

A QUANTITATIVE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF VOTERS' ECONOMIC
CONCERN, CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL, AND VOTING BEHAVIOR IN 2012

by

Eddie Writer

Copyright 2015

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Business Administration

University of Phoenix

UMI Number: 3707415

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI 3707415

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

The Dissertation Committee for Eddie Writer certifies approval of the following
dissertation:

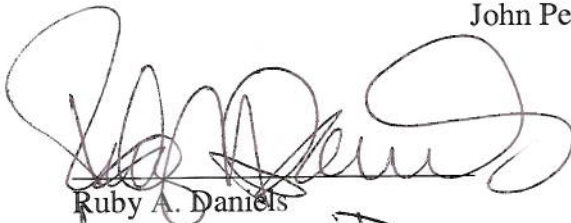
A QUANTITATIVE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF VOTER'S ECONOMIC
CONCERN, CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL AND VOTING BEHAVIOR IN 2012

Committee:

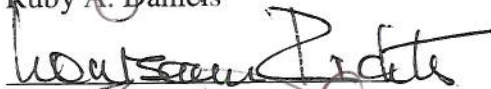
Ruby A. Daniels, PhD, Chair

Louiseann Richter, EdD, Committee Member

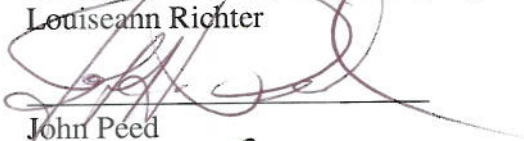
John Peed, DA, Committee Member



Ruby A. Daniels



Louiseann Richter



John Peed



Jeremy Moreland, PhD
Academic Dean, School of Advanced Studies
University of Phoenix

Date Approved: February 12, 2015

ABSTRACT

In charge of a \$15 trillion budget, the U.S. Congress functions as the largest business entity in the world. After the 2008 financial crisis, an increasing number of Americans became concerned about congressional leaders' ability to handle business-related issues, such as high unemployment, housing foreclosures, declining stock prices, and business bankruptcies. Struggling to recover in a sluggish economy, Americans had the opportunity to communicate their approval or disapproval of congressional leaders' handling of the U.S. economy in the midterm congressional election of 2012. To investigate how, if at all, Americans' voting behavior in 2012 may have varied by their economic concern regarding the U.S. economy and approval of congressional leaders, an analysis of the American National Electoral Studies (ANES) survey was conducted. A quantitative study with a descriptive comparative design was conducted to analyze the ANES pre- and post- 2012 election surveys. While no significant differences were detected by gender (H1 - gender), economic concern differed significantly by age (H1 - age), education (H1 - education), political party (H2), state (H3), and congressional district (H4). Similarly, congressional approval varied significantly by all voter background variables (H5 - demographics, H6 - political party, H7 - state, and H8 - congressional district). Data analysis revealed that congressional approval varied significantly by a voter's level of economic concern (H9). Additionally, frequency of voting differed significantly by participants' economic concern and congressional approval (H10).

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated first to God, for giving me the life, health, and the inspiration to reach my goals, and then to my family who has supported me through the journey. A doctoral study is not something taken lightly; there are many commitments that a doctoral student chooses to make, and sacrifices that they are forced to accept. These commitments and sacrifices are ones that are a burden to both student, and shared by each member of their family.

I want to start by thanking my ever-loving mother and father; Hosey and Freny Writer, for making this lifelong dream come true. I want to thank my children Lauren, Drew, Jason, and Alex, for being patient when I could not do things with them due to deadlines and papers. I want to thank my pets Ginger and Oliver, for sitting by my side through late nights and long days.

With all of that said, my largest and most sincere gratitude goes to my loving wife Kim, who without her continuous and convincing support, I may never have finished. My wonderful wife brought me tea when I studied, was quiet when I was busy, was supportive when I was discouraged, and most of all was loving when I needed attention. I thank you all from the bottom of my heart.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Foremost, I would like to express my deepest and sincere thanks to my committee chair, Dr. Ruby Daniels, for being very patient with me during the dissertation phase of my program. Dr. Daniels has always been a happy, fun loving, and positive influence throughout my adventure. Dr. Daniels is kind, supportive, and continually reminded me to enjoy the process rather than see it as a chore. Thank you for giving me insight when I had none, for giving me direction when I was lost, and for sharing your experiences with a student. You have truly been a wonderful mentor.

I also want to express a sincere and appreciative thank you to Dr. Leslie A. Miller, who taught me so much about how to improve my expository and scholarly writing ability. And, thank you also to Zachary Miller, for putting up with my insane questions and for being such an excellent resource throughout the study.

To my dissertation committee, Dr. Louiseann Richter and Dr. John Peed, my sincere thanks for sharing your knowledge and experience. Moreover, thank you for having a great sense of humor, being supportive, and always providing detailed and expansive feedback.

As I have grown throughout this experience, I have to look to the people I admire the most, not just for teaching me the right roads, but teaching me to look around through my travels. There is no question that education is a practice of patience and understanding, I have been lucky enough to have a team that has taught me both.

Table of Contents

Contents	Page
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
Table of Contents	vi
Chapter 1	1
Introduction.....	1
Background of the Problem	2
Problem.....	4
Purpose.....	5
Research Questions and Hypotheses	5
Significance.....	9
Theoretical Framework.....	14
Nature of Study.....	15
Definition of Terms.....	17
Assumptions.....	19
Scope, Limitations, and Delimitations.....	19
Summary.....	21
Chapter 2	23
Literature Review	23
Documentation Strategy.....	23
Historical Overview	26
<i>Founding Fathers</i>	26
<i>Early congressional leaders (1776 to 1850)</i>	27

<i>Intermediate congressional leaders (1850 to 1970)</i>	28
<i>Recent congressional leaders (1970 to 2014)</i>	29
Theoretical Framework.....	32
<i>Sociological models</i>	32
<i>Psychological approaches</i>	33
<i>Theory of rationale choice</i>	33
Voters' Concerns and Expectations.....	35
Economy.....	36
Government and Business Similarities.....	38
<i>Responsiveness</i>	42
<i>Reliability</i>	42
<i>Attentiveness</i>	43
Government and Business Differences.....	46
<i>Separation of politics and administration</i>	49
<i>Combination of politics and administration</i>	50
<i>Borrowing and bankruptcy</i>	52
<i>Cost-benefit analysis</i>	53
Core Leadership Competencies.....	56
Summary.....	60
Chapter 3	61
Method	61
Research Method & Design.....	61
Population & Geographic Location.....	63
Sampling Frame.....	63

Power Analysis	64
Informed Consent.....	64
Geographic Location.....	65
Confidentiality	65
Data Collection	66
Data Instrumentation.....	66
<i>Political party</i>	68
<i>State</i>	68
<i>Voter's economic concern</i>	68
<i>Voter's approval of the U.S. Congress</i>	68
<i>Voter behavior</i>	69
Reliability.....	69
Validity	70
<i>Internal validity</i>	70
<i>External</i>	70
Data Analysis	70
Summary	73
Chapter 4	75
Results	75
Sample Demographics	75
<i>Gender</i>	76
<i>State</i>	79
Economic Concern.....	81
<i>General economic perceptions</i>	81

<i>Unemployment perceptions</i>	84
Congressional Approval.....	86
Voting Behavior.....	87
Research Question Results.....	88
<i>RQ 1 – Economic concern by voter background</i>	88
<i>RQ 2 – Congressional approval by voter background</i>	90
<i>RQ 3 – Differences in Congressional approval by voters’ economic concern</i>	98
<i>RQ 4 – Differences in frequency of voting by economic concern</i>	101
<i>RQ 5 – Differences in frequency of voting by congressional approval</i>	102
Summary.....	104
Chapter 5	107
Conclusions and Recommendations	107
Discussion.....	107
<i>RQs 1 and 2 - Differences by voter background</i>	107
<i>RQ 3 – Differences in Congressional approval by economic concern</i>	108
<i>RQ 4 – Differences in frequency of voting behavior by economic concern</i>	109
<i>RQ 5 – Differences in frequency of voting behavior by Congressional approval</i>	109
Implications.....	110
<i>Scholars</i>	110
<i>Practitioners</i>	111
<i>Leaders</i>	111
Limitations.....	112
Future Research.....	113
Summary.....	114

References	115
Appendix A	145
Codebook of ANES Variables Used in the Study.....	145
Appendix B	154
Researcher Confidentiality	154

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 <i>Partial List of 113th U.S. Congressional Members with Prior Business Experience</i>	13
Table 2 <i>References Analyzed by Date</i>	25
Table 3 <i>Type of References Analyzed</i>	26
Table 4 <i>Professional Background of Members of the 113th U.S. Congress</i>	31
Table 5 <i>Registered and Actual Voters by State in 2012</i>	37
Table 6 <i>Foreclosure and Unemployment by State</i>	40
Table 7 <i>Senate Incumbent Advantage</i>	41
Table 8 <i>House Incumbent Advantage</i>	41
Table 9 <i>Top 6 Job Description Tasks (U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 2013)</i>	58
Table 10 <i>Summary of Data Analysis</i>	74
Table 11 <i>Frequency of Participants' Education</i>	78
Table 12 <i>Frequency of Participants' Residence by State</i>	80
Table 13 <i>Participants' Economic Concern by State</i>	91
Table 14 <i>Participants' Congressional Approval by Gender</i>	92
Table 15 <i>Participants' Congressional Approval by Age Group</i>	95
Table 16 <i>Participants' Congressional Approval by Highest Level of Education</i>	96
Table 17 <i>Participants' Congressional Approval by Political Party</i>	97
Table 18 <i>Participants' Congressional Approval by State</i>	100
Table 19 <i>Participants' Congressional Approval by Level of Economic Concern</i> .	101

Table 20 <i>Participants' Approval of Congress in 2012 by Level of Economic Concern</i>	102
Table 21 <i>Participants' Approval of Congress in 2012 by Frequency of Voting ...</i>	104
Table 22 <i>Summary of Research Question Results</i>	106

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure 1.</i> Model of the study’s research questions	6
<i>Figure 2.</i> Dollars spent by industries to lobby members of the U.S. Congress from 1998 to 2014 (Opensecrets.org, 2014a).	15
<i>Figure 3.</i> Top professions of members of the 113 th U.S. Congress.....	30
<i>Figure 4.</i> Comparison of business and non-business experience in the 113 th U.S. Congress.....	31
<i>Figure 5.</i> Data collection process.	67
<i>Figure 6.</i> Participation by gender.	76
<i>Figure 7.</i> Participation by age group.	77
<i>Figure 8.</i> Participation by political party.....	78
<i>Figure 9.</i> Participation by support of the Tea Party.....	79
<i>Figure 10.</i> Participants’ perceptions of the state of the U.S. economy in 2012.	81
<i>Figure 11.</i> Participants’ perceptions of changes in the state of the U.S. economy in 2012.	82
<i>Figure 12.</i> Participants’ perceptions of changes in the state of the U.S. economy since 2011.	83
<i>Figure 13.</i> Participants’ anticipated changes in the state of the U.S. economy in 2013.....	84
<i>Figure 14.</i> Participants’ perceptions of unemployment in the United States in 2012.....	85
<i>Figure 15.</i> Participants’ perceptions of unemployment in the United States since 2011.....	86

Figure 16. Participants' anticipated unemployment in the United States in 2013. 86

Figure 17. Participants' approval of the U.S. Congress in 2012. 87

Figure 18. Participants' self-reported voting behavior in 2012..... 87

Chapter 1

Introduction

In 2014, only 7% of the respondents to a Gallup poll indicated they had “a great deal” or “quite a lot” of faith in the U.S. Congress (Gallup Inc., 2014a). Such low confidence in the country’s leaders was problematic because the U.S. Congress, which controlled a \$15 trillion budget, was functioning as the largest business entity in the world. With significant unemployment and high cost of living, in 2011 more Americans reported they were dissatisfied than ever in the history of the nation (Mak, 2011). In 2012, approximately 12.5 million workers (8.1%) were unable to find jobs in the United States (U.S. Department of Labor, 2012). The unemployment rate, which was 4.4% in 2007, increased to 10% during the 2008/2009 recession (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistic, 2014). Such a high rate of unemployment had not been experienced since December 1982 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistic, 2014).

In response to these trends, many stakeholders in the U.S. economy speculated about whether congressional leaders were qualified to run a budget of over \$15 trillion (U.S. Government, 2012). Questions about the business skills of congressional leaders persisted in 2014, with only 15% of respondents to a Gallup (2014a) poll indicating citizens approved of the performance of the U.S. Congress (Gallup, 2014b). In the U.S. democratic system, citizens’ most powerful way to express approval or disapproval with their leaders is in the voting booth. To investigate how, if at all, Americans’ voting behavior in 2012 may have varied by their economic concern, and approval of Congressional leaders, a quantitative study with a descriptive comparative design was conducted.

Chapter 1 includes an introduction to the dissertation study. Following background information, Chapter 1 begins with a discussion of the study's problem, purpose, and research questions. Following an overview of the research questions and a discussion of the significance of the study to business and Congressional leaders, is a discussion of the nature of the study. Additionally, the chapter presents the conceptual framework, scope, limitations, and delimitations. The chapter ends with a chapter summary.

Background of the Problem

Since the advent of democracy in the United States, Americans have been interested in the quality of their government, particularly as it relates to economic policies. Historically, the United States has been known for its free market and economic prosperity, which is regulated by the U.S. government. Rainey (2003) speculated the periodic change of leadership in democratic societies is necessary to facilitate good governance. Unlike the public sector where leaders are elected and accountable to voters, most leaders in the private sector are selected based on their past performance. The expectation of corporate stakeholders is that business executives will earn their organizations as high a return on investments as possible (Slater & Dixon-Fowler, 2009).

However, U.S. voters historically elect candidates based on the positions candidates will take – not on their ability to produce particular outcomes. Unlike companies that hire private sector leaders based on their past performance, politicians tend to win their positions based on rhetoric, eloquence, and public appeal. This often results in poor implementation of economic policies (Rodrik, 1996). Politicians make promises to the populace during campaigns without details about how they will implement programs to achieve the stated promises. Such ambiguity may result in undue

influence on public administrators who are responsible for developing and implementing governmental policies.

Winston Churchill was reputed to have said, “for a nation to try to tax itself into prosperity is like a man standing in a bucket and trying to lift himself up by the handle” (Government Printing Office, 2009, p. 7632). Goldsmith (2011) noted that public administrators often have limited effectiveness when making business decisions. Even Senator Tom Udall (2011) wrote a paper for the *Harvard Law and Policy Review* where he discussed American’s dissatisfaction with the Senate’s dysfunction.

In Bill Clinton’s campaign in Little Rock, Arkansas James Carville (Bill Clinton’s campaign strategist) coined the phrase “it’s the economy, stupid” (Levy, 2002, p. 205). This innocuous phrase, originally presented to Bill Clinton and his campaign staff, grew into a campaign slogan that resonated with the electoral public. Carvel’s widely used phrase “it’s the economy, stupid” urged U.S. citizens’ to base their votes on the economy (Levy, 2002, p. 205).

During the 2012 national election, many citizens believed incumbent candidates would not be reelected due to the poor economy. Miron (2010) observed that voter dissatisfaction was at historic levels. In 2012, the primary issue for Americans was domestic dissatisfaction (Schultz, 2012. p. 828). After the \$700 billion financial-bailout bill U.S. voters opposed, there was a historic sense of dissatisfaction, with Congress having an approval rating of only 18% (Scherer, 2008).

Between 2008 and 2012, the U.S. economy had a sluggish recovery. Wachhaus (2013) suggested, “there is a gap between the government and the governed” (p. 574). In addition, because of the 2008 bailouts, the U.S. government became the controlling

shareholder for some major U.S. corporations, such as American International Group, Citigroup, General Motors, General Motors Acceptance Corporation, Fannie Mae, and Freddie Mac (Kahan & Rock, 2011). With an agreement to raise the federal debt level, the 10-year Treasury bonds continued to fall in 2012, indicating a persistent lack of confidence in the government leaders to fix the economy (Berkeley, 2012). After Obama's reelection, Jackson (2012), in his *USA Today* article, suggested two economic indicators assisted greatly in the outcomes of the election. For the first time since the 2008 economic crash, the September job report was below 8% and the auto bail-out in Ohio encouraged voting in a state where one out of eight constituents worked in the auto industry.

Problem

The general problem is 81% of Americans are dissatisfied with the way the United States is governed (Mak, 2011; Saad, 2011). A significant number of U.S. citizens have concerns about economic issues, such as lost benefits, reduced wages, and increasing layoffs (Jones, 2012). The specific problem is U.S. Congressional leaders are often unprepared to solve complex business problems (Bresiger, 2011; Cohen & Tumulty, 2013; Javers, 2009). Political campaigns typically revolve around personalities and charisma, rather than specific issues (Andina-Diaz, 2006; Brown & Peabody, 1992; Grosskopf & Frye, 2012). Maciariello and Linkletter (2010) noted that poor leadership often emerges when leaders believe they are untouchable and/or operate without proper control. Some researchers suggest the American public tends to select leaders based on rhetoric and promises, without holding congressional leaders accountable for producing tangible results (Grosskopf & Frye, 2012).

Purpose

The purpose of the quantitative study with a descriptive comparative design, which exclusively used archival data, was to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens' voting behavior in the U.S. Congressional election of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings. A quantitative method was appropriate because it allowed for sampling of a large geographic area with standardized measures (Creswell, 2012). A descriptive comparative design was appropriate because it allowed for statistical comparison of the perceptions of people who voted with the perceptions of those who did not (Cantrell, 2011). The significant economic concern that preceded the 2012 congressional election provided a unique opportunity to analyze U.S. citizens' voting behavior, economic concern, and congressional approval.

If, as pollsters suggested, the economy was the central voting issue in the 2012 election (Pew Research Center, 2012; Polling Report Inc., 2012), then citizens with high economic concern should have been more likely to participate in the election. If, on the other hand, there was no difference in voting behavior based on economic concern, then the political mantra that "it's the economy, stupid!" first used by James Carville in 1992 during the Clinton presidential campaign (Galoozis, 2012; Kellstedt, Green, Guth, & Smidt, 1994; Nuttle, 2012, p.196), may be invalid. In either case, additional insight about the voting behavior of U.S. citizens may help business and government leaders to better understand and prepare for future congressional elections.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

As shown in Figure 1, the study was guided by five research questions (RQs). The first RQ focused on how (if at all) 2012 voters' economic concern differed by demographic characteristics, political party, and state. Answering RQ 1 should help

inform business and political leaders about segments of the U.S. population that have high economic concerns.

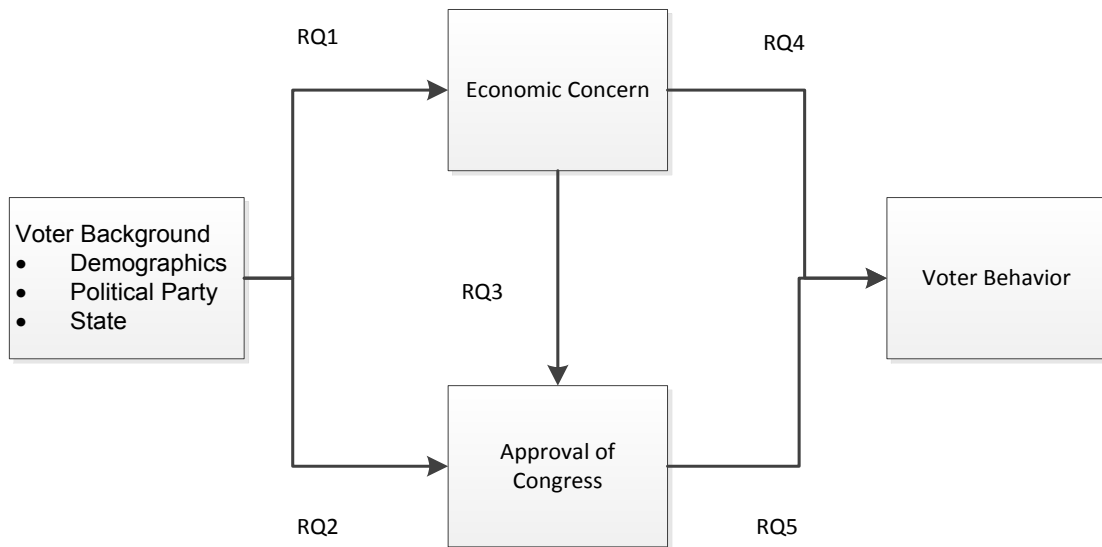


Figure 1. Model of the study's research questions.

RQ1 - In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did economic concern differ by voter background?

$H1_0$ Economic concern did not differ significantly by voters' gender, age, or education.

$H1_a$ Economic concern differed significantly by voters' gender, age, or education.

$H2_0$ Economic concern did not differ significantly by voters' political party.

$H2_a$ Economic concern differed significantly by voters' political party.

$H3_0$ Economic concern did not differ significantly by voters' state.

$H3_a$ Economic concern differed significantly by voters' state.

The second RQ focused on comparing how, if at all, voters' approval of the U.S. Congress differed by demographic characteristics, political party, and state. The answer to RQ 2 may provide insight about how approval of Congress differs by age, gender, education level, political affiliation, and location of voter.

RQ2 - In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did U.S. Congressional approval differ by voter background?

H4₀ U.S. Congressional approval did not differ significantly by voters' gender, age, or education.

H4_a U.S. Congressional approval differed significantly by voters' gender, age, or education.

H5₀ U.S. Congressional approval did not differ significantly by voters' political party.

H5_a U.S. Congressional approval differed significantly by voters' political party.

H6₀ U.S. Congressional approval did not differ significantly by voters' state.

H6_a U.S. Congressional approval differed significantly by voters' state.

The third RQ addressed how, if at all, citizens' approval of the U.S. Congress differed by their concerns about the economy. Answering RQ 3 may provide insight about how congressional approval ratings varied by voters' economic concerns. The widely accepted political principle that "it's the economy, stupid" (Nuttell, 2012, p. 196) suggests voters with high and low concern would have different perceptions of Congress' performance.

RQ3 - In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance differ by voters' economic concerns?

H7₀ - Approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance did not differ significantly by voters' economic concern.

H7_a - Approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance differed significantly by voters' economic concern.

The fourth RQ focused on how, if at all, voting behavior differed by participants' concern about the economy. Individuals with high economic concerns should be more motivated to express their discontent in a national election, while citizens with few concerns may be more inclined to not participate in the election.

RQ4 - In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did voting behavior differ by voters' economic concerns?

H8₀ - In the 2012 national election, there was no significant difference in voting behavior by voters' economic concerns.

H8_a - In the 2012 national election, there was a significant difference in voting behavior by voters' economic concerns.

The last RQ focused on how, if at all, voting differed by citizens' approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance. If voters disapproved of Congressional leaders' performance, they may be more likely to vote than citizens who approved of how Congress was responding to the economic crisis.

RQ5 - In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did voting behavior differ by voters' approval of Congress' job performance?

H₀ - In the 2012 national election, voter behavior did not differ significantly by voters' approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance.

H_a - In the 2012 national election, voter behavior differed significantly by voters' approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance.

Significance

The study produced data that may be significant to both business and political leaders. Skacel (2008) explained that to respond to growing distrust of politicians, “The U.S. urgently needs talented, forceful political and business leaders to reverse the skepticism now permeating a large segment of the American society.” (p. 43). During the 2008 election, several presidential candidates, such as Mitt Romney, Donald Trump, and Howard Cain, ran for election based on their business experience (Prospero, 2004). In charge of running a \$15 trillion budget (U.S. Government, 2012), congressional representatives and senators are also business leaders. The U.S. Office of Personnel Management (2013) noted that legislators and chief executive officers (CEOs) frequently perform similar job tasks: analyzing financial data, operational reports, operational practices, social and economic data.

Significance to the business leaders. Data from the study may help business leaders make more informed decisions when selecting and supporting congressional leaders. Historically, business leaders spend billions of dollars lobbying members of the U.S. Congress (Opensecrets.org, 2014a). As shown in Figure 2, between 1998 and 2014 business associations alone invested \$1,675 million to influence congressional leaders (Opensecrets.org, 2014a). With the U.S. Congress managing a \$15 trillion economy

(Bureau of Economic Analysis, 2014), the results of the study may indicate whether voter behavior differs during a significant downturn in the economy. If so, business leaders may consider using broad public awareness campaigns before critical elections. If, on the other hand, voters' behavior is unchanged in periods of economic instability, then business leaders may find that lobbying is a more effective approach.

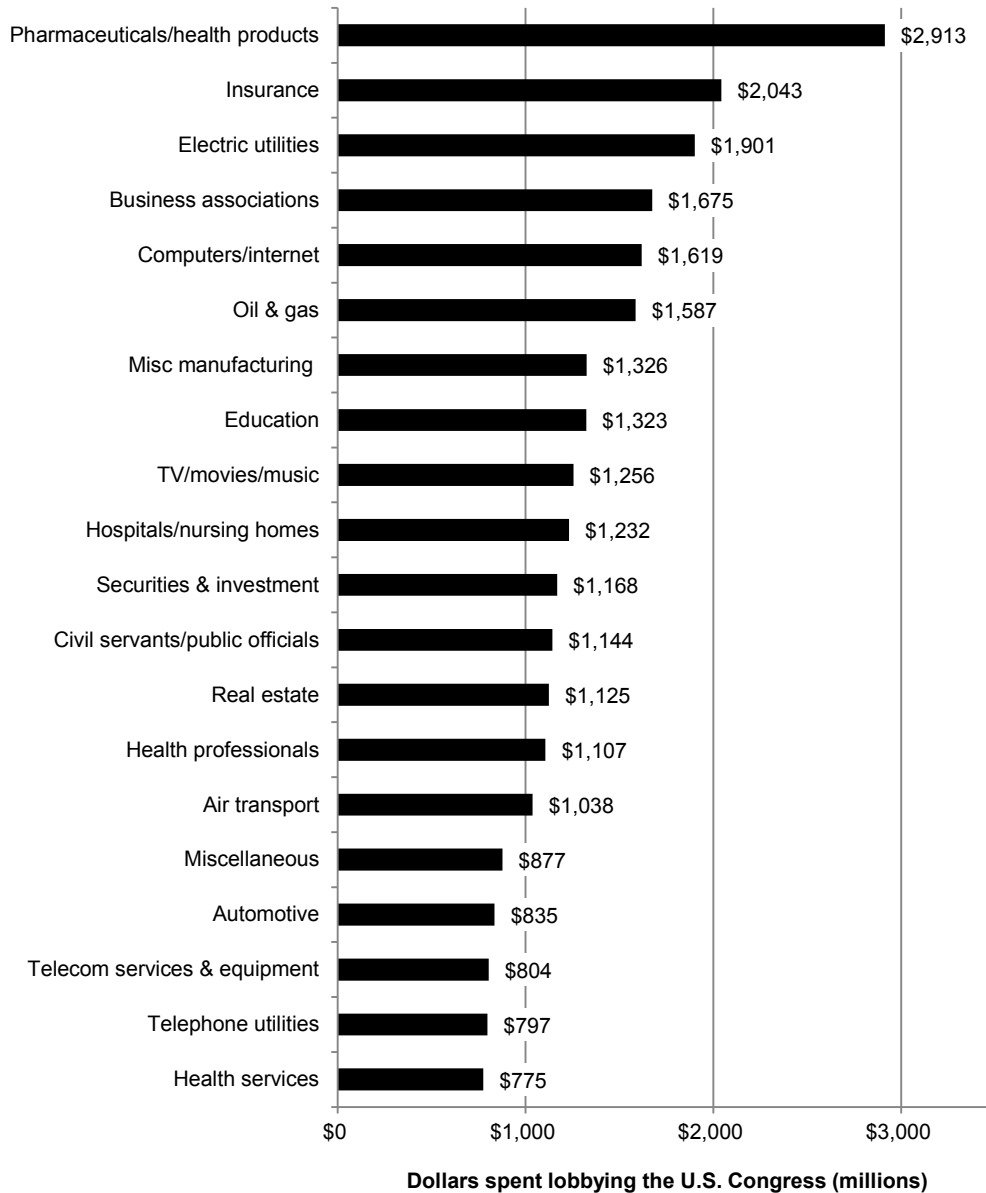


Figure 2. Dollars spent by industries to lobby members of the U.S. Congress from 1998 to 2014 (Opensecrets.org, 2014a).

Additionally, when concerned about the economy, some business leaders have sought election to the U.S. Congress. As shown in Table 1, several business executives were elected to the 113th Congress in 2012. Additional understanding of voter behavior

during periods of economic strain may help private sector candidates to prepare for congressional elections.

Table 1

Partial List of 113th U.S. Congressional Members with Prior Business Experience

Name	Party	Title	Business
Collins, Chris	Republican	Founder/CEO	Nuttal Gear Corporation
		Owner	Bloch Industries, Audobon Machinery, Volland Electric, Mead Supply, ZeptoMetrix Corporation and Niagra Ceramics
Daines, Steven	Republican	Vice president	RightNow Technologies (cloud-based software)
Delaney, John	Democrat	Co-founder	Health Care Financial Partners
		Founder	CapitalSource
Grayson, Alan	Democrat	Founder	IDT Corporation
		Partner	Grayson & Kubli Law Firm
Heck, Dennis	Democrat	Co-founder	Intrepid Learning Solutions (business education), Digital Efficiency (technology), and TVW (public affairs)
King, Angus	Independent	Vice president	Swift River/Hasflund (alternative energy)
Meadows, Mark	Republican	Owner	Highland Properties (real estate and construction)
O'Rourke, Beto	Democrat	Founder	Stanton Street Technology Group (IT consulting)
Pittenger, Robert	Republican	Owner	Robert Pittenger Company (real estate)
Schneider, Brad	Democrat	Founder	Cadence Consulting Group (management consulting)
		Director	Blackman Kallick (tax consulting)
		Managing principle	Davis Dann Adler Schneider (life insurance)
Wagner, Ann	Republican	Management	Hallmark Cards and Ralston Purina
Williams, Roger	Republican	Owner	Chrysler dealership

Note. Based on information from Hickey (2013).

Significance to congressional leaders. Changes in voter behavior during periods of high economic concern may also prompt greater financial accountability from members of the U.S. Congress. During the 2012 national election, the U.S. economy was

undergoing a significant economic recession (Keithly, 2013). As a result, before the election, the number one concern for most American business leaders was the government's ability to run the economy (Newport, 2011; Polling Report Inc., 2014). American business leaders often vote for congressional representatives based on popularity or party-affiliation (Molden, 2007). Two widely held idioms in politics are "It's the economy, stupid!" (Nuttell, 2012, p. 196) and "Vote the bums out!" (Avlon, 2012, p. 1). The study helped to investigate the validity of these commonly held beliefs by comparing voting trends during a period when the U.S. economy was under significant strain. If Americans alter their voting behavior based on their economic concerns and their approval of the U.S. Congress, then individuals who are better able to make effective business decisions may have a greater likelihood of being elected.

Theoretical Framework

The study falls under the broad theoretical framework of political science. Representing the study of government and politics, political science examines how governments run, the effects of government policies on the community, how the community selects representation, and how representation is judged effectively (Grant, 2005). In particular, the study utilized the theory of rational choice. Fiorina (2000) suggested voters have personal goals to they hope to achieve when they step into the ballot box. The theory operates from the assumption that individuals act as rationally as their knowledge, resources, and situation permit. According to rational choice theory, voters select candidates based on perceived advantages to the individual voter. The theory suggests voters make cognitive and rational choices based on their individual needs (Downs, 1957). As a result, economic issues that have a large impact on voters

(i.e., unemployment, foreclosure, bankruptcy, loan default, pension fund loss, etc.) should be of significant concern to citizens before a national election. If, as the pre-election media coverage suggested, Americans were very concerned about the economy, rational choice theory would predict that citizens would vote against incumbent candidates.

Nature of Study

The nature of the study section contains a description of the research method chosen, along with the reasons for the method's appropriateness and reasons for rejecting other methods of research. The research methodology and design should follow the purpose of the study and the research questions posed by the study (Creswell, 2012; Yin, 2009;). The purpose of the quantitative comparative analysis study was to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens' voting behavior in the U.S. Congressional election of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings.

A quantitative research method was appropriate for the study as the method allowed for collecting statistical data for quantitative analysis (Smith, 2008). The quantitative analysis was based on measurable questions (Beck & Watson, 2011). The objective of descriptive research is to describe characteristics of the data and to ask *what is* type questions (Nickerson, 2011). A descriptive design was appropriate because gathered and systematically described was gender, age, political affiliation, economic concern, congressional approval, and voting behavior of U.S. citizens in 2012 (Blessing, Chakrabarti, & Wallace, 1998). The objective of descriptive comparative research is to compare and contrast relationships between variables after an event has already occurred (Cantrell, 2011). In alignment with the descriptive comparative approach, U.S. citizen

voting behaviors were compared by voter behavior, economic concern, and approval of the U.S. Congress in 2012.

Population. Since voting behavior and economic concern in the fall of 2012 were the central variables in the study, the population included U.S. citizens over the age of 18 who participated in the 2012 American National Election Study (ANES, 2014a). The ANES is a collaborative study Stanford University and the University of Michigan conducted, with funding from the National Science Foundation (ANES, 2014a). During years with presidential elections, ANES time series studies included pre- and post-election interviews with potential voters from 44 states (ANES, 2014b). The 2012 ANES study included 5,914 eligible voters in the United States. The data were collected with face-to-face interviews ($n = 2,054$) as well as an Internet panel group ($n = 3,860$).

Sample. The study involved analyzing data from a census sample of the 2012 ANES study, including 5,914 U.S. eligible voters. The study data were publically available at the ANES website (ANES, 2014a). The ANES study included two data sets—the first from face-to-face interviews conducted during two waves (pre-election and post-election) and from a four-stage Internet panel group (2 pre-election and 2 post-election).

Data collection. Approval from the Quality Review Board and Institutional Review Board was obtained, and then the archived data set was downloaded from the ANES website. Collecting the archived data directly from the ANES website ensured that standardized and validated information is collected from the original respondents who participated in the study (Pienta et al., 2011). After receiving approval from the Quality Review Board and Institutional Review Board, the researcher downloaded the

data sets from the ANES website. The data downloaded included the original census data as well as the code book.

Data instrumentation. Funded by the National Science Foundation, ANES is widely respected for its research that investigates electoral behavior and attitudes in the United States (ICPSR, 2014). The ANES studies are cited in over 6,300 books, conferences, journals, newspapers, and theses (ANES, 2014d). Researchers from Stanford University and the University of Michigan developed and tested the instrument phrasing (ANES, 2014a).

Definition of Terms

Although the meanings of many terms used within the current study are generally understood, some are either subject to interpretation or have newly entered the literature (Opincar, 2012). The definitions for such terms follow.

Political party. Political party is an association of people who are like-minded, follow the same belief system, associate together, and form a political party to represent themselves in Congress (U.S. Legal, 2014b.) Though political parties are not government agencies, every citizen has the constitutional right to form a political party to further common political goals. For the purposes of the current study, political party was operationally defined as Democrat, Republican, and Independent. Affiliation with the Tea Party was also investigated.

Age. Foster (2013) observed that a generation, when viewed by the public, as distinguishing between people of different ages, but not specific to any preformed period but including the social, cultural, and especially the technological changes affecting their lives. Age is operationally defined using the ANES age brackets used in the codebook

(Missing, 17-20, 21-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40 – 44, 45-49, 50 – 54, 55 – 59, 60 – 64, 65 – 69, 70 – 74, and 75 or older).

Economic concern. In the study, economic concern was operationally defined by 39 questions in the ANES (2014c) time series study. The questions queried participants' perceptions of the state of the economy, how well the economy was performing from previous years, respondents' expectations for the coming year, and the performance and direction of the government. Responses to these questions helped to define recipient's level of economic concern. ANES questions also included a question regarding who should be blamed for the 2012 economic crisis (president, previous president, specific parties, lenders, Wall Street, or consumers) (ANES, 2014e).

Voter. A voter is an individual who has the legal right to vote (Voter, 2014). A vote provides a method for the citizens of a state, country or other affiliation to show their preferences to that organization (Campbell, 1980). The act of voting creates an influence on the political process by reflecting the thoughts and ideals of the public to cause Congress to act on their collect behalf (Campbell, 1980). Voter, as used in the current study, relates to a U.S. Citizen who is of voting age and is legally able to vote in congressional and presidential elections. For the purposes of the current study, a voter is an eligible U.S. voter included in the ANES dataset.

U. S. Congress. The U.S. Congress is composed of two parts--the Senate is the legislative branch of the federal government comprising of 100 members and the House of Representatives comprising of 385 members. The current study involved examining the 113th Congress based on the 2012 Senate elections and the 2012 House elections. The House seats were apportioned from the 2010 census. Article 1 of the U.S.

Constitution (U.S. Const. art. I, § 3), in 1789, established and defined the membership and powers of the U.S. Congress. A passing vote of both houses is required to approve legislation (U.S. Legal Inc., 2014a).

Assumptions

The study, using ANES data, was based on several assumptions. For the purpose of the analysis, it was assumed the original survey was sent to all eligible respondents and that no respondents were deliberately excluded (ANES, 2014e). The ANES indicated that data were collected from 5,914 United States eligible voters who self-reported working in various states (ANES, 2014c). Providing accurate information about the original survey questions helped strengthen the validity of the current study's findings.

Another assumption was that respondents who participated in the original study answered study questions honestly and accurately. The American National Elections Studies organization, when collecting the data, encouraged respondents and survey technicians to record the information accurately and without bias (ANES, 2014e, p. 31). It is also reasonable to assume the individuals who completed the survey had a sincere interest in the accuracy of the study's findings.

Scope, Limitations, and Delimitations

The significant economic concern that preceded the 2012 congressional election provided a unique opportunity to analyze U.S. citizen's voting behavior. Miron (2010) observed that voter dissatisfaction was at historic levels. In 2012, the primary issue for Americans was domestic dissatisfaction (Schultz, 2012).

Scope. The scope of the study was to compare the 2012 voting behavior of U.S. citizens by their economic concerns and approval of the U.S. Congress. The study was

limited to archived data from the ANES (2014a). No additional primary data were collected. Since the original study collected self-reported data, the current study was similarly limited to the self-reported responses provided by the ANES organization's employees. No attempt was made to verify the accuracy of the responses in the archived data.

Limitations. Limitations are the potential weaknesses in a study (Simon, 2006). While the research methodology should lead to successfully achieving the research objectives, the ANES study design may be subject to threats to internal validity. The main limitation to the study is the ANES phrasing of the questions in the ANES data, as it was not possible to return to ask the respondents further questions based on the original study.

A second limitation pertains to using self-reported data. Self-reported data are typically not subject to scrutiny by any validated or credible organization. The structure and organization of the data were also difficult to consolidate, as each contributor is presenting the data with individual bias, highlighting successes and down playing failures. Since self-reported data are subjective and possibly influenced by mood and misinterpretation by the respondent, the data cannot be conclusively substantiated (Grant & Ward, 2010).

A third limitation was the potential absence of data. With self-reported data, a tendency exists for the researcher to conspicuously remove information that is embarrassing, unflattering, or does not support the light in which he or she wishes to be seen (Parham, 2010). Finally, the validity of the data is always subject to suspicion with self-reported details. In all cases, the study data were scrutinized for collaborating

documentation. The purpose of the collaborating information was to ensure that any data selected for analysis had secondary sources that substantiate the information (Editorial, 2010).

Belli, Traugott, and Beckmann (2001) examined the ANES studies for limitations. They verified voting records, checked for respondents that claimed to have voted in the elections but had not, validated voters (those who had voted and were confirmed as having voted), as well as validated nonvoters (those correctly admitting they had not voted, and had not voted). Though the variances were limited, the study concluded that to limit the causal effects of these variances the wording of the study was essential (Belli et al., 2001). The ANES continued to use two forms of data collection--face-to-face data collection and Internet-based data collection (ANES, 2014b).

Delimitations. Delimitations are the boundaries of a study (the who, where, and when) that may affect the generalizability of a study's results (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). The data set for the current study was limited to the ANES 2012 timed series study. Because the study involved using a census sample of the ANES, the results should be generalizable to all members of the population (National Statistical Service, 2013).

Summary

The U.S. Congress functions as the largest business entity in the world with control of a \$15 trillion budget. After the great recession of 2008/2009, U.S. voters frequently characterized governmental leadership as ineffective (Saad, 2011). A significant number of Americans were concerned about business-related issues, such as the loss of benefits, reduced wages, layoffs, and the potential loss in working hours (Jones, 2012). To investigate how, if at all, Americans' voting behavior in 2012 may

have varied by their economic concern about the U.S. economy and approval of Congressional leaders, a quantitative study with a descriptive comparative design was completed. The study was guided by five comparative research questions focused on how, if at all, voter behavior differed by citizens' economic concerns and approval of the U.S. Congress. By comparing and contrasting voters' behavior, the study may produce results of interest to business and congressional leaders, as well as the American public. Chapter 2 includes a thorough review of historical and current literature related to the study topic.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Research suggests congressional leaders' lack of business acumen may be contributing to ineffective management of the U.S. economy (Saad, 2011). The purpose of the quantitative study with a descriptive comparative design was to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens' voting behavior in the U.S. Congressional election of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings. Business leaders may use data from the study to make more informed decisions when selecting and supporting congressional leaders.

Chapter 2 contains a review of the literature related to the study topic. After summarizing the documentation strategy used for the literature review, Chapter 2 provides an historical overview of congressional leadership. Following a discussion of relevant historical data, is a review of literature related to the theoretical framework of voting behavior. Additionally, the chapter presents the similarities and differences between government and business, and the core leadership competencies. The chapter ends with a chapter summary.

Documentation Strategy

Literature from a variety of sources was reviewed to provide background for the study. Scholarly databases including EBSCOhost, Gale PowerSearch, and ProQuest were used to search for journal articles, dissertations, papers, and books. Specialized databases such as the University of Phoenix's Books, Dissertations and Thesis library, Country Profiles and Economic Data library, Government Resources library, and the

Library of Congress Newspaper & Current Periodical Reading Room were also searched for literature within the specific areas of inquiry.

Keywords were used to search the literature. Keywords were *politics, politicians, political science, government inadequacies, inefficient government, Congress, congressmen, congresswomen, House of Representatives, House Representatives, inadequate government policies, poor government policies, voting behavior research, popularity based elections, leadership in government, leadership in business, elite leadership, American perceptions of government, American perceptions of Congress, American perceptions of government policies, public disapproval of Congress, public opinion, public policy, public relations, foreign policy, definition of political science, political science, political theory, theories in politics, political theory within political science, law and politics, governance, and Congress rating*. The keywords were used in different combinations and in different orders to acquire the best results from the library searches. The databases provided access to peer-reviewed journal articles, texts, dissertations, books, and online sources related to the subject of the study. Search engines such as Google, Bing, and Yahoo were also used with the same keywords and combinations to facilitate additional online searches.

The historical and current literature resulting from the literature search is reviewed in Chapter 2. Reviewed is the most germinal literature published prior to 1999 (15%, $n = 36$ sources). Thirty-one percent ($n = 76$) of the sources are older, yet important literature published between 1999 and 2009, and 54% ($n = 134$) is recent literature published between 2010 to 2014.

Though a minimum number of references is not required in a dissertation, the references demonstrate both ample knowledge of the research subject, and a depth to the prior research of the subject matter (Siskin, 2014). Siskin emphasized the need for reference uniformity and reliability over quantity. Literature research requires general theoretical approaches to understand the history of the subject, as well as detailed analysis of the study subject. The study of historical and relevant journal articles sheds insight and direction to the study that provides a result (Winstanley, 2014).

The literature review includes a significant number of historical documents, including the background to Congress, the history of the founding fathers, and a history of the various congressional leaders. Omission of these sources would severely compromise the historical context of the literature review. Table 2 includes the frequency of references analyzed and included in the Chapter 2 literature review.

Table 2

References Analyzed by Date

Date of reference	Number	Percentage
Prior to 1999	36	15%
1999 – 2009	76	31%
2010 – 2014	134	54%
Total	246	100%

Various types of references were analyzed. Table 3 includes the number and percentage of references analyzed by the type of reference. Most references reviewed were scholarly, including journals, dissertations, peer reviewed articles, and government papers.

Table 3

Type of References Analyzed

Type of references	Number	Percentage
Scholarly	175	71%
Journals, dissertations, peer reviewed	102	41%
Books	57	23%
Government documents	16	7%
Other sources	71	29%
Total	246	100%

Historical Overview

Constitutional framework. Article 1, Section 1 in the United States Constitution states, “All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives” (U.S. Const. art. I, § 3, para. 1). The Senate is made up of 100 state elected representatives; each state has two senators, each with one vote, elected for terms of 6 years (U.S. Const. art. I, § 3). The House of Representatives is composed of members chosen every 2 years (U.S. Const. art. I, § 2). Together, the House of Representatives (also known as The House) and the Senate, make up the legislative branch of the U.S. government.

Founding Fathers. Unlike congressional leaders in 2014, most of the Founding Fathers were successful businessmen. The U.S. Constitution established America's fundamental laws and guaranteed certain basic rights for its citizens. Delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, presided over by George Washington, ratified the U.S. Constitution on September 17, 1787. Washington was a prosperous planter and landowner in Mount Vernon (Ketcham, 1985). Others at the convention were Thomas

Jefferson (an architect, landscape gardener, agriculturalist, inventor, and scientist) (Green, 1952), and Benjamin Franklin (a print publisher who was also known for his scientific skills) (Bosco, 1984).

Corruption within the East India Company, coupled with the sale of high profile political positions in America by the British government, resulted in a mood of discontent (Carp, 2010). A flashpoint in American history, the *Boston Tea Party*, communicated colonial businessmen's discontentment over being taxed without representation. While the British government reduced some of the business-based taxes in America, the government maintained a reduced *Tea Tax*. In retaliation, the Boston Tea Party was the catalyst to transform colonial business leaders into the founding fathers, who framed a new constitution for the emerging United States. In April 1789, the House of Representatives and the Senate achieved its first quorum. When Electoral College ballots were counted, George Washington, a successful land and business owner along the Potomac river and military leader during the French and Indian wars (Ketcham, 1985), was unanimously elected as the first President to the United States.

Early congressional leaders (1776 to 1850). The early congressional leaders were landowners and business persons. In the early years of Congress, no political parties existed; members were loosely joined by their political affiliation. Early congressional leaders believed elections would strengthen senators' ties to national government (U.S. Senate, 2013). James Madison, a thoughtful man considered an intellectual and political genius, was a landowner of the Montpelier plantation (Druckenbrod & Shugart, 2004). Considered the founder of the Democratic Party, Madison brought together Thomas Jefferson, a moderate, and the Anti-federalist party (Messer, 2010). With no established

precedents for the early presidents, highly diverse leadership styles existed between George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson (Greenstein, 2006).

Intermediate congressional leaders (1850 to 1970). The concept of congressional careerism emerged between 1850 and 1970. The period at the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century was influenced significantly by the industrial revolution. At the time, many questions existed around voting behavior. Brunell and Koetzle (1999), who researched a declining number of resignations in the U.S. Senate, observed the rise in careerism in Congress. Congressional leadership was formative and tense. Nine cases of bribery and intimidation were brought to the Senate between 1866 and 1906. Abraham Lincoln (1809 – 1865), who understood the importance of abolishing slavery and establishing equal opportunities for all, worked hard to reunite the country after the Civil War. Prior to his election, Lincoln was a successful lawyer; only after many years in private practice did Lincoln transition into a politician (Hirsch & Haften, 2010).

During the industrial revolution, a sustained change occurred in the background of elected officials. Fewer political candidates were landowners and businesspersons; more were career politicians and lawyers. For instance, in 1860, the election of Senator John Stockton in New York was highly criticized as a non-majority electoral win in the Senate. With both his father and grandfather already U.S. senators, Stockton was elected to the Senate by receiving a plurality, rather than a majority, of votes during a joint session (U.S. Senate, 2013). The election brought attention to the inconsistencies in Senate elections across the country. As a result, in July 1866, new laws were passed to control the time and procedures for Senate elections.

In 1949, the average age of a member Congress was 55.1 years (52.7 in the House of Representatives and 57.5 in the Senate) (Fehrenbach, 2010). In the 1960s, most members of the House of Representatives had positions of leadership on committees. As a result, most preferred to stay in the House of Representatives rather than seek higher office, such as the Senate or presidency (Loomis, 1984, p. 181).

Recent congressional leaders (1970 to 2014). Contemporary congressional leaders tend to be career politicians and lawyers (Manning, 2013). Loomis (1984) concluded the House of Representatives is populated by career politicians. As stated by Wooldridge (2010), “Lifelong and long term politicians formed a 'royalty' club in Washington DC that dances to a 'money and elitist' tune that resembles the monarchies of former empires” (p. 1). For 25 years, Nancy Pelosi represented California's 12th District in the House of Representatives (Pelosi, 2013). Barney Frank represented Massachusetts for 33 years (A+E Television Networks, 2013). A similar trend is still prevalent in 2014. As shown in Figure 3, only 29% ($n = 214$) of representatives in the 113th Congress have a business background. Most have professions in public service and politics (31%, $n = 226$) or law (28%, $n = 211$), with 12% ($n = 92$) having a background in education (Manning, 2013).

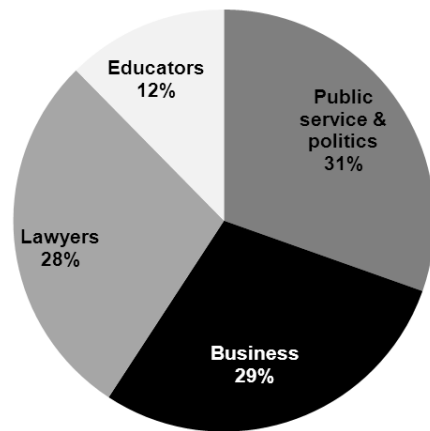


Figure 3. Top professions of members of the 113th U.S. Congress.

Donald Trump is an example of a successful businessperson who some voters supported as a presidential candidate in 2012 (Jones, 2012b). Dowd (1999), whilst interviewing Donald Trump, quoted him as saying

My entire life, I've watched politicians bragging about how poor they are, how they came from nothing, how poor their parents and grandparents were. And I said to myself, if they can stay so poor for so many generations, maybe this isn't the kind of person we want to be electing to higher office. (p. 1)

Herman Cain, another working businessman who proposed a new tax plan called the 9-9-9 plan to replace the federal tax, is also hailed as a political activist who has run a successful business (Goodman, 2011). As shown in Figure 4, in the 113th U.S. Congress, the House of Representatives has 25% businesspersons ($n = 489$) and the Senate has 22% businesspersons ($n = 100$) (Bloomberg, 2013). Table 4 shows the breakdown of Congress with all seats by major profession (Bloomberg, 2013).

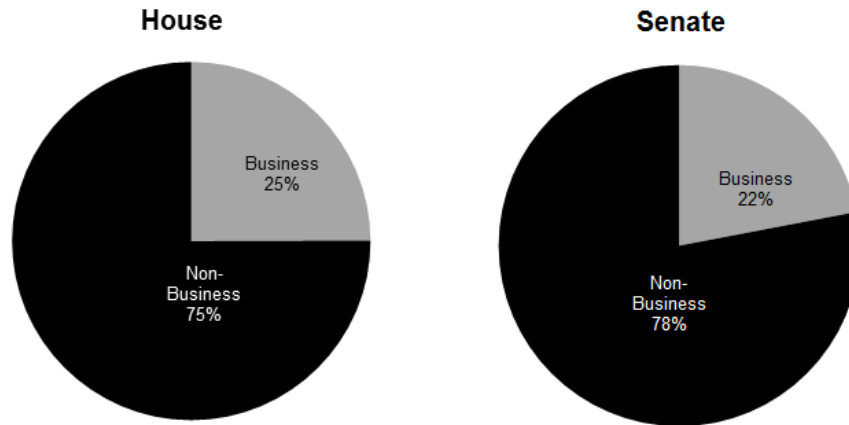


Figure 4. Comparison of business and non-business experience in the 113th U.S. Congress.

Table 4

Professional Background of Members of the 113th U.S. Congress

Professional Background	House		Senate	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Business	108	25%	22	22%
Lawyers	128	30%	45	45%
Career politicians	55	13%	9	9%
Nonprofit	10	2%	4	4%
Educators	44	10%	7	7%
Medical professionals	29	7%	3	3%
Farmers	12	3%	3	3%
Accountants	7	2%	0	0%
Military	19	4%	3	3%
Entertainment	8	2%	2	2%
Other	13	3%	2	2%
Total	433	100%	100	100%

Theoretical Framework

As presented in Chapter 1, the study falls under the broad theoretical framework of political science. The American Political Science Association (2013) defined political science as the branch of knowledge relating to systems of government, as well as the analysis of political activity and behavior. Political science, in a broader context, is the study of government and politics, including how governments run, the effects of government policies on the community, how the community selects representation, and how that representation is judged effectively (Grant, 2005). Grant (2005) observed the sociology of political science is the study of how politics is organized. Creswell (2007) observed that the theoretical framework of a study places it in perspective of other studies in a similar field.

While the broad theoretical framework of the study is government policies and procedures, the specific theoretical framework for the study is focused on theories of voting behavior. Antunes (2010) suggested three approaches researchers use when studying voting behavior: sociological models, psychosocial approaches, and rational choice theory.

Sociological models. Sociological voting behavior theories (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954; Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944) are based on various schools of thought. For instance, work by Lazarsfeld et al. indicated many voters are predisposed to vote with their aligned social group, such as a political party (i.e., Democrats, Republicans, or Libertarians). In essence, the social alignment to the political party before the election is strong enough to maintain voting position throughout an election.

Party identification appears in most cases to be a strong predictor in elections (Collingwood, Barreto, & Garcia-Rios, 2014). People tend to vote a straight party line rather than reviewing the current issues that relate to a specific election. As an example, presidential voting is researched by many scholars, and predictor models have become very robust (Collingwood, Barreto, & Garcia-Rios, 2014). U.S. voters are highly polarized by party lines in national elections.

Psychological approaches. Alternatively, voters may align themselves with specific candidates based on factors such as socio-economic, race, and religion. Psychosocial theories (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960; Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954; Campbell & Kahn, 1952) similarly suggest voting behavior can be influenced by partisanship (identifying to a party), causality (identifying to an issue, candidate, or factor), and proximal and distal factors (reasoning the loyalty is based on long-term social factors).

In the 2012 election, the Latino vote for Barack Obama outpaced Mitt Romney by 75 to 23, the highest rate for a Democrat (Collingwood, Barreto, & Garcia-Rios, 2014). It is difficult for voters to unravel the outcome of policies and their effectiveness in elections (Bischoff & Siemers, 2013). In aligning to certain beliefs, incumbents may trade-off between offering popular but economically harmful policies to appease the voter.

Theory of rationale choice. Conversely, Antunes (2010) proposed a theory of rational choice voting described by Downs (1957) and Arrows (1951, 1986). The idea of rational choice is rooted in the behavioral sciences (Grintis, 2007). Bendor, Kumar, and Siegel (2010) proposed, “Two of the most robust findings about American voters are that

few of them have coherent, detailed ideologies and few know much about politics” (p. 26). Nevertheless, Fiorina (2000) observed voting is carried out by individuals who have personal goals to achieve. As a result, individuals act as rationally as their knowledge, resources, and situation permit. According to rational choice theory, voters select candidates based on the *perceived advantages to the voter*. Functioning as problem solver and according to rational choice theory, voters make cognitive rational choices based on their personal needs (Downs, 1957). Downs also observed,

Parties in democratic politics are analogous to entrepreneurs in a profit-seeking economy. So as, to attain their private ends, they formulate whatever policies they believe will gain the most votes, just as entrepreneurs’ produce whatever products they believe will gain the most profits for the same reason. (p. 295)

As noted in Chapter 1, before the 2012 national election, most Americans were worried about the state of U.S. economy. According to rational choice theory, voters who are concerned about unemployment, deficit spending, and economic growth should seek political candidates with significant experience managing large budgets and solving business-related problems.

In alignment with rational choice theory, the focus of the quantitative study with a descriptive comparative design is on how, if at all, U.S. citizens’ voting behavior in the U.S. congressional election of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings. The analysis of the study focused on describing and comparing the choices voters in the U.S. congressional election of 2012 made. The results of the study indicated whether voter behavior differed during a significant downturn in the economy. Rational choice theory would suggest that voters who are

concerned about economic issues may want to reconsider how they select congressional leaders.

There are two major philosophies for research; the objectivist and the subjectivist. The objectivist approach is a quantitative analysis (Hughes & Sharrock 1997). The objectivist philosophy is that one objective truth exists that any researcher can determine through scientific or experimental techniques. The philosophy assumes the researcher has no influence on the outcome of the study (Franklin 2012). The objectivist philosophy is anchored on the positivism philosophy. The positivism philosophy holds that the world operates under common laws that can be deduced through objective observations and whose effects can therefore be objectively determined (Hughes & Sharrock 1997).

Voters' Concerns and Expectations

Before the national election of 2012, Americans reported they were more dissatisfied than any other time in the history of the nation with the way leaders governed the United States (Mak, 2011). During elections, advocacy groups such as the Tea Party, Libertarians (Newman, 2011), Rush Limbaugh (Garofoli, 2009), and Freedomworks (Ansolabehere & Snyder, 2011), often spoke on behalf of Americans about issues of concern. As shown in Table 5, 132,948,000 of the country's 153,157,000 registered voters participated in the 2012 national election. Based on the country's political system, voters have the ability to elect representatives who are willing and able to address citizen concerns. Consistent with rationale choice theory, issues of wide concern to American citizens should have influenced the way they voted in 2012, because during the unique period the economy was struggling and voter dissatisfaction was high (Mak, 2011).

Economy

Economic issues are frequently of concern to U.S. voters (Newport, 2011). In 1992, Democratic strategist James Carville coined the phrase “It’s the economy, stupid!” to criticize the policies of President George H. W. Bush (Galoozis, 2012, p. 1). A decade later, the economy is still a central concern to American voters. Following the 2008 financial crisis, small business owners across the country expressed concerns about the lack of funds for small business loans due to bank consolidations (Dolar & Yang, 2012). Voters also had serious misgivings about the high levels of compensation given to executives when the country was going through tough economic climate (Hemphill, 2012). In 2014, these concerns persist with a growing deficit (Blendon & Benson, 2012), high spending, rising GDP (Cogan, Taylor, Volker, & Wolters, 2013), lingering unemployment, and slow economic growth (National Institute Economic Review, 2013), and growing taxes (Blendon & Benson, 2012). The economy continues to remain the number one concern for most citizens (Newport, 2011).

Table 5

Registered and Actual Voters by State in 2012

State	Registered	Voted	State	Registered	Voted
Alabama	2,556	2,154	Montana	553	495
Alaska	361	289	Nebraska	901	798
Arizona	2,812	2,412	Nevada	1,176	1,048
Arkansas	1,376	1,124	New Hampshire	752	688
California	15,356	13,462	New Jersey	4,326	3,670
Colorado	2,635	2,495	New Mexico	978	878
Connecticut	1,760	1,568	New York	8,887	7,675
Delaware	470	431	North Carolina	5,295	4,624
Florida	9,102	8,107	North Dakota	383	328
Georgia	4,767	4,168	Ohio	6,076	5,395
Hawaii	547	480	Oklahoma	1,806	1,431
Idaho	745	679	Oregon	2,086	1,897
Illinois	6,425	5,428	Pennsylvania	6,795	5,824
Indiana	3,270	2,801	Rhode Island	552	469
Iowa	1,745	1,548	South Carolina	2,479	2,187
Kansas	1,467	1,249	South Dakota	454	370
Kentucky	2,303	1,895	Tennessee	3,210	2,606
Louisiana	2,498	2,148	Texas	10,749	8,643
Maine	787	700	Utah	1,138	1,022
Maryland	2,888	2,609	Vermont	357	308
Massachusetts	3,759	3,382	Virginia	4,210	3,778
Michigan	5,620	4,832	Washington	3,533	3,172
Minnesota	3,085	2,859	West Virginia	982	690
Mississippi	1,794	1,588	Wisconsin	3,318	3,127
Missouri	3,384	2,818	Wyoming	268	247
Total				153,157	132,948

Note. Numbers are reported in thousands. Data are based on U.S. Census (2014) figures.

Table 6 includes the foreclosure and unemployment rates in 2012 by state. The foreclosure inventory rates are based on data from CoreLogic Inc. (2013), and the unemployment rates were collected from U.S. Department of Labor (2012). The potential economic performance scores ranged from 2 (1 foreclosure + 1 unemployment) to 102 (51 foreclosure + 51 unemployment). When determining how to vote, U.S. citizens often base their opinions on general satisfaction with government programs and policies. The U.S. government, like many other governments around the world, provides a wide range of services to its constituents. As Lynn (1998) observed, when judging the effectiveness and efficiency of the government, voters are mainly talking about the quality of the services offered in areas such as education, health, and security.

In 2012, the primary issue for Americans was domestic dissatisfaction (Schultz, 2012). During the 2012 national election, many citizens inaccurately thought incumbent candidates would not be reelected due to the poor economy. The imbalance between incumbent funding and challenger funding, for the Senate described in Table 7 and the House of Representatives described in Table 8, demonstrates the strength an incumbent has when in office (Opensecrets.org, 2014b).

Government and Business Similarities

Managing human resources requires core skills, whether applied in government or business. According to Wren (1995), “Leadership is a social influence process shared among all members of the group. Leadership is not restricted to the influence exerted by someone in a particular position or role; followers are part of the leadership process, too” (p. 43). Though the structure of government is much larger than any private sector business, the principles around the leadership and governance are similar. Nahavandi

(2006) proposed that throughout history and mythology, all leaders were considered special. The core skills required for leadership are the same whether applied to business or the public sector.

Talent pool. The talent pool that government sources their employees from is the same as the talent pool that for profit businesses use. Like their private sector counterparts, public sector leaders must understand how to manage a talent pool effectively. O'Toole et al. (2012) observed public and private sectors often recruit from the same pool of talent. As a result, people who work in the public sector frequently have the same expectations and behaviors as those employed in the private sector. Both sectors regularly experience issues related to fair compensation, motivation, and personal development. Andrews et al. (2005) argued maintaining a productive work force is at the heart of effectiveness and efficiency in service delivery in the private sector.

The same occurs in the public sector. Although government leaders are often less stringent in their management of human resources, competition for skills and talent is forcing the government to adopt market-based principles in human resource management. However, it is unknown whether current practices in human resources management, such as the best practices in the private sector, are also applicable in the public sector. Boyne (2003) argued the greatest challenge in the public sector is in the monitoring. Since the public sector is more welfare-based, managers seldom fire for poor performance.

Table 6

Foreclosure and Unemployment by State

Number	State	Foreclosure		Unemployment		Economic performance
		Inventory	Rank	Rate	Rank	
1	Nevada	4.7%	4	11.5%	1	5
2	New Jersey	7.0%	2	9.3%	4	6
3	Florida	10.1%	1	8.8%	12	13
4	Illinois	4.5%	5	8.9%	11	16
5	Rhode Island	2.9%	13	10.3%	3	16
6	New York	5.1%	3	8.5%	14	17
7	South Dakota	3.0%	10	9.0%	10	20
8	Connecticut	4.1%	7	8.3%	16	23
9	District of Columbia	2.2%	21	9.1%	7	28
10	Oregon	2.7%	16	8.8%	13	29
11	Mississippi	1.9%	25	9.2%	5	30
12	Maine	4.2%	6	7.2%	26	32
13	North Carolina	1.9%	26	9.2%	6	32
14	Indiana	2.9%	14	8.1%	19	33
15	California	1.4%	32	10.4%	2	34
16	Ohio	3.0%	11	7.4%	24	35
17	Pennsylvania	2.9%	15	7.9%	21	36
18	Georgia	1.7%	29	9.0%	9	38
19	Washington	2.5%	19	8.1%	20	39
20	Kentucky	2.2%	22	8.3%	17	39
21	Maryland	3.2%	9	6.9%	33	42
22	New Mexico	3.0%	12	7.1%	30	42
23	Michigan	1.3%	35	9.1%	8	43
24	Delaware	2.7%	17	7.1%	29	46
25	Idaho	2.1%	23	7.3%	25	48
26	Arizona	1.4%	33	8.3%	15	48
27	Hawaii	3.8%	8	5.7%	41	49
28	Arkansas	1.7%	30	7.5%	23	53
29	Tennessee	1.3%	36	8.2%	18	54
30	Louisiana	2.1%	24	6.5%	37	61
31	Oklahoma	2.6%	18	5.4%	44	62
32	Massachusetts	1.9%	27	6.8%	35	62
33	Wisconsin	1.7%	31	6.9%	34	65
34	Colorado	1.0%	43	7.8%	22	65
35	Alabama	1.2%	39	7.1%	28	67
36	West Virginia	1.1%	40	7.2%	27	67
37	Vermont	2.5%	20	4.9%	48	68
38	Kansas	1.4%	34	5.8%	40	74
39	Iowa	1.9%	28	5.2%	47	75
40	Missouri	1.0%	44	7.0%	31	75
41	New Hampshire	1.3%	37	5.5%	43	80
42	Virginia	1.1%	41	5.9%	39	80
43	Texas	1%	45	6.8%	36	81
44	Alaska	0.6%	50	6.9%	32	82
45	Utah	1.3%	38	5.4%	45	83
46	Minnesota	1.1%	42	5.6%	42	84
47	Montana	1.0%	46	6.0%	38	84
48	South Dakota	0.97%	47	4.2%	49	96
49	Wyoming	0.4%	51	5.4%	46	97
50	Nebraska	0.8%	48	4.0%	50	98
51	North Dakota	0.7%	49	3.0%	51	100

Note. Data are based on CoreLogic Inc. (2013) statistics.

Table 7

Senate Incumbent Advantage

Type of candidate	Senate		
	Total \$	Candidates	Average \$
Incumbent	\$275,425,258	29	\$9,497,423
Challenger	\$100,224,467	126	\$795,433
Open seat	\$94,522,592	62	\$1,524,558
Total	\$470,172,417	217	\$2,166,693

Note. Data are based on Opensecrets.org (2014a) statistics

Table 8

House Incumbent Advantage

Type of candidate	House		
	Total \$	Candidates	Average \$
Incumbent	\$495,386,861	425	\$1,165,616
Challenger	\$113,858,261	610	\$186,653
Open seat	\$134,133,449	338	\$396,845
Total	\$743,378,571	1,373	\$541,426

Note. Data are based on Opensecrets.org (2014a) statistics.

Customer/citizen relationship management. Both business and government leaders are responsible for maintaining positive relationships with their constituents. The concept of citizen relationship management in government, based on widely accepted customer relationship management principles used in the private sector, demonstrates an

increased awareness of the need to improve the way government services are offered (Gangl, 2007). Citizen satisfaction, comparable to customer satisfaction, is a high priority for public service leaders who want to remain in office (Souder, 2001).

Responsiveness. In a private sector study, Bretthauer (2004) found customers expressed a strong desire for service responsiveness. Agrawal (2008) described public sector responsiveness as the ability of government leaders to address challenges and opportunities in the provision of services. Americans have been historically dissatisfied with the ability of government leaders to respond to citizens' changing needs for health care and education (Souder, 2001).

In a competitively marketplace, private sector leaders who are unable to respond to customer preferences often find themselves driven out of business (Aaker, 2008). Working in a slow economic recovery, public sector leaders find themselves facing similar pressure in 2014. For instance, Academi, formerly known as Blackwater USA, is the biggest private military in the world (Brennan, 2009). According to Academi leaders, the private military is capable of competing with the U.S. military, just as FedEx competes with the USPS (Cusumano, 2012). Agrawal (2008) suggested bureaucracies that slow down decisions making and service responsiveness often cause public sector inefficiencies.

Reliability. Reliability is also a major attribute of service quality (Boyne 2003). Reliability refers to a service provider's ability to provide satisfactory service consistently. Ryan (2000) pointed out that reliability in service delivery requires hiring qualified personnel and consistent monitoring. The public sector faces stiff competition from the private sector when attempting to attract talent (Guston & Sarewitz, 2006). The

private sector provides many more incentives and opportunities for growth, making it harder for the public sector to maintain a reliable talent pool.

Such an approach in managing human resources decreases the reliability of the services. For instance, the FedEx example is used frequently to demonstrate the inadequacies of the public sector in providing reliable postal services. Evaluating the literature on the quality of public service indicates the public sector can benefit more from using private sector principles (Baarspul & Wilderom, 2011). Pressure has been mounting on the public sector to improve service delivery, especially with the emergence of private enterprises providing parallel services.

Attentiveness. Boyne (2003) established the attentiveness of a provider's service is critical and reflective to their perceived service quality. Boyne (2003) also described voters' expectation of public service leaders is to provide guidance regarding critical issues, such as healthcare, education, and national security. All these services involve direct human interactions between the service providers and the recipient of the services. Attentiveness refers to the ability of the service provider (government or business) to listen to issues concerning their clients (voters or customers). Since the public sector derives its mandate from the people, government leaders are expected to serve in the interest of the public (Glazer, 2012).

The USPS has four major labor unions: American Postal Workers Union, National Association of Letter Carriers, National Postal Mail Handlers Union, and National Rural Letter Carriers Association. More than 85% of the USPS career employees are covered by non-incentive based collective bargaining agreements including COLA-based raises (Carbaugh & Tenerelli, 2011). Due to the collective

bargaining, little, if any, incentive exists for attentiveness on the part of the employees. The low attentiveness of the public sector to citizens is often associated with inefficiencies in government services.

Defined outcomes. One of the most important elements of a good policy or strategic plan is the existence of clearly defined outcomes (Chun & Rainey, 2005; Sayed, 2013). Desired outcomes are the future state policies or strategies are expected to lead to as an outcome (Sayed, 2013). Berman and Wang (2000) observed that in the public sector the desired outcome is normally expressed in the form of vision statements. For instance, in the last congressional election, several candidates articulated a clear desire for affordable and quality healthcare (Weisman & Pear, 2013). Vision statements are important because they rally citizens and public servants toward a common vision. Carlier (2010) observed that participation of politicians in a public debate requires a set of cognitive, discursive, and argumentation skills.

Politicians commonly articulate their visions for the country during campaigns and during the development of legislation. In the private sector, it is common for business leaders to frame vision and mission statements as a starting point for their organization's strategic plan (Sayed, 2013). The process of articulating desired outcomes is popular with politicians since such statements act as a selling point for the candidate. When defining desired outcomes, the public sector is similar to the private sector. Chun and Rainey (2005) supported the view by observing that vision and mission statements of most organizations are just as inflated as the promises made by politicians, and vision and mission statements are only used for political campaigning reasons.

Capital costs. With the downgrading of the U.S. government's AAA rating by Fitch (Pylas, 2013), the availability of capital investment funds for business is the same as government. Though Fitch has since changed the US AAA rating outlook to stable, the United States has still not recovered from the downgrade (Puzzanghera, 2014). Moynihan and Pandey (2005) observed the government and business sectors often face similar conditions in financial markets. Both public and the private sector leaders attempt to minimize their cost of capital by minimizing perceived risk. However, Rainey (2003) noted government leaders are typically able to access funds at considerably lower cost than business leaders because loaning money to the United States is considered a low investment risk. The widely held perception, however, started to change after the 2007/2008 financial crisis. Among other factors, investor skepticism about the ability of the U.S. government to meet its financial obligations led to a downgrading of the country's credit rating, from *stable* to *negative* (Standard & Poor's Financial Services LLC, 2011). In 2014, the U.S. Government continues to be at risk of losing its AA+ rating with Fitch (Pylas, 2013).

Laws and regulations. In strategic management, both public and private sector organizations design strategies in accordance with the existing laws and regulations. These laws and regulations function as important determinants of organizational policies. Frederickson and Smith (2003) noted government agencies frequently operate under the same laws and regulations as the private corporations. For instance, both governments and businesses must comply with environmental and labor laws. Johnson, Scholes, and Whittington (2010) similarly observed that in some industries, such as the financial services industry, regulatory compliance is a critical element of policy development. The

public sector and the private sector having the same requirements strengthens the idea that laws and regulations have no major effect on the strategic management styles used by government leaders.

Social environment. Public and private leaders must also function within the prevailing social environment. In the business sector, the social environment often frames public expectations and signals potential shifts in cultural values (Aaker, 2008). According to Hibbing and Elizabeth (2001), both public and private sector leaders also must adapt to changing preferences, expectations, and values of their stakeholders. Therefore, both types of leaders need to be agile and cognoscente of the social environment, modifying their strategies to be in tune with their respective stakeholders.

U.S. citizen. The ability to be considered a citizen in the United States, and receive full citizen privileges, has been limited throughout history to characteristics including place of birth, race, gender, and class (Cacho, 2000). The study population included U.S. citizens over the age of 18 who participated in the 2012 American National Election Study (ANES, 2014a). The United States has a long history of creating laws that establish rights and privileges for citizens (Boch, 2014). Due greatly in part to our British ancestry, American citizenship is in large part a civic standing opposed to an ethnic standing as is the case in many countries (Waters, 2014).

Government and Business Differences

While some business principles can be transferred between public and private sectors, several factors differentiate government and business leaders (Frank, 2000). The most important differences relate to monopoly services provided by the government, such as mail delivery. Other aspects may be enacting laws and regulations that are the sole

domain of Congress. Finally, the government sector has certain areas of public safety and judicial control, such as police, courts, and maybe nuclear weapons--none of which are seen in the private sector. Any one of these differences is considered enactments for the common good, where the general population wants unbiased decisions and investments.

Competition. One fundamental difference the government, unlike a business, does not face is direct competition; in many areas the government operates as a monopoly (Rainey, 2003). The distinction, as Levi (2006) observed, indicates business principles based on competition are not useful to public sector leaders. The government, however, is losing its monopoly status in several areas (Moynihan & Pandey, 2005). Services such as healthcare, pension services, security, and education are now confronting private sector competitors.

Mintzberg (1996) and Haque (2001) argued the greatest difference between the public and private sector is the government does not operate within a free market, profit-driven paradigm. The government's goal is to provide public sector services at the lowest cost without the expectation of a profit. Businesses, on the other hand, must be profitable to survive in a competitive marketplace. The lack of a profit motive in the public sector indicates that principles to promote profitability are not applicable in the public sector.

Accountability. When businesses fail to produce desired outcomes, customers typically switch to other service providers (James, 2001). The ease with which customers can change service providers acts as a strong incentive for private sector leaders to attend to customer needs and concerns. Inattentiveness in handling customers in the private

sector can adversely affect customer satisfaction and profitability; an example was the immediate firing of Tony Hayward from BP after his failure as a CEO to be compassionate to the victims of the Deepwater Horizon disaster (Lyons, 2011). Hayward was expected to stay with BP for another 3 years before his poor handling of the oil spill disaster in the Gulf of Mexico. The BP situation illustrated that when private sector leaders are not performing, they are removed from power. In contrast, public sector leaders are normally retained for a set time regardless of their performance. As a result, in the private sector, leaders have a significant incentive to be friendly to customers (shareholders and board members) to accumulate positive reviews.

In the public sector, however, citizens are rarely treated as customers since, in most cases; the services are paid for in advance through taxes. As a result, public sector leaders are seldom associated directly with the services received by citizens. Mansour and Nadji (2006) observed that in the public sector, congressional leaders are seldom replaced due to poor voter reviews. Glazer (2012) proposed that though a senator's voting record affects his or her chances of reelection, senators often fail to adapt to their constituents' preferences. Many cases exist of congressional members with poor performance, remaining in positions of power. Harry Reid as an example, has been a senator for Nevada since 1987, and scored high on his senate leadership vote (Govtrack.us, 2013). Though Nevada has one of the highest unemployment rates at 9.6% compared to the national average (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013), the poor performance of Harry Reid does not stop U.S. citizens from reelecting him to office.

Decision making. Policy-making in the public sector also differs from decision-making in the private sector. In business, decisions are made through deliberations at

various levels of organizations. According to a white paper released from Emerald Group Publishing Limited (2003), the most effective leadership is collaborative, non-hierarchical, and transparent (p. 24). Transformational management has been a common trend in business decision-making.

In contrast, public sector decisions are usually made through consensus or majority vote (Diamond, 2007). Bureaucratic systems and top down line of authorities are common in the public sector in areas, such as the military. Public sector decision making is further complicated by the relationship between politics and public administration. Over time, both in theory and practice, there have emerged two major schools of thought--one advocates for separating politics and public administration, while the other recommends combining the two functions.

Separation of politics and administration. The idea of separating public administration and politics, the position held by President Woodrow Wilson, was based on the argument the two functions require different structures and values (Hood & Peters, 2004). Politics and public administration are seen as two ends of the same government. If the two are not separated, politics may introduce conflicts of interest through appointments and monitoring. When politicians are appointing positions, they will inevitably appoint people that are sympathetic to their views. Appointees can therefore never implement policies that are undesirable to the politicians (Bosworth, 1958).

Politics also usually involves many individuals who have opposing opinions about how government should be handled. If the antagonism, opposition, and obstructionist strategies common in politics are introduced into public administration, serious conflicts of interest could emerge among the civil servants (French, 2005). Conflicts of interest

may also lead to losses of time and resources. In contrast, private sector conflicts of interest are usually eliminated by ensuring all organizational members subscribe to the same mission, goals, and core values-- leaving little room for opposition (Demir, 2009).

Civil servants are expected to be bipartisan if they are to act independently of any specific governing party. The approach facilitates centralization of authority. While the private sector does not favor centralization over decentralization, efficient decision-making is critical. Hood and Peters (2004) suggested businesses have been undergoing a decentralization drive to promote responsiveness to changes in the environment.

The need for professionalism and accountability is another reason to separate politics and public administration (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000). Politics are usually inclined towards popular support. When used in public administration, politics leads to favoritism and cronyism. Supporters of the separation school of thought argue that in public administration merit (not political inclination) should be the basis of hiring and promotion (Behn, 2001).

Combination of politics and administration. A competing school of thought argues for establishing a political public administration. Subscribers of the paradigm generally argue the focus of government policy should not be on separating public administration from politics, but on finding a balance between politics and administration (Dunn & Legge, 2002). French (2005) observed that politicians are elected because of their policies for political and economic reform, implying that politicians must be given a way to influence how public administration executes a policy agenda. Lee (2001) supported the view by arguing that public administration needs to be changed from time to time to reflect changes in the environment.

In the United States, politicians influence public administrations through lobbying and legislation. In the private sector, change is considered inevitable and is usually adopted every time the environmental conditions change. The argument, however, does not indicate the extent to which political interference can or should be tolerated in the public sector (Behn, 2001).

Schuh and Miller (2006) noted that all politicians delegate the responsibilities of drafting economic and political policies to technocrats and bureaucrats. As a result, it can be argued separation exists between politics and public administration. Lee (2006) confirmed the view by observing the same technocrats who serve in the public service also draft manifestos for politicians. The process of developing economic policies and reforms is similar to strategic planning process in the private sector. By ensuring all stakeholders' interests are addressed, governance is usually strengthened.

Denhardt and Denhardt (2000) also suggested morality is a basis for combining politics and administration. Denhardt and Denhardt contended civil servants should not act as machines only implementing policies without questioning the regulation's suitability for the advancement of the common good. According to the argument, civil servants should also engage in politics to justify their opinions about the appropriateness of the policies. Such openness is expected to promote improvement in the effectiveness and efficiency of public policies. In some respects, openness about opinions and the ability to debate issues with senior leadership is similar to the private sector, where lower level staff members are encouraged to air their views with regard to the company strategies. The moral argument therefore has support in the business environment, although it takes on a different angle of enrichment of company strategy (Demir, 2009).

Financial management. Financial management is the planning, directing, monitoring, and controlling of an entities monies (Financial Management, 2014). Mintzberg (1996) suggested different financial management principles are needed in public and private sectors since both raise revenues and resources in completely different ways. The government raises revenues through taxes and finances through borrowings. In contrast, businesses raise revenue primarily through the sale of goods and services. The major difference is that while taxes are mandatory, customers voluntarily purchase commodities. The ability of the government to increase taxes when it requires funding implies the government does not have as many challenges as businesses in ensuring customers (taxpayers) are satisfied and willing to pay the price.

Borrowing and bankruptcy. The relatively unlimited capacity for the government to raise finance by increasing taxes, borrowing, or printing money also puts the public sector on a different level from the private sector in financial management (Kamensky, 1996). Businesses, on the other hand, incur high costs when raising capital. Excessive borrowing can lead to high levels of liquidity and solvency risk that, in turn, can lead to private sector bankruptcy. Historically, the wider latitude the public sector leaders have in raising finance, as Rainey (2003) observed, has led to poor financial management strategies. For instance, debates in 2012-2013 about raising the U.S. debt ceiling are one example of the wide latitude congressional leaders have when raising finances (Associated Press, 2013).

Lenders, as well as the U.S. public, consider the government, due to its monopoly-status and large size, a low risk (Levi, 2006). As an illustration, the U.S. government possesses unfunded liabilities, such as Medicare, Social Security, and

retirement funds that would not be supported in the private sector. Under these plans, the government commits to pay citizens specific benefits that are not necessarily commensurate with funds that are actually available. The commitment is typically based on uncollected revenues expected in the future. The legality of such approaches indicates that financial management is not as strict in the public sector as it is in the private sector. Orbanes (2006) suggested such differences reflect a major weakness in public sector leadership. Moynihan and Pandey (2005) noted the massive debts held by the public sector are attributable to lax government leaders who do not adhere to sound financial management principles.

Cost-benefit analysis. Inefficiencies in the public sector are described as systematic and deliberate. Mona (2006), for example, observed the government deliberately avoids using cost-benefit-analyses in management and human resources since the government tends to be reluctant to lay off and or harm citizens. Researchers suggest institutions such as the USPS should have been privatized many years ago (Johnson et al., 2010). The government has provided the institution billions of dollars despite the institution remaining largely ineffective conducting business (Crainer, 2011).

Commitment. Svara (2006) observed a major challenge in public sector management is not the lack of sound policies or principles, but the lack of commitment to implement the policies. Researchers and theorists have supported the observation (Guisan, 2008; Mukherjee & Kriekhaus, 2011). In strategic management, a popular approach to management, implementing strategy is taken very seriously. Several principles of policy or strategy implementation are critical and are useful for comparing the public and private sectors.

According to Andrews et al. (2005), one of the critical factors influencing the success of strategic implementation is resources. Adequate resources must be identified in advance. O'Toole et al. (2003) observed the securing of the required resources in the public sector for policy implementation is challenging (Ayande, Sabourin, & Sefa, 2012). One of the main reasons is that politicians engage in ambitious programs without careful analysis of the necessary resources to implement policies. Red tape is frequently identified as a policy limitation in the private sector (Peled, 2000). Valuable resources include money and time. It is common in the public sector for policy implementation to exceed deadlines due to the number of authorizations needed for approval. In businesses, on the other hand, strategy implementation is usually planned for and resources are set aside ahead of time (Johnson et al., 2010). Once the board of directors passes a strategy and implementation plan, no other limitations exist. The constant lobbying that accompanies strategy implementation in the public sector, therefore, acts as a hindrance to implementation.

According to Terry (2002), for public implementation to be successful, the planning process should be tied to execution and results (Ayande et al., 2012). Aligning planning with execution ensures the parties responsible for implementation are held accountable (Chen, Chen, & Wei, 2013). Coordinating planning and execution are two of the major problems with policy implementation in the public sector. While politicians develop plans privately, public sector policies must be implemented publicly through the passage of laws. In the past, Congress has halted ambitious policies through legislative delays or lobbyists. In the private sector, however, strategic planning involves all the members of the organization who are involved in implementation. As a result, planning

is more easily linked with execution. A common practice in the private sector has been developing cross-sectional teams for strategy development that draws expertise from all the levels of the organization.

During the process, politicians are expected to provide leadership when developing and executing policies at the federal and local level (Terry, 2002). Leadership is critical in policy implementation because new challenges are uncovered (Svara, 2006). Lacking strong leadership, the entire process of policy can be thrown into disarray. At any time in history, government leadership is required to provide direction and clarity. The people involved in policy implementation can easily lose direction, as they get absorbed in meeting their localized goals and objectives. As a result, leaders are expected to provide the overall direction.

In a business environment, leadership is just as critical as in the public sector. Business leaders are also required to provide direction and clarity (Johnson et al., 2010). Svara (2006) argued that while politicians can provide good leadership in strategy implementation given their mastery of rhetoric, their attention only last for a short time. A frequent change in the political environment shifts the focus of politicians. A need, therefore, exists for increased commitment of public sector leaders.

Research in the business environment has led to a general agreement that a culture of commitment is critical to successful strategy or policy implementation (Im & Workman, 2004). In contrast, less is known about the culture of public sector organizations (Schuh & Miller, 2006). In the business environment, researchers have studied organization culture widely leading to the development of several theories. The

most important observation, however, is that culture can be changed over time to reflect the values desired by the organization.

In the public sector, however, a culture of commitment is only developed through leadership. Many political leaders have demonstrated interest in promoting certain values, such as cooperation and personal responsibility (Ayande et al., 2012). However, a relative lack of knowledge exists about how politicians can influence the culture of public sector workers. One element of organization culture associated with high levels of success in strategy implementation is openness to feedback. Openness to feedback in the public sector is commonly observed in form of appreciating criticism. In a business environment, however, usually well-developed systems exist for collecting feedback and integrating it into the organization's plans (Grant, 2007).

Technology. In the past, the business sector experienced growth, developing information and communication technology. Barton (2011) noted the increase of information technology in the 10 years post the millennium change in 2000 has affected the way of life, only comparable to that of the industrial revolution. Leveraging of technology is now a common practice in the private sector when implementing strategies (Sayed, 2013). Peled (2000), however, noted the public sector has always been left behind when adopting technology due to the existence of strong bureaucratic systems. However, information technology at an organizational level in the public sector can be very effective (Wiredu, 2012).

Core Leadership Competencies

Experts agree common skills and experiences are critical to highly effective leaders (Covey, 2006; Kouzes & Posner, 2012; Maxwell, 2007). According to

occupational and job information resources for legislative and management positions, government and private industry professionals describe core skills using key words such as *negotiation, decision-making, public speaking, and customer service* (U.S. Department of Labor, 2013b). Private consulting firms such as Accenture (Accenture, 2013), Price Waterhouse Coopers (Pricewaterhousecoopers LLP, 2013), Deloitte Consulting (Deloitte Development LLC, 2013), and McKinsey Consulting Group (McKinsey & Company, 2013) all list specific, often overlapping, competencies needed for effective leadership.

Government leaders. Successful government leaders are skilled at developing partnerships. Focusing on the needs of their citizens, politicians frequently operate in a culturally diverse environment with multi-sector workforce challenges. The National Academy of Public Administration (2006) suggested government leaders are subject matter experts in dealing with ambiguity and leadership strategy; legislators are expected to analyze financial, organizational, operational, and managerial reports, as well as explain and evaluate government laws, regulations, rules and policies (U.S. Department of Labor, 2013b).

Under the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, the U.S. government created the Office of Personnel Management responsible for overseeing U.S. government workforce training, development, and assessment (U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 2013). The agency defines the skills successful leaders should demonstrate. According to presenters at The National Academy of Public Administration, “Developing strong leadership in federal agencies, and institutionalizing a leadership culture is the key ingredient in assuring a high level of government performance” (National Academy of Public Administration, 2006, p. 16).

In an analysis of the activities most frequently performed by legislators, the U.S. Department of Labor (2013b) listed a variety of business-related tasks. As shown in Table 9, which includes the top six job description tasks for legislators and chief executives, government leaders regularly analyze data, including financial, operational, managerial, and organizational reports. The information listed in Table 9 covers the job identification codes from the Occupational Information Network using the codes SOC 11.1031.00 and 11-1011.00 (U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 2013). Legislators are also expected to perform human resource-related tasks, such as assigning work to staff and communicating technical information. With high levels of concern about the state of the U.S. economy, the ability of government leaders to perform business-related tasks is particularly important. The American electorate does not appear to use business experience as a key decision criteria when voting. Germinal studies indicate voters historically choose based on party preference (Campbell et al., 1960; Lazarsfeld et al. 1948), suggesting *outcomes* and *abilities* are not factors in the voting process.

Table 9

Top 6 Job Description Tasks (U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 2013)

Top 6 Job description tasks	Legislators	Chief executives
Analyze financial data	X	X
Analyze operational or management reports or records	X	X
Analyze organizational operating practices or procedures	X	X
Analyze social or economic data	X	X
Assign work to staff or employees	X	X
Communicate technical information	X	X

Business. Business is the act of buying, selling, or providing services in lieu of payment (“Business,” 2013.) Business-based accomplishments are awards that are

bestowed on business leaders based on their ability to create unique solutions and provide extraordinary performance. Business-based accomplishments can be in the form of acknowledgments through peers, titles bestowed by periodicals (such as business leader of the year), or gifts and prizes for surpassing industry standards.

Business leaders. Compared to government leaders, who tend to be chosen based on party affiliation, business leaders are selected and rewarded based on outcomes, such as profits, revenue increase, business growth, and stock price increases achieved with previous organizations (Emerald Group Publishing Ltd, 2013). McEntire and Greene-Shortage (2011) suggested a successful approach to predicting future performance is to assess past performance through behaviorally based structured interviews. Bel (2010) suggested several attributes are common to all innovative leaders. The attributes include demonstrating excellent communication skills; creating a motivating working environment; collaborating with others; and expressing sincere interest in involving, supporting, coaching, and developing other team members. While they are less accountable for producing outcomes, legislators like business leaders, are expected to be proficient with a variety of business related tasks. Business related tasks shared by both groups include the ability to read and analyze pertinent financial and operational data to supplement their decision making process (U.S. Department of Labor, 2013a).

The Occupational Information Network, an online database sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor/Employment and Training Administration, provides occupation-specific descriptors to compare across industries. As detailed in Table 9, the top six job tasks for legislators (SOC 11-1031.00) and chief executives (SOC 11-1011.00) are identical (U.S. Department of Labor, 2013a). The comparison suggests successful

legislators and business leaders should have similar knowledge, experience, and accomplishments.

Summary

Research suggests the lack of congressional leaders with business acumen may contribute to ineffective management of the U.S. economy (Saad, 2011). While the original Founding Fathers of the United States were largely business owners, most congressional leaders are now career politicians and lawyers. With American citizens expressing concern about economic issues in 2012, Chapter 2 included a discussion comparing, contrasting public, and private sector leader management competencies. The analysis revealed a significant gap exists in the literature regarding the business experience of congressional leaders, which may have contributed to the 2008 - 2012 recession. Therefore, a quantitative study with a descriptive comparative design was completed to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens' voting behavior in the U.S. Congressional election of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings.

Chapter 3 includes discussion of the methodology for the study. The chapter includes discussion of the method and design appropriateness, and the study population and sample. Following a discussion of issues related to informed consent and confidentiality is discussion of the data collection and analysis process.

Chapter 3

Method

The purpose of the quantitative study with a descriptive comparative design was to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens' voting behavior in the U.S. congressional election of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings. Based on the study's findings, business, governmental, and political leaders may be better informed about the influence of economic issues on Americans' voting behavior.

Chapter 1 provided an overview of the study, while Chapter 2 reviewed literature about congressional leaders' preparedness to deal with significant economic issues. After presenting the study's method and design, Chapter 3 details the study's population, geographic location, sample, instrumentation, data collection, and analysis process.

Research Method & Design

Quantitative method. A quantitative method is appropriate for the study because the approach allows systematic analyses of participants' behavior without requiring the time-consuming, in-depth coding of open-ended data required by qualitative methods (Jencik, 2011). Quantitative research methods are used to reliably measure variables and produce statistically relevant analysis (Wiggins, 2011). Quantitative research utilizes "a formal, objective, systematic process, in which numerical data are utilized to obtain information about the world" (Burn & Grove, as cited in Cormack, 1991, p. 140). A geographically dispersed population can be easily sampled with a quantitative method since close-ended questions collect standardized data. Additionally, quantitative approaches allow for statistically comparing data and producing results that can be generalized to a broader population (Creswell, 2007). A quantitative method is

particularly effective when the purpose of the study is to make statistical comparisons (Shuffler, Wiese, Salas, & Burke, 2010). In the study, voting behavior was compared by participants' economic concerns and approval of the U.S. Congress during the 2008 recession. Quantitative statistical comparisons will also be made to determine whether study participants' economic concerns differed significantly by demographic variables (gender, age, and education), political party, and state.

Descriptive comparative design. The broad objective of descriptive research is to understand a phenomenon or characteristics of a population, without focusing on *why*, *when*, or *how* (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). The design describes phenomena as it currently stands (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). The study's descriptive design was an optimal choice since variances in U.S. voter behavior were documented without any intervention. According to Cantrell (2011), descriptive designs involve no manipulation of independent variables or random assignments of groups. Instead, the study's findings focus on describing differences in voting behavior based on participants' economic concern (RQ 4) and congressional approval ratings (RQ 5). The specific objective of comparative research is to compare and contrast data trends after an event has already occurred (Cantrell, 2011). Aligning with the comparative research approach, the voting behavior of U.S. citizens was compared by economic concern and approval of the U.S. Congress in 2012.

While alternative approaches were considered, other designs do not align with the objectives of the study. Typical quantitative designs, such as a correlational, experimental, or quasi-experimental approaches, are not appropriate because they are more useful when testing the relationships between two or more variables (Salkind, 2010)

and when random assignment and manipulation of variables is desired to determine causality (Simon & Goes, 2013). The current study does not test relationships between variables nor attempt to determine causality. Rather the study's primary purpose was to describe and compare trends in U.S. voter behavior during the 2012 congressional election based on participants' economic concerns and approval of the U.S. Congress.

Population & Geographic Location

While the estimated population for the United States in 2012 was 313 million people (U.S. Census, 2014), only 153,157,000 were registered to vote in 2012 (see Table 5). Approximately 132,948,000 U.S. citizens, around 86% of the registered voters (U.S. Census, 2014), actually voted in the 2012 election. The study's population included U.S. citizens over the age of 18 who participated in the 2012 American National Election Study (ANES, 2014a). The ANES is a collaborative study Stanford University and the University of Michigan conducted, with funding from the National Science Foundation (ANES, 2014a). The ANES group is a qualified source of election data funded by the National Science Foundation. The ANES is widely respected for its research that investigates electoral behavior and attitudes in the United States (ICPSR, 2014).

Sampling Frame

The current study used a census sample ($N = 5,914$) of all the ANES 2012 election data. The ANES (2014c) reported that self-reported data from various states were collected from 5,914 U.S. eligible voters in 2012. The ANES collected over 1,900 variables, using both face-to-face and web-based questionnaires (ANES, 2014c). The data collected included voter background (demographical) data, voter perceptions (economic concern), congressional approval, and voter behavior information. The ANES

collected the data immediately before and after the 2012 elections so participants' memories were likely to be accurate and reflect their true perceptions, attitudes, and behavior during the 2012 elections. Conducting a new study and collecting data in 2014 would introduce significant measurement error due to the loss of memory and change in perceptions over 3 years. Personal economic conditions for the respondents may also have changed since 2012, which would create an additional bias.

The sampling frame was 100% of the archived data from the ANES timed series study (ANES, 2014c). The study involved only accessing and analyzing archived data. There was no interaction with human subjects and no identifying information was collected from the original individuals who participated in the educational needs assessment (Chastin, 1999). Only participant responses included in the ANES dataset for 2012 were included in the current study.

Power Analysis

A power analysis was conducted to determine the sample size needed to conduct four, one-way ANOVAs: gender (2 groups), age (13 groups), education (10 groups), and political party (4 groups). The minimum sample size for the gender (2 groups) is 54, age (13 groups) is 117, education (10 groups) is 110, and political party (4 groups) is 76. With moderate effect size of 0.5, an alpha level of 0.05, and a 0.96 level of power, a minimum total sample size of 117 was needed to detect an effect (Heine, 2013).

Informed Consent

No informed consent forms were collected because only archived data were used in the study (Chastin, 1999; Corti, 2007). There was no interaction with any human subjects. As a result, participants from the original study did not need to sign additional

informed consent forms. The unit of analysis was eligible U.S. voters in 2012 who participated in the ANES (2014c) timed series study.

Geographic Location

National ANES data, collected from voters living in 44 states during the 2012 election, was analyzed in the current study. The ANES (2014c) timed series study gathered data from U.S. eligible voters residing in various states. No state exclusions were specifically made to the ANES (2014a) study, according to the ANES codebook. The 2012 ANES study included 5,914 eligible voters in the United States. The data were collected with face-to-face interviews ($n = 2,054$) and an Internet panel group ($n = 3,860$).

Confidentiality

To ensure the confidentiality of participants' responses in the archived data, no identifying information (names or any other personal identification) was included in the downloaded data, and no identifying data collected or stored (Neuman, 2005). The confidentiality of individuals whose responses are contained in the archived ANES data is not at risk because no identifying information was recorded in the archived ANES data. As a result, it is impossible to link specific individuals to survey responses. Additionally, all the downloaded data are stored on a laptop with primary and secondary encrypted password protection, and the laptop is kept in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office. All anonymous archived data will be stored for a minimum of 5 years. After 5 years, paper copies will be shredded and electronic versions of the data will be permanently deleted.

Data Collection

Upon approved by the University of Phoenix Quality Review Board and the Institutional Review Board, the data were downloaded from the American National Elections Studies website (ANES, 2014c). Once the data were organized, the data of the study's target sample size of 5,914 respondents was analyzed and compared.

Data Instrumentation

Appendix A contains a codebook for the ANES (2014a) variables analyzed in the study. As shown in Figure 1, the study's main variables measure voter background (age, party, and state), economic concerns, approval of Congress, and voting behavior.

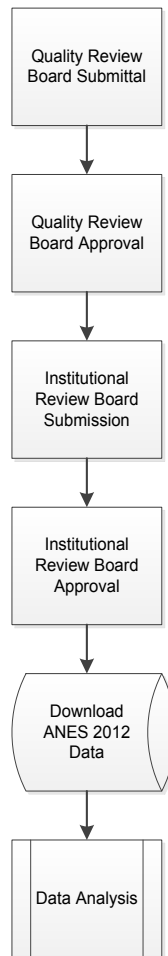


Figure 5. Data collection process.

Voter background. Voter demographics were measured with three variables: gender, age, and education. The ANES (2014a) categorized gender dichotomously (male = 1, female = 2). Two variables measured the age of eligible voters in the sample. First, birth year was used to calculate the age of participants at the time they completed the ANES interview (see Appendix A). Additionally, the ANES’s age bands were also used to measure participant age (Missing, 17-20, 21-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40 – 44, 45-49, 50 – 54, 55 – 59, 60 – 64, 65 – 69, 70 – 74, and 75 or older). Education was categorized in 10 groups: (a) 10th grade, (b) 11th grade, (c) 12th grade no diploma, (d) high school graduate – high school diploma or equivalent, (e) some college but no degree, (f)

Associates degree in college – Occupational vocational program, (g) Associate degree in college – academic program, (h) Bachelor’s degree, (i) Master’s degree, and (j) professional school degree.

Political party. In addition to responding to demographic questions, participants were asked their political party affiliation. Eligible voters in the ANES (2014a) study were asked to self-identify as being a Democrat, Republican, or Independent. They were also asked, in a separate question, to indicate whether they support the Tea Party.

State. Because economic concerns may have varied by state in 2012, the ANES (2014a) voters self-identified their state of residence. The self-reported data were used to identify participants’ geographic location. The codebook in Appendix A identifies the states used by the ANES study.

Voter’s economic concern. The voter’s perception of economic concern was determined by several voter questions in the ANES 2012 time series study. As shown in Appendix A, 39 questions in the ANES 2012 (2014a) time series study measured participants’ perceptions of the state of the economy, how well the economy was performing from previous years, respondents’ expectations for the coming year, and the performance and direction of the government. ANES questions also inquired about who should be blamed for the 2012 economic crisis (president, previous president, specific parties, lenders, wall street, or consumers).

Voter’s approval of the U.S. Congress. As shown in Appendix A, the ANES study included a question about voter’s approval or disapproval of the job the U.S. Congress was doing, how strongly they felt about the job the U.S. Congress was doing, and whether the U.S. Congress was on the right direction. Additional questions were

asked regarding the perceptions of how the United States position in the world as a dominant power was affected by the crisis, and if the government was seen as strong or weak based on what Congress was doing.

Voter behavior. The voter behavior was determined by 31 questions in the study related to the behavior of the respondent. Voter behavior was measured with two variables-- a dichotomous variable measuring if the voter voted (1 = *Yes*, 2 = *No*), and a 4-point scale variable measuring if a respondent specifically voted in the November general election (1 = *did not vote in November election*, 2 = *thought about voting but did not*, 3 = *usually votes but did not*, 4 = *not sure if I voted*). Other questions in the ANES (2014a) study were directed to the amount of respondents that pre-registered to vote in the elections, and the amount of respondents that actually voted in the elections.

Reliability

The reliability of a data collection instrument reflects its consistency at measuring a variable or construct (Fink, 2009). The University of Michigan and Stanford University were co-authors of the ANES time series study; graduate prepared individuals and researchers were trained in the coding method (ANES, 2014e). Abt SRBI performed the face-to-face data collection, and GfK (formally Knowledge Networks) performed the Internet data collection. (ANES, 2014e). The 7 economic concern measures in the ANES data will be tested for internal consistency using Cronbach's alpha. Creswell (2012) indicated that an alpha over .80 demonstrates good reliability. Once the data were downloaded from the ANES website, the researcher ran an analysis to check the reliability of the ANES time series study.

Validity

Internal validity. Valid data instruments measure what they intend to measure (Cooper & Schindler, 2002; Pallant, 2007). The National Science Foundation funds the American National Electoral Studies group. The ANES is widely respected for their research investigating electoral behavior and attitudes in the United States (ICPSR, 2014). Researchers from Stanford University and the University of Michigan developed and tested the instrument phrasing (ANES, 2014a). Both universities provided subject matter experts who developed, reviewed, and tested the study phrasing. Authors have cited the ANES studies in over 6,300 books, conferences, journals, newspapers, and theses (ANES, 2014d). The number of citations would infer that subject matter experts are in agreement with the measures and that they are valid.

External. External validity relates to whether a research study's findings are generalizable to other related settings and populations (Creswell, 2005; Newman, 2003). Since the study involved analyzing data from a large ANES census sample ($N = 5,914$), and random sample selection was used across the United States, findings are thought to be generalizable with good external validity. Due to the completeness of population, the findings should be generalizable (Christensen et al., 2011, p. 186).

Data Analysis

Table 10 details the study's data analysis process. After cleaning the data, computing frequencies and descriptive statistics, chi-square and analysis of variance (ANOVA) will be used to statistically evaluate the data to answer each of the research questions.

Frequencies. To describe trends in the data, frequencies were calculated for voter demographics (gender, age, and education), party, and state. Frequencies were also computed for the six economic concern items, congressional approval, and voting behavior. Frequencies are useful when attempting to analyze variables in research (Labuschagne, 2003).

To insure the data were accurately transferred from ANES to the study's main data file, frequencies from the current study were compared to frequencies published by ANES (2014c). Once the frequencies were crosschecked with the ANES results, missing responses (i.e., not applicable, don't know, refused) were recoded. Updated frequencies were then computed without the missing responses. Data were then displayed in tables and charts to identify patterns in the results. Numeric data analysis is important when describing trends.

Descriptive statistics. The six economic concern variables were summed to create an overall indicator of economic concern. Mean, standard deviation, skew, minimum, and maximum statistics were computed for overall economic concern. To insure the data were appropriate for subsequent inferential statistical analysis, the skew of the overall economic concern variable was checked for normalcy. A skew of +/- 2.00 was required for the data to be considered normally distributed (Rea & Parker, 2005).

Analysis of variance. Analysis of variance is a statistical method to look at multiple sample means and test the equality of two or more populations (StatSoft Inc., 2014). The main purpose of ANOVA is to test for the differences between group means. ANOVAs examined trends by comparing voting behavior by voter background, economic concern, and approval of the U.S. Congress (Howell, 2007). As shown in Table 10, to

answer RQ 1, ANOVA was used to test for significant differences in economic concern by gender (1 = *male*, 2 = *female*) and age (Missing, 17-20, 21-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40 – 44, 45-49, 50 – 54, 55 – 59, 60 – 64, 65 – 69, 70 – 74, and 75 or older). Education was categorized in 10 groups: (a) 10th grade, (b) 11th grade, (c) 12th grade no diploma, (d) high school graduate – high school diploma or equivalent, (e) some college but no degree, (f) Associates degree in college – Occupational vocational program, (g) Associate degree in college – academic program, (h) Bachelor’s degree, (i) Master’s degree, and (j) professional school degree. Political party was categorized as Democrat, Republican, Independent, and Tea Party.

Chi-squared analysis. Researchers show the level of association or differences when comparing two or more groups use chi-squared statistics. A chi-squared test may be used to show the differences between two sets of variables by showing whether or not they are associated; t-tests show the differences that exist between the means of two groups (Vogt, 2007). Chi-squared analysis is appropriate when evaluating whether significant differences exist between two categorical variables (Conover, 1999). As shown in Table 10, to answer RQ 2, chi-squared analysis was used to determine any significant differences that may exist in a voter’s approval of Congress (1 = *approve*, 2 = *disapprove*) by demographics (gender, age category, and education), party (Democrat, Republican, Independent, Tea Party), and state. Similarly, to answer RQ 5, chi-squared analysis was used to test for significant differences in voter behavior (1 = *voted*, 2 = *did not vote*) by approval of Congress (1 = *approve*, 2 = *disapprove*).

To facilitate chi-squared analysis, the economic concern variable was broken into three bands to create a categorical variable (1 = *low concern*, 2 = *moderate concern*, 3 =

high concern). To answer RQ 3, chi-squared analysis will be used to test for significant differences in congressional approval (1 = *approve*, 2 = *disapprove*) by economic concern (1 = *low*, 2 = *moderate*, 3 = *high*). To answer RQ 4, chi-squared analysis was used to investigate whether there are significant differences in voting behavior (1 = *voted*, 2 = *did not vote*) by economic concern (1 = *low*, 2 = *moderate*, 3 = *high*).

Summary

The quantitative study with a descriptive comparative design to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens' voting behavior in the 2012 U.S. congressional election varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings. During years with presidential elections, the ANES (2014b) time series studies include pre- and post-election interviews with potential voters from 44 states. The 2012 ANES study included 5,914 eligible voters in the United States. Archived data from U.S. citizens over the age of 18 who participated in the 2012 ANES (2014a) were analyzed in the study through frequencies, descriptive statistics, and ANOVA analysis.

Table 10

Summary of Data Analysis

	Research questions and hypotheses	Variables	Type of data	Analysis
<i>RQ 1</i>	<i>In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did economic concern differ by voter background?</i>			
	H ₁ Economic concern differed significantly by voters' gender, age, and education.	Economic concern	Interval	Frequencies, descriptive statistics, & one-way ANOVA
	H ₂ Economic concern differed significantly by voters' political party.	Gender, age category, education	Categorical	
	H ₃ Economic concern differed significantly by voters' state.	State	Categorical	
<i>RQ 2</i>	<i>In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did U.S. congressional approval differ by voter background?</i>			
	H ₄ U.S. congressional approval differed significantly by voters' gender, age, or education.	Congressional approval	Categorical	Frequencies & chi-squared
	H ₅ U.S. congressional approval differed significantly by voters' political party.	Gender, age category, education	Categorical	
	H ₆ U.S. congressional approval differed significantly by voters' state.	State	Categorical	
<i>RQ 3</i>	<i>In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance differ by voters' economic concerns?</i>			
	H ₇ Approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance differed significantly by voters' economic concern.	Congressional approval Economic concern	Categorical Categorical	Frequencies & chi-squared
<i>RQ 4</i>	<i>In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did voting behavior differ by voters' economic concerns?</i>			
	H ₈ In the 2012 national election, there was a significant difference in voting behavior by voters' economic concerns.	Voting behavior Economic concern	Categorical Categorical	Frequencies & chi-squared
<i>RQ 5</i>	<i>In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did voting behavior differ by voters' approval of Congress' job performance?</i>			
	H ₉ In the 2012 national election, voter behavior differed significantly by voters' approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance.	Voting behavior Congressional approval	Categorical Categorical	Frequencies & chi-squared

Chapter 4 includes a discussion of the study results. Included is a discussion of the study sample. Following descriptive results for each of the study's key variables, the findings are presented for each of the study's research questions.

Chapter 4

Results

The purpose of the quantitative study with a descriptive design was to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens' voting behavior in the U.S. Congressional election of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings. The study involved accessing archived data from U.S. citizens who participated in the 2012 American National Election Study. Then ANES is a study Stanford University and the University of Michigan collaboratively conduct with funding from the National Science Foundation. The significant economic concern preceding the 2012 U.S. Congressional election provided a unique opportunity to analyze U.S. citizens' voting behavior, economic concern, and congressional approval. If, as pollsters suggested, the economy was the central voting issue in the 2012 election, then citizens with high economic concern should have been more likely to vote in the election.

Chapter 4 includes a discussion of the current study results. The chapter begins with a discussion of the study sample and descriptive results for each of the study's key variables. The findings are then presented for each of the study's research questions.

Sample Demographics

The current study involved accessing and analyzing data on relevant variables from the ANES 2012 election study (see Appendix A). Responses were randomly collected from 5,914 U.S. eligible voters residing (referred to as participants) in various states. Assuming a population of 153,157,000 registered voters, the study's margin of error was 1.27.

Gender. The analyzed dataset included data from male and female eligible voters. As shown in Figure 6, the dataset included slightly more females ($n = 3,069$, 52%) than males.

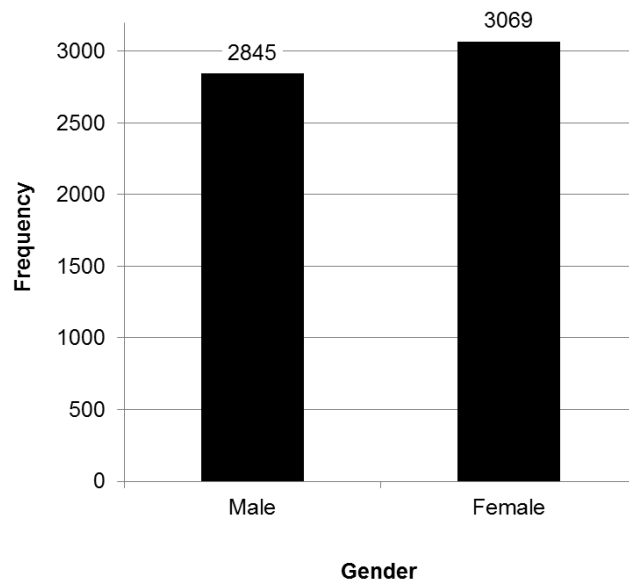


Figure 6. Participation by gender.

Age group. Figure 7 shows the frequency of participants by age group. Even though the voting age in the United States is 18, ANES categorized some participants in a 17 to 20 age group. Some participants were 17 years of age at the time of a prior study, but 18 at the time of the 2012 study. Participants in the 17 to 20 year old age group represented approximately 3% of the sample ($n = 183$), while 11% of the respondents were aged 55 to 59 ($n = 671$).

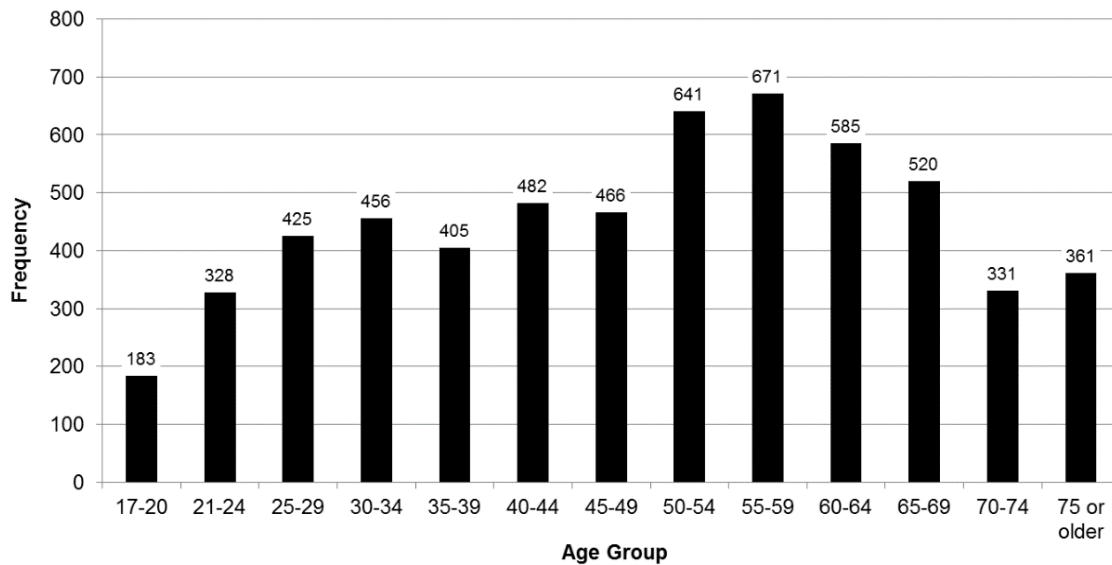


Figure 7. Participation by age group.

Education. Participants had diverse educational backgrounds (see Table 11). The greatest percentage of ANES participants (49%) reported having earned a high school diploma ($n = 1,442$, 26%) and completing some college, with no degree ($n = 1,272$, 23%). Participants with a bachelor's degree accounted for 20% of the sample ($n = 1,120$). The smallest percentage of ANES participants (8%) reported completing 10th ($n = 99$, 2%), 11th ($n = 126$, 2%), or 12th grade ($n = 205$, 4%), but had not earned a high school diploma. Some had earned a graduate or professional school degree ($n = 618$, 12%).

Political party. As shown in Figure 8, 5,890 participants reported their political affiliation. Overall, 53% reported being Democrats ($n = 3,103$), 34% reported being Republicans ($n = 1,995$), while 13% reported being just Independent ($n = 792$). The greatest percentage (38%) reported being *strong* Democrats ($n = 1,485$, 25%) or *strong* Republicans ($n = 762$, 13%).

Table 11

Frequency of Participants' Education

Education	Frequency	Percentage
10th grade	99	2%
11th grade	126	2%
12th grade no diploma	205	4%
High school graduate	1,442	25%
Some college but no degree	1,272	23%
Associate - Occupational/vocational program	346	6%
Associate degree	340	6%
Bachelor's degree	1,120	20%
Master's degree	530	10%
Professional school degree	88	2%
Total	5,568	100%

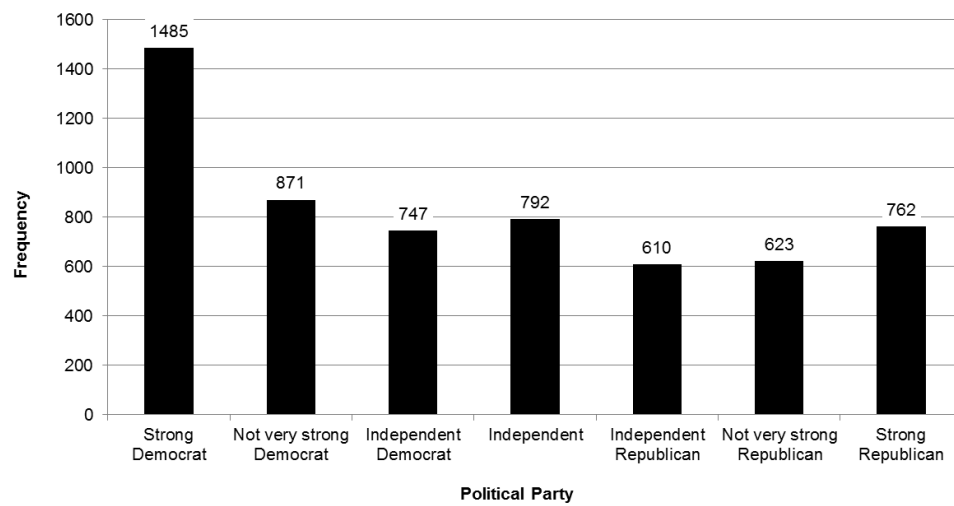


Figure 8. Participation by political party.

Tea Party support. As shown in Figure 9, 5,506 participants indicated their level of support for the Tea Party. Most individuals (36%, $n = 2,006$) said they were not in favor of or opposed to the Tea Party. The next greatest percentage (29%, $n = 1,590$) reported being strongly opposed the Tea Party.

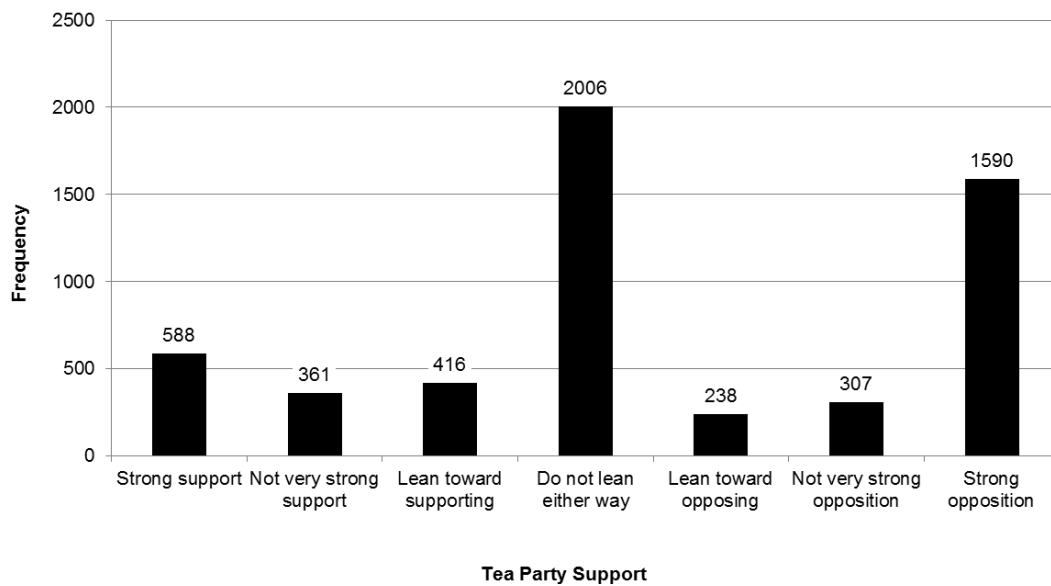


Figure 9. Participation by support of the Tea Party.

State. Table 12 includes the frequency and percent of participants by state of residence. The greatest number of participants reported living in California (13%, $n = 745$), followed by Texas (9%, $n = 545$) and Florida (7%, $n = 420$). The lowest participation rates were in Alaska (0.1%, $n = 3$), Wyoming (0.1%, $n = 4$), Hawaii (0.1%, $n = 6$), Vermont (0.1%, $n = 7$), the District of Columbia (0.2%, $n = 9$), and North Dakota (0.2%, $n = 9$).

Table 12

Frequency of Participants' Residence by State

State	Frequency	Percentage
Alaska	3	0%
Alabama	82	1%
Arkansas	41	1%
Arizona	121	2%
California	745	13%
Colorado	82	1%
Connecticut	59	1%
District of Columbia	9	0%
Delaware	29	0%
Florida	420	7%
Georgia	165	3%
Hawaii	6	0%
Iowa	69	1%
Idaho	14	0%
Illinois	232	4%
Indiana	108	2%
Kansas	35	1%
Kentucky	79	1%
Louisiana	111	2%
Massachusetts	129	2%
Maryland	101	2%
Maine	11	0%
Michigan	173	3%
Minnesota	127	2%
Missouri	106	2%
Mississippi	38	1%
Montana	23	0%
North Carolina	224	4%
North Dakota	9	0%
Nebraska	36	1%
New Hampshire	16	0%
New Jersey	148	3%
New Mexico	64	1%
Nevada	60	1%
New York	302	5%
Ohio	226	4%
Oklahoma	60	1%
Oregon	90	2%
Pennsylvania	268	5%
Rhode Island	24	0%
South Carolina	115	2%
South Dakota	11	0%
Tennessee	105	2%
Texas	545	9%
Utah	48	1%
Virginia	122	2%
Vermont	7	0%
Washington	151	3%
Wisconsin	124	2%
West Virginia	37	1%
Wyoming	4	0%
Total	5,914	100%

Economic Concern

General economic perceptions. Participants indicated their perception that the state of the 2012 economy was very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, or very bad. Figure 10 includes a summary of the results. Since only 5,880 participants responded to this question, some data were missing. About 63% of the sample ($n = 3,713$) reported the 2012 economy as bad (42%, $n = 2,483$) or very bad (21%, $n = 1,230$). Another 28% ($n = 1,651$) said the economy was neither good nor bad. Only 9% ($n = 516$) indicated the 2012 economy was good (8%, $n = 493$) or very good (0.4%, $n = 23$).

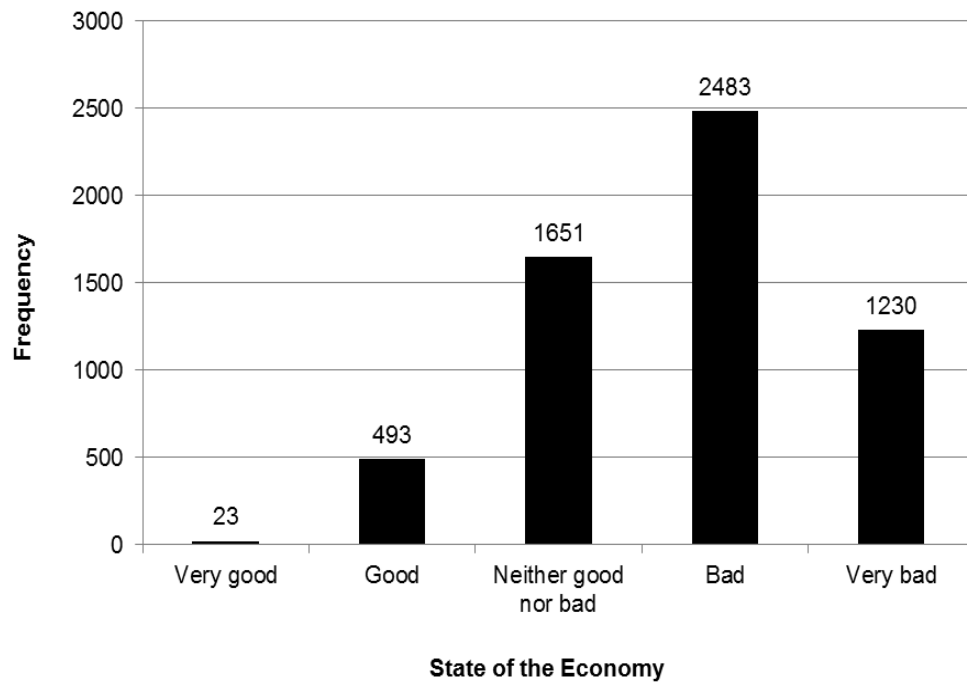


Figure 10. Participants' perceptions of the state of the U.S. economy in 2012.

Participants also indicated their perception about whether changes in the economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse. Since there were missing data,

only 5,876 responses were provided. As shown in Figure 11, most participants 35% ($n = 2,036$) perceived that the economy was about the same. In contrast, 33% ($n = 1,928$) said the economy was worse, while another 33% ($n = 1,912$) believed the economy was better.

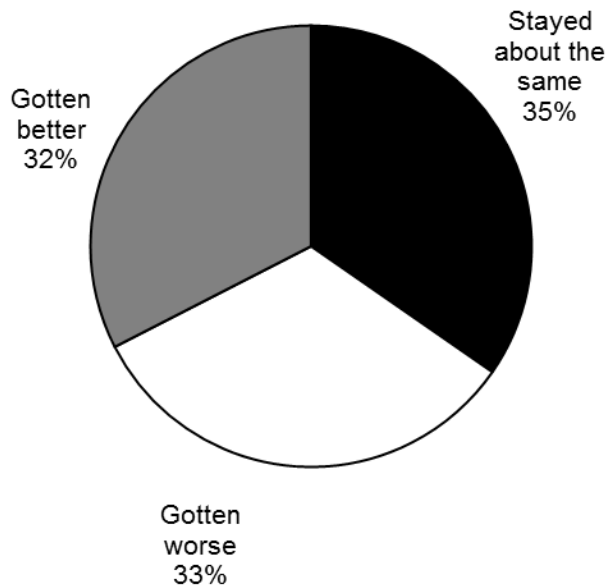


Figure 11. Participants' perceptions of changes in the state of the U.S. economy in 2012.

When asked to compare their perceptions of the economic conditions in 2011 and 2012, participants indicated whether the situation was *much better*, *somewhat better*, *stayed about the same*, *somewhat worse*, or *much worse*. As shown in Figure 12, 35% of the participants ($n = 2,036$) perceived that the economy was *about the same*. About a third believed the economy was *somewhat* (29%, $n = 1,688$) or *much better* (4%, $n = 222$). A similar number felt the economy was *somewhat* (16%, $n = 934$) or *much worse* (17%, $n = 991$).

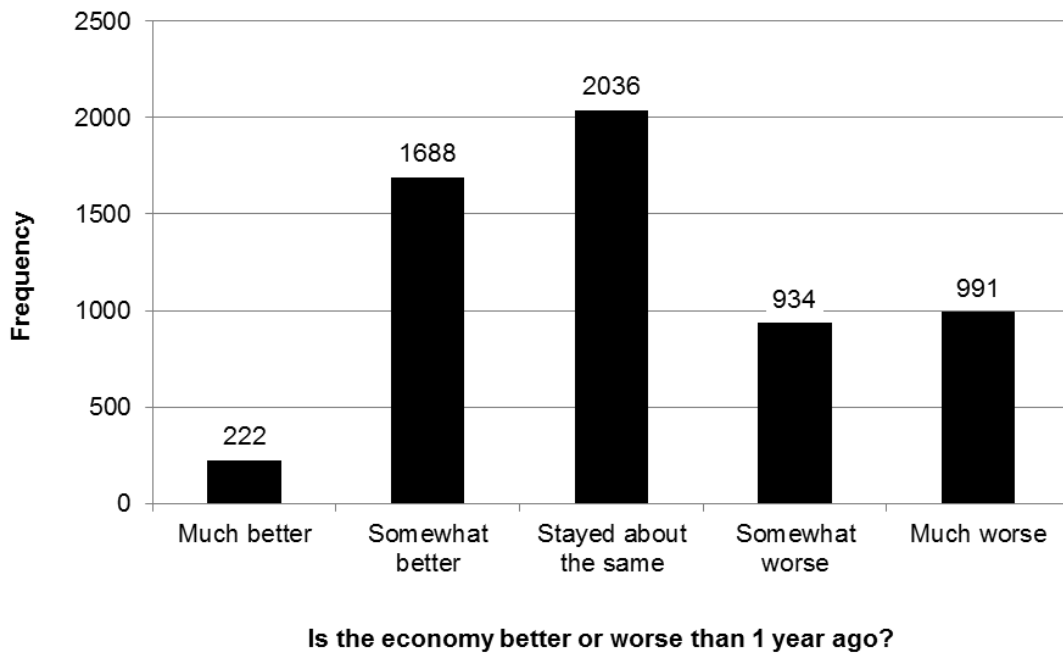


Figure 12. Participants' perceptions of changes in the state of the U.S. economy since 2011.

Participants were also asked to indicate whether they anticipated the U.S. economy would *get better*, *stay about the same*, or *get worse* in 2013. As shown in Figure 13, 46% of the participants ($n = 2,658$) believed the economy would get better. Another 40% ($n = 2,327$) felt the economy would stay about the same, while 14% ($n = 793$) anticipated the economy would get worse in 2013.

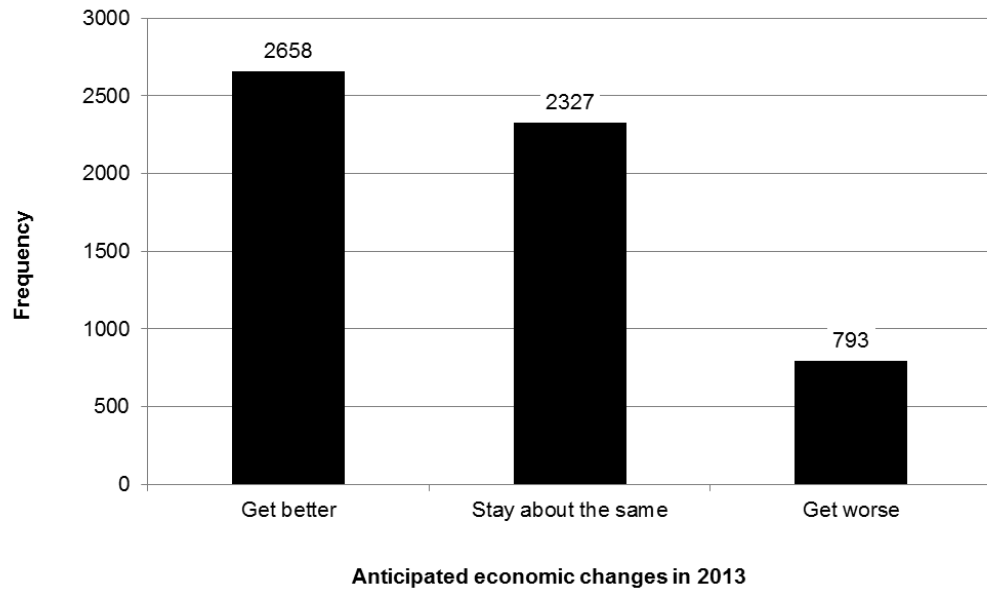


Figure 13. Participants' anticipated changes in the state of the U.S. economy in 2013.

Unemployment perceptions. Participants were also asked a series of questions about their perceptions of unemployment. The first unemployment question measured whether participants felt unemployment had *gotten better*, *stayed about the same*, or *gotten worse* in 2012. As shown in Figure 14, only 5,865 participants responded with 35% of the participants ($n = 2,050$) perceived unemployment was about the same. A similar number (35%, $n = 2,027$) felt unemployment was worse, while 30% ($n = 1,788$) said unemployment was better in 2012.

Participants were then asked to evaluate whether unemployment in 2012 was *much better*, *somewhat better*, *about the same*, *somewhat worse*, or *much worse* than 2011. As shown in Figure 15, only 5,862 respondents answered this question where 35% of the participants ($n = 2,050$) perceived unemployment was *about the same*. Approximately 27% ($n = 1,585$) agreed unemployment was *somewhat better*, and with 3% ($n = 203$) reporting unemployment was *much better*. In contrast, 19% ($n = 1,093$)

reported unemployment was *somewhat worse*, and 16% ($n = 931$) felt unemployment was *much worse*.

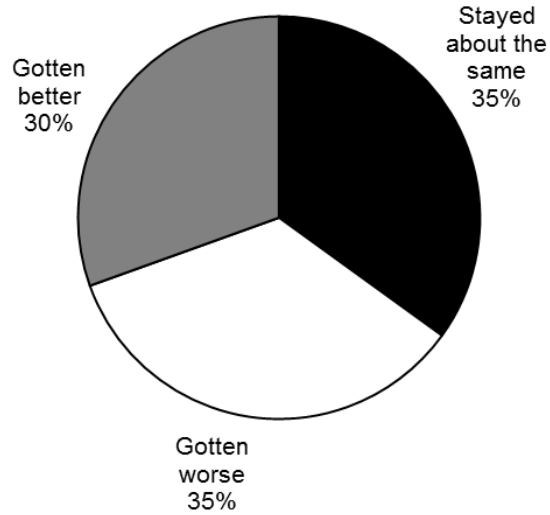


Figure 14. Participants' perceptions of unemployment in the United States in 2012.

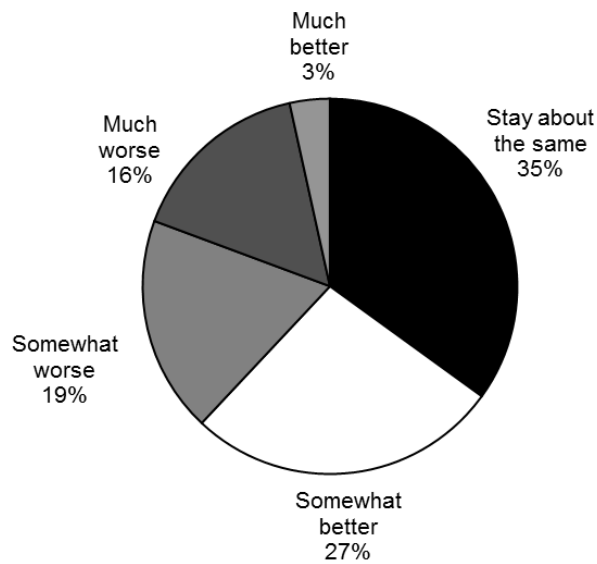


Figure 15. Participants' perceptions of unemployment in the United States since 2011.

Finally, participants indicated whether they anticipated unemployment would be the *same, less, or more* in 2013. As shown in Figure 16, 52% of the participants ($n = 2,996$) perceived unemployment would remain the same. A third (30%, $n = 1,746$) reported unemployment would be lower, while 18% ($n = 1,066$) anticipated unemployment would increase in 2013.

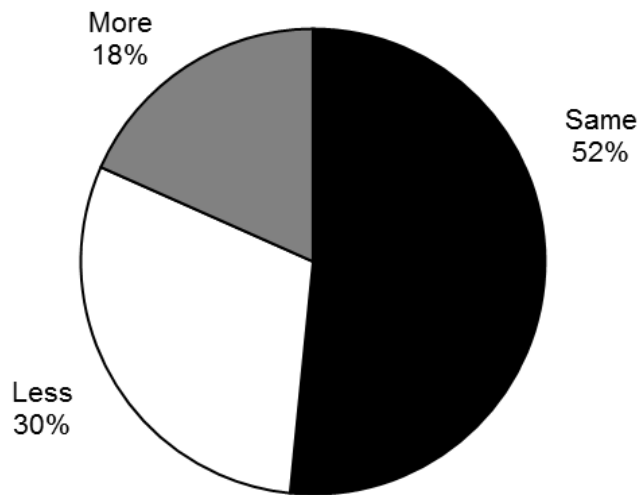


Figure 16. Participants' anticipated unemployment in the United States in 2013.

Congressional Approval

In addition to expressing their economic concerns, participants were asked to report whether they approved or disapproved of the performance of Congress in 2012. As shown in Figure 17, 77% of the participants ($n = 4,271$) disapproved. Only 23% ($n = 1,257$) approved of Congress' performance in 2012.

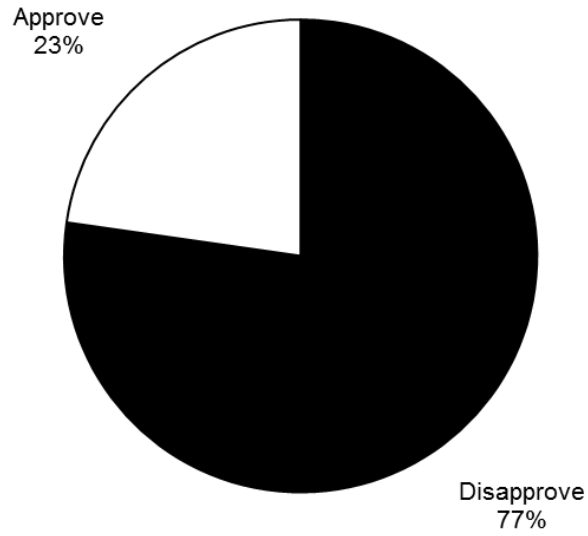


Figure 17. Participants' approval of the U.S. Congress in 2012.

Voting Behavior

Finally, participants self-reported their voting behavior in 2012 (*voted* or *did not vote*). Most participants ($n = 4,404$, 80%) reported they had voted (see Figure 18).

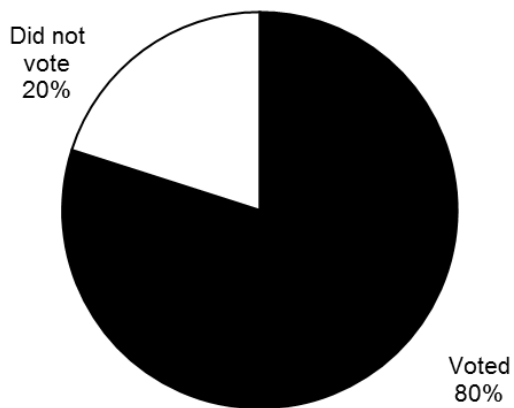


Figure 18. Participants' self-reported voting behavior in 2012.

Research Question Results

Prior to conducting statistical analyses to answer the study research questions, an overall economic concern variable was computed by summing the scores for the seven economic items. Due to missing data, the overall economic score ranged from 1 to 27 ($M = 17.51$, $SD = 4.86$).

RQ 1 – Economic concern by voter background. The first research question was, “In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did economic concern differ by voter background?” Four null hypotheses were tested. The results are below.

Gender, age, and education. Hypothesis 1 examined differences in economic concern by gender, age, and education. Since the independent variables were nominal or ordinal, differences were tested with one-way ANOVA.

H_{I0} Economic concern did not differ significantly by voters' gender, age, or education.

H_{Ia} Economic concern differed significantly by voters' gender, age, or education.

Results revealed no significant difference in voters' economic concern based on gender ($F(1, 5901) = 1.28$, $p = .26$). Male voters ($n = 2,840$) had an average economic concern score of 17.43 ($SD = 4.86$), while female voters ($n = 3,063$) averaged 17.58 ($SD = 4.87$).

However, significant differences in economic concern were detected based on voter age ($F(12, 5830) = 1.98$, $p = .02$) and education ($F(9, 5548) = 10.76$, $p = .00$). The average economic score across all age categories was 17.52 ($SD = 4.86$). The 25 to 29 age group had the lowest economic concern ($M = 16.91$, $SD = 4.28$), while the 70 to 74 age group had the highest economic concern ($M = 18.14$, $SD = 5.04$). Voters with a

master's degree had the lowest economic concern ($M = 15.99$, $SD = 4.76$), while the voters with a 10th grade education had the highest economic concern ($M = 18.45$, $SD = 4.82$). The null hypothesis was accepted in favor of the alternative hypothesis because one of the three differences was not significant. While economic concern differed significantly by voter age and education, economic concern did not differ significantly by gender.

Political party. Hypothesis 2 examined differences in economic concern by political party. Since political party was a nominal variable the hypotheses were tested with a one-way ANOVA.

H_{2_0} Economic concern did not differ significantly by voters' political party.

H_{2_a} Economic concern differed significantly by voters' political party.

Results revealed significant differences in economic concern based on political party ($F(6, 5873) = 368.93$, $p = .00$). As illustrated in Figure 19, voters who described themselves as strong Democrats had the lowest level of economic concern ($M = 14.39$, $SD = 4.03$), while independent ($M = 20.53$, $SD = 4.00$) and strong Republicans reported the highest economic concern ($M = 21.31$, $SD = 3.63$). The results provided evidence to reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis that economic concern

differed significantly by political party.

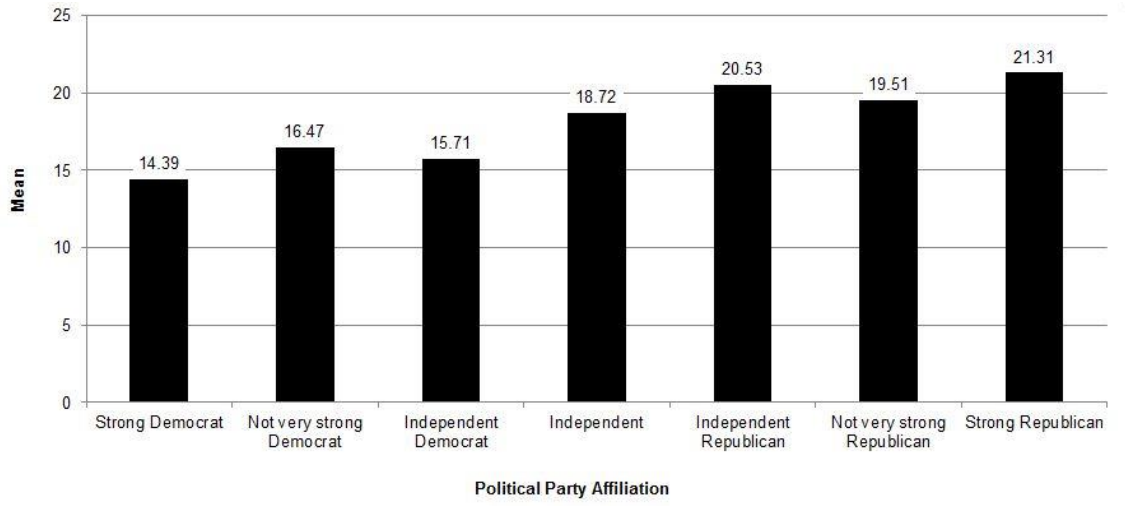


Figure 19. Participants' mean economic concern by political party.

State. Hypothesis 3 tested for differences in economic concern by state. One way ANOVA was used because state was a nominal variable.

H_{3_0} Economic concern did not differ significantly by voters' state.

H_{3_a} Economic concern differed significantly by voters' state.

Economic concern differed significantly by state ($F(50, 5852) = 2.19, p = .00$). As detailed in Table 13, the average economic concern for voters in each state ranged from a high of 20.43 ($SD = 4.76$) in West Virginia ($n = 124$) to a low of 12.89 ($SD = 3.22$) in Washington DC ($n = 9$). The findings support rejecting the hypothesis and accepting the alternative hypothesis that voters in different states had significantly different levels of economic concern in the 2012 congressional election.

RQ 2 – Congressional approval by voter background. The second research question was, “In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did U.S. Congressional approval differ by voter background?” Four null hypotheses were tested. The results are below.

Table 13

Participants' Economic Concern by State

State	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Alaska	3	18.67	3.79
Alabama	81	17.09	5.69
Arkansas	41	19.80	5.17
Arizona	121	18.10	4.65
California	744	17.12	4.68
Colorado	82	18.18	4.75
Connecticut	59	18.20	5.06
District of Columbia	9	12.89	3.22
Delaware	29	19.03	5.88
Florida	420	17.57	4.89
Georgia	165	17.87	4.92
Hawaii	6	17.00	5.02
Iowa	69	17.25	5.14
Idaho	14	19.43	4.85
Illinois	232	17.00	4.87
Indiana	108	18.53	4.62
Kansas	35	18.00	5.59
Kentucky	78	17.60	4.74
Louisiana	111	16.35	5.37
Massachusetts	129	16.81	4.68
Maryland	101	17.00	4.44
Maine	11	16.36	2.84
Michigan	171	17.89	5.01
Minnesota	127	16.54	4.70
Missouri	106	18.38	5.02
Mississippi	37	17.78	4.68
Montana	23	16.39	4.62
North Carolina	224	16.83	4.77
North Dakota	9	18.89	6.05
Nebraska	36	17.28	3.64
New Hampshire	16	17.88	5.52
New Jersey	148	17.91	4.62
New Mexico	64	18.27	4.50
Nevada	60	17.38	5.55
New York	302	17.03	4.78
Ohio	225	17.42	5.07
Oklahoma	60	18.30	5.59
Oregon	90	18.57	5.23
Pennsylvania	267	17.84	4.93
Rhode Island	24	17.67	5.69
South Carolina	115	16.91	4.43
South Dakota	11	19.09	3.73
Tennessee	105	18.37	4.70
Texas	543	17.45	4.69
Utah	48	16.79	3.98
Virginia	121	17.89	5.44
Vermont	7	15.86	4.95
Washington	151	17.17	4.51
Wisconsin	124	18.35	4.76
West Virginia	37	20.43	4.52
Wyoming	4	20.00	6.63
Total	5903	17.51	4.86

Gender, age, education. Hypothesis 4 tested for differences in U.S.

Congressional approval by voters' gender, age, and education. Chi-squared analysis was used because the demographic variables were nominal or ordinal.

H_{4_0} U.S. Congressional approval did not differ significantly by voters' gender, age, or education.

H_{4_a} U.S. Congressional approval differed significantly by voters' gender, age, or education.

Results revealed a significant difference in participants' approval of Congress by gender, age, and education. Participants' approval of Congress differed by gender, $X^2(1, N = 5,528) = 23.71, p = .00$. As shown in Table 14, about 1 in 5 men ($n = 544, 19.96\%$) approved of the way Congress was handling its job, while about 1 in 4 women ($n = 713, 25.45\%$) approved.

Table 14

Participants' Congressional Approval by Gender

Gender	Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?		Total
	Approve	Disapprove	
Male	544	2,182	2,726
	19.96%	80.04%	100.00%
Female	713	2,089	2,802
	25.45%	74.55%	100.00%

Approval of Congress also differed significantly by voter age, $X^2(12, N = 5,479) = 212.27, p = .00$. Approximately 43% of young voters ($n = 66, 42.58\%$), from age 17 to

20, approved of the way the U.S. Congress was handling its job in 2012, while only 12.46% ($n = 43$) of voters 75 and older approved (see Table 15). Conversely, 57.42% of young voters ($n = 89$) as well as 87.54% ($n = 302$) of voters 75 and over disapproved.

Results also revealed a significant difference in a participant's education level and his or her approval of Congress, $\chi^2(9, N = 5,204) = 122.36, p = .00$. As shown in Table 16, approximately 10% of voters with a professional school degree ($n = 86, 2\%$) approved of the way the U.S. Congress was handling its job, while 36% ($n = 66$) of voters who entered 12th grade (but had no diploma) approved. In contrast, about 64% of voters who entered 12th grade but had no diploma ($n = 184, 4\%$) as well as 90% ($n = 77$) of voters with a professional school degree disapproved of Congress' performance. The findings provided support for to reject the null hypothesis and support the alternative hypothesis that U.S. Congressional approval differed significantly by voters' gender, age, and education.

Political party. Hypothesis 5 tested for differences in U.S. Congressional approval by participants' political party. Chi-squared analysis was used because the variables were nominal.

$H5_0$ U.S. Congressional approval did not differ significantly by voters' political party.

$H5_a$ U.S. Congressional approval differed significantly by voters' political party.

Results indicated approval of Congress in the 2012 election differed significantly by voters' political party, $\chi^2(6, N = 5,517) = 106.42, p = .00$. Approximately a third of strong Democrats ($n = 429, 30.60\%$), approved of the way the U.S. Congress was

handling its job, while 16.96% ($n = 125$) of strong Republicans approved (see Table 17). About 7 out of 10 strong Democrats ($n = 973$, 69.40%) as well as 83.04% ($n = 612$) of strong Republicans disapproved of Congress' performance. The findings provided support to reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis that Congressional approval varied by political party.

Table 15

Participants' Congressional Approval by Age Group

Age group	Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?		Total
	Approve	Disapprove	
17-20	66 42.58%	89 57.42%	155 100.00%
21-24	117 41.79%	163 58.21%	280 100.00%
25-29	117 30.55%	266 69.45%	383 100.00%
30-34	121 29.95%	283 70.05%	404 100.00%
35-39	105 28.77%	260 71.23%	365 100.00%
40-44	115 25.39%	338 74.61%	453 100.00%
45-49	116 26.19%	327 73.81%	443 100.00%
50-54	119 19.73%	484 80.27%	603 100.00%
55-59	120 18.58%	526 81.42%	646 100.00%
60-64	85 14.96%	483 85.04%	568 100.00%
65-69	76 14.87%	435 85.13%	511 100.00%
70-74	45 13.93%	278 86.07%	323 100.00%
75 or older	43 12.46%	302 87.54%	345 100.00%

Note. Despite 18 being the legal voting age in the United States, the ANES codebook indicated there was a 17 to 20 year old age group.

Table 16

Participants' Congressional Approval by Highest Level of Education

Education	Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?		Total
	Approve	Disapprove	
10th grade	25 29.41%	60 70.59%	85 100.00%
11th grade	35 30.97%	78 69.03%	113 100.00%
12th grade no diploma	66 35.87%	118 64.13%	184 100.00%
High school graduate	385 28.86%	949 71.14%	1,334 100.00%
Some college but no degree	251 20.97%	946 79.03%	1,197 100.00%
Associate degree - occupational/ vocational program	82 25.79%	236 74.21%	318 100.00%
Associate degree - academic program	77 24.44%	238 75.56%	315 100.00%
Bachelor's degree	176 16.57%	886 83.43%	1,062 100.00%
Master's degree	61 11.96%	449 88.04%	510 100.00%
Professional school degree	9 10.47%	77 89.53%	86 100.00%

Table 17

Participants' Congressional Approval by Political Party

Political Party	Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?		Total
	Approve	Disapprove	
Strong Democrat	429 30.60%	973 69.40%	1,402 100.00%
Not very strong Democrat	219 27.04%	591 72.96%	810 100.00%
Independent Democrat	142 20.91%	537 79.09%	679 100.00%
Independent	137 19.16%	578 80.84%	715 100.00%
Independent Republican	80 13.79%	500 86.21%	580 100.00%
Not very strong Republican	122 20.54%	472 79.46%	594 100.00%
Strong Republican	125 16.96%	612 83.04%	737 100.00%

State. Hypothesis 6 examined differences in U.S. Congressional approval by state.

The data were analyzed with chi-square because state and congressional approval were nominal variables.

H_{60} U.S. Congressional approval did not differ significantly by voters' state.

H_{6a} U.S. Congressional approval differed significantly by voters' state.

Results indicated a significant difference in approval of Congress based on a voter's state, $X^2(50, N = 5,528) = 78.09, p = .01$. As shown in Table 18, 0% ($n = 0$) of voters in Alaska approved of Congress in 2012, compared to 38% ($n = 14$) of voters in Mississippi. Similarly, 62% ($n = 23$) of voters in Mississippi disapproved of Congress in 2012,

compared to 100% of voters in Alaska ($n = 3$), Montana ($n = 21$), Vermont ($n = 7$), and Wyoming ($n = 4$). The findings provided support to reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis that U.S. Congressional approval differed significantly by a voter's state.

RQ 3 – Differences in Congressional approval by voters' economic concern.

The third research question was, "In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did approval of U.S. Congress' job performance differ by voters' economic concerns?"

Hypothesis 7 tested whether congressional approval rating differed significantly by level of economic concern. Since the economic concern variable was ordinal (low, medium, or high), chi-squared analysis tested the hypotheses.

H_{7_0} - Approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance did not differ significantly by voters' economic concern.

H_{7_a} - Approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance differed significantly by voters' economic concern.

Results revealed a significant difference in approval of the way the U.S. Congress was handling its job based on a study participants' economic concern, $X^2(2, N = 5,522) = 39.57, p = .00$. As shown in Table 19, 22.75% ($n = 1256$) of voters approved of Congress in the 2012 election, while 77.25% ($n = 4266$) did not. While voters in all three economic concern groups tended to disapprove of Congress' performance (low concern = 67.90%; medium concern = 74.70%; high concern = 81.30%), 32.10% of voters with low economic concern said they approved of Congress in the election. The result supported

rejecting the null hypothesis and accepting the alternative hypotheses that approval of U.S. Congress' job performance differed by voters' economic concerns.

Table 18

Participants' Congressional Approval by State

State	Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?				Total	
	Approve		Disapprove		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Alaska	0	0.00%	3	100.00%	3	100%
Alabama	25	31.25%	55	68.75%	80	100%
Arkansas	8	20.00%	32	80.00%	40	100%
Arizona	22	18.97%	94	81.03%	116	100%
California	153	22.77%	519	77.23%	672	100%
Colorado	12	15.58%	65	84.42%	77	100%
Connecticut	7	12.96%	47	87.04%	54	100%
District of Columbia	1	11.11%	8	88.89%	9	100%
Delaware	9	32.14%	19	67.86%	28	100%
Florida	102	25.82%	293	74.18%	395	100%
Georgia	38	24.05%	120	75.95%	158	100%
Hawaii	2	33.33%	4	66.67%	6	100%
Iowa	11	16.67%	55	83.33%	66	100%
Idaho	2	14.29%	12	85.71%	14	100%
Illinois	51	23.50%	166	76.50%	217	100%
Indiana	21	21.43%	77	78.57%	98	100%
Kansas	6	17.14%	29	82.86%	35	100%
Kentucky	12	16.00%	63	84.00%	75	100%
Louisiana	31	30.69%	70	69.31%	101	100%
Massachusetts	38	30.65%	86	69.35%	124	100%
Maryland	9	9.18%	89	90.82%	98	100%
Maine	1	9.09%	10	90.91%	11	100%
Michigan	37	22.70%	126	77.30%	163	100%
Minnesota	25	20.49%	97	79.51%	122	100%
Missouri	23	22.77%	78	77.23%	101	100%
Mississippi	14	37.84%	23	62.16%	37	100%
Montana	0	0.00%	21	100.00%	21	100%
North Carolina	54	25.47%	158	74.53%	212	100%
North Dakota	2	22.22%	7	77.78%	9	100%
Nebraska	7	21.88%	25	78.13%	32	100%
New Hampshire	2	12.50%	14	87.50%	16	100%
New Jersey	33	23.24%	109	76.76%	142	100%
New Mexico	17	31.48%	37	68.52%	54	100%
Nevada	10	17.24%	48	82.76%	58	100%
New York	78	26.99%	211	73.01%	289	100%
Ohio	43	20.57%	166	79.43%	209	100%
Oklahoma	9	16.67%	45	83.33%	54	100%
Oregon	14	16.47%	71	83.53%	85	100%
Pennsylvania	58	22.92%	195	77.08%	253	100%
Rhode Island	4	20.00%	16	80.00%	20	100%
South Carolina	30	30.00%	70	70.00%	100	100%
South Dakota	2	18.18%	9	81.82%	11	100%
Tennessee	16	15.84%	85	84.16%	101	100%
Texas	124	25.15%	369	74.85%	493	100%
Utah	6	13.64%	38	86.36%	44	100%
Virginia	20	16.67%	100	83.33%	120	100%
Vermont	0	0.00%	7	100.00%	7	100%
Washington	33	23.91%	105	76.09%	138	100%
Wisconsin	27	22.69%	92	77.31%	119	100%
West Virginia	8	21.62%	29	78.38%	37	100%
Wyoming	0	0.00%	4	100.00%	4	100%

Table 19

Participants' Congressional Approval by Level of Economic Concern

Economic concern	Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?		Total
	Approve	Disapprove	
Low	45	95	140
	32.10%	67.90%	100.00%
Medium	780	2,302	3,082
	25.30%	74.70%	100.00%
High	431	1,869	2,300
	18.70%	81.30%	100.00%
Total	1,256	4,266	5,522
	22.75%	77.25%	100.00%

RQ 4 – Differences in frequency of voting by economic concern. The fourth research question was, “In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did voting behavior differ by voters’ economic concerns?” Hypothesis 8 examined the voting behavior by the study participant’s economic concern. Because the economic concern variable was ordinal, chi-squared analysis was used to test the hypotheses.

H₀ - In the 2012 national election, there was no significant difference in voting behavior by voters' economic concerns.

H_a - In the 2012 national election, there was a significant difference in voting behavior by voters' economic concerns.

Results revealed a significant difference in the frequency of voting based on a participant's economic concern, $X^2(2, N = 5,502) = 9.96, p = .01$. As shown in Table 20, 12.93% of participants who reported low economic concern ($n = 19$), 19.20% of those with medium concern ($n = 594$), and 21.72% with high concern ($n = 491$) indicated they did not vote in the election. In contrast, 87.07% ($n = 128$) of low, 80.80% of medium ($n = 2500$), and 78.28% of highly concerned individuals reported they voted in the election. The finding supported rejecting the null hypothesis and accepting the alternative hypothesis that in the 2012 national election, there was a significant difference in voting behavior by voters' economic concerns.

Table 20

Participants' Approval of Congress in 2012 by Level of Economic Concern

Economic concern	Did the participant vote?		Total
	Yes	No	
Low	128 87.07%	19 12.93%	147 100.00%
Medium	2,500 80.80%	594 19.20%	3,094 100.00%
High	1,770 78.28%	491 21.72%	2,261 100.00%
Total	4,398 79.93%	1,104 20.07%	5,502 100.00%

RQ 5 – Differences in frequency of voting by congressional approval. The fifth research question was, “In the 2012 national election, how, if at all, did voting behavior differ by voters’ approval of Congress’ job performance?” Hypothesis 9 tested whether

voters' behavior differed significantly by voter approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance. Since both variables were categorical, chi-squared analysis was used to test the hypotheses.

H₀ - In the 2012 national election, voter behavior did not differ significantly by voters' approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance.

H_a - In the 2012 national election, voter behavior differed significantly by voters' approval of the U.S. Congress' job performance.

Results revealed a highly significant difference in voter behavior depending on a participant's approval of Congress, $\chi^2(2, N = 5,155) = 48.20, p = .00$. As indicated in Table 21, 74.14% ($n = 863$) of participants who approved of the U.S. Congress in 2012 reported voting in the election, compared to 83.19% ($n = 3,320$) who disapproved. The finding provided support to reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis that in the 2012 national election, voter behavior differed significantly by voters' approval of the U.S. Congress.

Table 21

Participants' Approval of Congress in 2012 by Frequency of Voting

Approval of U.S. Congress in 2012	Did person vote?		Total
	Yes <i>n</i> (%)	No <i>n</i> (%)	
Approve	863 (74.14%)	301 (25.86%)	1,164 (100.00%)
Disapprove	3,320 (83.19%)	671 (16.81%)	3,991 (100.00%)
Total	4,183 (81.14%)	972 (18.86%)	5,155 (100.00%)

Summary

For the current study, archived ANES voter data ($N = 5,914$) from the 2012 national election were analyzed to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens' voting behavior in the U.S. Congressional election of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings. As shown in Table 22, statistical support was found to reject all except one of the null study's alternative hypotheses in favor of the alternative hypotheses. While economic concern did not differ significantly by gender (H1 – gender), the variable differed significantly by age (H1 - age), education (H1 - education), political party (H2), state (H3), and congressional district (H4). Similarly, congressional approval varied significantly by all voter background variables (H5 - demographics, H6 - political party, H7 – state, and H8 – congressional district). The analysis revealed that Congressional approval varied significantly by a voter's level of

economic concern (H9). Additionally, frequency of voting differed significantly by a participant's economic concern and Congressional approval (H10).

Table 22

Summary of Research Question Results

Research questions & hypotheses	Hypothesis	
	Null	Alternative
RQ 1 – Economic concern by voter background		
H1 Gender, age, and education	x	
H2 Political party		x
H3 State		x
RQ 2 – Congressional approval by voter background		
H4 Gender, age, education		x
H5 Political party		x
H6 State		x
RQ 3 (H7) – Congressional approval by economic concern		x
RQ 4 (H8) – Voting by economic concern		x
RQ 5 (H9) – Voting by congressional approval		x

Chapter 5 includes a discussion of conclusions based on the results presented in Chapter 4. Included in Chapter 5 is a discussion of the study implications and limitations. Recommendations for future research are also discussed.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of the quantitative study with a descriptive comparative design was to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens' voting behavior in the U.S. Congressional election of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings. The significant economic concern that preceded the 2012 congressional election provided a unique opportunity to analyze U.S. citizen's voting behavior, economic concern, and congressional approval. If, as pollsters suggested, the economy was the central voting issue in the 2012 election (Pew Research Center, 2012; Polling Report Inc., 2012), then citizens with high economic concern should have been more likely to participate in the election. Chapter 5 includes a discussion of the findings as well as implications, limitations, and recommendations for future research.

Discussion

RQs 1 and 2 - Differences by voter background. As reported in Chapter 4, voters' economic concern and congressional approval varied significantly by education, age group, political affiliation, and state. Participants with more education tended to report lower levels of economic concern. Voters with a master's degree had the lowest economic concern, while voters with a 10th grade education had the highest economic concern. It is possible that participants with a graduate degree were more likely to be employed during the 2012 recession than voters who did not graduate from high school. As a result, individuals who were unemployed may have had higher levels of economic concern because they were searching for a job.

While approval of Congress' performance in 2012 varied significantly by age group, participants from every age group consistently reported high levels of congressional disapproval. About 57% of voters in the 17 to 20 year old group disapproved of Congress' performance in 2012, as did about 88% of voters in the 75 or older group.

The study's findings are consistent with political polls that reported high levels of discontent with Congress prior to the 2012 election (Giroux, 2012). In summary, while study participants reported different levels of economic concern (RQ 1), there was consistent disapproval of the way the U.S. Congress was handling its job in 2012 (RQ 2).

RQ 3 – Differences in Congressional approval by economic concern. The study's findings indicated about 63% of participants categorized the 2012 U.S. economy as *bad* or *very bad*. Similarly, 77% said they disapproved of Congress' performance in 2012. Only about 1 of every 4 participants approved of the way the U.S. Congress was handling its job before the national election. The results were consistent with mass media polls taken during the fall of 2012 (Gallup, 2012c).

While the statistical tests conducted to answer RQ 3 indicated congressional approval differed significantly by economic concern, post hoc examination of specific differences indicated regardless of a participant's level of economic concern, there was consistently high disapproval of the U.S. Congress (low = 67.90%; medium = 74.70%; high = 81.30%). If, as some political analysts suggested, the economy was a pivotal issue in the 2012 election (Schultz, 2012, p. 828), then the findings of RQ 3 would suggest there was a high likelihood that incumbent candidates would be voted out of office.

RQ 4 – Differences in frequency of voting behavior by economic concern. RQ 4

focused on how frequently participants with different levels of economic concern voted in the 2012 election. Approximately 80% of the study's participants said they voted. The percentage differed from national statistics that indicated a turnout rate of only 53.6% (Pearson Publishing, 2014). Because of the self-reported nature of the study's data, it was not possible to verify whether a participant actually voted. Additionally, participants responded to a dichotomously phrased (yes/no) question (Did you vote?); the question did not focus on which candidates were supported. If participants in the ANES dataset truthfully reported the frequency of their voting behavior, the study's sample may not be representative of the general population of U.S. voters who reported voting less frequently.

Interestingly, about 41% of the study participants with medium ($n = 594$, 19.20%) to high economic concern ($n = 491$; 21.71%), said they did not vote in the 2012 election. The finding is inconsistent with the widely held political belief that "it's the economy, stupid!" (Nuttall, 2012, p. 196). If voters were concerned with economic issues, then individuals with medium to high economic concern should have been more likely to participate in the election. Instead, regardless of their economic concern, participants with low (87%), medium (81%), and high (78%) concern similarly said they voted in the election.

RQ 5 – Differences in frequency of voting behavior by Congressional approval.

The final research question focused on participants' frequency of voting by their approval or disapproval of the way Congress was performing its job in 2012. About 83% of participants *disapproved* of Congress ($n = 3,320$). Despite the trend, Bloomberg (2013)

reported 90% of House members and 91% of senators who sought new terms were reelected in 2012. It is unclear why high economic concern and strong disapproval of the U.S. Congress did not result in voters “kicking the bums out” (Avlon, 2012, p. 1). The current study’s results may indicate that voters based their ballot behavior on factors other than the state of the economy and Congressional approval ratings (Mahtesian, 2012). Prior research indicated many voters base their decisions primarily on party affiliation (Pew Research Center, 2014). Alternatively, voters may be influenced by the mass media’s spin of economic issues (Esser, Reinemann, & Fan, 2001). For instance, an incumbent candidate might blame economic difficulties on the previous administration, urging voters to give him or her more time to address the problems. In contrast, a non-incumbent candidate might claim the incumbent should be replaced for failing to fix the poor economy.

Regardless of Congress’ performance, the study findings indicate that the public had significant economic concerns (RQ4), they were dissatisfied with Congress (RQ5). However, the election results did not support that hypothesis, data from the current study conflicts with the notion that disgruntled voters will “throw the bums out!” (Avlon, 2012, p. 1). Party affiliation (Pew Research Center, 2014), apathy (Ghosh, 2011), or a lack of economic education on the part of the electorate (Ashworth & Bueno De Mesquita, 2014) may be better predictors of voting behavior.

Implications

Scholars. The current study’s findings have significant implications for educational scholars. A definite and obvious need exists for further research in the area of U.S. citizen voting behavior. As noted in Chapter 1, the purpose of the study was to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens’ voting behavior in the U.S. Congressional election

of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and congressional approval ratings. While the current study's results indicated the frequency of voting behavior differed significantly by perceived economic concern, most incumbents were reelected in 2012. Further research similar to exit polling, where voters are asked whom they voted for, may result in more insightful findings. Additionally, the avoidance of dichotomous measures of voting may yield in more meaningful results.

Practitioners. The findings of the study have significant implications for business and political practitioners, as well as the American public. In business, a poor performer normally does not stay in business for long. Privately owned businesses that are not run well lose money and eventually fail (Carp, 2010). Corporations governed by stock prices and dividends, following the rational-choice theory normally replace non-performing board members in favor of successful outcome-driven leaders (Downs, 1957). However, the model does not align well with public sector performance. Congressional members often are not voted out of office when the economy is poor or stagnant (Saad, 2011).

Two widely held idioms in politics are "It's the economy, stupid!" (Nuttell, 2012, p. 196) and "Vote the bums out!" (Avlon, 2012, p. 1). The current study's findings seem to indicate that the validity of these commonly held beliefs may not be true when comparing voting trends during a period when the U.S. economy was under significant strain. The results of the 2012 election seem to indicate that practitioners can continue "politics as usual" because voters do not appear likely to throw the bums out - even during bad economic times.

Leaders. The current study produced results that may be significant to business and political leaders, as well as the American public. While typically characterized as

political leaders, Congressional representatives and senators are also business leaders who run a \$15 trillion budget (U.S. Government, 2012). The current study's findings may help researchers to compare U.S. citizens' congressional voting behavior by citizens' background, economic concern, and approval of the U.S. Congress. The answer to RQ 1 should help inform business leaders about segments of the U.S. population that have high economic concerns. Data from the current study may help business leaders make more informed decisions when selecting and supporting congressional leaders. Historically, business leaders spend billions of dollars lobbying members of the U.S. Congress (Longley, 2012).

Changes in voter behavior during periods of high economic concern may also prompt greater financial accountability from members of the U.S. Congress. American business leaders often vote for Congressional representatives based on popularity or party-affiliation (Molden, 2007). If Americans alter their voting behavior based on their economic concerns and their approval of the U.S. Congress, then individuals who are better able to make effective business decisions may have a greater likelihood of being elected.

Limitations

Though the current study provided insight into the behavior of voters in the 2012 elections, the study is subject to limitations. The study was limited to the archival data extracted from the ANES time-based study (ANES, 2014a). The ANES study was only conducted on the 2012 elections, which included 5,914 eligible voters in the United States. The data were collected with face-to-face interviews ($n = 2,054$) as well as an Internet panel group ($n = 3,860$).

A further limitation to the study was using self-reported data. Self-reported data are typically not subject to scrutiny by any validated or credible organization. Since self-reported data are subjective and possibly influenced by mood and misinterpretation by the respondent, the data cannot be conclusively substantiated (Grant & Ward, 2010). With self-reported data, a tendency exists for the researcher to conspicuously remove information that is embarrassing, unflattering, or does not support the light in which he or she wishes to be seen (Parham, 2010). Finally, the validity of the data is always subject to suspicion with self-reported details.

Future Research

With Bloomberg (2013) reporting 90% of House members and 91% of senators who sought new terms being reelected in 2012, future research should use improved measures of reporting voting behavior. The current study's main outcome variable (frequency of voting behavior) was dichotomously phrased, raising issues about the validity of the data. In addition, using single-item questions to measure subject variables may have introduced measure error. As a result, researchers for future studies should develop multi-item instruments to improve reliability and validity. Questions regarding the voting behavior of the respondents should be more specific in naming candidates, and specifying the candidate, party, and if the candidate was the incumbent or challenger. Additionally, future research should also include some qualitative research with focus groups to understand why respondents provided some of the answers. Additional future research may include studies on "blue collar" versus "white collar," or older respondents versus younger respondents.

Summary

Prior to the 2012 national election, 81% of Americans were dissatisfied with the way leaders were governing the United States (Mak, 2011; Saad, 2011). A significant number of U.S. citizens had concerns about economic issues, such as lost benefits, reduced wages, and increasing layoffs (Jones, 2012). Historically, political strategists claim when it comes to voting, “it’s the economy, stupid!” (Nuttall, 2012, p. 196) and U.S. citizens have the power to “vote the bums out” (Avlon, 2012, p. 1).

The current study was designed to investigate these claims, quantitatively, to determine how, if at all, U.S. citizens’ voting behavior in the U.S. Congressional election of 2012 varied by their perceived economic concern and Congressional approval ratings. While economic concern and Congressional approval differed significantly by voter background, most participants in the current study felt the U.S. economy was *bad* or *very bad*. Participants also tended to disapprove of Congress’ performance. The study data strongly indicate incumbents would be voted out in 2012. However, this did not occur. Most incumbents were re-elected (Mahtesian, 2012). Scholars, practitioners, and leaders should reflect upon the findings of the study that strongly suggest, “it’s NOT the economy, stupid!” and U.S. voters, even during difficult economic times, are “unlikely to vote the bums out.”

References

- A+E Television networks. (2013). *Barney Frank biography*. Retrieved from <http://www.biography.com/people/barney-frank-20878097>
- Aaker, D. (2008). *Strategic market management*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Accenture. (2013). *Accenture executive leadership*. Retrieved from <http://www.accenture.com/us-en/company/people/executive-leadership/Pages/index.aspx>
- Agrawal, R. (2008). Public transportation and customer satisfaction. *Global Business Review*, 9(2), 257-272. doi:10.1177/097215090800900206
- Allen, F. E. (2011). *Should we have an ex-CEO for President? Romney thinks so*. Retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/frederickallen/2011/02/07/should-we-have-an-ex-ceo-for-president-romney-thinks-so/>
- American Political Science Association. (2013). *About*. Retrieved from <http://www.apsanet.org/content.asp?contentid=1>
- American Research Group Inc. (2014). *Margin of error calculator*. Retrieved from <http://americanresearchgroup.com/moe.html>
- Anderson, C. J., Duch, R. M., & Palmer, H. D. (2000). "Unrepresentative Information The Case of Newspaper Reporting on Campaign Finance." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 69(2), 213-231.
- Andina-Diaz, A. (2006). Political competition when media create candidates' charisma. *Public Choice*, 127(3/4), 353-374. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30026594>

- Andrews, R., Boyne, G. A., Meier, J. J., O'Toole, L. J., & Walker, R. M. (2005). Representative bureaucracy, organizational strategy, and public service performance: An empirical analysis of English local government. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 15*(4), 489-504.
doi:10.1093/jopart/mui032
- ANES. (2014a). *Our studies*. Retrieved from <http://www.electionstudies.org/OurStudies/OurStudies.htm>
- ANES. (2014b). *Help center*. Retrieved from <http://electionstudies.org/helpcenter/HelpCenter.htm#policy>
- ANES. (2014c). *2012 Time series study*. Retrieved from http://electionstudies.org/studypages/anes_timeseries_2012/anes_timeseries_2012.htm
- ANES. (2014d). *ANES Bibliography*. Retrieved from http://www.electionstudies.org/resources/papers/reference_library.htm
- ANES. (2014e). *2012 User guide code book*. Retrieved from http://electionstudies.org/studypages/anes_timeseries_2012/anes_timeseries_2012_userguidecodebook.pdf
- ANES. (2014e). *User's Guide and Codebook for the ANES 2012 Time Series Study*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan and Stanford University. Retrieved from http://electionstudies.org/studypages/anes_timeseries_2012/anes_timeseries_2012_userguidecodebook.pdf
- Ansolabehere, S., & Snyder Jr., J. (2011). Weak tea. *Boston Review, 36*(2), 5-7.

- Ansolabehere, S., Meredith, M., & Snowberg, E. (2008). *Sociotropic voting and the media*. Retrieved from <http://resolver.caltech.edu/CaltechAUTHORS:20120531-102106077>
- Antunes, R. (2013). *Theoretical models of voting behaviour*. Retrieved from http://www.exedrajournal.com/docs/N4/10C_Rui-Antunes_pp_145-170.pdf
- Arrows, K. (1951). *Social values and individual values*. New York, NY: John Willey & Sons.
- Arrows, K. (1986). Rationality of self and others in economic system. *The Journal of Business*, 59(4), 385-399. doi:10.1086/296376
- Ashworth, S., & Bueno De Mesquita, E. (2014). Is Voter Competence good for voters?: Information, rationality, and democratic performance. *The American Political Science Review*, 108(3), 565-587.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.apollolibrary.com/10.1017/S0003055414000264>
- Associated Press. (2013). *Debt ceiling debate: House votes to raise borrowing limit*. Retrieved from <http://www.wjla.com/articles/2013/01/debt-ceiling-debate-house-votes-to-raise-borrowing-limit-84388.html>
- Avlon, J. (2012). *Vote the bums out: the eight worst members of Congress*. Retrieved from <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/11/03/vote-the-bums-out-the-eight-worst-congressmen.html>
- Ayande, A., Sabourin, V., & Sefa, E. (2012). Managerial execution in public administration: Practices of managers when implementing strategic

- objectives. *International Journal of Business and Management*, 7(19), 55-75.
doi:10.5539/ijbm.v7n19p55
- Baarspul, H. C., & Wilderom, C. P. (2011). Do employees behave differently in public- vs private-sector organizations? *Public Management Review*, 13(7), 967-1002.
- Barton, D. (2011). Capitalism for the long term. *Harvard Business Review*, 84-91.
- Beck, J., & Watson, M. (2011). Transforming board evaluations-the board maturity model. *Keeping Good Companies*, 63(10), 586-593.
- Behn, R. D. (2001). *Rethinking democratic accountability*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institutional Press.
- Bel, R. (2010). Leadership and innovation: Learning from the best. *Global Business and Organizational Excellence*, 29(2), 47-61.
- Belli, R. F., Traugott, M. W., & Beckmann, M. N. (2001). What leads to voting overreports? Contrasts of overreporters to validated voters and admitted non voters to validated voters and admitted nonvoters in the American National Elections Studies. *Journal of Official Statistics*, 17(4), 479-498. Retrieved from <http://www.jos.nu/Articles/article.asp>
- Bendor, J., Kumar, S., & Siegel, D. A. (2010). Adaptively rational retrospective voting. *Journal of heoretical Politics*, 22(1), 26-63.
- Berelson, B. R., Lazarsfeld, P. F., & McPhee, W. N. (1954). *Voting: A study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Berkeley, J. (2012). *The economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/21525405>

- Berman, E., & Wang, X. (2000). Performance measurement in U.S. counties: Capacity for reform. *Public Administration Review*, 409-420.
- Bischoff, I., & Siemers, L. R. (2013). Biased beliefs and retrospective voting: Why Democracies choose mediocre policies. *Public Choice*, 156(1-2), 163-180.
doi:10.1007/s11127-011-9889-5
- Blendon, R., & Benson, J. (2012). The public, taxes, and the fiscal cliff. *Challenge*, 55(6), 5-25.
- Blessing, L. T., Chakrabarti, K. M., & Wallace, K. M. (1998). *An overview of descriptive studies in relation to a general design research methodology*. London: Springer.
- Bloomberg L.P. (2013). *113th Congress, by the numbers*. Retrieved from <http://www.businessweek.com/articles/2013-01-10/the-113th-congress-by-the-numbers>
- Boch, K. R. (2014). 'Anyone can be an illegal': Color-blind ideology and maintaining latino/citizen borders. *Crit Sociol*, 40, 47-65.
doi:10.1177/0896920512466274
- Bosco, R. A. (1984). Benjamin Franklin: A Biography by Ronald W. Clark. *American Literature*, 56(1), 107-110.
- Bosworth, K. A. (1958). The manager is a politician. *Public Administration Review*, 18, 216-222.
- Boyne, G. A. (2003). What is public service improvement? *Public Administration*, 81, 211-227.
- Brennan, Z. (2009). *Blackwater, the world's biggest private army, faces a terrible charge*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article->

1205625/Blackwater-worlds-biggest-private-army-faces-terrible-charge--
crusade-wipe-Muslims.html

Bresiger, G. (2011). *Congress of dunces 80 percent have no business acumen*. Retrieved from

http://www.nypost.com/p/news/business/congress_of_dunces_KtsBqPkMRMPV3pq9OchLbJ

Bretthauer, K. M. (2004). Service management. *Decision Sciences*, 34(3), 325-332.

Brown, L. P., & Peabody, R. L. (1992). *In New Perspectives on the House of Representatives*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Brunell, T. L., & Koetzle, W. (1999). A divided-government-based explanation for the decline in resignations from the US Senate, 1834-1996. *Party Politics*, 5, 497.

Bureau of economic analysis. (2014). *2012 GDP national data*. Retrieved from

<http://www.bea.gov/iTable/iTable.cfm?ReqID=9&step=1#reqid=9&step=3&isuri=1&903=5>

Burns, N., & Grove, K. (1993). *The practice of nursing research: Conduct, critique and utilization* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia, PA: Saunders.

Business. (2014). *In Meriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*. Retrieved from

<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/business>

Cacho, L. M. (2000). 'The people of California are suffering': The ideology of white injury in discourses of immigration. *Cultural Values*, 4(4), 389-418.

Campbell, A. (1980). *The american voter*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, A., & Kahn, R. L. (1952). *The people elect a president*. (S. Ebert, Ed.) Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.

- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E., & Stokes, D. E. (1960). *The american voter*. New York, NY: Willey.
- Campbell, A., Gurin, G., & Miller, W. E. (1954). *The voter decides*. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson.
- Campbell, K. (2011). *5 reasons the government should be run like a business*. Retrieved from <http://money.usnews.com/money/blogs/the-smarter-mutual-fund-investor/2011/09/14/5-reasons-the-government-should-be-run-like-a-business>
- Cantrell, M. A. (2011). Demystifying the research process: Understanding a descriptive comparative research design. *Pediatric Nursing, 37*(4), 188-189.
- Carbaugh, R., & Tenerelli, T. (2011). Restructuring the U.S. Postal Service. *Cato Journal, 31*(1), 129-150.
- Carp, B. L. (2010). *Defiance of the patriots: The Boston tea party and the making of America*. Padstow Cornwall, Great Britain: Yale University Press.
- Chastin, G. D. (Ed.). (1999). *Protecting human subjects: Departmental subject pools and institutional review boards*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Chen, H. L., Chen, C., & Wei, N. (2013). Estimating a project's profitability: A longitudinal approach. *International Journal of Project Management, 31*(3), 400-410.
- Christensen, L., Johnson, R., & Turner, L. (2011). *Research methods, design and analysis*. Boston, MA: Pearson.

- Chun, Y. H., & Rainey, H. G. (2005). Goal ambiguity and organizational performance in U.S. federal agencies. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 15(4).
- Cogan, J. F., Taylor, J. B., Volker, W., & Wolters, M. H. (2013). Fiscal consolidation strategy. *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, 37(2), 404-421.
- Cohen, J., & Tumulty, K. (2013). *Obama's approval drops as Americans take a dimmer view of his economic policies*. Retrieved from http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2013-03-13/politics/37660704_1_gun-violence-gun-control-poll
- Collingwood, C., Barreto, M. A., & Garcia-Rios, S. I. (2014). Revisiting Lation voting: Cross-racial mobilization in the 2012 election. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(3), 632-345. doi:10.1177/1065912914532374
- Conover, W. J. (1999). *Practical nonparametric statistics* (Third ed.). New York, NY: Wiley and Sons.
- Cooper, D. R., & Schindler, P. S. (2002). *Business research methods* (8th ed.). Boston, MA: Irwin.
- CoreLogic Inc. (2013). *National foreclosure report 2012*. Irvine: CoreLogic Inc. Retrieved from <http://www.corelogic.com/solutions/property-information-analytic-solutions.aspx>
- Cormack, D. (1991). *Team spirit motivation and committment team leadership and membership, team evaluaiton*. Grand Rapids, MI: Pyrance Books.
- Corti, L. (2007). Re-using archived qualitative data - Where, how, why? *Science*, 7(1), 37-54. Retrieved from <http://link.springer.com/journal/10502>

- Corti, L. (2007). Re-using archived qualitative data - Where, how, why? *Archival Science*, 7(1), 37-54. Retrieved from <http://link.springer.com/journal/10502>
- Covey, S. R. (2006). *The 8th habit: From effectiveness to greatness*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Crainer, S. (2011). Digital post and beyond: The future post office? *Business Strategy Review*, 22(2), 7-9.
- Creswell, J. W. (2005). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Creswell, J. W. (2008). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative research* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Cusumano, M. A. (2012). Technology strategy and management: Can services and platform thinking help the the U.S. Postal Service? *Viewpoints*, 55(4), 21-23.
- Deloitte Development LLC. (2013). *CEO insights*. Retrieved from http://www.deloitte.com/view/en_US/us/Insights/browse-by-role/CEO/index.htm
- Demir, T. (2009). The complementarity view: Exploring a continuum in political-administrative relations. *Public Administration Review*, 69, 876-888.
- Denhardt, R. B., & Denhardt, J. V. (2000). The new public service: Serving rather than steering. *Public Administration Review*, 60, 549-559.

- Diamond, L. (2007). A quarter-century of promoting democracy. *Journal of Democracy, 18*, 118-120.
- Dolar, B., & Yang, F. (2012). The 2007-2008 financial crisis and the availability of small credit. *Journal of Financial and Accountancy, 12*, 1-13.
- Dowd, M. (1999). Liberties; Trump shrugged. *The New York Times*, pp. B-06.
Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/11/28/opinion/liberties-trump-shrugged.html?module=Search&mabReward=relbias%3Aw>
- Downs, A. (1957). *An economic theory of democracy*. New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Druckenbrod, D. L., & Shugart, H. H. (2004). Forest history of James Madison's Montpelier plantation. *Journal of the Torrey Botanical Society, 131*(3), 204-219.
- Dunn, D. D., & Legge, J. S. (2002). Politics and administration in U.S. local government. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 12*, 401-422.
- Editorial. (2010). *Be prepared to defend your resume*. Retrieved from <http://politicaljobhunt.com/be-prepared-to-defend-your-resume/>
- Emerald Group Publishing Limited. (2003). Pied piper to the Y generation: What type of leadership meets the needs of a twenty-first century workforce? *Development and Learning in Organizations, 24*(4), 23-26.
- Emerald Group Publishing Ltd. (2013). Making our leaders look out of the window: The importance of blended approaches to leadership development.

Development and Learning in Organizations, 27(3), 22-25. doi:DOI
10.1108/14777281311315874

Esser, F., Reinemann, C., & Fan, D. (2001). Spin doctors in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 6(1), 16-45.
doi:10.1177/1081180X01006001003

Fehrenbach, D. N. (2010). *The Capitol's age pyramid: A graying Congress*. Retrieved from http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/info-CONGRESS_AGES_1009.html

Financial Management. (2014). In *Businessdictionary.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/financial-management.html>

Fink, A. (2009). *How to conduct surveys a step by step guide* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fiorina, M. P. (2000). *When stakes are high, rationality kicks in*. Retrieved from <http://myweb.liu.edu/~uroy/eco54/histlist/pol-sci-rational.htm>

Foster, K. (2013). Generation and the discourse in working life stories. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 64(2), 195-215. doi:10.1111/1468-4446.12014

Frank, T. (2000). *One market under god: Extreme capitalism, market populism, and the end of economy democracy*. New York, NY: Doubleday Press.

Franklin, M. I. (2012). *Understanding research: coping with the quantitative-qualitative divide*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Frederickson, G. H., & Smith, K. B. (2003). *The public administration theory primer*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

- French, E. P. (2005). Policy, management, and political activities: A current evaluation of the time allocations of mayors and managers in small cities and towns. *Social Science Journal*, 42, 499-510.
- Gallup Inc. (2012c). *Congress' job approval at new low of 10%*. Retrieved from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/152528/congress-job-approval-new-low.aspx>
- Gallup Inc. (2014a). *Congress job approval rating*. Retrieved from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1600/congress-public.aspx>
- Gallup Inc. (2014b). *How does Gallup polling work?* Retrieved from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/101872/How-does-Gallup-polling-work.aspx>
- Galoozis, C. (2012). *It's the economy, stupid*. Retrieved from <http://harvardpolitics.com/united-states/its-the-economy-stupid/>
- Gangl, A. (2007). Examining citizens' beliefs that government should run like business. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 71(4), 661-670. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25167587>
- Garofoli, J. (2009). *Limbaugh is talk host king, not leader of GOP*. Retrieved from <http://www.sfgate.com/politics/article/Limbaugh-is-talk-host-king-not-leader-of-GOP-3252881.php>
- Ghosh, P. (2011). *Why is there so much apathy in U.S. elections?* Retrieved from <http://www.ibtimes.com/why-there-so-much-voter-apaty-us-elections-315494>
- Giroux, G. (2012). *Voters throw bums in while holding Congress in disdain*. Retrieved from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-12-13/voters-throw-bums-in-while-disdaining-congress-bgov-barometer.html>

- Glazer, A. (2012). Performance when misinformation increases with experience. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 25(1), 63-74.
- Goldsmith, A. A. (2011). No country left behind? Performance standards and accountability in U.S. foreign assistance. *Development Policy Review*, 29, 157-176.
- Goodman, L. (2011). With success comes scrutiny for Herman Cain, sudden Republican star: With success comes scrutiny for Herman Cain. *The Canadian Press*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.apollolibrary.com/docview/898514439?accountid=458>
- Govtrack.us. (2013). *Senator Harry Reid*. Retrieved from http://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/harry_reid/300082
- Grant, H. L., & Ward, M. M. (2010). Association of measured physical performance and demographic and health characteristics with self-reported physical function: implications for the interpretation of self-reported limitations. *Health and Quality of Life Outcomes*, 8, 84.
- Grant, R. M. (2007). *Contemporary strategy analysis: Concepts, techniques, applications* (Sixth ed.). New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Grant, T. J. (2005). What divides us? The image and organization of political science. *Political Science & Politics*, 38(3), 379-386.
- Green, F. M. (1952). Thomas Jefferson: A biography by Nathan Schachner. *The Journal of Southern History*, 18(4), 538-541.

- Greenstein, F. I. (2006). Presidential difference in the early republic: The highly disparate leadership styles of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36(3), 373-390.
- Grintis, H. (2007). A framework for the unification of the behavioral sciences. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 30, 1-61.
- Grosskopf, A., & Frye, N. (2012). Breaking it is one thing, fixing it is another: Responsibility attributions and support for the U.S. Presidency, Congress, and the Supreme Court. *The Social Science Journal*, 49(1), 24-32. Retrieved from <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.apollolibrary.com/science/article/pii/S036233191100098X>
- Guisan, M. C. (2008). Quality of government, education and world development: An analysis of 132 countries, 2000-2007. *International Journal of Applied Econometrics and Quantitative Studies*, 6.
- Guston, D. H., & Sarewitz, D. (2006). *Shaping science and technology policy: The next generation of research*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Haque, M. S. (2001). The diminishing publicness of public service under the current mode of governance. *Public Administration Review*, 61(1), 65-82.
- Heine, H. (2013). *G*Power: Statistical power analyses for Windows and Mac (Version 3.1.9.2) [Software]*. Retrieved from <http://www.gpower.hhu.de/en.html>
- Hemphill, T. A. (2012). The U.S. shareholder say-on-pay vote: What are the first year results? *Review of Business*, 32(2), 82-90.
- Hibbing, J. R., & Theiss-Morse, E. (2001). *What is it about government that Americans dislike?* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Hickey, W. (2013). *The 19 richest new members of Congress*. Retrieved from <http://www.businessinsider.com/richest-congress-new-freshmen-2013-1>
- Hirsch, D., & Haften, D. V. (2010). *Abraham Lincoln and the structure of reason*. New York, NY: Savas Beatie.
- Hood, C., & Peters, G. U. (2004). The middle aging of new public management: Into the age of paradox? *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 14(3), 267-282.
- Howell, D. C. (2007). *Statistical methods for Psychology* (6th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomas Higher Education.
- Hughes, J., & Sharrock, W. (1997). *The philosophy of social research* (Third ed.). Essex, UK: Pearson.
- ICPSR. (2014). *American National Election Study Series*. Retrieved from <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/series/3>
- Im, S., & Workman, J. P. (2004). Innovation, market orientation, and organizational learning: An integration and empirical examination. *Journal of Marketing*, 62, 42-54.
- James, O. (2001). Business models and the transfer of business-like central government agencies. *Governance*, 14(2).
- Javers, E. (2009). *The Obama cabinet is a CEO black hole*. Retrieved from <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0209/19066.html>
- Jencik, A. (n.d.). Qualitative versus quantitative research. *21st century political science: A reference handbook*.

- Johnson, G., Scholes, K., & Whittington, R. (2010). *Exploring corporate strategy*. London, UK: Prentice Hall International.
- Jones, J. M. (2012). *Benefit reductions remain top worry for American workers*. Retrieved from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/156821/benefit-reductions-remain-top-worry-american-workers.aspx>
- Jones, J. M. (2012b). *Huckabee, Trump, Romney set pace for 2012 GOP field; Trump leads among liberal and moderate Republicans*. Retrieved from http://av4kc7fg4g.search.serialssolutions.com.ezproxy.apollolibrary.com/?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info%3Aofi%2Fenc%3AUTF-8&rft_id=info:sid/summon.serialssolutions.com&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:journal&rft.genre=article&rft.atitle=Huckabee%2C+Trump
- Kahan, M., & Rock, E. B. (2011). When the government is the controlling share holder. *The Texas Law Review*, 89(6), 1293-1364.
- Kamensky, J. M. (1996). Role of the "reinventing government" movement in federal management reform. *Public Administration Review*, 56, 247-255.
- Katz, E., & Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1955). *Personal influence: The part played by people in the flow of mass communications*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Keithly, D. M. (2013). *The USA and the world* (9th ed.). Harpers Ferry, WV: Stryer-Post Publications. Retrieved from <http://books.google.com/books?id=zQSYAAAAQBAJ&pg=PA173&dq=november+2012+usa+recession&hl=en&sa=X&ei=TclAVKD2N8L0ggTG94GQBA&ved=0CD0Q6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=november%202012%20usa%20recession&f=false>

Kellstedt, L. A., Green, J. C., Guth, J. L., & Smidt, C. E. (1994). Religious voting blocs in the 1992 election: The year of evangelical? *Sociology of Religion*, 55(3), 307.

Retrieved from

<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.apollolibrary.com/docview/216767549?accountid=458>

Ketcham, R. (1985). George Washington: A biography by John R. Aldon. *The American Historical Review*, 90(4), 1004-1005.

Labuschagne, A. (2003). Qualitative research: Airy fairy or fundamental? *The Qualitative Report*, 8(1), 100-103. Retrieved from Labuschagne, A. (2003).

Qualitative research: Airy fairy or fundamental? *The Qualitative Report*, 8(1), 100-103.

Lacy, S. (2011). *Can America function more like a fiscally responsible company? It's up to us, the shareholders*. Retrieved from

http://techcrunch.com/2011/02/24/can-america-function-more-like-a-fiscally-responsible-company-its-up-to-us-the-shareholders/?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+Techcrunch+%28TechCrunch%29

Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1944). *The people's choice: How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Lee, M. (2001). Looking at the politics-administration dichotomy from the other direction: Participant observation by a state senator. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 24, 363-384.

- Lee, M. (2006). Political-administrative relations in state government: A legislative perspective. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 29, 1024-1047.
- Leedy, P. D., & Ormrod, J. E. (2005). *Practical research: Planning and design* (8th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Leedy, P. D., & Ormrod, J. E. (2010). *Practical reasearch planning and design* (9th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Levi, M. (2006). Why we need a new theory of government. *Prespectives on Government*, 4, 5-19.
- Levy, P. B. (2002). *Encyclopedia of the Clinton presidency*. West Port, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group. Retrieved from <http://books.google.com/books?id=vEzWIAvDEf0C&pg=PA205&dq=arkansas+james+carville+coined+the+phrase+%22It%27s+the+economy,+stupid%2&hl=en&sa=X&ei=S6gAVM3SloTGggSNg4GIBw&ved=0CB0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=arkansas%20james%20carville%20coined%20the%20phrase%20%22>
- Longley, R. (2012). *Salaries and benefits of U.S. congress members*. Retrieved from <http://usgovinfo.about.com/od/uscongress/a/congresspay.htm>
- Loomis, B. A. (1984). Congressional careers and party leadership in the contemporary House of Representatives. *American Journal of Political Science*, 28(1), 180-202.
- Lynn, L. E. (1998). The new public management: How to transform a theme into a legacy. *Public Administration Review*, 58, 231-237.

- Lyons, L. E. (2011). I'd like my life back: Corporate persobhood and the BP oil disaster. *Biography*, 34(1), 96-107.
- Maciariello, J. A., & Linkletter, K. E. (2010). The next book Peter Drucker would have written: Federalism and management as a liberal art. *Management Decision*, 48(4), 628-655.
- Mahtesian, C. (2012). *2012 reelection rate: 90 percent*. Retrieved from <http://www.politico.com/blogs/charlie-mahtesian/2012/12/reelection-rate-percent-151898.html>
- Mak, T. (2011). *Politico*. Retrieved from <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0911/64390.html>
- Manning, J. E. (2013). *Membership of the 113th Congress: A profile*. Retrieved from <http://www.senate.gov/CRSReports/crs-publish.cfm?pid=%260BL%2BR%5CC%3F%0A>
- Mansour, A., & Nadji, H. (2006). *U.S. infrastructure privatization and public policy issues*. RREEF Deutsche Bank Group. Retrieved from www.citigroupai.com
- McEntire, L. E., & Greene-Shortage, T. M. (2011). Recruiting and selecting leaders for innovation: How to find the right leader. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 13, 266.
- McKinsey & Company. (2013). *Client services*. Retrieved from http://www.mckinsey.com/about_us
- Messer, P. C. (2010). James Madison: Philosopher, founder, and statesman. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 40(3), 582-583.

- Mintzberg, H. (1996). *Managing government - Governing management*. *Harvard Business Review*, 75-83.
- Miron, J. (2010). *The Tea party and the drug war*. Retrieved from <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/tea-party-drug-war>
- Molden, D. C. (2007). *Effects of Beliefs about the Stability or Malleability of Personality on Judgments of Political Candidates' Character and Voting Behavior*. Evanston: American National Elections Studies. Retrieved from http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=6&ved=0CGMQFjAF&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.electionstudies.org%2Fresources%2Fpapers%2FPilot2006%2Fnes011906.pdf&ei=kJo8UbeuIim9ASjkYQCQDQ&usg=AFQjCNHfhX_qG6kZl2PlzH1qicUf02zbZw&bvm=bv.43287494,d
- Mona, B. (2006). *Translation and conflict: A narrative account*. New York, NY: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- Moynihan, D. P., & Pandey, S. K. (2005). Testing how management matters in an era of government by performance management. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 15(3), 421-439.
- Nahavandi, A. (2006). *The art and science of leadership* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- National Academy of Public Administration. (2006). *Can government grow great leaders?* Retrieved from <http://www.napawash.org/wp-content/uploads/2006/06-01.pdf>

- National Institute Economic Review . (2013). *At a glance...: The world economy*.
doi:10.1177/002795011322400107
- National Statistical Service. (2013). *Chapter 3: Samples and censuses*. Retrieved from
<http://www.nss.gov.au/nss/home.nsf/SurveyDesignDoc/20EDCFE8B204BE1FCA2571AB002479A2?OpenDocument>
- Neuman, S. (2010). *Why we love to hate congress*. Retrieved from
<http://www.npr.org/2010/12/17/132141805/why-we-love-to-hate-congress>
- Neuman, W. L. (2005). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (6th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Newman, S. (2011). The libertarian impulse. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 16(3), 239-244.
- Newport, F. (2011). *Opposing Viewpoints in Context*. Retrieved from
<http://ic.galegroup.com.ezproxy.apollolibrary.com/ic/ovic/NewsDetailsPage/NewsDetailsWindow?failOverType=&query=&prodId=OVIC&windowstate=normal&contentModules=&mode=view&displayGroupName=News&limiter=&currPage=&disableHighlighting=false&displayGroups=&sort>
- Nickerson, R. S. (2011). Norms, goals, and the study of thinking. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 34(5), 267-262.
- Nuttle, M. (2012). *Moment of truth*. Lake Mary, FL: Front Line. Retrieved from
<http://books.google.com/books?id=DLpIzEjKRpEC&dq=james+carville+coined+the+phrase+%22It%27s+the+economy,+stupid%22>

- Open Secrets. (2014b). *Incumbent advantage*. Retrieved from <https://www.opensecrets.org/overview/incumbs.php>
- Opensecrets.org. (2014a). *Top industries lobbying*. Retrieved from <https://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/top.php?indexType=i>
- Opincar, J. T. (2012). *Exploring ethical intelligence through ancient wisdom and the lived experiences of senior business leaders*. University of Phoenix. Ann Arbor: ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.apollolibrary.com/docview/1170797273?accountid=458>
- Orbanes, P. E. (2006). *Monopoly: The world's most famous game & how it got that way*. Cambridge, UK: Da Capo Press.
- O'Toole, L. J., & Meir, K. J. (2012). *Public management: Organizations, governance, and performance*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Pallant, J. (2007). *SPSS Survival manual: A step guide to data analysis using SPSS for Windows* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Open University Press.
- Parham, R. (2010). *Politicians misstate military service, others misrepresent accomplishments*. Retrieved from <http://www.ethicsdaily.com/news.php?viewStory=16325>
- Pearson Education. (2014). *National voter turnout in federal elections: 1960–2012*. Retrieved from <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0781453.html>
- Peled, A. (2000). Politicking for success: The missing skill. *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, 14, 20-29.

- Pelosi, N. (2013). *Pelosi biography*. Retrieved from
<http://pelosi.house.gov/about/biography.shtml>
- Pew Research Center. (2012). *With voters focused on economy, Obama lead narrows*. Retrieved from <http://www.people-press.org/2012/04/17/with-voters-focused-on-economy-obama-lead-narrows/>
- Pew Research Center. (2014). *Party affiliation and election polls*. Retrieved from <http://www.people-press.org/2012/08/03/party-affiliation-and-election-polls/>
- Pienta, A. M., O'Rourke McFarland, J., & Franks, M. M. (2011). *Getting started: Working with secondary data*. In K.H. Tresniewski, M.B. Donnellan, and R.E. Lucas. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
doi:10.1037/12350-001
- Polling Report Inc. (2012). *Problems and priorities*. Retrieved from <http://www.pollingreport.com/prioriti.htm>
- Polling Report Inc. (2014). *CBS New ork times poll Jan 2012*. Retrieved from <http://www.pollingreport.com/prioriti.htm>
- Pricewaterhousecoopers LLP. (2013). *PWC: About us*. Retrieved from <http://www.pwc.com/us/en/about-us/index.jhtml>
- Prospero, M. A. (2004). Fast talk. *Fast Company*, 87, 57-64. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.apollolibrary.com/docview/228805904?accountid=458>

- Puzzanghera, J. (2014). *Fitch takes US credit rating off downgrade watch after debt deal*. Retrieved from <http://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-mo-fitch-credit-rating-debt-limit-20140321-story.html>
- Rainey, H. G. (2003). *Understanding and managing public organizations* (3rd ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Rea, L. M., & Parker, R. A. (2005). *Designing & conducting survey research: A comprehensive guide*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.
- Realclearpolitics.com. (2014). *Congressional job approval*. Retrieved from http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/congressional_job_approval-903.html
- Reinert, E. (1999). The role of state in economic growth. *Journal of Economic Studies*, 26(4), 268-326.
- Rodrik, D. (1996). Understanding economic policy reform. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 34(1), 9-41.
- Ryan, N. (2000). Reconstructing citizens as consumers: Implications for new modes of governance. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 60, 104-109.
- Saad, L. (2011). *Americans express historic negativity toward U.S. government*. Retrieved from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/149678/Americans-Express-Historic-Negativity-Toward-Government.aspx>
- Salkind, N. J. (2010). *Exploring research* (7th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Sangillo, G., & Jerome, S. (2010). *People*. Washington: Atlantic Media. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.apollolibrary.com/docview/200313170?accountid=35812>

- Sayed, E. N. (2013). Aligning planning with outcomes. *Performance Measurement and Metrics*, 14(2), 100-117.
- Scherer, M. (2008). *CNN Money*. Retrieved from <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1845655,00.html>
- Schuh, A. M., & Miller, G. M. (2006). Maybe Wilson was right: Espoused values and their relationship to enacted values. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 29, 719-741.
- Schultz, D. (2012). Europe and the 2012 American elections. *Socialiniu Mokslu Studijos*, 4(3), 826-837. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.apollolibrary.com/docview/1426203954?accountid=458>
- Shuffler, M. L., Wiese, C. W., Salas, E., & Burke, C. (2010). *Leading one another across time and space*. West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Simon, A. (2006). *Dissertation and scholarly research: Recipes for success*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt Publishing.
- Simon, M. K., & Goes, J. (2013). *Dissertation & scholarly research: Receipts for success*. Charleston, SC: Createspace.
- Siskin, T. J. (2014). *The minimum number of references in a dissertation*. Retrieved from <http://classroom.synonym.com/minimum-number-references-dissertation-3624.html>
- Skacel, M. (2008). America's spending spree is over. *The Prague Journal of Central European Affairs*, 41-43.

- Slater, D. J., & Dixon-Fowler, H. R. (2009). CEO international assignment experience and corporate social performance. *Journal of Business Ethics, 89*(3), 473-489.
- Smith, T. (2008). Qualitative & quantitative research: Educational research. *Research Starters, 1-9*.
- Souder, D. (2001). CRM Improves citizen service in Fairfax county. *Public Administration, 83*, 14-17.
- Standard & Poor's Financial Services LLC. (2011). *AAA/A-1+ rating on United States of America affirmed; outlook revised to negative*. Retrieved from <http://www.standardandpoors.com/ratings/articles/en/us/?assetID=1245302886884>
- StatSoft Inc. (2014). *Introduction to ANOVA*. Retrieved from <http://www.statsoft.com/Textbook/ANOVA-MANOVA/button/1>
- Svara, J. H. (2006). Introduction: Politicians and administrators in the political process - A review of themes and issues in the literature. *International Journal of Public Administration, 29*, 953-976.
- Terry, L. D. (2002). *Leadership of public bureaucracies: The administrator as conservator*. Armock, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2013). *Unemployment rates for states*. Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/web/laus/laumstrk.htm>
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2014). *Labor force statistics from the current population survey*. Retrieved from <http://data.bls.gov/timeseries/LNS14000000>

U.S. Census. (2014). *Monthly population estimates for the United States*. Retrieved from
http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=PEP_2013_PEPMONTHN&prodType=table

U.S. Const. (n.d.). art. I, § 1.

U.S. Const. (n.d.). art. I, § 3.

U.S. Department of Labor. (2012a). *National unemployment update*. Retrieved from
<http://www.ncsl.org/issues-research/labor/national-employment-monthly-update.aspx>

U.S. Department of Labor. (2013a). *General and operations manager*. Retrieved from
<http://www.onetcodeconnector.org/ccreport/11-1021.00>

U.S. Department of Labor. (2013b). *Legislators*. Retrieved from
<http://www.onetcodeconnector.org/ccreport/11-1031.00>

U.S. Government. (2012). *The world fact book*. Retrieved from
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/us.html>

U.S. Legal Inc. (2014). *US Congress and legislatures law and legal definition*. Retrieved from
<http://definitions.uslegal.com/u/us-congress-and-legislatures/>

U.S. Legal Inc. (2014b). *Political Parties*. Retrieved from
<http://elections.uslegal.com/political-parties/>

U.S. Office of Personnel Management. (2013). *About-us*. Retrieved from
<http://www.opm.gov/about-us/>

- U.S. Senate. (2013a). *Direct election of senators*. Retrieved from http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/briefing/Direct_Election_Senators.htm
- U.S. Senate. (2013b). *Expulsion and Censure*. Retrieved from http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/briefing/Expulsion_Censure.htm
- Udall, T. (2011). The constitutional option: Reforming rules of the senate to restore accountability & reduce gridlock. *Harvard Law & Policy Review*, 5(1), 1-18.
- United States Government. (2009). Proceedings and records from the 111th Congressional proceedings. *Proceedings and records from the 111th Congressional proceedings. 115*, pp. 6885-8273. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. Retrieved from <http://books.google.com/books?id=snoFXsLhuZ8C&pg=PA7632&dq=winston+churchill+for+a+nation+to+try+to+tax+itself+into+prosperity+is+like+a+man+standing+in+a+bucket+and+trying+to+lift+himself+up+by+the+handle&hl=en&sa=X&ei=IacAVPqkNojpggTa94K4CQ&ved=0CD8Q6AE>
- University of Phoenix. (2015). *Online academic catalogue*. Retrieved from http://ecatalog.phoenix.edu/31_ONLINE/2015/JANUARY/PDF/catalog.pdf
- USA Today. (2012b). *How Obama won reelection*. Retrieved from <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2012/11/07/turnout-and-organization-were-key-to-obama-victory/1688537/>

- USA Today. (2013). *Fitch may downgrade U.S. credit rating*. Retrieved from <http://www.usatoday.com/story/money/business/2013/01/15/fitch-downgrade-us/1835385/>
- Vogt, W. P. (2007). *Quantitative research methods for professionals*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education. doi:10.1080/13561820802114772
- Voter. (2014). In *Meriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*. Retrieved from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/voter?show=0&t=1408977898>
- Wachhaus, A. (2013). Governance beyond government. *Administration & Society*, 46(5), 573-593. doi:10.1177/0095399713513140
- Waters, M. C. (2014). Defining difference: The role of immigration and race in American and British immigration studies. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(1), 10-26. Retrieved from 10.1080/01419870.2013.808753
- Weisman, J., & Pear, R. (2013). *Partisan gridlock thwarts effort to alter health law*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/27/us/politics/polarized-congress-thwarts-changes-to-health-care-law.html?pagewanted=all>
- Wiggins, B. J. (2011). Confronting the dilemma of mixed methods. *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*, 31, 44-60. doi:10.1037/a0022612
- Winstanley, C. (2014). *What not to do in your dissertation*. Retrieved from <http://www.dummies.com/how-to/content/what-not-to-do-on-your-dissertation.html>

Wiredu, G. O. (2012). Information systems innovation in public organisations: an institutional perspective. *Information Technology & People*, 25(2), 188-206.

Wooldridge, F. (2010). *Time to end career politicians in congress*. Retrieved from <http://rense.com/general92/time.htm>

Wren, T. (1995). *The leaders companion*. New York: The Free Press.

Yglesias, M. (2011). *How to run America like a business: Get rid of the old people*.

Retrieved from

<http://thinkprogress.org/yglesias/2011/02/25/200036/how-to-run-america-like-a-business-get-rid-of-all-the-old-people/>

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Appendix A

Codebook of ANES Variables Used in the Study

Label	Variable	Code
Gender	gender_respondent_x	1=Male 2=Female
Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?	congapp_job	-9=Refused -8=Don't know 1=Approve 2=Disapprove -9=Refused -8=Don't know
What do you think about the state of the economy these days in the United States?	econ_ecnow	1=Very good 2=Good 3=Neither good nor bad 4=Bad 5=Very bad -9=Refused -8=Don't know
Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has GOTTEN BETTER, STAYED ABOUT THE SAME, or GOTTEN WORSE?	econ_ecpast	1=Gotten better 2=Stayed about the same 3=Gotten worse
U.S. economy better or worse than 1 year ago	econ_ecpast_x	-9=Refused -8=Don't know -1=Not applicable 1=Much better 2=Somewhat better 3=Stayed about the same 4=Somewhat worse 5=Much worse -9=Refused -8=Don't know
What about the next 12 months? Do you expect the economy, in	econ_ecnext	1=Get better 2=Stay about the same 3=Get worse

Would you say that OVER
THE PAST YEAR, the level
of unemployment in the
country has gotten BETTER,
stayed ABOUT THE SAME,
or gotten WORSE

econ_unpast

-9=Refused
-8=Don't know
1=Gotten better
2=Stayed about the same
3=Gotten worse

Label	Variable	Code
Unemployment better or worse than 1 year ago	econ_unpast_x	-9=Refused -8=Don't know 1=Much better 2=Somewhat better 3=Stay about the same 4=Somewhat worse 5=Much worse
How about people out of work during THE COMING 12 MONTHS--do you think that there will be MORE unemployment than now, ABOUT THE SAME, or LESS?	econ_unnext	-9=Refused -8=Don't know 1=More 2=Same 3=Less
Political Party	pid_x	-2=Missing 1=Strong Democrat 2=Not very strong Democrat 3=Independent Democrat 4=Independent 5=Independent Republican 6=Not very strong Republican 7=Strong Republican
Tea Party	tea_supp_x	-9=Refused -8=Don't know 1=Strong support 2=Not very strong support 3=Lean toward supporting 4=Do not lean either way 5=Lean toward opposing 6=Not very strong opposition 7=Strong opposition
Age (year)	dem_birthy	Open-ended year
Age bands	dem_agegrp_iwade_x	-2=Missing 1=Age group 17-20

2=Age group 21-24
3=Age group 25-29
4=Age group 30-34
5=Age group 35-39
6=Age group 40-44
7=Age group 45-49
8=Age group 50-54
9=Age group 55-59
10=Age group 60-64
11=Age group 65-69
12=Age group 70-74
13=Age group 75 or
older

Label	Variable	Code
		-9=Refused 1=Missing 2=Missing 3=Missing 4=Missing 5=Missing 6=10 th grade 7=11 th grade 8=12 th grade no diploma 9=High school graduate - high school diploma or equivalent 10=Some college but no degree 11=Associate degree in college – occupational/vocational program 12=Associate degree in college – academic program 13=Bachelor’s degree 14=Master’s degree 15=Professional school degree 16=Missing 95=Missing -9=Refused
Education	dem_edu	
Did person vote (4 options)	postvote_rvote	-7=Deleted due to partial (post-election) interview -6=Not asked, unit nonresponse (no post- election interview) -1=Not applicable 1=I did not vote (in the election this November) 2=I thought about voting this time, but didn’t 3=I usually vote, but didn’t this time 4=I am sure I voted -9=Refused
Did person vote (2 options)	rvote2012_x	-6=Not asked, unit nonresponse (no post-

election interview)

-2=Missing 2012 voting
status not determined

1=R voted in 2012
elections

2=R did not vote in the
2012 elections

Label	Variable	Code
		1=Alaska
		2=Alabama
		3=Arkansas
		4=Arizona
		5=California
		6=Colorado
		7=Connecticut
		8=District of Columbia
		9=Delaware
		10=Florida
		11=Georgia
		12=Hawaii
		13=Iowa
		14=Idaho
		15=Illinois
		16=Indiana
		17=Kansas
		18=Kentucky
		19=Louisiana
		20=Massachusetts
		21=Maryland
State	sample_state	22=Maine
		23=Michigan
		24=Minnesota
		25=Missouri
		26=Mississippi
		27=Montana
		28=North Carolina
		29=North Dakota
		30=Nebraska
		31=New Hampshire
		32=New Jersey
		33=New Mexico
		34=Nevada
		35=New York
		36=Ohio
		37=Oklahoma
		38=Oregon
		39=Pennsylvania
		40=Rhode Island
		41=South Carolina
		42=South Dakota
		43=Tennessee

44=Texas
45=Utah
46=Virginia
47=Vermont
48=Washington
49=Wisconsin
50=West Virginia
51=Wyoing

Label	Variable	Code
Economic bands broken aggregate score, 1-9, 10-18, 19-27	economic_bands1	1=Low concern 2=Medium concern 3=High concern

Appendix B

Researcher Confidentiality



University of Phoenix®

Non-Disclosure Agreement

██████████ acknowledges that in order to provide the services to Eddie Writer (hereinafter "Researcher") who is a researcher in a confidential study with the University of Phoenix, Inc., ██████████ must agree to keep the information obtained as part of its services (as more fully described below) confidential. Therefore the parties agree as follows:

1. The information to be disclosed under this Non-disclosure Agreement ("Agreement") is described as follows and shall be considered "Confidential Information": A QUANTITATIVE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF VOTER'S ECONOMIC CONCERN, CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL, AND VOTING BEHAVIOR IN 2012

All information shall remain the property of Researcher.

2. ██████████ agrees to keep in confidence and to use the Confidential Information for statistical analysis only and for no other purposes.
3. ██████████ further agrees to keep in confidence and not disclose any Confidential Information to a third party or parties for a period of five (5) years from the date of such disclosure. All oral disclosures of Confidential Information as well as written disclosures of the Confidential Information are covered by this Agreement.
4. ██████████ shall upon Researcher's request either destroy or return the Confidential Information upon termination of this Agreement.
5. Any obligation of ██████████ under this Agreement shall not apply to Confidential Information that:
 - a) Is or becomes a part of the public knowledge through no fault of ██████████
 - b) ██████████ can demonstrate was rightfully in its possession before disclosure by Researcher/ research subjects; or
 - c) ██████████ can demonstrate was rightfully received from a third party who was not Researcher/research subjects and was not under confidentiality restriction on disclosure and without breach of any nondisclosure obligation.
6. ██████████ agrees to obligate its employees or agents, if any, who have access to any portion of Confidential Information to protect the confidential nature of the Confidential Information as set forth herein.
7. ██████████ shall defend, indemnify and hold the Researcher and the University of Phoenix harmless against any third party claims of damage or injury of any kind resulting

from [redacted] use of the Confidential Information, or any violation of by [redacted] of the terms of this Agreement.

8. In the event [redacted] receives a subpoena and believes it has a legal obligation to disclose Confidential Information, then [redacted] will notify Researcher as soon as possible, and in any event at least five (5) business days prior to the proposed release. If Researcher objects to the release of such Confidential Information Zachary K [redacted] will allow Researcher to exercise any legal rights or remedies regarding the release and protection of the Confidential Information.
9. [redacted] expressly acknowledges and agrees that the breach, or threatened breach, by it through a disclosure of Confidential Information may cause irreparable harm and that Researcher may not have an adequate remedy at law. Therefore, Zachary K [redacted] agrees that upon such breach, or threatened breach, Researcher will be entitled to seek injunctive relief to prevent [redacted] from commencing or continuing any action constituting such breach without showing or providing evidence of actual damage.
10. The interpretation and validity of this Agreement and the rights of the parties shall be governed by the laws of the State of Florida.
11. The parties to this Agreement agree that a copy of the original signature (including an electronic copy) may be used for any and all purposes for which the original signature may have been used. The parties further waive any right to challenge the admissibility or authenticity of this document in a court of law based solely on the absence of an original signature.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, each of the undersigned has caused this Agreement to be duly executed in its name and on its behalf:

Printed Name of Third Party/Vendor: [redacted]
Signature: [redacted]
Address: [redacted]
Date: 9/9/2014

Printed Name of Researcher: EDDIE WRITER
Signature: Eddie Writer
Address: 3713 INVERNESS WAY
Date: MARTINEZ, GA 30907