandable, as Aquinas's connection to Aristotle is rare amongst early and medieval Christian thinkers, his language and epistemology is explicitly Aristotelian, and his writings inaugurated an era of interest in Aristotelian philosophy. However, it comes at great cost to the project Aquinas was attempting to bring to pass. These interpretations have led variously to the mistaken notions that Aquinas provides a groundwork for the separation of church and state and that Thomistic thought can be applied to a defense of modern democracy.

The first of these mistaken notions is most clearly represented by Walter Ullman. Ullman, in his 1970 book, *A History of Political Thought in the Middle Ages*, states that "reality as it is, and not as it ought to be, was for Thomas the keynote of a new science."<sup>59</sup> In Ullman's eyes, what Aquinas brought to the Christian world was the pre-Christian notion of nature, with its foundations in the nature of man, making the state, "in a word, a natural thing."<sup>60</sup> This natural status of the state "brought into clear relief its essential difference to its supra-natural counter-part, the Church."<sup>61</sup> This interpretation is only partially correct. On the one hand, Aquinas's construction of moral analogy and an earthly hierarchy pointing to (and even leading to) heaven does seem to provide satisfactory justification for the state in contradistinction with the community of the faithful. However, the state's purpose is itself normative and spiritual. It is real and natural only insofar as reality and nature are spiritual and normative. Ultimately, the implicit argument in Ullman is that Aquinas provides the framework for separation of church and state, which is absurd, as Aquinas explicitly states that "kings should be subject to priests."<sup>62</sup>

The second of these mistaken notions, concerning Aquinas's supposed laying of the foundation for democracy, is represented by none other than his most famous modern disciple, Jacques Maritain. In his book *Man and the State*, Maritain states, "The political power is not the secular arm of the spiritual power [but that] the body politic is autonomous and independent within its own sphere."<sup>63</sup> Not only is the purpose of government supposedly independent of that of the church, but "the equality of members of the body politic has been recognized as a basic tenet."<sup>64</sup> This is explicitly contradicted by Aquinas, who said "by nature all men are equal in liberty, but not in other endowments."<sup>65</sup> Clearly, while men are equal in the sight of God and given equally power of agency, they are organized in a hierarchy for their own good and for the glory of God. Maritain maintains that "there is only one temporal common good, that of the body politic, as there is only one supernatural common good, that of the

Kingdom of God, which is supra-political.”<sup>66</sup> Thus, Maritain severs the chain of moral analogy, claiming that while the government of God may be hierarchical, the government of men exists “autonomous and independent within its own sphere” and, for the maximizing of the common good, ought to be democratic and egalitarian. To this Aquinas merely replies: “Government by the many is not less likely than monarchy to become a tyrannical, but more likely to do so.”<sup>67</sup>

Both of these mistaken notions result from the over-application of Aristotle to Aquinas, and the convenient obviation of his most explicitly political text (*On Kingship*). In an Aristotelian sense, the government of man exists without reference to God (as Aristotle does not believe in a personal God) or heaven (as Aristotle is notoriously silent on the immortality of the soul). Government therefore, while grounded in a metaphysical idea of virtue, is nonetheless beholden only to earthly powers and is independent of anything resembling Christian religion. Moreover, as has been shown, Aristotle prefers a polity that maximizes freedom and order, thus providing a basis for Maritain’s Christian democracy. However, the foundations of none of these Aristotelian principles are found in Aquinas and are instead explicitly rejected.

Aquinas must be distinguished from Aristotle. Harry Jaffa states, “Although Thomas never appeals to any *non-Aristotelian principles* to interpret Aristotle’s words, he nonetheless imputes non-Aristotelian principles to Aristotle, although treating them as if they were Aristotelian.”<sup>68</sup> Moreover, “without particular divine providence there can be no doctrine of natural law in the Thomistic sense.”<sup>69</sup> While Aquinas looks like an Aristotelian, he is fundamentally different from Aristotle and ultimately rebels against him.

Aquinas is different from Aristotle for one simple reason. St. Thomas Aquinas “took it that God is the creator and providential governor of man and his universe. Aristotle did not.”<sup>70</sup> While Aristotle saw God faintly as being an unmoved mover, impersonal and certainly not anthropomorphized, Aquinas perceived that “God’s intelligence directs all natural things and actions, in an orderly way, to their ends.”<sup>71</sup> The first step in the ladder of moral analogy is belief that there is a Being at the top who wants us to join Him there. A Christian knows in a way Aristotle never could have that he will not be alone when he reaches the celestial heights to which moral analogy reaches. We can comfortably discuss heaven, even without fully perceiving it, as we know it is a place that will be comfortable for us, made for us by a personal God full of wisdom and love.

To assert this is to rely on Plato and his Christian followers. Fernand Van Steenberghe stated that we would be lying “if we were to explain [Aquinas’s thought] as a preference for Aristotle over Plato.”<sup>72</sup> Steenberghe illustrates his point, saying:

St. Thomas unified Platonism and Aristotelianism in a higher synthesis, by taking the original step of *transposing* the doctrine of participation. At the level of metaphysical causality, Platonic participation is expressed by St. Thomas’s doctrine of the real composition of *esse* and *essential* in the finite being, and by the

total dependence of the finite being on the creative influx of the Infinite Being. The composition of *esse* and *essential* in turn gives rise to an extension of the Aristotelian notion of act and potency, these notions being used from now on to explain the ontological structure of the composite finite being. All things considered, we can see in Thomism Greek thought rejuvenated and deepened in a highly original way. As far as the principal sources are concerned, Thomism is a form of Platonism with Aristotelian specifications, rather than the reverse.<sup>73</sup>

Aquinas, therefore, merely uses the bricks of Aristotelian physics and metaphysics to construct his moral analogy, which is a distinctly Christian project. Thus, “the God of Christianity [is] discovered at the summit of metaphysics, in the supreme Being, whose existence is affirmed as the metaphysical implication of the reality of which we have experience.”<sup>74</sup>

One cannot identify Aquinas with Plato any more than with Aristotle. Aquinas borrowed liberally from both and built upon the synthesis, but his belief in a personal God, which neither Aristotle nor Plato shared, changes everything. Aquinas is similar to Aristotle in that he looks to the natural world and the rational faculties of man for knowledge. Aquinas is similar to Plato in that he asserts that this world is a reflection of a higher metaphysical world. Aquinas is unlike both in that he asserts that man may reach and populate this higher world. Thus, the project of analogy is one that neither Plato nor Aristotle could accomplish. According to the Jesuit Frederick Copleston, “What he did was to express Augustinianism in terms of the Aristotelian philosophy.”<sup>75</sup> Etienne Gilson states:

That Augustine was under the neo-Platonic influence does not mean that his God could be confused with the God of Plotinus. Between Plotinian speculation and the theology of the Fathers of the Church there stands Jehovah, the personal God, who acts by intelligence and will, and who freely places outside himself the real universe that his wisdom chose from an infinity of possible of universes.<sup>76</sup>

As much as Aquinas was building on Plato and Aristotle, he was building upon interpretations of them (and especially of Plato) handed down through the church fathers. Central to his project of analogy was the belief in a personal, revealing God.

Ultimately, the central aspect of Aquinas’s project, especially in regard to ethics and politics, was the creation of a ladder of moral analogy. This was to be a system built through social hierarchy from the ground up, animated with God’s saving grace from the top down. It is through this analogy that one may say that a father is to the family as a king is to the country, reason is to the soul, and God is to the universe. It is the basis not only of man’s ability to rationally discuss God but of the hierarchy both of people and of virtues that fills human life with color and meaning.

This project of moral analogy is one Aquinas sees as being spiritual and necessary. This is because, as Aquinas seems to notice, if God is infinitely higher than man, it would seem He would have nothing to do with man, and vice versa. And yet, this is

clearly not the case. Etienne Gilson elaborates, saying, “Our thought would be quite inadequate to proceed to such a conclusion unless the reality in which we moved formed, by its hierarchical and analogical structure, a sort of ladder leading toward God.”<sup>77</sup> Once this hierarchy is established, the “philosophical problem [becomes] to indicate its exact arrangement and to place each class of beings in its proper grade.” Ultimately, Aquinas’s project of analogy, useful in understanding political structures and the hierarchy of virtues, can only be understood as a work of faith for “it is analogy alone which enables our intelligence to arrive at a transcendent God from sensible things.”<sup>78</sup> Put simply, analogy allows us to believe in and love both God and the world that He created, for they are not in opposition to each other but anchors for our existence directed toward one another.

The importance of Aquinas’s understanding of analogy cannot be understated. It is an eloquent solution that provides a comprehensive understanding to the problems of knowing God, the purpose and necessity of reason, political legitimacy, and ethical understanding. If we are alone on this earth, helplessly far below God, then we must simply do what is best to nullify our pain and sorrow. If, however, we can read the will of God in the things of the earth, form structures that mirror His government, and cultivate virtues that He expresses to us, then we may know that we are not merely animals trapped in a physical world, but creatures of a loving God, aimed toward eternal fulfillment with Him. In a world where God is the source of all value, then only through an understanding of analogy may we know that we are valued and valuable. The construction of this ladder of analogy relies upon, but ultimately far transcends, both the rationality of Aristotle’s systemic philosophy, as well as the poetic audacity of Plato’s philosophy. Thus, to define Aquinas as an Aristotelian or a Platonist is to limit him to the horizontal and vertical spheres, respectively, and to entirely miss the point of his project, which is to apply the horizontal to the construction of the vertical and to use the vertical to bring meaning to the horizontal.

#### NOTES

1. Citation Explanation: Page numbers for Plato’s *Republic* are from the Dover Thrift 2000 edition. Aristotle’s *Politics* is taken from *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, (New York: Modern Library Classics, 2001). Aquinas’ *On Kingship* is from *St. Thomas Aquinas on Politics and Ethics*, edited by Paul Sigmund, (New York: W.W. Norton Press, 1987).
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