underlying values. Earlier we noted that values differ from attitudes, in that values are not tied to any specific person, issue, or object. At the same time, attitudes allow us to express our values. In combination with our beliefs, some of the attitudes we hold arise because they give specific form to our more general, abstract values (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Feather, 1995; Katz, 1960). A patriotic American may support high tariffs on incoming foreign goods, because these tariffs make foreign products more expensive, leading people to buy American-made products instead.

Cognitive models also assume that people’s attitudes serve their self-interest (B. J. Lehman & Crano, 2001). To illustrate, a person without health insurance may favor political candidates who promise to make national health insurance an important goal of their administration. In this case, the person’s attitude reflects an interest in bringing about outcomes that provide important self-benefits. Surely this is one reason why candidates who promise to lower taxes can always count on having a solid constituency.

A tendency to favor candidates who share one’s values and interests may explain the so-called gender gap in recent elections. It has been estimated that in the 2000 presidential election, 54 percent of women voted for Al Gore, but only 43 percent of men did so (www.feminist.org/Election2000/gendergap_subsets.asp). Eagly and colleagues have suggested that these differences reflect the match between the voters’ values and the candidates’ positions (Eagly, Diekman, Schneider, & Kulesa, 2003). Women tend to value social compassion and egalitarianism, and vote for liberal candidates who take positions that promote these values (e.g., government-subsidized prescription drugs for the elderly). In contrast, men tend to value self-reliance and competition, and vote for more conservative candidates who take positions that promote these values (e.g., reduced government regulation of business). Each group, then, assesses the match between its values and the candidates’ position, and votes for the candidate who best embraces its ideals.

2. Does It Matter Whether Attitudes Are Based on Affect or on Beliefs?
Given that attitudes can be formed through beliefs or through less logical, more emotional means, the question arises as to which of these components of attitudes is more