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IS THERE A "LEGITIMACY GAP"?
DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN GOVERNMENT POLICIES
AND PUBLIC OPINION*

A Comparative Analysis of Attitudes towards
Defense Spending and Social Welfare Spending
in the United States of America and the
Federal Republic of Germany

GSS Crossnational Report No. 3

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Abstract

It is the objective of this paper to compare attitudes towards "Defense Spending" and "Social Welfare Spending" in the United States of America and in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) using survey data from 1980 and 1982.

Of main interest is, for each country and issue:

- to identify subgroups of population which see themselves in opposition to their Federal Government's position on the issues
- to establish the directions of the perceived discrepancies between politics and attitudes
- to establish which variables characterize the above mentioned subgroups.

The first part of this paper presents marginal distributions for each country and issue (pages 1-8), for both samples as a whole, and for some socio-demographic subgroups. To get further information, especially to specify subgroups by combinations of variables, we analyzed our data by using the software-package NONMET based on the approach of GRIZZLE, STARMER, and KOCH (1969).

Pages 9-11 contain a description of this approach followed by an interpretation of our NONMET-models for each country and issue (pages 12-27). Having discussed the results of our analysis, we deal with consequences for the political systems in both countries, focusing on the importance of some subgroups of political protesters for the legitimacy of these systems (pages 28-32).

It is often claimed that modern Western Welfare States obtain legitimacy by means of public spendings. More important than the total amount of spending is the correspondence between normative expectations concerning the level of expenditures in certain areas and individual perception of actual investment in large population (and voter) groups.

Political development in the last few years has shown us that discrepancies in either direction can cause loss of governmental legitimacy: the rapid growth of the peace movement (Friedenbewegung in the FRG) in some Western European States may reflect the view of many who regard the actual defense spending as too excessive,¹ while conversely the perceived drastic cuts in social spending, for example, may cause political discontent.

In their analysis of the 1980 American Presidential Elections Warren E. MILLER and J. Merrill SHANKS pointed out that such a loss of legitimacy is an important source of governmental change.² Their analysis, based on four single surveys carried out at intervals of two or three months during 1980, shows a significant increase in the perception of defense spending as urgent governmental duty. They established that large populations of voters, contrary to the Carter government at the time, wished an increase in defense spending. Using regression analysis, they found the variable "defense spending" to be one of the main reasons for electoral decision-making in favor of Reagan: "the most overwhelming call for a particular change in policy was on the topic of defense spending".³

A seven-point-scale, used several times in American survey research, was used in the analysis by MILLER/SHANKS. On this scale the respondents could mark their individual assessment of the adequate level of defense spending as well as the perceived position of the Federal Government concerning the issue. The same scale-construction was used in measuring the issue "social welfare spending".⁴

Tom W. SMITH from National Opinion Research Center (NORC) also dealt with these issues in an article recently published.⁵ Using the above mentioned seven-point-scale on data from the "General Social Survey" (GSS) as well as the "American Election Studies" he showed a significant increase in support for higher defense spending, as was done before by MILLER/SHANKS. SMITH con-

firmed the discrepancies between the wish of a majority of people for higher defense spending and the different perceived policy of the Carter government.⁶

In view of the rapidly increasing political relevance of these issues also in Europe, a replication using the instruments from the United States seemed desirable. In cooperation with the NORC, the four scales on "defense spending" and "social welfare spending", tested in the GSS 1980, and some other variables were incorporated into the questionnaire of the "Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften (ALLBUS) 1982".⁷ The results of the international comparison will be discussed in this paper.

A first look at the marginal distributions for the four scales shows drastic differences between the responses in the American and West German sample.

- see table 1 on the next page -

While almost half of the German respondents voted for a decrease in defense spending and little more than half voted for maintaining the level of social welfare spending, there was a significant majority of 55% in the United States voting for higher defense spending and - in relation to the German Republic - a remarkably lower vote for retention of the social spending levels.

Regarding the information on possible discrepancies between the respondents and the governments, totally different response-patterns in the two countries can be seen. While considerable discrepancies can be identified in both samples, they show different directions: in the American GSS the perceived discrepancy between respondents and government is expressed by support of re-armament - contrary to the government - whereas a majority of the German ALLBUS-respondents rather support disarmament and regard their government as a supporter of re-armament.

Fewer discrepancies can be seen on the issue "social spending", especially in the American sample. Here a relatively high agreement exists between respondents and the government in favor of maintaining the actual social bud-

Table 1

	ALLBUS:		GSS '80:		ALLBUS:		GSS '80:	
	Self-anch.		Self-anch.		Governm.		Governm.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
DEFENSE SPENDING								
1 greatly decrease	18		3		1		5	
2	13	49	3	13	3	15	9	37
3	18		7		11		23	
4	26	26	22	22	22	22	26	26
5	10		23		26		15	
6	4	16	134	55	21	57	9	31
7 greatly increase	2		19		10		7	
8 haven't thought much	8	8	10	10	7	7	6	6
SOCIAL SPENDING								
1 reduce spending	3		8		6		2	
2	5	19	9	30	15	43	5	17
3	11		13		22		10	
4	20	20	19	19	24	24	21	21
5	18		14		15		21	
6	17	55	11	43	8	27	18	56
7 continue spending	20		18		4		17	
8 haven't thought much	6	6	8	8	6	6	5	5

get. In the German Federal Republic an absolute majority votes for maintaining the budget, while the government is perceived as supporting a decrease in social spending.

Analyzing the means of the four scales instead of their marginal distributions, the mentioned discrepancies become even more pronounced:

Table 2

	DEFENSE SPENDING		SOCIAL SPENDING	
	Self.-anch.	Government.	Self.-anch.	Government.
GSS 1980	4.5	3.7	4.0	4.6
ALLBUS 1982	3.6	5.0	5.1	4.0

For interpretation: the end points of the scales are:
defense spending: 1 "greatly decrease", 7 "greatly increase";
social spending: 1 "reduce spending", 7 "no reduction of spending".

As a preliminary result it can be stated that the perceived discrepancies between respondents and their respective governments have different directions in both countries and for both issues. It is surprising to find such drastic discrepancies in perceptions of government spending behavior in states that usually are considered comparable.

At least as important is the observation that these discrepancies are twice as large in the FRG as in the US. In view of the results of MILLER/SHANKS, seeing the cause of the electoral defeat of the Carter government as due to the disregard of such discrepancies, one could argue that - under comparable political conditions - every German government continuing or intensifying the present policy towards defense spending and social spending could in the long run risk its legitimacy.

To obtain information on the variation in respondent attitudes in both states and in socio-demographic characteristics, the means on subgroup-level for all the four scales and for different socio-demographic variables were computed.

Table 3 shows the results of this bi-variate analysis for those variables which permit direct comparisons between the two countries.

- see table 3 on the next page -

Considering first the discrepancies between the respondents and their Federal Governments and concentrating on those subgroups with the highest discrepancies, it is clear that discrepancy values for the German respondents are, on the average, considerably higher than in the American data. Additionally it can be stated that on both issues the same subgroups show relatively high discrepancy values: younger people, singles, persons with no religion, and women.

This result becomes more important in view of the menacing loss of legitimacy of the German government: because the same persons feel discontent with government spending behavior in two important spending areas, counter-reactions may grow stronger as would be the case if such discontent could be distributed over different population groups.

One important problem of international comparative analysis is well-known: the relative incomparability of certain socio-demographic variables due to different national context-conditions. Table 4 tries to supplement the comparison of means by subgroup-level, using variables which are not directly comparable. There are well-known problems here because of different educational systems and differences in the semantic content of the word "class".

- see table 4 on the next page -

Concentrating again on the subgroups with relatively high discrepancy values, the GSS-sample, on the issue "defense-spending", identifies persons with low or middle education who consider themselves as belonging to higher classes than "lower class" and who are white. The same is true for social spending for the subgroups who have middle or higher education. But an interesting result is not only presented by identification of certain groups with particularly high discrepancies; some groups even show a different direction in the perceived discrepancies. Nonwhite people and members of the "lower class" vote - contrary to their assessment of the government - for

Table 3

	D E F E N S E S P E N D I N G				S O C I A L S P E N D I N G			
	Self-anchoring		Government Pos.		Self-anchoring		Government Pos.	
	USA	FRG	USA	FRG	USA	FRG	USA	FRG
<u>Age</u>								
until 29 years	4.1	3.1	3.9	5.2	4.2	5.1	4.6	3.7
30-39	4.5	3.3	3.8	5.1	4.1	5.1	4.7	3.7
40-49	4.6	3.6	3.8	4.8	3.9	4.9	4.9	4.0
50-59	4.8	3.6	3.7	4.9	3.8	4.8	4.5	4.1
60-69	4.6	3.9	3.4	5.0	3.9	5.2	4.5	4.1
70 years and older	4.2	4.2	3.4	5.1	3.9	5.1	4.2	4.4
<u>Marital status</u>								
married, together	4.6	3.6	3.7	4.9	3.9	4.9	4.7	4.0
widowed	4.3	4.0	3.3	5.1	4.2	5.3	4.3	4.2
divorced, separated	4.3	3.5	3.7	5.3	4.1	5.3	4.4	4.0
unmarried	4.3	3.2	4.1	5.1	4.2	5.2	4.4	3.7
<u>Religious preference</u>								
protestant	4.7	3.6	3.6	5.0	3.9	5.0	4.6	3.9
catholic	4.1	3.7	3.8	5.0	4.2	5.1	4.5	4.1
other	4.1	3.1	4.0	4.9	4.3	5.1	4.8	3.7
none	3.9	2.9	4.0	5.2	3.8	5.4	4.6	3.4
<u>Sex</u>								
male	4.9	3.6	3.8	4.9	3.9	4.9	4.7	3.9
female	4.1	3.6	3.7	5.1	4.1	5.2	4.5	4.0

(Table 3 contains the MEANS of the subgroups)

Table 4

	USA				FRG				
	DEFENSE SP.		SOCIAL SP.		DEFENSE SP.		SOCIAL SP.		
	Self	Gov.	Self	Gov.	Self	Gov.	Self	Gov.	
<u>Education level:</u>					<u>Schulbildung:</u>				
less than High School	4.3	3.5	4.2	4.1	kein Abschluß Volksschule	3.7	5.1	5.1	4.0
High School	4.6	3.8	4.0	4.7	mittl. Reife, Realschulab.	3.5	4.9	5.0	3.9
Associate/Junior College	4.9	3.5	3.2	4.5	Fachhochschulreife	2.7	5.1	4.9	3.9
Bachelor's	4.3	4.0	4.0	5.0	Abitur	3.2	5.0	4.9	3.7
Graduate	4.4	4.0	3.8	5.1					
<u>Subjective Social Class:</u>					<u>Selbsteinst. "Schicht":</u>				
Lower Class	3.4	3.6	4.2	3.4	Arbeiterschicht	3.6	5.1	5.2	4.0
Working Class	4.5	3.7	4.1	4.5	Mittelschicht	3.6	5.0	5.0	4.0
Middle Class	4.5	3.8	4.0	4.9	Obere Mittelschicht	3.6	4.9	5.0	4.0
Upper Class	4.3	3.7	3.9	4.6	Oberschicht	3.6	5.0	4.8	3.8
<u>Colour of respondent:</u>									
white	4.5	3.7	3.9	4.7	-				
nonwhite	4.1	3.8	4.9	4.0					
					<u>Interview Implementation:*</u>				
					before conflict escalat.	3.7	5.1	5.0	4.1
					after conflict escalat.	3.4	5.0	5.1	3.8

*see page 8 of this paper

(Table 4 contains the MEANS of the subgroups)

maintenance of the actual social budget, while whites and members of all other classes regard their conflict with government caused by their own desire for a decrease in social spending, while government tends to maintenance.

Remarkably enough, this "overturn-effect" can not be seen in the German population. It follows that the German opposition is more homogenized as well as stronger.

In addition, there is in Germany a distinct opposition to government, particularly among those persons with higher education who vote for decrease of defense spending, that means in a part of the population with favorable opportunities for realizing their interests - in the meaning of OFFE - by their conflict-capacity and organizational ability.⁸

In table 4 we have to explain a variable that at first may surprise. This variable "interview implementation" (in the meaning of interview date) is only mentioned in ALLBUS-data.

One event that in survey research - and of course in life - generally is not regarded very positively caused the existence of this variable: the beginning and military escalation of the Falkland-conflict between Great Britain and Argentina in spring of 1982, while the ALLBUS-survey was in the field.

It could be supposed that this conflict, given much mass media attention, would influence respondent behavior, particularly in the question of defense spending. We tried to establish the consequences of this and classified the sample by the date of the escalation of the military conflict⁹ and the date of interview. Table 4 only can suggest the interesting effect of such context circumstances.¹⁰

The results presented in this paper up to now do not satisfy our curiosity in one respect: it was possible, by means of bi-variate analysis, to characterize certain subgroups within the two samples showing a particularly high perceived disagreement with their governments. But the socio-demographic characterization of these groups could be made using only one of the varia-

bles, for example "age" or "sex" as opposed to using a combined set of relevant factors, which would permit multivariate analysis.

NONMET is a package, developed by GRIZZLE, STARMER, and KOCH,¹¹ which can help us solve such problems.

In the following discussion we shall try to identify certain groups of persons in both countries and for both issues using the NONMET-program-package. The groups are selected by their conformity or nonconformity to the respective government-policy on both issues. For both samples and both topics we want to analyze in a second step only those who show a high discrepancy to official policy. Here we wish to identify special subgroups for both directions of this discrepancy.

Using the idea of MILLER/SHANKS we constructed an index in order to measure the discrepancy between self-anchoring of respondents concerning the two issues and their respective assessment of the government position.¹² This index is always the dependent variable. Corresponding to the requirements of our analysis, we regard in a first step only those code-numbers of the trichotomized index which represent conformity or nonconformity, while in a second step we only use those code-numbers which show the two directions of nonconformity.¹³

Because each issue and each country had to be analyzed separately, we had to construct four indices; eight NONMET-models were to be computed for our analysis (two countries x two issues x two steps of analysis).

Once again an intensive crosstabs-analysis for each issue and each state was necessary before we could identify the respective sets of independent variables. The selection of variables for these crosstabs has been an explorative rather than a theoretic process: from a list of variables of the two population-samples we selected and tested those variables for which we could submit a plausible connection with the issues "defense spending" or "social spending".¹⁴

It would be not at all correct to call this - concedingly pragmatic - proceeding as one entirely without theoretical basis. When, for example - as

has been stated by INGLEHART¹⁵ and other authors - the dimension of post-materialism is regarded as really important for political attitudes and political behavior, we could have expected a significant connection between the INGLEHART-index, integrated in ALLBUS-data, and at least one of the indices representing the two issues "defense spending" or "social spending".¹⁶ This thesis will be verified later.

Definitively included in the set of variables of the respective NONMET-models are only the variables which show the relatively best CHI²-values with respect to the numbers of their degrees of freedom and their distributions. Because of the sample volume of GSS, which is relatively small¹⁷ and further reduction of cases in the - just described - second step of analysis, this final variable set could contain no more than four independent variables maximum.

A balanced relationship between socio-demographic variables and variables of political attitudes has been included as an additional selection-criterion in order to provide a clear description of specific subgroups.

The selection-procedure described here led, as expected, to different sets of variables for each country and each analyzed issue. These differences are not primarily caused by the various and specific respondent behavior, but by the trivial fact of large differences in the questionnaires of the United States and West-Germany, and - consequently - in the set of variables.¹⁸

Table 5 provides an overview of the four sets of variables and the respectively relevant codes needed for interpretation of the subsequent NONMET models.

- see table 5 on the next page -

Table 5 makes clear that there is one relevant variable in each of the countries concerning the issue "defense spending" as well as "social spending"; in the case of the German Republic it is the INGLEHART-Index,¹⁹ and in the case of the United States it is the self-anchoring-scale to measure liberalism and conservatism. With respect to a certain comparability bet-

Table 5

FRG: DEFENSE SPENDING

- I. Voting behavior at Parliamentary Elections, 1980 (VB)
Code 1: Voting for CDU/CSU
Code 2: Voting for other party
- II. INGLEHART-Index (IN)
Code 1: pure materialist, rather materialist
Code 2: pure postmaterialist, rather postmaterialist
- III. Education level (ED)
Code 1: up to 9th degree
Code 2: higher education
- IV. Conflict between politicians and the people (PC)
Code 1: strong
Code 2: little, no conflict

FRG: SOCIAL SPENDING

- I. Self-anchoring on left-right-scale (LR)
Code 1: left
Code 2: right
- II. Feeling to have got 'fair part' in life (FP)
Code 1: fair part
Code 2: less than fair part
- III. INGLEHART-Index (IN)
Code 1: see above
Code 2: see above
- IV. Respondent's sex (SE)
Code 1: male
Code 2: female

USA: DEFENSE SPENDING

- I. Religious preference (RE)
Code 1: protestant
Code 2: other
- II. Respondent has gun at home (GU)
Code 1: yes (gun at home)
Code 2: no
- III. Respondent's sex (SE)
Code 1: male
Code 2: female
- IV. Ideological position liberalism-conservatism (IP)
Code 1: liberal
Code 2: moderate
Code 3: conservative

USA: SOCIAL SPENDING*

- I. Respondent's colour (CO)
Code 1: white
Code 2: coloured
- II. Ideological position liberalism-conservatism (IP)
Code 1: see above
Code 2: see above
Code 3: see above
- III. Subjective Social Class (CL)
Code 1: Lower Class, Working Class
Code 2: Middle Class, Upper Class

*Due to an inopportune distribution of the variable 'respondent's colour' (only few coloured people were in the sample) this set of independent variables could not have more than three variables.

ween the otherwise different sets of variables for both issues in one state, this constellation - realized by a more methodically orientated selection procedure - may be of advantage.

We shall now present and explain eight NONMET models, using the described sets of independent variables and the indices to measure discrepancies between respondents and their respective government. These indices are varied in two steps of analysis and defined as dependent variables. With respect to KUECHLER/WIDES the eight NONMET models have to realize the following demands:²⁰

1. model-structure as simple as possible
2. adjustment to the empirical data (fitting) as good as possible
3. statistical significance of all effects in the final model
4. substantial relevance of the effects contained in the model
5. predictor-values between 0 and 1, under consideration of confidence-interval.

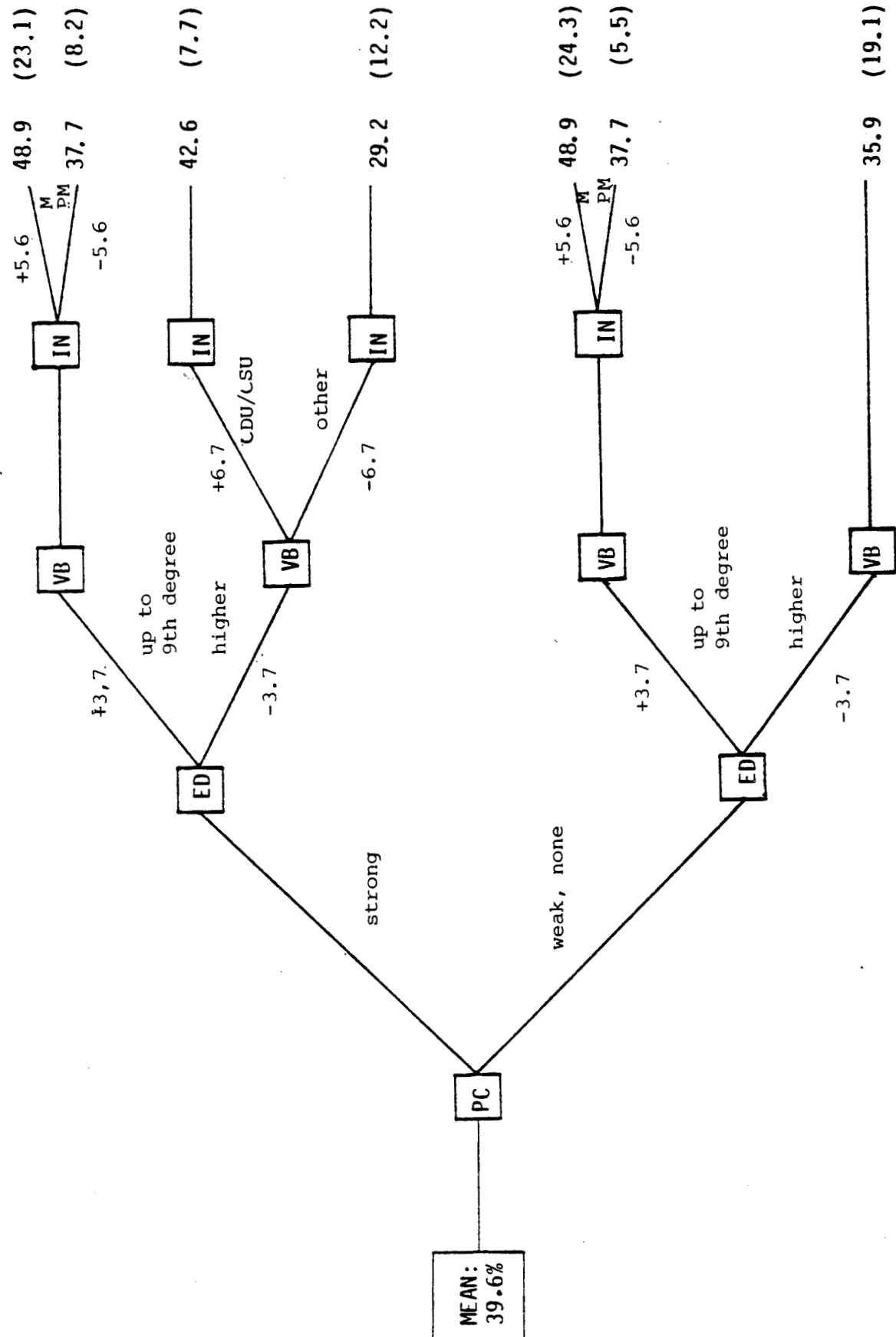
These demands could essentially be realized. There were, however, some unfavorable data-constellations: for example, the integration of relevant variables which had an inopportune distribution such as "color of respondent".

Now the explanation and interpretation of the eight NONMET models: We will deal consecutively with the two steps of analysis²¹ for each state and each issue. That means those subgroups identified by their conformity or nonconformity with their government are of primary interest. Then we try to identify parts of subgroups by the direction of their nonconformity, using the various models. We start with the German data on the issue "defense spending".

- see figure 1 on the next page -

For the interpretation of the first schedule on the next page, it is necessary to remember that, because of the described code-procedure for the dependent variables, the mean at the left side of our presentation will be the basic value for the analysis of those respondents who don't perceive discrepancies between their own point of view and that of their government

Figure 1 Final Model: DEFENSE SPENDING, FRG, 1st step (no discrepancy-discrepancy) (P=.95)



concerning the analyzed issue, here: "defense spending". The strongest expression of this feature identifies persons with education up to the ninth degree and - in the meaning of INGLEHART - more materialist orientation: nearly every second person of this subgroup (48.9%) has a relatively high conformity with government on this topic.

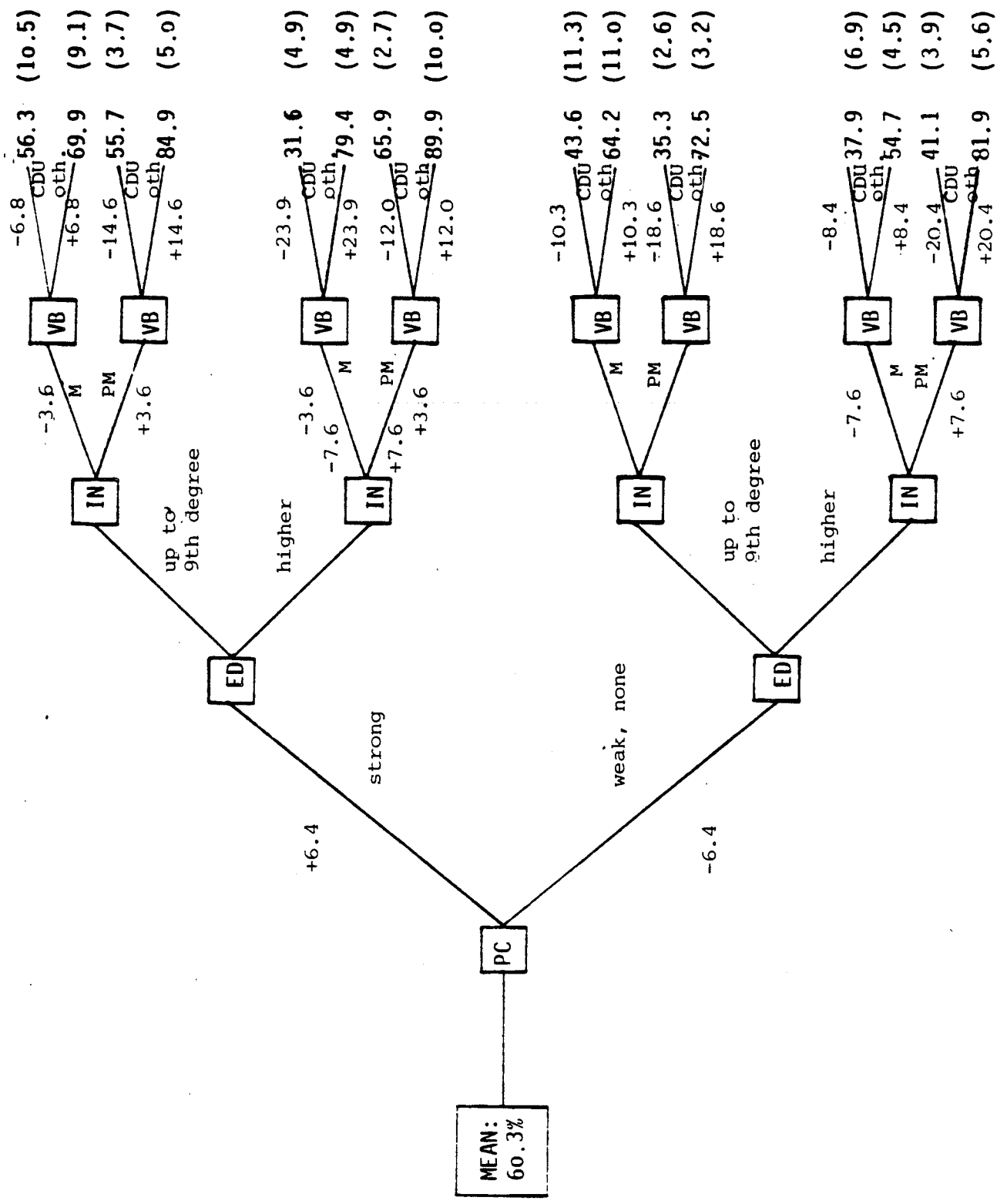
The "potential"-data in brackets beside the respective total effect show a high representation (47.4%) of these persons within the total population of West-Germany.²² It is remarkable to see that voting-behavior (VB) doesn't play a role for these subgroups: this variable as well as the PC-variable are, however, relevant for the group of persons identified by the lowest conformity or - vice versa - by highest discrepancy to the Federal Government: persons with higher education and a perception of a strong conflict of interest between politicians and citizens and - as far as their voting behavior is concerned - feeling closer to other parties than CDU/CSU. The representation of this subgroup with 12.2% of the total population is relatively weak.

Of particular interest is the voting behavior of this group. The vote for a party other than the CDU/SPD means, in fact, a vote for the SPD or FDP in most cases, so that we can suggest that strongest contradiction against spending behavior of the SPD/FDP-coalition in Bonn comes - concerning the issues "defense spending" - from those persons who supported SPD/FDP in the 1980 election.²³

If, in a second step of analysis, we regard only these persons in the population-sample who show a distinct discrepancy in one or the other direction, we can crystallize the above described subgroup as one with the largest portion of supporters of disarmament. Nearly 90% of those persons with higher education who are not CDU/CSU voters and who perceive a strong conflict of interest between politicians and citizens vote for decrease of defense spending in contrary to the government policy.²⁴ This group represents 10% of the total population of the German Republic.

- see figure 2 on the next page -

Figure 2 Final Model: DEFENSE SPENDING, FRG, 2nd step (direction of discrepancy) (P=.42)



But we must now add a criterion which was irrelevant in the first step of analysis: the clearly existing postmaterialist value orientations. This variable assumes the role of the discriminating factor between the subgroup which defined itself as being in strongest counter-position to the government concerning the issue "defense spending" and the group of those persons who show a maximum contradiction to the official policy in a certain direction, the direction of disarmament.

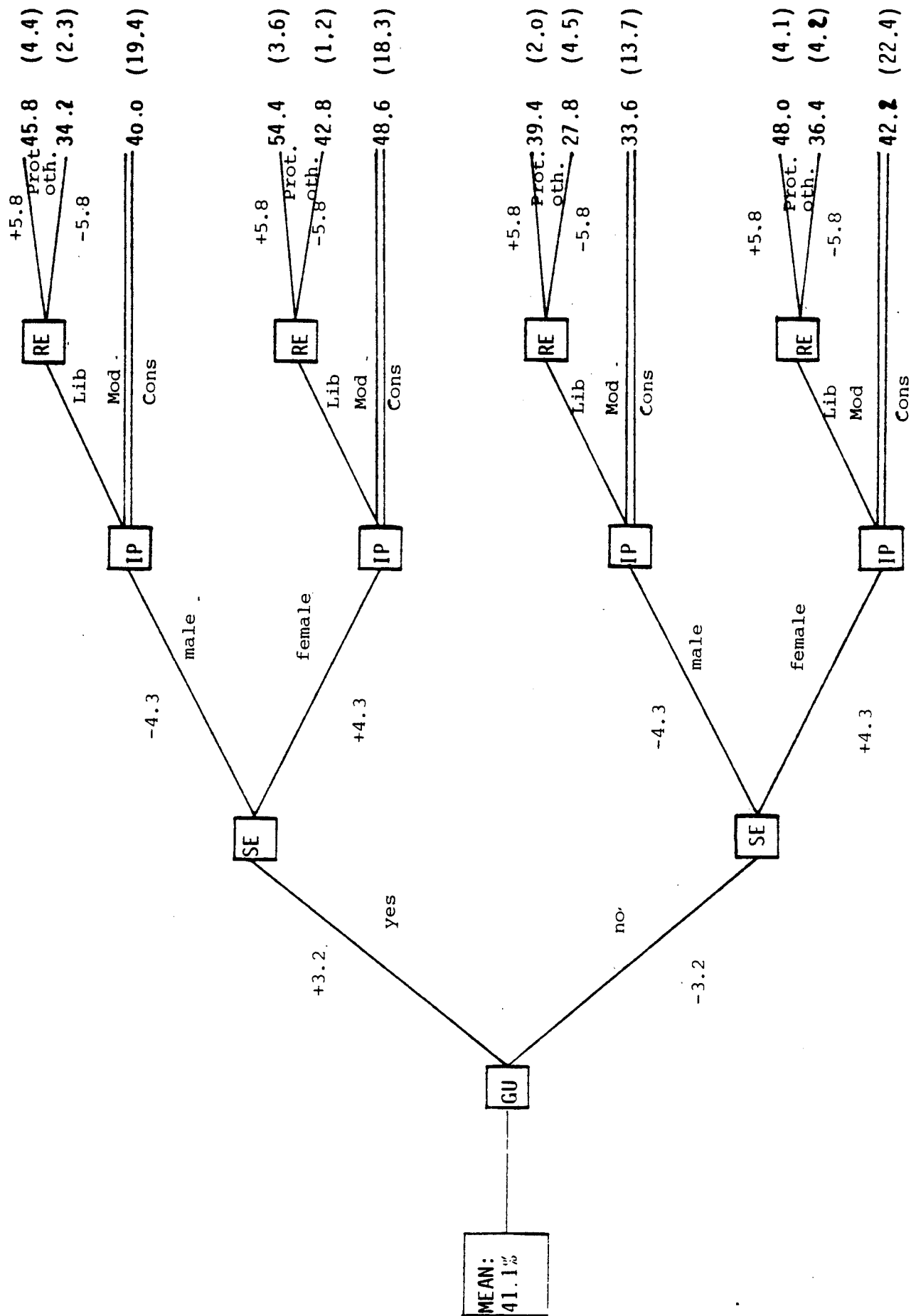
Supporters of disarmament are not significantly less represented in two other subgroups, which may as well be identified by the combination of the topics "postmaterialist value orientation" and "vote for parties other than the CDU/CSU"; but, contrary to the first mentioned subgroups, they show other characteristics concerning the conflict variable and the education variable.²⁵ It is notable that reverse combinations of these variables result in a similar situation: The subgroup of persons with low education and a high perception of conflict of interest as well as the subgroup with high education and low conflict perception both contain more than 80% supporters of disarmament.

If we focus our interest on those subgroups which contain the lowest portion of supporters of disarmament, all three subgroups with the relatively lowest portion²⁶ have one thing in common: voting decision in favor of the CDU/CSU in the 1980 federal parliamentary election. This variable is obviously of great importance for all persons, who desire a higher level of "defense spending" and who feel that demand would not be realized by the SPD/FDP-coalition.

- see figure 3 on the next page -

Figure 3 shows the attitudes towards "defense spending" in the United States and is at first concentrated on the existence or non-existence of a discrepancy to official policy. It can be seen that all three subgroups with the highest level of votes corresponding to government policy are composed of women.²⁷ Additionally, we find the features "gun at home", "protestant religion", and - remarkably enough - "liberal political self-anchoring" in two of the three subgroups. From a quantitative point of view, only one of the three groups can be regarded as partially integrated into the total po-

Figure 3 Final Model: DEFENSE SPENDING, USA, 1st step (no discrepancy-discrepancy) (P=.96)



pulation: women who - following their self-anchoring - tend to a political middle or conservatism and who have "gun at home" (18.3 %).

Applying the opposite question to the groups of persons which show the relatively highest perception of discrepancy with government policy, and analyzing as well those three subgroups²⁸ which correspond at first to the above demand, the eventually expected reversion of the above mentioned features doesn't correspond totally with reality. Even groups consisting only of men feel themselves in a maximum counter-position against official policy; mostly we can add the features "no gun at home", "no protestant", and "liberal". The last thing - self-anchoring as "liberal" - was also true for the already presented subgroups with the relatively lowest discrepancy-values. Contrary to the results of the cited study of MILLER/SHANKS,²⁹ we can suppose that this variable can't explain much in our analysis of discrepancies between attitudes.

- see figure 4 on the next page -

Figure 4 shows, corresponding to the procedure of presentation of the German data, only those subgroups, which are in definite discrepancy with government policy. Regarding first those subgroups with the relatively highest portion of persons called - not very precisely - "supporters of disarmament", we can characterize these subgroups³⁰ by the features "no gun at home" and "no protestant", whereas they don't have common features concerning the two other variables.

A surprising result of this model is the influence of "gun at home" and, probably, the use of guns on the attitude towards government defense spending. Hardly less astonishing is - following newspapers - the second common feature: contrary to the German peace- and disarmament-movement, the role of the catholic church in the US-movement is considerable.³¹

Regarding the subgroups with a high portion of people whose counter-position to government is defined by their preference for greater defense spending, the variable "gun at home" is not symmetric in its influence on attitudes towards the issue "defense spending". The two subgroups which are most remarkable concerning their standing in the total population (in our

figure the fourth and seventh subgroup up from the top, which together represent more than a fifth of total population), are characterized by the irrelevance of this respective variable, while their common feature "protestant" leads to the conclusion that the variable "religion" is the discriminating factor for explanation of different attitudes of US-population concerning the issue "defense spending".

Reviewing our conclusions, it must be mentioned that the eighth subgroup, which contains a relatively high portion of persons who support rearmament, doesn't correspond to this pattern in the features "gun at home" and "no protestant". This fact diminishes in importance, however, when we consider that the representation of this group in the total population is only 2.5%.

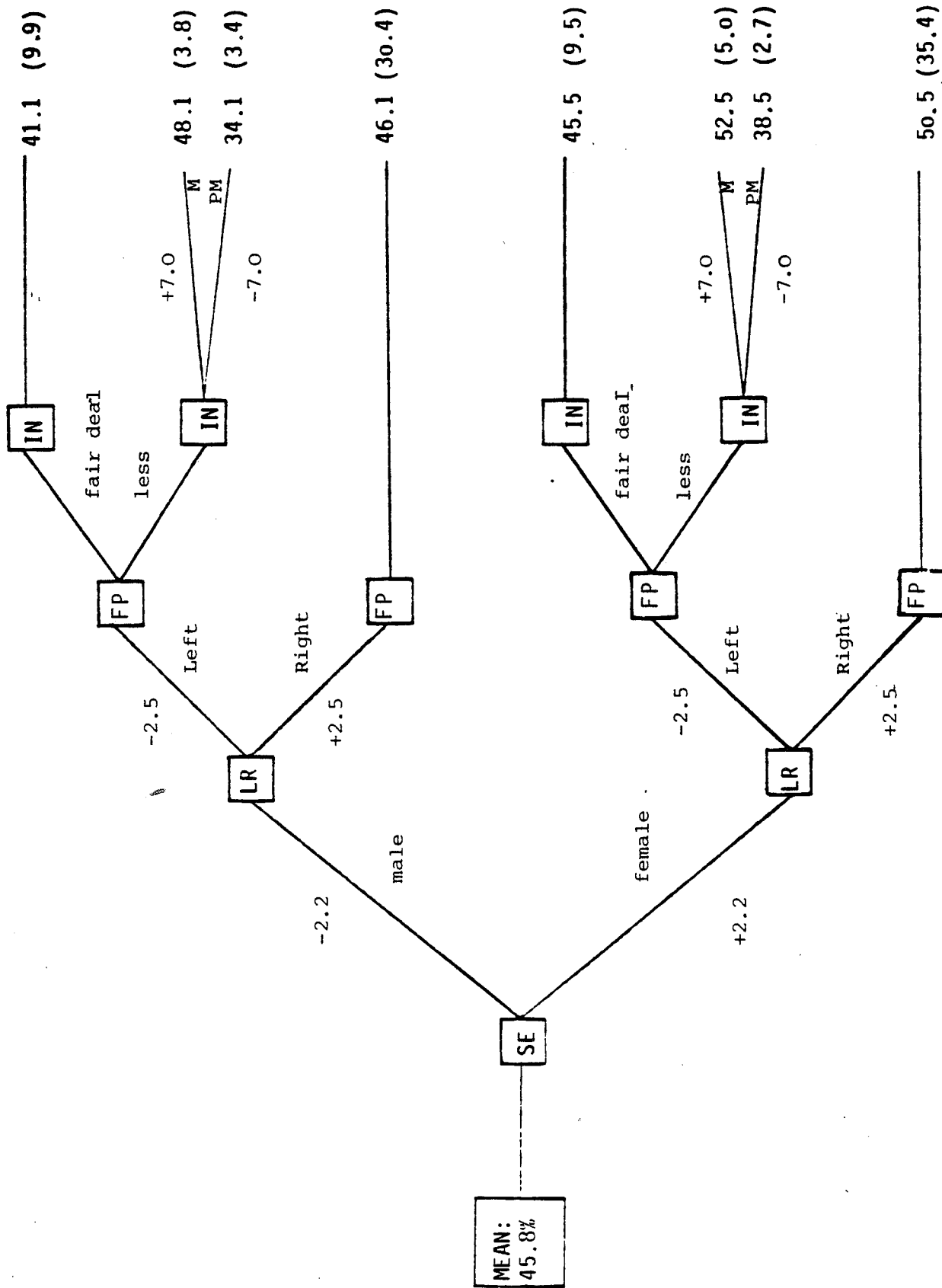
Remarkably there is one feature that characterizes all the three mentioned subgroups: they consist exclusively of men. A corresponding dominating role of women among the described supporters of disarmament can't be seen.

These are the results of the four NONMET models on the issue "defense spending" thus far. A comparable discussion of considerable results will follow in the last part of this paper, in order to discuss central results of the following four models on the issue "social spending" and probably to present parallels.

- see figure 5 on the next page -

Figure 5 deals with the first of these models, which treats the existence or non-existence of discrepancies to government policy concerning social spending in the German Republic. Regarding first the three subgroups with the relatively highest conformity with government,³² the eighth subgroup demonstrates that more than a third of the total population feels relative conformity with government on the issues "social spending". This subgroup contains women who have - due to their self-anchoring - a more "right" political attitude. It is interesting to see that neither value orientation in the sense of INGLEHART, nor feelings of having received a "fair deal" in life, play a role.

Figure 5 Final Model: SOCIAL SPENDING, FR0, 1st step (no discrepancy-discrepancy) (P=.73)



These features are relevant for the two other subgroups, which are, however, not important considering the portion of the total population they represent. These subgroups consist of persons with more materialist oriented values, who are convinced that they have not got a "fair deal" in life - that means: persons with high materialist value orientation, who are dissatisfied with their lives. The fact that these people show relatively high conformity with government policy on the issue "social spending" can be better explained by their conformity concerning maintenance of the actual spending-level than by the contrary.

Concentrating our attention on the three subgroups with the relatively highest discrepancy with government,³³ we can be surprised by the only common feature of these groups: self-anchoring on the "left". Exactly the "left" persons, more supposed to be SPD/FDP-coalition voters than "right" persons, define themselves to be in counter-position to this government. The decrease in governmental social spending in recent times could have caused the critical attitudes of those persons who, until now, regarded the SPD/FDP-coalition as guarantor of these spendings.

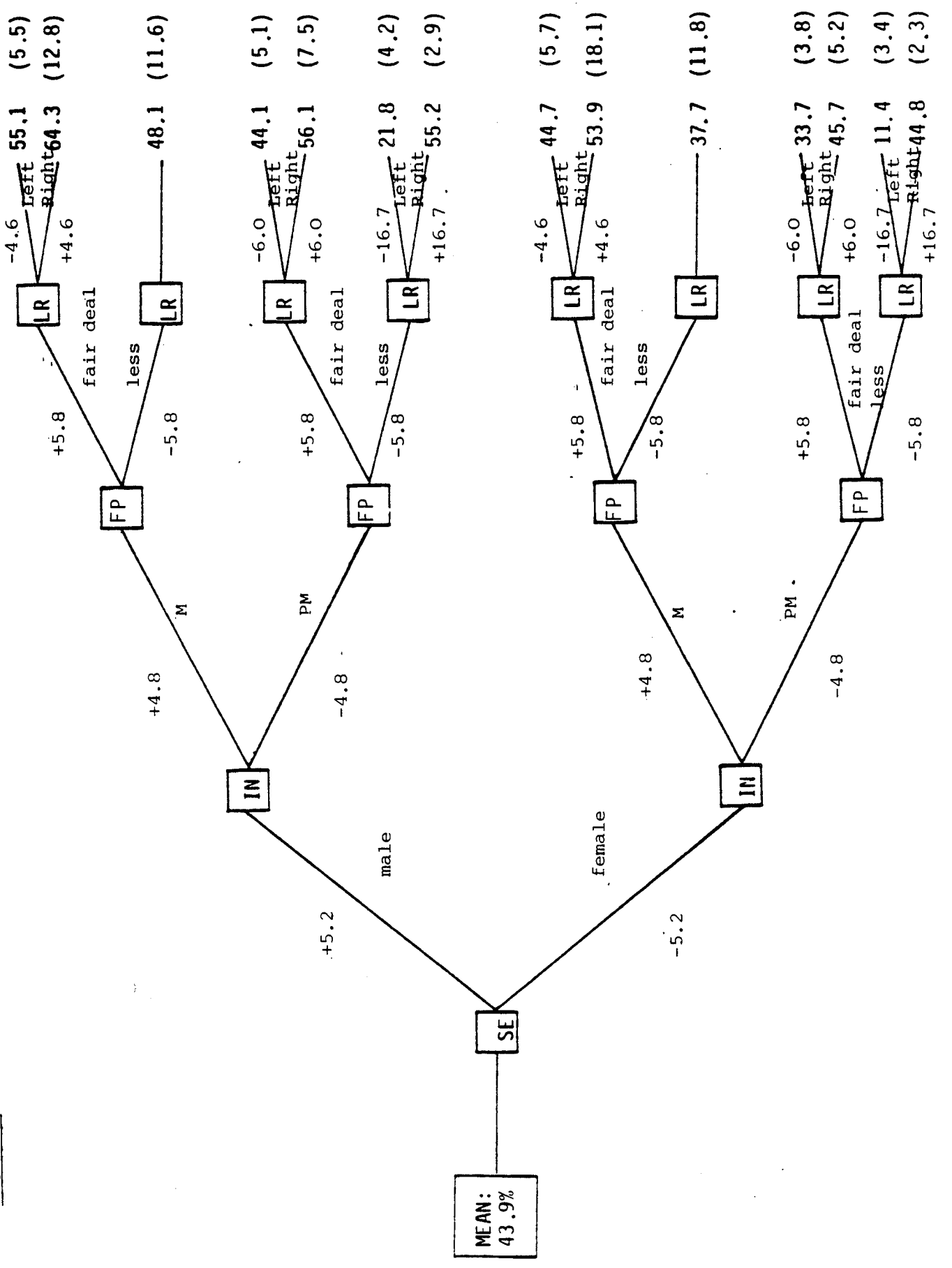
- see figure 6 on the next page -

This thesis can be verified in figure 6: respondents who vote for maintenance of the actual social budget contrary to the government could all be identified by a "left" political attitude.³⁴ Another common feature is the more postmaterialist value orientation, which supports a result we have already obtained for the respective subgroups in discussing the issue "defense spending".³⁵

The portion of the total population represented by the described persons - it can be called "potential protestors" - is weak from a quantitative point of view; considering the world-wide recession and the associated budgetary conditions of Federal Government, it is reasonable to expect an increase in this group rather than a decrease.

Searching for characteristic features of groups that vote - contrary to their perception of official policy - for a decrease in social spending, we find exclusively men within the respective subgroups.³⁶ Most of the persons

Figure 6 Final Model: SOCIAL SPENDING, FRG, 2nd step (direction of discrepancy) (P=.76)



define their political attitudes as "right" and are convinced to have received a "fair deal" in life. A link with value orientations in the sense of INGLEHART can't be seen here.

- see figure 7 on the next page -

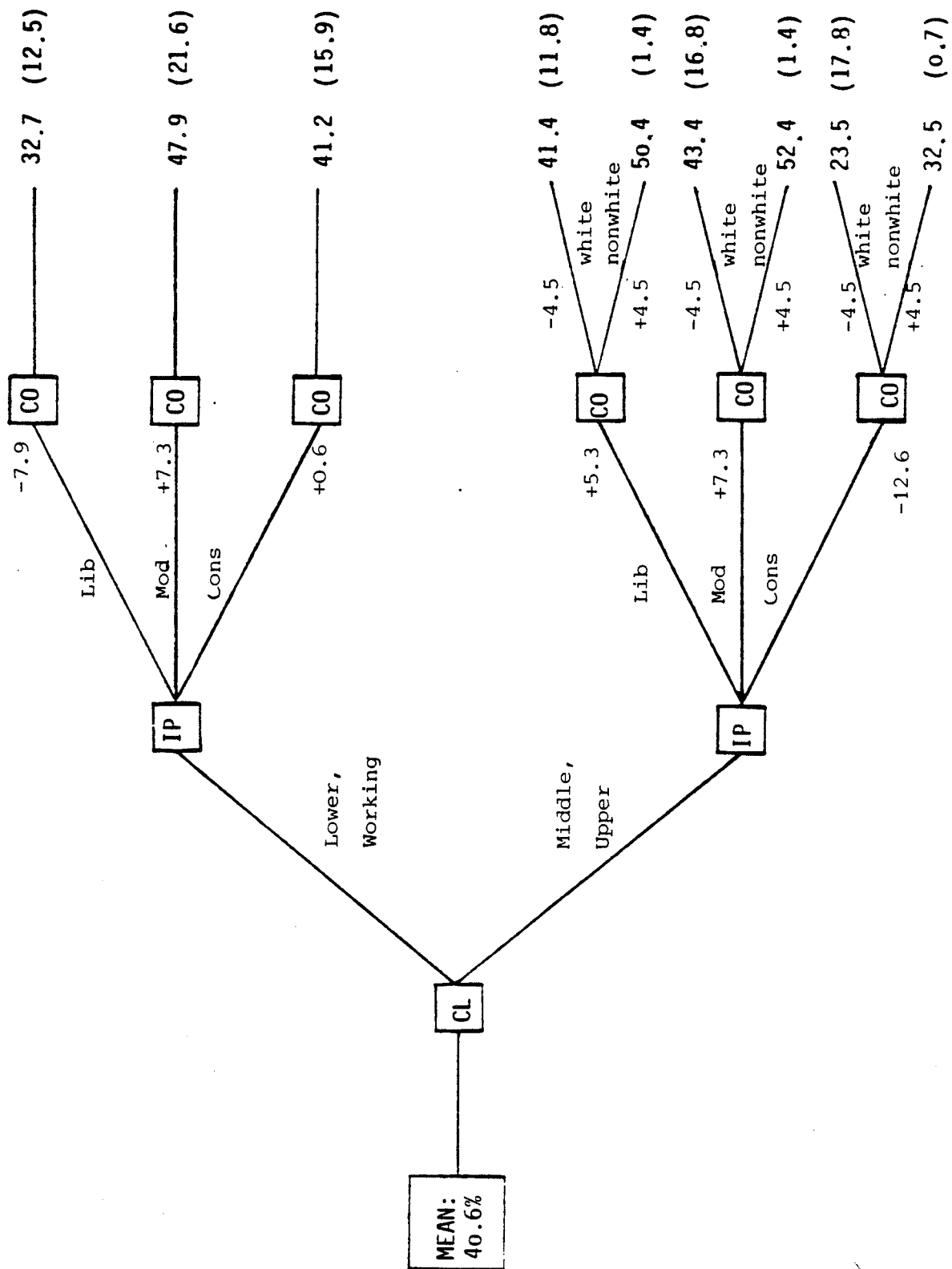
Figure 7 shows that in the United States the interaction of class-identification and color of the respondents is relevant for the attitude towards the issue "social spending". In the view of persons who identify themselves with lower or working class, the topic "color" doesn't play a role for the perception of discrepancies with the government, while nonwhite people who identify themselves as belonging to the middle or upper class always show higher conformity with the government in Washington than white people do.

Numerically important are those respondents with relatively high conformity with the official policy concerning social spending. These persons are in the second group from the top. This portion of the population - identified by the feature "belonging to lower class or working class" and "moderate political attitudes" - represents more than a fifth of the total population, while the fifth and the seventh subgroup, both representing nonwhite respondents, are not very important from a quantitative point of view.

A considerable heterogeneity characterizes the respondents with more than an average discrepancy with the government in Washington. Regarding only the subgroups (from the three subgroups with the relatively highest discrepancies³⁷) which are well represented in the total population, we can describe the subgroup showing the highest discrepancy by the features "white", "conservative political attitude", and "belonging to the middle or upper class". The subgroup which shows the next-largest portion of respondents feeling discrepancy with government policy can be identified by the features "liberal political attitude" and "lower or working class", whereas "color" doesn't play a role.

Thus we can suppose that these two subgroups represent two different directions of non-conformity with the official policy, which means that one of the groups rather supports maintenance of social spending and perceives a counter position to government - probably this is true for the last mentio-

Figure 7 Final Model: SOCIAL SPENDING, USA, 1st step (no discrepancy-discrepancy) (P=.92)



ned subgroup - while the first mentioned subgroup rather tends to a decrease in social spending and perceives government intentions as a counter position.

- see figure 8 on the next page -

Figure 8 partially confirms this thesis. Regarding, therefore, primarily the three subgroups with the highest numbers of respondents who vote for a decrease in social spending and perceive the Washington-policy as being in counter position,³⁸ we can find exactly the expected combination of features in the subgroup with the relatively highest proportion: conservative whites belonging to the middle or upper class. This group of persons represents more than a fifth of the total population.

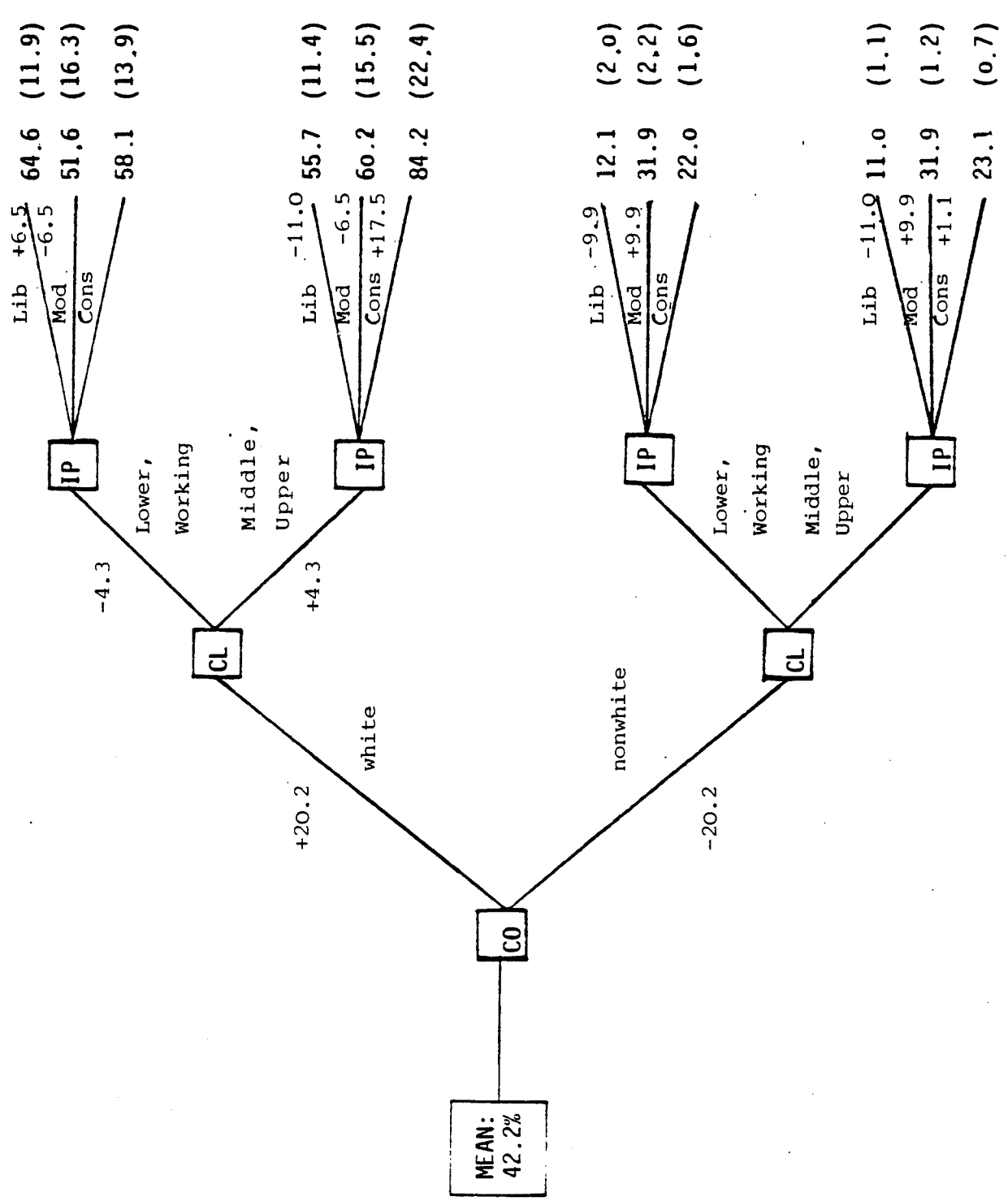
This combination of features is less expressed in the two other subgroups: however, the variable "color" is always "white", and stresses the importance of ethnic identification on the issue "social spending".

Analyzing population groups whose discrepancy with government in Washington can be expressed by their votes for maintenance of social spending, the variable "color" also has central importance. Looking at figure 8 we can see that all subgroups consisting of nonwhite respondents can be identified by their considerably stronger support of maintenance of the social budget, contrary to the white respondent groups, even if they show identical combinations of features. The quantitatively small proportion of these people in relation to the total US-population (expressed by the potential-values) should not lead to under-evaluation of the importance of these discrepancies for the official policy, considering the political consequences of ethnic conflicts during the last years.

In order to summarize the main results of the eight NONMET models presented in this paper, a short recourse to the marginal distributions in table 1 (page) aids the evaluation of our analysis.

This table could give us only separate information concerning self-anchoring behavior of different populations and their perception of the respective Federal Government.

Figure 8 Final Model: SOCIAL SPENDING, USA, 2nd step (direction of discrepancy) (P=.68)



It could be seen that, for example, in the German Republic 49% of respondents vote for a decrease in defense spending and only 16% for an increase, while 57% of respondents perceive the government attitudes as rather tending to increase defense spending and only 15% vice versa; but it was not possible to compute both patterns simultaneously.

The main purpose of the NONMET analysis was to bring these patterns together in order to identify the respective subgroups which show discrepancy with Federal Government policy and to characterize them using selected variables. This selection should provide information concerning a probably existing group of "potential protesters" as well as the heterogeneity or homogeneity of this group.

- see table 6 on the next page -

Table 6 on the next page gives a summarizing survey over all NONMET analyses. There is a list of all central variables in the different models, separated by country, issue, and step of analysis. Because we already explained these variables, the table consists only of characterizing labels. The underlined variables can be identified by their relevance for both of the extreme scale-points of attitudes within an analyzing step and on one issue.³⁹

Looking at table 6 we can see first that in three (of four) cases it was possible to identify those groups of respondents showing a maximum of discrepancy with official policy as relatively homogeneous. Only on the issue "social spending" do we find a structure of strong heterogeneity for the United States. Thus it can be concluded that we can identify a group of "potential protesters" of relatively high homogeneity on the issue "defense spending" for both of the analyzed countries and additionally on the issue "social spending" for the German Republic.

However, by inspecting the figures resulting from the eight NONMET analyses and considering the standing of the "potential protesters" in the total population,⁴⁰ the "legitimacy gap" that is so evident in table 1 now appears to be an isolated rather than a typical characteristic of the response to an issue. Looking at the figures it can be seen that the addition of the po-

Table 6

DEFENSE SPENDING

SOCIAL SPENDING

FRG	1st step:	no discrepancy: - <u>lower education (ED)</u> - <u>materialist (IN)</u>	maximum discrepancy: - <u>higher education (ED)</u> - <u>strong conflict (PC)</u> - other than CDU/CSU (VB)	no discrepancy: - female (SE) - <u>right (LR)</u>	maximum discrepancy: - <u>left (LR)</u>
FRG	2nd step:	Self decr., gov. incr.: - higher education (ED) - strong conflict (PC) - <u>other than CDU/CSU (VB)</u> - postmaterialist (IN)	Self incr., gov. decr.: - <u>voting for CDU/CSU (VB)</u>	Self cont., gov. red.: - <u>left (LR)</u> - postmaterialist (IN)	Self red., gov. cont.: - male (SE) - <u>right (LR)</u> - fair part in life (FP)
USA	1st step:	no discrepancy: - <u>female (SE)</u> - <u>gun at home (GU)</u> - <u>protestant (RE)</u> - liberal (IP)	maximum discrepancy: - <u>male (SE)</u> - <u>no gun at home (GU)</u> - <u>other than prot. (RE)</u> - liberal (IP)	no discrepancy: - Lower, Working (CL) - moderate (IP)	maximum discrepancy: (heterogeneous)
USA	2nd step:	Self decr., gov. incr.: - no gun at home (GU) - <u>other than prot. (RE)</u>	Self incr., gov. decr.: - <u>protestant (RE)</u> - male (SE)	Self cont., gov. red.: - <u>coloured (CO)</u>	Self red., gov. cont.: - <u>white (CO)</u> - conservative (IP) - Middle, Upper (CL)

tentials for the homogeneous "potential protesters" would seldom amount to more than 20% of the total population.

Analyzing these results from a more qualitative point of view, we get another picture, at least for the German Republic: "potential protesters" on the issue "defense spending" consist of higher educated individuals and - interpreting the variable "conflict of interest between politicians and citizens" in that way - of a considerable portion of distrust, at least with respect to the established parties and their representatives.⁴¹

So we can say that "potential protesters" consist of persons who are, because of their higher education, more able than other population groups to enforce their protest also in the non-parliamentary area. It can be supposed that, because of the attitudes of this group in favor for other parties than CDU/CSU, or - as it was shown by the issue "social spending" - identification as "left", there will be stronger political conflicts under a CDU/CSU-dominated government, than has been the case under the SPD/FDP-coalition.⁴²

Similar tendencies in the United States can't be expected, at least not based on the 1980 survey data. If a homogeneous group of "potential protesters" could be identified, as was the case with the issue "defense spending", the features of the respective persons wouldn't permit comparable prognoses (probably except in the case of "male") to the German results. However, following actual newspapers, an important change in attitudes of the American population towards the two analyzed issues has occurred since 1980.⁴³

A more detailed analysis of the recognized "potential protesters" and a concentration on the - from a quantitative view - more important subgroups shows in the German population on both issues exactly the same features which we could identify for the analyzed subgroups with a maximum of discrepancy to official policy. The only difference is that the already known combination of features is expanded and more exactly specified by an additional variable. It is interesting to remember that this is the same variable for both issues, the value orientation of the INGLEHART-index. This variable has as well for the "supporters of disarmament" as for the persons who

support maintenance of social spending the code "postmaterialist value orientation".

If we regard these population-groups with postmaterialist value orientation as determining social and political change, as they are regarded by INGLEHART and other empirical-oriented sociologists, we can foresee the "legitimacy gap", which is still accompanied by a question-mark in the title of our paper. If individuals with postmaterialist value orientation already show a distinct discrepancy with the SPD/FDP-government concerning two important political issues, this gap undoubtedly will grow bigger under an expected CDU/CSU-government, because the governing party then will represent much greater distance to postmaterialist value orientations as was the case with the SPD/FDP.⁴⁴

Such global conflicts can't be expected for the United States on the 1980 data basis. As developments in the last two years make clear, the Reagan-administration followed the demands of great segments of the population for greater defense spending (these demands had been already formulated under the Carter-administration), and - according to the cited actual surveys - went too far. But contrary to the situation in West-Germany, there was no identifiable homogeneous group of "potential protesters" in the year 1980 which could have stopped this development.

In addition we can suppose that the decrease of social spending realized in the meantime would not have been supported by a clear majority in the year 1980.⁴⁵ Maybe now the connection between defense spending and social spending will be seen clearer by the US-population: increase of defense spending - still demanded in 1980 - and maintenance of the social budget under conditions of world-wide recession can be described as the quadrature of a circle.

Contrary to the issue "defense spending" we can find first signs of a development to homogenize the group of "potential protesters": a majority of nonwhite people voted already in the year 1980 for maintenance of the social budget and - in doing so - felt discrepancy with white people as well as with the official policy. Influenced by the partially drastic decrease of the social budget during the last years, the highly afflicted nonwhite

population could not only withdraw legitimacy from the Reagan government by electoral decision, but enforce demands by violent political actions.

Notes

- 1 Nevertheless it must be supposed that the structure of defense spending - particularly the atomic re-armament - at least contributed as much to the growth of this movement as the spending level.
- 2 MILLER, Warren E./SHANKS, Merrill J.: Policy Directions and Presidential Leadership: Alternative Interpretations of the 1980 Presidential Election. To appear in "British Journal of Political Science".
- 3 MILLER/SHANKS, a.a.O., pp.38,43,70
- 4 The particular questions are as follows:

"Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale, at point number 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?"

There was given a seven-point-scale, where only the poles had been verbalized as follows: 1 "greatly decrease", 7 "greatly increase".

The second question was:

"Where would you place what the Federal Government is doing at the present time?"

The two questions concerning "social spending" corresponded, the poles of the scale being verbalized with 1 "reduce spending" and 7 "no reduction in spending".
- 5 SMITH, Tom W.: House Effects and the Reproducibility of Survey Measurements: A Comparison of the 1980 GSS and the 1980 American National Election Study. Public Opinion Quarterly, 46, 1982, pp.54-68.
- 6 SMITH, a.a.O., pp.58,59.
- 7 ALLBUS is a nationwide representative survey, funded by the German Research Foundation, conducted by the Zentrum für Umfragen, Methoden und Analysen (ZUMA), Mannheim. ALLBUS 1982 was carried out in the spring of 1982 on a sample-population of N=2995 persons.

Unfortunately the originally planned use of these scales in GSS 1982 could not be realized. Consequently in this paper US-data could only be used for the year 1980.
- 8 See OFFE, Claus: Politische Herrschaft und Klassenstrukturen. Zur Analyse spätkapitalistischer Gesellschaftssysteme. In: KRESS, G./SENGHAAS, D.: Politikwissenschaft. Frankfurt/Main 1971, p.145 ff.
- 9 As deadline we fixed the 2nd of May 1982, the day of the sinking of cruiser "Admiral Belgrano" by a British submarine. By a lucky chance, half of all interviews were carried out before, the other half after this event, so that we got a good distribution.
- 10 When running Crosstabs for the FRG-data and the issue "defense spending" this variable - measured by its CHI²-value with the dependent variable - was fifth and so nearly managed to be taken into the set of independent variables.

Tentatively NONMET-analysis not figured here showed that the part of respondents voting for less defense spending increased by 5% when this variable had the feature "after conflict escalation".
- 11 GRIZZLE, James E./STARMER, Frank C./KOCH, Gary G.: Analysis of Categorical Data by Linear Models. Biometrics, 25, 1969, pp.489-504.
- 12 MILLER/SHANKS, a.a.O., pp.39,41.

- 13 For example: our index DISDEFUS (Discrepancy Defense-Spending, US-Data) had three codes:
- 1 "no discrepancy"
 - 2 "discrepancy I = respondent votes for decrease of armament and sees government position as favoring re-armament"
 - 3 "discrepancy II = respondent votes for re-armament and sees government position as favoring a decrease of armament".
- In a first step we combined the codes 2 and 3 by using RECODE and compared them to code 1; in a second step we put code 1=0 and so got a reduced number of cases for our NONMET-analysis. This is important for the interpretation of the later discussed "potentials" in our Nonmet-models of the second step: the "potentials" are not exactly based on the whole random samples and thus can only give us an approximation of the representation of subgroups within the total population of a given country.
- 14 58 ALLBUS-variables and 37 GSS-variables had been tested using this selection-procedure, after all nominal scaled variables had been transformed to Dummies and nearly all other variables had been combined by reasonably recodes.
- 15 INGLEHART, Ronald: The Silent Revolution in Europe. Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies. The American Political Science Review, 1971.
- 16 It could be supposed that respondents with post-materialist values would support decrease of defense spending more stronger than the average of the population-sample and that they would identify themselves as being in high discrepancy with official policy.
- 17 Size of population-sample: GSS: N=1468; ALLBUS: N=2995.
- 18 Another procedure could have selected the (few) common variables of both surveys and established a unit sets of variables, that could have been tested for each country. Such an alternative procedure would not have realised our intention to identify those variables, which are relevant for explanation of perceived discrepancies between respondents and government policy.
- 19 Unfortunately, this variable was not integrated in the GSS; considering the broad discussion of the thesis of INGLEHART that took place in the United States, this is astonishing.
- 20 KUECHLER, Manfred/WIDES, Jeffrey W.: "Economic Perceptions and the '76 and '80 Presidential Votes". Paper presented at the 1981 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in Toronto, Canada; ZUMA-Arbeitsbericht No. 1982/03, March 1982, p.180.
In this paper KUECHLER/WIDES analyze - as MILLER/SHANKS did in their above mentioned publication - the reasons for electoral success of Reagan (using NONMET models).
- 21 See p. 9 of this paper.
- 22 The percent size results from addition of the "potentials" behind the first and the fifth of the presented total effects. This summary can be made because education up to ninth degree and materialist value orientation are valid for both subgroups represented by these total effects.
- 23 Considerable in this subgroup is additionally the relevance of the materialist/postmaterialist dimension; this value orientation doesn't play a role here.
- 24 One comment to aid interpretation: MEAN is concerned - corresponding to the codes of the dependent variables - with those persons who vote for decrease of defense spending, but who perceive the government attitude as tending to increase.

- 25 In the figure these are - counted from the top- the fourth and the sixteenth subgroup; but both subgroups show low potentials.
- 26 These are the fifth, eleventh, and thirteenth subgroup, which have as common feature that only about a third of the respective persons vote for decrease of defense spending, contrary to the government. Because our NONMET models in the second step of the analysis only regard respondents who show perception of discrepancies, it can be said that the discrepancies with government for two thirds of these persons is caused by their own vote for increase of defense spending.
- 27 These are the fourth, sixth, and tenth subgroup.
- 28 The second, eighth, and ninth subgroup.
- 29 MILLER/SHANKS, a.a.O., p.45f.
- 30 We regard the third, eleventh, and fifteenth subgroup, which altogether don't even represent a sixth of the total population.
- 31 Considering the relatively small distribution of the two religions "protestantism" and "catholicism" in the United States as opposed to West-Germany, we can't conclude automatically that the feature "no protestant" would mean "catholic".
- 32 These are the second, sixth, and eighth subgroup.
- 33 These are the first, third, and seventh subgroup, which - altogether - represent only 16% of the total population.
- 34 Considering the sixth, eleventh, and thirteenth subgroup because of their relatively highest voting for maintenance.
- 35 See coment to figure 2.
- 36 These are the second, fifth, and seventh subgroup; but the first subgroup has been included because nearly the same effect (55.1%) can be seen as in the seventh group (55.2%).
- 37 These are the subgroups one, eight, and nine, whose relatively low total effects express lowest conformity, or, as called above, highest discrepancy to government policy. The ninth subgroup represents less than one percent of the total population and thus should be kept out of discussion.
- 38 These are the subgroups one, five, and six.
- 39 To make this clear, the following example: on the issue "defense spending" in the German data the variable "education" was relevant both for characterization of those subgroups which could be identified by the relatively lowest discrepancy with government, and for suitable description of those subgroups which tend to the extreme point.
- 40 That means the so-called "potentials" located in each figure behind the total effects.
- 41 The well-known slogan of "Staatsverdrossenheit" (disappointment of official policy) probably can be used here, but would not be correct, because the variable "conflict of interest" stresses conflicts between politicians and citizens and not between citizens and the institution "state".
- 42 This assumption was based on information available in September 1982. The political development in West Germany has meanwhile confirmed this thesis; however, with the qualification that the main issue was the installation of new types of weapons (as indicated by demonstrations against the stationing of Cruise Missiles and Pershing 2 especially in autumn 1983) and not the level of defense spending.
- 43 "Die Zeit", No. 38, 9/17/82, cited under the headline "Eher Butter als Kanonen" actual American surveys, which recognized that the US-population in sommer 1982 prefers by two to one a decrease of defense spending to a decrease of the social budget.

44 The relatively slow development of the peace-movement in the United States in relation to the development in Europe, especially in West-Germany, is one of the - rare - cases, where a new social movement overlapped from the continent to the States - and not vice versa.

45 See table 1, p.3 of our paper.