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Place Matters? Place and Legislative Behavior in Nebraska

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PLACE MATTERS? PLACE AND LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR IN NEBRASKA

by

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PLACE MATTERS? PLACE AND LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR IN NEBRASKA

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The dissertation is a three-part analysis of the impact of place and place attachment on legislative behavior in the 2011-2012 session of the Nebraska Unicameral. The first analysis explores whether place or type of legislative district has an effect on roll-call voting. In the second analysis, the dissertation analyzes the relationship between place attachment (defined as the emotional bond between a person and a place) and roll-call voting. Finally, in the third analysis, the dissertation investigates through content analysis how often senators refer to their place attachment, and then, it examines the link between geographic scale of place attachment and political ambition. Overall, the dissertation found modest results for the impact of place and place attachment on legislative behavior. Place and place attachment are modest but important predictors of voting and floor behavior. This research serves as a novel attempt to synthesize these concepts and provides a foundation for future study.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"From New York; for New York" exclaimed a bumper sticker supporting Republican United States Senate candidate Rick Lazio, during the 2000 election for New York's open seat.[1] The bumper sticker was in response to claims that Democratic opponent Hillary Rodham Clinton was a "carpetbagger." Clinton's opponents, first Rudolph Giuliani and later Rick Lazio, the media, and even Pizza Hut[2] made much of her loose ties to the state.[3] The charge questioned whether someone who had never lived in New York could represent New Yorkers. In response to her opponents, Clinton stated, "Now, I know some people are asking why I'm doing this here and now, and that's a fair question. Here's my answer and why I hope you'll put me to work for you. I may be new to the neighborhood, but I'm not new to your concerns" (Anderson, 2002, p. 113). Despite the focus on her lack of residency during the campaign by her opponents and the media, many voters were unconcerned about the issue and she won the election (Anderson, 2002, p. 114).

The problems facing Clinton are not new to politics. Throughout history, politicians such as former New York Senator Bobby Kennedy[4] and most recently former

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[1] Please see Anderson (2002, p. 113). Anderson provides a careful analysis of Hillary Clinton's run for the United States Senate seat for the state of New York.

[2] Pizza Hut aired ads during the 1999 World's Series that showed a female candidate loosely based on Clinton eating New York style pizza in their ad for the Big New Yorker Pizza. In the ad, the female candidate exclaims, "How do I know so much about New York Pizza? Cause New York, I want to be your next senator!" In response, to the candidate, two New York police officers state at the end of the commercial, "$9.99! What do they think this is, Arkansas?" (*Washington Free Beacon*, 2015, para. 4). The ads were likely in response to Clinton's listening tours throughout New York prior to running in 2000.

[3] Place was the paramount issue during the 2000 New York United States Senate race. According to Anderson (2002), who analyzed the rhetoric of the 2000 Senate election in New York, "Place was not the sole media frame for stories about Clinton's candidacy….But place was the dominant and, I would argue, most important narrative underscoring coverage of the 2000 Senate campaign in New York" (p. 129).

[4] Bobby Kennedy was labeled a carpetbagger when he ran for United States Senate in New York in 1964. Prior to running for office, he had not lived in the state.

Nebraska Governor and United States Senator Bob Kerrey[5] were labeled as carpetbaggers for their tenuous ties to their prospective states. The carpetbagger charge raises questions about these candidates' place attachment to their states. One can argue that the shorter the length of residence in a district, the less time the legislator has to become immersed in the ways of the home district and the less place attachment the legislator has.

Place attachment, or the emotional bond between a person and a meaningful location, is a concept that may help explain whether length of residence matters for representation and why some legislators are more likely to engage in place protective behaviors. These behaviors may include voting against legislation that threatens the district or voting for legislation that favors the district. Another place protective behavior involves engaging in floor debate that uses place attachment to appeal to constituents, fellow senators, and others to gain support for their legislative agendas.

This dissertation explores the effect of place and place attachment on legislative behavior in the 2011-2012 session of the Nebraska Unicameral. It includes three separate but related analyses concerning place and place attachment. The first analysis explores whether type of place has an effect on voting behavior. In the second analysis, the dissertation analyzes the relationship between place attachment and roll-call voting for

[5] Bob Kerrey is from Nebraska. He served as governor from 1983-1987, and he served as United States Senator from Nebraska from 1989-2001. From 2001-2010, he was the president of the New School in New York City. Although he is a former Nebraskan, opponents labeled him a carpetbagger when sought to replace outgoing Senator Ben Nelson (D) in 2012 after he had been out of the state for a decade. Opponents called him "Big Apple Bob" because he had been living in Greenwich Village (Sulzberger, 2012, p. A21). Comments his wife, who was a former writer for *Saturday Night Live*, made concerning Nebraska and its people in *Vogue* magazine caused him further problems (Sulzberger, 2012, p. A21). In the election, he lost to Republican Deb Fischer. He later sold his home in Omaha, despite saying "I'm not leaving Nebraska" (Camia, 2013, para. 5). He now lives in Washington D.C. Bob Kerrey is not alone. According to the *New York Times*, over "40 percent of former senators live outside of their home states…. Most live in the Washington area" (Sulzberger, 2012, p. A21).

legislation that is tied to place and for legislation that is place neutral. Last, the dissertation investigates through content analysis of floor debates how often senators refer to their place attachment during debate and whether geographic scale of place attachment is indicative of level of political ambition.

Relevance of Study

According to Lewicka (2011), academic interest in place and people-place research has grown dramatically in the past 10 to 20 years. Place research has grown out of the fields of sociology, psychology, and geography. One area in which place research has not been explored adequately is political science. Thus, this dissertation aims to bridge the gap by looking at the impact of place and place attachment on legislative behavior.

Studying the impact of place and place attachment is important to the field of political science for a number of reasons. First of all, despite growing globalization, place is still important to people because people identify with and are attached to places. Throughout time, many conflicts have been fought over places of cultural, religious, or political significance. Also, since people identify with place, they may choose to live in places that are considered high risk such as deteriorating neighborhoods and warzones. In fact, after a natural disaster or war, people will often seek to reinvent or reconstruct places that have been destroyed. When they are able to rebuild, they often do so in a way that preserves the original look of the area.

Places, or meaningful locations, are arenas for social interactions. In turn, these social interactions shape the political attitudes and beliefs of residents. For instance, those living in densely populated urban areas are found to be more tolerant and to have more

liberal political attitudes because they live in close proximity to others with diverse backgrounds (Wolman and Marckini, 2000; Wirth, 1938). In addition, people develop deep emotional bonds to the social assets that place offers.[6] An example of this is residents who opt to remain in a deteriorating inner-city neighborhood because of the importance of preserving the social network of the people who live there. In the past, urban renewal and housing projects have failed because they destroyed the existing social bonds of neighborhoods.

Understanding how someone is attached to a particular place might help us understand how one might try to protect it. Residents may be attached to the social networks and bonds in the place or they may be attached to the place's natural beauty. For instance, a person who is greatly attached to the natural environment might be more likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors such as recycling. In addition, attached persons may support laws and join groups that seek to protect the environment. Studying place protective behaviors may be important for understanding not just environmental behavior but also ethnic conflict over areas of historical, religious, or cultural significance, and inner-city gang violence.

Legislators at the federal and state level engage in place protective behaviors too. The place protective behaviors of legislators such as voting and introducing legislation on

[6] The social aspects of place attachment are similar to the concepts of social capital and sense of community. For instance, place attachment and social capital share many of the same predictors such as participation in local organizations, homeownership, and rootedness. In fact, understanding place attachment may be useful for understanding social capital. However, the three concepts are different. Place attachment includes the emotional bond between a person and a place. This bond may be to the physical or social aspects of the place. Social capital is the invisible glue, that a holds groups of individuals together. It represents social networks and the norms of trust and reciprocity that come from social networks (Putnam, 1995). Sense of community is the feeling of belongingness to a group (McMillan and Chavis, 1986). Social capital and sense of community can be important factors in place attachment, especially in the development of the emotional bond to a place.

behalf of their districts may help us understand the responsiveness of legislators toward their districts. Whether the place is a state legislative district in Nebraska or a neighborhood in the south side of Chicago, these locations spur positive emotions in residents, which can trigger place protective behaviors

Despite the importance of place and place attachment to political science, there is very little systematic investigation of their roles in legislative behavior. It is difficult to tease out whether place has an independent effect on voting. For instance, in the case of legislative districts in Nebraska, Republicans held almost all rural districts and Democrats held almost all urban districts in the 2011-2012 Unicameral. Additionally, the concept of place is difficult to operationalize. Most studies operationalize place by using the United States Census urban and rural categories. Those that have included place in the study of legislative voting behavior include Turner (1951), Mullner et al. (1982), and Combs, Hibbing, and Welch (1984). At the state level, such study is even more limited. This dissertation will attempt to fill these gaps.

Dissertation Outline

The dissertation is a set of three separate analyses tied together with a common theme. It consists of two quantitative analyses and one qualitative analysis. All three analyses explore the themes of place, place attachment, and their effects on legislative behavior in the 2011-2012 session of the Nebraska Unicameral.

Chapter 2, “Literature Review,” introduces and synthesizes the literature on place, place attachment, and place protective behaviors. The literature provides a theoretical foundation for the dissertation and the hypotheses in Chapter 3. Chapter 3, “Theory,”

highlights the main theoretical currents underlying the three analyses and introduces eight hypotheses.

Chapter 4, “Place and Voting Behavior,” is the first quantitative analysis. The effect of type of place on roll-call voting is analyzed. A number of factors, many of which have been extensively researched by other scholars, influence the legislative behavior of senators. These factors include and are not limited to physical, social, psychological, economic, and political factors. Place, specifically type of place or the settlement pattern of the district, can have an effect on legislative behavior. For instance, Wolman and Marckini (2000) found that at the congressional level, place does have an independent effect on voting behavior after controlling for constituency factors. One of the objectives of this dissertation is to replicate their study at the state level using data from the 2011-2012 session of the Nebraska Unicameral and test the hypothesis that legislators from majority urban area or central city districts are more liberal than those from less urban districts. Furthermore, the analysis includes length of residence, which is a predictor of place attachment. It is expected that length of residence in a central city district would lead senators to be more liberal regardless of party. For example, a central city district Republican senator who has lived longer in the district would be more liberal than a central city district Republican who has lived in his or her district for less time.

Chapter 5, “Place Attachment and Legislative Behavior,” explores the relationship between place attachment and voting. Voting for legislation can be considered a place protective behavior because senators are either voting for legislation that protects the district or voting against legislation that threatens the district. The second analysis compares roll-call votes on legislation that is tied to place or that has a spatial

component and roll-call votes on legislation that is place neutral or that has no spatial ties. The bills sampled come from major policy areas that span the spectrum ranging from those that have a strong spatial component to those with no spatial ties. In addition, the chapter creates a place attachment index that seeks to capture several aspects of the concept of place attachment. Most studies of place attachment feature one measure of place attachment, which is usually length of residence.

Chapter 6, "Place Attachment and Floor Behavior," attempts to gain a greater understanding of legislators' place attachments, specifically to their districts, through content analysis of transcripts from floor debates. In this chapter, I analyze the floor debate transcripts to see if there is any difference between senators with high levels of place attachment and low levels of place attachment in regard to the frequency of place attachment references. Additionally, I investigate whether there is any difference in regards to senators with progressive and static political ambition in terms of their scale of place attachment. Senators with progressive ambition are expected to refer more frequently to global scale places. Those with static ambition are expected to refer more frequently to local scale places.

The last chapter, "Conclusion," is the concluding chapter of the dissertation. In the chapter, I discuss the main findings of the dissertation, the limitations of the study, the major implications of the study, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

After reviewing the literature, a gap appears concerning the factors that influence legislative behavior. This gap is the importance of place. Many factors can influence legislative behavior, including party (Wright and Schaffner, 2002), ideology (Poole and Rosenthal, 2012), gender (Bratton and Haynie, 1999; Orey et al., 2006), race/ethnicity (Bratton and Haynie, 1999; Orey et al., 2006), interest groups (Nownes, 2013), media (Herbst, 1998), constituency (Seligman et al., 1974; Smith, 2002) and even their own self-interests (Mayhew, 1974; Krehbiel, 1993). While all of these factors can influence behavior, I focus on the importance of place.

What is place?

Lewicka (2011), who synthesized several definitions of the concept in her literature review, defines place in two ways. First, she defines it in a "classical way" where place is considered "a bounded entity with unique identity and historical continuity, a cozy place of rest and defense against the dangerous and alien 'outside'" (pp. 209-210). Second, she defines it as an "'open crossroads,' a meeting place rather than an enclave of rest, a location with 'interactive potential'…inviting diversity and multiculturalism" (pp. 209-210). Another definition is from Tuan (1977) where "place is a center of meaning or field of care based on human experience, social relationships, emotions, and thoughts" (as cited in Stedman, 2002, p. 562).

Beyond these broad definitions of place, the literature has attempted to further narrow the definition in a number of ways. The literature can be divided between studies of residential places such as homes or neighborhoods, non-residential places such as sacred sites, and even places such as shopping centers (Lewicka, 2011, p. 209). Places

may be local or global, and in most cases smaller places make up larger ones (Low and Altman, 1992; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974). At the local level, place may be a home, a neighborhood, or a city. At the global level, it can be a state or nation or region. Additionally, a new trend in place research is looking at attachment to recreational places such as second homes and natural environment places such as wilderness areas (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Stedman, 2002; Williams et al., 1992).

Much of the previous research has focused on homes, neighborhoods, and cities (Proteous, 1976; Lalli, 1992; Tuan, 1975; Fried, 1963). There is some research on region, state, country and continent place attachment (Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Reicher, Hopkins and Harrison, 2006). For instance, Wolman and Marckini (2000) define place as a congressional district, which they divide into four categories: majority central city, majority non-metropolitan, majority suburban, or mixed. One of the major problems with the literature is that there is no agreement on the definition of place. This lack of agreement makes it difficult to develop theories and consistent frameworks (Scannell and Gifford, 2010a; Lewicka, 2011). I too struggle with the definition of place. In this dissertation, I recognize that a home, neighborhood, legislative district, state or country can be meaningful locations that are the basis of place attachment.

Place Attachment

People often form emotional bonds to places. This bond is referred to as place attachment (Williams et al., 1992, p. 31). If place "is a center of meaning or field of care" (Tuan, 1977, as cited in Stedman, 2002, p. 562), then place attachment is a bond between people and place. The literature on place attachment seeks to do several things. First, the literature attempts to understand how and why people become attached to places (Tuan,

1975; Williams et al., 1992). Second, the literature investigates how attachment influences behavior (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Stedman, 2002; Scannell and Gifford, 2010b). Third, the most recent literature attempts to build stable definitions and constructs of place attachment, which will be useful for developing theories of place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010a).

A review of the literature suggests that there are numerous definitions of place attachment. To promote conceptual clarity, Scannell and Gifford (2010a) developed a three-part definition of place attachment to capture its multidimensionality. The three dimensions are *person*, *process*, and *place*. The *person* dimension asks, "Who is attached to the place?" The attachment between the person and the place may be individual or collective. At the individual level, the connection between person and place is rooted in the place's ability to invoke memories and experiences that create meaning, which in turn contributes to the sense of self. At the group level, "attachment is comprised of the symbolic meanings of a place that are shared among members" (Scannell and Gifford, 2010a, p. 2). Meanings may arise from historical and religious experiences of the place.

The second dimension is *process* or how individuals and groups relate to place. There are three psychological processes involved in place attachment: affect or the emotional connection to place, cognition, and behavior. Those who have higher levels of place attachment are more likely to refer to place with "positive emotions such as pride and love, often incorporate the place into self-schemas, and express their attachment through proximity-maintaining behaviors" (Scannell and Gifford, 2010b, p. 289). Proximity-maintaining behaviors include trying to stay as close to the place as much as possible. When a person cannot be near the place to which they are attached to, then he or

she may show signs of homesickness. Tuan (1974) developed the term *topophilia* or love of place to describe the positive emotion involved in the bond between person and place. These positive emotions reinforce bonding, and people will try to recreate these emotions by creating memories of the place. Creating memories is an important part of cognition. In turn, cognition is integral for understanding why specific places are important enough for people to develop bonds. People will create schemas, which organize their beliefs and knowledge about places.

Behavior is the physical indicator of place attachment. Above, I mentioned homesickness. Homesickness is a manifestation of place attachment. Because a person is deeply attached to a place, he or she wants to be near it as much as possible. Another important proximity maintaining behavior is the reinvention or reconstruction of a place especially after a disaster or war (Lewicka, 2011). Even on a small scale, people may try to recreate environments that are meaningful to them such as decorating workspaces with personal effects from home (Lewicka, 2011).

The final dimension is *place* or the aspects of the place that makes us connect to it. Place can be at any scale. Geographic scale may range from local such as a home to global such as nation (Lewicka, 2011). And, place can consist of physical and social aspects. For instance, “some people feel attached to a place because of the close ties they have in their neighborhood, generational rootedness, or strong religious symbolism of the place, that is, because of social factors; others may feel attached to the physical assets of place, such as beautiful nature, possibility of recreation and rest, or physically stimulating environment” (Lewicka, 2011, p. 213).

Scholars do not agree as to whether people are more attached to the social or to the physical aspects of place. Those who favor social attachment see that the bonds between people and place are due to social relationships (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001). Authors who are in favor of the attachment to the social aspects of place such as social ties, neighborhood, or culture include Fried (1963), Lalli (1992), Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) and Woldoff (2002). Some authors see the bond as between physical assets and individuals (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981; Manzo, 2005; Clayton, 2003). However, others see the combination of both social and physical aspects as targets for emotional bonds (Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004; Mesch and Manor, 1998; Uzzell et al., 2002; Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001).

In their study of the relationship between place attachment and pro-environmental behavior, Scannell and Gifford (2010b) delineate the social and physical aspects of place attachment into civic and natural place attachment. The authors see that civic attachment is an aspect of social attachment. Under civic attachment, people are attached to the community. Natural attachment to place is part of physical attachment, and it is the attachment to nature or the natural aspects of the environment. To test whether civic or natural place attachment leads to pro-environmental behavior, the authors conducted a survey, based upon Stedman's (2002) 12-item Sense-of- Place instrument, in two towns. They found that natural place attachment predicted pro-environmental behavior after controlling for length of residence and other socio-demographic variables.

Predictors of Place Attachment

According to the literature, there are numerous predictors of place attachment. These predictors reflect the social and the physical aspects of place attachment. Some

common sociodemographic predictors of place attachment include age, social status, education, home-ownership, size of community, presence of children, and mobility. Social indicators include strength and size of neighborhood ties and involvement in neighborhood. In some ways, social predictors of place attachment overlap those that predict social capital (Putnam, 1995).

One of the major predictors of place attachment in the literature is length of residence; however, there is some debate over its overall effect on place attachment. The traditional view is that the longer one has lived in the environment, the more attached one will become to it. Authors who support the traditional view include Tuan (1975), Relph (1976), Proteous (1976) and Hay (1998). On the other hand, some authors argue that length of residence does not matter for attachment due to a lack of empirical findings (Kaltenborn and Williams, 2002; Stedman, 2006). Another strain of research sees the relationship between time and attachment as being more nuanced, such as Stedman (2006), McHugh and Mings (1996), Rowles (1990), Kaltenborn and Williams (2002), and Bricker and Kerstetter (2000). The literature finds that newcomers may be attached to the place for different reasons than locals. For instance, Stedman (2006) finds that type of attachment differs between tourists and locals in the North Central Region of Wisconsin. He finds that the newcomers or tourists may be more attached to the natural environment of the place and locals to the community. Overall, the findings in the literature are empirically mixed.

Physical predictors are harder to operationalize, and from a review of literature, these predictors could be anything. Physical predictors might include architectural features, natural features of wilderness areas, amenities, and size and age of buildings.

Some authors argue against including physical factors because they believe that they are socially construed and cannot be studied independently. Because of the difficulty of measuring physical factors, empirical findings are mixed. Lewicka (2011) bemoans the lack of theory that connects people and the physical side of places. Despite the difficulty in measuring physical characteristics, there is great value in doing so. For instance, Kaplan (1984) sees there is more to understanding how people relate to places beyond economic and social variables. Instead, focus should be on intangibles or physical aspects that facilitate attachment. Examples include spatial diversity, mapability, and congruence between person and the setting.

Methods of Studying Place Attachment

Place attachment has been measured in numerous ways, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Most of the research is heavily quantitative. These studies rely on carefully constructed measurement scales that are administered through surveys (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Stedman, 2002; Scannell and Gifford, 2010b). In fact, many scholars use Stedman's 12- item place attachment scale.

One of the problems with the quantitative scales is that they are most often designed to learn about place attachment to a specific place. For instance, Stedman's (2002) instrument centers on a lake in Wisconsin. These instruments do not take into consideration different levels of attachment. For instance, a person who had fond memories of camping as a child might have a sense of attachment to wilderness areas in general and not just one particular camp ground. Qualitative studies or mixed methods studies have more flexibility when it comes to letting the respondent define his or her place attachment because they ask why and what places are important to them.

Qualitative studies include methods such as focus groups (Bow and Buys, 2003), map based measures (Brown and Raymond, 2007), and in-depth interviews (Brehm, 2007; Van Patten and Williams, 2008). Nicotera (2007) conducts an extensive review of verbal and nonverbal measures of neighborhood from the census and archival data. Overall, there are many ways to operationalize and study place attachment.

Consequences of Place Attachment: Place Protective Behaviors

One consequence of place attachment is that greater levels of place attachment are associated with greater willingness to engage in place-protective behaviors (Stedman, 2002). According to Stedman (2002), "place protective behaviors are especially likely to result when attachment and satisfaction are based on preferred meanings that are threatened by potential changes to the setting" (p. 567). This protective behavior may result in someone becoming a recycler or an avid pro-environmentalist.

Much of the literature on place attachment focuses on environmentally friendly and ecological behaviors (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001; Stedman, 2002; Clayton, 2003; Scannell and Gifford, 2010b). For instance, Stedman (2002) found that those with greater levels of place attachment were more likely to engage in place protective behaviors in the North Central Region of Wisconsin. In his survey, he had residents of a lakeside community respond to several hypothetical changes to the neighborhood. These changes included adding more housing, changes to the water quality of the lake, increased number of tourists, and increased number of condominiums. He found that those with greater attachment to the lake were more likely to support laws and join groups that would defend against these threats.

However, there are other ways that place protective behaviors assert themselves. Many of these behaviors are positive but some are negative. In the case of extreme cases, place attachment has resulted in ethnic conflict and ethnic cleansing. In Nazi Germany, ethnic cleansing was used to purge "outsiders" who threatened Germany (Relph, 1997). Place attachment can lead people to engage in behaviors that protect places that are meaningful to them against outside threats. In the case of residents of a lakeside community, this reaction may be to vote for laws limiting the building of additional housing. However, this reasoning can be applied to other possible threats. As mentioned briefly, extreme place attachment can lead to ethnic conflict. Therefore, it is possible that there are greater applications of these concepts to the area of politics. For instance, increased levels of place attachment by residents of a city may lead them to vote for strict housing laws such as requiring permits to rent housing, which may negatively affect recent immigrants. The concepts of place attachment and place protective behaviors could also be useful for understanding why some legislators seem more defensive of their districts than other legislators, thus shedding light on these legislators' representativeness.

Because of the serious implications of place attachment and subsequent place protective behaviors, it is interesting that the topic has not been applied to other areas of study such as to legislative politics. In the case of legislative politics, it can be argued that legislators also engage in place protective behaviors when they vote and make decisions. The depth of place attachment may be important for understanding how willing they are to "protect" their districts. Place protective behaviors may include competing for projects and funds for their districts, voting in favor of policies that protect their districts, and lobbying on behalf of their districts.

In conclusion, this dissertation attempts to fill some of the gaps in the literature. For instance, two of the major gaps are how place and place attachment affect legislative behavior especially roll-call voting and floor behavior. This dissertation hopes to move our understanding of place and place attachment forward by applying these concepts to a legislative setting.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY

The dissertation contains threes analyses. My first analysis, covered in Chapter 4, explores the relationship between place and legislative behavior while briefly introducing the concept of place attachment. The second analysis, presented in Chapter 5, builds upon and expands the definition of place attachment, and introduces the concept of place protective behaviors, which are an outcome of place attachment. Finally, the third analysis, covered in Chapter 6, attempts to explore the place attachment of Nebraska senators through their own words.

Place and Voting Behavior (Analysis 1)

First, I investigate the relationship between place and voting behavior in the Nebraska Unicameral. Based on a rigorous review of the existing literature, the effect of place on voting behavior has had little systematic study. Place can be an important factor influencing legislative behavior. Since people live in a place such as a city or neighborhood, they are exposed to the attitudes and beliefs of the people who live there. These attitudes may include attitudes toward outsiders and government. These attitudes and beliefs have their sources in the settlement pattern of the community. For instance, because urban areas are more densely settled and because they were settled by a greater diversity of people, people living in urban areas may be more tolerant. This tolerance leads to more liberal attitudes (Wolman and Marckini, 2000).

Because urban legislators are from urban areas where it is expected that the population is more liberal than in non-urban areas, these legislators are expected to be more liberal. For example, this could mean that urban Republicans may be more liberal in their voting than rural Republicans. Thus, it is hypothesized that Nebraska state senators

from urban areas will have higher liberalism scores than senators from non-urban areas. In this analysis, place is defined as the type of place or the settlement pattern of the district. Legislative districts will be categorized into four district types. These types are majority central city, non-metropolitan, suburban, and mixed. However, the analysis focuses on the comparison between central city and non-central city districts. I have chosen to focus on the dichotomy between central city and non-central city districts because of data limitations. The data is limited to one session of the Nebraska Unicameral.

> Hypothesis 1. *The voting behavior of central city senators is more likely to be liberal than the voting behavior of senators from non-central city districts.*

In addition, length of residence is one of the predictors of place attachment (Tuan, 1975; Relph, 1976). Length of residence in the district can tell us that a senator has had a longer time to be exposed to and become entrenched in the prevailing political attitudes and beliefs in the district. I hypothesize that Nebraska state senators living in central city districts for a longer time will be more liberal than those who have lived in the district for less time.

> Hypothesis 2. *Type of place is likely to have a larger effect on the voting of senators who have lived in their districts longer than is the case for those who have lived in their districts a shorter time.*

Place Attachment and Legislative Behavior (Analysis 2)

In the second analysis, I explore the concept of place attachment more fully. I introduce other measures of place attachment into the study of the relationship between place and legislative behavior and seek to combine them into a place attachment index. In this analysis, I explore the relationship between place attachment and the place protective behavior of roll-call voting.

For instance, are senators with greater levels of place attachment more likely to vote for certain types of legislation than other types? According to the literature on place attachment, those who have greater levels of place attachment are more likely to engage in place protective behaviors (Stedman, 2002; Scannell and Gifford, 2010b). Thus, people who closely identify with the natural environment are more likely to become more protective of it. These people may have a deep emotional bond to a place such as a national park. Because of this bond, a person may join a preservation or pro-environmental group. Or, they may become a recycler or protest policies that threaten the environment.

I argue that place protective behaviors can extend beyond environmental and ecological protection. For example, place protective behaviors may be political. In cases of extreme place attachment as in Nazi Germany, people resorted to extremes to protect Germany from the threats of perceived "outsiders" (Relph, 1976). Other less extreme protective behaviors may include political participation, protesting, lobbying, and voting. NIMBYs (Not in My Back Yard) are good examples of residents who engage in place protective behaviors in order to protest local developments (Devine-Wright, 2009). NIMBYs often form groups, protest, lobby and vote against developments in their neighborhoods. At the legislative level, these behaviors may include voting for legislation that protects district interests or voting against legislation that threatens the home district.

Furthermore, certain policies are more grounded in place than others. Therefore, they are more likely to spur place protective behaviors. For instance, economic development policy may trigger place protective behaviors because economic development policy is often place-based. Funding for economic development programs is

distributed geographically, which may lead to competition between locations. Senators want to make their districts as competitive as possible. Because of this, I argue that senators with greater levels of place attachment are more likely to vote for economic development legislation than senators with lower levels of place attachment. Another policy area that may spur place protective behaviors is environmental policy, especially pro-environmental policy. Place attachment may make a senator more likely to support pro-environmental legislation because he or she wants to protect the natural environment in his or her district.

One feature that these two policy areas have in common is that they are both representative of policies that are often tied to place. Other policies that are tied to place include education funding, natural resources, and transportation. These policy areas often involve programs that redistribute funds based on location. For example, LB 386, which provides funding for college internships for business throughout the state of Nebraska, awards funds based on locational criteria. Businesses in economically distressed areas of the state receive more funding than those from non-distressed areas. Pro-environmental bills are tied to place because these bills deal with the sustainability of places.

Place neutral policy areas are ones that are not tied to place. According to Wijerathna et al. (nd), place neutral policies are “policies designed without explicit consideration to space” (p. 1). These policy areas may affect individuals regardless of their location. At a macro-scale, policy areas that are more likely to be place neutral include banking and finance, health and human services, and judiciary. These policy areas are more likely to affect individuals regardless of place. For example, LB 19 proposed a law to prohibit the use and distribution of K-2 or synthetic marijuana. This

bill affects people all over the state regardless of where they are located. However, at a micro-scale, these policy areas may not fit neatly into categories because there are people-based economic development programs and place-based health and human service programs. These policy areas reflect a spectrum ranging from policies that are tied to place to policies that are place neutral.

First, I argue that place attachment will be a significant predictor of voting for legislation that is tied to place. Because legislation that is tied to place has a strong spatial component, it will have a major impact on place. Place attachment makes senators aware of the impact that legislation has on place. The more attuned a senator is to place, the more likely that place attachment will influence voting. Second, I argue that place attachment will not have much effect on voting on place neutral legislation, since place neutral policies are less likely to impact places and are less likely to trigger place protective behaviors.

> Hypothesis 3: *Place attachment is more likely to affect the likelihood of voting for legislation that is tied to place than affect the likelihood of voting for place neutral legislation.*

Third, I argue that senators with higher levels of place attachment would be more likely to vote against legislation that is tied to place that has a high negative impact on place than senators with lower levels of place attachment. I expect that they would be more likely to vote against this type of legislation because they are more attuned to the effect it would have on place. Because of the high negative impact, senators with higher levels of place attachment are expected to engage in place protective behaviors such as voting against the legislation.

> Hypothesis 4. *Senators with higher levels of place attachment are more likely to vote against legislation that is tied to place if the legislation has an acute negative impact on the district than senators with lower levels of place attachment.*

Fourth, I argue that senators with higher levels of place attachment would be more likely to vote for legislation that is tied to place that has a high positive impact on place than legislators with lower levels of place attachment. Senators with higher levels of place attachment are more attuned to the positive impacts that a bill might have on a place. Because they are more attuned to these impacts, they may be more likely to engage in place protective behaviors such as voting for a bill that would have a high positive impact on their district.

> Hypothesis 5. *Senators with higher levels of place attachment are more likely to vote for legislation that is tied to place if the legislation has an acute positive impact on the district than senators with lower levels of place attachment.*

Place Attachment and Floor Behavior (Analysis 3)

The final analysis explores the relationship between place attachment and place protective behaviors more in-depth. In this analysis, the dissertation tallies how often legislators refer to their place attachment during floor debate. In addition, the analysis examines the link between geographic scale of place attachment (whether a senator's place attachment is local or global in scale) and political ambition.

First, I argue that senators with greater levels of place attachment will refer to their place attachment more often than senators with lower levels of place attachment. I expect senators with greater levels of place attachment to refer to their place attachment more often because referring to one's place attachment is a type of place protective behavior. A place attachment reference can be used as an appeal to gain support for one's political agenda. The literature finds that those with greater levels of place attachment are

more likely to engage in place protective behaviors (Lewicka, 2011). Senators with greater levels of place attachment are expected to mention place attachment more frequently because they are more attuned to the impact that legislation will have on place.

> Hypothesis 6. *Senators with higher levels of place attachment are likely to refer to their place attachment more often than senators with lower levels of place attachment.*

Second, I argue that senators with progressive political ambition will be more likely to refer to global scale places when referring to their place attachment than senators with static political ambition. Senators with progressive political ambition are senators who seek political office that is at a higher level than their current political offices (Herrick and Moore, 1993). According to Herrick and Moore (1993), legislators who are seeking higher office attempt to appeal to broader audiences. I expect senators with progressive ambition to refer to global scale places such as the state or the nation more frequently because those with progressive political ambition are trying to appeal to larger and more diverse constituencies. These senators will be more likely to refer to the state of Nebraska or the nation as a whole.

> Hypothesis 7. *Senators with progressive political ambition are more likely to refer to global scale places when referring to their place attachment than senators with static political ambition.*

Last, I argue that senators with static political ambition will be more likely to refer to local scale places when referring to their place attachment than senators with progressive political ambition. Senators with static political ambition are those who seek to retain their current political office (Herrick and Moore, 1993). Senators with static political ambition are expected to focus their appeals toward local constituencies such as their legal constituencies to be reelected. Therefore, when they refer to their place

attachment, it is expected that they will be more likely to focus on local scale places such as towns within their district or to the district itself.

> Hypothesis 8. *Senators with static political ambition are more likely to refer to local scale place when referring to their place attachment than senators with progressive political ambition.*

The exploration of the impact of place and place attachment on legislative behavior is guided by the eight hypotheses. These hypotheses, which are grounded in the literature on place and place attachment, provide a theoretical foundation for the three analyses presented in the dissertation. With further investigation, it is possible that place and place attachment are significant factors in legislative behavior.

CHAPTER 4: PLACE AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

Introduction

How does place affect voting behavior? Does it matter if a legislator is from a central city, suburban, or rural district? Does length of residence lead a senator to be more extreme ideologically-- more liberal in central city districts and more conservative in non-central city districts? This chapter hopes to answer these questions by analyzing the relationship between place and roll-call voting in the 2011-2012 session of the Nebraska Unicameral. Type of place is often used as an independent variable along with others in regression analyses. Studying the impact of place is important for understanding whether legislators from central cities or urban areas are actually more liberal than their non-central city colleagues. The literature has found evidence that members of Congress who are from central city districts are more liberal than those who are from non-central city districts; however, there is little scholarship at the state level.

In this chapter, I analyze the relationship between type of legislative district and liberalism scores. The chapter uses Shor and McCarty's National Political Awareness Test (NPAT) Common Space Scores (NP_Score) as the source for the liberalism score. Also, I compare the mean liberalism scores of senators who have lived in their districts longer to those senators of the same party who have lived in their districts for a shorter amount of time in order to understand the impact of length of residence on liberalism scores.

Literature Review

Research on the impact of place on legislative behavior is sparse. Previous research has focused on factors ranging from political party and gender to the media to explain legislative behavior (Wright and Schaffner, 2002; Bratton and Haynie, 1999;

Orey et al., 2006; Herbst, 1998) but have largely ignored place. If place is included in analyses, it is often used as a variable in multiple regressions with the focus on the differences between regions, such as the North and South, and between urban and rural places (Wolman and Marckini, 2000; Bullock, 1985; Whitby, 1985; Nye and Bullock, 1992).

Place is defined in this chapter as legislative district; however, in the literature, place has been defined in numerous ways. The difficulty in operationalizing place makes it a difficult concept to study (Scannell and Gifford, 2010a; Lewicka, 2011). According to Tuan (1977), "place is a center of meaning or field of care based on human experience, social relationships, emotions, and thoughts" (as cited in Stedman, 2002, p. 562). A place can be further defined in several ways. Place can be local or global ranging from a house in a neighborhood to a nation state (Low and Altman, 1992; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974). Although most research on place focuses on homes, neighborhoods, and cities, others have analyzed region, state and country (Proteous, 1976; Lalli, 1992; Tuan, 1975; Fried, 1963; Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Reicher, Hopkins and Harrison, 2006). Wolman and Marckini (2000) defined place as congressional district.

The effect of place is important for political science because it can tell us about what motivates legislators. Place is an arena of social interaction. According to the literature, place can be an "'open crossroads,' a meeting place rather than an enclave of rest, a location with 'interactive potential'" (Lewicka, 2011, pp. 209-210). Under this definition, a place can shape the attitudes and beliefs toward government through the people who live in that place, much like how children are exposed to the political

attitudes and beliefs of their parents. Legislators are exposed to those prevailing political attitudes and beliefs of the residents of their districts.

For instance, Wolman and Marckini (2000) find that different types of districts have an independent effect on legislative behavior primarily through the settlement pattern of the district. In their analysis, they hypothesized that central city districts were more liberal than non-central city districts. Those living in urban areas were more likely to be tolerant because as central city residents, they would have to live in close proximity to diverse groups (Wolman and Marckini, 2000, p. 764). The type of settlement pattern leads to different patterns of social interaction. And, according to Wolman and Marckini (2000), the different settlement patterns "give rise to differences in political attitudes and behavior and that … are independent of any differences that may exist in personal characteristics of area residents" (p. 764).

They test their hypothesis by analyzing the impact of type of place on Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) liberalism scores[7] controlling for member and constituency factors. In their analysis, they gathered data from four periods ranging from the early 1960s to the early 1990s. They found that place does have an independent effect, and that the pattern holds up over time. However, due to demographic shifts, with populations becoming more suburban, and redistricting, the influence of living in a central city on liberal roll-call voting has become more diluted.

This chapter applies Wolman and Marckini's (2000) study to the state level. Furthermore, it attempts to add an additional variable to the study of place and legislative

[7] Americans of Democratic Action (ADA) scores are compiled by the Americans for Democratic Action. The score rates each representative's liberalism based upon twenty roll-call votes each year. The score is calculated by the percentage of times the representative votes for liberal legislation.

behavior. The chapter adds length of residence as a measure of place attachment in order to address whether length of time in a place affects legislative behavior. Place attachment is the emotional bond between a person and a place (Williams et al., 1992, p. 31). Length of residence is one of the most common measures of place attachment (Tuan, 1975; Relph, 1976; Proteous, 1976; and Hay, 1998). These authors find that the longer one has lived in an environment, the more likely he or she will become attached to it. Other measures of place attachment include homeownership, age, the presence of young children, social status, and mobility.

To answer the question of whether length of residence matters to decision-making, I hypothesized that the longer people live in a place, the more likely they are to become entrenched in the prevailing political attitude and beliefs. The media have observed cases of legislators with short tenure in their districts; however, the literature does not address the topic. One can ask whether a senator who has lived for a relatively short time in a district is as protective of the district as one who has lived in his or her district longer.

For my investigation, I chose to look at the 2011-2012 legislative session of the Nebraska Unicameral. This session was chosen for several reasons. First, this session was chosen to isolate the effect of Governor Dave Heineman on the legislature. The session started three years before Heineman left office. Second, the session was the last session before those who had been termed out because of term-limits could run for reelection. Instead of using Wolman and Marckini's (2000) methodology for classifying districts, I used newer census designations and constructed my own category for a mixed district.[8]

[8] To define mixed district, I used Wolman and Marckini's definition. According to Wolman and Marckini (2000), "'mixed' districts do not have a majority of their population in any single place category" (p. 767).

In addition, instead of ADA scores, which were unavailable for state legislators, I used Shor and McCarty's National Political Awareness Test Common Space (NPAT) Scores (NP_Score).

Hypotheses

To facilitate the analysis between district type and liberalism scores, I developed two hypotheses. These hypotheses are explored more in detail in Chapter 3, but are restated here for the reader's convenience.

> Hypothesis 1. *The voting behavior of central city senators is more likely to be liberal than the voting behavior of senators from non-central city districts.*
>
> Hypothesis 2. *Type of place is likely to have a larger effect on the voting of senators who have lived in their districts longer than is the case for those who have lived in their districts a shorter time.*

Hypothesis 1, which is based upon the findings of Wolman and Marckini (2000), expects that senators from central city districts will have higher liberalism scores than senators from non-central city districts. To address the first hypothesis, the relationship between type of place, in this case central city districts, and NP_Score was analyzed. Hypothesis 2, which is rooted in the literature on place attachment, expects that senators who have lived in central city districts longer will have more extreme absolute liberalism scores than those senators who have lived in central city districts a shorter time. The unit of analysis for the exploration of the first and second hypotheses are individual legislators.

Dependent variable

The dependent variable for both hypotheses is a liberalism score. For the liberalism score, I used Shor and McCarty's NPAT Common Space Score (NP_Score). The NPAT Common Space Score is an estimation of the spatial locations of individual

decision-makers. The score estimates the location of a legislator on the continuum from liberal to conservative based on answers to the Project Vote Smart National Political Awareness Test (NPAT) and from roll-call voting records. The scores have been calculated for most individual state legislators in the United States from the mid-1990s until the present. Scores range from negative two to positive two (-2 to +2) on a bipolar scale. The most liberal senators have scores closest to negative two (-2), and the most conservative senators have scores closest to positive (+2). In Nebraska, the scores for individual legislators range from -1.18 for Tanya Cook (District 30), a Democrat from Omaha, to 1.64 for Charlie Janssen (District 67), a Republican from Fremont. Table 4.1 shows the NP_Scores for the all of the senators during the 2011-2012 legislative session. The table also shows whether the senator is from a central city or non-central city district.

Table 4.1

NP_Scores and Length of Residence for Nebraska Senators in the Unicameral 2011-2012

Senator	District	Party	NP_Score	Length of Residence (Years)
Adams	24	Republican	0.58	1
Ashford*	20	Independent	-0.11	33
Avery*	28	Democrat	0.08	20
Bloomfield	17	Republican	1.50	44
Brasch	16	Republican	1.32	35
Campbell*	25	Republican	0.24	38
Carlson	38	Republican	0.61	48
Christensen	44	Republican	1.07	22
Coash*	27	Republican	0.47	15
Conrad*	46	Democrat	-1.15	11
Cook*	13	Democrat	-1.18	33
Cornett*	45	Republican	0.17	10
Council*	11	Democrat	-0.99	51
Dubas	34	Democrat	0.07	32
Fischer	43	Republican	1.34	31
Flood	19	Republican	0.86	23
Fulton*	29	Republican	1.06	16
Gloor*	35	Republican	0.59	11
Haar, K.*	21	Democrat	-0.92	7
Hadley	37	Republican	0.66	17
Hansen	42	Republican	1.07	56
Harms	48	Republican	0.74	42
Harr, B.*	8	Democrat	-0.56	32
Heidemann	1	Republican	1.53	34
Howard*	9	Democrat	-0.53	55

Note: *Central City or Urban Area District

Table 4.1 Continued

NP_Scores and Length of Residence for Nebraska Senators in the Unicameral 2011-2012

Senator	District	Party	NP_Score	Length of Residence (Years)
Janssen	15	Republican	1.64	33
Karpisek	32	Democrat	0.25	36
Krist*	10	Republican	0.22	27
Lambert	2	Republican	1.16	57
Langemeier	23	Republican	1.13	28
Larson	40	Republican	0.94	2
Lathrop*	12	Democrat	-0.50	53
Lautenbaugh*	18	Republican	1.04	38
Louden	49	Republican	0.73	66
McCoy*	39	Republican	1.32	7
McGill*	26	Democrat	-0.84	7
Mello*	5	Democrat	-0.43	25
Nelson*	6	Republican	1.13	46
Nordquist*	7	Democrat	-0.49	9
Pahls*	31	Republican	0.32	33
Pankonin	2	Republican	0.57	50
Pirsch*	4	Republican	0.74	30
Price*	3	Republican	-0.15	10
Schilz	47	Republican	0.97	35
Schumacher	22	Republican	0.54	54
Seiler	33	Republican	0.32	43
Smith*	14	Republican	0.87	19
Sullivan	41	Democrat	0.24	52
Utter	33	Republican	1.45	7
Wallman	30	Democrat	-0.03	68
Wightman	36	Republican	0.71	43

Note: *Central City or Urban Area District

Table 4.2 shows the mean NP_Scores by party as compared to the overall mean NP_Score for the Unicameral. The mean Unicameral NP_Score is 0.45. It appears that the Unicameral was generally more conservative. Republicans have a mean score of 0.84, and Democrats have a mean score of -0.47. The lone independent was more liberal than conservative according to his NP_Score, which was -0.11.

Table 4.2

NP_Scores By Party

	N	Mean	Min	Max	Std. Deviation
Unicameral	51	0.45	-1.18	1.64	0.75
Republicans	35	0.84	-0.15	1.64	0.43
Democrats	15	-0.47	-1.18	0.25	0.49
Independent	1	-0.11			

Independent variables

Type of place or settlement pattern of the district: Type of place or settlement pattern of the district was categorized into four categories: central city, suburban, non-metropolitan, and mixed. Data were collected for all four categories, but the analysis focused on the differences between central city districts and all of the other district types. I chose to focus on the dichotomy between central city and non-central city districts because most of the categories contained small numbers of members. I used the United States Census designations of Urban Area, Urban Cluster, and Rural to determine which districts were predominantly central city, suburban, non-metropolitan or rural, and mixed. Mixed districts were those that had neither a majority of their population in a central city, suburban or non-metropolitan area. According to the United States Census Bureau, Urban Areas are areas of 50,000 or more population. Urban Clusters are areas of at least 2,500 but less than 50,000 population. Rural areas are areas that are less than 2,500 population. To arrive at which districts are “mixed,” the percentage of the population for each category was calculated. For instance, an Urban Area district is one where at least 51 percent of the population lives in an Urban Area. “Mixed” districts are those that did not have a majority of their population in an Urban Area, Urban Cluster or Rural Area. Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of four types of district in Nebraska. The district types were later recoded so that central city districts were coded 1, and all others were coded 0.

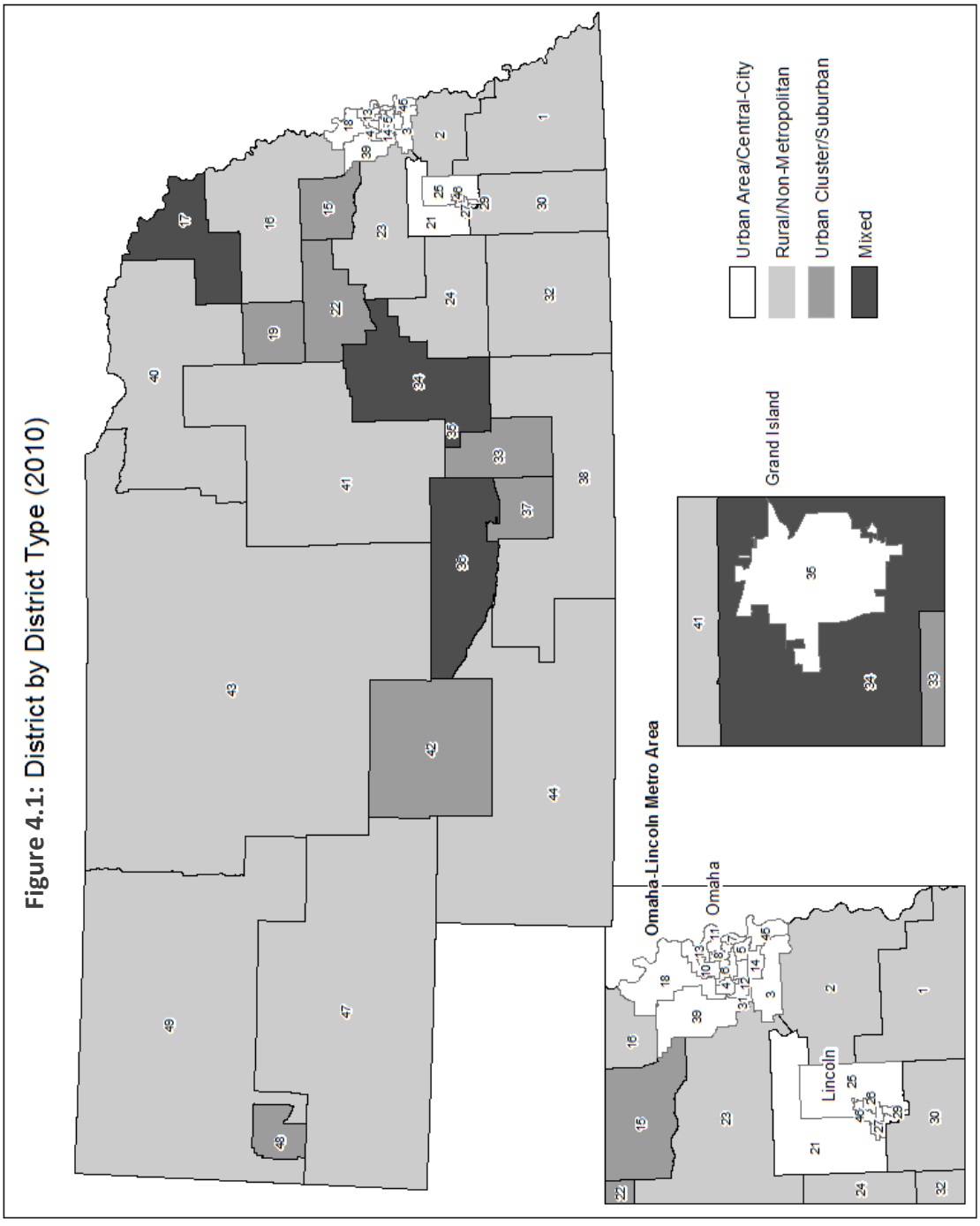


Figure 4.1: District by District Type (2010)

Length of residence: Length of residence is a measure of place attachment. It was measured as the number of years the legislator lived in the district prior to being elected to office. Data concerning length of residence came from several sources such as senator biographies, news articles, senator blogs, and property records from county assessor websites. Length of residence was calculated by subtracting time spent outside of the district, including time attending school and serving in the military. The mean length of residence for the session was 31.3 years. Length of residence ranged from one year to 68 years. Table 4.1 lists the length of residence for all of the senators during the session.

Part 1

Because the data represents a population and not a sample, statistical tests were not utilized. Instead, a simple comparison of means was used. According to the results in Table 4.3, central city senators were more liberal than non-central city senators. For instance, central city senators had a mean NP_Score of 0.02, and non-central city senators had a mean NP_Score of 0.84. Comparing central city Democrats to non-central city Democrats, central city Democrats were much more liberal than non-central city Democrats. Central city Democrats had a mean NP_Score of -0.64 whereas, non-central city Democrats had a mean NP_Score of 0.13. Furthermore, central city Republicans were more liberal than non-central city Republicans. For example, central city Republicans had a NP_Score of 0.62. Non-central city Republicans had a score of 0.97. Overall, central city senators were more liberal than non-central city senators regardless of political party. According to the results, Hypothesis 1 is supported, and the null hypothesis is rejected.

Table 4.3

The Mean Differences of NP_Scores for Republicans and Democrats from Central City and Non-Central City Districts

		N	Percent of Total	Mean NP_Score Scale is from negative (liberal) to positive (conservative)
Central -City				
	Democrats	12	23.53	-0.64
	Republicans	13	25.49	0.62
Total		25	49.02	0.02
Non-central city				
	Democrats	4	7.84	0.13
	Republicans	22	43.14	0.97
Total		26	50.98	0.84
Grand Total		**51**	**100.00**	**0.45**

Part 2

To further understand the effect of length of residence on NP_Score and investigate the second hypothesis, a simple comparison of means was used. According to the second hypothesis, it was expected that length of residence would lead to more extreme absolute liberalism scores. For example, a Republican senator living in a central city district for a long time would be more liberal than a Republican senator living in a central city district for a shorter time. A rural Democrat who has lived longer in a rural district is expected to be more conservative than a rural Democrat who has lived in a rural district for a shorter time.

First, according to Table 4.4, senators who have lived in their districts longer have slightly more conservative NP_Scores than those who have lived in their districts a shorter period of time. It appears that living in the same place for a longer time is associated with being more conservative. However, the difference in means is very slight.

Table 4.4

The Mean Differences of NP_Scores by Length of Residence.

	N	Percent of Total	Mean NP_Score Scale is from negative (liberal) to positive (conservative)
Short	23	45.10	0.42
Long	28	54.90	0.46
Total	51	100.00	0.45

Table 4.5 looks at the mean NP_Scores disaggregated by length of residence and political party. Once again, it appears that senators who have lived longer in their districts are more likely to be conservative than those who have lived a shorter time in their districts. Democrats who have lived longer in their districts are more conservative than those who have lived in their districts a shorter time. Republicans who have lived longer in their districts are more conservative than those who have lived a shorter time.

Table 4.5

The Mean Differences of NP_Scores based on Length of Residence of Republicans and Democrats

	Length of Residence	N	Percent of Total	Mean NP_Score Scale is from negative (liberal) to positive (conservative)
Democrats				
	Short	6	11.76	-0.63
	Long	10	19.61	-0.33
Total		16	31.37	-0.44
Republicans				
	Short	17	33.33	0.78
	Long	18	35.29	0.89
Total		35	68.63	0.84
Grand Total		**51**	**100.00**	**0.45**

Table 4.6, looks at the NP_Scores of central city and non-central city senators by place. It is expected that the longer a senator lives in the central city, then he or she would become more liberal. Also, it is expected that the longer that a senator lives in a non-

central city district, then he or she would become more conservative. According to the data, senators who have lived longer in central city districts are more likely to be more liberal. Senators who have lived a shorter time in their central city districts have a mean NP_Score of 0.10, which is more conservative. Those who have lived in their central city districts longer have a mean NP_Score of -0.11, which is more liberal. This finding supports Hypothesis 2.

However, length of residence also leads to more liberal NP_Scores for non-central city senators. For example, non-central city senators who have lived in their districts a shorter time have a mean NP_Score of 1.00, which is more conservative. Those who lived in their districts longer have a mean score of 0.77, which is more liberal.

Table 4.6

The Mean Differences of NP_Scores based on Length of Residence and Place

	Length of Residence	N	Percent of Total	Mean NP_Score Scale is from negative (liberal) to positive (conservative)
Central city				
	Short	15	29.41	0.10
	Long	10	19.61	-0.11
Total		25	49.02	0.02
Non-central city				
	Short	8	15.69	1.00
	Long	18	35.29	0.77
Total		26	50.98	0.84
Grand Total		**51**	**100.00**	**0.45**

Therefore, how does length of residence in a central city district or a non-central city district effect NP_Scores of Republicans and Democrats? For instance, does it matter that a Republican has lived in a central city district for a short or long time? Table 4.7 further categorizes senators by party and by place. First, I will look at the mean

NP_Scores of senators that are from central city districts. It is expected that those who have lived in central city districts longer will be more liberal than those who have lived in them a shorter amount of time. Looking at Table 4.7, central city Democrats who have lived longer in their districts are slightly more liberal than those who have lived in their districts a shorter amount of time. Long term central city district Democrats have a mean NP_Score of -0.66 and short term central city Democrats have a mean score of -0.62. This is an expected finding. However, the pattern does not hold for central city Republicans. The table demonstrates that the longer a Republican senator lives in a central city district the more likely they are to be more conservative. Long term central city Republicans have a mean NP_Score of 0.68, and short term central city Republicans have a mean NP_Score of 0.59. This finding counters Hypothesis 2 which expects that length of time leads to more liberal NP_Scores for central city Democrats and Republicans.

Non-central city Democrats tend to be more conservative the longer they live in a district, but non-central city Republicans are not. However, caution must be used when interpreting the results because there was only one short term non-central city Democrat in the population. According to Table 4.7, non-central city long term Democrats have a mean NP_Score of 0.15 compared to the mean NP_Score of 0.07 for non-central city short term Democrats. This finding supports the second hypothesis, although, when looking at Republicans, the pattern is reversed. Long term non-central city Republicans are more likely to be more liberal than those who have lived in their districts a shorter time. Scores go from 1.00 for long term non-central city Republicans to 0.96 for short term non-central city Republicans. This finding does not support Hypothesis 2. After

controlling for political party and for type of place, the findings do not fully support the expectation that length of time leads to more liberal NP_Scores for senators in central city districts and to more conservative scores in non-central city districts. Since the findings only partially support Hypothesis 2, I cannot fully reject the null hypothesis.

Table 4.7

The Mean Differences of NP_Scores based on Length of Residence of Republicans and Democrats from Central City and Non-Central City Districts

		Length of Residence	N	Percent of Total	Mean NP_Score Scale is from negative (liberal) to positive (conservative)
Central City					
	Democrats				
		Short	7	13.73	-0.62
		Long	5	9.80	-0.66
	Republicans				
		Short	9	17.65	0.59
		Long	4	7.84	0.68
Total			26	50.98	0.02
Non-Central city					
	Democrats				
		Short	1	1.96	0.07
		Long	3	5.88	0.15
	Republicans				
		Short	8	15.69	1.00
		Long	14	27.45	0.96
Total			25	49.02	0.84
Grand Total			**51**	**100.00**	**0.45**

Discussion and Conclusion

The analysis found support for the first hypothesis and only modest support for the second hypothesis. Table 4.8 summarizes the findings of the chapter. Concerning the first hypothesis, senators from central city districts are more likely to be more liberal than those from non-central city districts. Concerning the second hypothesis, length of time leads to more liberal NP_Scores for central city senators and for non-central city senators.

Because of this finding, the second hypothesis is only partially supported. It was expected that time would lead to more liberal central city senators and more conservative non-central city senators. The research shows that being from a central city district does have an impact on legislative behavior and that length of residence does matter to voting behavior, albeit in unpredicted ways. While the research shows that place and time matter to voting behavior, it does not fully explore why it matters. Future research will be needed to explore the exact mechanisms that are at play. The findings of the first hypothesis support those of Wolman and Marckini (2000) who also found that place matters to voting behavior. They found that living in a central city is associated with greater liberalism on roll-call voting in the United States House of Representatives.

Table 4.8

Summary of Findings

	Description	Supported	Findings
Hypothesis 1	The voting behavior of central city senators is more likely to be liberal than the voting behavior of senators from non-central city districts.	Yes	Central city senators regardless of party are more liberal than non-central city senators (Expected).
Hypothesis 2	Type of place is likely to have a larger effect on the voting of senators who have lived in their districts longer than is the case for those who have lived in their districts a shorter time.	Mixed	Living longer in district leads to slightly greater conservative NP_Scores. When controlling for party, Democrats and Republicans who have lived in their districts for a longer time are more conservative. When controlling for party and type of place, central city Democrats are more liberal over time (Expected). Central city Republicans are more conservative over time (Unexpected). Non-central city Democrats are more conservative over time (Expected), and non-central city Republicans are more liberal (Unexpected).

The study has some limitations. First, the study utilized data for one session of the Unicameral. One session was chosen because of the exploratory nature of the research and the desire to explore this session as a case study. However, because the data from the session represents a population and not a sample, the small sample size is not problematic because statistical inferences are not being drawn. Future research should include additional sessions to help improve the validity of the findings. In addition, further analysis of the other types of districts is warranted. This chapter focused on central city and non-central city districts. Future research should expand the study to suburban, rural, and mixed districts and how these types of districts compare to each other. A larger data set would allow for additional comparisons.

The major implication here is that place does have an effect on voting behavior in this session of the Nebraska Unicameral. The chapter not only furthers our knowledge of the impact of place but it also furthers our knowledge of legislative behavior in the Nebraska Unicameral, since many scholars omit Nebraska from their analyses because it has only one house. Another major implication of the research is that senators who have recently moved from a central city district to a non-central city district or vice versa may have political ideologies that are significantly different from that of their legal constituents.

The advent of term limits in the State of Nebraska would limit the amount of time that senators have to acclimate to their districts. If the senator had not lived in the district for very long prior to obtaining office, it might be more difficult for him or her to make decisions based upon the prevailing political attitudes and beliefs of the district. Term limits would impede this process because senators are limited to only two terms. It could

be that by the time they have fully learned the ways of their districts, they would be out of office.

In conclusion, place and length of residence matter somewhat to voting behavior. Senators who live in central city districts are more likely to be more liberal than those from non-central city districts, which supports the literature. When accounting for length of residence, for Democrats, the longer the senator has lived in a central city district, the more liberal he or she is. However, for Republicans, the longer the senator has lived in a central city district the more conservative he or she is. However, the pattern follows an unexpected twist for those in non-central city districts. Those who have lived longer in those districts are also more likely to be more liberal. Because of these unexpected findings, further analysis is needed.

CHAPTER 5: PLACE ATTACHMENT AND LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR

Introduction

Policies can have a wide range of effects on places. The impact may range from very positive to very negative. Sometimes, however, policies have no impact upon places. Instead, these types of policies have a neutral effect, since they affect people regardless of place or location. Because some policies affect places more so than others, these policies may trigger place protective behaviors, especially in those who have a high level of attachment to place. A resident of a place may protest the policy or join groups to fight against the policy. In the legislative realm, a legislator may vote for or against the policy as a way to protect places such as his or her district.

In this chapter, I explore the factors that influence voting on legislation that has a strong spatial component and that influence voting on legislation that does not. To do so, I propose three hypotheses. The first hypothesis assesses the likelihood of voting against legislation that is tied to place or that has a strong spatial component based upon a senator's level of place attachment. It also assesses whether place attachment is a significant predictor for voting against place neutral legislation, or legislation that lacks a spatial component. The second and third hypotheses explore whether senators with higher levels of place attachment are more likely to vote for or against legislation that is tied to place than senators with lower levels of place attachment. Additionally, I determine the usefulness of creating a combined place attachment index, which combines several socio-demographic measures of place attachment. Overall, from the analysis, I find modest support for my hypotheses.

Literature Review

This chapter builds upon the literature of place attachment and place protective behaviors, which is explored in-depth in Chapter 2. According to Scannell and Gifford (2010b), place attachment is the "bonding that occurs between individuals and their meaningful environments" (p. 289). Place protective behaviors are a major consequence of place attachment. Scannell and Gifford (2010b) state, "surely one's connectedness to a place (or lack thereof) influences one's willingness to protect it" (p. 289). The previous literature has focused on the role of place attachment in fostering pro-environmental behavior. Very few scholars have analyzed the impact of place attachment in fostering place protective behaviors in other contexts. Understanding place attachment could be useful for understanding political behaviors such as political participation and legislative behavior.

The literature on the influence of place attachment on political behavior is sparse; however, there has been some research on the relationship between place attachment and local opposition to change. According to Devine-Wright (2009), "the 'NIMBY' (Not in My Back Yard) concept is commonly used to explain public opposition to new developments near homes and communities" (p. 426). NIMBYism is a form of environmental protective behavior that overlaps into the political behavior realm. Those who exhibit NIMBY behaviors might vote against projects that would be detrimental to their local environment such as high voltage lines or a nuclear power plant. The local opposition to these proposed projects can be seen as a form of place protective behavior (Devine-Wright, 2009, p. 426). The author states, "local opposition is conceived as a form of place-protective action, which arises when new developments disrupt pre-

existing emotional attachments and threaten place-related identity processes" (Devine-Wright, 2009, p. 426). Place protective behaviors, which may include increased political participation in individuals, are triggered by actual physical change and by proposed physical changes. These actual or future disruptive events generate "psychological anxiety or a sense of threat at the possible outcomes of future change" (Devine-Wright, 2009, p. 429). Furthermore, Devine-Wright (2009), finds that increased NIMBYism is correlated with distance from the proposed project, whereas, those living closest to the proposed project will have the strongest feelings against it.

Since policy areas like economic development and environmental policy lead to changes in the local environment, these policy areas may lead to NIMBYism or its reverse. For instance, an economic development policy may lead to projects that pit one location against another. Not every project draws the ire of residents. In fact, some individuals and groups may want development to happen in their local areas (Devine-Wright, 2009, p. 429). In some cases, "place attachment may actually positively correlate with project support when projects are interpreted as place enhancing" (Devine-Wright, 2009, p. 434). Environmental policies are also divisive because they seek to regulate land uses. In some cases, regulations seek to protect the natural environment whereas in other cases, environmental policies may loosen protections, which may be perceived as harmful to the environment. Increased place attachment may lead to increased political action at the individual or collective level, especially when the local environment is threatened with change.

In addition, understanding place attachment and its effect on legislative behavior is important for learning about how legislators who are relative newcomers to their

districts are bonded to their districts. The literature on place attachment discusses the variation in place attachment between newcomers and long-term residents (Lewicka, 2011; Tuan, 1975; Hay, 1998; Stedman, 2006; Kattleborn and Williams, 2006). The literature is divided between scholars who believe that newcomers can develop as equally strong attachments to places as those who are long-term residents and those who do not. According to Stedman (2006), who represents the traditional view, newcomers are not likely to share the values of the real community because they were not involved in the creation of those values. Relph (1976) sees place attachment as a continuum with long-term residents having greater levels of insidedness. Those who have lived a long time in a place or who have been raised in a place will have the greatest level of insidedness due to immersion in the place. Hay (1998) also sees the relationship as a continuum from superficial to cultural. Under Hay's typology, place attachment ranges from superficial, which typifies transients and tourists, to partial, personal, ancestral, and cultural, which typifies those with generational ties to place. In his view, only those who have been raised in the place or have lived there for generations have a true sense of place. Several of the authors of the traditional view agree that tourists cannot share the same level of attachment as those who have long-term ties to a place (Relph, 1976; Hay, 1998; Stedman, 2006).

Some scholars see the relationship as more nuanced. Newcomers may grow to be very attached to the places they find meaningful; however, their attachment may differ from the attachment of long-term residents. For instance, the literature mentions that newcomers may have greater attachment to the physical characteristics of the place while long-term residents may be more attached to the social aspects of the place (Stedman,

2006). Additionally, newcomers may also have less civic attachment than long-term residents because it takes longer for newcomers to establish social networks than it does for them to develop bonds with the natural environment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010b). Legislators who are relative newcomers to their districts may not develop the deep levels of place attachment that long-term residents, especially those who have been raised in their districts, have. However, this does not mean that they are not attached to their districts. It could mean that their place attachment differs from those of long-term residents.

Another gap that this chapter attempts to fill is the creation of a single measure of place attachment. Previous studies have used several socio-demographic variables as predictors and as proxy measures of place attachment. The most utilized socio-demographic predictors of place attachment include length of residence, mobility, home ownership, age, education, having children, and socio-economic status. Of these, the most used predictor is length of residence. According to Lewicka (2011), length of residence is often used as one of many measures or as a sole measure of place attachment (p.216). It has been found to be the most consistent and positive predictor of place attachment. In addition, homeownership is often used as a proxy measure for place attachment because of its consistent positive relationship with place attachment (Lewicka, 2011; Taylor et al., 1985). Several of the predictors such as SES, age, and education are less reliable and may cancel each other out (Lewicka, 2011, p. 216). The literature lacks agreement on which predictors are the most useful and there is little discussion of why some predictors are better than others. Lewicka (2011) provides the best review of socio-demographic predictors and encourages more research on how these

predictors work. This chapter seeks to move beyond using length of residence as the sole measure of place attachment. The chapter combines the following variables: length of residence, age, presence of children, attending high school in the district, and nativity. Then, the chapter evaluates the effectiveness of the combined measure of place attachment.

Hypotheses

To guide my analysis, several hypotheses were developed. The hypotheses are restated from Chapter 3 for the reader's convenience.

> Hypothesis 3. *Place attachment is more likely to affect the likelihood of voting for legislation that is tied to place than affect the likelihood of voting for place neutral legislation.*
>
> Hypothesis 4. *Senators with higher levels of place attachment are more likely to vote against legislation that is tied to place if the legislation has an acute negative impact on the district than senators with lower levels of place attachment.*
>
> Hypothesis 5. *Senators with higher levels of place attachment are more likely to vote for legislation that is tied to place if the legislation has an acute positive impact on the district than senators with lower levels of place attachment.*

Hypothesis 3 is rooted in the literature on place attachment and the consequences of place attachment. Hypothesis 3 expects that place attachment will be a significant predictor when voting for legislation tied to place or that has a strong spatial component. This is expected because legislation that is tied to place is expected to trigger place protective behaviors in individuals with high levels of place attachment. It also expects that place attachment will not be a significant predictor of the likelihood of voting for legislation that is place neutral. Place neutral legislation is not expected to generate place protective behaviors.

Hypotheses 4 and 5 intend to capture the nuanced nature of the relationship between level of place attachment and roll-call voting behavior. Hypothesis 4 expects that senators with higher levels of place attachment will be more likely to vote against legislation that is tied to place if the legislation has a high negative impact on the district than senators with lower levels of place attachment. Hypothesis 5 expects that senators with higher levels of place attachment will be more likely to vote for legislation that is tied to place if the legislation has a high positive impact on the district than senators with lower levels of place attachment.

Data and Methods

I explored the three hypotheses using data from the 2011-2012 session of the Nebraska Unicameral. The unit of analysis for these hypotheses was each senator's individual roll-call vote for a piece of legislation.

Dependent variables

Dependent variable #1- The first dependent variable was each senator's individual roll-call vote for or against a bill representing legislation that is more likely to be tied to place. These bills were selected from a list of bills that received 39 or fewer roll-call votes after final reading of the bill on the floor of the Unicameral. These bills were chosen to ensure variation in the data.[9] In all, 10 bills were chosen. A vote for the bill was coded as 1, and a vote against the bill was coded 0. Those who did not vote for the bill were also coded 0. The sample of bills represented 510 individual roll-call votes. Table 5.1 shows the breakdown of these bills.

[9] Bishin (2000) used roll-call votes in the United States House of Representatives where at least one side received 20 percent of the vote.

Table 5.1

Legislation Tied to Place

Bill Number	Brief Description	For	Against	Not Voting
LB 84	Build Nebraska Act: adopt and authorize bonds for the highway	33	10	6
LB 200	Healthy Food Financing Initiative Act	22	18	9
LB 204	Blood lead testing for students: require prior to enrollment in	30	12	7
LB 283	School boards: provide with tax levy and bond authority	27	19	3
LB 357	Local option sales and use tax	30	17	2
LB 383	State aid to municipalities and counties: eliminate	36	9	4
LB 473	Black-Tailed Prairie Dog Management Act: adopt	32	11	6
LB 546	Residential Code, International: change provisions relating to	31	9	9
LB 704	Change boundaries of the Representatives in the Congress of the United States districts	32	15	2
LB 806	Authorize the State Racing Commission to regulate wagering on historic horseraces	26	15	8

Dependent variable #2- The second dependent variable was each senator's individual roll-call vote for or against a bill that is more likely to be place-neutral. These bills were also selected from the list of bills that received 39 or fewer roll-call votes after final reading. The sample represents 510 individual roll-call votes. Table 5.2 shows the breakdown of the bills selected for study.

Table 5.2

Place-Neutral Legislation

Bill Number	Brief Description	For	Against	Not Voting
LB 22	Mandate Opt-Out and Insurance Coverage Clarification Act (Abortion coverage)	37	7	5
LB 255	Railroads: eliminate investigation and regulation duties	30	12	7
LB 384	Tax Equalization and Review Commission: eliminate a commissioner	36	11	2
LB 465	Immigrants: eliminate provisions relating to eligibility of	33	8	8
LB 468	Medical Assistance program	34	10	5
LB 521	Drugs used to induce an abortion	38	9	2
LB 599	Medical Assistance Act: provide coverage for certain children	31	15	3
LB 824	Define flavored malt beverage and change bond provisions under the Nebraska Liquor Control Act	37	6	6
LB 996	Change provisions relating to compulsory attendance	28	20	1
LB 1020	Adopt the Nebraska Coordinated School Health Act	26	15	8

Independent variables[10]

Type of bill- Bills were coded 1 for those that represented legislation that was tied to place and 0 for legislation that was place neutral.

Length of residence- Length of residence was measured as the number of years that a senator resided in the district prior to being elected.

Age- Age was included in the analysis because the literature found that those who are older have greater levels of place attachment than those who are younger (Lewicka,

[10] For a full list of independent variables, please see Appendix A.

2011). Older persons are less likely to move and are expected to have deeper roots in a place than younger persons. It was expected that older senators will have greater levels of place attachment than younger senators.

Family ties in the district- Family ties in the district, which are a measure of place attachment were measured by the presence of those under 18 in the senator's family. Those with younger children were expected to have deeper roots in the district, and they were expected to be less mobile. Senators who have young children were coded 1, and all others were coded 0.

Nativity in the district- Nativity in the district is whether the senator was born in the district or not. Senators who were born in the district were expected to have greater place attachment than those who were not born in their districts. Nativity is an indicator that the senator may have ancestral roots in the district. Senators who were born in their district were coded 1, and those who were not born in their districts were coded 0. Data for this measure came from senator biographies.

High School in District- It was determined whether the senator went to high school in a community in his or her district. Those who went to high school in a community in his or her district were coded 1, and those who did not were coded 0.

Progressive Ambition- The variable of progressive ambition was included to control for a senator's progressive political behavior. A senator who is anticipating running for or assuming a statewide or higher office after the session may behave differently. For example, the senator may make more statewide appeals during floor debate because he or she is trying to appeal to a broader audience. It was expected that senators who seek a statewide or higher office after the session will have lower levels of

place attachment to local scale places than senators who do not seek a statewide office. Those seeking a statewide office or higher were coded 1, and those not seeking a statewide or higher office were coded 0.

Method

First, correlation was used to determine whether there was high intercorrelation between the independent variables. In addition, factor analysis was used to construct a single variable or index of place attachment from the five independent measures of place attachment. In the second and third part of the analysis, logistic regression was used because of the dichotomous nature of the dependent variables. To interpret the results, odds ratios were used. Last, toward the end of the chapter, case studies were used for in-depth analysis of two bills from the sample, in order, to explore Hypotheses 4 and 5.

Analysis

Part 1

The first part of the analysis created and explored the usefulness of a place attachment index variable. First, I conducted a correlational analysis to understand how all of the independent variables correlate with each other. The analysis was useful for identifying high levels of correlation. Based on the literature, it was expected that age, length of residence, nativity, and attending high school in the district would be highly intercorrelated. Using these variables independently would make interpreting results very difficult and would lead to poor fitting models. From the correlational analysis, it was found that several of these independent variables were highly correlated with each other or have a Pearson's r coefficients of greater than 0.50. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 show the results of the correlational analysis. For example, there was a strong positive relationship

between nativity and attending high school in the district ($r = 0.72$, $p < 0.10$). Attending high school in the district was also highly correlated with length of residence ($r = 0.67$, $p < 0.10$). Length of residence and age were moderately correlated ($r = 0.54$, $p < 0.10$) as well as length of residence and nativity ($r = 0.57$, $p < 0.10$). While not a place attachment variable, constituent ideology was highly correlated with the political party of the senator ($r = 0.59$, $p < 0.10$).

Next, factor analysis was used to reduce the five single place attachment variables into a place attachment index. Factor analysis is useful for determining whether there is an underlying factor for a group of variables Using Statistica software, factor analysis was performed. Of the five variables, three variables loaded upon a single factor. These three variables were length of residence, nativity, and attending high school in the district. The variables of age and family ties did not load upon the first factor, and they did not have Eigen values greater than or equal to one. The single factor, which contained three factor components, was found to explain about 75% of the variability of the five original variables. This single factor, which was calculated from length of residence, nativity, and attending high school in the district, was labeled Place Attachment. Then, this single factor was used to calculate factor scores for each of the senators. Each senator's factor score was calculated by taking an average of the scores for each of the separate components that made up the single factor. This factor was later used in the logistic regression analysis. The variables of age and family ties were dropped from the analysis.

Table 5.3

Correlation Matrix. Voting for Legislation Tied to Place

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Vote for Legislation tied to Place	1.00													
Party	0.03	1.00												
Gender	0.03	0.35*	1.00											
Race/Ethnicity	0.07	0.30*	0.38*	1.00										
Leadership	0.06	0.08*	0.06	0.21*	1.00									
Experience	-0.02	-0.05	0.00	0.13*	0.18*	1.00								
Progressive Ambition	-0.03	-0.04	-0.16*	0.09*	0.02	0.40*	1.00							
Political ID of District	0.10*	0.59*	0.27*	0.55*	0.27*	0.14*	0.12*	1.00						
Length of Residence	-0.04	-0.08*	-0.05	-0.14*	0.01	0.04	-0.07	0.05	1.00					
Family ties	0.01	0.14*	0.22*	0.20*	0.15*	-0.09*	0.14*	-0.00	-0.40*	1.00				
Age	-0.00	0.10*	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.07	-0.20*	0.18*	0.54*	-0.66*	1.00			
Nativity	-0.04	-0.19*	0.11*	-0.06	0.07	0.20*	0.12*	-0.01	0.57*	-0.04	0.08*	1.00		
HS in District	-0.01	-0.22*	0.09*	-0.19*	0.09*	0.11*	0.19*	0.03	0.67*	-0.02	0.08*	0.12*	1.00	
Place Attachment Index	-0.02	-0.14*	0.11*	-0.11*	0.10*	0.13	0.15*	0.09*	0.75*	-0.00	0.11*	0.88*	0.93*	1.00

Notes. *p<0.10.

Table 5.4

Correlation Matrix. Voting for Place Neutral Legislation

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Vote for Place Neutral Legislation	1.00													
Party	0.12*	1.00												
Gender	0.11*	0.35*	1.00											
Race/Ethnicity	0.12*	0.30*	0.38*	1.00										
Leadership	0.07	0.08*	0.06	0.21*	1.00									
Experience	-0.11*	-0.05	0.00	0.13*	0.18*	1.00								
Progressive Ambition	-0.01	-0.04	-0.16	0.09*	0.02	0.40*	1.00							
Political ID of District	0.15*	0.59*	0.27*	0.55*	0.27*	0.14*	0.12*	1.00						
Length of Residence	-0.06	-0.08*	-0.05	-0.14*	0.01	0.04	-0.07	0.05	1.00					
Family ties	0.08*	0.14*	0.22*	0.20*	0.15*	-0.09*	0.14*	-0.00	-0.40*	1.00				
Age	0.01	0.10*	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.07	-0.20*	0.18*	0.54*	-0.66	1.00			
Nativity	0.00	-0.19*	0.11*	-0.06	0.07	0.20*	0.12*	-0.01	0.57*	-0.04	0.08*	1.00		
HS in District	-0.05	-0.22*	0.11*	-0.19*	0.09*	0.11*	0.19*	0.03	0.67*	-0.02	0.08*	0.72*	1.00	
Place Attachment Index	-0.02	-0.14*	0.11*	-0.11*	0.10*	0.13*	0.15*	0.09*	0.75*	-0.00	0.11*	0.88*	0.93*	1.00

Notes. *p<0.10.

Part 2

In the second part of the analysis, I conducted two separate sets of logistic regression analyses using roll-call vote on legislation that was tied to place as the dependent variable. The first set of models used all five place attachment variables. The second set replaced the five place attachment variables with the place attachment index. Then, the two sets of models were compared. By comparing the sets of models, one can see if the single place attachment variable improves the fit of the models and makes interpretation easier. Table 5.5 shows the results of the first 10 logistic regression models. During analysis, it was found that the variables of race/ethnicity and constituent ideology created problems for the analysis. These two variables were dropped from the analysis. Race/ethnicity of the senator was dropped due to a lack of variation in the data. Including the variable prevented calculation of the logistic regression models. Constituent ideology was dropped because of possible multicollinearity with political party of the senator. When the variable was included in the analysis, it generated extremely high odds ratios.

In the first 10 models, which included the full complement of place attachment variables, political party of the senator was the most frequent significant predictor of roll-call voting. Leadership followed party, which was then followed by attending high school in the district, and then followed by progressive ambition. Two of the five place attachment variables were found to be significant predictors of roll-call voting. These were family ties and attending high school in the district. Two were not significant in any of the 10 models. These were length of residence and nativity. Despite two of the variables having an impact on voting, it is difficult to interpret the findings. One cannot clearly see if the concept of place attachment impacts voting. One can only see that various socio-demographic aspects of the concept have a significant impact on voting.

Table 5.5

Odds Ratios of Voting for Legislation Tied to Place: Hypothesis 3 (All Place Attachment Variables) (For = 1)

	LB84	LB200	LB204	LB283	LB357	LB383	LB473	LB546	LB704	LB 806
Party	12.81*	0.05**	0.13	0.01**	0.50	1.64	7.78	1.04	4.00	0.02**
Leadership	0.58	0.62	22.13*	1.33	31.43	0.01	1.62	1.41	25.00*	2.23
Experience	1.47	0.87	1.13	0.86	0.70	0.64	0.95	0.67*	1.00	1.18
Gender	1.21	0.24	0.02	3.99	4.64	0.03	4.71	2.17	7.00	0.19
Age	0.97	0.95	1.03	0.99	0.99	1.06	1.04	1.01	1.00	0.98
Length of Residence	1.07	0.94	0.98	0.99	0.87	0.87	1.05	1.01	1.00	0.93
Nativity	2.14	1.85	1.81	2.93	0.01	1.73	6.62	0.48	0.00	5.70
Family Ties	9.26	0.22	0.57	0.39	0.01**	5.31	3.20	3.27	6.00	0.52
High School in District	0.02**	1.21	0.72	0.36	309.04**	9.21	0.16	0.69	0.01	13.71
Progressive Ambition	1.14	0.44	0.02*	0.80	0.11	13.19	1.65	6.36	57.00	0.00**
Hosmer-Lemeshow p value	10.22	10.17	7.39	2.91	7.23	6.85	8.44	7.77	1.89	8.15
	0.25	0.25	0.50	0.94	0.51	0.55	0.39	0.46	0.98	0.42

Note. *p<.10. **p<.05. ***p<.01

To assess the usefulness of the place attachment index, which was created earlier, I ran a second set of logistic regression models using the same data. The second set of models replaced the full list of place attachment variables with the single place attachment index. The results of the second set of models are in Table 5.6.

Once again, political party of the senator was the most frequent significant predictor of roll-call voting. It was followed by progressive ambition, which is a measure of political ambition, and place attachment. Political party of the senator was a significant predictor in eight out of 10 votes. Progressive ambition was a significant predictor in three out of 10 votes, and place attachment was a significant predictor in two out of 10 votes. It appears that place attachment as measured by the place attachment index has some impact on voting for legislation that is tied to place. The place attachment index performed modestly. It was not expected to be a significant predictor in every vote; however, it was expected to be a significant predictor in a majority of votes for legislation tied to place. Furthermore, since it was only significant in two of the votes, the relationship may be due to random chance. Although the single variable was not completely successful, the variable made the models simpler and easier to interpret.

When the two sets of models are compared in terms of goodness-of-fit. The differences were negligible. When the models using the single place attachment variable were compared to the models from the previous analysis, which used all of the place attachment variables, four out of 10 models had a better fit. The Hosmer-Lemeshow statistics were higher for the second group of models than the first. (See Tables 5.5 and 5.6.) Also, the p values for the majority of the models in the second set were much lower. According to the Hosemer-Lemeshow statistic, lower coefficients and higher p values

indicate better overall fit. Because of the modest results, some caution in interpretation is needed. Although the second set of models have a worse overall fit, it was decided that the place attachment index was useful because it increases the parsimony of the models. In addition, the place attachment index captures the various aspects of the concept of place attachment.

Table 5.6

Odds Ratios of Voting for Legislation Tied to Place: Hypothesis 3 (Place Attachment Index) (For = 1)

	LB84	LB200	LB204	LB283	LB357	LB383	LB473	LB546	LB704	LB 806
Party	23.48***	0.03***	0.03**	0.02***	0.20*	7.76	10.31	5.18**	24.21***	0.03***
Leadership	1.10	0.70	12.52	1.75	2.32	0.32	3.02	1.55	3.28	3.12
Experience	1.20	0.94	1.13	0.92	0.86	1.04	1.00	0.69**	1.06	1.67
Gender	1.33	0.57	0.09	3.53	2.08	0.48	2.36	2.29	1.80	0.55
Progressive Ambition	1.67	0.55	0.03*	0.66	0.45	0.52	1.02	8.27*	11.95	0.03**
Place Attachment Index	0.87	0.53	0.68	0.96	0.48**	0.91	1.57	1.10	0.99	2.19*
Hosmer-Lemeshow	3.97	9.89	8.65	11.33	10.33	5.42	9.64	9.10	7.61	5.97
p value	0.86	0.27	0.37	0.18	0.24	0.71	0.29	0.33	0.47	0.65

Note. *p<.10. **p<.05. ***p<.01.

Part 3

In the third step of the analysis, I compared the logistic regression results from part two to a third set of logistic regression models. The third set of models analyze roll-call voting for legislation that is place neutral using roll-call votes for place neutral legislation as the dependent variable. This analysis attempts to identify whether place attachment is more likely to be a significant predictor of voting for legislation that is tied to place than for legislation that is place neutral. According to Hypothesis 3, place attachment is likely to be a significant predictor of roll-call voting for legislation that is tied to place and it is expected that place attachment will not be a significant predictor of voting for place neutral legislation. A senator's place attachment is expected to make a senator more attuned to policies affecting places. However, when a bill is less likely to affect place, then it is less likely that a senator's place attachment will matter. It will matter less because place neutral policies are less likely to trigger place protective behaviors.

According to Figure 5.1, the place attachment index was only a significant predictor of voting for legislation that was tied to place and not for place neutral legislation. Figure 5.1 allows us to compare the significant variables across both types of legislation. According to the chart, political party of the senator is an important variable when voting for both legislation tied to place and for legislation that is place neutral. For legislation that is tied to place, political party of the senator is an important predictor in eight out of 10 roll-call votes whereas for place neutral legislation, it is a significant predictor in seven out of 10 votes.

Gender was only a significant predictor when voting for place neutral legislation. It was a significant predictor in three out of 10 votes. This finding was expected because these three bills could be considered women's interest legislation.[11] None of the legislation that was tied to place dealt directly with women's issues. Leadership was only a significant predictor when voting for legislation tied to place. Legislative experience was a significant predictor for both types of legislation. For legislation tied to place, experience was a significant predictor in one out of 10 votes, and for place neutral legislation, it was a significant predictor in two out of 10 votes. Progressive ambition was a significant predictor in three out of 10 votes for legislation tied to place. It was not a significant predictor for voting for place neutral legislation. Last, the place attachment index was a significant predictor of votes for legislation tied to place and not for votes for place neutral legislation. Place attachment was a significant predictor in two out of 10 votes. This finding was expected.

In all, political party of the senator followed by experience were the two most common predictors across both types of legislation. Party was a significant predictor in 15 out of 20 votes, and experience was a significant predictor in three out of 20 votes. Progressive ambition, leadership and the place attachment index were only significant predictors for voting for legislation tied to place. Gender was only significant when voting for place neutral legislation. Hypothesis 3 was modestly supported. However, because place attachment was only significant in two out of ten votes, this could be due to random chance.

[11] These bills are LB 22, LB 521, and LB 599. The first two bills deal with the topic of abortion. The third bill concerns children.

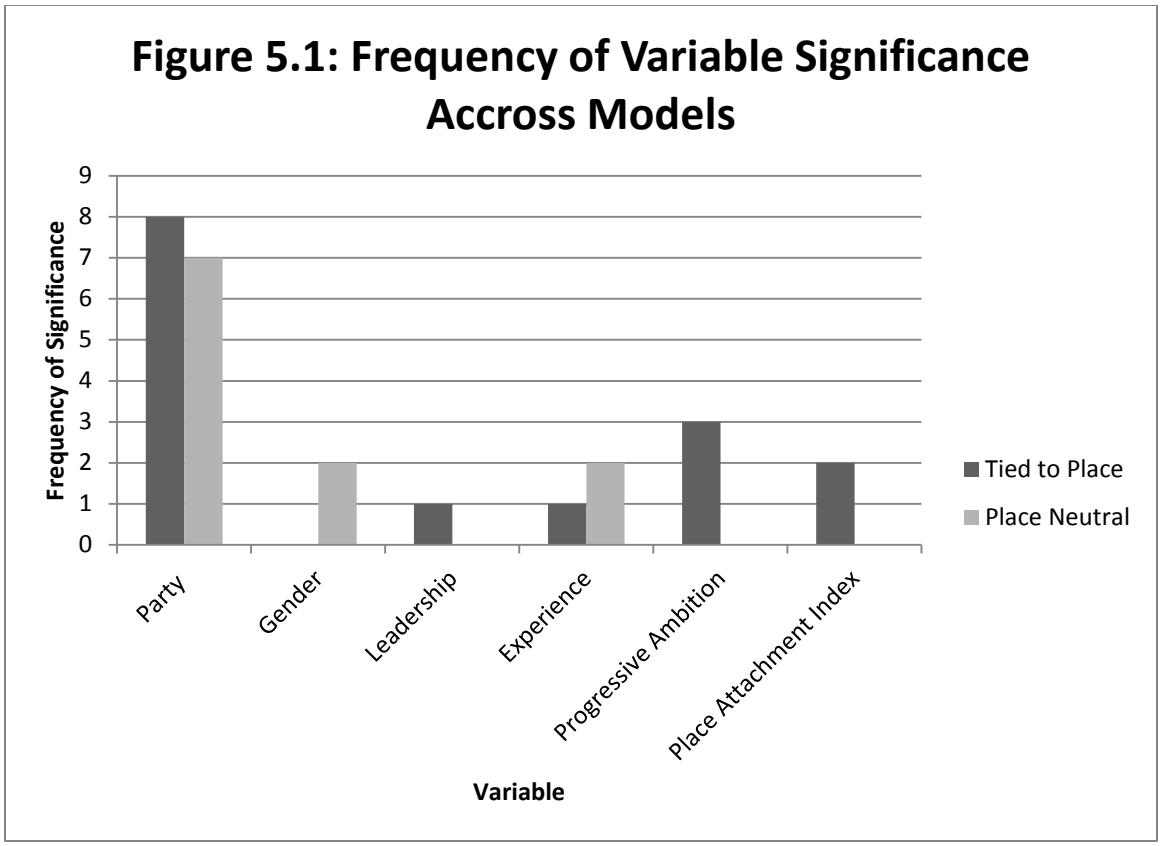


Figure 5.1: Frequency of Variable Significance Accross Models
Frequency of Significance
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Party
Gender
Leadership
Experience
Progressive Ambition
Place Attachment Index
Variable
Tied to Place
Place Neutral

Table 5.7

Odds Ratios of Voting for Legislation Tied to Place: Hypothesis 3 (For = 1)

	LB84	LB200	LB204	LB283	LB357	LB383	LB473	LB546	LB704	LB 806
Party	23.48***	0.03***	0.03**	0.02***	0.20*	7.76	10.31	5.18**	24.21***	0.03***
Leadership	1.10	0.70	12.52	1.75	2.32	0.32	3.02	1.55	3.28	3.12
Experience	1.20	0.94	1.13	0.92	0.86	1.04	1.00	0.69**	1.06	1.67
Gender	1.33	0.57	0.09	3.53	2.08	0.48	2.36	2.29	1.80	0.55
Progressive Ambition	1.67	0.55	0.03*	0.66	0.45	0.52	1.02	8.27*	11.95	0.03**
Place Attachment Index	0.87	0.53	0.68	0.96	0.48**	0.91	1.57	1.10	0.99	2.19*
Hosmer-Lemeshow p value	3.97 0.86	9.89 0.27	8.65 0.37	11.33 0.18	10.33 0.24	5.42 0.71	9.64 0.29	9.10 0.33	7.61 0.47	5.97 0.65

Note. *p<.10. **p<.05. ***p<.01.

Table 5.8

Odds Ratios of Voting for Place Neutral Legislation

	LB22	LB255	LB384	LB465	LB468	LB521	LB599	LB824	LB996	LB1020
Party	3.53	7.72**	8.58***	15.04***	19.47***	12.21**	11.50	0.58	0.06***	0.05***
Leadership	1.35	0.32	0.72	2.06	1.86	3.44	3.00	0.69	4.32	6.44
Experience	0.59**	0.88	0.91	0.64	0.74	0.82	1.04	0.87	1.00	0.73*
Gender	8.89**	4.27	2.43	2.47	2.34	5.43*	0.20*	1.05	1.73	0.30
Progressive Ambition	8.46	7.32	8.07	10.11	6.80	2.38	0.31	1.39	0.20	0.51
Place Attachment Index	1.25	0.84	0.80	1.17	1.44	2.31	1.15	0.68	1.03	0.86
Hosmer-Lemeshow p value	7.99	15.59	7.59	10.97	10.70	8.96	7.23	17.07	8.14	9.85
	0.43	0.05	0.47	0.20	0.22	0.35	0.51	0.03	0.42	0.28

Note. *p<.10. **p<.05. ***p<.01.

Part 4

Since the place attachment index was a significant predictor in two out 10 roll-call votes for legislation that was tied to place, the relationship between voting behavior and place attachment was analyzed further through case studies. The case studies attempt to clarify how level of attachment and voting behavior interact. The two roll-call votes analyzed are the votes for LB 357 and LB 806. These two cases were chosen because place attachment was a significant predictor in the earlier analysis. According to the logistic regression analyses, in Table 5.6, senators with greater levels of place attachment were less likely to vote for LB 357 and more likely to vote for LB 806. Additionally, other significant factors such as political party and progressive ambition were further explored to gain a fuller understanding of voting behavior.

My further analyses of these cases are exploratory and are meant to allow for a fuller picture of the relationships to emerge. Caution must be used when interpreting the results because this analysis is based on only two case studies. This section is meant to gain a richer understanding of the relationships and not to test predictive relationships. For instance, in the earlier logistic regression analysis, modest support for Hypotheses 4 and 5 was found. (See Table 5.6) However, the logistic regression analysis does not tell the full story. The relationship between place attachment and voting behavior is more nuanced. The purpose of the following analysis is not to test hypotheses but to gain a deeper understanding of what is driving voting behavior.

LB 357

LB 357 proposed to allow residents in cities to vote to increase local option sales taxes to 2.0 percent. Before the bill, cities were only allowed to tax up to 1.5 percent. The increase in local option sales tax could be used to fund city services, infrastructure, and economic development. The impact of the bill could be quite large for cities. For instance, according to the *Omaha World-Herald,* an additional half-cent sales tax would generate an additional $43 million for the City of Omaha (Hammel, 2011, p. 01A).

Omaha Senator Brad Ashford introduced the bill, and city governments and the League of Municipalities were key supporters of the bill. Despite fears that it would lead to an increase in taxes, the bill was well supported by state senators of both parties. For example, several members of the Revenue Committee supported the bill, and three senators spoke in favor of the bill during its hearings. According to the *Omaha World-Herald*, such a show of approval by senators was a rare occurrence (Hammel, 2011, p. 01A). Others who testified in favor of the bill included the mayors of La Vista, Ralston, and Kearney as well as representatives from the City of Lincoln and the Village of Exeter.

The primary opponent of the bill was Governor Dave Heineman. The governor argued that the bill was a tax increase and that the bill would lead to job losses. He stated, “Cities ought to be cutting spending rather than raising taxes,” (Hammel and Stoddard, 2011, p. 03B). The governor threatened to veto the bill if passed. Rural senators also questioned the true aim of the bill including Senator Leroy Louden of Ellsworth who called it “pretty good horse trading” to vote to eliminate state aid (LB383) and replace it with a sales tax increase (Hammel, 2011, p. 01A). Senator Russ Karpisek of Wilber

argued that the bill would burden rural Nebraskans who depended on larger cities for shopping. For instance, he said, “I don’t feel that I should have to pay another half-cent tax to come into Lincoln” (Stoddard, 2011, p. 01B). Groups such as the Greater Omaha Chamber were neutral on the issue.

The bill had both positive and negative impacts for districts. For instance, the bill would help cities that had recently lost state aid. Another bill, LB 383, passed in the same session, cut $22 million a year in aid to local governments. Revenue from LB 357 would help cities fund much needed infrastructure projects. The downside of the bill is that it could lead to increased sales taxes, which may be seen as a threat to districts. The bill was assumed to be a greater threat to urban areas because urban residents would experience the greatest burden from paying increased sales tax. While the bill was seen as mainly an urban problem, it could have potential negative impacts for rural districts as well. While the urban areas would receive the benefit of increased revenues from the increased sales taxes, the rural areas would not. Rural residents would have to pay, for instance, the increased sales tax when going to the city to shop, but would not reap the benefit in their own communities. A rise in sales tax would also have a greater impact on low-income areas because of the regressive nature of sales taxes. LB 357 was highly controversial. The bill passed with a vote of 30 for, 15 against, and 4 not voting (30-15-4). As promised, Governor Heineman vetoed the bill. Ultimately, the Unicameral overrode the veto with a vote of 30-17-2. The final reading roll-call vote is presented in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9

LB 357 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote

Yes (30)	No (15)	Not Voting (4)
Adams	Bloomfield	Carlson
Ashford	Brasch	Howard
Avery	Christensen	Louden
Campbell	Dubas	Seiler
Coash	Fischer	
Conrad	Fulton	
Cook	Hansen	
Cornett	Heidemann	
Council	Janssen	
Flood	Karpisek	
Gloor	Langemeier	
Haar, K.	McCoy	
Hadley	Mello	
Harms	Pirsch	
Harr, B.	Price	
Krist		
Lambert		
Larson		
Lathrop		
Lautenbaugh		
McGill		
Nelson		
Nordquist		
Pahls		
Schilz		
Schumacher		
Smith		
Sullivan		
Wallman		
Wightman		

Analysis of Votes

From the brief overview of LB 357, it is clear that place is important. Those who supported and opposed the bill were arguing on behalf of places whether it was a city or town, a legislative district, or a rural or an urban area. The bill's impact was varied with some places experiencing a greater negative impact and others experiencing a greater positive impact. This next section delves further into the patterns of voting on the bill based on the results of the logistic regression from Part 3. The purpose of this analysis is not to determine which factor was the most important determinant of the vote on the bill but to understand how the different factors interplay. The analysis will also look at possible alternative explanations that were not entertained in the logistic regression.

According to the logistic regression analysis of the roll-call votes for LB 357, political party and place attachment were significant predictors of voting for the bill.

Political Party

First, I analyzed the impact of political party of the senator on the roll-call vote of LB 357. The logistic regression analysis of LB 357 found that Republican senators were nearly 50 percent less likely to vote for the bill than Democratic senators (Table 5.10) were. Since political party of the senator was a significant predictor of voting, I decided to investigate how party mattered to the vote. Republican senators were more likely to vote against LB 357 because the bill could lead to increased taxes. In general, Republicans seek to avoid raising taxes and introducing new taxes. For example, Republican Governor Dave Heineman campaigned heavily against the bill citing that it would lead to an increase in taxes.

Closer analysis of the vote tells a more nuanced story. Despite the governor's call to vote against the bill, his plea was ignored. A majority of Republicans voted for the bill (Table 5.10). In fact, nearly 55 percent of Republicans voted for the bill. At first glance, it is apparent that the Republican senators in the Unicameral lacked party unity with the governor.[12]

[12] In May 2016, in response to criticism from current Governor Pete Ricketts that Republicans were not voting along party lines, 13 senators including five Republicans wrote a letter condemning the Governor for his remarks. They emphasized that Rickett's remarks did not respect the nonpartisan nature of the Nebraska Unicameral. Later that month, Republican senator Laura Ebke changed her registration to Libertarian citing internal pressure from the Nebraska Republican Party. For an additional discussion of party unity in Nebraska, please see Masket, S.E. and Shor, B. (2011). *Polarization without parties: The rise of legislative partisanship in Nebraska's Unicameral legislature.* Unpublished paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, Washington.

Table 5.10

LB 357 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote by Party

Republican (33)		Democrat (15)		Independent (1)	
Yes (18)	No (15)	Yes (11)	No (4)	Yes (1)	No (0)
Adams	Bloomfield	Avery	Dubas	Ashford	
Campbell	Brasch	Conrad	Howard*		
Coash	Carlson*	Cook	Karpisek		
Cornett	Christensen	Council	Mello		
Flood	Fischer	Haar, K.			
Gloor	Fulton	Harr, B.			
Hadley	Hansen	Lathrop			
Harms	Heidemann	McGill			
Krist	Janssen	Nordquist			
Lambert	Langemeier	Sullivan			
Larson	Louden*	Wallman			
Lautenbaugh	McCoy				
Nelson	Pirsch				
Pahls	Price				
Schilz	Seiler*				
Schumacher					
Smith					
Wightman					

*Excused not voting or Present but did not vote

One possible explanation of why some Republicans favored the bill despite the possibility that the bill might lead to higher taxes is that some of the Republicans who favored the bill were more liberal than the Republicans who voted against the bill. Since the Nebraska Unicameral is officially nonpartisan, party labels may be weak indicators of a senator's political leanings. The political ideology of the senator as measured by Shor and McCarty's NP_Scores tells a fuller story.[13] These scores were introduced in Chapter 4. Once again, the NP_Score estimates the location of a legislator on the continuum from liberal to conservative based on answers to the Project Vote Smart National Political Awareness Test (NPAT) and from roll-call voting records. The scores have been calculated for most individual state legislators in the United States from the mid-1990s until the present. NP_Scores range from negative two (-2), which is the most liberal, to positive two (+2), which is the most conservative. Table 5.11, indicates which

[13]Nebraska is officially nonpartisan.

Republican senators are more liberal leaning and which Democratic senators are more conservative leaning. According to Table 5.11, 11 of the 18 (61.11 percent) Republicans who voted for LB 357 had NP_Scores that were lower than the average mean Republican NP_Score. Thus, these Republicans were more liberal than conservative. Their NP_Scores were more likely to range from the lower positive to upper negative range. Democrats who had higher than the average Democratic NP_Score are more conservative than those with lower scores. The lone independent was included with the Democrats because he was overall more left leaning.

Table 5.11

LB 357 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote by Party and NP_Score

Republican (33)		Democrat (15)		Independent (1)	
Yes (18)	No (15)	Yes (11)	No (4)	Yes (1)	No (0)
Adams**	Bloomfield	Avery ***	Dubas ***	Ashford ***	
Campbell **	Brasch	Conrad	Howard*		
Coash**	Carlson* **	Cook	Karpisek ***		
Cornett **	Christensen	Council	Mello ***		
Flood	Fischer	Haar, K.			
Gloor**	Fulton	Harr, B.			
Hadley**	Hansen	Lathrop			
Harms**	Heidemann	McGill			
Krist **	Janssen	Nordquist			
Lambert	Langemeier	Sullivan ***			
Larson	Louden* **	Wallman ***			
Lautenbaugh	McCoy				
Nelson	Pirsch**				
Pahls **	Price **				
Schilz	Seiler* **				
Schumacher**					
Smith					
Wightman**					

*Excused not voting or Present but did not vote
NP Scores Range from -2 (Most liberal) to +2 (Most conservative)
**Lower than average Republican NP Score, (More Liberal)
*** Higher than average Democratic NP Score (More Conservative)

As expected, a greater proportion of left leaning Republicans supported the bill, while a greater proportion of right leaning Republicans opposed the bill. The pattern holds for Democrats as well. Those with NP_Scores that were more conservative were more likely to oppose the bill (Table 5.12).

Table 5.12

Vote for LB 357 by Party and NP Score

		Yes			No			Total	
Republican		#	Column %	% of Total	#	Column %	% of Total	#	% of Total
	Low NP Score (More Liberal)	11	36.67	22.45	5	26.32	10.20	16	32.65
	High NP Score (More Conservative)	7	23.33	14.29	10	52.63	20.41	17	34.69
	Total	18	60.00	36.73	15	78.95	30.61	33	67.35
Democrat*									
	Low NP Score (More Liberal)	8	26.67	16.33	1	5.26	2.04	9	18.37
	High NP Score (More Conservative)	4	13.33	8.16	3	15.79	6.12	7	14.29
	Total	12	40.00	24.49	4	21.05	8.16	16	32.65
Grand Total		**30**	**100.00**	**61.22**	**19**	**100.00**	**38.77**	**49**	**100.00**

*Includes Independent

Table 5.13 compares the mean NP_Scores of those who voted for the bill by party. Republicans who supported the bill had a mean NP_Score of 0.68, which is more liberal than the mean Republican NP_Score of 0.84. Republican senators who opposed the bill had a mean score of 1.02. Similarly, the Democrats who supported the bill were also more liberal than their colleagues. Democratic supporters had a mean NP_Score of -0.54, which was more liberal than average Democratic NP_Score of -0.46. Democratic senators who opposed the bill had a mean NP_Score of -0.16, which was more conservative.

Table 5.13

Vote for LB 357 by Party and Mean NP_Score

	Vote for Bill	Number	% of Total	Mean NP Score
Republican				
	Yes	18	36.73	0.68
	No	15	30.61	1.02
Total		33	67.35	0.84
Democrat				
	Yes	12	24.49	-0.54
	No	4	8.16	-0.16
Total		16	32.65	-0.44
Grand Total		**49**	**100.00**	**0.45**

The intersection of geography and party provides additional insight into the roll-call vote. Table 5.14 shows the roll-call vote broken down by party and whether the district was urban or rural. For this analysis, an urban district is one that is classified either as an Urban Area or as Urban Cluster by the United States Census.

Table 5.14

LB 357 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote By Party and Urban District

Republican (33)		Democrat (15)		Independent (1)	
Yes (18)	No (15)	Yes (11)	No (4)	Yes (1)	No (0)
Adams	Bloomfield	Avery **	Dubas	Ashford **	
Campbell **	Brasch	Conrad **	Howard* **		
Coash**	Carlson	Cook **	Karpisek		
Cornett **	Christensen	Council **	Mello **		
Flood **	Fischer	Haar, K.**			
Gloor **	Fulton **	Harr, B. **			
Hadley **	Hansen **	Lathrop **			
Harms **	Heidemann	McGill **			
Krist **	Janssen **	Nordquist **			
Lambert	Langemeier	Sullivan			
Larson	Louden*	Wallman			
Lautenbaugh **	McCoy **				
Nelson **	Pirsch **				
Pahls **	Price **				
Schilz	Seiler* **				
Schumacher **					
Smith **					
Wightman					

*Excused not voting or Present but did not vote
**Urban District

According to Table 5.15, urban Republicans outweighed rural Republicans when voting for the bill. Thirteen out of 18 Republicans or 72 percent who voted for the bill were from urban districts. In all, 13 out of 20 or 65 percent of urban Republicans voted for the bill compared to five out of 13 or 38 percent of rural Republicans. In addition, urban Democrats were more likely to be supporters of the bill. Ten out the 12 or 83 of percent Democratic senators who supported the bill were from urban districts. Overall, 83 percent of urban Democrats supported the bill compared to only 50 percent of rural Democrats. Political ideology as measured by NP_Score provides some insight into why party matters to voting; however, it appears that place defined as urban and rural districts provides an even greater insight into the vote. The vote for LB 357 appears to follow rural and urban lines more so than party lines.

Table 5.15

Vote for LB 357 by Party and District

		Yes			No			Total	
Republican		#	Column %	% of Total	#	Column %	% of Total	#	% Total
	Urban	13	43.33	26.53	7	36.84	14.29	20	40.82
	Rural	5	16.67	10.20	8	42.11	16.33	13	26.53
	Total	18	60.00	36.73	15	78.95	30.61	33	67.35
Democrat*									
	Urban	10	33.33	20.41	2	10.53	4.08	12	24.49
	Rural	2	6.67	4.08	2	10.53	4.08	4	8.16
	Total	12	40.00	24.49	4	21.05	8.16	16	32.65
Grand Total		**30**	**100.00**	**61.22**	**19**	**100.00**	**38.78**	**49**	**100.00**

*Includes Independent

Place Attachment

According to the logistic regression analysis of the vote for LB 357, place attachment was also a significant predictor of voting on the bill. The relationship between level of place attachment and voting for the bill was negative meaning that senators with greater levels of place attachment were more likely to vote against the bill. However, the logistic regression analysis does not fully account for level and degree of impact. Deeper analysis is needed to fully understand what is driving voting behavior.

On closer inspection, a senator's level of place attachment matters more when legislation is tied to place. Senators with higher levels of place attachment are highly attuned to the effects that a bill might have on place. A senator with a higher level of place attachment might be more likely to defend his or her district if the district is threatened by a bill that has a high negative impact. Alternatively, he or she may be more likely to support a bill if the bill has a high positive impact on his or her district. For example, LB 806, which will be discussed in detail next, was a bill to allow betting on historical horse races. It has a high positive impact on a handful of districts. Senators from those districts might be more likely to vote for this bill because of its positive impact. A bill such as LB 357, which would allow cities to let voters decide to raise local

option sales taxes, could be seen as having a negative impact on districts because of the potential for increased taxes. Senators, especially those from urban districts, might see it as a threat and vote against it.

One of the major issues with studying how level of place attachment affects voting is that one would have to account for whether the legislation would have a positive or negative impact on the district. In addition, one would need to identify how much of an impact the bill would have on the district. For instance, a bill that has a low but positive impact may not trigger place protective behaviors in senators. A bill with a high but positive impact might. Similarly, a bill with a low but negative impact may not trigger place protective behaviors, but a bill with a high negative impact might. Using the example of NIMBYism from earlier in the chapter, the greater the level of impact both negative or positive to the place, the more likely one's place protective behavior will be triggered.

Unfortunately, deciding how bills affect districts is difficult because impacts are nuanced making Hypotheses 4 and 5 difficult to test. For example, LB 473, which proposed to allow counties to manage their black-tailed prairie dog populations, can be seen as having both a negative and positive impact. In rural western Nebraska where black-tailed prairie dogs are seen as a threat to ranchers, the bill would have a high positive impact. In some rural districts, the bill may be seen as having a high negative impact because the black-tailed prairie dog was once an endangered species. For urban areas, where the prairie dog population is negligible or non-existent, the bill has a minimal negative or positive impact. For most districts, the perceived impact of the bill depends on the location of the district.

LB 357 has a high impact upon place. For this analysis, it will be assumed that the places that will experience the highest negative impact will be urban districts, especially those districts that contain large cities such as Omaha and Lincoln. I argue this because these districts have the largest number of affected residents. Residents in cities would be allowed by the state to vote to increase local option sales taxes. If the local option sales and use tax rate was raised to the maximum of two percent, then the amount of additional revenue could be large. According to the Fiscal Note for LB 357, the bill could lead to additional sales tax revenue of $43,818,508. In Lincoln, the additional revenue would be $19,000,000 (LB 357 Fiscal Note, 2012, p. 2).

This bill could have a negative effect on rural areas too because rural residents shop in cities and towns, but fewer residents would be affected. The impact on rural residents would be mainly on those who go to the larger cities for shopping. For instance, if residents voted to increase sales tax, then the impact would be on both urban and rural residents. In a way, rural residents would be doubly disadvantaged in that they would pay the higher sales tax, but not get the benefit of from the additional tax revenue. However, the bill would have the greatest economic impact on urban districts due to their larger populations. The greater the negative impact to the district the more likely senators with greater levels of place attachment would vote against the bill. They would vote against the bill because doing so would be a place protective behavior.

Table 5.16 categorizes proponents and opponents of LB 357 according to their level of place attachment. Those with a place attachment score that was higher than the mean were considered to have high place attachment. Those with a place attachment score that was lower than the mean were considered to have low place attachment. It is

expected that senators with higher levels of place attachment would be more attuned to issues affecting places in general. According to Table 5.17, senators who voted for the bill were evenly split between those with high place attachment and those with low place attachment. Those with high place attachment were no more likely to vote for LB 357 than those with low place attachment. When looking at votes against the bill, the pattern is different. Those with higher levels of place attachment were more likely to vote against the bill than those with lower levels of place attachment. Table 5.17 shows that 11 out of 19 or 58 percent of those who voted against the bill had a higher level of place attachment as compared to the eight out of 19 or 42 percent of those who had lower place attachment. This finding supports Hypothesis 4, which expected that senators with higher levels of place attachment would more likely to vote against a bill that was tied to place that had a high negative impact than senators with lower levels of attachment.

Table 5.16

LB 357 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote by Place Attachment**

High Place Attachment (26)		Low Place Attachment (23)	
Yes (15)	No (11)	Yes (15)	No (8)
Ashford ***	Carlson *	Adams	Bloomfield
Cook ***	Dubas	Avery ***	Brasch
Council ***	Hansen ***	Campbell ***	Christensen
Flood	Heidemann	Coash ***	Fischer
Harms ***	Howard * ***	Conrad ***	Fulton ***
Harr, B. ***	Janssen ***	Cornett ***	McCoy ***
Krist ***	Karpisek	Gloor ***	Price ***
Lambert	Langemeier	Haar, K.***	Seiler *
Lathrop ***	Louden *	Hadley ***	
Lautenbaugh ***	Mello ***	Larson	
Schilz	Pirsch ***	McGill ***	
Schumacher ***		Nelson ***	
Sullivan		Nordquist ***	
Wallman		Pahls ***	
Wightman		Smith ***	

* Excused not voting or Present but did not vote
**Those who had higher than the mean place attachment were categorized as high place attachment. Those with lower than the mean place attachment were categorized as low place attachment.
***Urban District

Table 5.17

Vote for LB 357 by Place Attachment

	Yes		No		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
High Place Attachment	15	30.61	11	22.45	26	53.06
Low Place Attachment	15	30.61	8	16.33	23	46.94
Total	**30**	**61.22**	**19**	**38.78**	**49**	**100.00**

*Includes Independent

The next table, Table 5.18, compares the mean place attachment scores for the different groups of legislators. Those who voted against the bill had higher levels of place attachment than those who supported the bill.

Table 5.18

Vote for LB 357 by Mean Place Attachment Score

	Vote for Bill	Number	% of Total	Mean Place Attachment Score
High Place Attachment				
	Yes	15	30.61	0.73
	No	11	22.45	1.11
Total		26	53.06	0.88
Low Place Attachment				
	Yes	15	30.61	-1.09
	No	8	16.33	-0.76
Total		23	46.94	-0.99
Grand Total		**49**	**100.00**	**0.02**

In the next section, I used urban and rural as a proxy for level and degree of impact for the bill. It was assumed that urban districts would experience the greatest negative impact from the bill. It would directly affect those districts the most because the bill would allow voters in cities to vote to either increase local property taxes or increase sales taxes. However, it was expected that since the impact is greatest for urban senators, they would be more likely to vote against the bill because of the threat to their districts. Voting against this bill would be a form of place protective behavior. According to Table 5.19, urban senators were more likely to support the bill than rural senators. Taking into account place attachment, it was expected that urban senators with high place attachment would be the most likely to vote against the bill. When looking at Table 5.19, which disaggregates senators by urban and rural, the most likely supporters of the bill were urban senators with low place attachment followed by urban senators with high place attachment. Rural senators with high place attachment were the most likely to vote against the bill followed by urban senators with high place attachment. It was expected that urban senators with high place attachment would be the most likely to vote against the bill. Table 5.19 shows that this is not the case.

Table 5.19

Vote for LB 357 by Attachment and District

		Yes			No			Total	
High Place Attachment		#	Column %	% of Total	#	Column %	% of Total	#	%
	Urban	9	30.00	18.37	5	26.32	10.21	14	28.57
	Rural	6	20.00	12.24	6	31.58	12.24	12	24.49
	Total	15	50.00	30.61	11	57.89	22.45	26	53.06
Low Place Attachment									
	Urban	13	43.33	26.53	3	15.79	6.12	16	32.65
	Rural	2	6.67	4.08	5	26.32	10.20	7	14.29
	Total	15	50.00	30.61	8	42.11	16.33	23	46.94
Grand Total		**30**	**100.00**	**61.22**	**19**	**100.00**	**38.78**	**49**	**100.00**

Overall, the political party of the senator and place attachment are both important predictors of voting on LB 357. Conservative senators, senators with high levels of place attachment, and rural senators were more likely to be against the bill than liberal senators, senators with low levels of place attachment, and urban senators. The findings of the case study show that rural senators with high place attachment were the group most likely to vote against LB 357.

LB 806

The second case study concerns LB 806. Touted as the savior of Nebraska's declining horse racing industry, LB 806 would allow for betting on historical horse races using video terminals at licensed horse racing facilities. For the communities that are home to live horse racing, horse racing facilities are important places. Nebraska has only a handful of live racetracks. At the time of the bill, the only live horse racing facilities were in Lincoln, Grand Island, and Columbus. In addition, there are two licensed simulcast facilities in Omaha and South Sioux City. In Grand Island, Nebraska, Fonner Park, a horse racing facility, is seen as part of the community's identity. According to an editorial from the *Grand Island Independent*, a supporter of LB 806, "Thoroughbred

horse racing is deeply ingrained in Grand Island's identity and draws thousands of people from near and far each year to enjoy a quintessentially American pastime" (*Grand Island Independent*, 2012, para. 8). Furthermore, Fonner Park is seen as a place of social gathering. In Grand Island, "Fonner Park has served as an important social center and key benefactor for the community and the region" (*Grand Island Independent*, 2012, para. 8).

Due to factors such as competition from casinos in Iowa and the economic downturn in 2008, the racing industry is declining in Nebraska. This decline has led to the threat of closure of Nebraska's racing facilities. For instance, in 1995, the Ak-Sar-Ben track in Omaha closed. In 2011, Lincoln's track faced an uncertain future when the State Fair moved from Lincoln to Grand Island. The land that contained the race track was to be sold to the University of Nebraska-Lincoln for the future home of the Nebraska Innovation Campus. The university allowed the track to stay until 2013, when it then moved to South Lincoln. As of 2015, the new facility has yet to run live races. Proponents of LB 806 argued that the bill would sustain the racing industry, prevent the loss of thousands of jobs, and contribute to the overall economy of the region. The bill would especially impact urban areas the most because all five facilities are in urban areas, and most of the bettors and employees come from the surrounding communities. The impact would be especially high in the five communities that house racetracks.

In other states, racetracks have expanded gambling by including slot machines to increase falling revenues. In Nebraska, gambling is constitutionally limited to pari-mutuel betting, keno, the lottery, and pickle cards. As a way to help support the racetracks, Senator Lautenbaugh (18-Omaha) proposed LB 806. LB 806 would allow betting on historical horse races using video terminals. Bettors would receive information about the

horses' past performances but not the names, dates, places or times of the races. The machines would only be allowed at the five licensed racing facilities in Nebraska. The machines would allow bettors to bet on more races in a shorter amount of time.

The bill proved to be highly controversial. One of the most vocal opponents of the bill was Governor Dave Heineman. He argued that the bill was unconstitutional, and he repeatedly threatened to veto the bill if passed. He was quoted in the *Omaha World-Herald* as saying that the bill "'contradicts the spirit of the live horse racing provisions' in the Constitution'" (Stoddard, 2012, para. 2). Despite threats to veto the bill by Governor Heineman, the bill was passed by the unicameral with a vote of 26-18-5. However, Governor Heineman vetoed the bill as threatened. To override the veto, 30 votes were needed. In the end, the Unicameral failed to override the veto. The final vote was 28-20-1.

Analysis of Votes

The final reading roll-call vote for LB 806 is interesting. The results of the roll-call vote are in Table 5.20. The bill barely passed with 26 votes for the bill, 18 votes against the bill, and 5 present and not voting. Of the five senators with horse racing facilities or simulcast facilities in their district, one did not support the bill. The senators with these facilities who supported the bill included Conrad (46-Lincoln), Gloor (35-Grand Island), Mello (5-Omaha), and Schumacher (22-Columbus). Senator Bloomfield (17-Hoskins) did not support the bill. Even though Bloomfield was from rural Hoskins, Nebraska, urban South Sioux City, home to a simulcast facility, is in his district. Several interesting patterns emerge when the votes are broken down by the three significant predictors found in Part 3: party, progressive ambition, and place attachment.

Table 5.20

LB 806 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote

Yes (26)	No (18)	Present and Not Voting (5)
Ashford	Adams	Campbell
Conrad*	Avery	Flood
Cook	Bloomfield*	Janssen
Cornett	Brasch	McGill
Council	Carlson	Price
Dubas	Christensen	
Gloor*	Coash	
Haar, K.	Fischer	
Hadley	Fulton	
Harr, B.	Hansen	
Howard	Harms	
Karpisek	Heidemann	
Krist	Lambert	
Langemeier	McCoy	
Larson	Nelson	
Lathrop	Pirsch	
Lautenbaugh (Introducer)	Smith	
Louden	Wightman	
Mello*		
Nordquist		
Pahls		
Schilz		
Schumacher*		
Seiler		
Sullivan		
Wallman		

*Racing Facility in District

Political Party

According to the logistic regression analysis in Table 5.7, Republican senators were 97 percent less likely to support LB 806 than Democratic senators. Even though Republican senators were less likely to vote for the bill, a sizeable number did support the bill. In a sense, the vote on the bill did not show party unity for Republicans. As the head of the Republican Party, in Nebraska, the governor would be expected to exert a major influence on voting (Masket and Shor, 2011). It would be expected that most if not all of the Republicans would be against the bill. In fact, over a third of the Republicans in the Unicameral supported the bill despite the governor's objections.

Table 5.21

LB 806 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote By Party

Republican		Democrat		Independent	
Yes (12)	No (21)	Yes (13)	No (2)	Yes (1)	No (0)
Cornett	Adams	Conrad*	Avery	Ashford	
Gloor*	Bloomfield*	Cook	McGill**		
Hadley	Brasch	Council			
Krist	Campbell**	Dubas			
Langemeier	Carlson	Haar, K.			
Larson	Christensen	Harr, B.			
Lautenbaugh	Coash	Howard			
Louden	Fischer	Karpisek			
Pahls	Flood**	Lathrop			
Schilz	Fulton	Mello*			
Schumacher*	Janssen**	Nordquist			
Seiler	Hansen	Sullivan			
	Harms	Wallman			
	Heidemann				
	Lambert				
	McCoy				
	Nelson				
	Pirsch				
	Price**				
	Smith				
	Wightman				

* Racing facility in district
** Present but did not vote

According to Table 5.22, while the majority of Republicans were against the bill, 64 percent or 12 out of 33 supported the bill. Democrats overwhelmingly supported the bill. Nearly 87 percent of Democrats supported the bill. Three of the five senators with racing facilities were Republicans. These senators were Gloor, Schumacher, and Bloomfield. Two of the three, Gloor and Schumacher, supported the bill. In addition, senators who were more conservative as indicated by their NP_Scores were more likely to be against the bill. Table 5.22, shows the distribution of votes by whether the senator had a more conservative or more liberal NP_Score than the average NP_Score for his or her party.

Table 5.22

LB 806 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote By Party and NP_Score

Republican		Democrat		Independent	
Yes (12)	No (21)	Yes (13)	No (2)	Yes (1)	No (0)
Cornett***	Adams***	Conrad*	Avery****	Ashford****	
Gloor* ***	Bloomfield*	Cook	McGill**		
Hadley***	Brasch	Council			
Krist ***	Campbell** ***	Dubas ****			
Langemeier	Carlson***	Haar, K.			
Larson	Christensen	Harr, B.			
Lautenbaugh	Coash***	Howard			
Louden***	Fischer	Karpisek ****			
Pahls***	Flood**	Lathrop			
Schilz	Fulton	Mello* ****			
Schumacher* ***	Janssen**	Nordquist			
Seiler***	Hansen	Sullivan ****			
	Harms***	Wallman ****			
	Heidemann				
	Lambert				
	McCoy				
	Nelson				
	Pirsch***				
	Price** ***				
	Smith				
	Wightman***				

* Racing facility in district
** Present but did not vote
*** Lower than average Republican NP_Score (More Liberal)
****Higher than average Democratic NP_Score (More Conservative)

According to Table 5.23, senators with higher than the mean Republican NP_Scores, which indicates greater conservatism, were the largest group of opponents. Conservative Republicans made up 90 percent of the Republican vote against the bill. Conservative Democrats, who had higher than the mean Democratic NP_Scores, made up 50 percent of the Democratic vote against the bill.

Table 5.23

Vote for LB 806 by Party and NP_Score

		Yes			No			Total	
Republican		#	Column %	% of Total	#	Column %	% of Total	#	% of Total
	Low NP_Score	5	19.23	10.20	2	8.70	4.08	7	14.29
	High NP_Score	7	26.92	14.29	19	82.61	38.78	26	53.06
	Total	12	46.15	24.49	21	91.30	42.86	33	67.35
Democrat									
	Low NP_Score	14	53.85	28.57	1	4.35	2.04	15	30.61
	High NP_Score	0	0	0	1	4.35	2.04	1	2.04
	Total	14	53.85	28.57	2	8.70	4.08	16	32.65
Grand Total		**26**	**100.00**	**53.06**	**23**	**100.00**	**46.94**	**49**	**100.00**

Table 5.24 shows that Republican opponents of the bill had the most conservative NP_Scores. Their scores were the highest of all of the groups. Republican opponents had a mean NP_Score of 0.94. Democratic opponents of the bill were more liberal than Democratic proponents. The mean score for Democratic opponents was -0.45. Republican proponents of the bill had a mean NP_Score of 0.64. Democratic proponents had a mean score of -0.38; however, there were only two Democratic proponents in the population.

Table 5.24

Vote for LB 806 by Party and Mean NP_Score

	Vote for Bill	Number	%	Mean NP_Score
Republican				
	Yes	12	24.49	0.64
	No	21	42.86	0.94
Total		33	67.35	0.84
Democrat				
	Yes	2	4.08	-0.38
	No	14	28.57	-0.45
Total		16	32.65	-0.44
Grand Total		**49**	**100.00**	**0.45**

Progressive Ambition

When factoring in progressive ambition or running for or assuming statewide or higher office after the 2011-2012 session, the results are nuanced. According to the logistic regression, these senators were about 97 percent less likely to vote for the bill. According to Table 5.25, which shows the individual votes of the eight senators who pursued higher office after the session, two of the eight senators, Ashford and Dubas, supported the bill. Fischer, Heidemann, and Pirsch voted against the bill. The three senators who were present but did not vote were Flood, Janssen, and McGill. None of the senators who ran for higher office had a racing facility in their district.

Table 5.25

LB 806 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote by Progressive Ambition

Ran or Assumed Statewide or Higher Office		Did not Run or Assume Statewide or Higher Office	
Yes (2)	No (6)	Yes (24)	No (17)
Ashford	Fischer	Conrad*	Adams
Dubas	Flood**	Cook	Avery
	Heidemann	Cornett	Bloomfield*
	Janssen**	Council	Brasch
	McGill**	Gloor*	Campbell**
	Pirsch	Haar, K.	Carlson
		Hadley	Christensen
		Harr, B.	Coash
		Howard	Fulton
		Karpisek	Hansen
		Krist	Harms
		Langemeier	Lambert
		Larson	McCoy
		Lathrop	Nelson
		Lautenbaugh	Price**
		Louden	Smith
		Mello*	Wightman
		Nordquist	
		Pahls	
		Schilz	
		Schumacher*	
		Seiler	
		Sullivan	
		Wallman	

* Racing facility in district
** Present but did not vote

One could make the argument that due to the controversial nature of the bill, senators seeking higher office were more likely to distance themselves from the issue. Table 5.26 shows the vote for and against LB 806 by party and progressive ambition. For example, Senator Fischer ran for United States Senate after the session. Even though her rural agricultural district could benefit from the bill since it would support the horse industry, she did not support the bill. According to Herrick and Moore (1993), senators with progressive ambition may be more likely to vote along party lines in order to win the support of their party (p. 768). Trying to appeal to the party and to larger number of voters might lead senators with progressive ambition to vote against the bill.

Also, Republican senators with progressive ambition may have chosen not to support the bill due to the influence of the governor and the need for the governor's

support in their campaigns. For instance, Senator Heidemann would later assume the office of lieutenant governor under then Governor Dave Heineman. For Heidemann, it would be important that his views on LB 806 would be congruent with that of the governor's. Speaker Flood would later run as a Republican candidate for governor of Nebraska. For him it would also be important to gain the current governor's support by not supporting the bill.

Table 5.26

LB 806 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote By Party and Progressive Ambition

Republican		Democrat		Independent	
Yes (12)	No (21)	Yes (13)	No (2)	Yes (1)	No (0)
Cornett	Adams	Conrad*	Avery	Ashford***	
Gloor*	Bloomfield*	Cook	McGill** ***		
Hadley	Brasch	Council			
Krist	Campbell**	Dubas			
Langemeier	Carlson	Haar, K.			
Larson	Christensen	Harr, B.			
Lautenbaugh	Coash	Howard			
Louden	Fischer ***	Karpisek			
Pahls	Flood** ***	Lathrop			
Schilz	Fulton	Mello*			
Schumacher*	Janssen** ***	Nordquist			
Seiler	Hansen	Sullivan			
	Harms	Wallman			
	Heidemann***				
	Lambert				
	McCoy				
	Nelson				
	Pirsch ***				
	Price**				
	Smith				
	Wightman				

* Racing facility in district
** Present but did not vote
*** Progressive Ambition

Place Attachment

According to the logistic regression results in Table 5.7, senators with greater levels of place attachment were 2.19 times more likely to vote for LB 806 than senators with lower levels of place attachment. As mentioned earlier in the case study of LB 357, the logistic regression does not fully account for level and degree of impact. Further analysis is need to understand how place attachment interacts with voting behavior.

First, the senators from districts experiencing the greatest impacts from LB 806 were not necessarily the senators with the highest levels of place attachment. Table 5.27 shows the vote by senators with high and low place attachment. Looking first at senators with racing facilities in their districts, Senators Mello (5-Omaha) and Schumacher (22-Columbus) had high levels of place attachment. They both voted for the bill. Senators Conrad (46-Lincoln) and Gloor (35-Grand Island), who both have lower levels of place attachment, also voted for the bill. Senator Bloomfield (17-Hoskins), who has low place attachment, voted against the bill.

In the case of Conrad (46-Lincoln) and Gloor (35-Grand Island), who have lower levels of place attachment, the high positive impact of the bill on their districts may have made them more likely to vote for the bill. Senator Bloomfield's low level of place attachment may have made him less likely to support the bill. Overall, when looking at all of the senators, senators with higher levels of place attachment voted for the bill in larger numbers than those with lower levels of attachment. It was expected that the senators with a higher level of place attachment would vote for LB 806 because they are more likely to be attuned to place and thus more likely to support legislation that protects place and oppose legislation that threatens place.

Table 5.27

LB 806 Final Reading Roll-Call Vote By Place Attachment***

High Place Attachment		Low Place Attachment	
Yes (17)	No (9)	Yes (9)	No (14)
Ashford ****	Carlson	Conrad* ****	Adams
Cook ****	Flood **	Cornett ****	Avery ****
Council ****	Hansen ****	Gloor* ****	Bloomfield*
Dubas	Harms ****	Haar, K. ****	Brasch
Harr, B. ****	Heidemann	Hadley ****	Campbell ** ****
Howard ****	Janssen ** ****	Larson	Christensen
Karpisek	Lambert	Nordquist ****	Coash ****
Krist ****	Pirsch ****	Pahls ****	Fischer
Langemeier	Wightman	Seiler	Fulton ****
Lathrop ****			McCoy ****
Lautenbaugh ****			McGill ** ****
Louden			Nelson ****
Mello* ****			Price ** ****
Schilz			Smith ****
Schumacher* ****			
Sullivan			
Wallman			

* Racing facility in district
** Present but did not vote
***Those who had higher than the mean place attachment were categorized as high place attachment. Those with lower than the mean place attachment were categorized as low place attachment.
****Urban District (used as proxy for district were impact would be highest)

Looking at the senators' place attachment scores, senators who supported the bill had a mean place attachment score of 0.25 versus -0.24 for those who opposed the bill. According to Hypothesis 5, senators with higher levels of place attachment are expected to vote for a bill tied to place if it has a high positive impact on the district. According to Table 5.28, 65 percent of senators who voted for the bill had a higher than the mean level of place attachment. These senators had a mean place attachment score of 0.95 (Table 5.29). Those with high place attachment had the greatest proportion of supporters for the bill.

Table 5.28

Vote for LB 806 by Place Attachment

	Yes		No		Total	
	#	%	#	%		
High Place Attachment	17	34.69	9	18.37	26	53.06
Low Place Attachment	9	18.37	14	28.57	23	46.94
Total	**26**	**53.06**	**23**	**46.94**	**49**	**100.00**

Table 5.29

Vote for LB 806 by Mean Place Attachment Score

	Vote for Bill	Number	%	Mean Place Attachment Score
High Place Attachment				
	Yes	17	34.69	0.95
	No	9	18.37	-1.09
Total		26	53.06	0.88
Low Place Attachment				
	Yes	9	18.37	0.78
	No	14	28.57	-0.90
Total		23	46.94	-0.99
Grand Total		**49**	**100.00**	**0.02**

Because of the nuanced nature of the impacts on each district, it is difficult to speculate how impact interacts with place attachment for each senator. Once again, urban and rural were used as proxy measures of level and degree of impact on the district by the bill. In order to approximate how the bill affected districts, it was assumed that urban districts experience the highest positive impact from the bill. This was expected because all of the racing facilities are in urban districts and the greatest economic impact would be for urban areas. The potential loss of these facilities would be greater to these districts. According to the Fiscal Note for LB 806, the Department of Revenue estimated that the bill would generate $16,385,000 in additional gross wagering in the FY 2012-2013 (LB 806 Legislative Fiscal Note, 2012, p. 1). According to an article in the *Grand Island Independent*, a major supporter of the bill, the additional revenue could lead to larger

purses, which would attract more live races as well. In addition, the new machines would lead to new jobs. The article estimated that at least 1,250 new jobs would be created at the five Nebraska racing facilities (Hamar, 2012, para. 30). Since it is assumed that the highest positive impact would be for urban districts, it is expected that urban senators with high place attachment would be the most likely to vote for the bill.

Looking at urban versus rural senators, in Table 5.30, urban senators were the most likely to support the bill. Urban senators made up the largest bloc of yes voters at nearly 35 percent. When looking just at urban senators, 17 out of 30 or 56 percent of urban senators supported LB 806.

Table 5.30

Vote for LB 806 by Urban and Rural District

	Yes		No		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Urban	17	34.69	13	26.53	30	61.22
Rural	9	18.37	10	20.41	19	38.78
Total	**26**	**53.06**	**23**	**46.94**	**49**	**100.00**

Table 5.31 further disaggregates urban and rural senators by high and low place attachment. Urban senators with high place attachment were the most likely to support the bill, followed by urban senators with low place attachment. This finding supports Hypothesis 5.

Table 5.31

Vote for LB 806 by Place Attachment Score

	Vote for Bill	Number	%
Urban High Place Attachment			
	Yes	10	20.41
	No	4	8.16
Total		14	28.57
Urban Low Place Attachment			
	Yes	7	14.29
	No	10	20.41
Total		17	34.69
Rural High Place Attachment			
	Yes	6	12.24
	No	5	10.20
Total		11	22.45
Rural Low Place Attachment			
	Yes	2	4.08
	No	5	10.20
Total		7	14.29
Grand Total		**49**	**100.00**

In summary, Republican senators were more likely to vote against LB 806 despite a large number of Republicans who supported the bill. This leads one to think that party only provides a partial explanation of the vote. Progressive ambition provides another explanation. Senators who sought or assumed statewide or higher office were more likely to vote against the bill as well. The lack of support from this cohort of senators could be due to the controversial nature of gambling and from the influence of the governor.

In addition, place attachment was found to be an important predictor of roll-call voting for LB 806. LB 806 has a high impact on urban places, especially the handful of districts with racing facilities. Senators with higher levels of place attachment were expected to vote for the bill because the bill would protect the horse racing industry in those districts. However, without understanding level and degree of impact that a bill has on a district, interpreting how level of place attachment impacts voting is difficult. One

could argue that the high positive impact to districts, especially to those districts with racing facilities led senators to become more protective of their districts and thus more likely to support the bill. If the bill had a high negative impact, then these senators might have been likely to oppose the bill. Senators from districts that would experience a minimal negative or positive impact, are less likely to be motivated by place attachment to protect their districts. When using urban and rural as proxies for high and low impact, urban senators with high place attachment were more likely to vote for the bill, which supports Hypothesis 5.

Discussion

Modest support was found for all four hypotheses. First, in the analysis of Hypothesis 3, the combined place attachment variable performed modestly when compared to models containing all of the place attachment measures. Place attachment, when measured by the place attachment index, was a significant predictor of roll-call voting in two out 10 roll-call votes. In the two votes, the relationships between place attachment and roll-call voting were in the expected directions. However, this could have been due to random chance. Furthermore, from the exploration of Hypothesis 3, place attachment was only a significant predictor of roll-call voting for legislation that was tied to place. It was a significant predictor in two out of 10 roll call votes for legislation that was tied to place. For place neutral legislation, it was not a significant predictor. Hypothesis 3 was partially supported.

Concerning Hypotheses 4 and 5, the analysis found modest support. Hypothesis 4 was supported by the findings of the logistic regression. Higher levels of place attachment led to voting against bills that have a high negative impact on place.

Hypotheses 5 was also supported by the results of the logistic regression. Higher levels of place attachment led to voting for bills that have a high positive impact on place.

However, two case studies of the two bills where place attachment was found to be a significant predictor of voting behavior reminded me that I should use caution with these findings. The case studies of LB 357 and LB 806 showed that the relationship between place attachment and roll-call voting was more nuanced than was originally found in the logistic regression results. For instance, concerning LB 357, when the level and degree of impact was controlled for using urban and rural as proxies for high and low impact, rural senators with high place attachment were more likely to oppose the bill than urban senators with high place attachment. It was expected that urban senators with high place attachment would be the most likely to oppose the bill. In addition, concerning LB 806, urban senators with high place attachment were found to be the group most likely to support the bill. Table 5.32 provides a brief summary of the chapter's findings.

Table 5.32

Summary of Findings

	Description	Supported	Findings
Hypothesis 3 (Part 3)	Place attachment is more likely to affect the likelihood of voting for legislation that is tied to place than affect the likelihood of voting for place neutral legislation.	Mixed	Place attachment was a significant predictor in two out of 10 roll-call votes for legislation that was tied to place (Expected). However, this could be due to random chance. Place attachment was not a significant predictor of voting for place neutral legislation (Expected).
Hypothesis 4 (Part 4)	Senators with higher levels of place attachment are more likely to vote against legislation that is tied to place if the legislation has an acute negative impact on the district than senators with lowers levels of place attachment.	Mixed	Senators with higher levels of place attachment were more likely to vote against a bill with a high negative impact on place. However, when impact was controlled for using urban and rural as proxies, rural senators with high place attachment were more likely to vote against the bill than urban senators with high place attachment. It was expected that urban senators with high place attachment would be the most likely to vote against the bill because of the high negative impact on urban districts (Unexpected).
Hypothesis 5 (Part 4)	Senators with higher levels of place attachment are more likely to vote for legislation that is tied to place if the legislation has an acute positive impact on the district than senators with lower levels of place attachment.	Supported	Senators with higher levels of place attachment were more likely to vote for the bill with a high positive impact on place. After controlling for impact using urban and rural as proxies, urban senators with high place attachment were the most likely to support the bill. It was expected that urban senators with high place attachment would be the most likely to support the bill because of the high positive impact on urban districts (Expected).

The four-part analysis showed that place attachment matters somewhat to roll-call voting when legislation is tied to place, especially if the bill has a high negative or positive impact on place. Senators who are more attached to places in general are more likely to vote against a bill if it has a high negative impact on their district. If the bill has a high positive impact, then they are likely to vote for the bill. When senators with high place attachment vote for or against a bill that is tied to place, they may be engaging in place protective behaviors.

The analysis was limited by the small sample of bills chosen. I chose a small sample in order to ensure the feasibility of the study due to the labor intensiveness of collecting the data and running the logistic regression analyses. However, efforts were taken to ensure that the bills were randomly selected. Future research should include a larger sample of bills. The sample of bills could be expanded by adding bills from additional legislative sessions. This would help increase the validity and reliability of the findings. Increasing the number of bills in the analysis could lead to increased statistical power. The current analysis explored the roll-call votes of twenty bills. Including more bills would have made the results more robust.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the impact of place attachment or the emotional bond between a person and a place on legislative behavior. The findings are consistent with the previous research on place attachment and place protective behaviors. First, place attachment is a significant predictor of roll-call voting on bills that are tied to place or that have a strong spatial component. Place attachment is not a significant predictor for voting on place neutral legislation or legislation that lacks a spatial component. Senators

with higher levels of place attachment are more likely to be attuned to the effects that bills that are tied to place have on places such as legislative districts. Legislation that is tied to place is more likely to spark place protective behaviors such as voting on bills that might threaten districts than place neutral legislation. While place attachment was not as common a predictor of roll-call voting when compared to political party of the senator, place attachment does play a modest role in decision-making. Second, greater levels of place attachment are associated with a greater likelihood that a senator will vote against a bill that potentially threatens his or her district or support a bill that presents an opportunity to the district. Voting for or against the bill, depending on its overall impact, is a place protective behavior.

The chapter has several implications. First, it shows that place attachment matters to legislative behavior. The present study focused on voting behavior, but place attachment could be important for understanding other legislative behaviors such as floor behavior and home style, including visiting the home district, and working with constituents. For example, senators with greater levels of place attachment may visit their districts more frequently. Furthermore, a senator with high place attachment might be more likely to return to the district when leaving office. Second, the chapter demonstrates that having a higher level of place attachment, whether through being a native of the district or having a long-term residency in the district, may make senators more attuned to policies that affect places. Place attachment does not matter so much when making decisions about policies that affect people regardless of location. A relative newcomer to the district may not be as attuned to the effects that some legislation may have on the

district. While voting on place neutral policies is unaffected, it might affect how they vote on legislation that is tied to place.

CHAPTER 6: PLACE ATTACHMENT AND FLOOR BEHAVIOR

Introduction

Places ranging from farms to foreign countries are on the minds of Nebraska state senators. From a sample of floor debate transcripts of 100 randomly selected bills from the 2011-2012 session, senators mentioned geographic places over 3,000 times. It is apparent that senators are highly spatially aware and tie many of their floor debate comments to places throughout the state and beyond. While references to places are common, references to place attachment or the emotional bond between a person and place are less so. The frequency of these references can tell us about the level of attachment that a senator has to a place, especially to places such as his or her district. Also, these references can be indicative of a senator's level of political ambition. Ambitious senators may make broad appeals that demonstrate attachment to the state, whereas less ambitious senators may make narrower appeals that show attachment to their district. Understanding this aspect of political ambition will help us better understand legislative behavior.

This chapter is an exploration of Nebraska state senators' place attachment references or references concerning the emotional bond between a person and a place. The chapter has several goals. One of the first goals is to determine whether some senators are more likely to refer to their place attachment. Another goal is to determine each senator's geographic scale of place attachment. A third goal is to explore the link between scale of place attachment and political ambition. Referring to one's place attachment during floor debate may be seen as a place protective behavior. According to Lehnen (1968), floor debate is a type of communication that is used strategically by

legislators. These references may serve as appeals to the public, media, and other policy makers to gain support for the senator's legislative agenda. The places mentioned in these appeals may be at any geographic scale ranging from local or smaller scale places such as a home or a neighborhood to larger global scale places such as a state or a nation. Senators, depending on their type of political ambition, may be more likely to reference certain types of places over others. Senators who seek higher office may make place attachment references that demonstrate an attachment to global scale places in an effort to appeal to a broader constituency. Senators with static ambition or those who seek to retain their current office may be more likely to demonstrate an attachment to local scale places in an effort to appeal to a local constituency. Unfortunately, there is little literature linking place attachment to legislative behavior, especially floor behavior.

The purpose of the chapter is to fill in these gaps by using content analysis of floor debate transcripts from the 2011-2012 session of the Nebraska Unicameral. First, the chapter investigates the relationship between level of place attachment and frequency of place attachment references. Second, the study examines the relationship between political ambition and geographic scale of place attachment.

Literature Review

Previous research has not identified a link between place attachment and floor debate or link between place attachment and political ambition. While the concepts appear to be disparate, there are some possible linkages. These linkages are not immediately apparent from the literature and have to be carefully teased out. The concept of place attachment has been discussed in length earlier in this dissertation. Place

attachment has been defined as the emotional bond between a person and a place (Lewicka, 2011; Scannell and Gifford, 2010a, Devine-Wright, 2009).

The literature finds that those with greater levels of place attachment are more likely to defend the places they are attached to. Referring to one's bond between a person and a place can be seen as a place protective behavior because the person is using this bond to support an appeal to protect places from threats. For instance, a person may attend a meeting to protest an oil pipeline project that will go through land that she owns. During that meeting, the person may talk about his or her attachment to that property. Her comments may include stories about her ancestors who settled the land and how she has a deep connection to the land. These appeals may be used to persuade others to fight against the pipeline. Legislators may also resort to referring to places they are bonded to when making appeals for support for or against legislation that might impact their districts. However, the literature provides little insight on the topic of using references to place attachment as a place protective behavior. It could be assumed that those with greater levels of place attachment would make such appeals more frequently because the literature finds that those with greater levels of place attachment are more likely to engage in place protective behaviors (Stedman, 2002; Scannell and Gifford, 2010b).

Another way that place attachment impacts legislative behavior, especially floor debate, is scale. According to the literature on place attachment, scale of place attachment is the level of geography to which a person is attached. The literature locates places on a continuum from local or smaller scale places to global or higher scale places. Examples of local level place include homes, neighborhoods, and cities. Global scale places include provinces or states, countries, and even continents. In addition, smaller scale places make

up larger scale places (Lewicka, 2011, p. 211). Geographic scale is important for understanding political ambition. For instance, senators with progressive political ambition, who seek higher offices, may try to appeal to a statewide constituency and therefore make references to places that are global in scale. According to Herrick and Moore (1993), senators with different types of political ambition exhibit different types of legislative behavior and appeal to different constituencies. The authors state "that running for higher office usually entails an appeal to a larger, more heterogeneous constituency" (p. 767). On the other hand, senators with static ambition, who seek to retain their current offices, may refer more often to local places. This is because they are focused on smaller more homogenous and local constituencies.

Hypotheses

To explore the relationship between level of place attachment and frequency of place attachment reference, and the relationship between scale of place attachment and political ambition, three hypotheses were developed. The hypotheses are restated from Chapter 3 for the reader's convenience.

> Hypothesis 6. *Senators with higher levels of place attachment are likely to refer to their place attachment more often than senators with lower levels of place attachment.*
>
> Hypothesis 7. *Senators with progressive political ambition are more likely to refer to global scale places when referring to their place attachment than senators with static political ambition.*
>
> Hypothesis 8. *Senators with static political ambition are more likely to refer to local scale places when referring to their place attachment than senators with progressive political ambition.*

Hypothesis 6 expects that senators with higher levels of place attachment will exhibit more place protective behaviors such a referring to their place attachment more

often than senators with lower levels of place attachment. Senators with higher levels of place attachment are expected to be more attuned to the impact of policies on places, especially places such as their districts. It is expected that they will refer more frequently to their bonds with places. Hypothesis 7 expects that senators with progressive ambition will be more likely to refer to global scale places when making reference to their place attachment than senators with static ambition. This is expected because senators with progressive ambition are trying to appeal to a larger and more heterogeneous constituency (Herrick and Moore, 1993). According to Hypothesis 8, senators with static ambition are expected to make references more frequently to local scale places when referring to their place attachment.

Data and Methods

Floor debate transcripts from the 2011-2012 session of the Nebraska Unicameral serve as the data for this analysis.[14] The unit of analysis is senator reference to place attachment. The primary tool for analysis was content analysis. Place attachment has been mainly studied quantitatively through the uses of surveys (Stedman, 2002);

[14] Earlier in the dissertation, I discussed the impact of place attachment on roll-call voting. In this chapter, I focus on floor debate, which is part of the legislative process leading up to the final roll-call voting. Lehnen (1968) explores floor debate in the United States Senate using content analysis. According to Lehnen (1968) "Senate debate generally is not a direct and immediate exchange of ideas, facts, and arguments in the spirited manner of parry and counterthrust" (p. 507). Often, debate centers less directly on the bill and more so on amendments (Lehnen, 1968, p. 510). Floor debate accomplishes many functions. Floor debate is used as communication, a way to get additional votes, a strategic delay tactic, and it is used to establish a senator's record on an issue (Lehnen, 1968).

Like the other stages of the legislative process, various factors can influence how a senator participates in floor debate, and what the senator says. For instance, a controversial bill may produce more floor debate than a non-controversial bill. More senators are likely to speak when the bill is controversial (Lehnen, 1968, p. 508). In addition, there are many unwritten rules in the Senate, which govern floor debate. For example, some senators are seen as specialists. A specialist may be a member from the committee from which the bill was referred or they may have a deeper knowledge of the subject of the legislation. Specialists will be more likely to participate in floor debate when the bill is in an area in which they specialize. Another unwritten rule is apprenticeship. Less experienced senators are expected to be less vocal than more experienced senators. However, if a senator is ambitious and seeks higher office, then they may become more vocal. In addition, senators from safe districts may be less likely to participate than those who are in less safe districts (Lehnen, 1968).

however, it is possible that the concept can be studied through content analysis. Despite the wealth of public records such as legislative floor debate transcripts, meeting minutes, and public speeches, very few scholars have studied them in relation to place attachment. Most often scholars prefer to gather primary data from interviews and surveys.

Content analysis may allow us to gather data that may be more candid. The senators' statements during floor debates may contain more candid references to place attachment than those made during an in person interview. If this is the case, then content analysis of other publicly available data such as meeting minutes, testimony, and speeches may be useful for studying the place attachment of individuals who have a public persona where their speech must be carefully guarded. This method can be used to study the place attachment of public officials and public figures.

All 51 senators including the original 49 and two replacements were included in the analysis. Senator Pankonin of Louisville, Nebraska was replaced with Senator Lambert of Plattsmouth, Nebraska when Pankonin resigned in 2011. Senator Utter of Hastings, Nebraska was replaced with Senator Seiler, also of Hastings, Nebraska, when Utter passed away in 2011. Since the whole population of senators in the 2011-2012 session was chosen, I did not use inferential statistics. Over 500 bills made it to final reading during this session. Because content analysis is labor intensive, a sample of 100 bills was chosen. These bills were chosen at random. Appropriation bills or "A" bills were not included in the sample.

Dependent Variables

Dependent variable #1- The first dependent variable is a place attachment reference frequency score based on the frequency of place attachment references made by

each senator. This dependent variable is used to explore Hypothesis 6. To determine the frequency of place attachment references, I did the following. After identifying the sample of bill transcripts, I coded each transcript looking for references to place attachment. These place attachment references may take the form of a story or vignette about an experience at a place. For example, these statements might include references to having fond memories of going camping at a campground or needing to protect a neighborhood from lead pollution. These statements must reflect some aspect of the bond between a person and a place. Therefore, a place attachment reference should include a reference to a place and one's bond to it. The place attachment reference can display one's affection, cognition or memories, or behavior towards a place.

Examples of affection toward a place include the use of the words such as love, pride, bond, or fondness. As an example, Senator Bloomfield of Hoskins, Nebraska made comments showing pride towards Ponca State Park. Bloomfield stated, "While I, like everybody here, wants to love our state parks and I do—I have one of the best ones in the state up in my district in Ponca [State] Park" (Nebraska Legislature, 5/17/2011, pp. 10-11). Cognition may include memories of the place. For example, Senator Bloomfield's remarks concerning Ponca State Park describe a memory of visiting the park as a child. In his opposition to raising State Park fees in LB 421, he exclaimed, "A long while ago, probably 55 years ago, I started going to Ponca [State] Park as a child…. And what I am suggesting is that when my mother put together hamburgers and we'd take them up and cook them on the grill at Ponca [State] Park, we probably had as much fun and togetherness as a family as you do after you go in and pay $25…." (Nebraska Legislature, 5/17/2011, p. 12). Another important aspect of place attachment might

senators saying that they identify with the place or that they feel rooted in the place. For instance, Senator Hansen of North Platte, Nebraska mentioned, “I’m a ‘Sandhillier.’ I’ve lived there all my life” when debating a bill concerning the Keystone XL pipeline (Nebraska Legislature, 5/19/2011, p. 23). Furthermore, the senator may praise certain physical attributes of place such as its pristine beauty or extol the virtue of the community of people who live there. For example, when Senator Haar of Lincoln, Nebraska was speaking on LB 421 he mentioned that “Nebraska’s [state] parks are a jewel” (Nebraska Legislature, 5/17/2011, p. 12).

To ensure reliability and consistency with coding of place attachment references, I used an independent coder. Using the percent agreement method, the independent coder and I agreed 75 percent of the time on whether the reference was a reference to place attachment. I resolved coding discrepancies by discussing the discrepancies with my coder. If we, after further discussion, could not come to agreement, then I did not include the reference in the data set. To aid coding, a coding worksheet was used. The coding worksheet, which is included in Appendix B, includes lists of words, statements, and examples. This worksheet helped coders identify reference to place attachment. Once the data were entered, it was summarized. The frequency of place attachment references for each of the selected senators was counted. Then, I divided the frequency by the total number of place attachment references for all senators and multiplied by 100.

Dependent variable #2- The second dependent variable that was used in the investigation of Hypotheses 7 is a global scale place frequency score based on the frequency of global scale places mentioned during a place attachment reference. Global scale places include states or provinces such as the state of Nebraska and nations such as

the United States. For the purpose of this analysis, places that are outside of the senator's district were counted as being global in scale. In addition, if senators referred to multiple locations of state parks or to all of the schools in the state, then this was considered to be a global place attachment reference.

Places were categorized as either global in scale or local in scale despite the reality that these places fall along a continuum. Global scale places were coded as 1, and local scale places were coded as 0. Then, I counted the frequency of place attachment references that contained a reference to a global scale place. The frequency of global place attachment references for each senator was divided by the total number of place attachment references for all of the senators. Then, I multiplied it by 100 to obtain a score.

Dependent variable #3- The third dependent variable that was used in the exploration of Hypotheses 8 is a local scale place attachment frequency score. Local scale places are places that are at the senator's legislative district level and below. Local places were coded as 1, and global places were coded as 0. After coding the data, I counted the number of place attachment references that referred to local places. In order to determine a frequency score, the frequency of each senator's reference to a local scale place was divided by the total number of place attachment references from the sample, and I multiplied it by 100.

Independent Variables

Level of Place Attachment- The study uses the place attachment index that was created in Chapter 5. The variable was created using factor analysis and combined several measures of place attachment such as attending high school in the district, length of

residence in the district, and whether the senator was born in the district. The procedures for the creation of this variable are in Chapter 5. The index represents a calculated place attachment score, which ranges from negative two (-2) to positive two (+2) on a unipolar scale, where negative two represents very low place attachment and positive two represents very high place attachment. Senators with scores closest to negative two have the lowest levels of place attachment. Senators with scores closest to positive two have the greatest levels of place attachment. Senators who had higher than the mean place attachment score were coded 1, and senators with lower than the mean place attachment score were coded 0.

Progressive Ambition- A senator who is anticipating running for or assuming a statewide or higher office after the session may behave differently. For example, the senator may make more statewide appeals during floor debate because he or she is trying to appeal to a broader audience. It was expected that senators who seek a statewide or higher office after the session will refer more often to local scale places than senators who do not seek a statewide office. Those seeking a statewide office or higher were coded 1, and those who do not seek a statewide or higher office were coded 0.

Analysis

The analysis consists of three main parts. First, the analysis determines the frequency of place attachment references made by each senator in the sample and explores Hypothesis 6. Second, the analysis identifies the types of places mentioned when senators refer to their place attachment. Last, the analysis investigates Hypotheses 7 and 8.

Part 1

Out of the sample of 100 bills, 29 bills had at least one place attachment reference. Table 6.1 provides the title of each bill, which had at least one place attachment reference, and the number of place attachment references per bill. The bills in the table cover a wide range of policy areas including education, revenue, transportation, agriculture, health and human services, utilities, and parks and recreation. In addition, the bills fall along the continuum from those that are tied to place and those that are place neutral. LB 629, which deals with the proposed Keystone XL oil pipeline, is heavily tied to place because the pipeline's proposed route is the through the Nebraska Sandhills. Bills that are less tied to place include LB 384, which sought to eliminate a Tax Equalization Commissioner. The number of place attachment references ranged from one to 30. The bills that generated the most place attachment references during debate were LB 81 with 30, LB 357 with 15, LB 421 with 14, LB 165 with eight, and LB 235 with five. Overall, in the sample of floor debate transcripts, I found 128 substantive references to place attachment or the emotional bond between a person and a place.

Table 6.1

Place Attachment References by Bill

Bill Number	Description	Number of Place Attachment References
14	Change fees received by registers of deeds, county clerks, district court clerks, and the Secretary of State	1
18	Education Jobs Fund	1
22	Adopt the Mandate Opt-Out and Insurance Coverage Clarification Act	1
62	Counties: change provisions for budget revision and salary	2
81	Taxes: prohibit the levying of certain taxes on nonresidents	30
84	Build Nebraska Act: adopt and authorize bonds for the highway	13
108	Fences: change provisions relating to fence maintenance	1
165	Municipal Telecommunications Service Occupation Tax Act, Nebr.:	8
200	Healthy Food Financing Initiative Act, Nebr.: adopt and create	3
204	Blood lead testing for students: require prior to enrollment	3
209	Local option sales and use taxes: change a provision relating to	3
235	State aid: change provisions	5
255	Railroads: eliminate investigation and regulation duties	2
283	School boards: provide with tax levy and bond authority	5
357	Local option sales and use tax: authorize an increase	18
383	State aid to municipalities and counties: eliminate	3
384	Tax Equalization and Review Commission: eliminate a commissioner	1
385	Low-Income Home Energy Conservation Act: eliminate provisions	2
421	Park permits: change fees	15
471	Local Option Municipal Economic Development Act:	2
543	Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program	3
600	Reimbursement: change provisions	2
629	Hazardous Liquid Pipeline Reclamation and Recovery Act:	4
Total		**128**

Table 6.2 shows the number of place attachment references per senator. The senators with greatest amount of place attachment references were Conrad with nine, Ashford with seven, Sullivan with seven, McGill with seven, Haar with six, and Hansen with six. Eleven of the 51 senators made no references to their place attachment in the sample of floor debate transcripts. Low place attachment senators with the greatest number of place attachment references were Conrad with nine, McGill with seven, Haar with six, and Avery and Nelson both with five. The high place attachment senators with the greatest amount of place attachment references were Ashford with seven, Sullivan with seven, Hansen with six, Krist with five, and Wallman with four. The average number of place attachment references is 2.50. For low place attachment senators, the average number is 2.91, and for high place attachment senators, the average number is 2.14.

Table 6.2

Place Attachment References by Senator

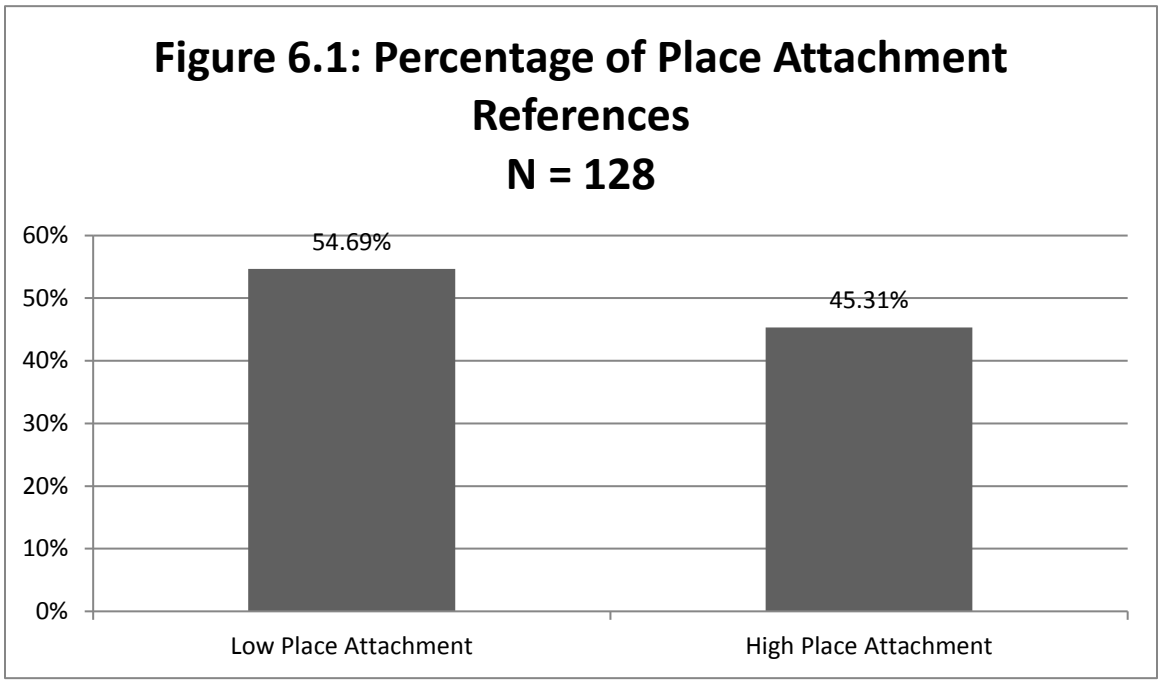
		References to Place Attachment	
Low Place Attachment Senators		Number	Percent of Total
	Adams	0	0
	Avery	5	3.91
	Bloomfield	4	3.13
	Brasch	0	0
	Campbell	4	3.13
	Christensen	0	0
	Coash	1	0.78
	Conrad	9	7.03
	Cornett	2	1.56
	Fischer	4	1.56
	Fulton	2	1.56
	Gloor	0	0
	Haar, K.	6	4.69
	Hadley	4	3.13
	Larson	0	0
	McCoy	4	3.13
	McGill	7	5.47
	Nelson	5	3.91
	Nordquist	5	3.91
	Pahls	3	2.34
	Price	2	1.56
	Seiler	0	0
	Smith	0	0
	Utter	3	2.34
Sub Total	24	70	54.69

Table 6.2 Continued

Place Attachment References by Senator

		References to Place Attachment	
High Place Attachment Senators		Number	Percent of Total
	Ashford	7	5.47
	Carlson	0	0
	Cook	2	1.56
	Council	2	1.56
	Dubas	1	0.78
	Flood	2	1.56
	Hansen	6	4.69
	Harms	3	2.34
	Harr, B.	0	0
	Heidemann	0	0
	Howard	0	0
	Janssen	3	2.34
	Karpisek	2	1.56
	Krist	5	3.91
	Lambert	0	0
	Langemeier	1	0.78
	Lathrop	1	0.78
	Lautenbaugh	3	2.34
	Louden	3	2.34
	Mello	0	0
	Pankonin	3	2.34
	Pirsch	0	0
	Schilz	1	0.78
	Schumacher	2	1.56
	Sullivan	7	5.47
	Wallman	4	3.13
	Wightman	0	0
Sub Total	27	58	45.31
Grand Total	**51**	**128**	**100.00**

In addition, low place attachment senators made more references to their place attachment than high place attachment senators did. Figure 6.1 shows that 54.69 percent of place attachment references were made by low place attachment senators. High place attachment senators made 45.31 percent of place attachment references. This finding is unexpected because it was hypothesized in Hypothesis 6 that senators with high place attachment would be more likely to refer to their place attachment than senators with low place attachment.



Hypothesis 6

To explore the relationship between level of place attachment and frequency of place attachment references further, I compared the mean place attachment frequency scores of the two groups of senators. The place attachment frequency score is the same as the percent of total in Table 6.2. Table 6.3 contains the comparison of means of the two groups. Senators with lower levels of place attachment have a higher mean score than

senators with higher place attachment. The score for those with low place attachment is 2.21 as compared to the score for those with high place attachment, which is 1.67. This finding is unexpected. Overall, Hypothesis 6, which expected senators with higher levels of place attachment to refer to their place attachment more often than senators with lower levels of place attachment, is not supported. I fail to reject the null hypothesis.

Table 6.3

The Mean Differences of Place Attachment Frequency Scores by Level of Place Attachment

	N	Mean Score
Low Place Attachment	24	2.21
High Place Attachment	27	1.67
Total	51	1.93

Part 2

Before moving onto the exploration of Hypothesis 7, a brief overview of the type of places mentioned in floor debate is warranted. This discussion sets the stage for the next part of the analysis. Table 6.4 summarizes the places mentioned in the sample of floor debate transcripts.

The places mentioned by the senators ranged in geographic scale from local to global. Concerning places mentioned in a place attachment reference, the most often cited included various towns in Nebraska with 35 references, legislative districts and variants with 21, Nebraska and variants with 21, Nebraska State Parks with 12, counties with nine, regions within the state with eight, and schools and school districts with eight references. The most commonly cited local scale place was legislative district or variant, and the most commonly cited global place was the state of Nebraska or variant. Some places such as state parks could be global or local in scale depending on the context of the reference. If the senator mentioned all of the state parks or referred to the state park

system, then this was coded as a global scale reference. If the senator mentioned a state park outside of his or her district, then this was also coded as a global scale reference. A mention of a single state park in the district was coded as a local scale reference.

Table 6.4

Places Mentioned during Debate Connected to a Place Attachment Reference

Bill	Senator	Place[15]	Type of Place	Scale
LB 14	Sullivan	Cedar Rapids, NE	Town	Local
LB 18	Ashford	Omaha, Nebraska	Town	Local
LB 22	McCoy	Nebraska	State	Global
LB 62	Sullivan	District 41	Legislative District	Local
	Utter	Adams County	County	Local
LB 81	Ashford	Omaha, Nebraska	Town	Local
	Ashford	Omaha, Nebraska	Town	Local
	Conrad	Nebraska	State	Global
	Conrad	Omaha, Nebraska	Town	Global
	Conrad	Nebraska	State	Global
	Cornett	Sarpy County	County	Local
	Cornett	Sarpy County	County	Local
	Council	District 11	Legislative District	Local
	Fischer	Nebraska	State	Global
	Fischer	Nebraska	State	Global
	Fulton	District 29	Legislative District	Local
	Fulton	Lincoln, Nebraska	Town	Local
	Hadley	Nebraska	State	Global
	Krist	Nebraska	State	Global
	Krist	Omaha and Lincoln Metro Area	Region	Local
	Lautenbaugh	District	Legislative District	Local
	Lautenbaugh	Omaha, Nebraska	Town	Local
	Lautenbaugh	Omaha, Nebraska	Town	Local
	McCoy	District 39	Legislative District	Local
	McCoy	District 39	Legislative District	Local
	McCoy	District 39	Legislative District	Local
	McGill	District 26	Legislative District	Local
	McGill	District 26	Legislative District	Local
	McGill	District 26	Legislative District	Local
	Nelson	Central Omaha	Neighborhood	Local
	Nelson	Omaha	Town	Local
	Pankonin	Louisville, Nebraska	Town	Local
	Pankonin	District 29	Legislative District	Local
	Pankonin	Nebraska	State	Global
	Price	District 3	Legislative District	Local

[15] If the senator referred to “our state” or to “the/this state” this was coded as “Nebraska.” Some senators referred to places directly by name such as “Center for People in Need.” Other times they referred to places less directly such as the “country store in Mead.” If the senator mentioned a state park in his or her district, then this statement was coded as local. If they mentioned multiple state parks or referred to the state park system as a whole, then this was coded as global.

Table 6.4 Continued

Places Mentioned during Debate Connected to a Place Attachment Reference

Bill	Senator	Place[15]	Type of Place	Scale
LB 84	Conrad	Nebraska	State	Global
	Conrad	Nebraska	State	Global
	Cook	Nebraska	State	Global
	Fischer	Nebraska	State	Global
	Fischer	Nebraska	State	Global
	Flood	Madison County	County	Local
	Flood	Norfolk, Nebraska	Town	Local
	Hadley	Nebraska	State	Global
	Harms	Western Nebraska	Region	Local
	Harms	Western Nebraska	Region	Local
	Janssen	Local High School	School	Local
	McGill	District 26	Legislative District	Local
	McGill	District 26	Legislative District	Local
LB 108	Louden	Our Ranch	Residence	Local
LB 165	Avery	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	Avery	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	Avery	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	Campbell	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	Conrad	Omaha and Lincoln Metro Area	Region	Local
	Conrad	Omaha and Lincoln Metro Area	Region	Local
	Conrad	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	McGill	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
LB 200	Council	District 11	Legislative District	Local
	Janssen	Country Store in Mead, NE	Business	Local
	Sullivan	Grocery Store in Cedar Rapids, NE	Business	Local
LB 204	Nelson	Douglas County	County	Local
	Nordquist	Nebraska	State	Global
	Nordquist	Central Omaha Legislative Districts	Legislative Districts	Global
LB 209	Conrad	Nebraska	State	Global
	Krist	Omaha, Nebraska	Town	Local
	Pahls	Nebraska	State	Global

Table 6.4 Continued

Places Mentioned during Debate Connected to a Place Attachment Reference

Bill	Senator	Place[15]	Type of Place	Scale
LB 235	McGill	My Own School District	School District	Local
	Pahls	Millard School district	School District	Local
	Schumacher	Parochial Schools in District	Schools	Local
	Sullivan	District 41	Legislative District	Local
	Sullivan	Childhood Farm	Residence	Local
LB 255	Hansen	North Platte, NE	Town	Local
	Hansen	Platte River Road	Road	Local
LB 283	Haar, K.	Glacier National Park, MT	National Park	Global
	Haar, K.	Lincoln High School	School	Local
	Louden	Ellsworth, NE	Town	Local
	Wallman	Prairie Hill Learning Center	School	Local
	Wallman	School District	School District	Local
LB 357	Ashford	Omaha, Nebraska	Town	Local
	Ashford	Omaha, Nebraska	Town	Local
	Ashford	Qwest Center	Arena	Local
	Ashford	Dakota County	County	Global
	Avery	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	Avery	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	Campbell	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	Campbell	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	Campbell	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	Haar, K.	Lincoln, NE	Town	Local
	Hadley	Kearney, NE	Town	Local
	Krist	Omaha, NE	Town	Local
	Krist	My Neighborhood	Neighborhood	Local
	Nelson	Douglas County	County	Local
	Nordquist	District 7	Legislative District	Local
	Pahls	Hometown	Town	Local
	Utter	Nebraska	State	Global
	Wallman	Farms in District	Residences	Local
LB 383	Cook	District 13	Legislative District	Local
	Lathrop	Ralston, NE	Town	Local
	Utter	Adams County	County	Local

Table 6.4 Continued

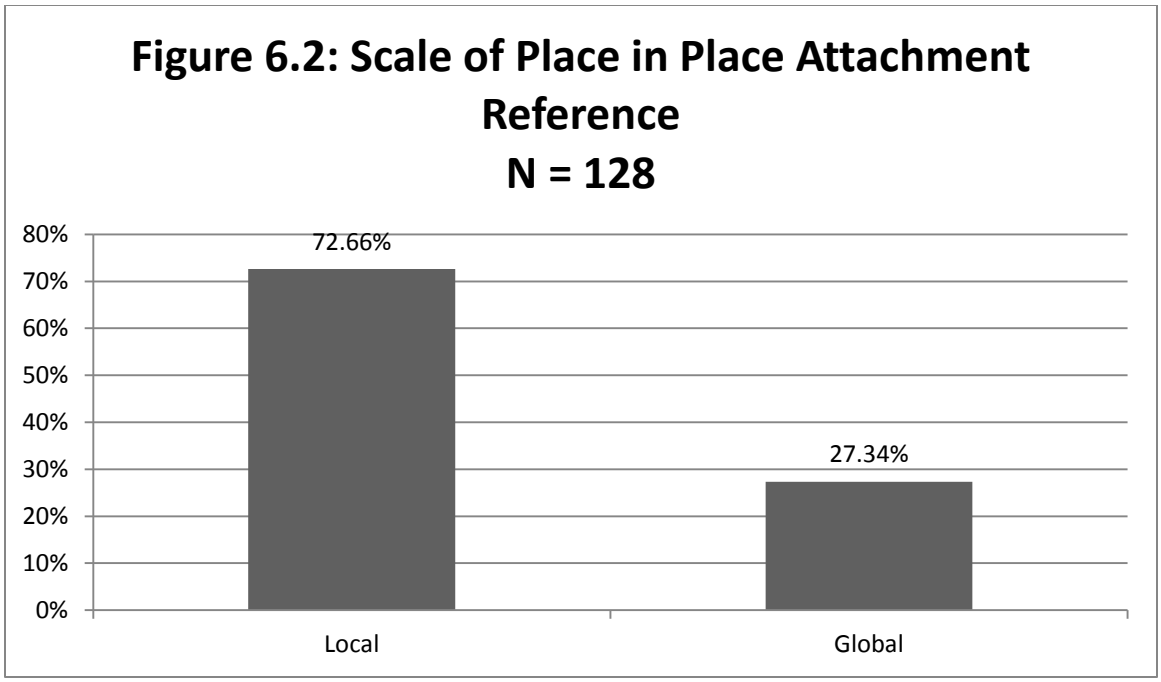
Places Mentioned during Debate Connected to a Place Attachment Reference

Bill	Senator	Place[15]	Type of Place	Scale
LB 384	Nelson	Douglas County	County	Local
LB 385	McGill	District	Legislative District	Local
	Wallman	Nebraska	State	Global
LB 421	Bloomfield	Ponca State Park	State Park	Local
	Bloomfield	Ponca State Park	State Park	Local
	Bloomfield	Ponca State Park	State Park	Local
	Bloomfield	Ponca State Park	State Park	Local
	Haar, K.	Nebraska State Parks	State Parks	Global
LB 421	Haar, K.	Branched Oak Lake	Lake	Local
	Hansen	Nebraska State Parks	State Park	Global
	Hansen	Nebraska State Parks	State Park	Global
	Hansen	District	Legislative District	Local
	Harms	State Parks	State Park	Global
	Langemeier	Nebraska State Parks	State Park	Global
	Price	State Parks	State Park	Global
	Schilz	Lake McConaughy	Lake	Local
	Schumacher	Nebraska State Parks	State Park	Global
	Sullivan	Fort Hartsuff	State Park	Local
LB 471	Karpisek	Vise Grip	Business	Local
	Karpisek	Wilber, NE	Town	Local
LB 543	Haar, K.	Lincoln Center for People in Need	Non Profit	Local
	Nordquist	Hometown in South Dakota	Town	Global
	Nordquist	Nebraska	State	Global
LB 600	Hadley	Our Small Towns	Town	Global
	Sullivan	District 41	Legislative District	Local
LB 629	Coash	Sandhills	Region	Local
	Dubas	Sandhills	Region	Local
	Hansen	Sandhills	Region	Local
	Louden	Nebraska	State	Global

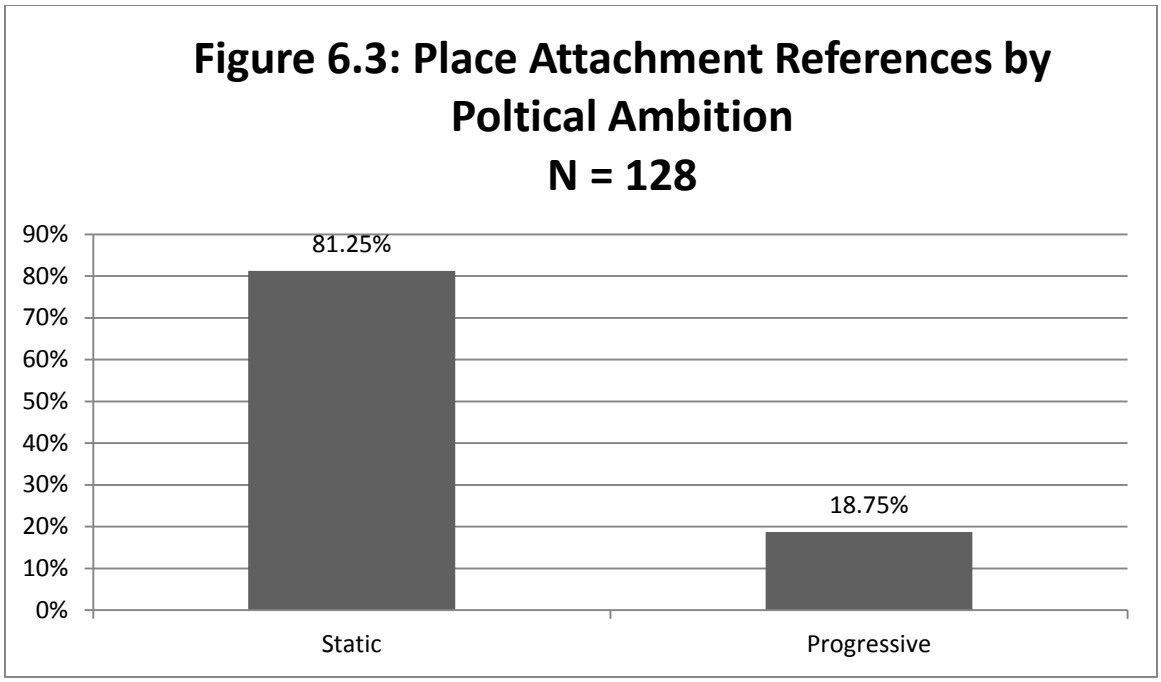
Part 3

Next, in order to explore the data in light of Hypotheses 7 and 8, I analyzed the relationship between scale of place attachment and political ambition. Hypothesis 7 expects that senators with progressive political ambition will be more likely to refer to global scale places more so than senators with static political ambition. Senators with progressive political ambition are expected to refer to global scale places because they are trying to appeal to larger statewide or nationwide constituencies. For example, a senator seeking higher office such as the governorship may repeatedly refer to the state of Nebraska rather than to a town in his or her district. According to Hypothesis 8, a senator with static ambition who plans on retaining the same office for several terms may limit focus to local scale places such as his or her district.

Figure 6.2 shows that the majority of place attachment references were made in regards to places that were local in scale. According to the figure, 72.66 percent of place attachment references were made in reference to local scale places. This finding supports Lewicka (2011) and Tuan (1975). These authors find that larger scale places such as large geographic regions are too big for people to form attachments to beyond the symbolic because they are too big to be directly experienced by most people. Local scale places are more likely to be experienced directly and more frequently. However, people can still develop strong attachments to regions, provinces, and countries because these places represent a common history, and they present strong symbols of group belonging and group identity (Lewicka, 2011, p. 212).



Next, Figure 6.3 disaggregates place attachment references by type of political ambition. The data for this figure and the following figures is in Table 6.5. First, according to Figure 6.3, senators with progressive ambition were not as vocal about their place attachment as senators with static ambition. For instance, senators with static ambition made 81.25 percent of the total number of place attachment references as compared to 18.75 percent of those with progressive ambition. The lack of place reference statements by senators with progressive ambition could indicate that as senators become more progressive in ambition they are more likely to be place neutral. They chose not refer to their place attachment.



Next, Figure 6.4 shows the proportion of global and local references made by senators with progressive and static ambition. It was expected that senators with progressive ambition would be the most likely to cite global scale places during floor debate. However, this is not the case. When senators with progressive ambition did discuss their place attachment, the scale of that attachment was more local than global. For example, for senators with progressive ambition, 79.17 percent of references were made toward local scale places rather than toward global scale places, and 71.15 percent of place attachment references made by senators with static ambition were made toward local scale places. While both groups were more likely to refer to local places, senators with progressive ambition were actually more likely to do so. Senators with static ambition had a greater proportion of references to global scale places. For instance, those with static ambition made references to global scale places 28.85 percent of the time as

compared to 20.83 percent of the time for those with progressive ambition. These findings are counterintuitive.

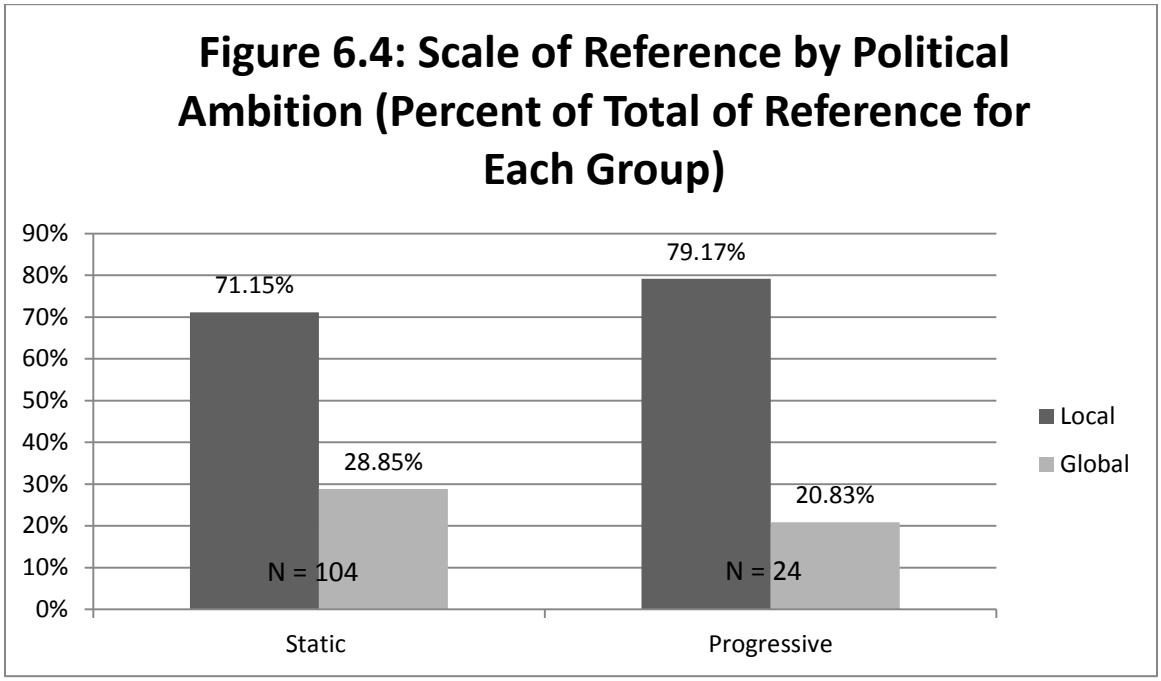


Table 6.5

Global and Local Scale Place Attachment References by Senator

	Are place attachment references local or global in scale?									
Static Ambition Senators	Local	Row %	Column %	% of Total	Global	Row %	Column %	% of Total	Total	% of Total
Adams	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Avery	5	100.00	5.38	3.91	0	0	0	0	5	3.91
Bloomfield	4	100.00	4.30	3.13	0	0	0	0	4	3.13
Brasch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Campbell	4	100.00	4.30	3..13	0	0	0	0	4	3.13
Carlson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christensen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coash	1	100.00	1.08	0.78	0	0	0	0	1	0.78
Conrad	3	33.33	3.22	2.34	6	66.67	17.14	4.69	9	7.03
Cornett	2	100.00	2.15	1.56	0	0	0	0	2	1.56
Cook	2	100.00	2.15	1.56	0	0	0	0	2	1.56
Council	2	100.00	2.15	1.56	0	0	0	0	2	1.56
Fulton	2	100.00	2.15	1.56	0	0	0	0	2	1.56
Gloor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haar, K.	4	66.67	4.30	3.13	2	33.33	5.71	1.56	6	4.69
Hadley	1	25.00	1.08	0.78	3	75.00	8.57	2.43	4	3.13
Hansen	4	66.67	4.30	2.34	2	33.33	5.71	1.56	6	4.69
Harms	0	0	0	0	3	100.00	8.57	2.43	3	2.43
Harr, B.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Howard	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Karpisek	2	100.00	2.15	1.56	0	0	0	0	2	1.56
Krist	4	80.00	4.30	3.13	1	20.00	2.86	0.78	5	3.91
Lambert	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Langemeier	0	0	0	0	1	100.00	2.86	0.78	1	0.78
Larson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lathrop	1	100.00	1.08	0.78	0	0	0	0	1	0.78
Lautenbaugh	3	100.00	3.22	2.34	0	0	0	0	3	3.24
Louden	2	66.67	2.15	1.56	1	33.33	2.86	0.78	3	3.24
McCoy	3	75.00	3.22	2.34	1	25.00	2.86	0.78	4	3.13
Mello	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nelson	5	100.00	5.38	3.91	0	0	0	0	5	3.91
Nordquist	1	20.00	1.08	0.78	4	80.00	11.43	3.13	5	3.91
Pahls	2	66.67	2.15	1.56	1	33.33	2.86	0.78	3	3.24
Pankonin	2	66.67	2.15	1.56	1	33.33	2.86	0.78	3	3.24
Price	1	50.00	1.08	0.78	1	50.00	2.86	0.78	2	1.56
Schilz	1	100.00	1.08	0.78	0	0	0	0	1	0.78
Schumacher	1	50.00	1.08	0.78	1	50.00	2.86	0.78	2	1.56
Seiler	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sullivan	7	100.00	7.53	5.47	0	0	0	0	7	5.47

Table 6.5 Continued

Global and Local Scale Place Attachment References by Senator

	Are place attachment references local or global in scale?									
Static Ambition Senators	Local	Row %	Column %	% of Total	Global	Row %	Column %	% of Total	Total	% of Total
Utter	2	66.67	2.15	1.56	1	33.33	2.86	0.78	3	2.34
Wallman	3	75.00	3.22	2.34	1	25.00	2.86	0.78	4	3.13
Wightman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	74	71.15	79.57	57.81	30	28.85	85.71	23.44	104	81.25
Progressive Ambition Senators										
Ashford	6	85.71	6.45	4.69	1	14.29	2.86	0.78	7	5.47
Dubas	1	100.00	1.08	0.78	0	0	0	0	1	0.78
Fischer	0	0	0	0	4	100.00	11.43	3.13	4	3.13
Flood	2	100.00	2.15	1.56	0	0	0	0	2	1.56
Heidemann	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Janssen	3	100.00	3.22	2.34	0	0	0	0	3	2.34
McGill	7	100.00	7.53	5.47	0	0	0	0	7	5.47
Pirsch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	19	79.17	20.43	14.84	5	20.83	14.29	3.91	24	18.75
Grand Total	**93**	**72.66**	**100.00**	**72.66**	**35**	**27.34**	**100.00**	**27.34**	**128**	**100.00**

Hypothesis 7

Next, a simple comparison of means was used to explore Hypothesis 7. Table 6.6 contains the result of the simple comparison of mean global place attachment frequency scores. The global place attachment frequency score is the number of place attachment references that refer to a global scale place divided by the total number of place attachment references for all senators in the population multiplied by 100 for each senator. This number is the same as the Global Percent of Total in Table 6.5. The results show that senators with progressive political ambition have slightly lower mean global place attachment frequency scores than those with static political ambition. Senators with progressive ambition have a mean score of 0.49, which is slightly lower than the mean score of 0.56 for senators with static political ambition. The mean score for all 51

senators was 0.55. The findings do not support Hypothesis 7, which expected that senators with progressive political ambition would be more likely to refer to global scale place than senators with static political ambition. Since Hypothesis 7 is not supported, the analysis fails to reject the null hypothesis.

Table 6.6

The Mean Differences of Global Place Attachment Frequency Scores by Political Ambition

	N	Mean Score
Static Political Ambition	43	0.56
Progressive Political Ambition	8	0.49
Total	**51**	**0.55**

Hypothesis 8

To explore Hypothesis 8, another simple comparison of means was used. In Table 6.7, I compared the mean local place attachment frequency scores for each of the two groups of senators. The local place attachment frequency score was calculated by dividing each senator's number of local place attachment references by the total number of place attachment references and then multiplying this number by 100. This number is the same as the Local Percent of Total in Table 6.5. According to Table 6.7, senators with progressive political ambition had a higher mean score than senators with static political ambition. The mean score for senators with progressive political ambition was 1.86, and the mean score for senators with static political ambition was 1.31. The results do not support the hypothesis that senators with static ambition would be more likely to refer to local scale places than senators with progressive political ambition. Hypothesis 8 is not fully supported, and the analysis fails to reject the null hypothesis.

Table 6.7

The Mean Differences of Local Place Attachment Frequency Scores by Political Ambition

	N	Mean Score
Static Political Ambition	43	1.31
Progressive Political Ambition	8	1.86
Total	**51**	**1.58**

Discussion and Conclusion

The results of the analysis are summarized in Table 6.8. While the results were disappointing in that little support was found for the three hypotheses, the analysis demonstrated a novel attempt to understand how frequently state legislators refer to their place attachment when speaking on the floor. In addition, the study attempted to understand whether scale of place attachment could give insight into a senator's level of political ambition. Hypothesis 6 expected that senators with higher levels of place attachment would be more likely to refer to their place attachment than senators with lower levels of place attachment. According to the findings for Hypothesis 6, senators with higher levels of place attachment were less likely to refer to their place attachment than senators with lower levels of place attachment. Based on the findings for Hypothesis 6, it appears that level of place attachment may not matter for senators, since senators with lower levels of place attachment are more likely to refer to their place attachment. This could mean that referring to one's place attachment, which could possibly be a place protective behavior, is a tool that senators with varying levels of place attachment can use to their advantage. In addition, paradoxically, frequently referring to one's place attachment might actually be more beneficial to senators with low place attachment because these senators might be trying to compensate publically for their more tenuous ties to their districts.

Hypothesis 7 expected that senators with progressive ambition would be more likely to refer to global scale places when referring to their place attachment than those with static ambition. I found that senators with static ambition were more likely to refer to global places than those with static ambition. Hypothesis 8 expected that senators with static ambition would be more likely to refer to local scale places when referring to their place attachment than those with progressive ambition. Once again, the data only partially support the hypothesis. Senators with static ambition were likely to refer to local scale places rather than global scale places, but they were less likely to refer to local scale places on the whole than senators with progressive ambition.

The findings for Hypotheses 7 and 8 indicate that the relationships between type of political ambition and scale of place attachment are counterintuitive. A possible explanation may lie in the nuanced effect that political ambition has on legislative behavior. According to Herrick and Moore (1993) the relationship between ambition and behavior is often unclear, especially for senators with progressive ambition (p. 769). For instance, some senators with progressive ambition are very vocal during floor debate while others are very quiet. Some senators with progressive ambition may toe the party line very closely while others do not.

The type of bill or type of office that the senator is aspiring to may impact scale of place reference. Some bills may be more germane to legal constituents, some to party constituents, and some to statewide or national constituents. When seeking higher office, senators might have different constituencies to consider as well, especially when the type of office is factored in. A political appointment may not depend on the senator appealing

to large statewide constituencies as much as if the senator were seeking an elected office. Additional research will be needed to understand why these results were unexpected.

Table 6.8

Summary of Findings

	Description	Supported	Findings
Hypothesis 6 (Part 3)	Senators with higher levels of place attachment are likely to refer to their place attachment more often than senators with lower levels of place attachment.	No	Senators with higher levels of place attachment are not as likely to refer to their place attachment as senators with lower levels of place attachment (Unexpected).
Hypothesis 7 (Part 3)	Senators with progressive political ambition are more likely to refer to global scale places when referring to their place attachment than senators with static political ambition.	No	Senators with progressive political ambition are less likely to refer to global scale places than senators with static political ambition (Unexpected).
Hypothesis 8 (Part 4)	Senators with static political ambition are more likely to refer to local scale places when referring to their place attachment than senators with progressive political ambition.	No	Senators with static political ambition were less likely to refer to local places than senators with progressive political ambition (Unexpected).

Since the study was highly exploratory, it suffered from several limitations. A major limitation, due to the labor intensiveness of content analysis, is that the study was only able to explore a small portion of the floor debate from the session. The analysis was limited to the transcripts of 100 out of 525 final reading bills. Adding additional bills would further increase the validity and reliability of findings. To decrease potential problems, a random sample of bills was chosen. If the random sample of bills was correctly chosen, then these issues should have been minimized.

Furthermore, the study used only two independent variables: level of place attachment and level of political ambition. Future study could include other independent variables beyond place attachment. Other variables could include district, constituent, and member characteristics. The analysis was limited to two independent variables due to the small population size. Last, the study focused solely on progressive and static political ambition. According to the literature on political ambition, intrainstitutional political ambition is a type of political ambition where legislators seek leadership positions within the legislature (Herrick and Moore, 1993). While intrainstitutional political ambition may exist in the Nebraska Unicameral, its impact is lessened because the Unicameral has very few leadership positions. For instance, since it is nonpartisan, there are no majority or minority party leadership positions. Leadership positions in the Unicameral are limited to the Speaker and committee chairs. Plus, since Nebraska has only one house, advancement to an upper chamber is prohibited.

Despite these limitations, the study has several implications for political science and for future research. For instance, the research shows that level of place attachment may not matter when senators choose to discuss their place attachment. Senators with

lower levels of place attachment are as likely to refer to their place attachment as those with higher levels of place attachment. To apply this finding to a real world example, someone who might be a relative newcomer to a district will be just as likely as a long term resident of a district in referring to his or her place attachment. Senators will refer to their place attachment regardless of their level of place attachment.

In addition, the relationship between geographic place scale and ambition is counterintuitive. This relationship deserves more research. The finding that progressive senators are very likely to refer to local places, underscores the importance of local places. As mentioned earlier, local places are easier for people to form attachments to. Local places are more familiar and are directly experienced on a daily basis (Lewicka, 2011). In light of these findings, senators with progressive ambition may refer to local places as a way to appeal to their local constituents. The relationship between progressive ambition and geographic scale of place attachment is complicated, and the relationship may depend on the type of bill they are debating and the type of political office they are aspiring to. Furthermore, it appears from the findings that senators with progressive ambition are less likely overall to refer to their place attachment than those with static ambition. This could indicate that as senators become more progressive in their ambition, they are more likely to take a place neutral stance and not mention their bonds with any place.

The findings pose many opportunities for future research. First, a future researcher could look at the place attachment of policy-makers in other levels and branches of government. Another area for future research could be to delve deeper into the finding that senators with progressive ambition are less vocal about their place

attachment than senators with static ambition. Another interesting finding and possible topic for future research is that the senators often cited schools and school districts as objects of place attachment. Future research could investigate why people create deep bonds with schools and school districts. This research could be very useful for those studying school consolidation.

In conclusion, the chapter did not find any support for the proposed hypotheses. Despite a lack of findings, the chapter lays groundwork for a deeper exploration into the place attachment of legislators. Senators in the 2011-2012 Unicameral use references to the place attachment as a tool to gain support for their agendas while speaking on the floor. This use of place attachment references is not limited to the senators with the greatest levels of place attachment. Senators with lower levels of place attachment are just as likely to refer to their place attachment as well. Furthermore, while most senators with static political ambition referred to their place attachment, those with progressive ambition did not. When they did refer to their place attachment, it was more likely to be in connection with a local rather than a global scale place. For senators in the Unicameral, referring to place attachment matters. It matters as a tool that is used to gain support and to make appeals. Moreover, it is a tool that can be used by relative district newcomers and district long termers alike. Level of place attachment or the degree of emotional bond toward a place does not appear to matter during floor debate.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Little scholarship has focused on the relationships between place and voting behavior, place attachment and voting behavior, and place attachment and floor behavior. The primary contribution of this dissertation was that I attempted to fill the gaps in the literature and lay the groundwork for future research concerning these relationships. The dissertation consisted of three separate but related analyses using data from the 2011-2012 session of the Nebraska Unicameral. The first analysis, in Chapter 4, studied the relationship between place and liberalism scores of senators in the session. The second analysis, in Chapter 5, analyzed the relationship between place attachment or the emotional bond between a person and a place and roll-call voting on legislation tied to place and on place neutral legislation. The third analysis, in Chapter 6, explored the frequency of place attachment references during floor debate, and the analysis explored whether a senator's geographic scale of attachment could indicate a senator's level of political ambition.

The findings for the three analyses were quite modest. Chapter 4, "Place and Voting Behavior," sought to answer two main questions. First, the chapter asked whether legislators from central city districts were more liberal than those from non-central city districts. Second, the chapter asked whether residence in a central city district for a length of time led to senators of both parties to become more liberal. The chapter was based on the assumption that residents in central cities are more liberal because they have to live in close proximity to diverse groups of people (Wirth, 1938). Using Shor and McCarty's National Political Awareness Test (NPAT) Scores (NP_Scores), the analysis found that central city senators were more liberal than their non-central city colleagues. The findings

support Wolman and Marckini (2001) who found that central city members of the United States House of Representatives were more liberal than non-central city members of the House. Concerning the second research question, senators who have lived in their central city districts longer were expected to be more liberal than those who have lived in central city districts a shorter amount of time. They were expected to become more liberal because they have had a longer time to become entrenched into the prevailing political beliefs and attitudes of the district. The analysis found modest support. Senators who had lived in the central city longer have more liberal voting records; however, conservative senators who lived in the central city districts longer were not more liberal. In addition, non-central city senators were more conservative the longer they lived in their districts.

Chapter 5, "Place Attachment and Legislative Behavior," investigated the relationship between level of place attachment and roll-call voting. The analysis sought to create a new place attachment index that combined several measures of place attachment rather than relying on just one such as length of residence. Using the new place attachment index, the analysis sought to answer the following research questions. First, the chapter asked whether place attachment would affect the likelihood of voting on legislation that was tied to place or that had a strong spatial component. Second, the chapter asked whether place attachment would affect the likelihood of voting on legislation that was place neutral or that lacked a spatial component. Third, the chapter asked whether senators with higher levels of place attachment would be more likely to vote against a bill that had an acute negative impact on the district than senators with lower levels of place attachment. Last, the chapter asked whether senators with higher

levels of place attachment were more likely to vote for legislation that had an acute positive impact on the district than senators with lower levels of place attachment.

The hypotheses were only modestly supported. For instance, the place attachment index was only a significant predictor in two out of 10 roll-call votes, which may indicate that the relationship may be due to random chance. Furthermore, the chapter found mixed results for the two remaining research questions. The chapter found modest support that senators with higher levels of place attachment would be more likely to vote against legislation that is tied to place that has a high negative impact on place. Also, the chapter found modest support that senators with higher levels of place attachment would be more likely to vote for legislation that has a high positive impact on place.

Two case studies were used to analyze the two roll-call votes in which place attachment was a significant variable. In a case study of LB 357, which would allow city voters to choose between raising property or sales taxes, the dissertation expected that urban districts would experience the greatest negative impact. In urban districts, the increased taxes would affect a larger number of people than in rural districts. It was expected that urban senators with high place attachment would be the most likely to vote against the bill because of its negative impact on urban districts. Instead, rural senators with high place attachment were the most likely to vote against the bill even though the bill would have less of a negative impact on rural areas. However, one could argue that since rural residents shop in cities they are experiencing the negative impact of the increased taxes but not receiving any of the benefit of the increased revenues to the cities.

LB 806, which sought to allow for betting on historical horse races at existing horse racing facilities, was a bill that was expected to have a high positive impact on

urban districts. Urban districts were expected to benefit the most from the bill because of the economic impact of the racing facilities, all of which were in urban areas of their districts. In this case, it was expected that urban senators with high place attachment would be the most likely to vote for the bill because of the positive economic benefit it would have on their districts. The analysis found that urban senators with high place attachment were the most likely to vote for the bill. This finding was expected. An unexpected finding was the importance of urban and rural on voting behavior. While party and place attachment were among significant predictors of roll-call votes in the two case studies, the votes tended to fall more closely along urban and rural voting lines.

Chapter 6, "Place Attachment and Floor Behavior," explored the relationship between level of place attachment and frequency of using place attachment references during floor debate. Also, the analysis explored the link between a senator's level of political ambition and his or her references to geographic place scale. The findings did not support the proposed hypotheses. First, it was hypothesized that senators with higher levels of place attachment would be more likely to refer to their place attachment than senators with lower levels of place attachment. According to the results of the content analysis, senators with higher levels of place attachment were no more likely to reference their place attachment than senators with lower levels of place attachment. Second, it was hypothesized that senators with progressive political ambition would be more likely to refer to global places when referring to their place attachment than senators with static political ambition. The results were counterintuitive. Senators with progressive ambition were actually more likely to refer to local scale places. Third, it was hypothesized that senators with static political ambition would be more likely to refer to local scale places

when referring to their place attachment than senators with progressive political ambition. The findings indicate that senators with static ambition were more likely to refer to global places than senators with progressive ambition. Furthermore, it was found that progressive senators were less likely to reference their place attachment than senators with static ambition.

Implications

From the findings, it appears that place attachment has a modest impact on roll-call voting and floor debate. The impact of place attachment is nuanced, and it is dependent upon a number of factors including the level and degree of impact of the proposed policy. While level of place attachment has limited effect on behavior, the use of place attachment references is a tool that those with varying levels of attachment can use to their advantage. Despite the modest findings, place attachment is still an interesting concept for further study. The study of place attachment can be useful for political scientists, policy-makers, and practitioners. The following discusses several implications of this type of research.

First, for political science, the study presents a novel attempt to synthesize several seemingly disparate strands of research. Place has been infrequently studied in its own right. Previous study of the impact of place on legislative behavior has been limited to the federal level (Wolman and Marckini, 2001). My research builds upon the findings of these authors by analyzing the impact of place at the state level. Also, the study introduces the concept of place attachment to the study of legislative behavior. Place attachment is important for understanding why some legislators are more protective of their district than others. While my results were modest, future researchers may find

results that are more conclusive. Second, the study adds cumulatively to our knowledge of legislative floor behavior and to our knowledge of Nebraska state politics. Both of these areas are underserved by the literature.

For policy-makers and political scientists, the dissertation has several additional implications. For one, the analysis calls into question residency requirements for running for elected office. Little research has focused on this policy area.[16] While the dissertation did not assess whether residency policies should be changed or eliminated, this type of research could be useful for making such decisions. For instance, if place attachment is only slightly important to decision-making, then it might not be a major factor in representation. Voters in the senate election in New York were unconcerned with Hillary Clinton's prior residency. According to Anderson (2002), one out of two voters who were polled said her prior residency was not a problem (p. 14). Later, she was reelected to a second term of office, which she resigned in order to become Secretary of State under President Barack Obama.

In today's world, newcomer candidates are not as isolated from their prospective constituents. Technology has made overcoming the obstacles of geography easier. For example, advances in technology such as the internet could make it easier for newcomers to learn about their new districts and help speed up the process of attachment. For instance, a newcomer may do extensive research on the place and join in virtual social groups connected to the place prior to moving. However, doing so does introduces two major concerns. First, the literature would argue that the type of attachment that these newcomers have to a place is very different from those who had lived there longer

[16] Rand (2016) provides an analysis of residency policies at the state and local levels.

(Scannell and Gifford, 2010b). Scannell and Gifford (2010b) find that newcomers are more attached to the physical aspects of the place and long term residents are more attached to the civic and social aspects of place.

Furthermore, one could argue that actually living for a time in a place still has benefits that one cannot gain through virtual means alone. A potential candidate who develops relationships virtually may be at a disadvantage. Online universities are an example. In the debate over the importance of place in higher education, some have argued that online universities do not provide the same learning experiences and sense of community as schools with brick and mortar campuses (Aoun, 2011; Carlson, 2012). They find the campus experience of being in close proximity to professors and other students as well as being able to participate in nonacademic campus activities has an intrinsic value that cannot be replicated virtually. Aoun (2011) mentions, "Compared to with online students, students in place-based higher-education settings are exposed to something subtle but vital: the chance encounters that come with membership in a diverse intellectual community" (p. B25). Newcomers may miss subtle but important moments within their new district because they have not had prior experience in the district. The lack of prior residency may not affect a candidate's ability to address the larger scale concerns of the district, but he or she may fail to notice the more nuanced aspects of the political attitudes and beliefs in the district.

Another policy area that could benefit from the study of place attachment is that of school policy. The dissertation found, in Chapter 6, that senators often refer to schools and school districts when referring to their place attachment. This finding supports the literature that found that residents often identify with school districts, especially in rural

areas (Peshkin, 1982; Ilvento, 1990). For instance, in a rural area a person may identify himself or herself as being from the local school district rather than from a particular town. In very rural areas of Nebraska, a school district such as the Gordon-Rushville School District can cover a very large region of the state. The strength of the bond between a person and a school or school district may provide insight into why some residents resist school consolidation. The findings could be used to make better and more inclusive policies that recognize this bond.

For practitioners, the findings of the dissertation are useful for understanding workforce issues. Place attachment can be useful for understanding why some residents choose to stay in economically disadvantaged areas. For those working in workforce and economic development, the spatial mismatch between people and jobs is a major issue. Often unemployed and underemployed people live far from places where there are better economic opportunities, and in most cases, these people decline to relocate. Place attachment research could be used to explain why people are reluctant to move to seek better opportunities within a state. In a recent study of Northeast Nebraska, four out of five potential job seekers mentioned that they were at most willing to commute 30 minutes to a job (Northeast Nebraska Labor Availability Study, 2014, p. 11). From the study, it was apparent, that many residents want to stay close to their homes and communities. Workforce policies that emphasize place attachment could include entrepreneurial programs that help residents start up their own businesses in the communities they choose rather than trying to convince workers to move or commute long distances.

While some residents choose to stay in their communities, others choose to leave, especially those that are young and well educated. Place attachment research can be used to create programs that can help retain people in states such as Nebraska, which are experiencing slow population growth and a shortage of workers. Currently, the State of Nebraska is trying to find ways to stem the "brain drain" of its talent.[17] Many of Nebraska's college graduates leave the state after graduation. Programs aimed at retaining recent graduates and attracting former Nebraskans to return to Nebraska can emphasize place attachment. For instance, many former residents still have social ties to the state. A marketing campaign may try to appeal to the former resident's desire to live closer to family and friends. These programs can also emphasize attachment to physical characteristics such as Nebraska's schools and natural amenities. Currently, there are several marketing campaigns such as Only in Nebraska and Move Back to Nebraska aimed at recruiting new and former residents. Another is the Governor's Nebraska Developing Youth Talent Initiative.

Limitations

The study faced several limitations. First, the study was limited by the data gathered from one legislative session. The reliance on the single session may hurt the generalizability of the findings. The decision to focus on one legislative session was made due the amount of labor involved in collecting the data for all three analyses. For instance, the content analysis of floor debate was very time consuming and labor

[17] Currently, the State of Nebraska has several programs aimed at retaining and recruiting people. One of the most successful programs is Intern Nebraska. The program seeks to connect college students with businesses needing interns with the hope that the student would eventually be hired and stay in the state. The program is especially beneficial to rural businesses and communities that may not have been able to attract prospective interns due to their rural locations. For more information concerning "brain drain," please see Carr, P. J., & Kefalas, M. J. (2009). *Hollowing out the middle: The rural brain drain and what it means for America.* Boston: Beacon Press.

intensive. Despite being labor intensive, a larger sample would make it so that one could use more inferential statistical methods, and it would help with the study's generalizability. Future study should include additional legislative sessions and perhaps compare this legislature to other state legislatures. By comparing the data from Nebraska to other states, one could see if the patterns found in this dissertation hold up under new conditions. Last, the data for the analysis was limited to that which was public. Interviews and surveys would help enrich the data and limit any possibility that information was incorrectly reported.

Future Research

This dissertation generated numerous ideas for future research. One fertile area is analyzing place attachment and the home style of legislators. For instance, one could study how place attachment relates to how often legislators visit their home districts and how involved they become in their home districts. Future research could also ask whether legislators consider their districts "home" and whether they plan to stay in their districts after leaving office. Other areas to investigate is to apply this research to the local or federal levels of government. In addition, more could be made of the links between place attachment and related concepts such as civic or social attachment, social capital, and political participation. Additional research on whether certain policy areas trigger place protective behaviors is necessary as well. For example, the debate over immigration policy may be studied from a place attachment and place protective behavior prospective. Another interesting application of place attachment research on public policy would be to look at resistance to K-12 school consolidation. One could assess why some communities

resist merging despite declining enrollment, and one could explore whether school mergers affect place identity.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the dissertation explored the relationship between place and legislative behavior and place attachment and legislative behavior. The findings of the dissertation while modest indicate that place and place attachment do have some impact on legislative behavior. While place and place attachment may not have the significance of political party, these two factors may help tip the decision-making scale of legislators one way or another. Moreover, despite a senator's level of place attachment, the reference to one's place attachment can serve as tool during floor debate to gain support for one's agenda. For the politicians briefly mentioned in the introduction such as Hillary Rodham Clinton, Bobby Kennedy, and Bob Kerrey, place attachment may play a small role in their legislative behavior. So, the label of "carpetbagger" may be warranted. Legislators who have higher levels of place attachment might possibly be more protective of their districts than those with lower levels of place attachment.

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APPENDIX A

Independent variables not mentioned in Chapter 5

Legislative experience- Legislative experience was measured by the number of years that the senator has served in the Unicameral. Legislative experience was included because it is member characteristic.

Leadership- Leadership is a member characteristic. If a senator holds a leadership position in the Unicameral such as being a committee chair or being the speaker, he or she was coded as 1, and if he or she does not hold a leadership position, then he or she was coded as 0.

Gender- Male senators were coded 1, and female senators were coded 0.

Race and ethnicity of the senator- Non-minority senators were coded 1, and minority senators were coded 0. Both gender and race and ethnicity were included to control for the effect of member characteristics on legislative behavior.

Political ideology of home district- Political ideology of the home district was the percentage of voters in the district voting for McCain in the 2008 General Election. This was included to control for the effect of constituency characteristics on voting behavior.

Progressive Ambition- The variable progressive ambition was included to control for a senator's progressive political behavior. A senator who is anticipating running for or assuming a statewide office after the session may behave differently. For example, the senator may make more statewide appeals during floor debate because he or she is trying to appeal to a broader audience. It was expected that senators who seek a statewide office after the session will have lower levels of place attachment than senators who do not seek a statewide office. Those seeking a statewide office were coded 1, and those who do seek a statewide office were coded 0.

APPENDIX B

Coding Worksheet

Date:

Coder:

Transcript Dates: (Debate of bill may involve several different days.)

a. Date 1_____

b. Date 2 _____

c. Date 3 _____

and so on…

Senator: (This will be prefilled out. Only 20 selected senators).

Bill: (This will be prefilled out. Bill will come from sample of 200. The coding sheet applies to all of the transcripts related to the one bill).

Does senator participate in the debates? (Make sure to check all transcripts relating to the bill.)

Yes No (If no, then stop.)

Instructions:

1. Read all transcripts related to bill.

2. Assess whether the senator makes any comments in these transcripts.

3. If the senator does not make any comments, make a note of it above.

4. If the senator does make comments, then prepare to code the comments. You will need five different colored highlighters.

5. First, carefully read the exchange in order to understand the context.

6. Second, look for references to place attachment. Please see attached list of examples. If you see one of the examples or something similar to it, then highlight these

words and phrases with a third color highlighter and mark the reference as “Place Attachment.” For instance, an example of place attachment in the debate might be a senator telling a story about how much he or she enjoyed camping at state parks as a child. If unsure, highlight with a fourth color and mark it as “Unsure Place Attachment.” These references can be evaluated later for relevance.

7. Third, in the references to place attachment look for references to places. For instance, in a debate over closing a veteran’s home, a senator may say “my district” or “Grand Island.” Mark the reference with the word “Place”. If unsure, mark it with a different color highlight and place the words “Unsure Place” next to the reference. These references can be evaluated later for relevance.

8. Fourth, note if the senator refers to places that you might think are outside of his or her district. For example, a senator who is from Grand Island but always refers Omaha in his or her statements. Highlight the reference with a fifth color and mark it as “Outside Place.”

Data Summary Worksheet (To be filled out by me after the coding is done. Will be entered into an excel spreadsheet, please see example).

1. Does senator make any comments during the debate over this bill? (Be sure to check all transcripts related to this bill)

    a. Yes

    b. No (If no, then please stop).

2. Does senator refer to his or her place attachment during his or her statement concerning this bill?

    a. Yes

    b. No

3. If yes, what is mentioned?

    a. Place Attachment Reference 1:

    b. Place Attachment Reference 2:

    so on…

4. Based on information given above, how many times was place mentioned by the senator in the debates on this bill?

5. When discussing place attachment what types places are identified?

    a. Place Reference 1:

    b. Place Reference 2:

    c. Place Reference 3:

    so on…

8. Was there mention of places outside of the district? If so, what were they?

9. Was place mentioned outside of a reference to place attachment?

Yes

No

10. If yes, what places were mentioned?

    a. Reference 1:

    b. Reference 2:

    and so on…

Place Attachment Coding Examples

Look for these types of words in the senator's statements because these might indicate that the senator is discussing his or her place attachment. Place attachment is the emotional bond between a person and a place.

Words and phrases that might help identify if a statement concerns place attachment:

Identity (place identity)

-part of my identity

-part of me

-defines me

-reflects who I am

Rootedness (place identity)

-roots/rootedness

-place of my ancestors

-family ties

-history

-culture

-part of my heritage

-born and raised here

Social ties (What is it about the place to which we are attached?)

-neighbors

-part of my community

Physical ties (What is it about the place to which we are attached?)

-beauty

-pristine

-pure

-natural

-built environment or specific buildings

Affection (emotions toward place)

-attachment

-love

-fondness

-bond

-happy when I am there

-feels good when I am there

-favorite place to be

-fear

-ambivalence

Cognition (cognitive elements that individuals associate with place to make them personally important)

-memories

-meaning

-knowledge

-importance

-relevance

-familiarity

-mention of preferences such as city versus country

-explains

-beliefs

Behaviors (place attachment expressed through actions)

-desire to be there as much as possible

-homesickness

-missing or longing for a place

-reinvention

-reconstruction

-nostalgia

Consequences of place attachment (place protective behaviors)

-need to preserve

-need to protect

Place Coding Examples

Below are examples of places that a senator may mention during debate:

Political Subdivisions

- Communities within the senator's district examples include villages, towns, or cities
- Counties within the senator's district
- Legislative districts
- States such as Nebraska
- Countries such as the United States
- Zip codes
- Census tract(s)
- Region such as Great Plains

Residential Places

- Home
- Neighborhood such as "Near South" or "Dundee." On a broader scale this could include larger parts of town such as "North Omaha" or "Downtown."
- Apartment or house
- Community in a general sense
- Other residential structures such as nursing homes
- Farms and ranches

Non-residential Places

- Places of worship such as churches, mosques, synagogues, temples, etc.
- Shopping centers

- Schools
- Places of higher education such as colleges or universities
- Recreational areas
- Parks either city, state, or national
- Businesses
- Entertainment facilities such a racetrack or fairground
- Wilderness areas or general mentions of the “outdoors” or to “nature.”