

The Politics of American Foreign Policy
How Ideology Divides Liberals and Conservatives over Foreign Affairs
 PETER HAYS GRIES

Indirect Effect Statistics for Mediation Analyses

	Point estimate	95% Confidence Intervals*	
		lower	upper
Figure 1–7. Ideology to tougher North Korea policy (sequential)			
Total Indirect Effects	.1306	.0842	.1807
via Communist countries only	.0666	.0348	.1059
via Communist countries and Warmth towards North Korea	.0520	.0351	.0718
via Warmth towards North Korea only	.0120 ^{ns}	-.0170	.0465
Figure 1–9. Ideology to tougher foreign policies (sequential)			
Total Indirect Effects	.1048	.0792	.1342
via military power only	.0058 ^{ns}	-.0053	.0175
via military power and warmth towards foreign countries	.0169	.0102	.0259
via warmth towards foreign countries only	.0822	.0582	.1117
Figure 3–2. Ideology to cultural traditionalism (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	.4447	.3772	.5223
Via purity	.4486 ^{ns}	.3823	.5228
Via authority	.0168	-.0259	.0588
Via loyalty	-.0355 ^{ns}	-.0664	.0024
Via fairness	.0138	.0014	.0322
Via harm	.0010 ^{ns}	-.0200	.0205
Chapter 3 cultural traditionalism section: Ideology to gay marriage (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	6.7208	5.2766	8.1358
Via purity	5.9410	4.5859	7.3725
Via authority	-.1245 ^{ns}	-1.1758	.9690
Via loyalty	.1261 ^{ns}	-.7517	.8880
Via fairness	.3971	.1002	.7610
Via harm	.3812 ^{ns}	-.0751	.8746
Figure 3–4. Ideology to social dominance (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	.1848	.1235	.2440
Via purity	.0064 ^{ns}	-.0423	.0594
Via authority	.0696	.0302	.1154
Via loyalty	.0277 ^{ns}	-.0066	.0607
Via fairness	.0359	.0173	.0602
Via harm	.0451	.0228	.0721
Chapter 3 social dominance section: Ideology to spanking (serial)			
Total Indirect Effects	.1997	.1453	.2692

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Via biblical literalism	.1149	.0540	.1779
Via biblical literalism and authority	.0400	.0225	.0620
Via authority	.0448	.0236	.0753

Figure 3–6. Ideology to economic inequality (simultaneous)

Total Indirect Effects	.1730	.1130	.2388
Via purity	.0751	.0178	.1358
Via authority	.0327 ^{ns}	-.0221	.0773
Via loyalty	.0031 ^{ns}	-.0306	.0449
Via fairness	.0240	.0106	.0466
Via harm	.0380	.0184	.0684

Figure 3–8. Ideology to warmth towards 15 foreign countries (simultaneous)

Total Indirect Effects	-.8239	-1.6311	-.0606
Via purity	.0218 ^{ns}	-.6726	.6694
Via authority	-.0698 ^{ns}	-.5567	.4530
Via loyalty†	-.3635	-.6826	-.0382
Via fairness	.0665 ^{ns}	-.0695	.2704
Via harm	-.4789	-.7780	-.2499

Chapter 3, foreign policy section: Ideology to foreign policy preferences (simultaneous)

Total Indirect Effects	.0588	.0162	.1028
Via purity	-.0047 ^{ns}	-.0427	.0324
Via authority	.0425	.0116	.0693
Via loyalty	.0114 ^{ns}	-.0090	.0337
Via fairness	-.0042 ^{ns}	-.0136	.0046
Via harm	.0138	.0022	.0299

Figure 3–11. Ideology to foreign policies via authority & social dominance (serial)

Total Indirect Effects	.0684	.0443	.0932
Via authority	.0430	.0237	.0616
Via authority and social dominance	.0024	.0007	.0058
Via social dominance	.0230	.0083	.0382

Chapter 4, internationalism section: Ideology to isolationism (simultaneous)

Total Indirect Effects	.1776	.0703	.2841
Via cultural traditionalism	.0527 ^{ns}	-.0130	.1261
Via social dominance	.0604	.0191	.1023
Via economic inequality	.0232 ^{ns}	-.0721	.1048
Via libertarian politics	.0413	.0171	.0740

Figure 4–9. Ideology to foreign policies via patriotism & nationalism (simultaneous)

Total Indirect Effects	.0547	.0265	.0857
Via patriotism	.0130 ^{ns}	-.0088	.0319

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Via nationalism	.0417	.0079	.0794
Chapter 4: Ideology to nationalism I (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	.4094	.3040	.5069
Via cultural traditionalism	.1585	.0863	.2226
Via social dominance	.0482	.0158	.0814
Via economic inequality	.1506	.0765	.2235
Via libertarian politics	.0520	.0255	.0854
Chapter 4, nationalism section: Ideology to nationalism II (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	.2383	.1668	.3083
Via purity	.0109 ^{ns}	-.0098	.0356
Via authority	.0068 ^{ns}	-.0067	.0223
Via loyalty	.0028 ^{ns}	-.0344	.0402
Via fairness	.1091	.0591	.1623
Via harm	.1087	.0421	.1770
Figure 5–1. Rural-urban upbringing to warmth towards foreign countries (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	.0222	.0125	.0352
Via foreign friends, travel, and contacts	.0035	.0005	.0087
Via ideology	.0188	.0096	.0309
Figure 6–6. Ideology to AID for Haiti (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	.3033	.1939	.4232
Via cultural traditionalism	-.0372 ^{ns}	-.1131	.0358
Via social dominance	.1040	.0661	.1481
Via economic inequality	.1896	.0993	.2819
Via libertarian politics	.0468	.0175	.0809
Figure 7–3. Open personality to warmth towards France (serial)			
Total Indirect Effects	.0859	.0555	.1144
Via cultural traditionalism only	.0316	.0188	.0479
Via cultural traditionalism and fine arts	.0031	.0014	.0063
Via fine arts only	.0512	.0284	.0769
Figure 7–5. Ideology to tougher foreign policy towards France (serial)			
Total Indirect Effects	.1126	.0586	.1646
Via nationalism only	.0597	.0176	.1070
Via nationalism and social dominance	.0085	.0025	.0172
Via social dominance only	.0443	.0199	.0758
Figure 7–8. Ideology to policy towards England† (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	-.1016	-.1626	-.0365
Via cultural traditionalism	-.0578	-.1137	-.0027

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Via libertarian politics	-.0437	-.0695	-.0226
Figure 7–11. Ideology to feelings towards Germany (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	-.4741 ^{ns}	-2.1652	1.0939
Via cultural traditionalism	-1.4010	-2.5531	-.3945
Via libertarian politics	.9269 ^{ns}	-.4325	2.2044
Figure 7–12. Ideology to warmth towards the European Union (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	-8.9767	-10.511	-7.6567
Via United Nations	-1.1652	-1.8732	-.5396
Via Europeans	-1.8248	-2.5272	-1.3554
Via Satan exists	-5.9867	-7.2203	-4.8311
Figure 8–3. Ideology to Israel policy (mixed)			
Total Indirect Effects	-.6038	-.6935	-.5125
Via social dominance only	-.0006 ^{ns}	-.0360	.0367
Via social dominance and Palestinians/Muslims	-.0098	-.0208	-.0021
Via Palestinians/Muslims only	-.0582	-1.1055	-.0086
Via social dominance and Israel	.0092 ^{ns}	-.0162	.0391
Via biblical literalism only	-.0544	-.0943	-.0151
Via biblical literalism and Israel	-.1485	-.2058	-.0948
Via Israel only	-.3190	-.4121	-.2228
Via biblical literalism & Palestinians/Muslims†	-.0046	-.0134	-.0007
Figure 8–10. Ideology to Iran policy (serial)			
Total Indirect Effects	.2002	.1382	.2651
Via nationalism	.1150	.0648	.1715
Via nationalism and Israel	.0214	.0119	.0391
Via Israel	.0638	.0326	.0993
Chapter 8, Iran section: Nationalism to warmth towards Israel (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	.1119	.0840	.1366
Via cultural traditionalism	.0560	.0368	.0739
Via social dominance	-.0065 ^{ns}	-.0170	.0041
Via economic inequality	.0418	.0208	.0636
Via libertarian politics	.0207	.0104	.0337
Figure 9–3. Ideology to China policy			
Total Indirect Effects	.2119	.1655	.2625
Via Asians only	-.0031 ^{ns}	-.0140	.0037
Via Asians and prejudice against Chinese	.0194	.0074	.0350
Via prejudice against Chinese only	.0712	.0470	.1008
Via Asians and Chinese government	.0015 ^{ns}	-.0002	.0046
Via communism only	.0741	.0422	.1076

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Via communism and Chinese government	.0531	.0392	.0713
Via Chinese government only	.0516	.0263	.0867
Via communism and prejudice against Chinese	.0065	.0021	.0125
Figure 9–4. Ideology to Communist countries			
Total Indirect Effects	-4.6317	-6.1626	-3.0556
Via cultural traditionalism	-2.3837	-3.3066	-1.3569
Via economic inequality	-1.5769	-2.9611	-.3236
Via libertarian politics	-.6711	-1.1692	-.2637
Figure 9–5. Ideologies and China policy			
To China policy			
From social dominance via prejudice	.0519	.0330	.0751
From cultural traditionalism via prejudice	.0316	.0146	.0522
From economic inequality via negative: government	.0792	.0557	.1057
From libertarian politics via negative: government	.0586	.0299	.0857
Chapter 9, policy section. Social dominance to prejudice against Chinese			
Total Indirect Effects	.0562	.0362	.0792
Via purity	.0047 ^{ns}	-.0056	.0170
Via authority (marginally significant at 90% CI)	.0133 ^{ns}	-.0002	.0272
Via loyalty	.0081	.0007	.0185
Via fairness	-.0052 ^{ns}	-.0186	.0080
Via harm	.0354	.0197	.0541
Figure 9–8. Contact to China policy			
Total Indirect Effects	-.0730	-.1150	-.0280
Via prejudice	-.0804	-.1077	-.0563
Via knowledge & prejudice	-.0071	-.0127	-.0029
Via knowledge & negative: government	.0088	.0024	.0171
Figure 9–9. Ideology to Asian democracies			
Total Indirect Effects	-.0214 ^{ns}	-.6601	.6768
Via social dominance	-.7171	-1.1816	-.2521
Via libertarian politics	.6957	.3119	1.1694
Figure 10–4. Cultural traditionalism to the United Nations (serial)			
Total Indirect Effects	-1.9736	-3.4992	-.5895
Via purity only	-.6877 ^{ns}	-1.7665	.5031
Via purity & biblical literalism	-.3766	-.8082	-.0225
Via biblical literalism only	-.9093	-1.8993	-.0523
Chapter 10, Satan section. Cultural traditionalism to the United Nations (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	-1.4604	-2.7185	-.1858

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Via biblical literalism (four item measure)	.3040 ^{ns}	-.9815	1.5639
Via “God gave Palestine to the Jewish people ”	-1.7643	-2.6403	-.9001
Figure 10–5. Social dominance to warmth towards the United Nations			
Total Indirect Effects	-3.2821	-4.2876	-2.4301
Via harm	-1.6088	-2.2164	-1.0430
Via fairness	-.1962 ^{ns}	-.7475	.3067
Via loyalty	-.3474	-.7932	-.0821
Via authority	.0610 ^{ns}	-.4521	.5440
Via purity	-1.1908	-1.7783	-.7323
Figure 10–6. Communitarianism–Libertarianism to the United Nations (simultaneous)			
Total Indirect Effects	-3.6682	-4.5509	-2.9040
Via communist countries	-.8649	-1.3212	-.5214
Via Protestant ethic	-1.2805	-1.8484	-.8123
Via gun control	-1.5229	-2.2151	-1.0016

* Bias corrected with 1,000 bootstrapped samples. † 90% confidence interval.