Course Summary: Trends in PID, Ideology, & Party Support

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American National Election Studies

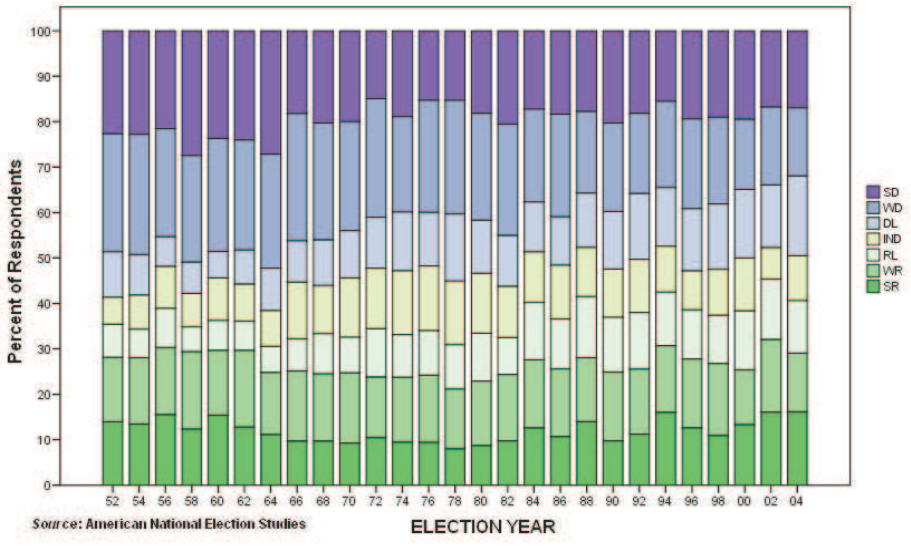
- ANES studies have been held in conjunction with every Presidential election since 1952 (and most off-year) Congressional elections.
- A large portion of POLS (Political Science) knowledge concerning U.S. electoral behavior is derived from this series of studies.
- Each ANES is a survey of approximately two thousand randomly selected respondents who collectively constitute a representative sample of the American voting-age population at the time.

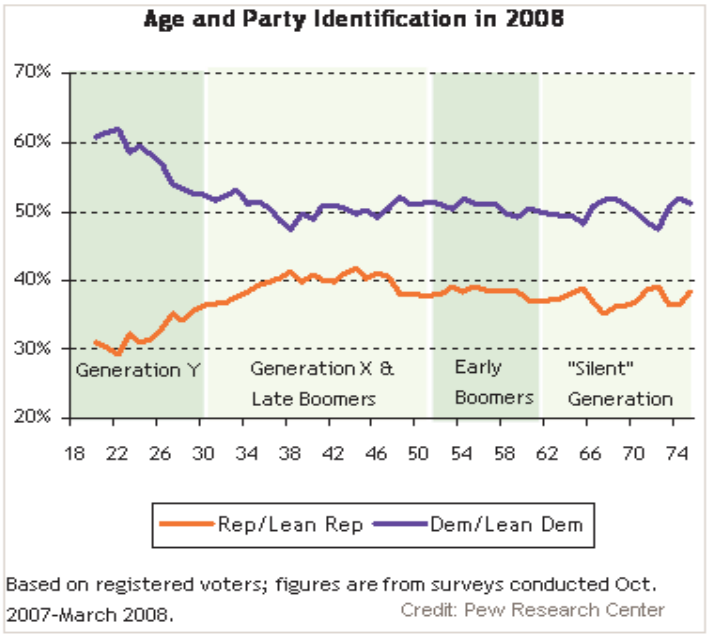
ANES
American National Election Studies
http://www.electionstudies.org/

Party Identification and Ideology

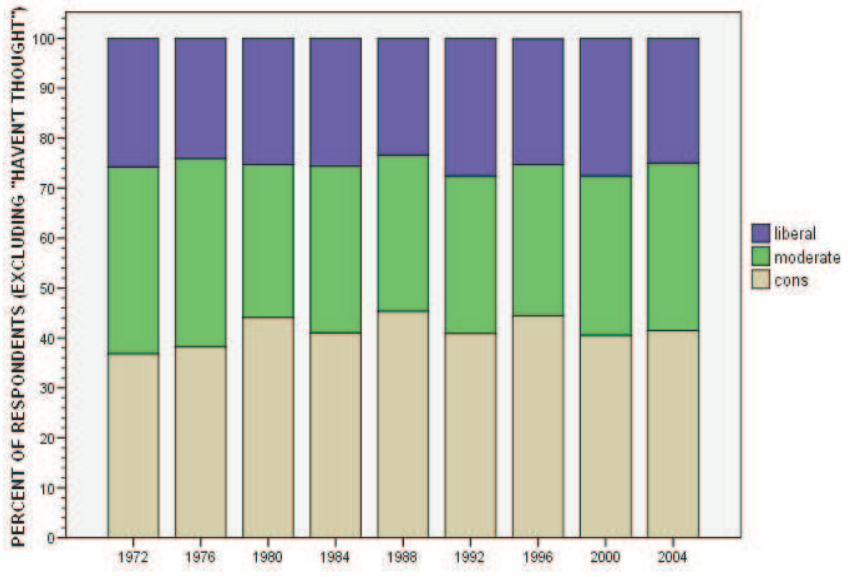
- Party affiliation and identification (PID):
  - *Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?* [If partisan] *Would you call yourself a strong Republican/Democrat or a not very strong Republican/Democrat?* [If Independent] *Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?*
  - About 95% of the mass public identify themselves as Democratic, Republican, or Independent.
- Ideology:
  - *We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Where would you place yourself in these terms, or haven't you thought much about this?*
  - About 25% of the mass public "haven't thought much about this."

Party Identification: 1952-2004





Ideology: 1972 - 2004



Party ID and Ideology

- Note the anomaly:
  - More Democrats than Republicans, but
  - More conservatives than liberals.

	Democrats	Republicans	Total
Liberals	33%	11%	44%
Conservatives	21%	35%	56%
Total	54%	46%	100%

ANES 1972-2004
Moderates equally apportioned between Liberals and Conservatives
Pure Independents excluded
Leaners included with Partisans

Ideology at the Mass Level

- Abortion and Health Insurance opinions are largely unrelated.

	Govt. Health Plan ["Liberal"]	Private Health Plan ["Conservative"]	Total
Pro-Choice ["Liberal']	30%	23%	54%
Pro-Life ["Conservative"]	24%	23%	46%
Total	54%	46%	100%

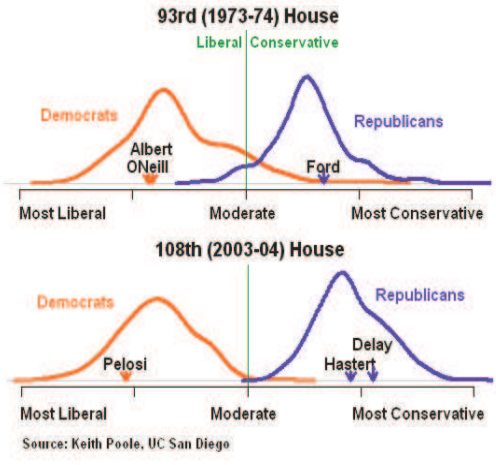
ANES 1972-2004
Mixed plan equally apportioned between Govt. and Private

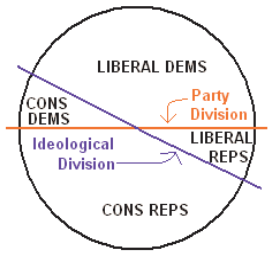
Ideology at the Mass Level

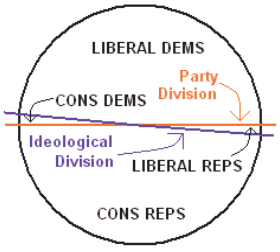
Economic/New Deal Issues
vs.
Social/Cultural/"Family Values" Issues

ECONOMIC ISSUES	SOCIAL/CULTURAL ISSUES: Conservatives	SOCIAL/CULTURAL ISSUES: Liberals	
Conservatives	Pure Conservatives 25%	"Libertarians" 20%	45%
Liberals	"Populists" 30%	Pure Liberals 25%	55%
	55%	45%	

At the Elite Level, Party ID and Ideology Are Now Almost Perfectly Correlated

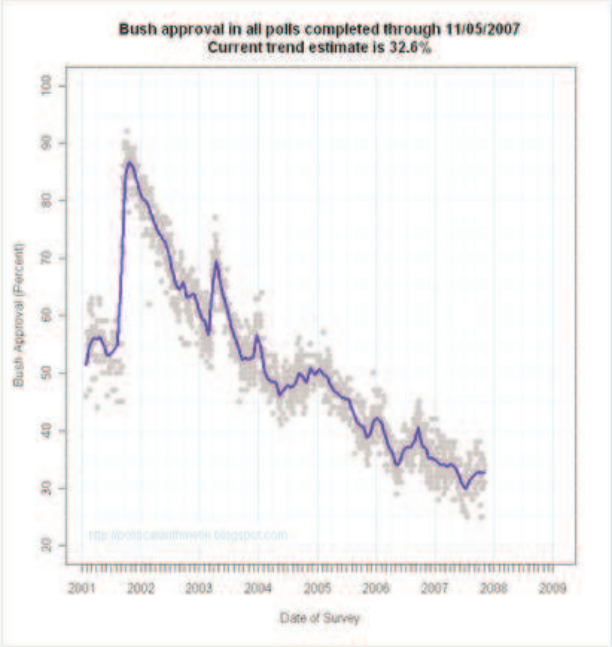




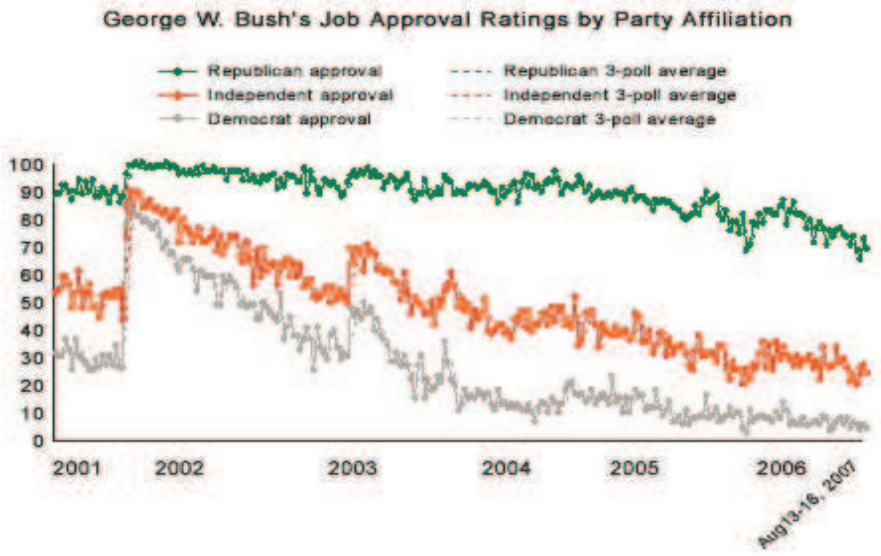


Presidential Approval

- "Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President?"



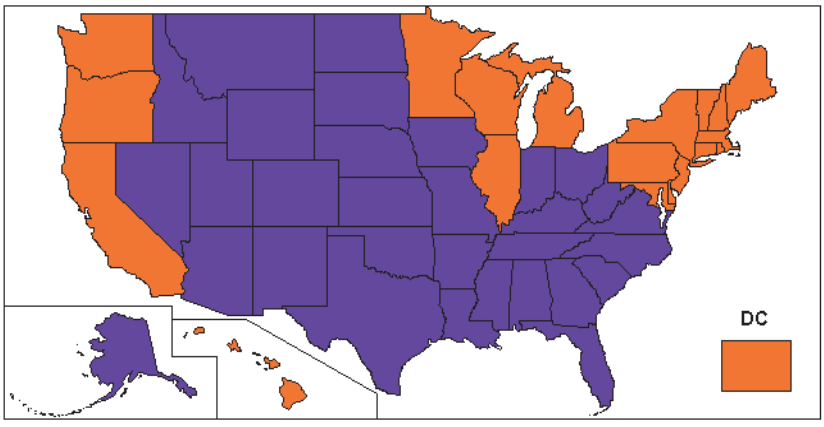
Party Identification "Colors" Presidential Approval (and other opinions)



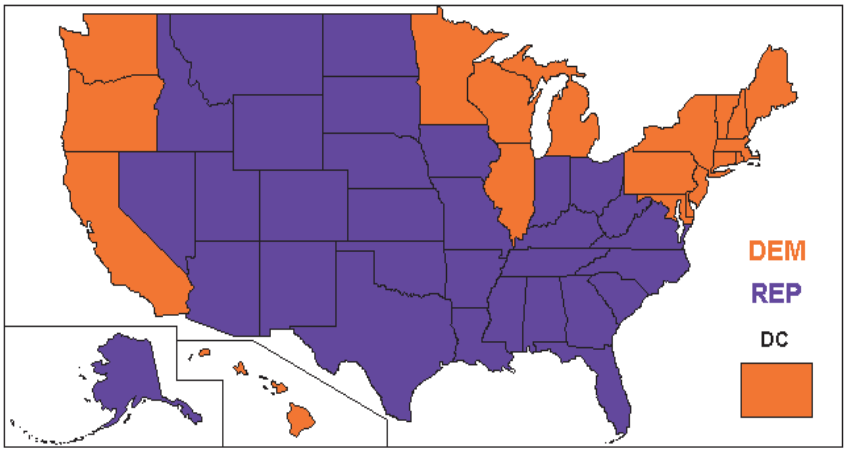
Democratic Vote By Party ID

Pres. Election	Strong Dems	Weak Dems	Dem Leaners	Ind	Rep Leaners	Weak Reps	Strong Reps	All Voters
1952	83.59	62.04	61.02	19.67	6.67	6.47	1.50	41.9
1956	85.26	63.20	67.50	16.52	6.48	7.25	.48	40.4
1960	88.83	69.38	89.58	47.30	11.48	17.56	.65	49.7
1964	95.30	82.06	90.00	77.05	25.00	43.21	9.72	67.5
1968	91.71	68.14	63.64	30.43	4.60	10.60	2.56	46.2
1972	73.41	48.48	60.63	30.00	13.04	8.91	3.32	35.7
1976	91.11	75.00	76.19	42.65	14.69	20.98	3.01	50.7
1980	88.89	64.52	60.49	26.03	13.27	5.07	4.63	43.7
1984	88.68	67.97	78.91	27.52	6.52	5.69	3.24	41.8
1988	93.70	71.88	87.97	35.44	15.07	16.57	1.79	47.1
1992	97.22	82.53	91.57	64.13	14.86	18.48	3.55	58.4
1996	97.97	90.37	92.59	48.89	23.08	21.79	4.81	58.0
2000	97.55	89.47	78.47	50.00	14.48	14.08	2.07	52.7
2004	96.73	82.88	87.10	53.33	10.98	10.74	1.79	49.2

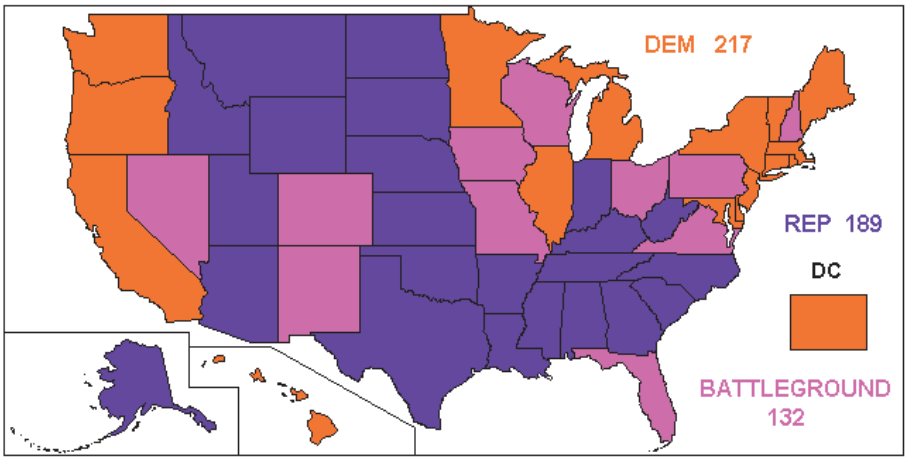
Do You Recall This Map?



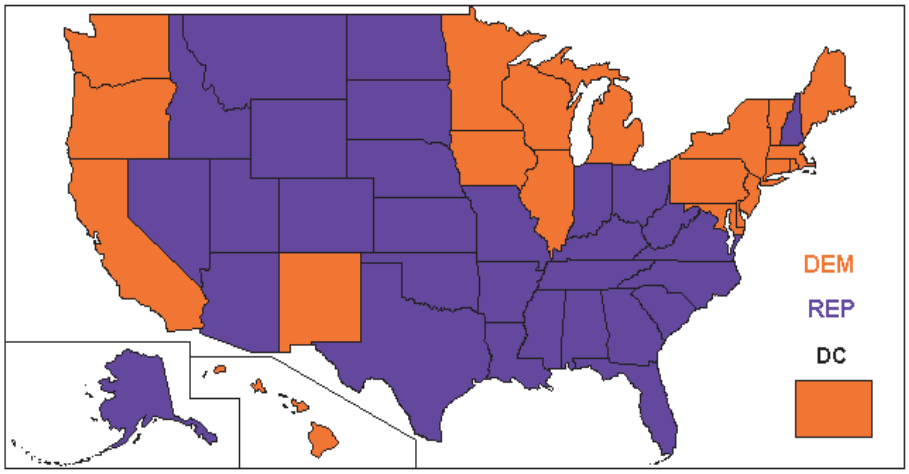
2004 Electoral Map (Red ⇔Blue)



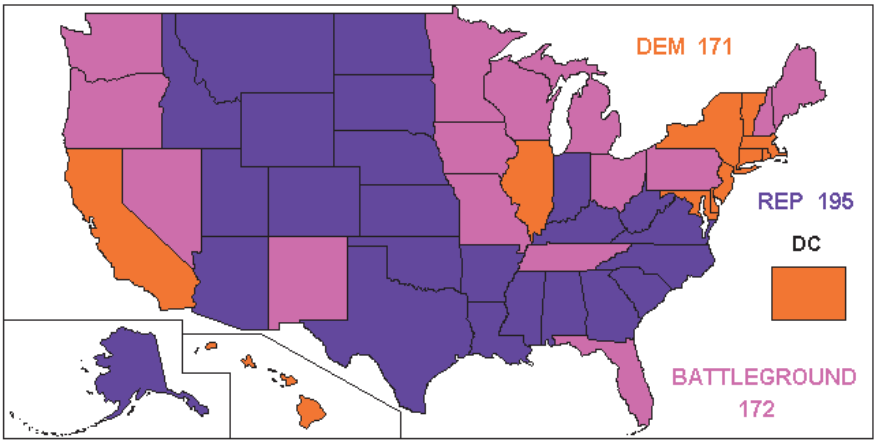
The 2004 Battleground (± 3%)



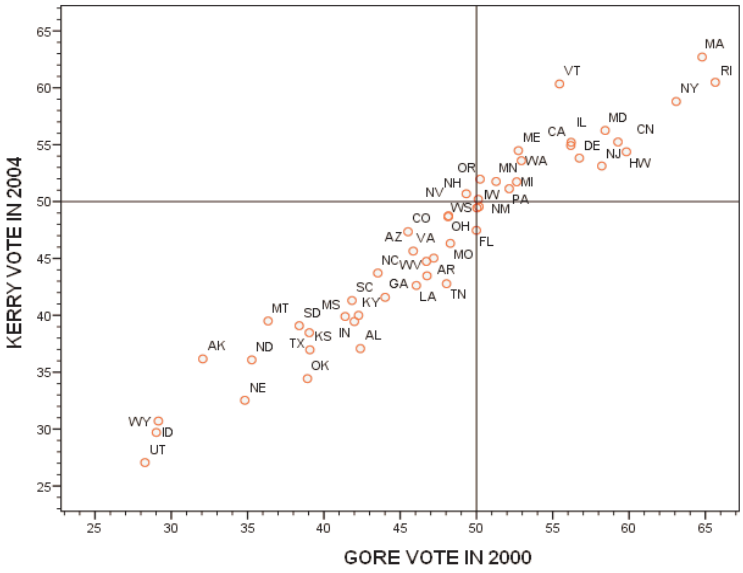
2000 Electoral Map



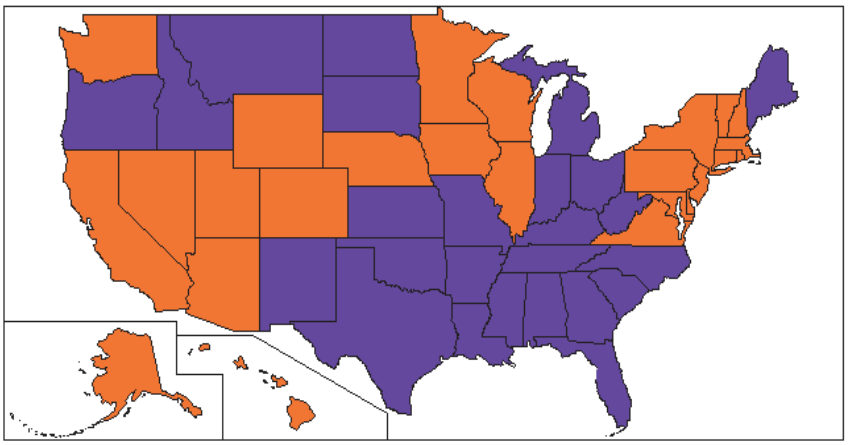
2000 Battlegrounds



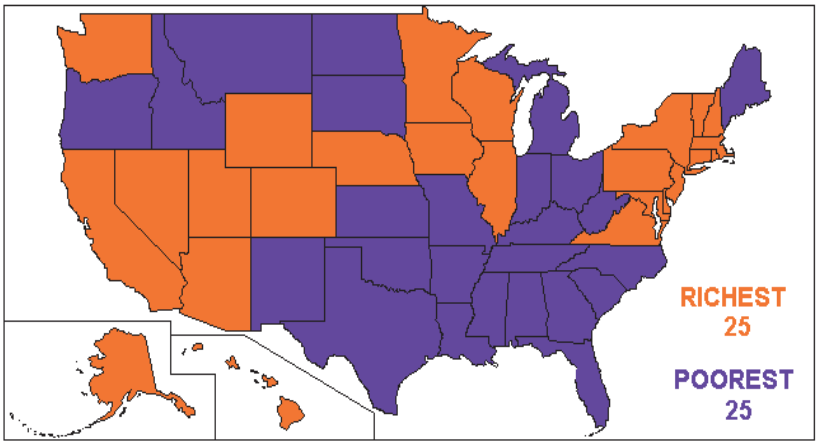
2004 By 2000



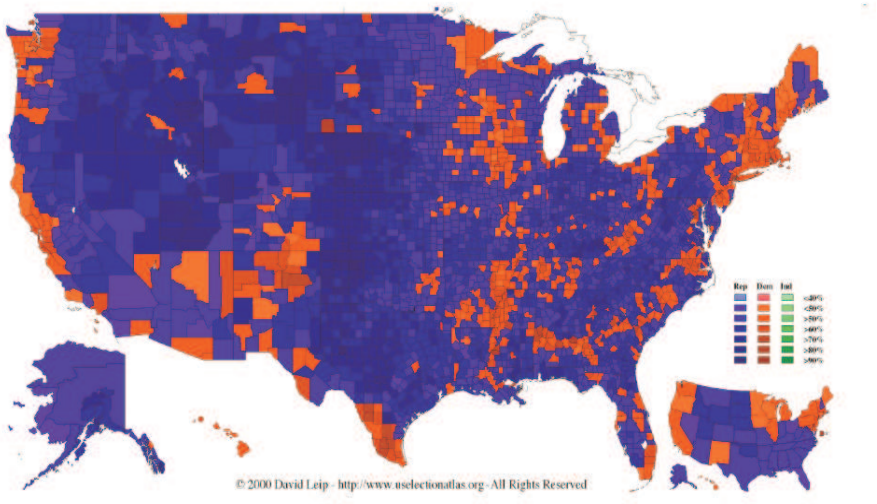
This Map Is From Which Election?

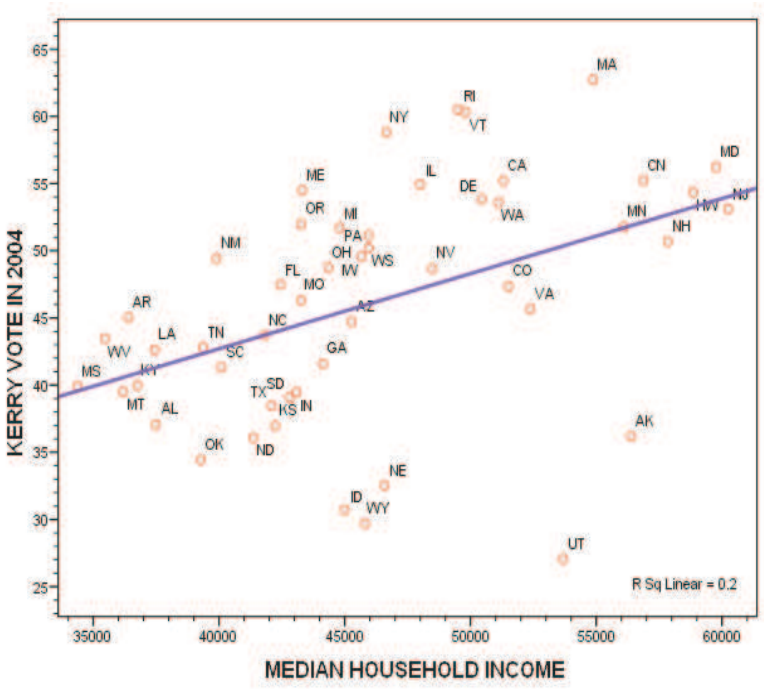


Median Household Income – Why is this Critical?



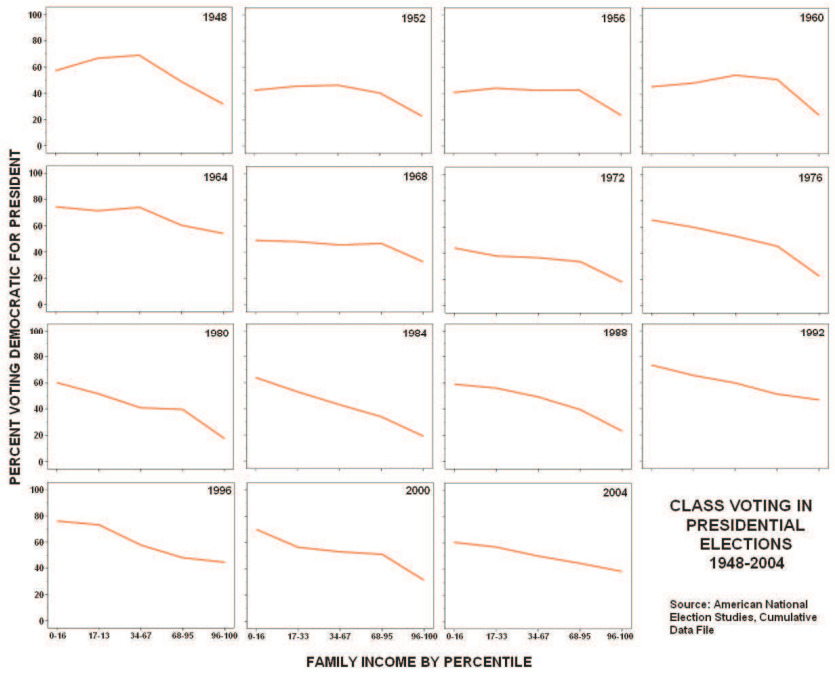
2000 Presidential Vote By County

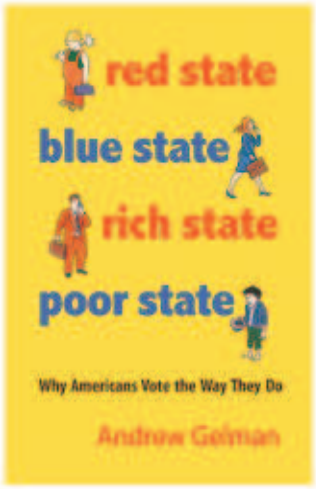




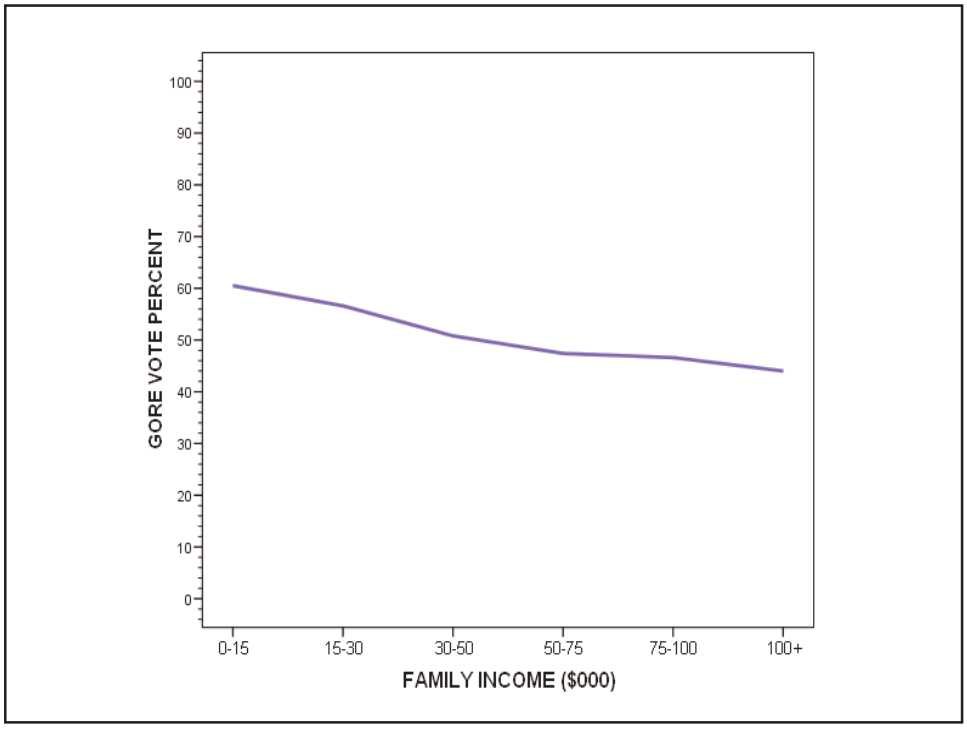
What Is Going On With US Voters?

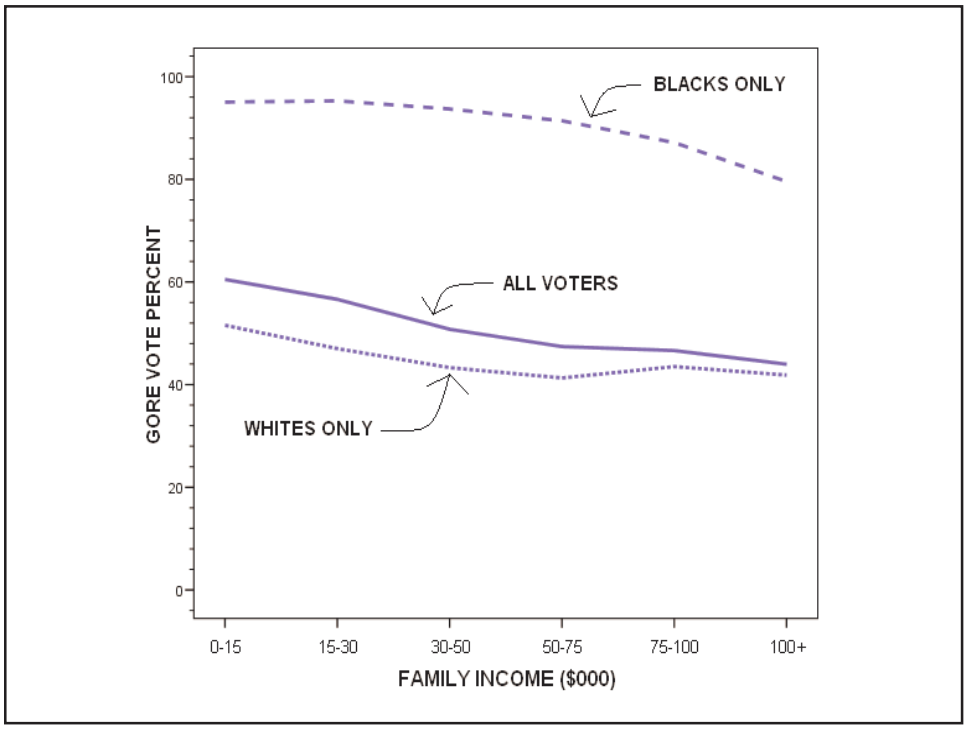
- "Wal-Mart [or Sam's Club] Republicans"?
- "Trust Fund Democrats"?
- *What's The Matter With Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America?* (Thomas Frank)
- Are we that far beyond the *New Deal electoral alignment*?
- Actually – No…with some caveats.

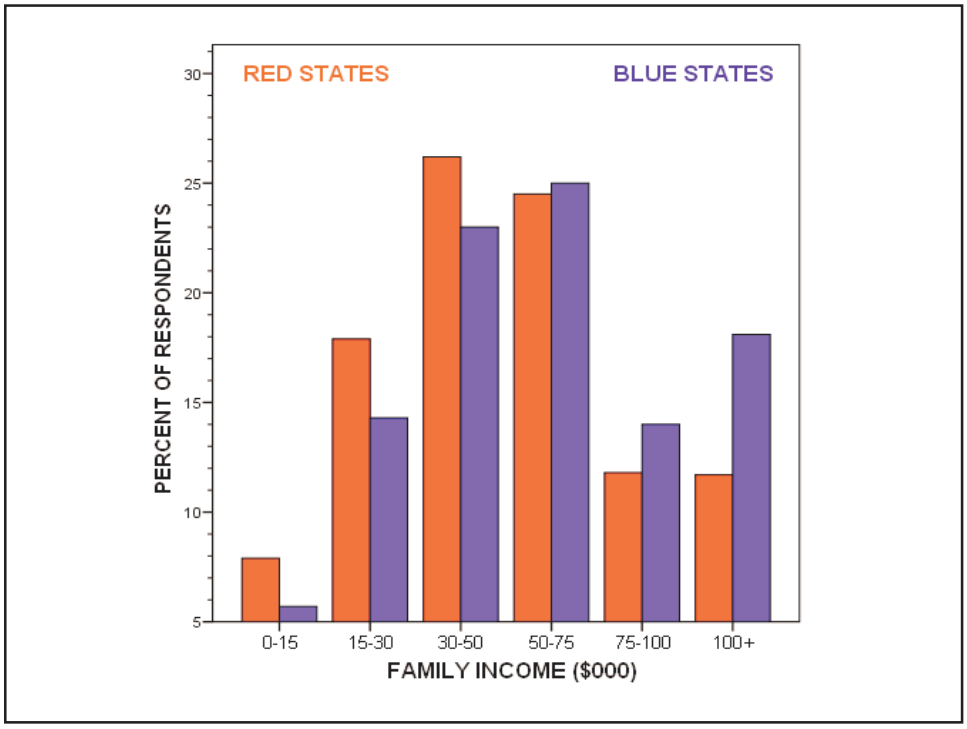


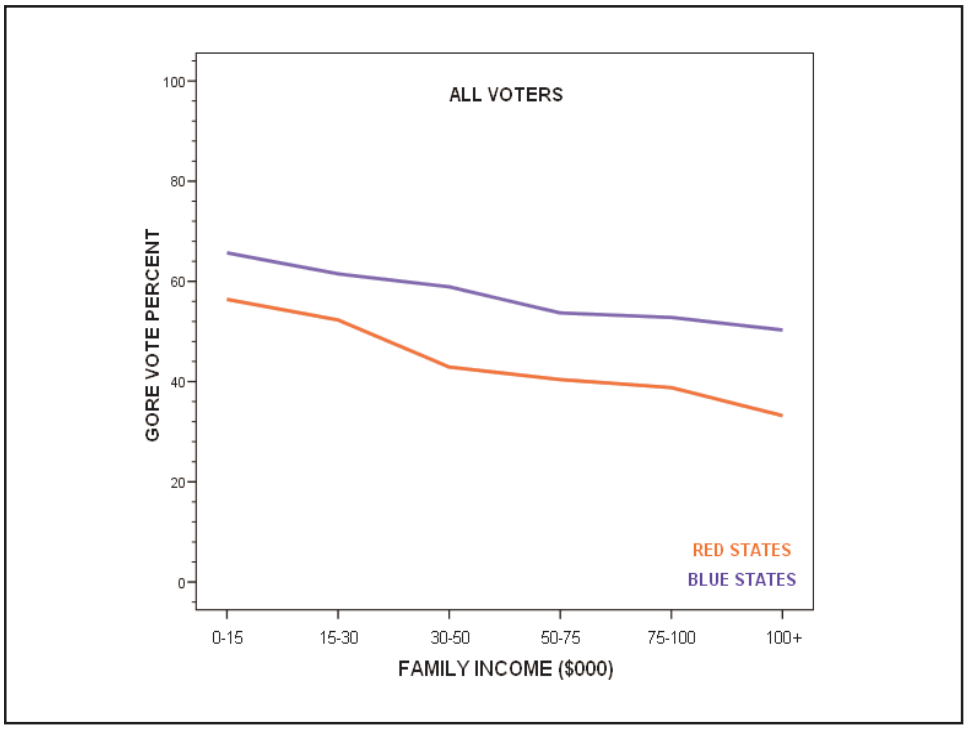


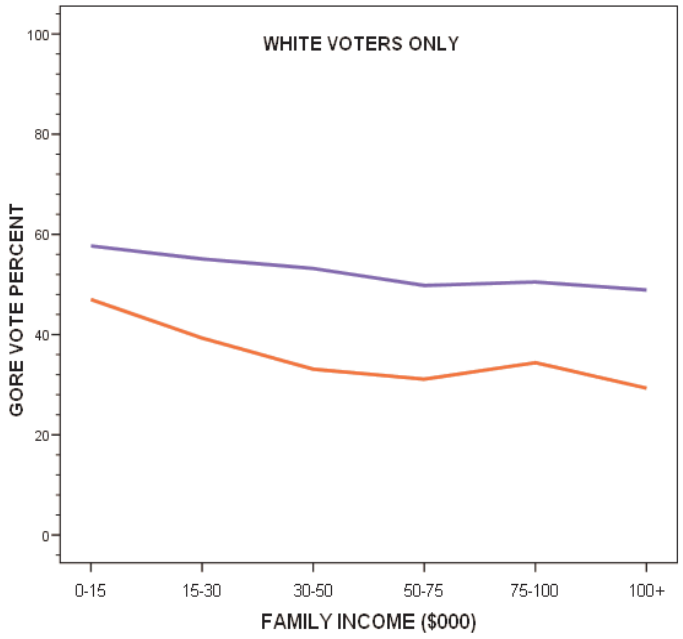
- Uses 2000 and 2004 National and State Exit Polls
  - Plus ANES
- Andrew Gelman et al., "Rich State, Poor State, Red State, Blue State: What's the Matter with Connecticut," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* (March 2007)
- The following charts are all from the 2000 National and State Exit Polls.


GORE VOTE PERCENT
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
0-15
15-30
30-50
50-75
75-100
100+
FAMILY INCOME ($000)

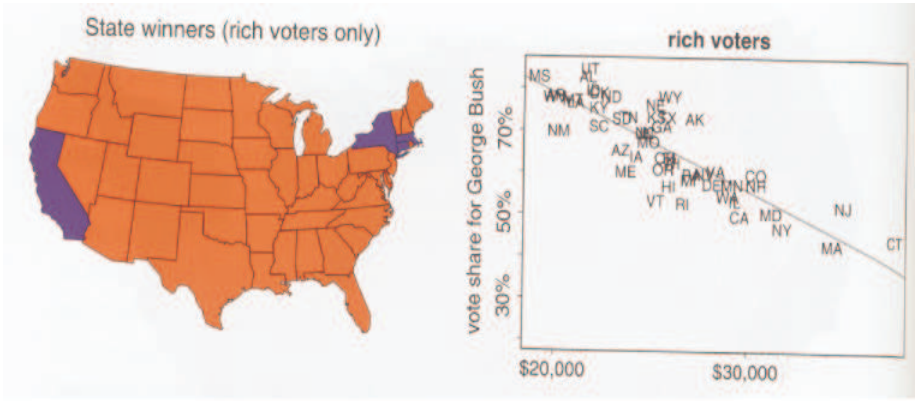

BLACKS ONLY
ALL VOTERS
WHITES ONLY
GORE VOTE PERCENT
100
80
60
40
20
0
0-15
15-30
30-50
50-75
75-100
100+
FAMILY INCOME ($000)


RED STATES
BLUE STATES
PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS
30
25
20
15
10
5
0-15
15-30
30-50
50-75
75-100
100+
FAMILY INCOME ($000)

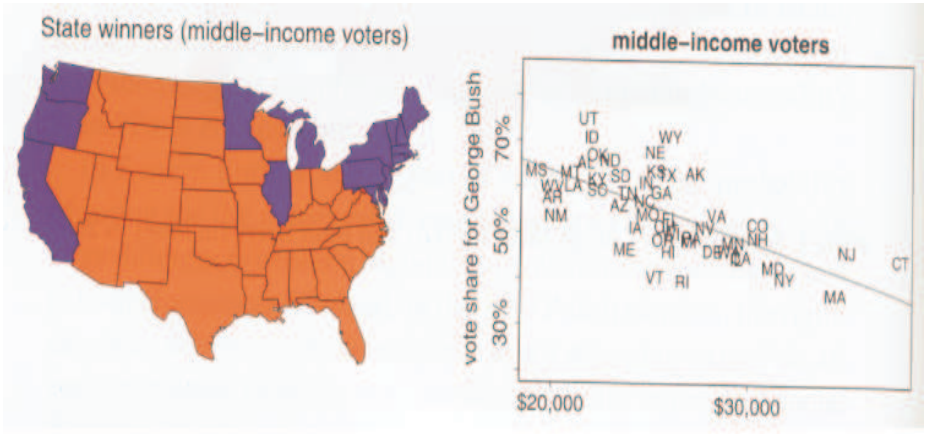

ALL VOTERS
GORE VOTE PERCENT
100
80
60
40
20
0
RED STATES
BLUE STATES
0-15
15-30
30-50
50-75
75-100
100+
FAMILY INCOME ($000)



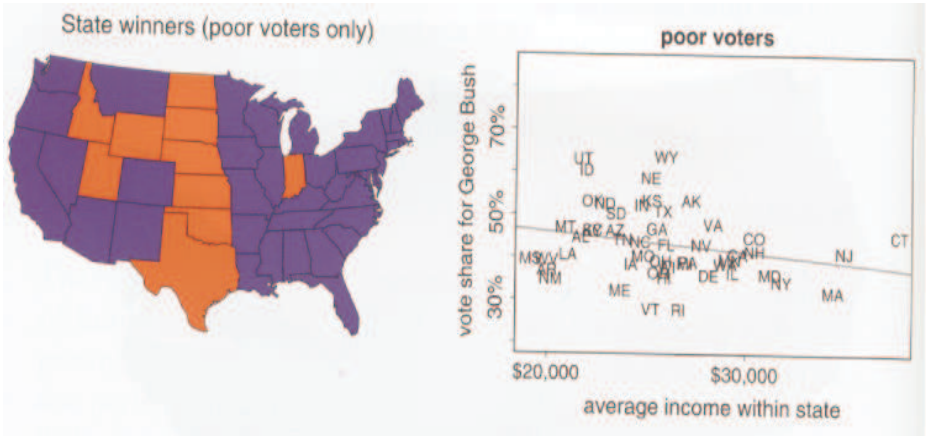
2004: If Only Rich Voted

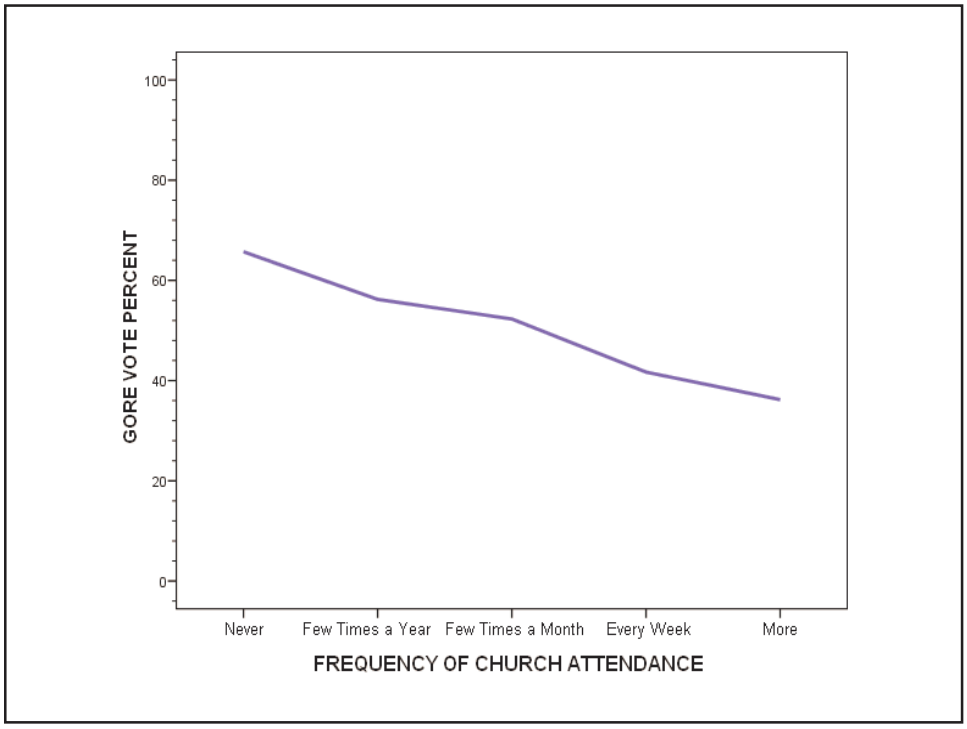


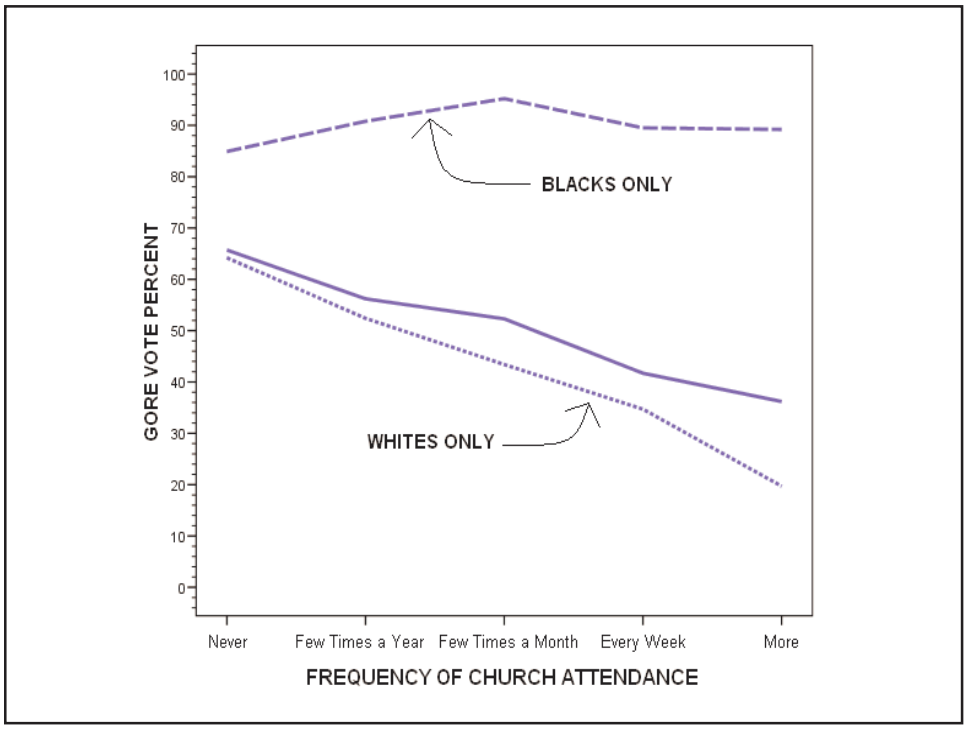
2004: If Only Middle $ Voted

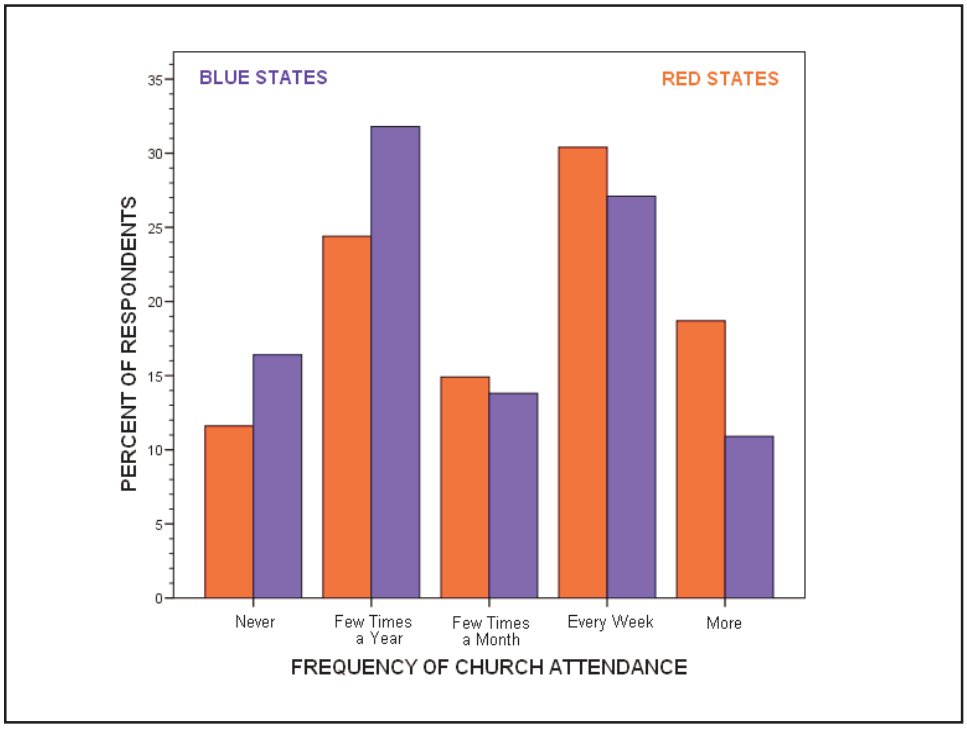


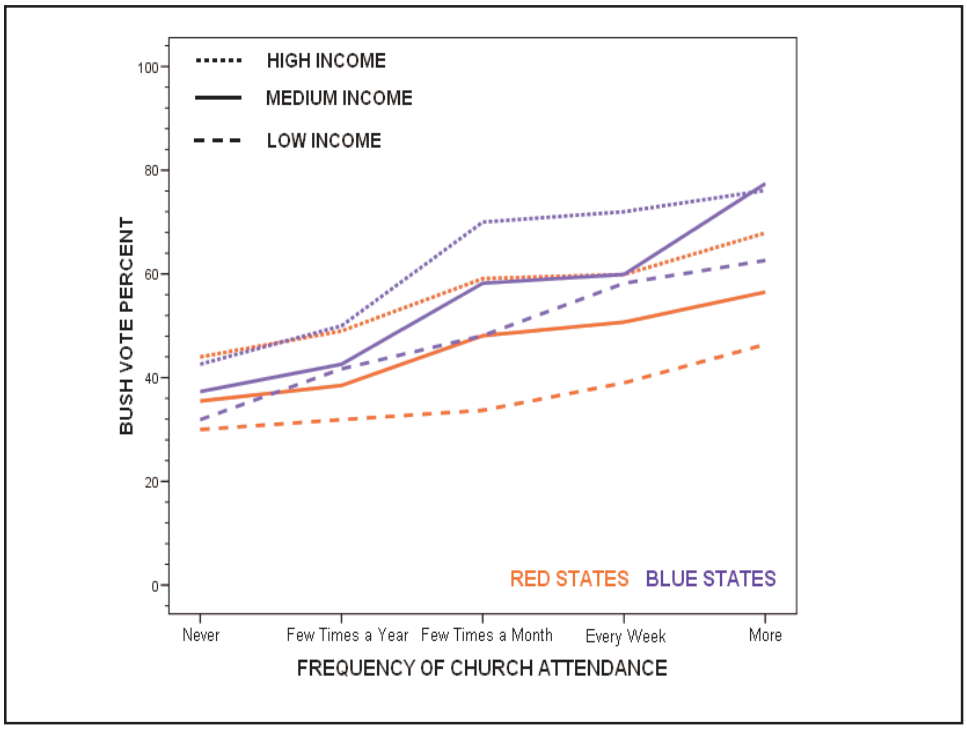
2004: If Only Poor Voted

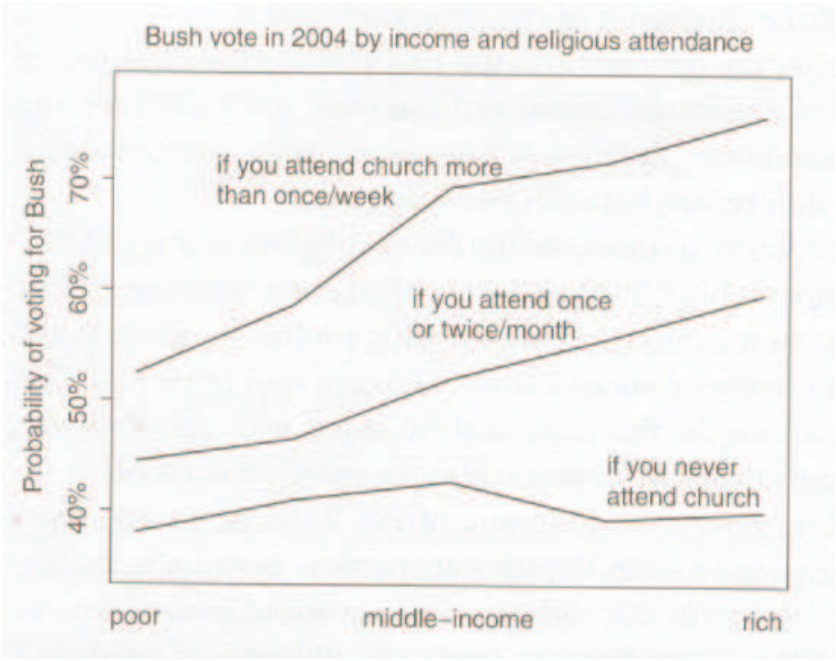


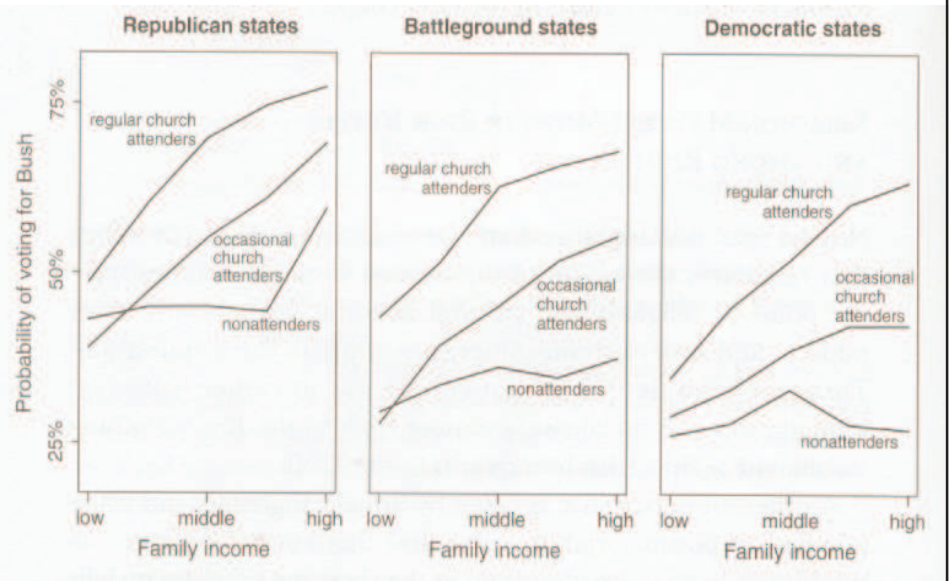

GORE VOTE PERCENT
100
80
60
40
20
0
Never
Few Times a Year
Few Times a Month
Every Week
More
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE


GORE VOTE PERCENT
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
BLACKS ONLY
WHITES ONLY
Never
Few Times a Year
Few Times a Month
Every Week
More
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

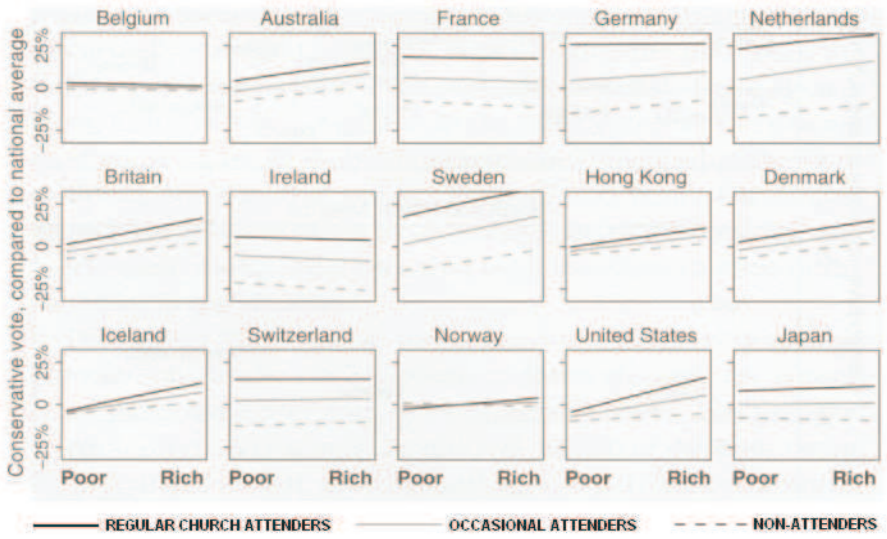

BLUE STATES
RED STATES
PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Never
Few Times a Year
Few Times a Month
Every Week
More
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE


HIGH INCOME
MEDIUM INCOME
LOW INCOME
BUSH VOTE PERCENT
100
80
60
40
20
0
RED STATES
BLUE STATES
Never
Few Times a Year
Few Times a Month
Every Week
More
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

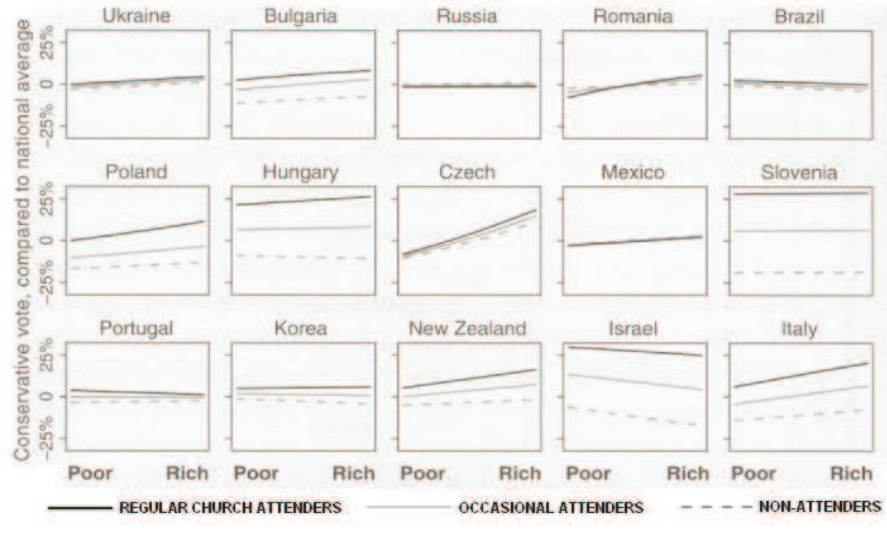

Bush vote in 2004 by income and religious attendance
Probability of voting for Bush
40%
50%
60%
70%
if you attend church more than once/week
if you attend once or twice/month
if you never attend church
poor
middle-income
rich

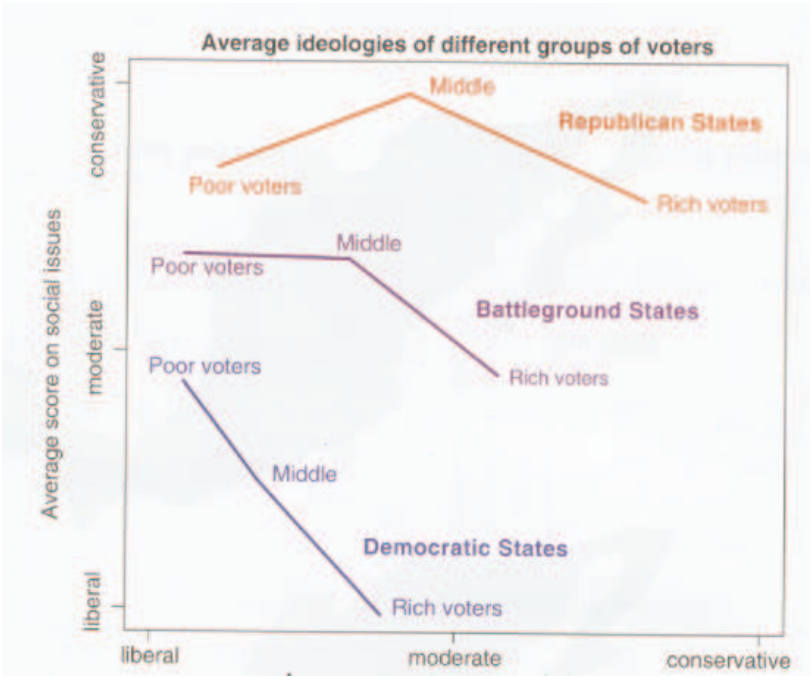

Republican states
Battleground states
Democratic states
Probability of voting for Bush
25%
50%
75%
regular church attenders
occasional church attenders
nonattenders
low
middle
high
Family income

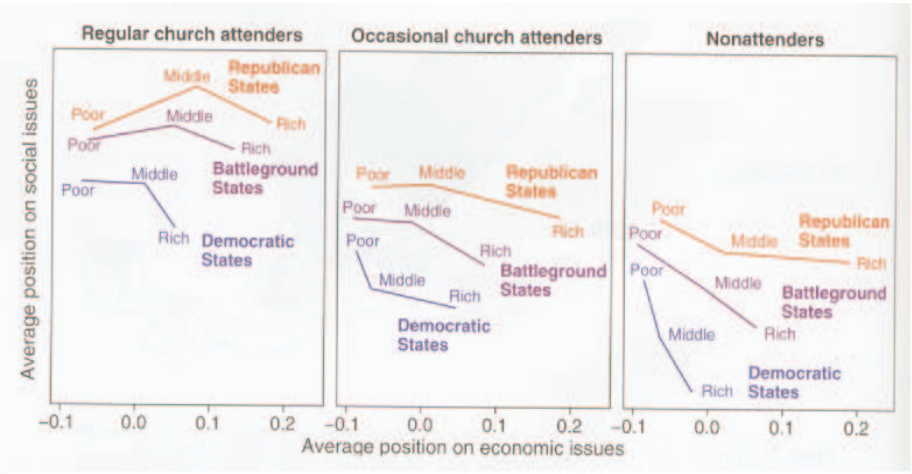
Religion and Class Voting Around the World



Religion and Class Voting Around the World (cont'd.)




Average ideologies of different groups of voters
Average score on social issues
conservative
moderate
liberal
Middle
Republican States
Poor voters
Rich voters
Middle
Poor voters
Battleground States
Rich voters
Poor voters
Middle
Democratic States
Rich voters
liberal
moderate
conservative


Regular church attenders
Occasional church attenders
Nonattenders
Average position on social issues
Middle
Republican States
Poor
Rich
Poor
Middle
Rich
Middle
Poor
Battleground States
Rich
Democratic States
Poor
Middle
Republican States
Rich
Poor
Middle
Rich
Poor
Battleground States
Middle
Rich
Democratic States
Poor
Republican States
Middle
Rich
Poor
Middle
Battleground States
Rich
Democratic States
−0.1
0.0
0.1
0.2
Average position on economic issues

1960 vs. 2000: Red Gets Redder and Blue Gets Bluer

Mean Winner's Margin in Victory at State Level

Unweighted		Weighted by State's Electoral Vote	
1960	2000	1960	2000
8.5	14.6	6.5	12.6

	1960		2000	
CA	Nixon	0.5	Gore	11.7
FL	Nixon	3.0	Bush	0.0
IL	Kennedy	0.2	Gore	12.0
MI	Kennedy	3.1	Gore	5.2
NJ	Kennedy	0.8	Gore	15.8
NY	Kennedy	5.2	Gore	25.0
OH	Nixon	6.6	Bush	3.6
PA	Kennedy	2.4	Gore	4.2
TX	Kennedy	2.0	Bush	21.7
Mean		2.6		11.0

1960 vs. 2000 (cont'd.)

Many of the most lopsided states in 1960 were even more lopsided in 2000.

KS	Nixon	21.4	Bush	20.8
MA	Kennedy	20.6	Gore	27.3
NE	Nixon	24.2	Bush	20.8
RI	Kennedy	27.2	Gore	29.1
UT	Nixon	9.6	Bush	40.5
WY	Nixon	10.0	Bush	40.1
Mean		18.3		30.0

1960 vs. 2000 (cont'd.)

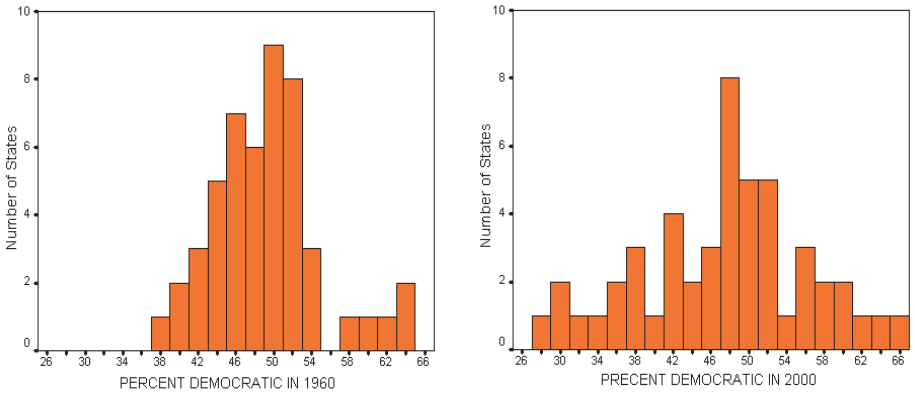
Here is a more comprehensive overview.

Kennedy vote in 1960 vs. Gore vote in 2000

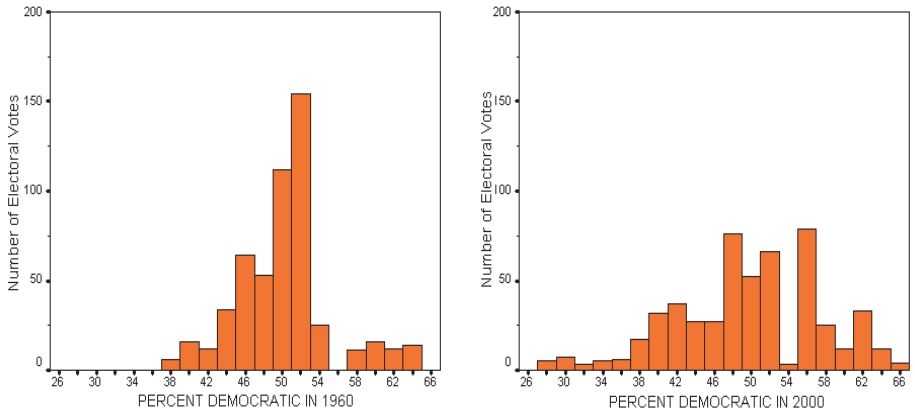
	Unweighted		Weighted by State's Electoral Vote	
	1960	2000	1960	2000
Min	37.9	28.3	37.9	28.3
Max	63.8	65.7	63.8	65.7
Mean	49.2	47.4	50.2	49.8
SD	5.7	9.1	5.0	8.0

All percentages are based on the two-party vote only, and DC [which did not vote in 1960] and MS [where a slate of unpledged electors won in 1960] are excluded from the statistics.

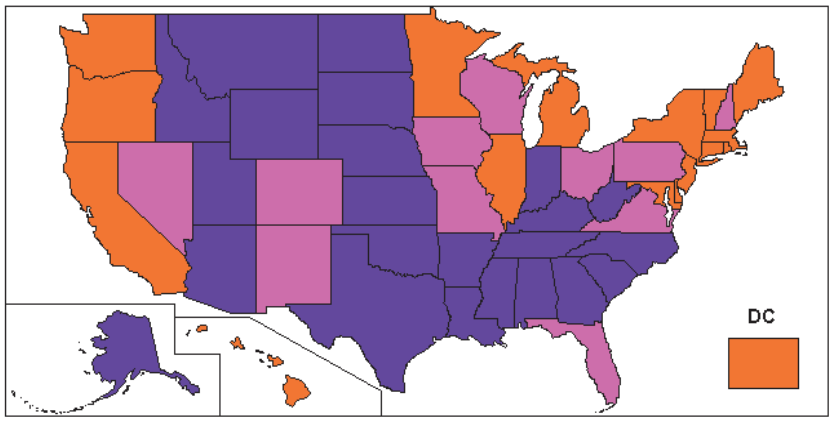
1960 vs. 2000 (cont'd.)



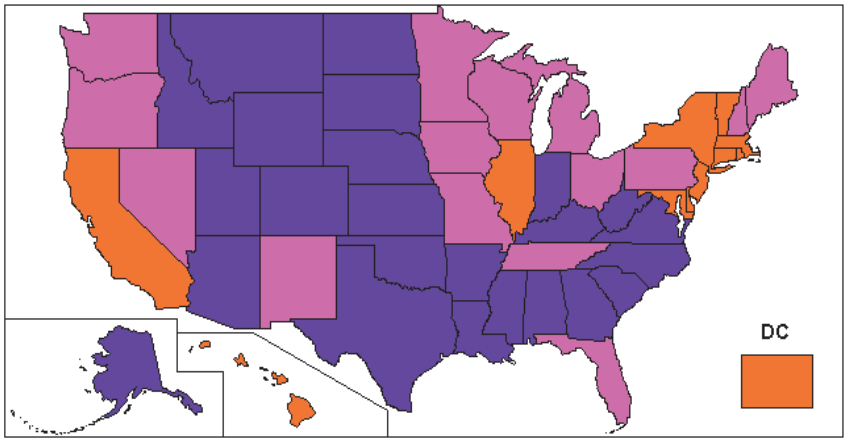
1960 vs. 2000 (cont'd.)



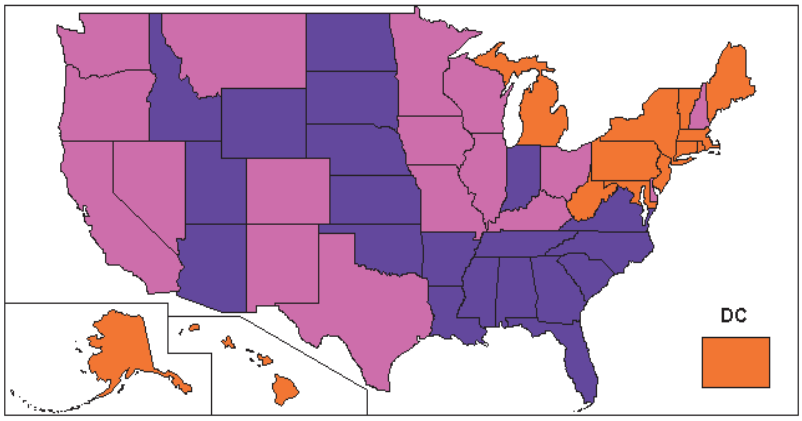
Battleground State = in a 50-50% Election, State Winner Would Get less than 53%



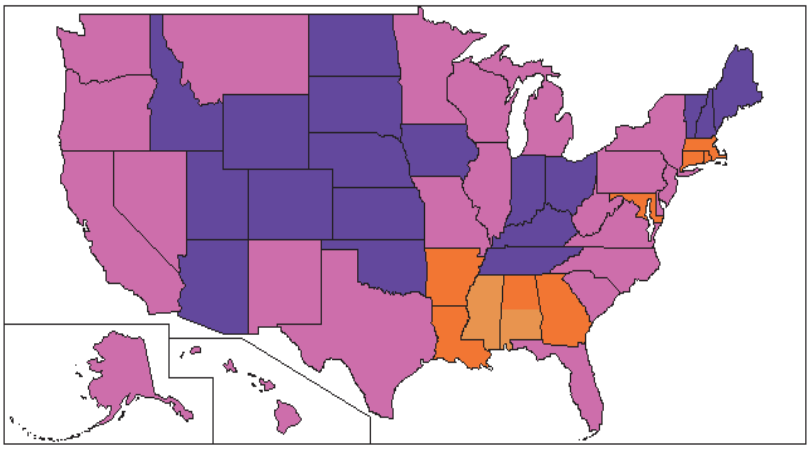
2004 DEM 217 BATTLEGROUND 132 REP 189



2000 DEM 171 BATTLEGROUND 172 REP 195



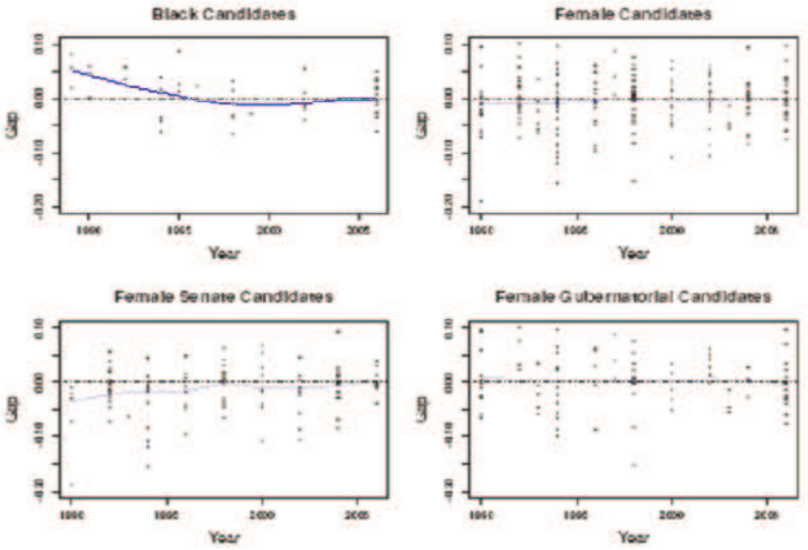
1964 DEM 170 BATTLEGROUND 208 REP 160



1960 DEM 72 BATTLEGROUND 319 REP 132 UNPLEDGED 14

The Shrinking Battlegrounds

The Bradley/Wilder and Whitman Effects?



The Front-Runner Effect in 2008?