The Social Bases of Political Parties: Democrats and Republicans, 1952-2012 and 2032

Kenneth Janda

Copyright

The Social Bases of Political Parties: Democrats and Republicans, 1952-2012 and 2032
by Kenneth Janda

eBook edition 1.0, February, 2013

ISBN 978-0-9888881-0-4

731 Emerald Ridge; Roseville, MN 55113

Wadsworth and Cengage Learning kindly granted permission to use artwork on the title page and chapter covers from page 28 of Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey Berry, and Jerry Goldman, *The Challenge of Democracy, 1st Ed*, originally published by Houghton Mifflin, 1987.

Book Outline

Chapter 1: Party Identification and Social Support

Chapter 2: Economic Status: Occupation

Chapter 3: Education

Chapter 4: Region

Chapter 5: Urbanization

Chapter 6: Religion

Chapter 7: Ethnicity

Chapter 8: Political Ideology

Chapter 9: Reviewing Party Support, 1952-2012

Dedication

I dedicate this eBook to Jerry Goldman, my friend and my colleague at Northwestern University for more than four decades. In the early 1980s, Jerry invited me to join him in co-authoring an American government textbook he was writing with Jeffrey Berry of Tufts University. Twelve editions of The Challenge of Democracy *later, I am exceedingly glad that I accepted.*

Jerry also was my partner in creating IDEAlog, a computer program for analyzing political values. Our 1992 PC version of IDEAlog won the Computer Software Award, Instructional Category, of the Computers and Multimedia Section of the American Political Science Association. Our Internet application (http://IDEAlog.org) won the 2005 Computer Software Award of the APSA.

On his own, Jerry developed other computer applications to political science. Decades ago, he gave the world easy access to oral arguments before the Supreme Court through his web site Oyez.org (see http://oyez.org). In recognition of that effort, the American Bar Association awarded him its 1998 Silver Gavel for increasing the public's understanding of the law. Jerry's computer applications have also been honored by an EDUCOM medal, by the Roman & Littlefield Prize for Teaching Innovation, and by the first APSA/CQ Award for Teaching Innovation in political science. Jerry is a genuine pioneer in applying information technology to the study of politics.

Acknowledgments

This study relies mainly on the American National Election Studies' Time Series Cumulative Data File, 1948-2008. The ANES grew out of the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, which conducted its first national election survey in 1948. In 1952, its election surveys adopted the standard format used since in presidential surveys every four years and in some mid-term congressional elections. (See http://www.electionstudies.org.)

The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press provided survey data for the 2012 election year. Pew's Senior Researcher, Dr. Leah Melani Christian, helped access those data. Lois Timms-Ferrara at the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research helped locate poll questions about respondent ideology prior to 1970. Thu-Mai Christian at the Odum Institute for Research in Social Science assisted my search for survey questions about respondent occupation after 2010.

I also am indebted to an anonymous reviewer of my first six chapters who recommended publication. The publisher did offer a contract but insisted on drastically reducing the number of figures. The reviewer's comments prompted me to publish my work as an eBook, which allowed me to retain all my graphs of survey data.

My interest in the bases of party support started in 1959-60, when I was a Social Science Research Council Pre-Doctoral Fellow at Michigan's Survey Research Center. Although I studied state politics at Indiana University, at Michigan I was fortunate to work with Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes, the authors of *The American* Voter (1960), which became the seminal book on the topic.

Subsequently, my own research veered away from state politics and toward the cross-national study of party organizations. As I began this eBook on the social bases of party support, I reflected on my Michigan experience, particularly on what I learned from Miller, Stokes, and Converse as a graduate student and later as a colleague connected with their continuing study of national elections.

In 1962, Warren Miller spearheaded creation of the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research (ICPR) at the University of Michigan. The ICPR's mission was to distribute the data collected by the Survey Research Center on the 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960 national election studies. Scholars in the United States and abroad eagerly sought to analyze these data, which were stored on thousands of punchcards. From 1965 to 1967, I served on Governing Council of the ICPR, whose data holdings soon expanded beyond political surveys to social surveys. Accordingly, the organization was renamed the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, and is now simply known as the ICPSR.

Over the years, the ICPSR improved its infrastructure for distributing data holdings to scholars. It progressed from shipping boxes of punch cards to Official Representatives at ICPSR Member Institutions to shipping boxes of computer tapes, to mailing computer discs, and eventually to posting data for downloading from the Internet. I obtained the Time Series Cumulative Data File, 1948-2008, for this book by downloading the data from the Internet.

Within a few weeks, I analyzed many thousands of interviews from national surveys taken in presidential election years from 1952 to 2008. Having logged in many hours standing next to a machine called a "counting-sorter" that mechanically sensed a thousand punchcards from one survey just to produce counts for one table, I know progress when I see it.

Ann Janda, Northwestern University's Official Representative to the ICPSR for a quarter of a century and my wife for over half a century, copy edited much of the manuscript. I thank Ann and acknowledge my professional debt to the ANES, the ICPSR, and to Warren, Don, and Phil.

Preface

This eBook is for college-age readers studying American party politics. It has four main objectives: (1) to describe how the United States society has changed over the last sixty years in terms of occupation, education, regional growth, urbanization, religion, ethnicity, and ideology; (2) to summarize how the patterns of social support for the Democratic and Republican parties have shifted with these changes; (3) to indicate how the two major U.S. parties have articulated the political interests of their social bases in congressional voting in the House of Representatives over time; and (4) to invite readers to speculate about the future of our two-party system in 2032 by recording their thoughts on an Internet survey.

The analysis is based mainly on sixteen national surveys that asked people about their political party identification, which means their party preferences, not how they voted. Fifteen surveys were conducted by the American National Election Studies during presidential years from 1952 to 2008. The sixteenth survey was by the Pew Research Center in January, 2012. Data on voting in the House of Representatives came from various Washington interest groups that monitor congressional voting.

Although a great deal of data underlies the analysis, the book contains only two data tables, both in Chapter 1. All subsequent data are reported in colored charts that graph the major patterns and trends. There is no formal statistical analysis, but two formulas are defined in Chapter 1 to measure the extent of *attraction* of party support across social groups and the extent of *concentration* of group support within a party.

The book also aims to inform students about political history and to acquaint them with epistemology—the study of how we know what we think we know. The introductions to Chapters 2 through 8 delve briefly into the background of the contemporary bases of party support (e.g., religion in the American colonies). The sections on change in American society over sixty years from 1952 to 2012 explain how pollsters have asked about—and learned about—religion, ethnicity, and other topics.

The basic analysis was completed prior to the 2012 presidential election between Democrat Barack Obama and Republican Mitt Romney, which resulted in President Obama's re-election. Originally, I did not intend to include data on presidential voting in 2012. However, media coverage repeatedly referred to the parties' social bases, this book's topic. The day after the election, for example, the front page of the *New York Times* observed, "President Obama held onto the demographic groups that traditionally make up his party's base."

Accordingly, I took the opportunity of tying the analysis of party identification to presidential voting in 2012, drawing on data from "exit polls"—over 26,000 interviews conducted by major news media with voters leaving polling places. Chapters 1 to 8 begin with boxes reporting exit poll data on the 2012 election before discussing the findings from sixty years of surveys about party identification in presidential elections. Employing the eBook's capabilities, Chapter 9 reviews the findings through interactive Recaps of figures in earlier chapters.

Chapter 10 discusses implications for our two-party system and for American party politics. It asks what is a party's purpose, to promote a principle or to win elections? Chapter 11 concludes by asking, "What Have You Learned, and What Do You Think"? Again using the eBook's capabilities, Chapter 11 poses a quiz of 25 items to test "what you have learned."

Chapter 11 also links to an Internet survey that asks "what you think" our party system will be like in 2032, twenty years after the 2012 election. *(Instructors: Contact me to create special versions of the survey for your classes!)*

Kenneth Janda

Payson S. Wild Professor Emeritus of Political Science
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois
February, 2013

about the author, next page

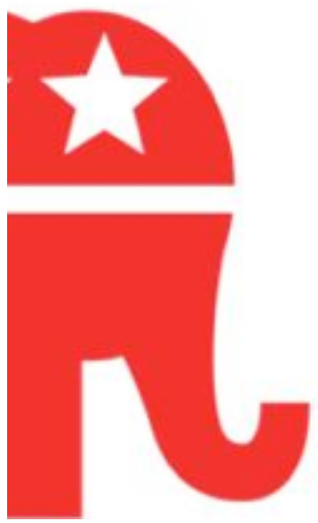
Kenneth Janda earned his PhD from Indiana University in 1961, the same year he joined the political science faculty at Northwestern University. He retired from teaching in 2002 as Payson S. Wild Professor Emeritus. He is co-founder and current editor of the international journal *Party Politics;* co-author of *The Challenge of Democracy: American Government in Global Politics, 12th Ed. (2013);* and co-author of *Party Systems and Country Governance* (2011). He received the American Political Science Association's Frank J. Goodnow Award for service to the discipline and profession in 2009, and the Samuel J. Eldersveld Lifetime Achievement Award from the APSA's Political Parties and Organizations Section in 2000. In 1991-92, he served as President of the APSA's Computer Users Section.

Janda began working with computers at graduate school in 1957. His first book, *Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review, Volumes 1-57: 1906-1963* (1964), was a computer-generated index to keywords in article titles. *Data Processing: Applications to Political Research* (1965) and *Information Retrieval: Applications in Political Research* (1968), applied mainframe computers to political research.

In 1987, he received the EDUCOM/NCRIPTAL Award for Distinguished Software in the Social Sciences, for CROSSTABS—a microcomputer program for American Government, co-authored with Philip Schrodt. In 1992, Janda won the APSA Computer Software Award, Instructional Category, for IDEAlog—a program for analyzing political values (with Jerry Goldman). In 2005, Goldman and Janda won the Best Instructional Political Science Website Award from the Information Technology and Politics Section of the APSA, for IDEAlog as an internet application, http://IDEAlog.org. This is Janda's first eBook.

Chapter 1

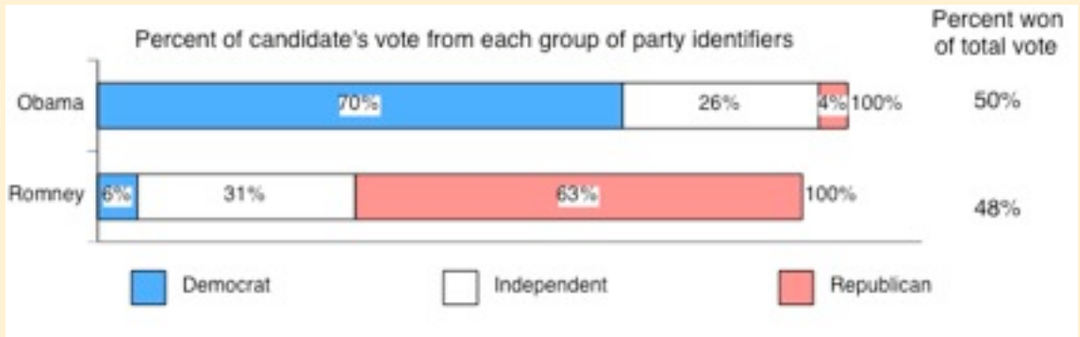
Party Identification and Social Support



Barack Obama, the Democratic candidate for President of the United States, won re-election in November, 2012, taking 51 percent of the popular vote to 47 percent for his Republican challenger, Mitt Romney. (Obama also won 332 electoral votes to Romney's 206.) According to exit polls (which were close to the final result), 92 percent of voters who identified with the Democratic Party chose Barack Obama, while slightly more—93 percent of Republican identifiers—voted for Mitt Romney. Independents also split 50 to 45 percent in favor of Romney. If Romney won a larger share of Republicans and also a larger share of independents, how did Obama manage to win the election?

The simple answer is that the electorate had more Democrats than Republicans (38 to 32 percent). Independents (29 percent) did not vote strongly enough for Romney to overcome the Democrats' numerical advantage. Figure 1.1 graphs the contributions of both candidates' party bases (voters who identified with the Democratic and Republican parties) to their total votes. Both candidates won almost all of their identifiers while splitting fairly evenly among independents.

Figure 1.1:
2012 Presidential Vote by Party Identification
(http://www.foxnews.com/politics/elections/2012-exit-poll)



Obama depended for 70 percent of his vote on Democratic Party identifiers, and Romney drew almost two-thirds of his vote from Republicans. Who are these regular party supporters?

Whom do political parties represent in elections and government? They represent their supporters, of course, but who is a party supporter? Is someone who votes for a candidate in an election a supporter of that candidate's party? Perhaps not. Citizens who vote for a party in one election may not vote for that party in other elections.

Do supporters have to be party members? Certainly not. Citizens can support a party without formally belonging to it. Moreover, party membership has different meanings in different countries. In the United States, political parties do not have formal members as do many parties in other countries. The Republican and Democratic parties are simply not membership-based political organizations such as the British Conservative Party or the French Socialist Party.

Both American parties do, however, have strong supporters—citizens who think of themselves as Republicans or Democrats, who generally endorse their party's policies, and who usually vote for "their" party in elections. Scholars say that these people "identify" with a political party and call them "party identifiers." In contemporary language, people who strongly identify with a party constitute the party's *base*—the segment of the electorate to which the party responds in choosing candidates and formulating policies.

Like electorates in other countries, the American electorate consists of citizens from different occupational, educational, regional, religious, and ethnic groupings. People in the same groupings usually have similar backgrounds and share similar experiences, which means they tend to develop similar political opinions. These groups constitute potential lines of political cleavage.

Depending on whether their identifiers align along or across these lines, political parties can sharpen or dull the political consequences of the social bases of party support. This book studies the extent to which party identifiers in the United States align along lines of social cleavage that have the potential of political cleavage. It links these cleavages to how citizens actually voted in the 2012 presidential election, citing exit polls at the start of Chapter 1 through 9.[1]

Within the United States, the political salience of occupational, educational, regional, religious, and ethnic divisions depends on the nature of the social division. Consider economic status, which is often equated with a person's occupation. Conventional wisdom holds that workers are more likely to support the Democratic Party than businessmen, who favor Republicans. Analysts typically describe the party's base in terms of the specific groups in society that constitute its party identifiers.

Of course, social divisions have changed over time with changes in society. In the early 1950s, more than one-third of the population reported occupations as "homemakers," compared with less than one-tenth today. While occupational groupings are still politically significant, occupation is less salient now for political cleavage in the United States than ethnicity, religion, region, and urbanization. Political commentators today regard "whites" and "evangelical Christians" as forming the base of the Republican Party. "Blacks" and "northern urbanites" form part of the Democratic base.

How "regularly" and "strongly" must a group support a party before it becomes part of the party's base? There is no set cutoff, and strict classification can be misleading. Instead of classifying a group as being "in" or "out" of the base of a given party, we can analyze the patterns of support given by various social groups to all the parties in a party system and then score parties accordingly.

By calculating social support scores, we can express *the extent to which* a given party represents a given social group. That is what this book does. It devises methods to score parties for the extent to which parties *attract* support equally from individual groups and for the extent to which their composition is *concentrated* within a particular group.

Analyzing Social Bases: The Data

The next seven chapters study the social structure of the two major political parties in the United States. Each chapter focuses on a different sociological source of political cleavage: Chapter 2 is on occupation as an indicator of economic status; Chapter 3, education; 4 region; 5 urbanization; 6 religion; and 7 ethnicity. Chapter 8 analyzes the parties' ideological bases—a source of political cleavage that deals less with sociology than social psychology.

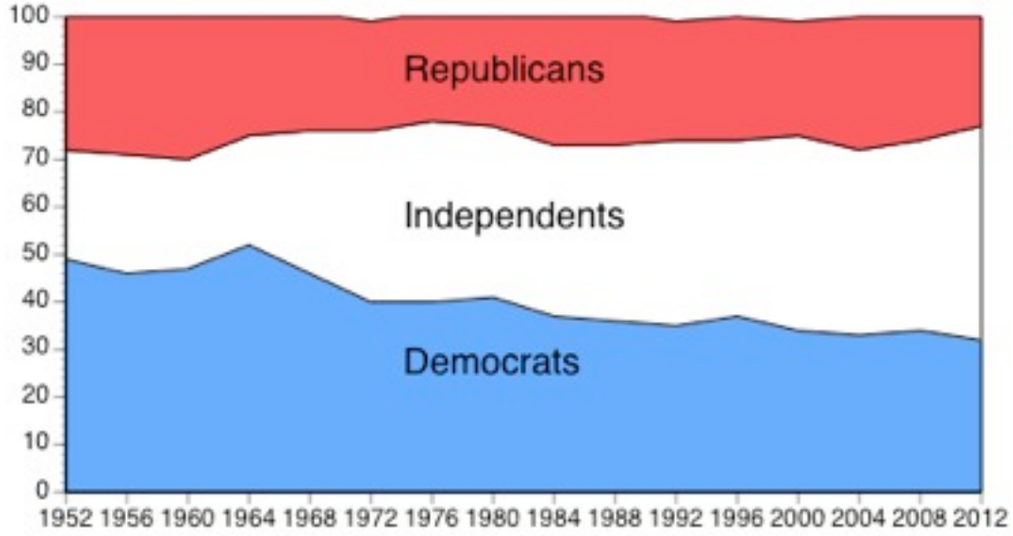
Chapter 9 reviews the findings, and Chapter 10 considers the nature of a two-party system, the purpose of a political party, and the prospects of the Republican Party. Chapter 11 invites readers to express their opinions on the future of our party in the United States in the year 2032—twenty years after the 2012 presidential election.

How polls ask about respondents' party preferences and their income, education, residence, religion, ethnicity, and ideology can affect the results. Survey organizations typically ask different questions about the groups to which people belong. Sometimes polls even fail to ask about belonging to the group—e.g., in recent years, they stopped asking people's occupation. Instead, polls asked about their income.

Fortunately, one survey organization has asked identical questions about party preference in every presidential election since 1952. The American National Election Studies (ANES) has regularly asked voters, "*Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what*?"[2] Other polling organizations have asked similar questions. The massive 2012 ANES survey was not processed in time for this book, which relies instead on data from the January 11-16, 2012, survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press.[3] Pew asked, "*In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?*"[4]

Because both ANES and Pew asked how respondents regard themselves, and not how they actually voted in the election, their questions tapped citizens' attitudes and not their behavior. Accordingly, they measure *party identification*—a person's psychological attachment to a political party. The distribution of responses over time is graphed in Figure 1.2.[5]

Figure 1.2:
Distribution of U.S. Party Identification, 1952-2012



As shown in Figure 1.2, most U.S. citizens readily admit to identifying with either the Republican or Democratic parties, and the distribution of party identifications has been fairly stable over the past sixty years. In every survey, more Americans identified themselves as Democrats than as Republicans. Since the mid-1960s, however, the percentage of independents has increased, mainly at the Democrats' expense.

ANES surveys over the same time period also tried to ask the same questions about respondents' place of residence, occupation, education, income, religion, and ethnicity; but society changed enough over time to require changing the questions and the categories accommodating the responses. While many changes in ANES demographic questions were relatively minor, some changes in the questions and in the categories for coding the responses were significant, which complicates comparisons over time. These changes will be detailed along with data for each social group.

Analyzing Social Bases: The Method

This book uses two different methods to calculate the extent of support for Republicans and Democrats by citizens in different social groups. One calculates percentages by columns; the other calculates proportions by rows. (Percentages sum to 100; proportions sum to 1.0.) The methods are illustrated using a social factor we all share at different times in our lives—age. Democrats and Republicans do not differ greatly in support by citizens of different ages, but the variable nicely illustrates the methodology.

Table 1.1 computes and reports the percentages of citizens in five age groups who identified themselves as Republicans, independents, and Democrats in the Pew Survey of January, 2012. The table computes the eighteen cell percentages by columns, which is the standard format for reporting such poll data.

Table 1.1

Percentages by Age Groups Identifying with Parties, 2012

	18-29	30-41	42-53	54-64	65+	*Total of Sample*
Republicans	**19%**	**20%**	**25%**	**23%**	**28%**	23%
Independents	**51%**	**48%**	**45%**	**38%**	**38%**	45%
Democrats	**30%**	**32%**	**30%**	**39%**	**34%**	32%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	*1,140*	*1,126*	*1,250*	*1,009*	*886*	*5,410*

The cell entries in Table 1.1 show the party identification of citizens by age group. Only 19 percent of respondents from 18 to 29 said they were Republicans compared with 30 percent who described themselves as Democrats. Older citizens, however, were systematically less likely to be independent and more likely to be partisan—28 percent being Republicans and 34 percent Democrats. The percentages varied somewhat across the age groups, but generally speaking, party preferences differed little across them.

If the raw data for the 5,410 cases are calculated by rows, however, a different picture emerges. See Table 1.2, which computes party composition as the proportion of all identifiers in different age groups. This book reports party composition in *proportions* (rows) and group preferences in *percentages* (columns) to distinguish between the two different ways of computing group support of political parties.

Table 1.2:

Proportion of Party Identifiers by Age Groups, 2012

	18-29	30-41	42-53	54-64	65+	Total	*Number of Cases*
Republicans	**0.18**	**0.18**	**0.25**	**0.19**	**0.20**	1.00	*1,240*
Independents	**0.24**	**0.23**	**0.24**	**0.16**	**0.14**	1.00	*2,411*
Democrats	**0.19**	**0.20**	**0.21**	**0.22**	**0.17**	1.00	*1,759*
Total of sample	0.21	0.21	0.23	0.19	0.16	1.00	*5,410*

Note that young people from 18 to 29 constituted .18 of Republicans but only .19 of Democrats, while .20 of all Republicans and .17 of all Democrats were 65 or older. Paradoxically, a higher percentage of the 65+ group were attracted to the Democrats (Table 1.1), but older citizens were a larger proportion of Republican identifiers (Table 1.2).

This surprising result occurred because Republicans had a smaller share of the electorate. These two tables demonstrate that there is a difference between how strongly a party attracts support from a group and how strongly that group is concentrated within a party. Therefore, a thorough analysis of party support needs to consider two different questions:

1. How *evenly* does the party attract support from various groups along the dimension of social cleavage?

2. How *heavily* is the party's support concentrated within any particular group in a dimension of social cleavage?

As expected, the two major political parties in the United States do not differ very much in patterns of support by age groups.

Table 1.1 and 1.2 each contain 15 entries. We could discuss notable differences among all 15 cell percentages or proportions. That approach would be overly detailed and boring. This book provides a more powerful approach—more powerful in the sense that it reduces multiple data observations to just two scores.

Social Attraction and Concentration

Making such comparisons among all the percentages and proportions can be tedious. Instead of ferreting out differences in the extent to which parties attracted support from individual groups—such as age—and the extent to which individual groups were concentrated within the parties, I created two separate measures to summarize data such as those in Tables 1.1 and 1.2. One measures "social attraction" and the other "social concentration."

Social Attraction

"Social attraction" is defined as *the extent to which the party attracts its supporters evenly from each significant group within any dimension of social cleavage*. Only the *evenness* of support for a party from social groups is important; the average level of support is unimportant. This concern with *evenness* of support and not *level* of support separates measures of social attraction from measures of party strength.

The formula for measuring social attraction, given in Box 1.1, considers the absolute deviations from the mean level across all age groups (percentages calculated by column in Table 1.1). A score of 1.0 is achieved only if there is *no* variation in the percentages of support received by the party from the different social groups in the analysis. A score of 0.0 results only if a party receives *all* the support of one group while winning no support from any other.

You do not need to decipher this formula. *You only need to know that the closer the attraction score is to 1.0, the more evenly the party attracts support from every group.*

Box 1.1: Social Attraction Formula

Start with the percentages, X_i, by which each group supports a party (percentages by column in Table 1.1). Compute the average amount of deviation across the percentages by row (sum of absolute deviations, $\left|X_i - \overline{X}\right|$). Divide by the number of groups, k, for each party to yield the average deviation. Norm the average deviation by dividing by the mean, $\overline{X}$. (An average deviation of 1.0 percentage points is relatively small for a mean support level of 50 percent, but relatively large for a mean support level of only 10 percent.)

Divide the result by the maximum deviation that could be obtained for a specified number of groups. This maximum is achieved when a single group gives a party 100 percent of its support and the party gets no support from any other group. These several concerns are included in our formula for measuring social attraction:

$$\textbf{Social Attraction} = \left(1 - \frac{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{k}\left|X_i - \overline{X}\right|}{k} / \overline{X}}{\frac{2(k-1)}{k}}\right)^2 \qquad [1.1]$$

where k is the number of groups within the cleavage dimension in the analysis; X_i is the percentage of the ith group's support given to the party; and $\overline{X}$ is the mean percentage of support for the party, calculated over all social groupings, k. The quantity is subtracted from 1 so that high scores signify high attraction.

The social attraction values produced by the formula within parentheses range from 0.0 to 1.0. The values are then squared to normalize their distribution, which otherwise would be negatively skewed—i.e., a few scores tending toward 0.0 while many clustering toward 1.0.

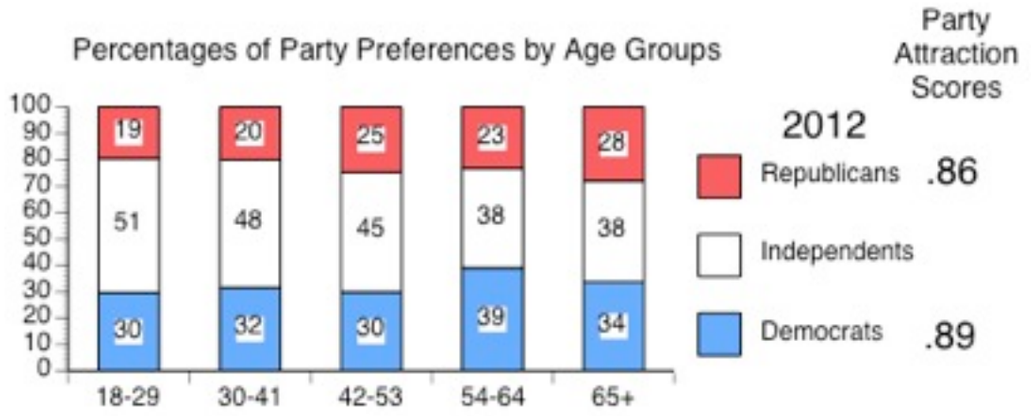
Choosing the *k* specific groups in the formula is important. Two criteria enter the choice. The most important is their social significance. Consider the age of the respondents. Dividing the population into the youngest group, the oldest group, and three intermediate age groups seems to capture significant differences in life cycle. Usually, survey organizations specify groups according to their social significance. Concerning ethnicity, for example, contemporary polls typically classify respondents as white, black, Hispanic, or other. Decades ago, polls did not include Hispanic.

The ethnicity example brings up the second criterion: the number of groups (*k*) to include in the cross-tabulation. Increasing the number of groups means that percentages will be based on fewer respondents spread over more categories. Because the reliability of the percentages is tied to the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated, adding extra categories tends to reduce the reliability of the attraction scores. It also has the *potential* (but not necessarily the effect) of raising or lowering the attraction score itself. Problems about choosing the *k* groups apply as well to the social concentration score. Insofar as possible, we follow the practices of the polling organizations in choosing the categories of our social groups.

The social attraction percentages of different age groups appear in Figure 1.3, which graphs the same percentages as in Table 1.1. From now on, the parties' social attraction percentages will be reported in graphs along with their associated social attraction scores, constrained between a low of 0.00 and a high of 1.00. The Republican age attraction score for 2012 was computed to be .86, while the Democratic age attraction score was .89. So the Democrats attracted identifiers slightly more evenly across age groups. Republicans scored lower because they drew fewer supporters from the younger age groups.

Of course, all summary measures of tabular presentations lose interesting detail contained in the original tables. In calculating attraction and concentration scores, we lose knowledge about *which* groups differed in their party support. When discussing such figures in subsequent chapters, we will identify groups that deviate from others.

Figure 1.3: group
Age Attraction Percentages and Party Scores, 2012



Social Concentration

"Social concentration" is defined as *the extent to which party supporters are concentrated in specific groups within any dimension of social cleavage*. The focus is on the pattern of party composition, with the pattern based on the proportions of the party's identifiers that come from each group (i.e., proportions calculated by rows in Table 1.2). If each group contributes equal proportions, the concentration score is 0.0, as no group outweighs another. In the limiting case of perfect concentration—when all the party's support comes from only one of several existing groups—the concentration score is 1.0. The formula for measuring social concentration is presented in Box 1.2.

In economics, a similar formula measures the concentration of firms in the marketplace. Assuming that the marketplace has many firms, economists simply sum the squared proportions of firms' market shares. A simple summing of squared proportions of party support from social groups, however, does not allow for comparison across parties or countries when the number of existing groups varies.

Box 1.2: Social Concentration Formula

Square and sum the proportions, Y_i, of each group's contribution to the total set of party supporters. In Table 1.2 those are the entries along the row for a given party.

$$\textbf{Social Concentration} = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{k} Y_i^2 - 1/k}{1 - 1/k}} \qquad [1.2]$$

where k is the number of groups within the cleavage dimension included in the analysis and Y_i is the proportion of the party's support coming from the ith group of k groups. The social concentration values produced by the formula under the radical (square root sign) range from 0.0 to 1.0. Taking the square root normalizes the distribution of scores, which otherwise would be positively skewed—i.e., a few scores tending toward 1.0 while many clustering toward 0.0.

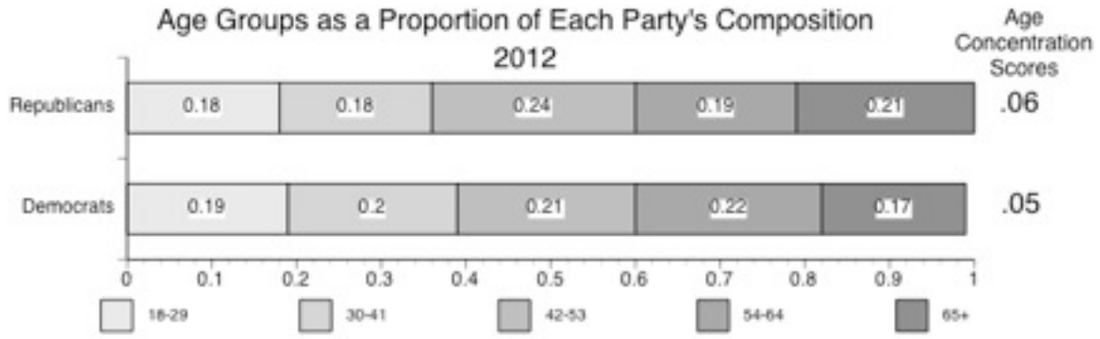
For example, given only two significant groups within a social category (e.g., religion divided into Catholic and Protestant) and both groups contribute equally to the party's composition; the sum of the squared proportions ($.50^2 + .50^2$) is 0.50. But, given *three* religious groups also equally divided ($.33^2 + .33^2 + .33^2$), the value is 0.33. Thus, a correction is introduced to allow for the number of groups and to render the concentration scores comparable in the two cases. This correction factor is included in our formula for measuring social concentration.

You do not need to decipher this formula. *You only need to know that the closer the concentration score is to 1.0, the more the party depends on support from only one group.*

The concentration formula ranges from 0.0—when the party's support comes equally from each group—to 1.0, when one of the groups contributes all its supporters. The scores are comparable across parties and countries, regardless of the number of groups included in the analysis.

The social concentration proportions of age groups appear in Figure 1.4, which graphs the proportions reported in Table 1.2. The Republican age concentration score for 2012 was 0.06 and the Democrats scored even lower at 0.05. Concerning party supporters by age for 2012, these scores fit the expectation that no age group is significantly concentrated in either party.

Figure 1.4:
Age Concentration Proportions and Party Scores, 2012



Independents are omitted from all concentration graphs for the two parties in Figure 1-4 and in all similar figures that follow.

Interest Articulation and Aggregation

To assess the social structure of party support is one thing; to demonstrate that parties act to represent their supporters in politics is something else. In analyzing the structure of party support, this book theorizes about the process by which parties represent the political interests of specific groups. The theory relies on the related concepts of interest *articulation* and interest *aggregation*. To "articulate" an interest means to express it clearly. To "aggregate" interests means to collect and balance different, often competing, interests. An interest aggregator acts as a broker between groups that articulate competing interests. I make two theoretical assumptions:

Assumption 1: *Parties whose supporters are concentrated within a particular group within a social division tend to articulate the interests of that group.*

Assumption 2: *Parties that attract support equally from all groups within a social division tend to aggregate the interests of all groups.*

In science (as elsewhere), assumptions are statements that are *assumed* to be true or refer to conditions that are assumed to hold. For example, the formula for the speed of falling bodies assumes that they fall in a vacuum—an assumption that rarely holds. For bodies falling a short distance, this incorrect assumption makes little difference, but during long falls, air resistance materially affects the speeds they can reach.

Assumptions 1 and 2 that parties serve the interests of their supporters according to the extent of their support certainly seem reasonably valid, but they demand independent verification. Verifying them lies outside the scope of this book, which keeps the *structure* of social attraction and concentration separate from the *process* of interest articulation and aggregation. Nevertheless, we will present some evidence to support two empirical propositions that flow from these assumptions.

According to conventional theory in comparative politics, interests are articulated by non-party organizations called *interest groups*—sometimes called pressure groups or lobbies.[6] Interest groups present their demands for government action (or inaction) before relevant political actors, such as legislatures, executives, bureaucracies, voters, and even courts. For example, an environmental group may back legislation to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Interest groups typically—but not exclusively—engage in interest articulation.

Also according to conventional theory, political parties are more likely than interest groups to aggregate interests. Suppose that an industry interest group backs legislation to subsidize domestic steel production. The legislation could increase greenhouse gases, so an environmental interest group is apt to lobby against it. In this scenario, a political party that is interested in both economic growth and clean air might step in to bargain between the two opposing interest groups to back legislation acceptable to both. Thus, the party would be performing the function of interest aggregation.

Political parties typically engage in interest aggregation, but they may also function as interest articulators. Some, such as environmental or religious parties, may articulate their own interests more than they aggregate other interests. Although the Green Party is a minor party in the United States, Green Parties are important in other countries, particularly in Germany.[7] As indicated by their common name, Green Parties everywhere focus on environmental issues. Green Parties have other interests too, but they attract supporters by articulating their concern for the environment. Religious parties, particularly small religious parties as in Israel, also articulate their supporters' religious values instead of aggregating secular interests in society.

Conceptually, there is an inevitable tradeoff between articulation and aggregation. Groups that articulate interests tend not to aggregate interests, and vice versa. Although that tradeoff tends to be true in general, it may not hold in specific instances.

For example, a private group that articulates a specific interest may act as a broker between two groups that clash over other interests. By acting as a helpful intermediary between the conflicting groups, the private group helps to aggregate interests and—in so doing—may cultivate political support from both sides to advance its own specific interest. The point is that interest groups and political parties do not

either articulate *or* aggregate interests. Over time, however, they often do both.

Thus, the distinction between interest articulation and aggregation is fluid. Some interest groups—often called peak associations—are broader than others. They speak for broad swaths of groups in society (e.g., various labor unions or different businesses) and must aggregate their members' conflicting interests.

Consider the United States Chamber of Commerce, whose 100+ Board of Directors in 2012 included members from an oil company and an automobile club. Oil companies may be interested in keeping gasoline prices high; automobile clubs may favor lower costs at gas pumps. The Chamber of Commerce must aggregate (adjust for) these possible interest conflicts in arriving at its policy proposals.

The extent to which interest groups and political parties vary in articulation or aggregation is a matter for theory and research. This book studies only parties' articulative and aggregative tendencies as tied to their attraction and concentration of social support. The theory that links social concentration and attraction to interest articulation and attraction embodies two propositions. The first is derived from the earlier assumption that political parties articulate the interests of groups within which the party's support is concentrated. Hence:

Proposition 1: *The larger the proportion of a party supporters concentrated in a group, the more the party will articulate that specific group's interests.*

The other proposition is derived from the assumption that political parties aggregate the interests of groups according to the extent to which the groups support the party. Hence:

Proposition 2: *The more evenly that groups support a party, the more the party will aggregate interests of all those groups.*

Both propositions assert that variations in the structure of party support systematically predict to variations in the processes of interest representation. We have extensive data on variations in the structure of party support but very limited data on variations in group interests and party actions. So we cannot test these propositions directly. But if we can determine the extent to which parties differ in the structure of their support, then we can establish expectations concerning which interests are most likely to be represented by which parties.

To investigate parties' articulative tendencies, we take advantage of data from interest groups that systematically rate members of Congress for their support of legislation backed by the groups. For example, the Chamber of Commerce rates all members in the House and Senate for the degree to which they vote in favor of the Chamber's interests. Similarly, the AFL-CIO rates members of Congress for voting favorably on labor legislation. Comparing these interest group ratings with the parties' structure of social support, we can report data that support, or fail to support, proposition 1, at least, while falling short of actually testing the proposition for statistical significance.

Most scholars hold that—compared with parties elsewhere—both American parties attract support fairly evenly across all cleavage dimensions. Neither party has its supporters concentrated among any specific groups. In terms of party theory, the American party system is said to be more *aggregative* of various group interests than *articulative* of specific group interests. Essentially, that theory assumes that both parties have, over time, attracted support relatively evenly from different social groups and that their supporters were not concentrated among any specific groups.

We examine evidence concerning the extent to which the Democratic and Republican parties have indeed attracted support from different social groups over time and the extent to which the parties' supporters were concentrated among specific groups.

Attraction v. Concentration

As noted, attraction and concentration measures are computed using data from two different methods of calculating group support in a cross-tabulation of parties by groups. One method computes percentages by columns as in Table 1.1. The other computes proportions by rows as in Table 1.2. If all groups and parties in the cross-tabulation were equal in size—which rarely occurs with real data—all percentages would be equal in value to all corresponding proportions. Otherwise—which virtually always occurs with real data—the values differ.

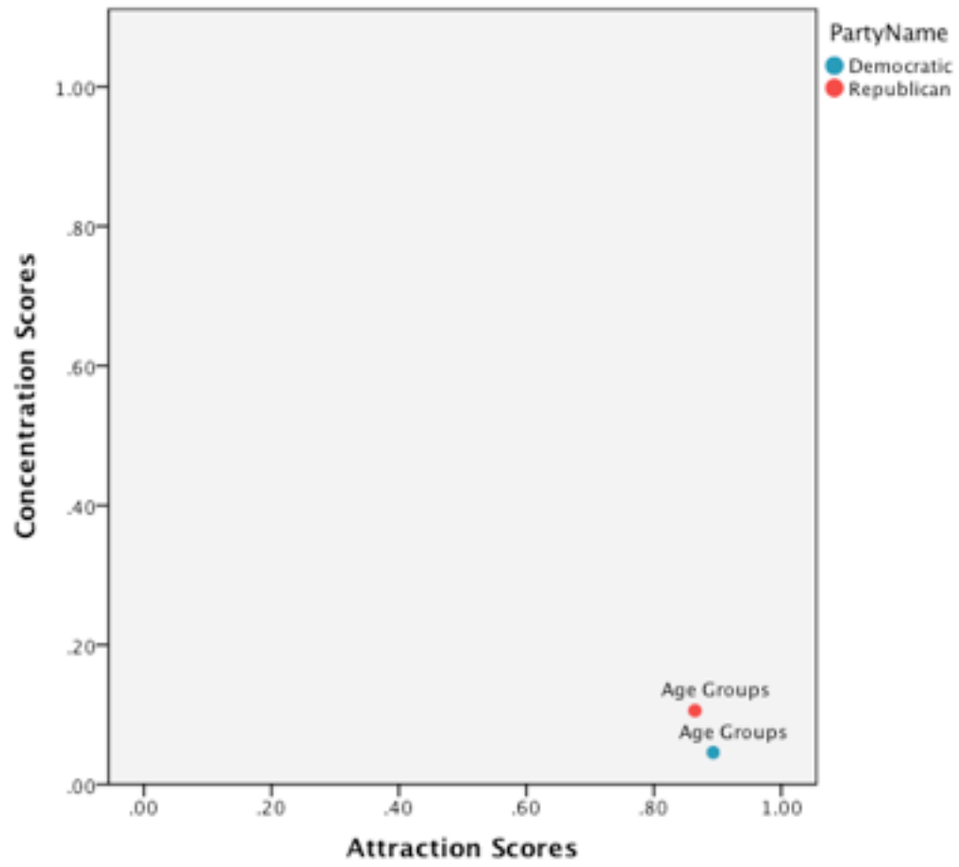
Therefore, the attraction and concentration scores are not simply mirror images of each other, although they are strongly negatively related empirically. High attraction scores are associated with low concentration scores, and vice versa, but the correlation between any pair of attraction and concentration scores is not perfect. Moreover the correlations between paired scores vary by social differentiator—occupation, education, region, and so on.

To demonstrate how attraction and concentration scores are related, Figure 1.5 plots the parties' scores in two-dimensions bounded by 0.0 and 1.0—the possible ranges of both variables. It shows the Republican and Democratic attraction and concentration scores for five age groups in 2012 plotted toward the lower right-hand corner. The placement indicates that both parties attract support about equally from every age group and that neither party has its supporters concentrated within any particular age group.

We deliberately choose age groupings for computing social attraction and concentration scores to provide "baselines" illustrating high attraction and low concentration—which we expect from the two major American parties based on minor differences in their supporters' ages. Later, we will find both parties scoring much lower on attraction and much higher on concentration when we consider social differentiators other than age.

Figure 1.5

Attraction and Concentration Plot for Age Groups, 2012



We rely on the attraction and concentration scores—and on graphs like this—to analyze the structure of social support for political parties. The next seven chapters plot attraction and concentration scores for Democrats and Republicans from 1952 to 2012 for occupation, education, region, urbanism, religion, ethnicity, and ideology. To summarize the findings in advance, the Democratic Party, compared with the Republican Party, tended to be more attractive of support from multiple groups on most—but not on all—cleavage dimensions. In contrast, the composition of Republican identifiers tended to be more concentrated among particular groups.

Plan of the Book

Chapters 2 through 8 present a series of figures that display demographic changes in the United States over sixty years and on how the parties accommodated those changes. The analysis unfolds across the chapters. It begins by considering factors that barely divide the two parties, and then it introduces, in turn, social factors that profoundly divide them.

Chapters 2 and 3, on occupation and education, document great changes in society but find relatively minor changes in the occupational and educational structure of party support. In contrast, Chapters 4 through 8—on region, urbanization, religion, ethnicity, and ideology—progressively uncover more bases of partisan division. Every chapter concludes by inquiring whether the parties articulate interests that accord with the structure of their social support.

Chapter 9 takes advantage of the eBook's interactive Gallery "widget" that enables readers to review figures in previous chapters. By clicking on a thumbnail image, you can review virtually all the figures in the earlier chapters for occupation, education, region, urbanization, religion, ethnicity, and ideology. Chapter 9 also summarizes the major findings from each of the graphs and states the major conclusions from the research.

Chapter 10 shifts from the past to the present and heads toward the future. It addresses the present by recounting the reactions of leading Republicans to President Obama's re-election and Mitt Romney's defeat. All party leaders observed that their party did exceptionally well with white Protestants and white males, but that Romney fared very poorly with African-Americans, with the increasingly large Latino segments of the electorate, and with the growing Asian segments. The American electorate was changing, and the Republican Party had not adapted well to the changes.

Chapter 10 heads toward the future by studying Republican leaders' different responses to the changing electorate. It views their difference as hinging on how they perceived the purpose of their party: should the Republican Party devote itself to promoting political principles or should it strive to win elections? Decisions made by Republican leaders could affect the future of our two-party system.

Which brings us to the eBook's final chapter, "What Did You Learn, and What Do You Think?" Chapter 11 also utilizes the eBook's interactive abilities. The heading "What Did You Learn," contains a Review "widget" that asks 25 multiple-choice questions to test your understanding of the material in the preceding chapters. At your own pace, you can answer each question and check to see whether your answer was correct. At the end of the test, the widget calculates your score.

But the *most* important feature of the eBook comes under the heading, "What Do You Think?" There is little point in acquiring information about the patterns of social support for political parties over the last sixty years unless you use that knowledge to make informed judgments about the future. Readers of this eBook should be equipped to anticipate the future of our party system at the 2032 presidential election, which will occur twenty years after the 2012 election. Accordingly, Chapter 11 contains a link to an Internet survey where you can record your expectations and thoughts about party politics in 2032.

Ideally, students who read this book will discuss the future of party politics in 2032 in class and benefit from their classmates' viewpoints. Discussing a complex and perhaps controversial topic with people who may hold different, even opposing, views generally helps understanding.

But anyone who reads it should be able to provide more informed responses to the Internet survey's major questions:

1. *Will electoral politics in 2032 still be structured under a two-party system?*

2. *If you think we will have a two-party system, which will be its major parties?*

3. *If you are uncertain that we will have a two-party system (or certain that we will not), what might replace it?*

4. *Over the next 20 years, do you think that the Democratic Party will change much?*

5. *Over the next 20 years, do you think the Republican Party will change much?*

6. *Do you think that the public's ideological preferences will change again by 2032?*

7. *Do you think that the parties themselves will change ideologically?*

The beauty of these questions about party politics in 2032 is that they have no correct answers now. However, the *quality* of answers to questions about the party system twenty years from now is apt to be better if they are informed by knowing the social structure of party support over the last sixty years.

End Notes

Click on footnote number to return to text

[1] Exit poll data for the 2012 election came from the Fox News website at http://www.foxnews.com/politics/elections/2012-exit-poll. The poll covered 26,565 respondents. Because not all respondents answered every question, the numbers on which the percentages were based vary. In all cases, they were substantial. Although exit polls do not select respondents at random and are therefore not random samples, the large numbers of interviews are widely regarded as reasonably representative of the electorate's voting behavior.

[2]The American National Election Studies (ANES) began with the 1948 presidential election survey conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The SRC refined its methodology for the 1952 presidential election and regularly conducted national surveys in years holding presidential election and most years with congressional elections. In 2005, ANES began operating in partnership with the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at Stanford University, see https://iriss.stanford.edu/ANES.

[3] The January 11-16, 2012 Pew Research Center Political Survey had a sample size of 1,502. The data were kindly supplied by Dr. Leah Melani Christian, Senior Researcher, Pew Research Center for the People & the Press.

[4] "Partisan Polarization Surges in Bush, Obama Years, Trends in American Values: 1987-2012," Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, June 4, 2012 at http://www.people-press.org/2012/06/04/partisan-polarization-surges-in-bush-obama-years/

[5] Unless otherwise noted, all data in the charts for 1952 to 2008 came from ANES surveys conducted during presidential years. Data for 2012 came from the January 2012 survey by the Pew Research Center.

[6] Graham K. Wilson, "Interest Groups and Lobbies," in George Thomas Kurian (ed), *The Encyclopedia of Political Science, Volume 3* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011), pp. 799-802. Since the 1960s, organizations representing older age groups, "senior citizens," have begun to lobby Congress vigorously to represent their interests. See Christine Lucile Day, "Partisan-Ideological Conflict and Aging Policy: Seeking Common Ground to Avoid Leaping into the Abyss," Paper delivered at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA.

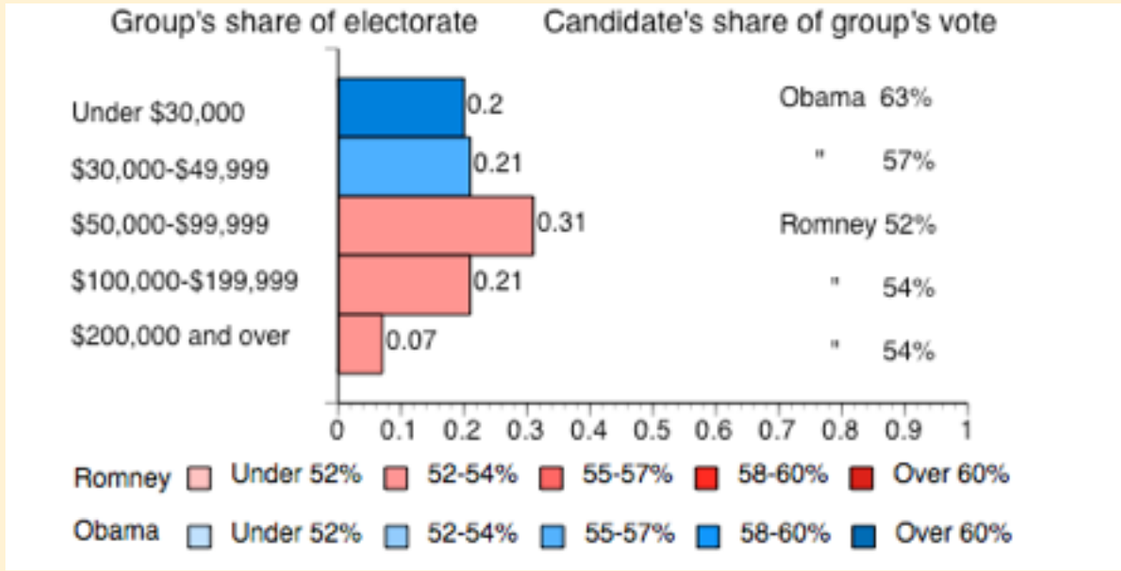
[7] The United States Green Party web site links to Green Parties in other countries. See http://www.gp.org/index.php.

Chapter 2:

Economic Status: Occupation

When polling began in the mid-1930s, polls almost always asked about occupation, which implied information about the respondent's income level and life-style. As explained later, polls today rarely ask about occupation. Instead, they ask about income—a practice used in exit polls after the 2012 presidential election. Figure 2.1 reports exit poll estimates of how different income groups voted for the major party candidates, Democrat Barack Obama and Republican Mitt Romney.

Figure 2.1:
2012 Presidential Vote by Income Groups



About two-fifths of the voters had family income of under $50,000. They split heavily for Obama. Wealthier voters favored Romney. Although sixty percent of the voters had family incomes above $50,000, they did not vote strongly enough for Romney to overcome Obama, who took 50 percent of votes in the exit poll to Romney's 47 percent.

That was how different economic groups voted in 2012. How have citizens in different economic situations supported the two parties over the last sixty years?

Citizens and scholars alike usually think of political parties as representing different economic groups or occupational interests in society. In less economically developed countries, the economic conflict is portrayed as the rich versus the poor. In more developed countries, economic conflict tends to be expressed in terms of occupational categories. In the United States, pollsters in years past often coded survey responses according to broad categories such as "professional or managerial," "clerical and sales," "skilled labor," "unskilled labor," and so on. Crude as these categories were, they revealed differences in the social bases of support for the Democratic and Republican parties.

Changes in Occupations, 1952-2010

Researchers studying the social bases of political parties need to deal with changes in the questions that pollsters have asked about respondents' occupations. Here is a quick summary of the occupation questions asked by the American National Election Studies over time, which shows how progressively complicated the questions became.[1]

1952-1964: What is your occupation. I mean, what kind of work do you do?

1968-1970: (If employed or on strike:) *What kind of work do you do?* (If unemployed or retired:) *What kind of work did you do when you were employed?*

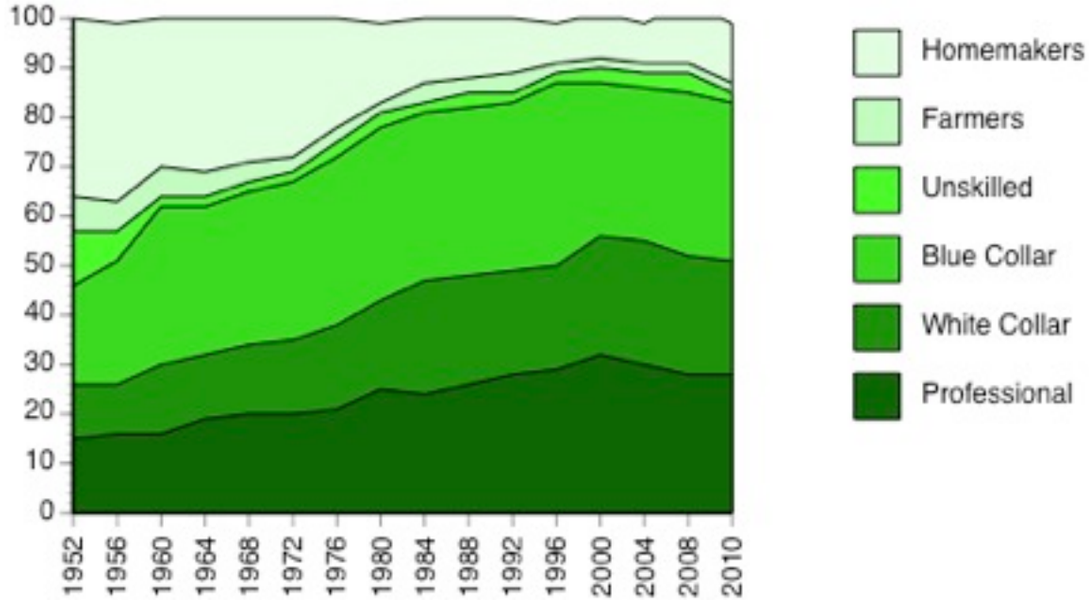
1972-1982: (If R is working now or is temporarilly laid off:) *What is your main occupation* (If R is unemployed:) *What kind of work did you do on your last regular job [What was your occupation?]* (If R is retired or disabled:) *What kind of work did you do when you worked?*

1984 and later: (If R is working now or is temporarily laid off:) *What is your main occupation? What are your most important activities or duties?* (If R is retired/unemployed/disabled:) *What kind of work did you do on your last regular job? What were your most important activities or duties?*

These question changes between surveys were relatively minor and presumably had less effect on the responses than the major changes in employment that occurred in society over sixty years. For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 2010 recognized the new and fast-growing occupation, "application software developer," which did not exist prior to the creation of the iPhone in 2007.[2] In fact, most polls today no longer ask about type of occupation but whether respondents are employed, seeking work, retired, etc.

Figure 2.2 graphs ANES data for occupation from 1952 to 2004 along with data from the 2008 and 2010 General Social Survey.[3] Extended searches of survey archives found no suitable poll that asked about type of occupation and party identification in 2012.[4] The most striking change is the decline in the percentage of unemployed homemakers (originally called "housewives") until the Great Recession in 2008. Also noteworthy is the growth in professional workers and in white collar workers, and the decline in the already small categories of unskilled workers and farmers. Because the homemakers' category masks whether the income-earner is (or was) a bank president or a laborer, we will exclude it from subsequent analysis of party support.

Figure 2.2:
Distribution of Occupational Groups, 1952-2010



Occupational Attraction and Concentration

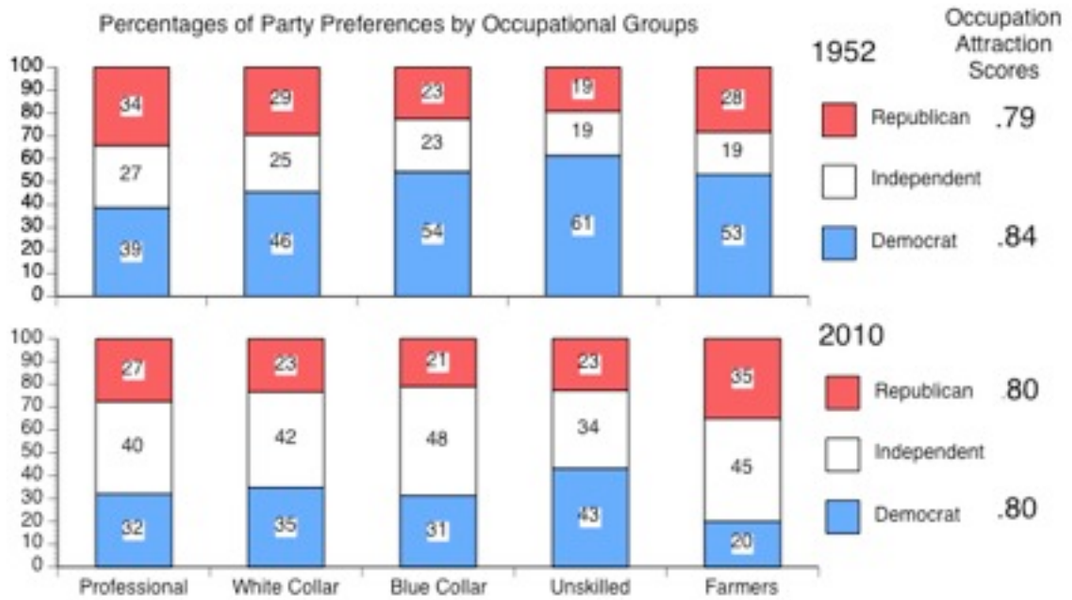
As these occupational groups waxed and waned over time, how did they tend to support the Democratic and Republican parties? We answer that question by calculating and reporting occupational concentration and attraction scores for each party for every presidential election year—using the formulas for social concentration and attraction in Chapter 1 (See glossary for Box 1.1 and Box 1.2).

To help readers follow the analysis, this chapter and following ones employ a common format. First, they report party support data by groups for the first and last years of the time period (usually 1952 and 2012) in two types of bar charts—using vertical or horizontal bars. These alternate types correspond to data reported in Table 1.1 and Table 1.2 in Chapter 1, which illustrated two ways of computing percentages or proportions in a table—by columns or by rows. Computing support for each party by column as percent of the total number in the group is the standard method for reporting survey results. The value in percentage points indicates the likelihood of a person in the group supporting each party.

Figure 2.3 is a vertical bar chart that displays the percentage of each occupational group (excluding homemakers) identifying as Republicans, independents, or Democrats. These percentages are used to calculate the parties' occupational attraction scores. (No aggregation scores were computed for independents, but independents are recorded because many respondents fail to identify with either party.)

Both parties drew support about evenly from occupational groups in surveys taken in 1952 and 2010. (A 2010 survey was used because of the lack of a suitable 2012 survey asking about occupation at the time of writing.) In 1952, for example, the five support percentages for Republicans ranged from a low of 19 percent from Unskilled workers to a high of 34 percent from Professionals (and Managers). The percentage-point differences among those five scores computed to an Occupation Attraction score of .79. Support percentages for Democrats varied from 39 to 61 in 1952, resulting in a somewhat higher attraction score of .84.

Figure 2.3:
Occupational Attraction, 1952 and 2010

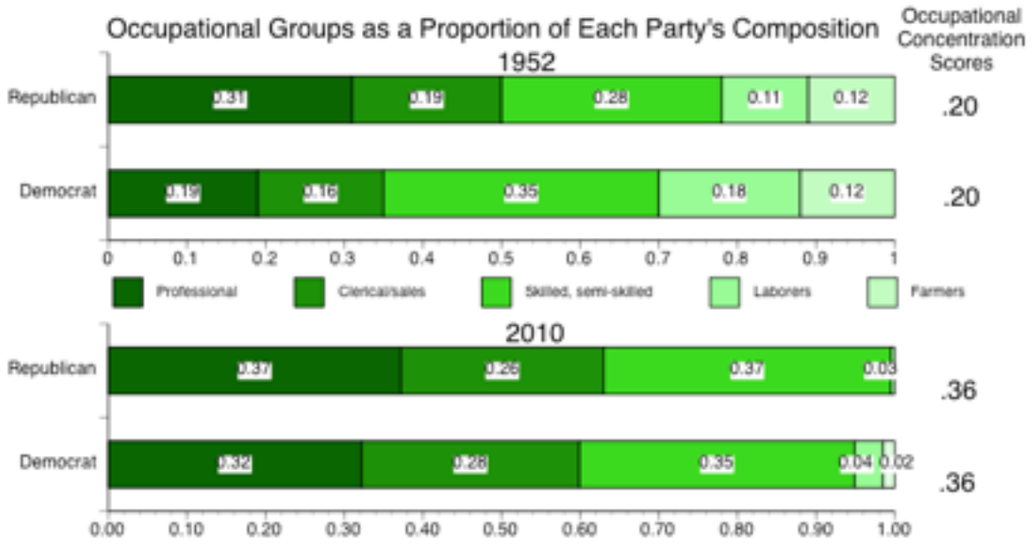


In 2010, the percentage of Republican preferences ranged from 21 to 35, yielding an occupational attraction score of .80—almost identical to the party's score decades earlier. The percentages of occupational groups in 2010 identifying themselves as Democrat ranged lower, between 20 and 43—as the percentages of support for the Democratic Party dipped sharply over all occupational groups to the benefit of the "independent" category. Nevertheless, the occupational attraction scores for the Democratic Party Democratic Party did not change much between 1952 and 2010, dropping only from .84 to .80. These fairly high attraction scores for both parties in both time periods indicate that both drew support relatively evenly across the groups.

The other type of chart is a horizontal bar chart that shows the groups as a proportion—expressed in decimal values—of all Republican and Democratic identifiers. Those proportions are used in computing

social concentration scores. Figure 2.4 below is a horizontal bar chart that shows the composition of the Democrats and Republicans according to five occupational groups in the same election years, 1952 and 2010.

Figure 2.4:
Occupational Concentration, 1952 and 2010

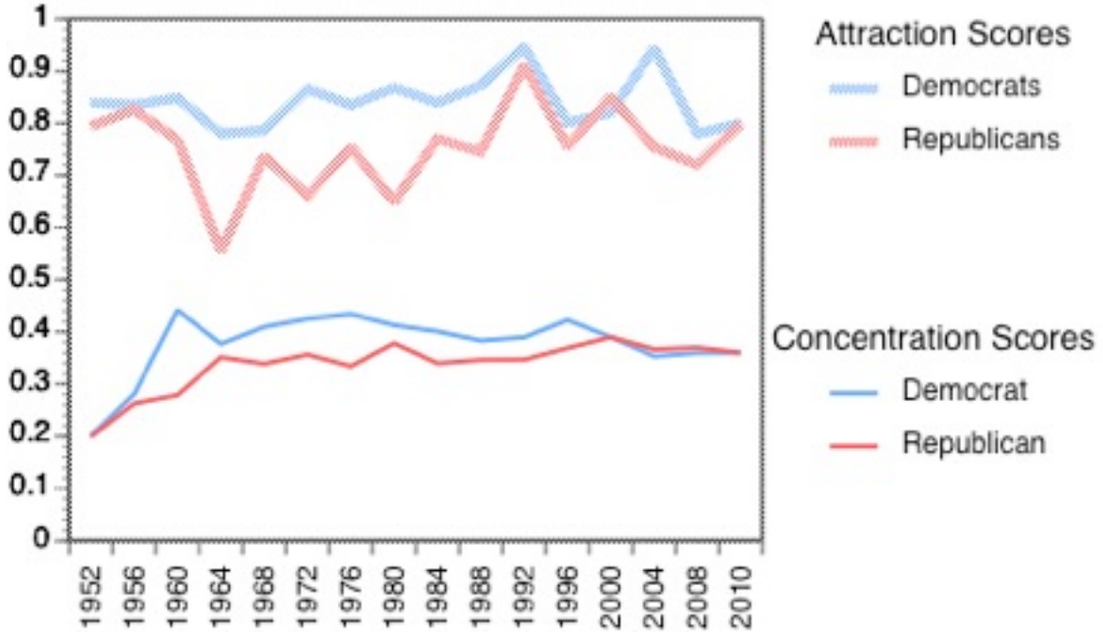


In 1952, most Republicans (.31) were engaged in professional or managerial occupations while most Democrats (.35) were in skilled or semi-skilled jobs. The relatively low occupational concentration scores for both parties signify that none of the five occupational groups dominated the composition of either party. A half century later, with the decline of laborers and farmers in the labor force, their presence also declined in both parties. By 2010, almost two-thirds of all Republicans shared white-collar occupations (.37 in professional and managerial positions and .26 in clerical and sales), while two-thirds of all Democrats were schizophrenically divided between professional and blue-collar occupations (.32 in professional and managerial positions and .35 in skilled and semi-skilled jobs).

The most significant fact revealed in Figure 2.4 is the similarity of the two parties' occupational concentration scores, both .20 in 1952 and both .36 in 2010. Their scores are higher in 2010 only because both parties drew substantial support from only three occupational groups, which was due to declining proportions of farmers and unskilled workers in the population. In essence, Democrats and Republicans differed only marginally in their occupational bases of support.

The parties' occupational attraction and concentration scores are incorporated into Figure 2.5, which traces how the American parties scored on occupational attraction and concentration since 1952. Overall, both parties tended to hold their high scores for attracting support from all occupational groups, and—since the mid-1960s—both have had very similar concentration scores. These data suggest that type of occupation has not been a salient source of political cleavage between Democrats and Republicans over the past sixty years.

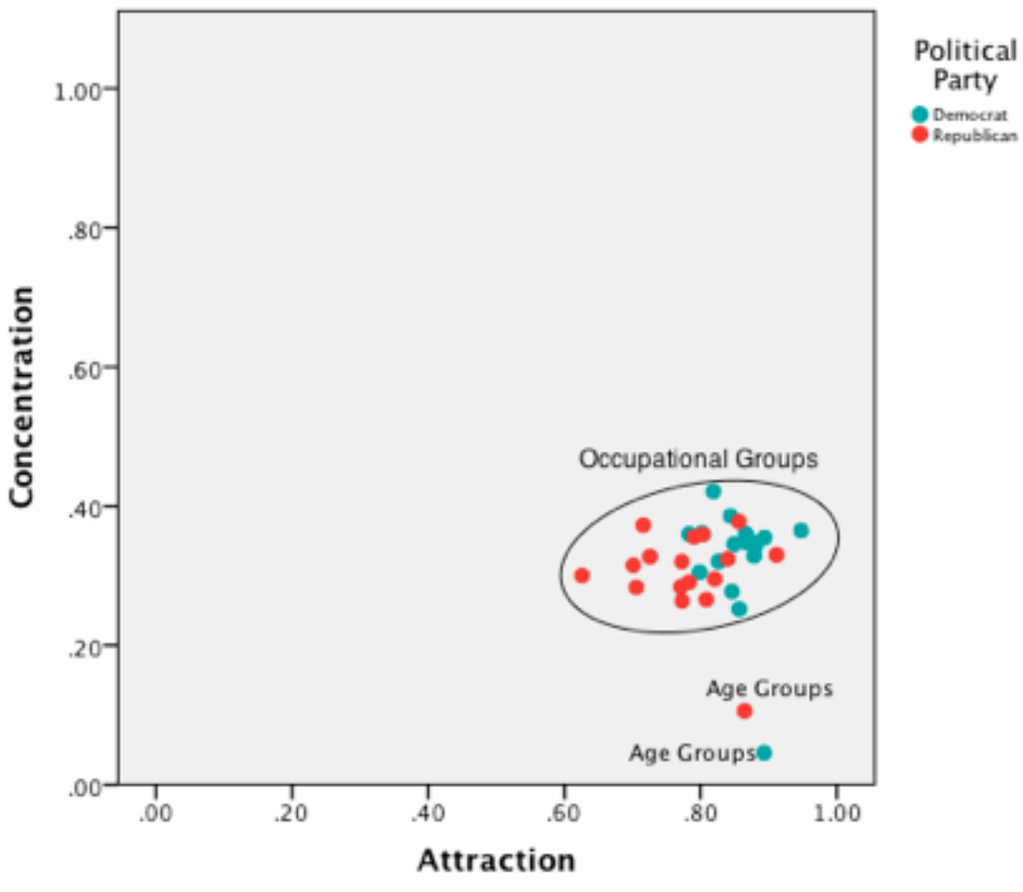
Figure 2.5:
Occupational Attraction and Concentration Since 1952



To put these data into perspective, Figure 2.6 on the next page plots both sets of annual occupational support scores for Democrats and Republicans together with the 2012 scores for age reported in Figure 1.4. Once again, the data are plotted along two dimensions—the

baseline for the attraction scores and the vertical line for concentration scores. It demonstrates that the parties' occupational support has clustered fairly tightly toward the lower right-hand corner but above the scores calculated for age groups. Compared with age groups, different occupational groups aligned somewhat more with the Democratic and Republican parties.

Figure 2.6:
Attraction and Concentration: Occupation v. Age



Survey data over sixty years demonstrate that neither party has been closely aligned with broad occupational groupings. Nevertheless, respondents in different groups have expressed some small but consistent party preferences over time. Citizens in professions, management, and sales have preferred the Republican over the Democratic Party, and they also accounted for most Republican identifiers. In contrast, the Democratic Party has been favored by respondents in skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled occupations, who have also comprised most of the party's identifiers.

Articulating Interests of Occupational Groups

Is there any evidence that these variations in occupational support—though small—have been systematically related to the parties' tendencies to articulate policy positions backed by opposing business and labor interest groups? To answer that question, we examine how the Chamber of Commerce and the AFL-CIO rated the votes cast by Democratic and Republican members of the U.S. House of Representatives over time.

The United States Chamber of Commerce describes itself as "the world's largest business organization representing the interests of more than 3 million businesses of all sizes, sectors, and regions."[5] Since 1965, it has rated members of Congress for their voting records as recorded up to 2006 in the Chamber's annual publication, *How They Voted*.[6] Since 2007, the votes have been published on its web site. The Chamber states that its "key votes" are carefully chosen "by the Chamber's board of directors, on which the Chamber communicates its position prior to the vote." In 2011, for example, the board selected 16 key votes.

The AFL-CIO was formed in 1955 from a merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It describes itself as "the umbrella federation for U.S. unions, with 56 unions representing more than 12 million working men and women."[7] In 2011, it rated members of Congress on 29 key votes.

Table 2.1 lists the topics for the 16 key votes for the Chamber of Commerce and the 29 key votes chosen by the AFL-CIO. Because one of the interest groups represents management and the other labor, they sometimes choose different votes on which to rate members of the House. Occasionally the votes are exactly the same. More often they

are on similar topics (see vote 11 for the Chamber and votes 14, 15, and 16 for the AFL-CIO). And sometimes they are on different topics: see vote 8 for the Chamber of Commerce and vote 28 for the AFL-CIO.

Table 2.1:
Chamber of Commerce and AFL-CIO Key Votes in 2011

C of C's 16 Key House Votes in 2011	Similar Content
1. Regulatory Accountability (H.R. 3010)	AFL-CIO 28
2. Workforce Freedom (H.R. 3094)	AFL-CIO 27
3. Contract Withholding Mandate Repeal (H.R. 674)	
4. U.S.-Korea Trade Agreement (H.R. 3080)	AFL-CIO 24
5. U.S.-Colombia Trade Agreement (H.R. 3078)	AFL-CIO 22
6. Regulatory Review Process (H.R. 2401)	
7. Budget Control Act (S. 365)	
8. American Energy Security (H.R. 1938)	
9. Financial Service Oversight Restructure (H.R. 1315)	
10. American Innovation (H.R. 1249)	
11. Political Disclosure Amendment (H.R. 2017)	AFL-CIO 14, 15, 16
12. Restoring Domestic Energy Production (H.R. 1230)	
13. Information Reporting Requirement (H.R. 4)	
14. Surface Transportation Extension (H.R. 662)	
15. Continuing Appropriations (H.R. 1)	AFL-CIO 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
16. Health Care Repeal (H.R. 2)	AFL-CIO 1

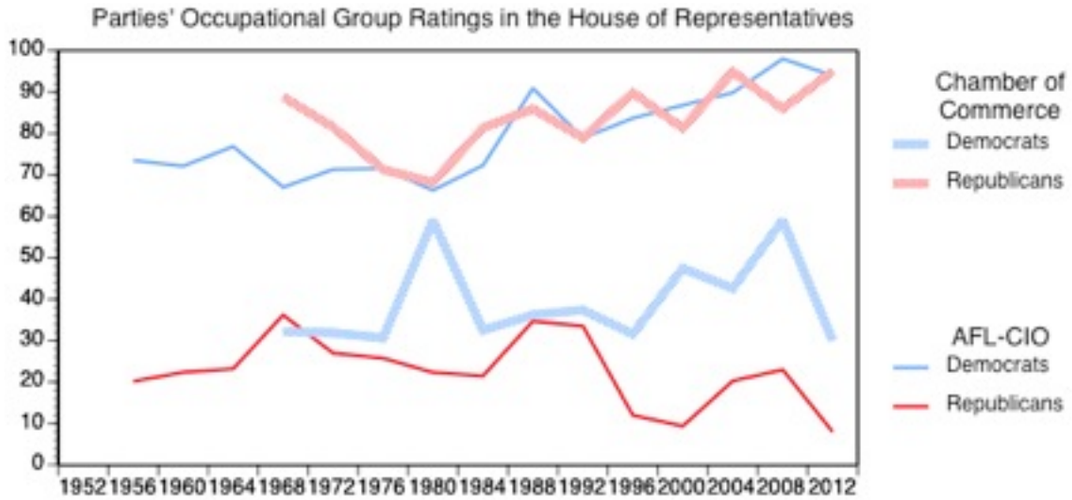
AFL-CIO's 29 Key House Votes in 2011	Similar Content
1. Repealing Heath Care Reform (H.R. 2)	CC 16
2. Spending Cuts (H. Res 38)	
3. National Labor Relations Board (H.R. 1)	CC 15
4. Health Care Reform Defunding (H.R. 1)	CC 15
5. Project Labor Agreements (H.R. 1)	CC 15
6. Davis Bacon Prevailing Wage (H.R. 1)	CC 15
7. Davis Bacon Prevailing Wage Passage (H.R. 1)	CC 15
8. D.C. School Voucher Program (H.R. 471)	
9. Official Time (H.R. 658)	
10. Davis Bacon Prevailing Wage (H.R. 658)	
11. Democratic Union Elections (H.R. 658)	
12. Fiscal 2012 Budget Resolution/Passage (H. Con. Res. 34)	
13. Fiscal 2012 Defense Authorization/Public-Private Contracting (H.R. 1540)	
14. Davis Bacon Prevailing Wage (H.R. 2017)	CC 11
15. Project Labor Agreements (H.R. 2017)	CC 11
16. TSA Collective Bargaining Rights (H.R. 2017)	CC 11
17. Fiscal 2012 Military Construction-VA Appropriations (H.R. 2055)	
18. Davis-Bacon Prevailing Wage (H.R. 2055)	
19. Davis-Bacon Prevailing Wage (H.R. 2354)	
20. Debt Limit Increase (H.R 2560)	
21. National Labor Relations Board Powers (H.R. 2587)	
22. Colombia Trade Agreement (H.R. 3078)	CC 5
23. Panama Trade (H.R. 3079)	
24. South Korea Trade Agreement (H.R. 3080)	CC 4
25. Balanced-Budget Amendment (H. J. Res. 2)	
26. Union Election Rules (H.R. 3094)	CC 2
27. Workplace Safety and Health (H.R. 3010)	CC 1
28. Congressional Approval of Major Rules (H.R. 10)	
29. Year-End Extensions (H.R. 3630)	

On all identical or similar issues in Table 2.1, the Chamber of Commerce and AFL-CIO took opposite positions, meaning that voting to support the Chamber of Commerce meant opposing the AFL-CIO, and vice versa. In those cases, the groups' ratings are negatively related mathematically. However, mathematics does not force a House Democrat to support the AFL-CIO on all 29 key votes nor a House Republican to toe the line on all 16 Chamber of Commerce votes. In prac-

tice, however, most House Democrats and House Republicans supported the organizations that aligned with their occupational bases.

Figure 2.7 plots the mean Chamber of Commerce and AFL-CIO ratings for House Democrats and Republicans in presidential years. It shows that the average House Republican tended to vote from 70 to over 90 percent of the time in favor of the Chamber of Commerce and in opposition to the AFL-CIO—and these trends have increased with time. These plots imply that the parties were articulating interests of the occupational groups that supported them—business groups in the Republican Party and workers in the Democratic Party.

Figure 2.7:
Party Voting on Business and Labor Interests



A close reading of Figure 2.7 reveals that House Democrats *also* voted in favor of the Chamber of Commerce from 30 to 60 percent of the time. In contrast, House Republicans were much less likely to back positions favored by the AFL-CIO. Recall that about one-third of all Democratic identifiers in 2012 were engaged in professional and managerial occupations, which are often linked to business interests.

The voting pattern of Republicans in Congress squares with their party's occupational support structure. The Republican Party attracted fewer blue-collar and unskilled workers as identifiers and had fewer workers among its identifiers.

Despite the definite but relatively weak links between occupational groups and support of the Democratic and Republican parties, House members in both parties exhibited tendencies to articulate the interests of the groups that supported them. In congressional voting, however, the parties appeared to magnify the degree to which they were supported by occupational groups.

That is, Republicans supported the Chamber of Commerce disproportionately more than their margins of support from citizens in managerial and professional occupations. Similarly, Democrats disproportionately supported the AFL-CIO more than their margin of support from skilled and unskilled workers.

The connection between group support of political parties and articulation of groups' political interests is not inevitable, as will be shown in Chapter 3, which studies how well the Democratic and Republican parties attracted support from educational groups and how much those groups were concentrated among party identifiers.

End Notes

Click on footnote number to return to text

[1] These questions were extracted from the American National Election Studies (ANES) *Cumulative Data File, 1948-2008 Codebook* (Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, undated), pp. 30-31. The codebook is a PDF file at http://electionstudies.org/studypages/download/datacenter_all.htm.

[2] David Streitfeld, "Uncertain Payoff in an Apps Boom" *New York Times* (July 18, 2012), pp. 1 and 19.

[3] The 2008 ANES did ask about occupation, but the open-ended responses to the question had not been coded into categories by 2012. See http://electionstudies.org/nesguide/toptable/tab1a_5.htm.

[4] Occupation data in Figure 2.2 come from a January 20-22, 2008 NBC News/*Wall Street Journal Poll* # 2008-6079, obtained from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research. Archivists Lois Timms-Ferrara at the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research and Thu-Mai Christian at the Odum Institute for Research in Social Science assisted my search for occupation data, but to no avail. Moreover, Leah Christian at the Pew Research Center wrote in a personal email message, "I checked around, both in People & the Press and the Pew Social & Demographic Trends project, and we have not asked occupation in the past year (the last time was 2008)."

[5] From its web site at http://www.uschamber.com/about.

[6] For information about obtaining a copy of *How They Voted*, go to http://www.uschamber.com/issues/legislators/how-they-voted.

[7] From its web site at http://www.aflcio.org/About.

Chapter 3:

Education

The 2012 exit polls described a highly educated American electorate. Almost 20 percent studied beyond college, and few voters lacked a high school diploma. Ironically, both groups at these educational extremes voted strongly for the Democratic candidate, Barack Obama, as shown in Figure 3.1.

Between these educational lows and highs, citizens split their votes fairly evenly between Obama and the Republican candidate, Mitt Romney. Romney did best among voters with a college degree who did not continue to postgraduate study.

Figure 3.1:
2012 Presidential Vote by Educational Groups

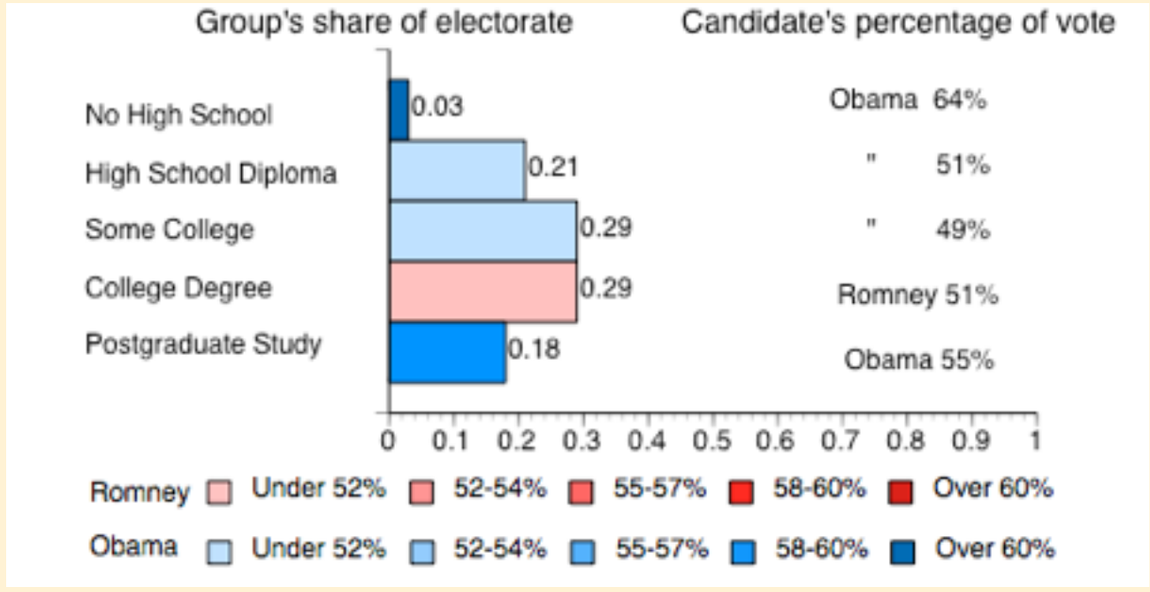


Figure 3.1 also shows quite clearly that the presidential vote in 2012 was not sharply divided at intermediate educational levels. In fact, education never had strong effects on support for the Democratic and Republican parties during the last sixty years.

Level of education often serves as a powerful source of political cleavage in economically underdeveloped countries, where many citizens are illiterate. In more developed countries, level of education usually has less direct effect on party support. The effects of education on party preference often overlay the effects of occupation. In the United States, for example, most citizens in professional occupations—lawyers, accountants, doctors, and teachers—have college degrees. So we might expect that support patterns for Democrats and Republicans by educational groups should be similar to the patterns shown for occupational groups. To some extent, they are.

Changes in Educational Levels, 1952-2012

The United States has undergone huge educational changes since 1952. In response, the American National Election Studies often changed its questions about education. For twenty years, the ANES only asked respondents how many grades of school they finished. Then the surveys inquired about attending college, eventually asking about the highest degrees completed. Here is a summary of the questions asked.

1952-1972: How many grades of school did you finish?

1974 and later: What is highest grade of school or year of college you have completed? Did you get a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency test?

1974,1976: Do you have a college degree? (If Yes:) What degree is that?

1978-1984: Do you have a college degree? (If Yes:) What is the highest degree that you have earned?

1986 and later: What is the highest degree that you have earned? [1]

The 2012 Pew poll returned to the original ANES question, asking, *"What is the last grade or class that you completed in school?"*

For this chapter, responses to these interview questions over the years were organized into four categories:

No High School—in 1952 this included 41 percent with grade school or less

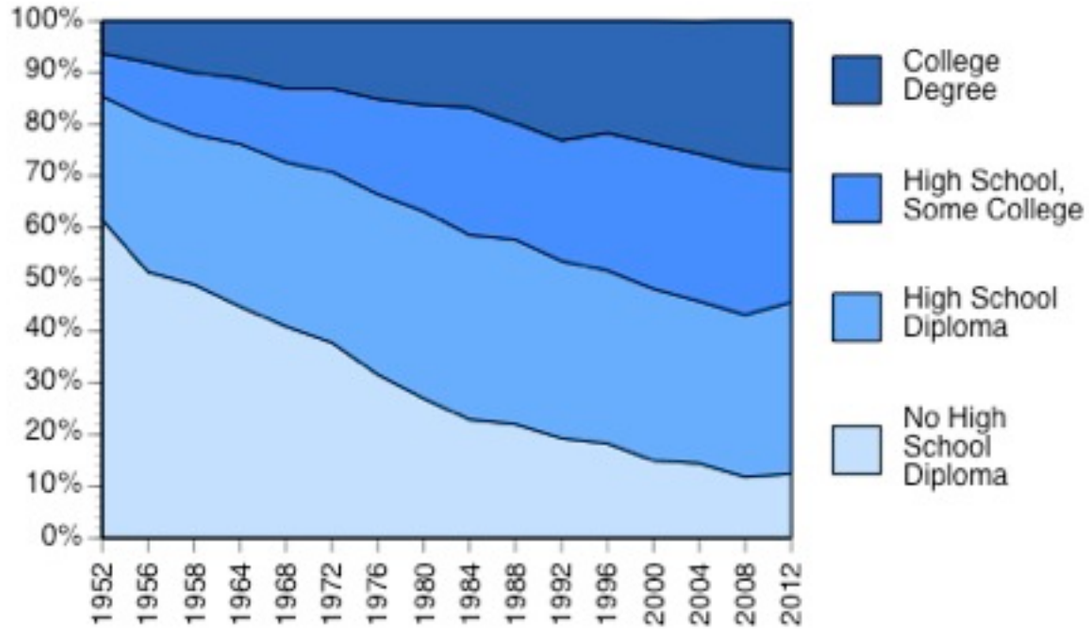
High School Diploma—or equivalent; may have had further technical schooling

High School Diploma, Some College—includes community college

College Degree—includes post-graduate work

Over six decades, the American population shifted from most people lacking a high school education to almost everyone having a high school education. As shown in Figure 3.2, about 60 percent of American lacked a high school diploma in 1952. Only about 10 percent had any college at all. But by 2012, about half the population had some college education and over 20 percent had college degrees.

Figure 3.2:
Distribution of Educational Levels, 1952-2012



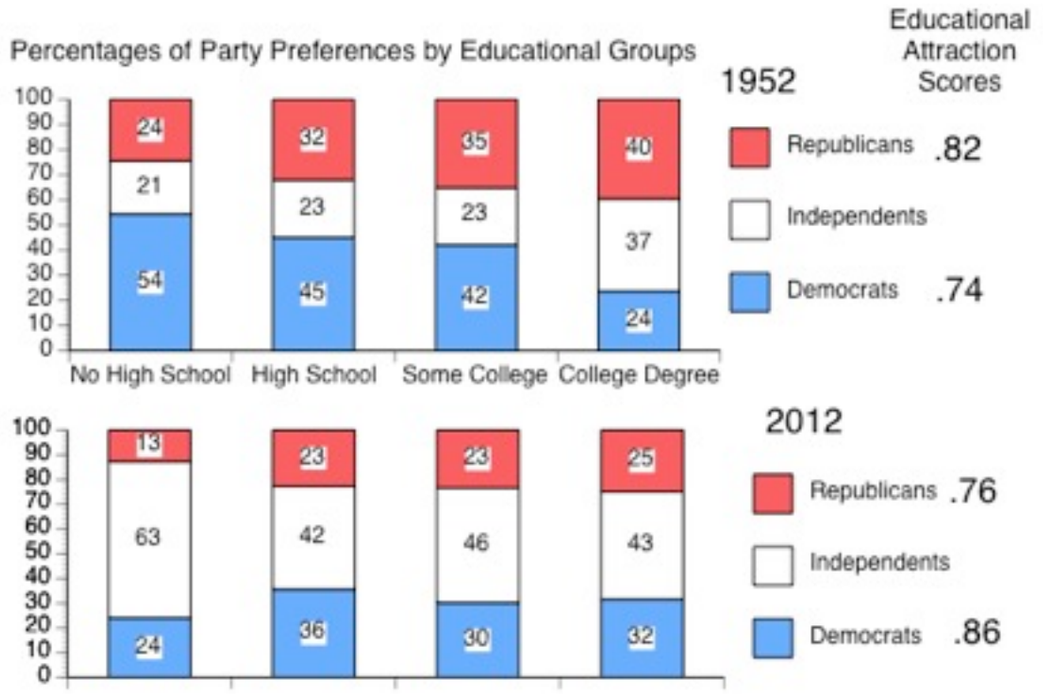
Educational Attraction and Concentration

How did the Democratic and Republican parties accommodate these enormous changes? Figure 3.3 displays the percentages of respondents at four educational levels—no high school, high school, some college, and college graduates—who identified with the Democratic or Republican parties or who had no party preference at two points in time. In 1952, 40 percent of the relatively small segment of society who held college degrees identified with the Republican Party, versus 24 percent who supported the Democrats. In 2012, the college-educated had reversed their party preferences; they were more likely to be Democrats than Republicans by 32 to 25 percentage points.

Why the change? No doubt there are several reasons but one concerns the changing link between college education and wealth. In 1952, 89 percent of respondents with a college education reported household income that placed them in the upper one-third of the nation. If you had a college degree, nine times out of ten you were economically well-off. Six decades later, a college degree did not guarantee a high income. Only 54 percent of college-educated respondents reported household income in the upper-one third.[2] As the link between college education and wealth eroded, so did the link between college education and being a Republican. In contrast, respondents without a high school education tended to be Democrats over Republicans by about 2 to 1 in both 1952 and 2012.

The link between education and independents also changed. The relatively few respondents who had not completed high school in 2012 were three times as likely (63 v. 21 percent) to say they were "independents" than in 1952. Those with more education were also more likely to register no party preference, but not nearly to the same extent. Why were 2012 respondents without high school education so reluctant to identify with a political party? One likely reason is that 35 percent of those without high school were Hispanic—who composed 13 percent of the population in 2012 compared with 1 percent in 1950. Hispanics who were old enough to be in the survey (18 or over) may have been immigrants. Even documented immigrants are reluctant to engage in politics, regardless if engagement only involves stating a party preference to unknown interviewers.

Figure 3.3:
Educational Attraction, 1952 and 2012



Because Democrats in 1952 fared so well with the least educated group and so poorly with the best educated they scored lower in educational attraction (.74) than Republicans (.82) . But in 2012, the parties' attraction scores were reversed. Democrats drew support more evenly across all educational groups than Republicans, so Democrats earned a higher attraction score in 2012—.86 versus .76.

The changing composition of educational groups in party politics can be seen even more clearly in Figure 3.4, which portrays the proportion of identifiers in each party who came from each educational level. It paints a different picture of the impact of education in 1952 versus 2012. In 1952, citizens who identified with American parties reflected

the society's lack of education, as both parties were composed of relatively few people with college educations. The preponderance of identifiers with less than a college education accounts for the relatively high educational concentration scores for both parties. But there were notable differences in the parties' bases. Nine out of ten Democratic Party identifiers had only a high school education at best, whereas about two out of five Republican identifiers had some college education.

By 2012, the educational composition of both parties was fairly similar. Americans with only a grade school education nearly disappeared from both parties, and both parties had similar proportions of respondents with high school and college educations among their identifiers. As a result, both parties had almost identical educational concentration scores.

Figure 3.4:
Educational Concentration, 1952 and 2012

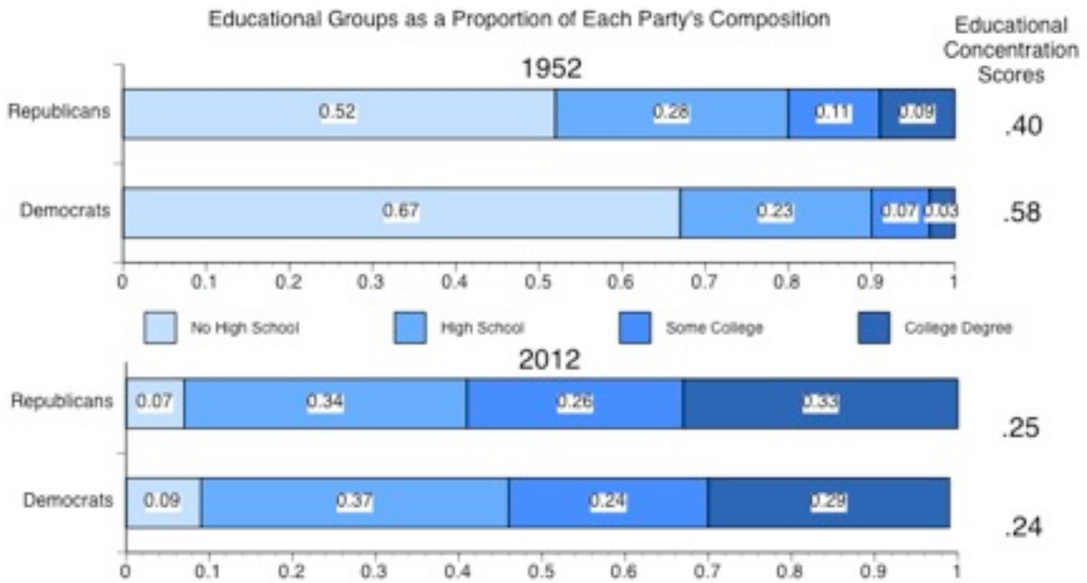
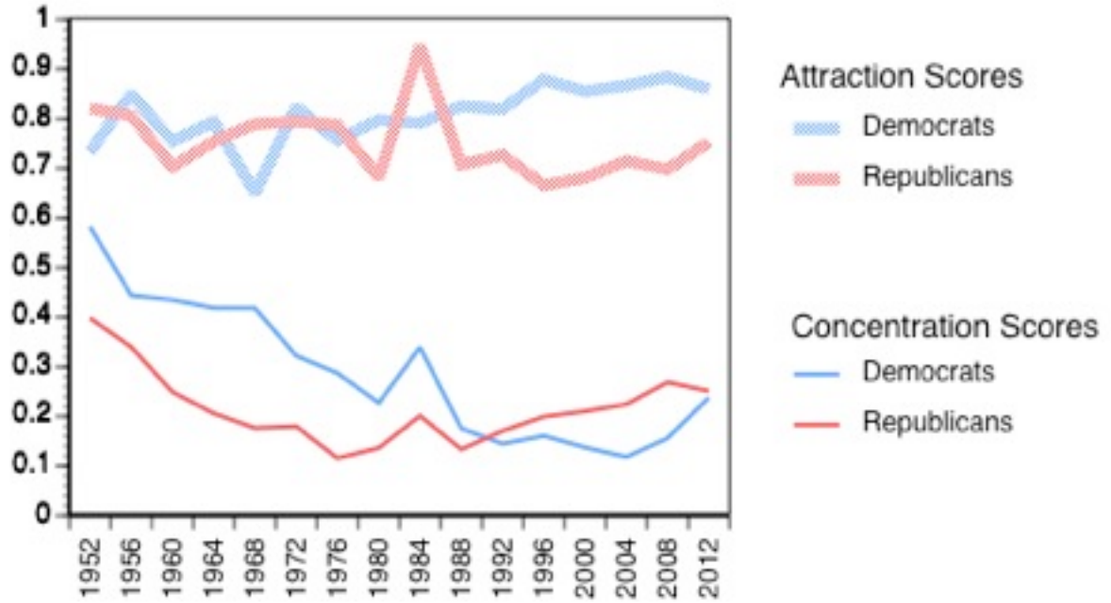


Figure 3.5 plots both parties' educational attraction and concentration scores over time. Up to Ronald Reagan's election in 1980, the two parties attracted support about equally from all educational categories. Running for reelection in 1984 against Democrat Walter Mondale, Reagan proved so popular that he won 59 percent of the popular vote and 98 percent of the electoral vote, carrying every state but Mondale's own Minnesota. In that year, 31 to 35 percent respondents at all educational levels professed to be Republicans, producing a one-year spike in Republican attraction scores

Figure 3.5:
Educational Attraction and Concentration, 1952-2012



The educational attraction and concentration scores for the Democratic and Republican parties over time tell a simple story. Sixty years ago, when few citizens held a college degree and a college education was linked with a high income, there was a definite connection between educational level and party preference: citizens with college degrees tended to be Republicans and those without a high school education tended to be Democrats. Even then, both parties attracted support fairly evenly from all educational groupings.

The decline in concentration scores occurred mainly as the proportions of citizens at all educational levels evened out. As more people obtained more education, the link loosened between education and in-

come. Today, the connection between education and party preferences is not very strong.

To put these data into perspective, Figure 3.6 plots both sets of annual educational support scores for Democrats and Republicans together with the 2012 scores for age groups reported in Chapter 1. Plotting the data along two dimensions—the baseline for the attraction scores and the vertical line for concentration scores—demonstrates that the parties' educational support has clustered fairly tightly toward the lower right-hand corner but above the scores calculated for age in 2012. These plots confirm that different educational groups—like different occupational groups— align slightly more with the Democratic and Republican parties than do age groups.

Articulating Interests of Educational Groups

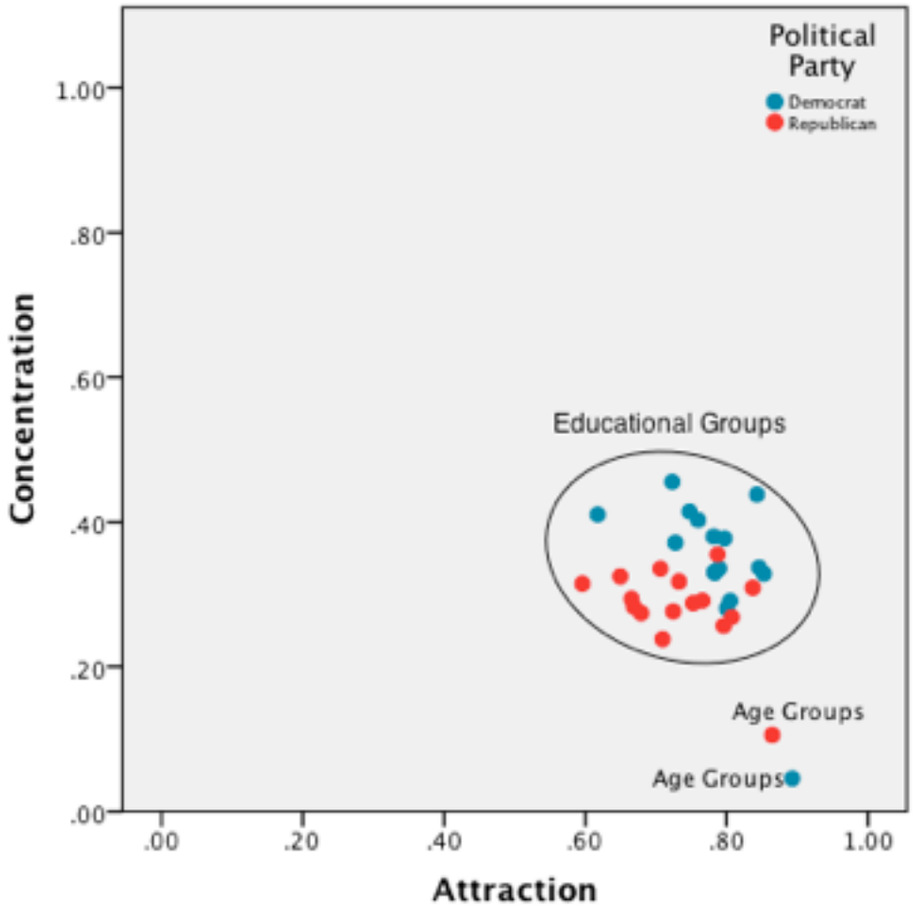
The effects of parties' educational support on their articulating educational interests is difficult to judge, not only because the connection to partisanship is weak but because educational categories do not link easily to public policies—certainly not as easily as occupational categories. Those people with college degrees who go into business, finance, and law presumably find that Republicans advance their careers. Many others, however, go into government service, where Democratic policies may be more appealing. Still others with advanced degrees who become college professors often identify with the Democratic Party.

In truth, no major interest group is closely tied to any of the four groups—no high school, high school, some college, and college graduates—used to analyze educational attraction and concentration. On the surface, the National Education Association, which has rated the voting records of members of Congress since 1972, might seem to qualify. The NEA describes itself as

> the nation's largest professional employee organization . . . committed to advancing the cause of public education.

NEA's 3 million members work at every level of education—from pre-school to university graduate programs. NEA has affiliate organizations in every state and in more than 14,000 communities across the United States.[3]

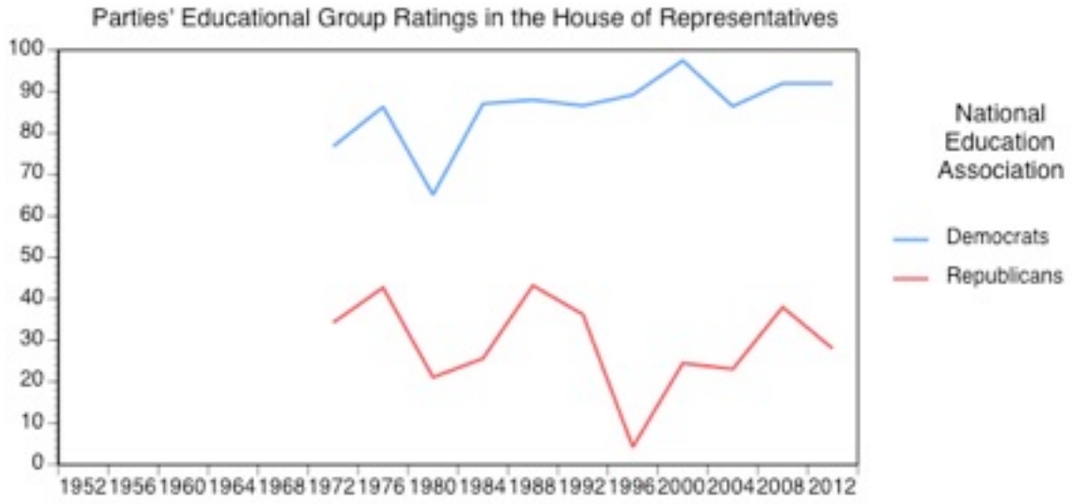
Figure 3.6:
Attraction and Concentration: Education v. Age



However, the NEA functions less as an advocate for educational interests in general than as a labor union promoting the interests of K-12 teachers. As a labor union, NEA positions were supported by House Democrats far more than by House Republicans. In fact, the gap between the parties in supporting or opposing the NEA was even greater than that for supporting or opposing legislation backed by the AFL-CIO. Figure 3.7 portrays the available NEA ratings of House Democrats and Republicans for presidential years since the organization be-

gan the practice. Although the NEA congressional ratings offer no information about the parties' articulation of educational groups' interests, they do shed some light on the difference between interest articulation and aggregation.

Figure 3.7:
NEA Congressional Vote Ratings



As explained in Chapter 1, to articulate interests means to express them clearly, whereas to aggregate interests means to collect and balance competing interests, acting much like a broker. The narrower the focus of the interest group, the more likely it serves to articulate interests. The broader the group's focus, the more likely it will be induced to aggregate as well as articulate interests.

The NEA, committed to advancing the cause of public education and representing 3 million employees, has a narrower focus than the AFL-CIO, an association of 56 unions. Just one of the AFL-CIO unions is the 1.5 million American Federation of Teachers (AFT). It is composed largely of teachers and school-related personnel in large cities and on the East coast versus the NEA's base in suburban areas and in the west.[4] While the NEA represents essentially only teachers, the AFL-CIO combines one teacher union with other unions having different objectives and problems—and thus competing interests.

Table 3.1 lists the NEA's 11 key votes for rating House members for 2011 and the AFL-CIO's 29 key House votes. (The AFL-CIO list appeared previously in Table 2.1 for comparison with Chamber of Commerce key votes.) Eight of the eleven NEA votes related specifically to education. The other three (in italics) pertained to labor issues more generally. Only one of the AFL-CIO key votes (in italics) dealt specifically with education.

Table 3.1:
NEA and AFL-CIO Key Congressional Votes in 2011

11 NEA votes 2011

(http://www.nea.org/home/50435.htm)

Health Care, linked to students
National Labor Relations Board/Workers Rights
Deceptive Practices: For-Profit Higher Education
Worker Wage Protections
District of Columbia Private School Vouchers
Education, Medicaid, Medicare Funding
School-Based Health Clinics
Private School Vouchers for Military Families
Charter School Accountability
Workers Rights
Education Funding

29 AFL-CIO 2011 votes

(http://www.aflcio.org/Legislation-and-Politics/Legislative-Voting-Record)

Repealing Heath Care Reform
Spending Cuts
National Labor Relations Board
Health Care Reform Defunding
Project Labor Agreements
Davis Bacon Prevailing Wage (issue appeared 5 more times)
D.C. School Voucher Program
Official Time

Democratic Union Elections
12. Fiscal 2012 Budget Resolution
Fiscal 2012 Defense Authorization
Project Labor Agreements
TSA Collective Bargaining Rights
Fiscal 2012 Military Construction
Debt Limit Increase
National Labor Relations Board Powers
Colombia Trade Agreement
Panama Trade
South Korea Trade Agreement
Balanced-Budget Amendment)
Union Election Rules
Workplace Safety and Health
Congressional Approval of Major Rules
Year-End Extensions

The broader range of labor issues selected by the AFL-CIO to rate congressional voting attests to its aggregation of interests within the labor movement. The narrow range of educational issues selected by the NEA attests to its articulation of interests pertaining to its school employees.

Perhaps the two parties diverged more over their NEA ratings than over their AFL-CIO ratings because the NEA chose a purer set of key votes. Because the AFL-CIO key votes were based on a wider set of issues, individual members might have differed, for various reasons, from their party's majority position on some issues.

As for articulating the interests of purely educational groups, however, the NEA ratings say nothing. The four educational groups are only weakly related to partisan support, and the groups are not aligned with major interest groups. There may be more political import among the remaining sources of partisan cleavage. We turn next to region.

End Notes

Click on footnote number to return to text

[1] These questions were extracted from the American National Election Studies (ANES) *Cumulative Data File, 1948-2008 Codebook* (Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, undated), p. 27. The codebook is available as a PDF file at http://electionstudies.org/studypages/download/datacenter_all.htm.

[2] To retain the comparison by percentiles, ANES data for 2008 were used. Pew 2012 income data were given in dollars, not percentiles.

[3] From the NEA web site at http://www.nea.org/home/2580.htm.

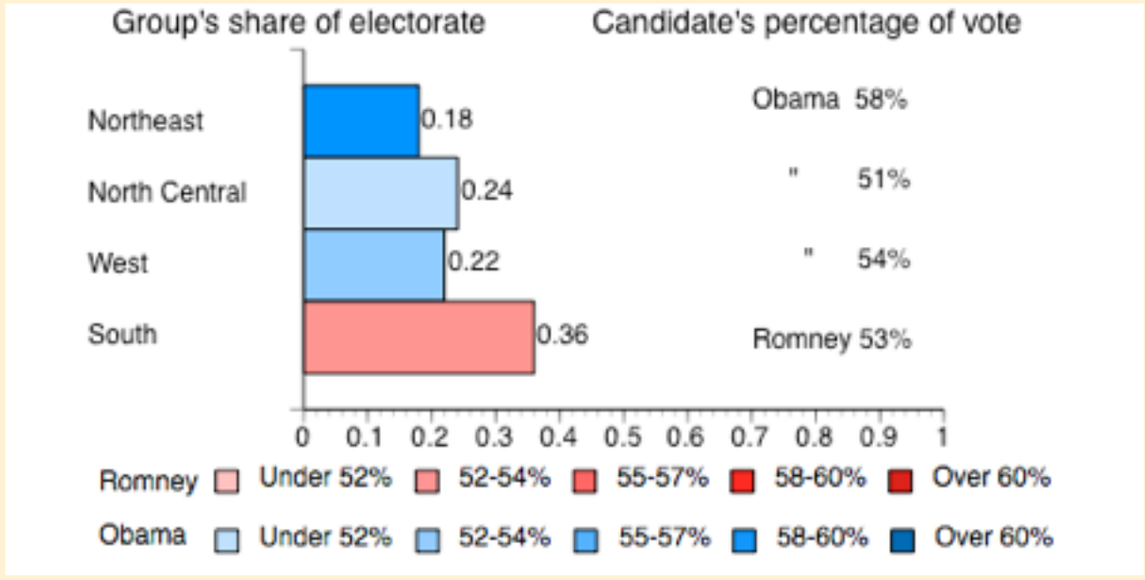
[4] AFL-CIO Announces Partnership with NEA Teacher's Union," *USA Today* (February 27, 2006).

Chapter 4:

Region

The Census Bureau divides the United States into four major regions: Northeast (9 states), North Central (12). West (13), and South (16 states plus the District of Columbia). The South contains the most states and, as shown in Figure 4.1, also more than one-third of the 2012 voters.

Figure 4.1:
2012 Presidential Vote by Regions



Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney ran very well in the South, winning 53 percent of the vote. He won nine of the eleven states in the old Confederacy, losing only Virginia and Florida to Obama. Romney also ran well in the mountain and western plain states in the West, losing only Colorado, Arizona, and Nevada.

However, Obama won the more populous coastal states in the West and Northeast and in the North Central region. Although he won just over a majority of the popular vote, Obama's victories in the larger states generated 332 electoral votes to Romney's 206.

Region has always played an important role in presidential elections, but the part that it has played has changed dramatically over time. Today's student may find it hard to believe that sixty years ago, the South was solidly Democratic. Now it is almost as solidly Republican.

When regional divisions of a country sharply align with partisanship, politics can get ugly and can even erupt in violence. In the United States, regional conflict contributed to our Civil War in the early 1860s, and North-South political divisions strained America for nearly a century afterward. A Republican president, Abraham Lincoln, led the victorious North. The defeated South continued its rebellion by becoming solidly Democratic. For forty years, from 1880 to 1920, no Republican presidential candidate won even one of the eleven states of the former Confederacy. The moneyed Republican Northeast was thought to control the purse strings of capitalism. The Republican North Central region was long regarded as the stronghold of isolationism in foreign affairs. The South was virtually a one-party region, almost completely Democratic. And the individualistic West pioneered its own mixture of progressive politics.

In the past, differences in wealth fed cultural differences between these regions. In recent decades, however, the movement of people and wealth away from states in the Northeast and North Central to the Sunbelt in the South and Southwest has equalized the per capita income of the various regions. One result of this economic equalization is that the formerly "solid South" is no longer solidly Democratic. In 1964 Barry Goldwater won five states in the deep South, and since 1968 the South has tended to favor Republican presidential candidates. Regionalism persists in party politics today, but it is a mirror image of what it had been. Today, the South is mostly Republican and northern regions (except for the mountain states) are mostly Democratic. This switch in party politics has helped Republicans win presidential elections. As Southern states grew in population, they also gained electoral votes needed to elect a president.

Changes in Population across Regions, 1952-2012

Since 1952, the American National Election Studies coded interviews by the state in which they occurred, using the four broad categories defined by the U.S. Census Bureau:

Northeast: CT, ME, MA, NH, NJ, NY, PA, RI, VT

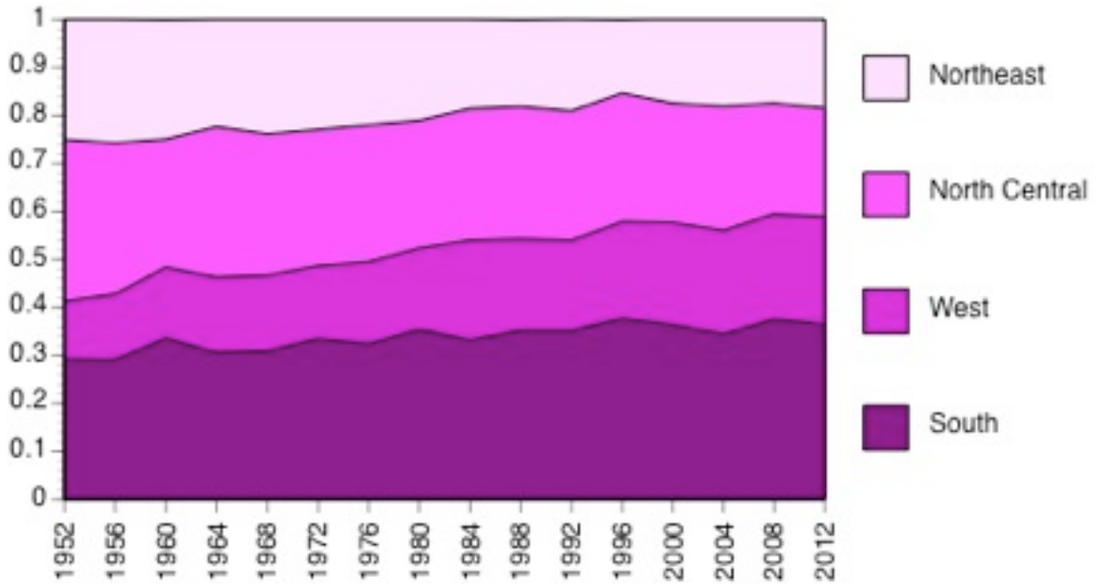
North Central: IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, MN, MO, NE, ND, OH, SD, WI

South: AL, AR, DE, DC, FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV

West: AK, AZ, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NV, NM, OR, UT, WA, WY

The 2012 Pew survey used the same four Census categories. Figure 4.2 plots the distribution of respondents by regions over time.[1]

Figure 4.2:
Regional Distribution of Respondents, 1952 to 2012



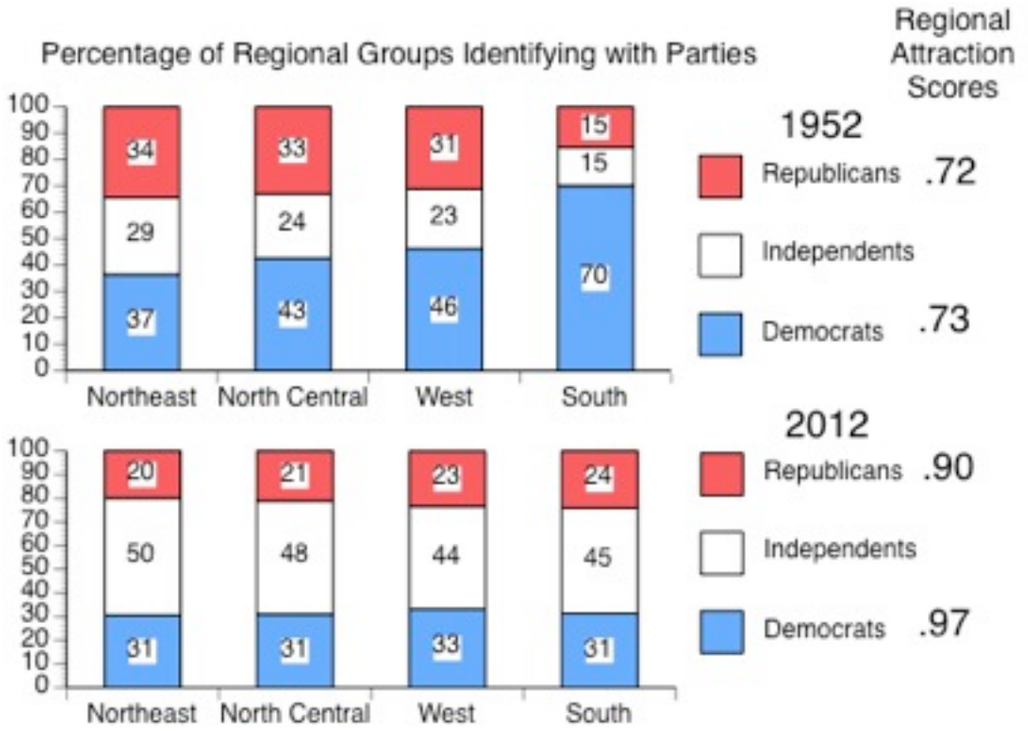
Regional Attraction and Concentration

Over the last half-century, the South and the West gained population relative to the Northeast and North Central regions of the United States. The large population shifts brought distinctive changes in regional patterns of support for the two parties, especially in the South. As shown in Figure 4.3, 70 percent of southerners in 1952 identified with the Democrats compared with only 15 percent who thought of themselves as Republicans. Only citizens in the Northeast divided al-

most equally between the parties. By 2012, voters in all regions supported both parties almost equally. The ratios of southerners who favored Democrats over the Republicans dropped from 70:15 to 31:24. As a result in 2012, both the Republicans and Democrats earned attraction scores of .90 or better.

However, this equality in attractiveness did not extend to southern ethnic groups. Although ethnicity will be covered separately in Chapter 7, a point needs to be made now. The 2012 Pew survey reported that 65 percent of black southerners were Democrats, 35 percent were independent, and virtually none were Republican. Although the two sets of attraction scores capture the data patterns for region, they do not consider ethnicity.

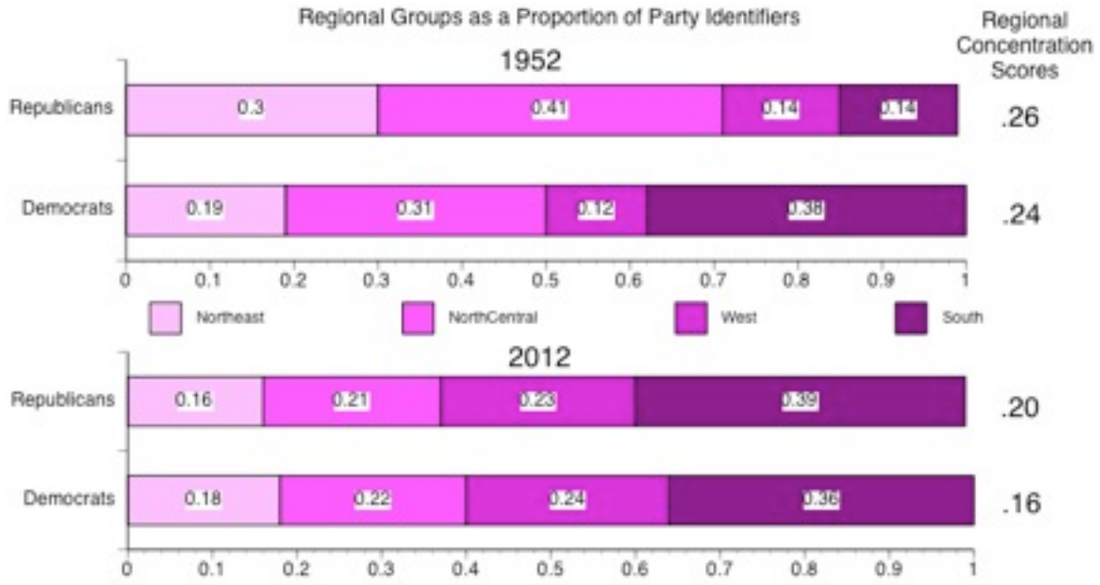
Figure 4.3:
Regional Attraction, 1952 and 2012



While support for the parties from citizens in the regions was evening out, support from southerners (who in 2012 held the biggest share of the nation's population) was becoming more concentrated in both parties, as depicted in Figure 4.4. In 1952, .41 of all Republican identifiers came from North Central states, but that proportion dropped to .21 in 2012. While the Republicans' concentration score dropped somewhat, the proportion of Republicans who were southerners rose from .14 in 1952 to almost .40 in 2012. Southerners replaced Midwesterners as the Republican Party's largest regional component.

Undetected by the Republicans' regional concentration score is that .90 of all southern Republicans were white, and virtually none were black. Paradoxically, almost the same proportion of Democrats were also southerners, helped by 65 percent of southern blacks identifying with the party. The remaining southern blacks in the 2012 survey were independents; no measurable proportion was Republican.

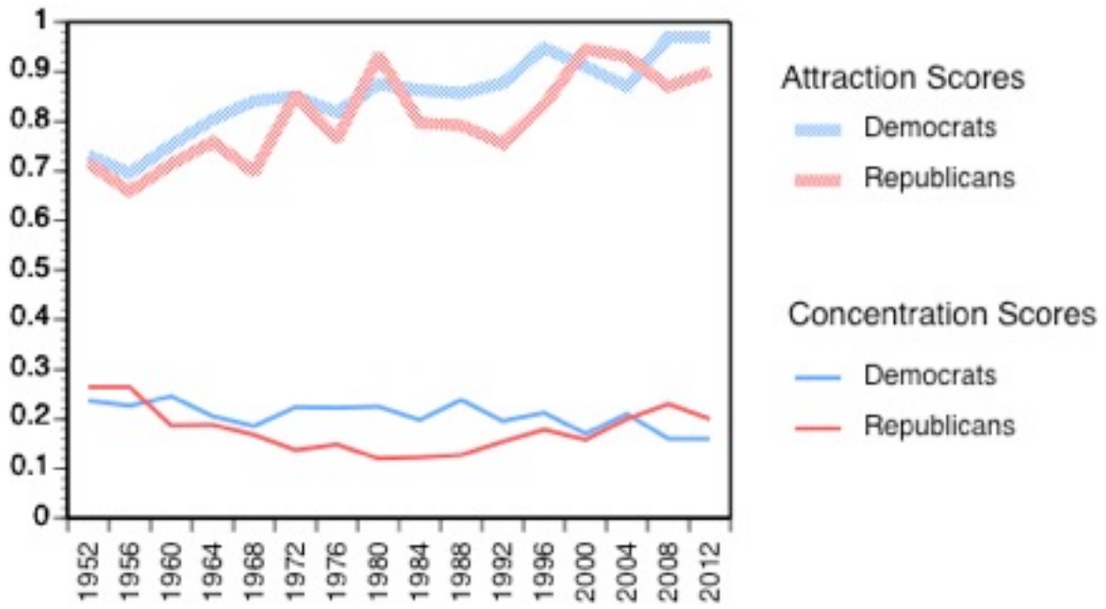
Figure 4.4:
Regional Concentration Scores, 1952-2012



Despite the major population shifts during 1952 to 2012 from the Northeast and North Central to the South and West, the parties accommodated the shifts fairly evenly, as shown in the attraction and concentration plots in Figure 4.5. Over time, both parties steadily attracted support more evenly from each of the four regions, and regional support failed to become markedly more concentrated in either party. Es-

pecially in the Republican Party, however, changes did occur. It shifted from a party whose supporters were centered in the North Central states to one centered in the South.

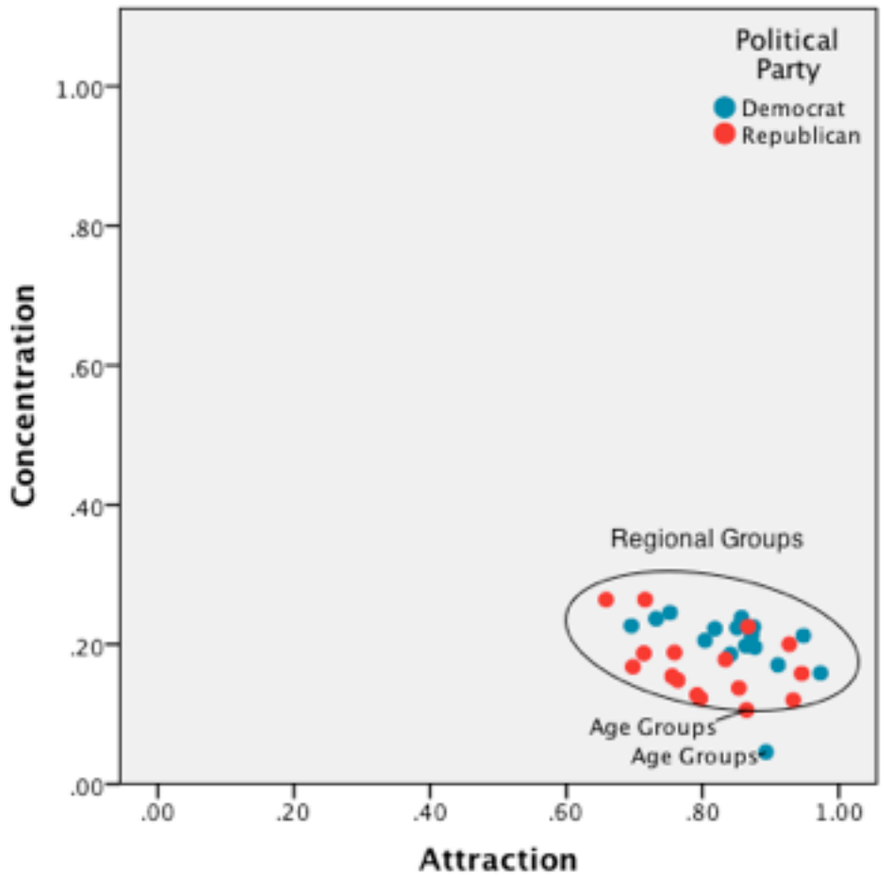
Figure 4.5:
Regional Attraction and Concentration, 1952-2012



To put these data into perspective, Figure 4.6 plots both sets of annual regional support scores for Democrats and Republicans together with the 2012 scores for age and ideological groups reported in Chapter 1. Plotting the scores along two dimensions—the baseline for attraction and the vertical line for concentration—shows that the parties' regional support has clustered fairly tightly toward the lower right-hand corner but above the scores calculated for age in 2012.

These plots confirm that different regional groups align only slightly more with the Democratic and Republican parties than age groups do. Parties do differ somewhat in their structure of support by region, but—as in the case of education—the parties are not sharply divided along regional lines. Plenty of citizens in all regions identify with both parties.

Figure 4.6:
Attraction and Concentration: Region v. Age



Articulating Interests of Regional Groups

People in different regions live in various climates, engage in alternative economic activities, and differ in their cultural values. Consequently, they differ in their political interests—in what they want government to do or not do. Consider agriculture. The U.S. Department of Agriculture identifies ten major farm production regions. Three are in the South (as defined here) and each emphasizes different products: Appalachia (tobacco, peanuts, cattle, dairy); Southeast (beef, broilers, fruits, vegetables, peanuts, citrus); and Delta (soybean, cotton, rice, sugarcane).[2]

Just listing these regions and their products for the South conjures up thoughts about government subsidies and tariffs created to

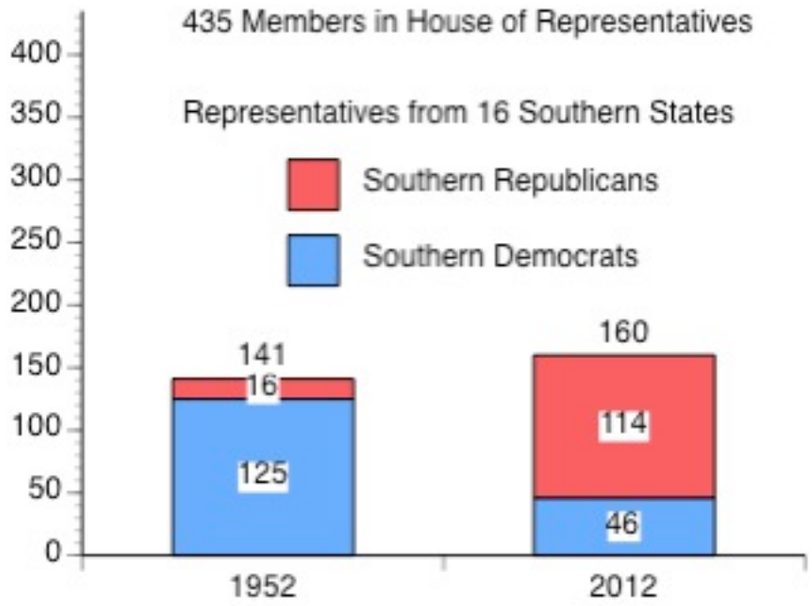
serve the region's agricultural interests and interests in the other seven regions outside the South. (For example, ethanol subsidies favor corn states, mostly in the Midwest.) Concerning cultural values, southerners tend to be more conservative than people in other regions on moral and lifestyle issues, such as same-sex marriage, abortion, evolution v. creationism, and so on. People living in different regions do have different political interests.

The interests of the four major regions in the United States, like the interests of educational groups discussed in the previous chapter, cannot be linked to national organizations that annually monitor and rate congressional votes. True, there is a Southern Governors' Association, a Western Governors' Association, a Midwestern Governors' Association, and a New England Governors' Conference. Indeed, these regional governors' associations map out roughly according to the four Census regions. Each of the associations, however, are subject to partisan change of governors following state elections, usually every four years, and none of them rate members of congress for their voting records.

An alternative way to assess the partisan articulation of regional interests in Congress is through its congressional representation. Lacking interest group ratings of congressional voting, one can reasonably assume that members elected to the United States House of Representatives and to the U.S. Senate will express the interests of their regions in their voting. Given that the South is, and has been, the most important region in party politics, we will focus on partisan representation of the South in the United States Congress.

The partisan composition of Congress, the party affiliations of southern delegations, has changed greatly over the last sixty years. Figure 4.7 graphs the number of Representatives from the 16 southern states in the four standard Census regions. In 1952, 135 of the 435 members of the House were from the South. Thanks to southward population movement by northerners over the decades, the South's representation grew to 160 by 2012. But the real message was not that the South had gained 25 House seats over time but that the southern delegation had changed from 93 percent Democratic to 71 percent Republican! The Republican Party ascendance in the South was also reflected in the Senate. In 1952, 94 percent of the 32 Senators from the 16 southern states were Democratic; in 2012, 62 percent were Republican.

Figure 4.7:
Southerners in Congress by Party, 1952 and 2012



No other region in the country experienced such a partisan flip-flop during the last sixty years. Hollywood movies in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s often portrayed the U. S. Senate as dominated by entrenched southern Democrats in leadership positions. Like those old films, the era of a Democratic "Solid South" is over. Today, the Republican Party is articulating the political interests of the South—whatever they may be.

End Notes

Click on footnote number to return to text

[1] Data for 1952 to 2004 came from variable VCF0112 in the ANES Cumulative Data File, 1948-2004. In 2008, ANES oversampled interviews in the South in order to increase black and Hispanic respondents. Unfortunately, the oversampling did not adjust for accurate estimates of the regional population. The regional data for 2008 comes from the 2008 General Social Survey. Data for 2012 came from the January 12, 2012 Pew survey.

[2] The data for agricultural produce come from "Structure of U.S. Agriculture" at http://www.usda.gov/news/pubs/.

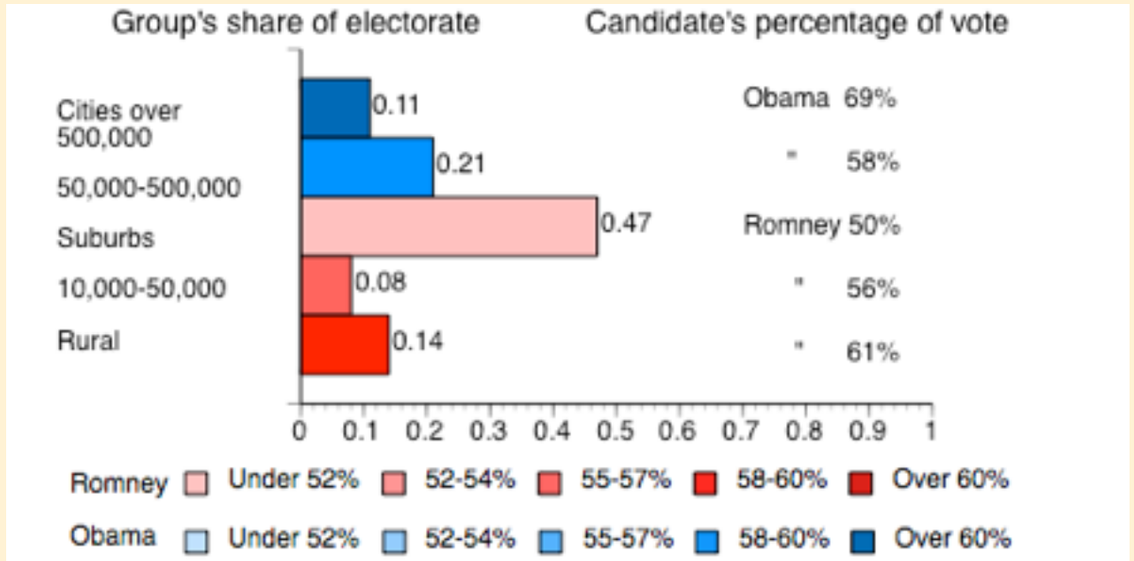
Chapter 5

Urbanization

Where one lived in 2012 was strongly related to how one voted for president. The more urban the area, the more likely the person voted for Democrat Barack Obama. The less urban, the more likely the vote for Republican Mitt Romney.

According to to the five categories of urbanization used by the exit polls, Obama won almost 70 percent of the vote from people living in cities with over 500,000 people. In contrast, Romney took more than 60 percent of the vote from rural areas. But only about one-quarter of today's electorate lived in big cities or rural areas, while nearly one-half lived in city "suburbs," which themselves vary from being urban to being rural in character. Not surprisingly, the suburban vote divided almost evenly, with Romney taking slightly more than Obama.

Figure 5.1:
2012 Presidential Vote by Urbanization



Over the last sixty years, the United States has experienced huge population shifts as the nation as a whole has become more urbanized. The population movement has affected not only how people voted for the presidential candidates in 2012, but how they identified with the Democratic and Republican parties.

By definition, urbanization is "a process by which the number of urban dwellers increases in relation to rural dwellers."[1] Some scholars have viewed "urbanization" and "civilization" as two sides of the same coin, seeing urbanization as "the process by which preliterate agriculturalists living in villages and towns first came together to form larger, more complex *civilized* societies."[2] As more people began living next to one another they interacted in new ways and adopted, or at least conformed to, new values—which meant surrendering old ones and sacrificing old ways. So urbanization, regardless of whether it truly advanced civilization, brought cultural changes.

In 1787, when the Constitution was written, the United States was estimated to be 95 percent rural. In 1900, more than a century later, 60 percent of the people still lived in rural areas. Not until 1920 did a majority of the population live in urban areas—and just barely, 51 percent urban to 49 percent rural. Nevertheless, this inexorable process of urbanization brought cultural change, economic development, and even political conflict as rival cities sought to make themselves regional centers.[3]

In the latter half of the 1800s, mass immigration from Europe and black migration from the South altered partisan politics in the nation, as urban Democratic parties opened their arms to the newcomers, who later formed an integral part of President Roosevelt's New Deal coalition of European ethnics, blacks, Catholics, Northern liberals, and white Protestant southerners.

By 1950, the U.S. Census Bureau estimated that 60 percent of the population lived in urban areas.[4] However, what the Census counted as an urban area may not match what you think it is, and the definitional issue has vexed research on urbanization. Prior to 1900, the history of defining what was urban and what was rural is very complicated, and its history since is only somewhat less so.

According to the Census's *Geographic Areas Reference Manual*, "In the decennial censuses from 1910 through 1940, *urban* comprised all territory, people, and housing units in incorporated places of 2,500 or more."[5] Finding that many *un*incorporated places also had more than 2,500 people, the 1950 Census created the "Census Designated Place," defined as "a densely settled population center that has a name and community identity, and is not part of any incorporated place."[6] The Census also moved toward recognizing cities by defining an "urbanized area" as continuously built-up area with a population of 50,000 or more."

Still today, the Census defines "urban" as any incorporated or CDP with at least 2,500 inhabitants. Many people across America living in small towns that size may be surprised to learn that—officially—they are urbanites. Today, about 80 percent of the population is urban—according to the generous Census definition.

Not only did the 1950 Census failed to settle the problem of identifying urban areas, but also the Census Bureau tweaked its definitions prior to every decennial population count since. Those truly interested in getting into the weeds on this matter can consult the two-page table in the *Geographic Areas Reference Manual*.[7] Here, we simply accept the percentages of inhabitants in urban and rural areas as published in the seven decennial censuses from 1950 to 2010.

According to official Census figures, 81 percent of the population lived in urban areas in 2010. But classifying 81 percent of the U.S. population as urban combines people living in areas who, sociologically speaking, ought to be separated. People in densely populated cities surely live different lives from those in sparsely populated suburbs of the same cities. Unfortunately, the standard Census categories do not break out the suburban population over time.

Changes in Urbanization, 1952-2012

Survey organizations struggled over the years with the changing Census categories. The American National Election Studies simply stated, "Definitions describing urbanism categories have continued to

change over time," then gamely used respondents' sampling addresses to code its interviews as occurring in "Central cities," in "Suburban areas," or in "Rural, small towns, outlying and adjacent areas."[8] The ANES codebook ran for 13 pages to fit its interviews into those three categories for interviews from 1952 to 2000. Afterwards, ANES inexplicably stated, "Data are not available after 2000."

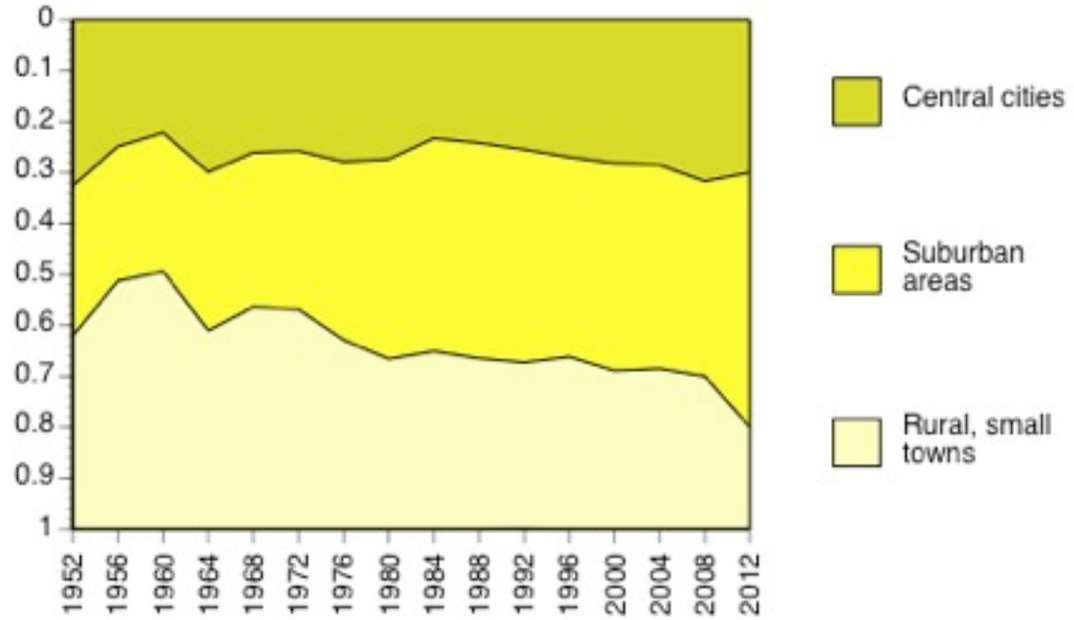
The General Social Survey, however, adopted a coding scheme used earlier by ANES to code interviews for 2004 and 2008 that was adapted for this analysis.[9] Finally, the 2012 Pew survey classified respondents as living in urban, suburban, and rural areas.[10] These various surveys generated data on the rural, urban, or suburban character of their respondents' locations that match fairly well with Census data over the same time period.[11]

This "more-than-you-want-to-know" description of difficulties in distinguishing urban from rural and both from suburban illustrates the research problem: the urban-rural distinction is undeniably important in society and politics—yet devilishly hard to pin down.

Figure 5.2 shows that the decline in rural population did not translate into population growth in central cities. About 33 percent of Americans lived in cities in 1952 compared with about 30 percent in 2012. The real population growth occurred in suburban areas, which held about 30 percent of the population in 1952 and 50 percent in 2012. Indeed, the Great Recession of 2007 generated population decline in some major U.S. cities.[12] People throughout the six decades did not shift massively toward small towns and rural areas, however, they tended to move to city suburbs.

Regardless of whether people moved to cities or suburbs, in every region of the country over the last sixty years they migrated to more urban areas. Many moved primarily to obtain employment in manufacturing. Others were drawn by the luster of bright lights and urban living. In the process, those who moved from rural to urban areas often suffered culture shocks. They encountered people outside their familiar ethnic and religious groups; faced unfamiliar zoning laws; experienced crime and police misconduct; and so on. Moving to the city meant more than just a change of scenery. How did the Democratic and Republican parties accommodate this migrating population?

Figure 5.2:
Rural, Suburban, and Urban Population, 1952-2012



Urban-Rural Attraction and Concentration

The northern portion of Roosevelt's New Deal voting coalition consisted of European ethnics, blacks, Catholics, and liberals. They were concentrated in cities and voted overwhelmingly Democratic through the 1930s and into the 1950s. In the south, Roosevelt benefitted from the Democratic Party's blanket domination of politics. Elected president in 1932, he won 57 percent of the popular vote and 89 percent of the electoral vote.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt surpassed that huge victory in 1936, being re-elected with 61 and 98 percent respectively of the popular and electoral votes. For good measure, voters re-elected FDR again in 1940

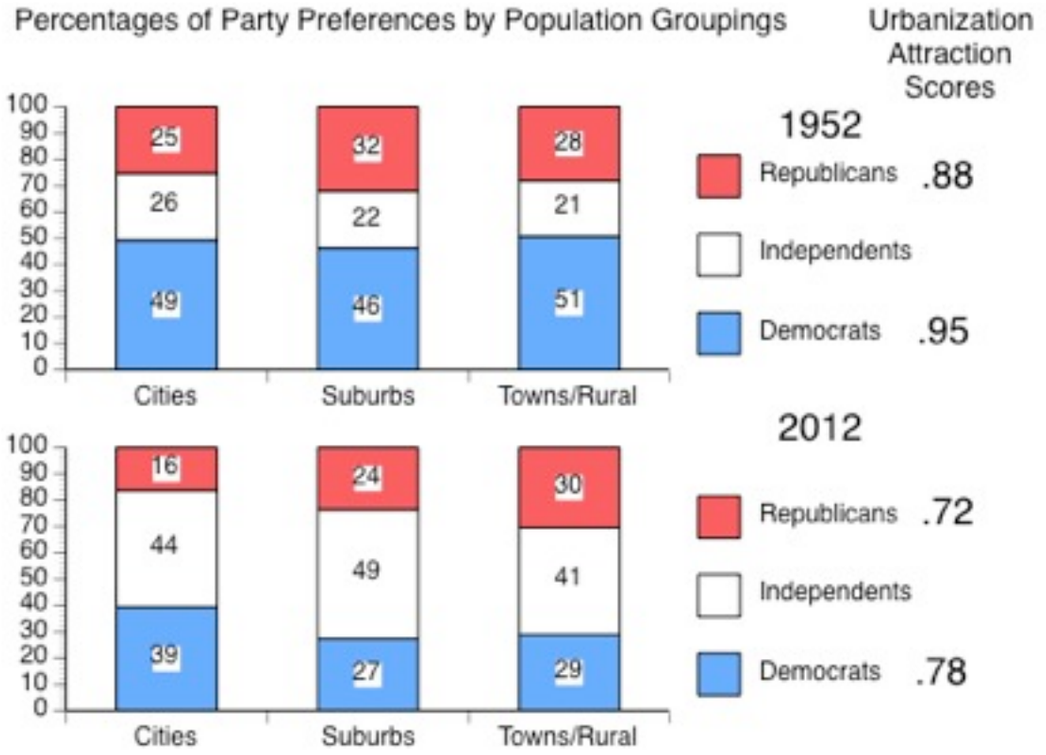
and 1944 with strong but less spectacular margins. Throughout that time, the Democrats also controlled the House and the Senate by commanding margins. Roosevelt's New Deal coalition lived on after his death in 1945, helping to elect his Vice-President, Harry Truman, to the presidency in 1948. World War II hero General Dwight D. Eisenhower ended Democratic control of the White House with his election and reelection in 1952 and 1956.

Although the urban base of Roosevelt's coalition still supported the Democratic Party, it became severely weakened after World War II as people moved from city centers to suburbs. One scholar attributes its decline to the automobile: "The automobile and the freeway system, the development of which was made possible by the Federal Highway Act of 1956, encouraged a new kind of decentralization that undermined the central city."[13] Electoral politics shifted from an urban-rural tussle to an urban-suburban-rural game. The vote-delivering importance of mostly Democratic big-city political machines was lessened both by the growth of suburbs and by new federal welfare programs that bypassed city officials.

Nevertheless, the affinity between cities and the Democratic Party is evident in Figure 5.3. In 1952, most citizens nationally identified with the Democratic Party nearly 2 to 1. Therefore it is not surprising that most people in cities, suburbs, and less populated areas should all favor the Democrats to similar extent. That the tendency to identify as Democrats varied little across the population groupings can be seen in the Democrat's nearly perfect attraction score of .95. That 32 percent of suburbanites were Republican in 1952—even more than the 28 percent of those in towns and rural areas—attests to the early link between city suburbs (then moneyed executive suburbs) and the Republican Party.

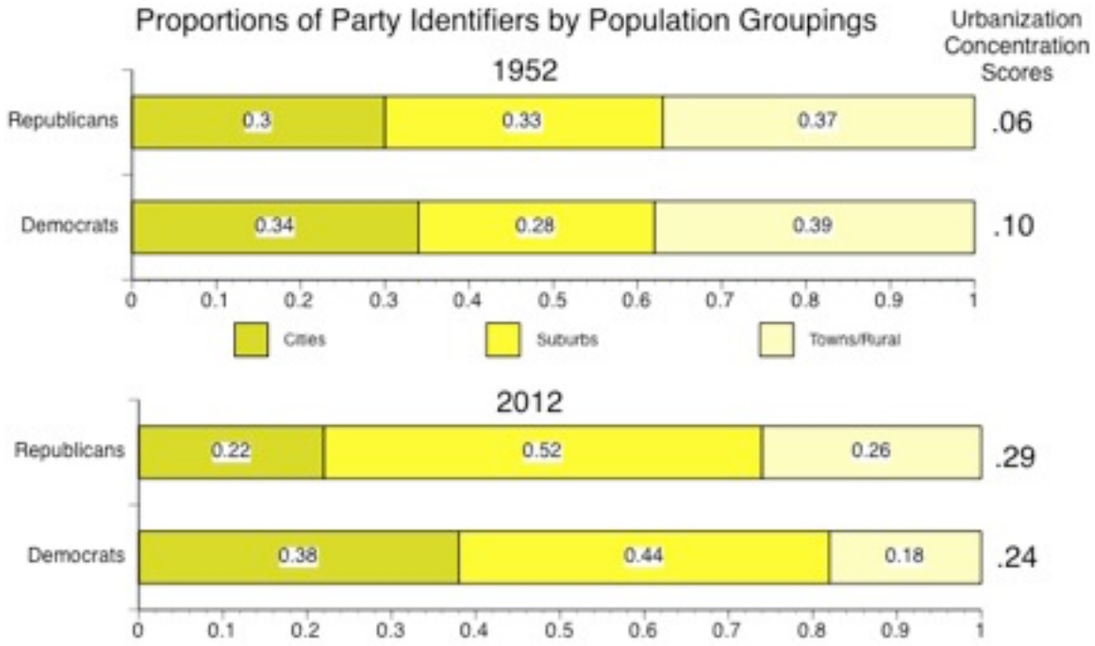
By 2012, the two parties drew very differently from the three population groupings. Democrats retained roughly their 2 to 1 margin over Republicans among city respondents, but Republicans drew nearly even to Democrats in the suburbs and had a slight lead in towns and rural areas. Reflecting the changing patterns of party support, both parties dropped considerably in their attraction scores.

Figure 5.3:
Urbanization Attraction, 1952 and 2012



Sometimes the attraction and concentration scores tell different stories about patterns of party support, but not in the case of population groupings. Figure 5.4 portrays a similar picture to Figure 5.3. In 1952, both parties were composed almost equally of identifiers from cities, suburbs, and less populated areas. By 2012, more than half of Republican identifiers were suburbanites, and less than one-quarter lived in cities. With their increased presence in the population, suburbanites also accounted for a larger proportion of Democrats in 2012, while people in towns and rural areas dwindled to only .18 of all Democratic identifiers. Accordingly, both parties increased in their urbanization concentration scores.

Figure 5.4:
Urbanization Concentration, 1952 and 2012



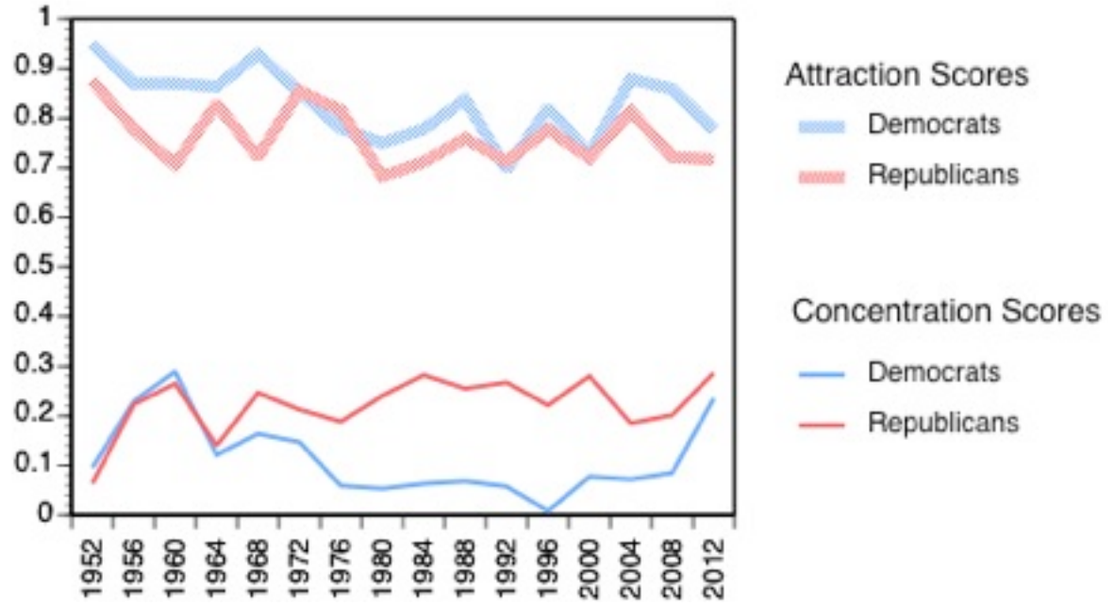
The urbanization attraction and concentration scores over time are plotted in Figure 5.5. These plots convey three messages:

1. For both parties, the attraction scores are consistently fairly high and the concentration scores fairly low. These scores indicate that level of urbanization is not a major differentiator for party support.

2. Both parties show a slight trend toward being less attractive and more concentrative of population groupings. These trends suggest that level of urbanization has become slightly more politically important over time.

3. The Republican Party has rated almost consistently above the Democratic Party in concentration scores. That reflects the relatively higher proportion of suburbanites over urbanites among Republican identifiers.

Figure 5.5:
Urbanization Attraction and Concentration, 1952-2012

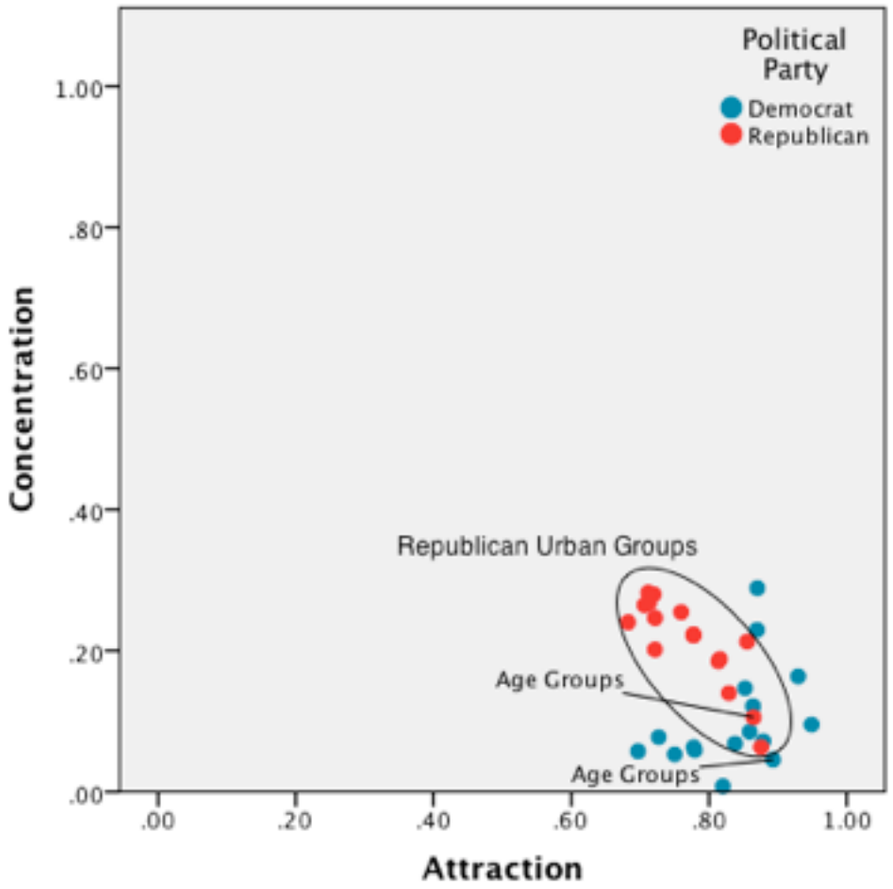


To put these data into perspective, Figure 5.6 plots both sets of annual urbanization support scores for Democrats and Republicans with the 2012 scores for age and ideological groups reported in Chapter 1. Plotting the scores along two dimensions—the baseline for attraction and the vertical line for concentration—shows that the parties' urbanization support has differed from the patterns previously exhibited by occupational, educational, and regional groupings. In those cases, a single oval could be drawn to encompass the plotted points over each period. In this instance, the Republican and Democratic scores are too scattered to fit within one oval. While an oval can be drawn to encircle the Republican scores, the Democratic scores scatter too much to fit within an oval at all.

The problem lies with the vertical distribution of Democratic scores on concentration. For most of the years, Democrats are consistently low on concentration, but three small circles are much higher than the other thirteen. Inspection of Figure 5.5 reveals that those three circles belong to 1956, 1960, and 2012. In those three years, the

Democrats scored much higher than usual on concentration—but for different reasons in 1956 and 1960 than in 2012.

Figure 5.6:
Attraction and Concentration: Urbanization v. Age



In the earlier two years (the underlying data are not reported here) almost half of all Democrats lived in towns or rural areas, which generated concentration scores of .23 and .29. In 2012, only .18 of all Democrats lived in such areas, while most lived in the suburbs, generating a concentration score of .24. Except for those aberrant years, urban groupings did not differentiate among Democratic supporters any more than age groupings. The structure of support for the Republican Party, however, showed more responsiveness to urban groups than to age groups.

Articulating Interests of Urban Districts

The political interests of city dwellers differ sharply from the interests of people in small towns and rural areas on many issues. For example, government programs for urban mass transit serve city dwellers, while government agricultural subsidies favor rural inhabitants. In addition, urbanites and country folk tend to differ on lifestyle issues, such as same-sex marriage, abortion, evolution v. creationism, and so on. The political interests of suburbanites may lie closer to those of urbanites on most issues, although suburbanites may not pursue them with the same ardor. Certainly people living in suburbs have different concerns about crime, housing, and education—factors that led them to locate in the suburbs.

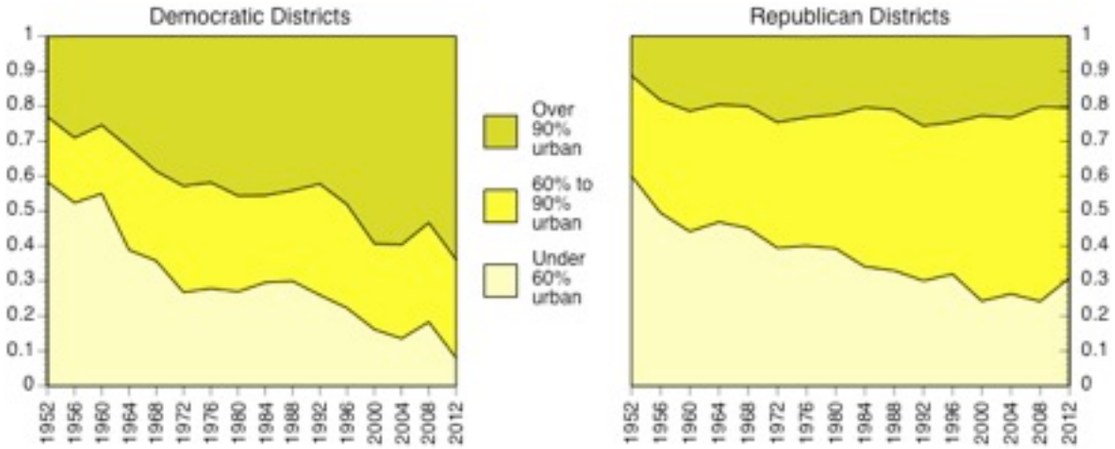
Following the logic in Chapter 4 to assess the articulation of regional interests in Congress, we gauge the articulation of urban interests by analyzing the partisan representation of congressional districts according to degree of urbanization. Analyzing Census data for 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990 shows that the 435 congressional districts divide into relatively equal thirds according to whether the districts during these years were under 60 percent urban, between 60 and 90 percent urban, and over 90 percent urban.[14] These dividing points were then applied to districts prior to 1960 and for 2000 and later.

Figure 5.7 separates Democrats from Republicans in the House of Representatives according to the degree of urbanization for the districts that they represent.[15] Understand that this tripartite classification of degree of urbanization does not map directly onto the rural/small town-suburban-central cities classification employed in the survey data discussed earlier. Nevertheless, rough comparisons seem appropriate.

As expected the proportions of both Democrats and Republicans representing districts under 60 percent urban has declined since 1952, as the U.S. population became more urbanized. Although the percent-

ages of people living in suburbs overtook the percentages living in central cities, districts over 90 percent urban elected Democrats to Congress in increasing number. Meanwhile, districts that were 60 to 90 percent urban increasingly elected Republicans—amounting to nearly half in 2012. Only 20 percent of House Republicans represented districts over 90 percent urban. In contrast, almost two-thirds of House Democrats came from the most urban districts versus less than 10 percent from the least urban.

Figure 5.7:
Urban Representation in Congress by Party, 1952 to 2012



A popular British television situation comedy broadcast in the late 1970s and early 1980s (and re-run endlessly in the States) was titled, "Are You Being Served?" In congressional politics, that question might be twisted to "Who Is Serving You?" Increasingly, urbanites are choosing Democrats to Congress to articulate their interests, while people living outside of the most urbanized areas are choosing Republicans to serve theirs.

END NOTES

Click on footnote number to return to text

[1] Thomas Bender, "Urbanization," in Eric Foner and John A. Garraty (eds.), *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991), p. 1101.

[2] Robert McC. Adams, "Urban Revolution," in David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume 16* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 201-207 at p. 201.

[3] Bender, p. 1101.

[4] U.S. Census Bureau, "Table 1. Urban and Rural Population: 1900 to 1990," released October, 1995, available at http://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/urpop0090.txt

[5] U.S. Census Bureau, *Geographic Areas Reference Manual* (Washington. DC, 1994), Chapter 12, "The Urban and Rural Classifications," p. 12-2. Available at http://www.census.gov/geo/www/garm.html.

[6] Ibid, p. 12-1.

[7] Ibid, pp. 12-4 and 12-5.

[8] American National Election Studies (ANES) *Cumulative Data File, 1948-2008 Codebook*, p. 28.

[9] See the variable SRCBelt in the *General Social Surveys, 1972-2010, Cumulative Codebook* (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, March, 2011), p.185.

[10] The 2012 Pew variables used was "USR Community type from zip merge." Some of the 212 cases left uncategorized were recoded as rural or urban according to the population density of their areas.

[11] Official Census data from 1950 to 2010 only provides data for rural and urban areas. Using data from national surveys during presidential election years, Figure 5.2 reports data for suburbs as well as rural and urban areas. The poll data have a jagged appearance in part because they cover 1952 to 2012 in 15 four-year intervals, instead of 1950 to 2010 in 6 ten decennial Censuses. Also Figure 5.2 had to adapt changing Census definitions to survey questions. Survey sampling errors also are present. Despite these differences, the underlying data for rural percentages match at the beginning and ends of the periods. The rural percentages in the 1950 Census and the 1952 ANES survey were 36 and 38 respectively. The rural percentages in the 2010 Census and the 2012 Pew survey were 19 and 20 respectively.

[12] Haya El Nasser, "Most Major U.S. Cities Show Population Declines," *USA Today* (June 27, 2011).

[13] Bender, "Urbanization," p. 1104.

[14] The Census Bureau, which once published a *Congressional District Data Book*, no longer facilitates access to data tabulated over all 435 congressional districts via the Internet. That data for 2000 and 2010 must be retrieved separately for each of the fifty states. The Census Bureau now directs users to the Missouri Census Data Center, where the congressional district data can be downloaded using a complex procedure.

[15] Data accessibility determined the years analyzed and matched with presidential years in Figure 5.7. The years correspond to congresses as follows: 1952, 82nd; 1956, 84th; 1960, 86th; 1964, 89th; 1968, 90th; 1972, 92nd; 1976, 94th; 1980, 97th; 1984, 99th; 1988, 101st; 1992, 103rd; 1996, 104th; 2000, 108th; 2004, 109th; 2008, 110th; and 2012, 112th.

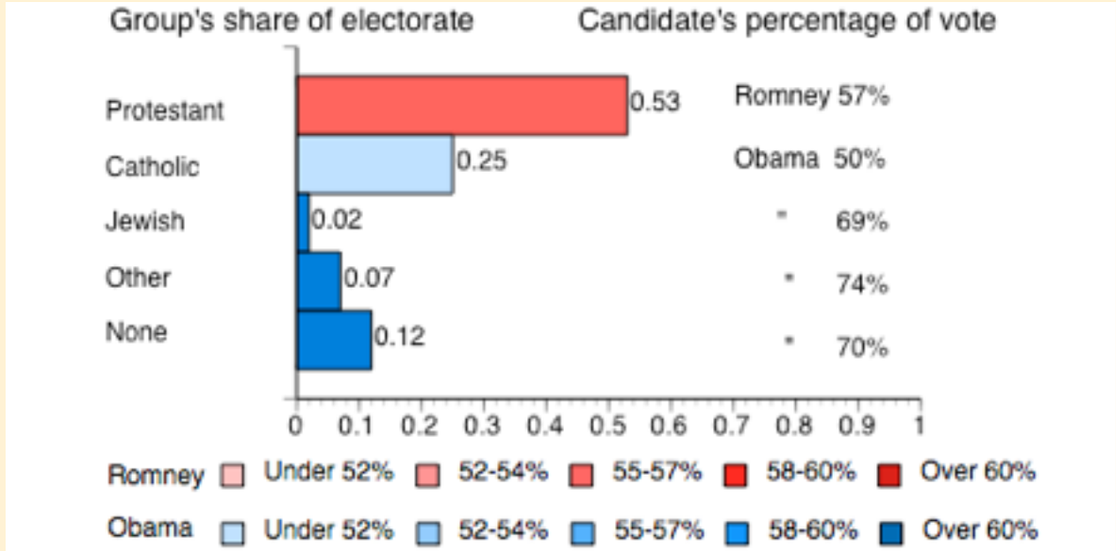
Chapter 6

Religion

Exit polls after the 2012 presidential election showed that more than three-quarters of the electorate described themselves as Christians. One quarter was Catholic and over half Protestant (or other non-Catholic Christians). Almost 60 percent of Protestants voted for Republican Mitt Romney. Although half the Catholics voted for Barack Obama, nearly half preferred Romney.

Unfortunately for Romney, the non-Christian segment of the electorate voted over 70 percent for Obama. Romney's advantage among Christians could not overcome Obama's advantage among Jews, voters of other religions, or those who claimed no religion.

Figure 6.1:
2012 Presidential Vote by Religion



A person's religion proved to be one of the most important factors explaining choice between the Democratic and Republican candidates in the 2012 presidential election. Historically, religion preference has also been important in influencing a person's party identification. Ironically, expressing no religious preference has become more important over time as a factor in party identification.

Religious nonconformists often suffered persecution in 17th century Europe, and many fled across the Atlantic Ocean to settle in the English colonies. Although seeking freedom to practice their own religions, they frequently prevented others from practicing theirs.[1] Indeed, eight of the thirteen colonies had established churches, and nonconformists were often persecuted in the colonies as in Europe.[2] Catholics were particularly targeted, but various Protestant sects routinely denounced other types of Protestants. Freedom to worship as one wished was not widely valued in early colonial America.

In the 18th century, the colonists broke away from Britain and from 1774 to 1789 governed themselves through a Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation. As explained in a Library of Congress publication, the government then promoted "a nondenominational, nonpolemical Christianity":

> Congress appointed chaplains for itself and the armed forces, sponsored the publication of a Bible, imposed Christian morality on the armed forces, and granted public lands to promote Christianity among the Indians. National days of thanksgiving and of "humiliation, fasting, and prayer" were proclaimed by Congress at least twice a year throughout the war. Congress was guided by "covenant theology," a Reformation doctrine especially dear to New England Puritans, which held that God bound himself in an agreement with a nation and its people.[3]

The Articles of Confederation were replaced in 1789 by the United States Constitution, which avoided mentioning religion except to state that "no religious Test shall ever be required as Qualification" for federal office holders. Avoiding religion in the Constitution troubled two opposing groups: those who wanted a larger role in government for religion and those who opposed a larger role for religion.[4] The First Amendment to the Constitution satisfied the second group more. It guaranteed that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Nevertheless, religious symbols and references became incorporated in government practices and ceremonies. From their beginnings, both the House and Senate of the Congress created offices of Chaplain; congressional sessions are opened with prayers; "In God We Trust" is imprinted on U.S. coins and dollar bills; the Pledge of Allegiance contains the phrase, "one nation under God"; and presidents today routinely end major addresses saying, "God bless America."

Compared with other western European publics, moreover, Americans place more importance on religion. A 2011 Pew global survey found that half of Americans say that religion is very important in their lives, whereas fewer than a quarter in Spain and Germany and only about fifteen percent in Britain and France share their view.[5] Because religion is important in American life, religion is important to U.S. politics, a predominately Christianity nation.

The decennial censuses of the United States never asked about a person's religion, so we lack firm data on the distribution of religious preferences over the first 150 years of American history.[6] However, the Census often asked clergy about the size of their congregations and conducted a separate Census of Religious Bodies from 1906 to 1946.[7] These data documented that Christianity was nearly universal and that Protestantism prevailed over Catholicism.

The few Catholics in America were mostly English. About 1845, famine in Ireland led millions of Catholics to emigrate to the United States. Catholic immigrants from Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia came later. One source estimates that Catholics made up only five percent of the population in 1850 but seventeen percent in 1906.[8] Still, the United States was overwhelmingly Christian. In 1948, a Gallup poll found 91 percent of respondents describing themselves as Christian.[9] Not as many do today.

Changes in Religious Composition, 1952-2012

Over the last sixty years, religious characteristics of the American public have changed in several ways: in the distribution of religions by major types, in the rise and decline of denominations within types, and in people's religiosity—the intensity of their faith. For decades after 1952, survey researchers were content to ask whether respondents belonged to the two major variants of Christianity or whether they were Jewish. Those who chose none of the three categories were assigned to the "Other/None" category. Here are the questions asked in the American National Election Studies over time:

1952-1964: *"Is your Church (1962: religious) preference Protestant, Catholic or Jewish?"*

1966-1968: *"Are you Protestant, Catholic or Jewish?"*

1970-1988, 2002: *"Is your religious preference Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or something else?"*

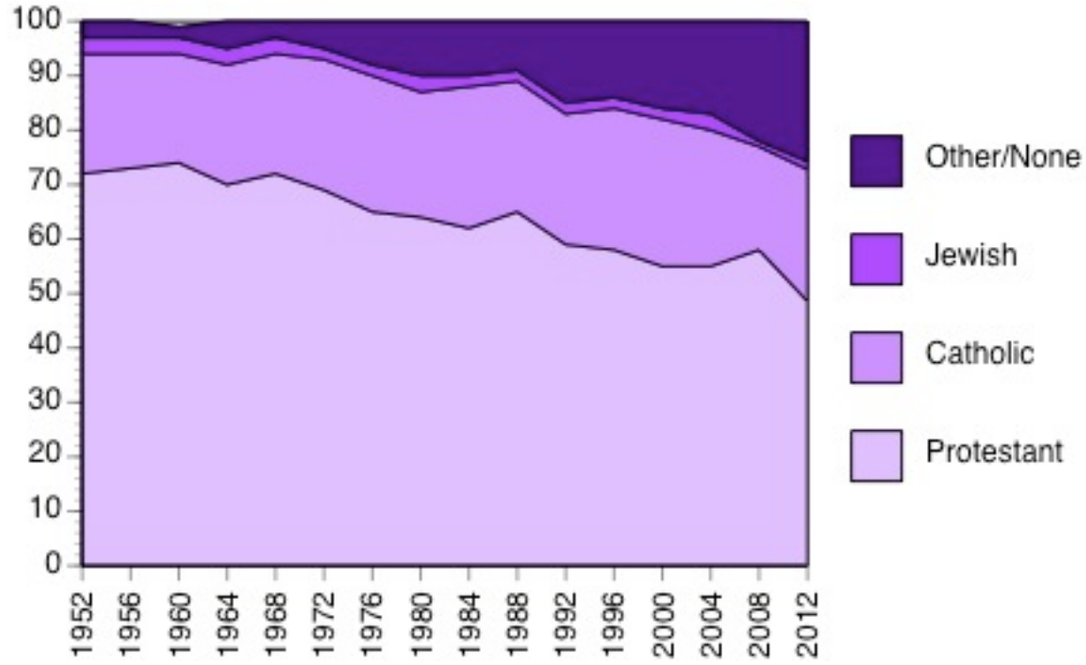
1990 and later (exc. 2002): (If R attends religious services:) *"Do you mostly attend a place of worship that is Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or what?"* (If R doesn't attend religious services:) *"Regardless of whether you now attend any religious services do you ever think of yourself as part of a particular church or denomination?"* (If yes:) *"Do you consider yourself Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish or what?"*

In 2012, Pew's survey allowed for more types of religions by asking:

What is your present religion, if any? Are you Protestant, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox such as Greek or Russian Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, something else, or nothing in particular?

Despite the slightly different wording in the Pew poll, the survey results portrayed in Figure 6.2 are clear. Over the last sixty years, the percentage of the population that professed Christianity has declined from over 90 percent to under 80 percent. Moreover, this decline occurred primarily among Protestants. Perhaps the most striking feature in Figure 6.2 is the dramatic increase in the "Other/None" category to about 25 percent of the population in 2012, according to the Pew poll. About three points of this percentage were "Other" (e.g., Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, or "something else"), while the rest were "None" (Agnostic, Atheist, or "nothing in particular"). That amounts to an enormous decline in religious faith.

Figure 6.2:
Distribution of Religious Affiliations, 1952 to 2012



During these six decades, major changes also occurred among denominations regarded as Protestants, primarily dividing Evangelical ("born-again") Christians from Mainline Protestants. Regrettably, the ANES distinguished between the two types of Protestants only from 1960 to 1996, so we cannot generate a graph comparable to Figure 6.2. During those 36 years, however, the percentage of Mainline Protestants was halved (45 to 22 points), while Evangelical Christians grew by 5 points (28 to 33 percentage points). Lacking the data, we cannot preserve this distinction in analyzing the bases of party support over the entire time period.

Finally, religious changes can be assessed according to religiosity—the intensity of faith. The ANES sought to measure respondents' religious intensity by asking about their religious behavior, how often they attended religious services. These are the ANES questions:

(1960-1968: If any religious prefernce:) "*Would you say you go to church regularly, often, seldom or never?*"

1970-1988: (If any religious preference) *"Would you say you/do you go to (church/synagogue) every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?*"

1990 and later: *"Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?"* (If Yes:) *"Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?"*

The 2012 Pew poll asked a similar question:

Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services… more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?

Data from these surveys are graphed in Figure 6.3. It shows a good deal of stability over time in the percentages of respondents who say that they attend regularly or often but great instability in those who say that they attend seldom or never.[10] The substantial increase over time in respondents who say that they never attend religious services corresponds with the increase of those who answer "none" for religion.

One could argue that the religious basis of party support should be based on the intensity of religion rather than on the type of religion. Preliminary analysis, however, revealed that support for the Democratic and Republican parties differed far more on the type of religion practiced than on the frequency of attendance at religious services. Although patterns of party support also differed more when Mainline Protestants were distinguished from Evangelical Christians, we did not have enough data to support that analysis over time. The next section concentrates on political party attraction and concentration among four religious types: Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Other/None.

Figure 6.3:
Attendance at Religious Services, 1952 to 2012

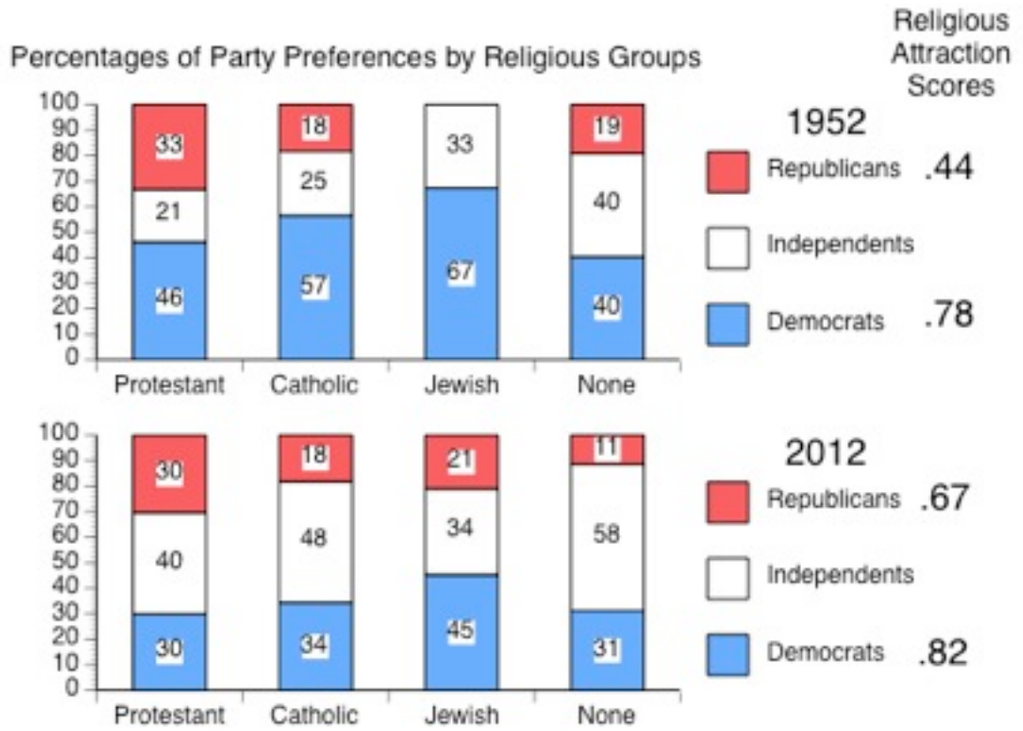
Religious Attraction and Concentration

Catholics and Jews were important components of the Democratic voting coalition that Franklin Delano Roosevelt constructed for his first presidential election in 1932. The coalition also re-elected him to office three times, elected his Vice-President, Harry Truman, to the presidency in 1948, and sustained the party in maintaining control of Congress for two decades. During those decades, Catholics and Jews were concentrated in central cities in northern states that held critical electoral votes needed to elect a president.

As population spread out of the central cities to suburban areas and out of the northern states to the South and West, the electoral im-

portance of the Roosevelt coalition declined. Figure 6.4, however, demonstrates its existence in 1952.

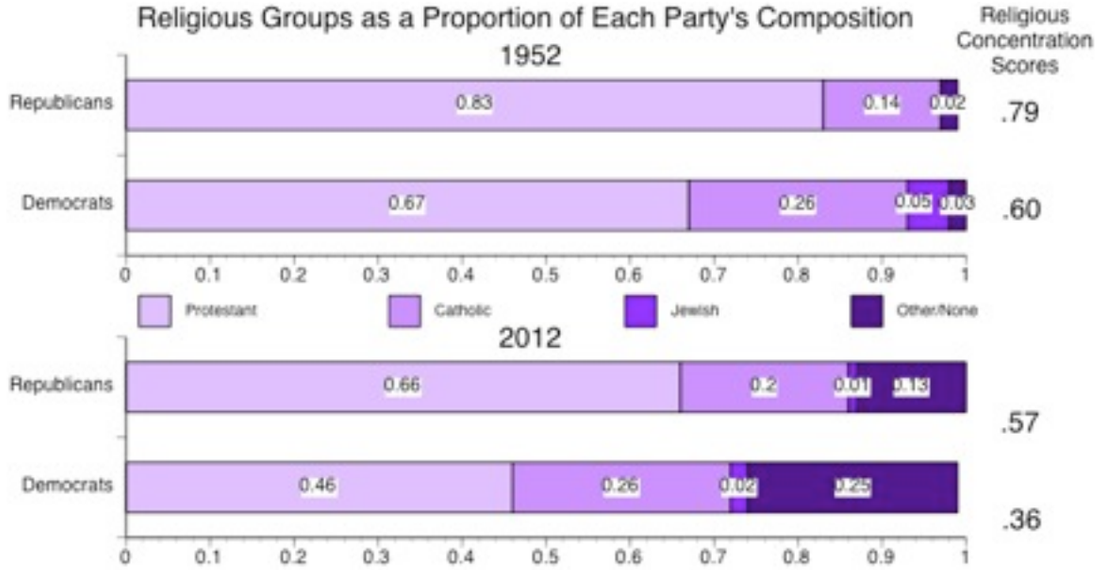
Figure 6.4:
Religious Attraction, 1952 and 2012



In 1952, Catholics identified with the Democratic Party over the Republican Party by more than 3 to 1, and so few Jews thought of themselves as Republicans that Jewish Republicans did not register in the 1952 ANES survey. These differences in support were captured by the 1952 attraction scores: the Democratic score of .78 nearly doubled the Republican score of .44. Sixty years later, Catholics were only twice as likely to be Democrats and Jews were half as likely to be Republicans as Democrats, causing the Republican attraction score to jump to .67. Nevertheless, remnants of the Roosevelt coalition remained visible in 2012.

Turning to the composition of party identifiers, we expect to find Protestants dominating the composition of both parties in 1952, when Protestants accounted for more than 70 percent of the public. But as shown in Figure 6.5, Protestants even then were substantially overrepresented among Republicans and slightly underrepresented among Democrats, leading to Republicans' higher religious concentration score (.79 to .60).

Figure 6.5:
Religious Concentration, 1952 and 2012

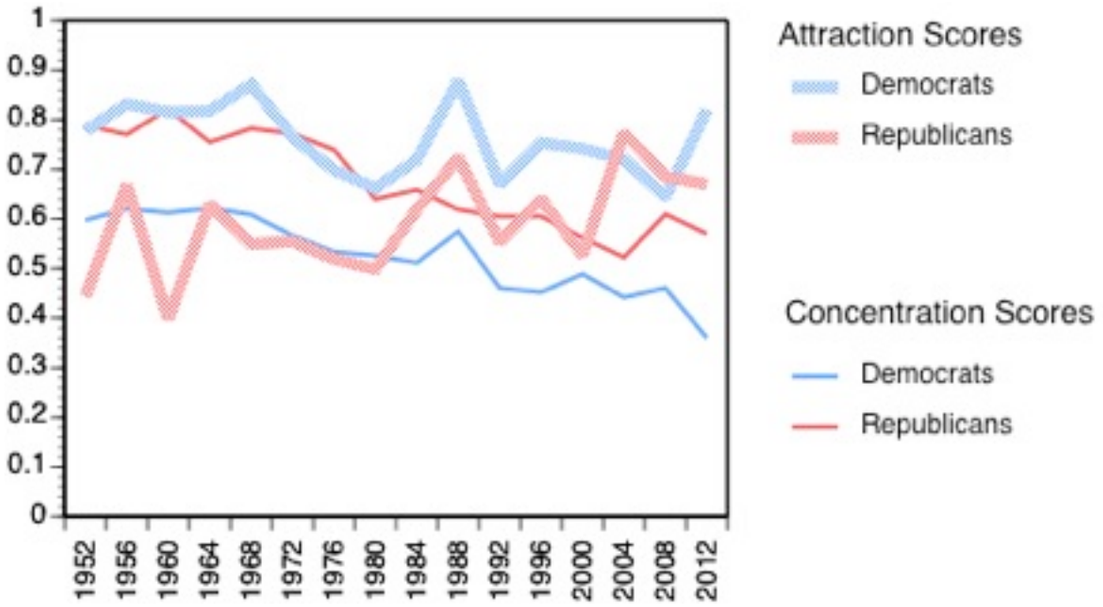


In 2012, as the Protestant share of the U.S. population dropped to about 50 percent, the Protestant proportion of Republican identifiers declined accordingly to 0.66, lowering the Republicans' religious concentration score. Still, Republican identifiers were two-thirds Protestant while Democratic identifiers were slightly less than half Protestant. Moreover, one-quarter of all Democrats professed none of the three traditional American faiths or no faith at all.

Data from frequency of attendance at religious services (see Figure 6.3) but not reported here show that half of all Republicans attended regularly in 2012 compared with one-third of all Democrats. The Republican Party, it seems, was home base for religious believers, especially Protestants.

The pattern of the parties' attraction and concentration of religious groups over time is displayed in Figure 6.6. Amidst its ups and downs, the pattern has four features: (1) the Democrats almost always scored higher in attraction scores than Republicans; (2) Republicans tended to increase in attraction scores; (3) Republicans always scored higher in concentration scores; and (4) both parties declined in concentration scores.

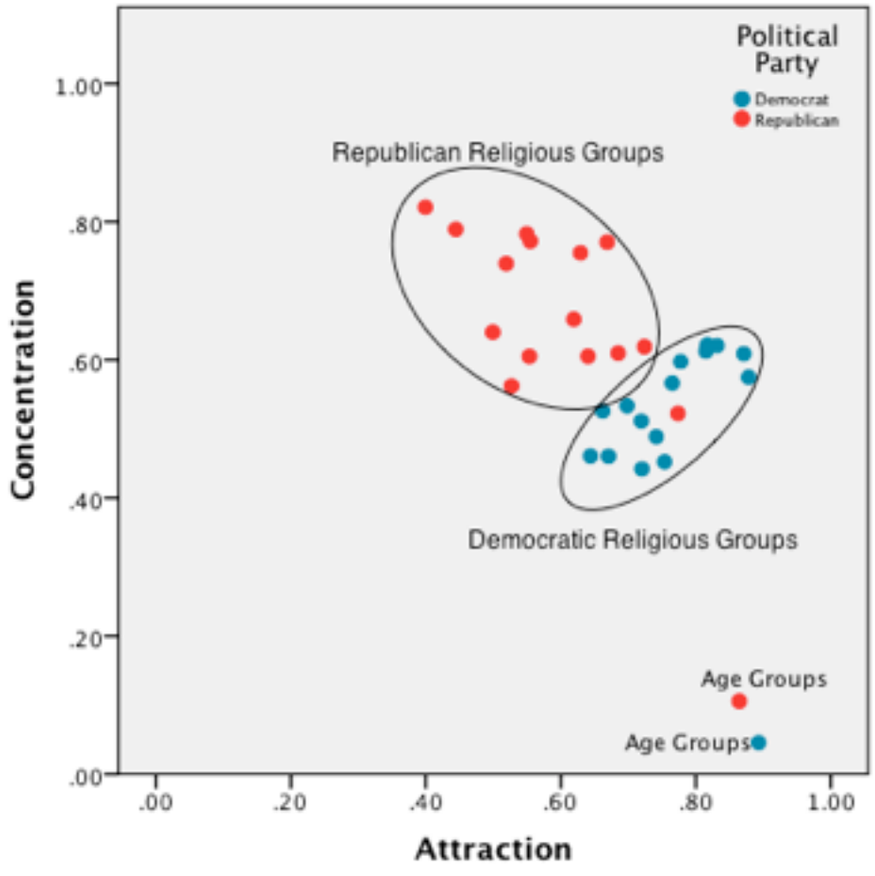
Figure 6.6:
Religious Attraction and Concentration, 1952-2012



The first two of these features have political interpretations: the Democratic Party continued to draw support more evenly from all religious groups than the Republican Party. However, the Republican Party has over time drawn more support from Catholics and Jews, which has caused it to generate increasingly higher attraction scores. The last two features have methodological interpretations: as the share of Protestants declined over the over sixty years, their capacity to dominate the composition of both parties has declined, resulting in lower concentration scores for Democrats as well as Republicans.

To put these data into perspective, Figure 6.7 plots both sets of annual religious support scores for Democrats and Republicans with the 2012 scores for age groups reported in Chapter 1. Plotting the scores along two dimensions—the baseline for attraction and the vertical line for concentration—shows that the parties' religious support differs dramatically from the patterns displayed in earlier chapters' figures for occupation, education, region, and urbanization.

Figure 6.7:
Attraction and Concentration: Religion v. Age



The circles surrounding the points plotted for religious groups are quite distant from those that encircled the occupation, education, region, and urbanization plots. Both the Republican and Democratic circles stand far away from the age groups. Again, the Democratic plots deviate from the Republican plots by being higher in attraction

and lower in concentration. The one exception to this is the sole red dot (Republican) in the midst of the Democratic circle. That point was generated in 2004, when George W. Bush defeated John Kerry. There was little difference in support by religious groups for either party that year. Otherwise, the parties differed clearly and systematically in their patterns of religious support. Is there any evidence that they articulated these differences in government?

Articulating Interests of Religious Groups

Several national religious organizations have, from time to time, monitored and rated the voting behavior of members of Congress. In 1991-92, for example, the Christian Voice scored House and Senate members for their voting records.[11] The Christian Action Network[12] did the same in 2004 as did the Traditional Values Coalition in 2006 and 2007.[13] Then in 2010, Catholic Families for America endorsed some forty-three public officials (nearly all Representatives or Senators) for their policy positions.[14]

The Christian Coalition, however, is the religious group that rated congressional voting most consistently since 1992. Founded by Pat Robertson in 1989, it describes itself as

> a political organization, made up of pro-family Americans who care deeply about ensuring that government serves to strengthen and preserve, rather than threaten, our families and our values. To that end, we work continuously to identify, educate and mobilize Christians for effective political action.[15]

Because voter education is essential to its work,

> Each election year, Christian Coalition distributes tens of millions of voter guides throughout all fifty states, (up to seventy million in 2000 alone!). These guides help give voters a clear understanding of where candidates stand on important pro-family issues - before they go to the polls on Election Day.

Monitoring the congressional voting records of Representatives and Senators helps in preparing the Christian Coalition election guides. In the 2011 session of Congress, the Christian Coalition rated member of the House on these ten roll-call votes:

Table 6.1:

Christian Coalition Congressional Votes

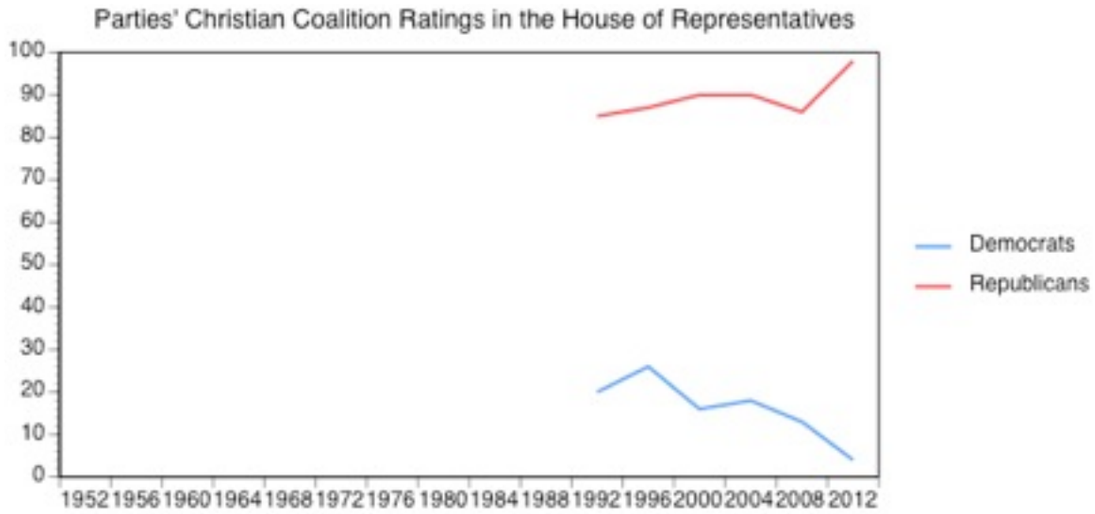
(http://www.cc.org/webform/congressional_scorecards)

1. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell Repeal Act of 2010," H.R. 2965
2. "Protect Life Act of 2011," H.R. 358
3. An amendment to stop tax dollars from going to Planned Parenthood
4. An amendment to the funding bill for the Department of Defense to not allow funding for abortions in the military and provide protections for traditional marriage and for the "Defense of Marriage Act" (DOMA).
5. An amendment to prohibit the United States Navy from carrying out a directive allowing Navy chaplains to perform homosexual "marriages" on Navy bases.
6. To prevent funding for ObamaCare, officially known as the "Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act"
7. An amendment to prevent tax dollars from paying for abortion or educating students on how to perform abortions in medical residency programs.
8. H.R. 2587, to prevent the National Labor Relations Board (NRLB) from ordering, Soviet Union-style, any employer—such as the case of the Boeing Company in Charleston, S.C.—to close, relocate, or transfer employment under any circumstance.
9. "No Taxpayer Funding for Abortion Act," H.R. 3.
10. "Repealing the Job-Killing Health Care Law Act," H.R. 2.

On these ten votes in 2011, the average Republican House member supported the Christian Coalition positions 98 percent of the time compared with 4 percent for the average Democrat. Figure 6.8 plots the parties' percentages of support for Christian Coalition positions

since the organization began its congressional ratings in 1992. Not only have Republican and Democratic representatives deviated greatly in their support of the Christian Coalition, but the difference between the two parties has increased over time.

Figure 6.8:
Party Voting on Christian Coalition Issues



One can argue that voting positions backed by the Christian Coalition do not faithfully reflect religious interests generally in the United States, or the interests of most Christians, or even the interests of Protestants. But to the extent that the Christian Coalition does reflect religious interests, it appears that House Republicans articulate those interests better in the United States than do House Democrats. The congressional behavior of Republicans and Democrats coincides with their different bases of religious support—or lack of support.

End Notes

Click on footnote number to return to text

[1] Library of Congress, "Religion and the Founding of the American Republic: I. America as a Religious Refuge: the Seventeenth Century" at http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel01.html.

[2] George Washington Institute for Religious Freedom, "Religion in Colonial America: Trends, Regulations and Beliefs," at http://nobigotry.facinghistory.org/content/religion-colonial-america-trends-regulations-and-beliefs.

[3] Library of Congress, "Religion and the Founding of the American Republic: IV. Religion and the Congress of the Confederation, 1774-89" at http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel04.html.

[4] Library of Congress, "Religion and the Founding of the American Republic: VI. Religion and the Federal Government," http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel06.html.

[5] Pew Research Center, "The American-Western European Values Gap," Pew Global Attitudes Project, November 17, 2011, at http://www.pewglobal.org/2011/11/17/the-american-western-european-values-gap/.

[6] For a comprehensive yet concise description of early Census efforts see Chapter H, "Religions Affiliation, in *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Time to 1957* (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1960).

[7] Pew Research Center, "A Brief History of Religion and the U.S. Census," The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, January 26, 2010, at http://www.pewforum.org/Government/A-Brief-History-of-Religion-and-the-U-S--Census.aspx.

[8] Julie Byrne, "Roman Catholics and Immigration in Nineteenth-Century America," National Humanities Center at http://www.nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/nineteen/nkeyinfo/nromcath.htm.

[9] Frank Newport, "This Easter, Smaller Percentage of Americans Are Christian," *Gallup News Release*, April 10, 2009.

[10] There is a problem matching data from the ANES surveys, which have 5 categories of attendance, and the 2012 Pew poll, which has 6 categories. In the ANES survey, code 4 is "A few times a year" and code 5 is "Never." In Pew, code 4 is "A few times a year," code 5 is "Seldom," and code 6 is "Never." For this analysis, the Pew category of "Seldom" is combined with "Never." The thought is that "Seldom" is closer to "Never" than to "A few times a year."

[11] See the 1991-92 Christian Voice ratings on the Project Vote Smart web site at http://votesmart.org/interest-group/461/rating/31.

[12] See the Christian Action Network ratings for 2004 in the Project Vote Smart web site at http://votesmart.org/interest-group/902/rating/2884.

[13] The Traditional Values Coalition described itself as "the largest non-denominational, grassroots church lobby in America. See its 2007 ratings at http://votesmart.org/interest-group/1671/rating/3962.

[14] The public officials endorsed by Catholic Families for America are listed on the Project Vote Smart web site at http://votesmart.org/interest-group/1904/catholic-families-for-america.

[15] See the Christian Coalition web site at http://www.cc.org/about_us.

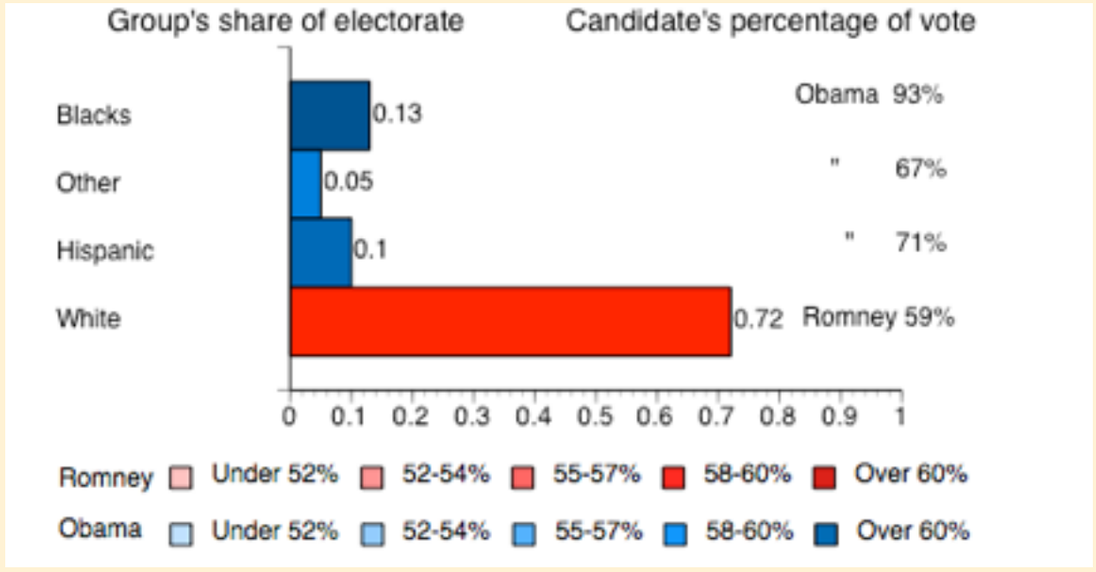
Chapter 7

Ethnicity

Ethnicity played a huge role in voter choice in the 2012 presidential election. Non-Hispanic whites, who comprised almost three-quarters of the electorate, voted overwhelmingly (59 percent) for Republican candidate Mitt Romney.

However, voters in all other ethnic groups favored Democratic candidate Barack Obama by even larger margins. He won almost all (93 percent) of the black vote and over two-thirds (71 percent) of the Hispanic or Latino vote.

Figure 7.1:
2012 Presidential Vote by Ethnicity



As was the case with religion, citizens' ethnicity not only affected their voting choice between the two candidates in 2010 but has affected their identifications with the Republican and Democratic parties throughout the last sixty years.

The land now known as America was once populated by native inhabitants whom early explorers (thinking they had sailed to India) called Indians. European settlers regarded these indigenous "red men" as biologically distinct and culturally inferior—as they also regarded the black slaves they captured in Africa. The Europeans treated both groups brutally. Waves of immigrants from Europe pushed out the native population, colonized their lands, and forced the Indians into reservations, separating them from colonial life. In contrast, the colonists made slaves an integral part of the colonial economy. Nevertheless, both Indians and slaves were excluded from participating in the new national government, the United States of America.

Although white European immigrants came from different countries—Britain, Holland, Germany, France, etc.—and often spoke different languages, they were regarded as biologically similar and distinct from American Indians and Africans. In the early 1700s, the eminent botanist and zoologist, Carolus Linnaeus, defined four types of humans—European "whites," African "blacks," Asian "darks," and American "reds"—thus dignifying the concept of race.[1]

Essentially, race depends on what outsiders "see"—whether they see others as white or black. Accordingly, one scholar notes that racial categories "are normally laced with inaccuracies and stereotypes."[2] Today, racial classifications on physical characteristics at birth are suspect. A broader concept is ethnicity, which includes race. Ethnicity depends on the individual's origin—usually where the person (or the person's family) came from. Hispanics, for example, constitute an ethnic group whether they are white or black.

Throughout most of U.S. history with two-party politics, ethnicity—in the sense of European origin—mattered more than race, because few blacks could vote. Irish and Italian Catholics, and German, Polish, and Russian Jews voted Democratic more often than Americans of British origin and Northern European Protestants. These ethnic differences were consolidated in the voting coalition that Roosevelt built in the 1930s to support his New Deal, but the salience of European ethnicity began to fail with the start of the civil rights movement in the 1950s.

During the first term of Eisenhower's administration, which started in 1953, many blacks nationally still aligned with the Republican Party—President Abraham Lincoln's party. Their allegiance shifted massively during the 1960s as the Democratic Party and President Lyndon Johnson backed civil rights legislation. Until the late 1960s and early 1970s, the division between blacks and whites defined the ethnic factor. With increased immigration from other countries, especially Mexico, the racial dichotomy of white/black—which had always been suspect—was replaced by the broader concept of ethnicity.

Classifying people by either race or ethnicity is difficult to do. And asking people about their race or origin is politically sensitive. According to one report:

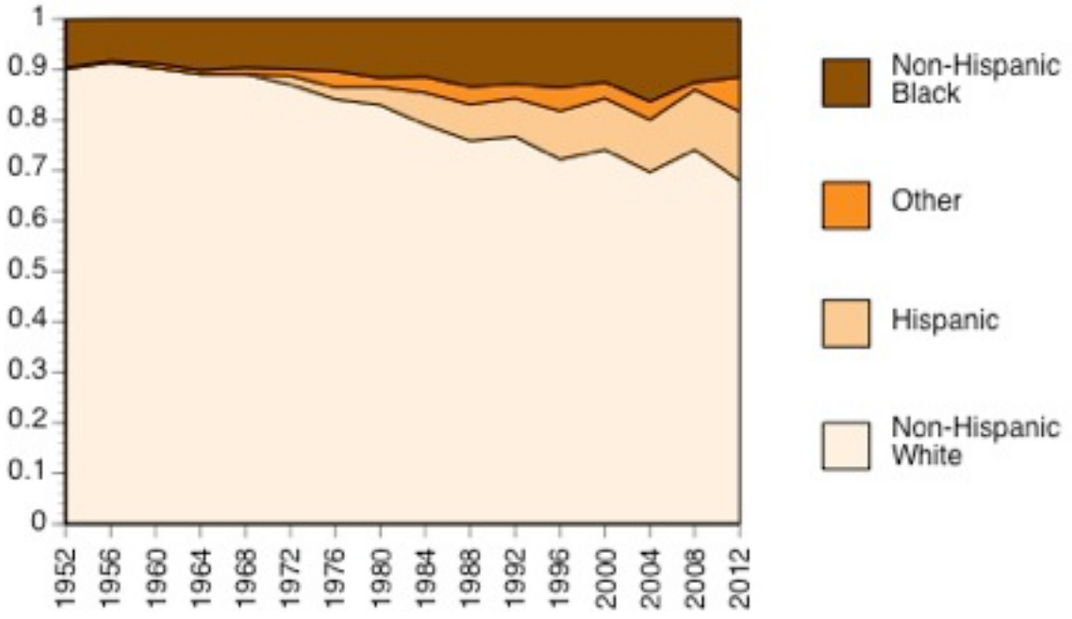
> Census forms through the decades have employed a changing list of race categories that reflect their times, and the government did not even attempt to count Hispanics until late in the 20th century. The attempt to classify people by race or origin is by nature an imperfect enterprise. As the Office of Management and Budget acknowledged in 1997, the race categories "represent a social-political construct designed for collecting data on the race and ethnicity of broad population groups in this country, and are not anthropologically or scientifically based."[3]

In the summer of 2012, the U.S. Census Bureau announced a new effort to deal with the problem. In contrast with its 2010 Census form, which asked separate questions about race and Hispanic origin, it created a question that combined the two.[4] The American National Election Studies began asking about ethnicity in the sense of national origin only in 1988. Prior to then, "[I]nformation about Hispanic origin was determined only by interviewer observation."[5] ANES reclassified respondent ethnicity for earlier surveys to 1972.

Changes in Ethnic Distribution, 1952-2012

In 2012, Hispanics constituted about 14 percent of the population, and blacks only about 12 percent. National survey data on the ethnic distribution of the U.S. population over six decades are reflected in Figure 7.2. Population changes are gradual, so the ups and downs in the graph come from sampling error, question changes, and response idiosyncrasies. Figure 7.2 stops at 2012, but by 2050 the U.S. Census Bureau estimates that Hispanics will account for almost 25 percent of the population, while blacks will rise to only about 15 percent.[6]

Figure 7.2:
Distribution of Ethnicity, 1952-2012

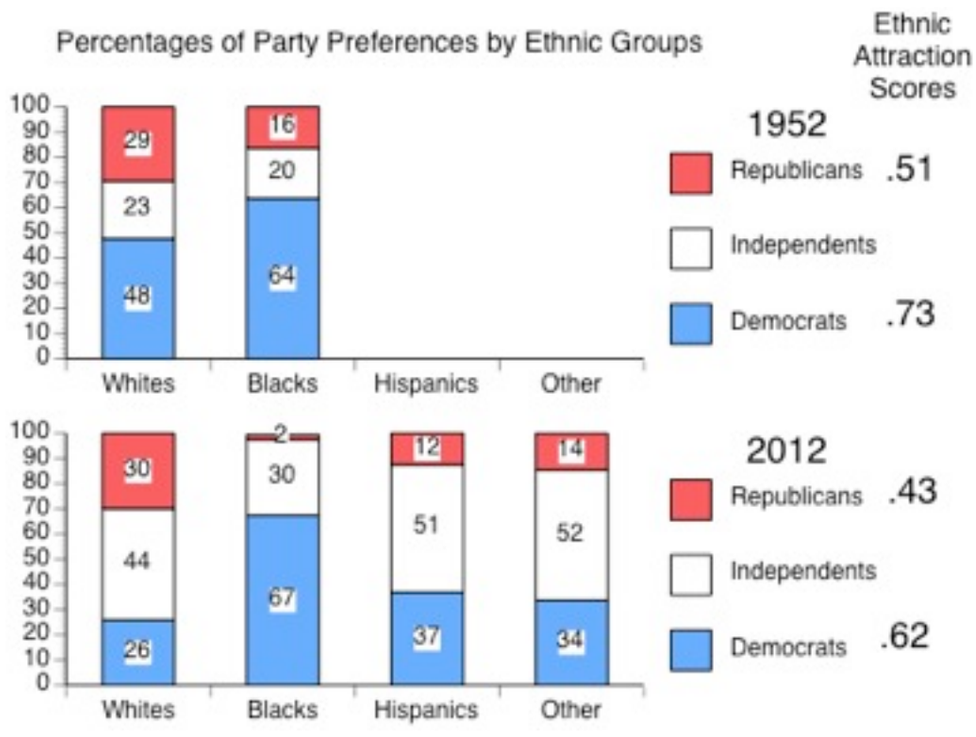


Also according to Census projections, the proportion of non-Hispanic whites in the population will decline from 65 percent in 2010 to 50 percent in 2050.[7] How have the two major political parties in the United States accommodated these ethnic groups in the past?

Ethnic Attraction and Concentration

Back in 1952, American society was essentially monochromatic—white and black—but overwhelming white. Given that blacks constituted only about 10 percent of the population and that southern states denied many blacks the right to vote, both parties concentrated mainly on white voters. As depicted in Figure 7.3, the Democratic Party drew support more evenly from both blacks and whites nationally. (Hispanics were not even on the radar then.) Locally, urban blacks were strongly Democratic but many blacks elsewhere still owed allegiance to Abraham Lincoln and favored the Republican Party, especially in the South. Recalling that Democratic identifiers outnumbered Republican identifiers roughly three to two accounts for the striking edge in Democratic over Republican preferences for both whites and blacks in 1952.

Figure 7.3:
Ethnic Attraction, 1952 and 2012[a]



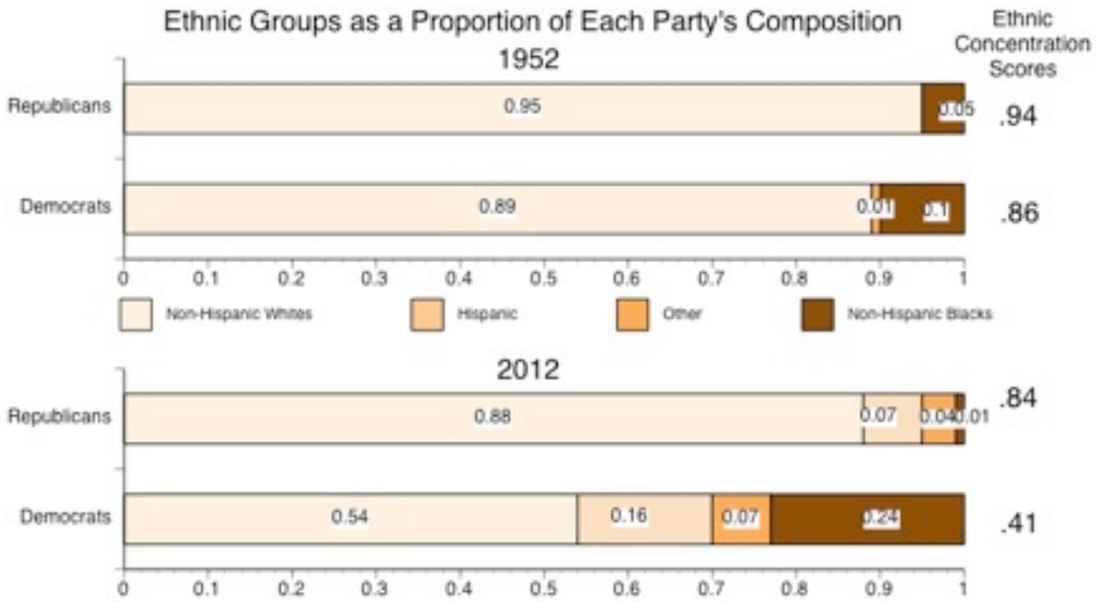
[a]Ethnic scores in 1952 were computed for only blacks and whites. Hispanics were first included in 1972, and only 6 "Others" appeared in the 1952 survey.

By 2012, non-Hispanic blacks and whites shifted substantially in their party preferences. Whites switched from the Democrats by a small margin while blacks fled the Republican Party almost entirely.

Hispanics, who by now outnumbered blacks in the population, split three to one in favor of Democrats. By 2012, both had parties dropped in their ethnic attraction scores.

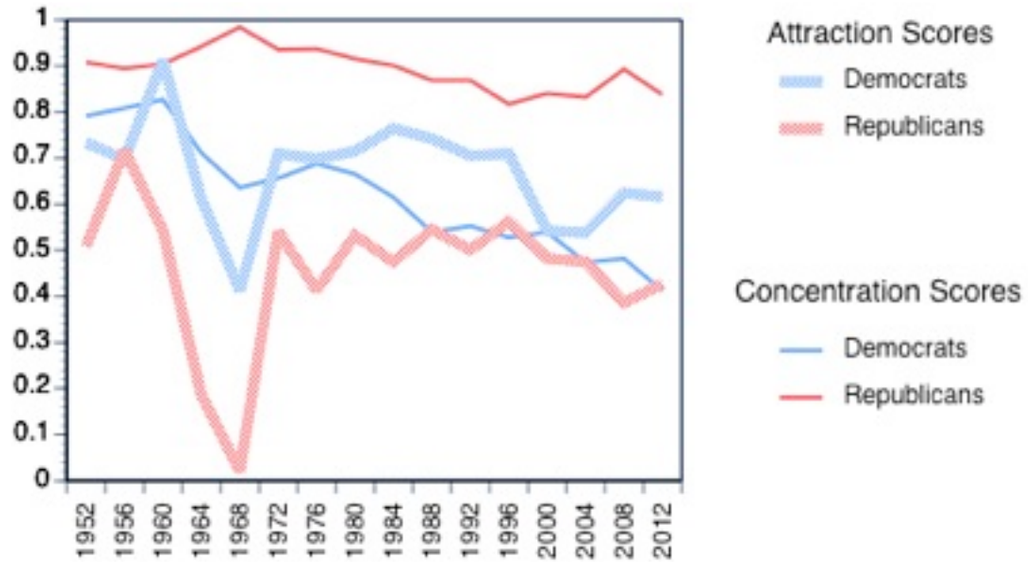
The concentration of ethnic support within the Democratic Party changed substantially between 1952 and 2012, while that within the Republican Party remained largely unchanged. The data are reported in Figure 7.4. In 1952, both parties were essentially white parties, as reflected in their high concentration scores of .94 for Republicans and .86 for Democrats. In 2012, Republicans still scored .84 for ethnic concentration, as .88 of all their identifiers were non-Hispanic whites. However, the Democrats' score dropped to .41, with non-Hispanic whites comprising only .54 of all Democratic identifiers.

Figure 7.4:
Ethnic Concentration, 1952 and 2012



Looking at 1952 and 2012 tells how much the parties changed between over the six decades. But looking at only the end years misses important developments in between the periods. Figure 7.5 reveals the patterns of ethnic attraction and concentration between the bookend years. The four plot lines tell four different stories.

Figure 7.5:
Ethnic Attraction and Concentration, 1952 to 2012[a]



[a]Prior to 1972, ethnic scores were computed for only blacks and whites. Hispanics were included in 1972, and only 20 or fewer "Others" were in earlier surveys.

1. The narrow solid red line for the ethnic concentration scores of the Republican Party at the top reflects its status as an overwhelmingly white party throughout the period, although trending slightly toward more diversity.

2. The narrow solid blue line for the ethnic concentration scores of the Democratic Party shows that it began as a mostly white party in 1952 but became progressively more diverse over the time period.

3. The wide shaded blue line for ethnic attraction scores of the Democratic Party indicate that it almost always attracted support more evenly from different ethnic groups than the Republican Party.

4. The wide shaded red line for ethnic attraction scores of the Republican Party is noteworthy for its downward plunge beginning in 1964 to almost zero in 1968 and its climb back to normal levels in 1972.

The fourth and last story requires some background about the changing pattern of ethnic support for the Republican Party from 1956

to 1968. ANES data estimated the percentages of blacks who self-identified themselves as Republican in those presidential years as:

Year	Black Republicans
1956	23%
1960	18
1964	7
1968	2

What caused blacks to flee from the Republican Party—the party of Lincoln—over such a short span of time? The short explanation centers on the Democratic Party's support of the blacks' struggle for civil rights versus the Republican Party's neglect of—or even opposition to—that struggle.

The 1950s and 1960s were momentous and perilous times in the civil rights movement. Recounting some events before and during those times help provide perspective.

1876: In a dispute over a close presidential election that year, southern politicians supported Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes in return for the withdrawal of federal troops and the end of northern Republican efforts to reconstruct the south.[8] Subsequently, the Democratic Party controlled southern politics based on a platform of white supremacy and black disenfranchisement. For more than 75 years, the phrase "Solid South" referred to the Democratic Party's virtually complete domination of its party politics.[9] The strong connection between southern politics and the Democratic Party began to unravel after World War II, as national Democratic leaders began to support civil rights.

1948: At the urging of Hubert Humphrey, then mayor of Minneapolis, the Democratic Convention inserted in its platform a plank that "minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens." In response, many southern delegates walked out of the convention, enraged at this affront to their "way of life." Some quickly formed the States' Rights Democratic Party and nominated their own presidential candidate, South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond. These 1948 "Dixiecrats" expected to draw enough electoral votes from the Democratic candidate, Harry Truman, to defeat him, thus regaining their power in the national Democratic Party. Although Thurmond carried four southern states, Truman won in an upset of Thomas Dewey, whose Republican platform said nothing about civil rights for minorities.

1954: The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously declared that segregated schools (which were almost entirely in southern states) were illegal and must integrate black and white students "with all deliberate speed." This momentous decision launched major developments.

1955: The Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott started when a black woman was arrested for refusing to give her seat to a white woman. The boycott, joined by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (a little known black minister then), attracted national attention and led in 1956 to a federal ruling that declared segregated buses unconstitutional.

1957: President Dwight Eisenhower, a Republican, ordered federal troops to enforce the admission of black students to Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, and blacks praised Eisenhower's decisive action. Although the 1960 Republican platform contained a lengthy and strong section on civil rights, the party did not campaign on the issue of civil rights.

1960: Early in the year, four black college students refused to leave their seats after being denied service at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. Supporting sit–ins and protests occurred in more than 65 southern cities in 12 states.[10] Just weeks prior to the 1960 presidential election, Dr. King was arrested in a civil rights protest in Atlanta. Democratic candidate John Kennedy and brother Robert inter-

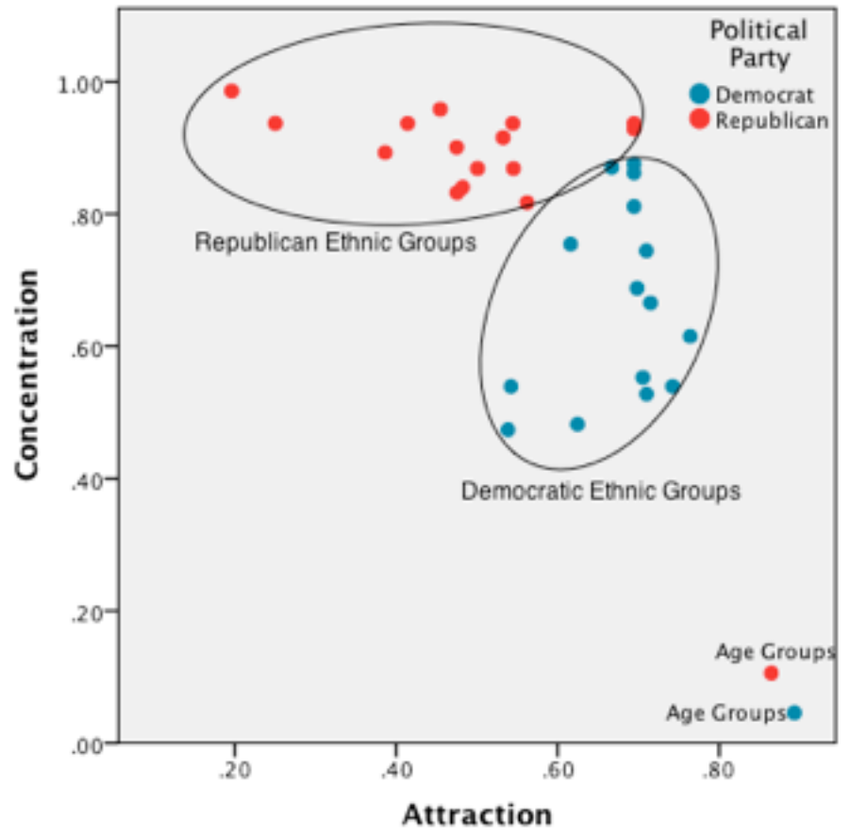
vened with the judge, leading to King's release and to King's public endorsement of Kennedy for president.

1962: Rioting occurred at the University of Mississippi when James Meredith, a black Air Force veteran, attempted to register. Two people died and others were injured. In response, President Kennedy took charge of the Mississippi National Guard and sent federal troops to campus to enroll Meredith and end segregation at Ole Miss.[11]

1964: After Kennedy's assassination in November, 1963, President Lyndon Johnson pursued civil rights with greater vigor. Although a Texan, he backed the 1964 Civil Rights Act that outlawed major forms of discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities and ended unequal application of voter registration requirements and racial segregation in schools, the workplace, and public accommodations. President Johnson's Republican opponent in the 1964 presidential election was Barry Goldwater, who voted against the Civil Rights Act as an intrusion of the federal government into state affairs. Goldwater became the first Republican to win the electoral votes of five states in the Deep South since 1877 but suffered a devastating defeat, winning only his home state of Arizona outside the south.

1968: The Democratic Convention nominated as its presidential candidate Senator Hubert Humphrey—the same man who helped persuade his party to adopt its strong civil rights platform in 1948. In contrast, his Republican opponent, Richard Nixon, campaigned to win white votes via a "Southern Strategy"—a term popularized by Nixon's strategist Kevin Phillips, who said, "The more Negroes who register as Democrats in the South, the sooner the Negrophobe whites will quit the Democrats and become Republicans."[12] African Americans responded to the Republicans' Southern Strategy by shifting strongly to the Democratic Party. In the 1968 ANES survey, 88 percent of blacks identified with the Democratic Party while only 2 percent said they were Republicans. Not once since have ANES surveys found more than 8 percent saying they were Republican. (Nixon did win the election, but his southern appeal was sort-circuited by segregationist George Wallace, former governor of Alabama, who carried six core southern states running under the American Independence Party.)

Figure 7.6:
Attraction and Concentration: Ethnicity v. Age



Putting the data in Figure 7.5 into perspective, Figure 7.6 plots both sets of annual ethnic support scores for Democrats and Republicans compared with the 2012 scores for age groups reported in Chapter 1. Plotting the scores along two dimensions—the baseline for attraction and the vertical line for concentration—shows that the parties' ethnic support differs dramatically from their support patterns for all other cultural differentiators—occupation, education, region, urbanization, and even religion.

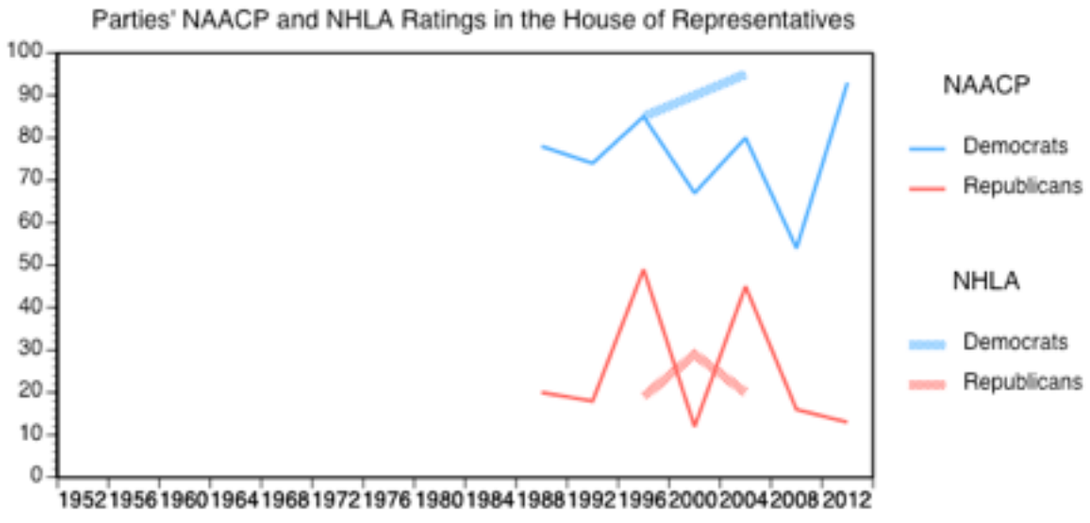
Like Figure 6.7 for religion, the parties' attraction and concentration scores are too dispersed to be accommodated within a single oval,

but the ovals in Figure 7.6 for ethnicity are much higher in concentration values. Ethnicity was and still is the major difference in the social bases of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Articulating Interests of Ethnic Groups

According to Project Vote Smart's list of interest groups' congressional vote ratings, no group purports to articulate only white interests, and only one group—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) founded in 1909—is clearly identified with interests of African-Americans or blacks. Several groups, however, are associated with the policy concerns of Hispanic or Latinos. These include the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) founded in 1929, the National Council of La-Raza (NCLR, 1968), the National Latino Congreso (NLC, 1985), and the National Hispanic Leadership Agenda (NHLA, 1991). As the newest organization, NHLA describes itself as "a nonpartisan association of major Hispanic national organizations and distinguished Hispanic leaders from all over the nation."[13]

Figure 7.7:
Party Voting on NAACP and NHLA Issues



Beginning in 1914, the NAACP began issuing "report cards" on how individual members of Congress voted on civil rights legislation. Prior to computerization in 1989, unfortunately, members were graded on separate cards, which complicated efforts to compile results by party.[14] Computing mean party scores on the NAACP ratings became practical only in 1989. The NHLA did not begin scoring congressional voting until 1997 and stopped in 2004. Consequently, Figure 7.7 contains limited data for both NAACP and NHLA House vote ratings, which clearly shows the voting behavior of House Democrat being more articulative of NAACP and NHLA legislative issues than the voting behavior of House Republicans.

The NAACP selected 20 House votes in the first session of the 112th Congress in 2011 as key votes for civil rights. To illustrate the NAACP's legislative concerns, here are the first ten of those votes as reported in the *NAACP Federal Legislative Civil Rights Report Card* for 2011.[15]

1. *Opposed* Repealing the Job-Killing Health Care Law Act
2. *Opposed* Authorizing Private School Vouchers
3. *Opposed* Banning The EPA from Regulating Greenhouse Gas Emissions
4. *Opposed* Repealing The Prevention and Public Health Fund as established by The 2010 Health Care Reform Act.
5. *Opposed* Repealing Funding for Implementation of Health Care Reform.
6. *Opposed* Banning All Federal Funding for Health Care Services Provided by Planned Parenthood.
7. Supported The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) Budget Resolution (Failed).
8. *Opposed* The Mean-Spirited, Draconian Budget Resolution for Fiscal Year 2012.
9. *Opposed* Repealing Funding for the State Health Insurance Exchanges as established by the 2010 Health Care Reform Act.
10. *Opposed* Repealing Funding for School-Based Health Centers as established by The 2010 Health Care Reform Act.

Two things stand out in this list: (1) only vote #7, concerning funding the Congressional Black Caucus, was directly connected to Afro-Americans, and (2) The NAACP advocating opposing passage in nine of the ten votes. These ten votes were not unlike the other ten—for which the NAACP favored passage on only two—except that the sec-

ond set did include a vote on the obscure Pigford II racial discrimination lawsuit between the U.S. Department of Agriculture and African American farmers. Otherwise, the NAACP's key "civil rights" votes fit quite comfortably on the Democratic Party's liberal agenda promoting equality for citizens regardless of ethnicity.

The NHLA ratings for 2004 come from the 108th Congress, 2003-04. NHLA identified 18 bills of interest.[16] These seven bills from the second session (2004) illustrate the NHLA's policy interests:

1. supporting immigrant access to secure identification systems.
2. opposing a budget resolution that eliminated or severely cut back funding for Hispanic education and other key programs.
3. supporting the Centers of Excellence to strengthen and improve teacher preparation programs at minority-serving institutions, including Hispanic-serving institutions.
4. opposing laws that reduce judicial review for a class of individuals, especially when fundamental rights such as the right to marry are involved.
5. opposing the Undocumented Alien Emergency Medical Assistance Amendments because of the extreme deterrent effect it would have had on Latino communities and its threat to public health.
6. favoring a bill to preserved the 9/11 commission's recommendations without anti-immigrant provisions.
7. opposing expedited removal of foreign visitors, which would result in a significant reduction of basic due process rights for many non-citizens.

In contrast to the sample of NAACP key votes for 2011, most of the NHLA's voting recommendations in 2004 were targeted at Hispanic constituencies and were almost equally divided between support and opposition. Two explanations of these differences seem plausible.

First, the identification of blacks with the Democratic Party was much stronger than that between Hispanics and being a Democrat. Accordingly, blacks were more likely to regard the Democratic Party's liberal agenda as their agenda, interpreting their issues as civil rights issues. Or, the reverse could be true: Democrats simply incorporated the NAACP issues within their liberal agenda.

Second, conditions in 2004 were more favorable to passage of issues in the Hispanic agenda, which may have elicited more supportive voting recommendations. Although the Republican Party controlled the House of Representatives in both 2004 and 2011, partisanship in voting and control of the agenda in 2004 was not as fierce as it had become in 2011.

End Notes

Click on footnote number to return to text

[1] Carl von Linné, *Systema Naturae* (1735); Swedish author also known as Carolus Linnaes.

[2] Timothy Bauman, "Defining Ethnicity," *SAA Archaeological Record* (September, 2004), p. 12-14 at p. 12.

[3] D'Vera Cohn, "Census Bureau Considers Changing Its Race/ Hispanic Questions," Pew Research Center (August 7, 2012).

[4] U.S. Census Bureau, "Census Bureau Releases Results From the 2010 Census Race and Hispanic Origin Alternative Questionnaire Research," *News Release* (August 8, 2012) at http://2010.census.gov/news/releases/operations/cb12-146.html.

[5] *ANES Cumulative Data File, 1948-2008 Codebook* (Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, undated).

[6] U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base, at http://www.census.gov/population/www/projections/usinterimproj/

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Richard B. Morris (ed.), *Encyclopedia of American History, Bicentennial Edition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 301.

[9] The completion of the Democratic Party domination is apparent in the map showing the vote in the 1948 congressional election, 72 years after the disputed 1876 presidential election at http://www.umich.edu/~lawrace/votetour8.htm.

[10] John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, "Civil Rights Movement," at http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/Civil-Rights-Movement.aspx.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Quoted in James Boyd, "Nixon's Southern Strategy 'It's All In the Charts,'" *New York Times Magazine*, (May 17, 1970), p. 105ff.

[13] National Hispanic Leadership Agenda at http://nationalhispanicleadership.org/about/membership/.

[14] Personal communication from Carol Kaplan, NAACP Washington Bureau, September 4, 2012.

[15] The NAACP Federal Legislative Civil Rights Report Card for 2011 available at http://naacp.3cdn.net/cb0f6053dfa585f0ff_dom6vrdc6.pdf.

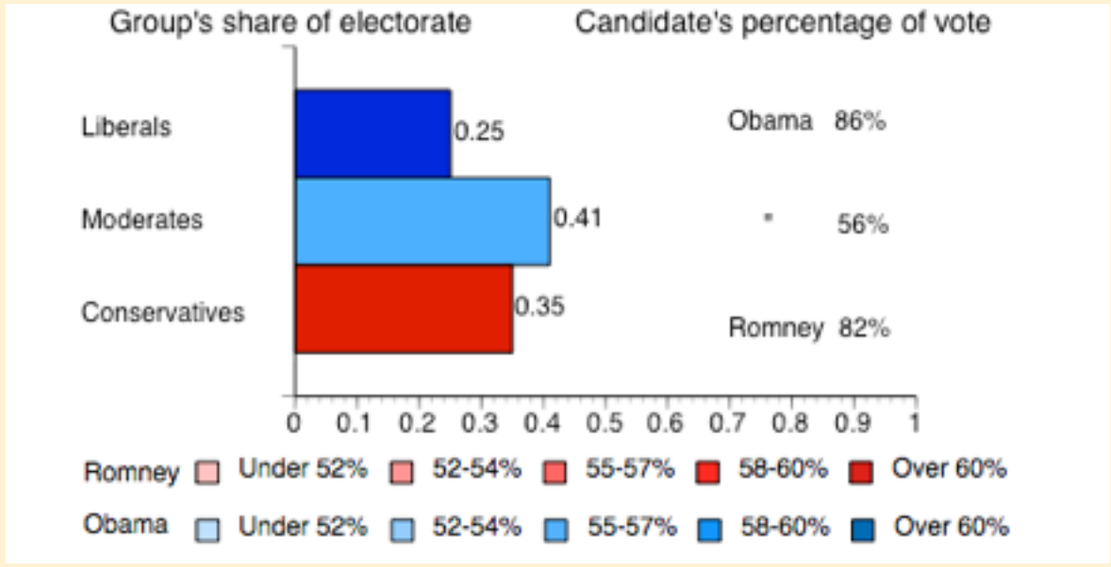
[16] All the National Hispanic Leadership Agenda congressional scorecards are available at http://nationalhispanicleadership.org/scorecard/.

Chapter 8

Political Ideology

According to exit polls, more than two-thirds of those who voted in the 2012 presidential election said they were ideologically conservative. Only one-quarter described themselves as liberals. In line with the widespread views of Republican Mitt Romney as conservative and Democrat Barack Obama as liberal, voters who professed their ideologies to pollsters were remarkably faithful in their voting choices: 82 percent of conservatives voted for Romney, while 86 percent of liberals chose Obama. Why, then, did Romney lose?

Figure 8.1:
2010 Presidential Vote by Ideology



Unfortunately for Romney, the ideologically moderate voters—who made up two-fifths of the electorate—did not split evenly between the candidates. Instead, they voted 56 percent for Obama.

The 2012 presidential vote hints at a paradox in American politics. In every presidential year survey since 1968, more citizens have described themselves as conservatives than liberals, yet in the 13 elections since, voters have chosen liberal Democrats for president over conservative Republicans almost half the time—six versus seven. How important is ideology to party supporters?

Strictly speaking, political ideology does not qualify as a social basis of party support—as does occupation, education, region, urbanism, religion, and ethnicity. Those traits are defined by a person's place in society. Political ideology involves the voter's state of mind concerning government, which pertains to social psychology, not sociology. Nevertheless, American political parties—especially in contemporary U.S. politics respond to their ideological bases as much as to their social bases. This chapter inquires into how closely the parties are attuned to their ideological bases compared with their social bases.

A political ideology can be defined as a coherent and consistent set of values and beliefs about the proper purpose and scope of government.[1] "Coherent" means that the values and beliefs are organized and logically constrain one another. "Consistent" means a person's opinion of the proper role of government on one issue matches the person's opinion on a different but similar issue. Although the term ideology has been used historically in other ways,[2] Frances Lee's research finds that in contemporary political science research it "denotes interrelated political beliefs, values, and policy positions."[3]

In opinion polls, the complex concept of political ideology is usually reduced to asking whether people are "liberal" or "conservative," and classifying them accordingly. Those who reply, "it depends," "undecided," or "don't know," are typically placed in the intermediate category, "moderate." These three categories are then arrayed on a continuum ranging from left (liberal) to right (conservative).

What it *means* to be liberal or conservative, however, is not always clear. The popular view is that liberals want "more government" and conservatives want "less government." But that view is too simplistic. Sometimes conservatives clamor for *more* government, while liberals urge *less*. The critical difference between liberals and conservatives stems from their attitudes toward the *purpose* of government.[4]

It is true that conservatives do not want government to impose economic or social equality on citizens, but they do want government to maintain social order and are willing to use the coercive power of the state to force citizens to behave properly. Conservatives favor firm police action, swift and severe punishment for criminals, and strict laws regulating behavior. They do not stop with defining, preventing, and punishing crime, however, they also want government to preserve their values. For example, they favor laws that require teaching creationism in schools, that prevent abortions, and that ban same-sex marriages.

Liberals do indeed favor using government power to promote economic and social equality, but not to maintain social order. In general, liberals are more tolerant of alternative lifestyles—for example, same-sex marriage—and they oppose government laws restricting freedom of speech. However, they support laws that ensure equal treatment of homosexuals in employment, housing, and education; laws that force private businesses to hire and promote women and members of minority groups; laws that require public transportation to provide equal access to people with disabilities; and laws that order cities and states to reapportion election districts so that minority voters can elect minority candidates to public office.

What about people classified as moderates and placed in the middle of the left-right liberal-conservative scale? Some are "libertarians" and do not favor more government either to maintain social order *or* to promote equality. True libertarians reject being called conservatives, so some may choose "moderate."

Others, who can be called "communitarians," favor government action to impose social order *and* to promote equality, so they see themselves as neither liberals or conservatives. When asked by pollsters about their ideology, they may choose "moderate." Finally, there are many citizens who—when asked whether they are liberal or conservative—do not fully grasp the question. They often choose the safe middle category, "moderate."

Classifying voters and politicians as liberals and conservatives is relatively new in American party politics. Today, politicians are rou-

tinely painted as spendthrift liberals or backward conservatives. In the past, the words "liberal" and "conservative" were not so negatively colored.

Consider how these terms have been used in 44 Democratic Party platforms from 1840 to 2012 and all 40 Republican Party platforms from 1854 to 2012.[5] During the 116 years between 1840 and 1956, the Democrats mentioned "liberal" 30 times in their party platforms. During the 100 years from 1856 to 1956, the Republicans used the term 14 times. Throughout these years, both parties virtually always used liberal in a positive way—in the sense of "free in giving; generous; open-minded"—as listed in the 1937 *Oxford University English Dictionary*.

Then for two decades (1960 to 1980), both parties shifted to talking about "liberalization" instead of liberal. Whereas liberalization had previously appeared only once in 56 platforms of both parties up to 1956, during the twenty years from 1960 to 1980 Democratic platforms mentioned liberalization thirteen times and Republicans seven. Following the Republican Party's practice earlier, not once during these two decades did a Republican platform use liberal in a negative way.

Things changed in 1984, when the Republican platform abruptly attacked Democratic opponents for being liberals.[6] Republican platforms since then used the term negatively 43 times to deride Democrats. Examples include referring in 1984 to "liberal experimenters" who "destroyed the sense of community"; in 1988 to "liberal attacks on everything the American people cherished"; in 1992 to "the liberal philosophy" that "assaulted the family"; in 1996 to "the liberal agenda of litigious lawyers"; in 2000 to "the collapse in failure" of "the old left-liberal order of social policy"; and in 2012 to "an outdated liberalism, the latest attempt to impose upon Americans a eurostyle bureaucracy to manage all aspects of their lives." Since 1984, Republican platforms used liberal in a positive way only three times.

Cowed by this onslaught, Democrats—who like Republicans had once proudly claimed the liberal label—avoided it almost entirely in their party platforms, using it only twice after 1980. Concerning the term "conservative," neither party mentioned it either frequently or prominently in any of their platforms. Whereas both parties' platforms together alluded to "liberal" in some form a total of 124 times, they used "conservative" only 14 times over all 84 party platforms.

These findings from historical research into party platforms are corroborated by Frances Lee's study of congressional politics. Lee counted references to ideology and to closely related terms—liberal and conservative—in professional journals and in the *New York Times* from 1900 to 2003. "Prior to the 1950s," she wrote, "scholars generally spoke only of particular liberal or conservative coalitions or legislators;" not until the 1960s were the terms commonly applied to "individual legislators' policy orientations."[7]

A similar history lies behind the place of the liberal-conservative continuum in public opinion research. Today, political commentators are well-informed about the voting preferences of liberals and conservatives in the electorate. Sixty years ago, no one knew much about citizens' political ideology from public opinion polls.

Changes in Ideological Self-Placement, 1950-2012

Few polls prior to the 1970s asked people whether they considered themselves politically liberal or conservative. Proof of that comes from searching the extensive archives of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut, which—according to its web site—"holds data from the 1930s, when survey research was in its infancy, to the present."[8]

A search for "liberal" and "conservative" found all Roper's poll questions that asked people whether they considered themselves liberals or conservatives. Only 52 polls out of 1,195 U.S. national surveys from the 1930s through the 1960s even mentioned the keywords "lib-

eral" and "conservative," and most of the 52 used the terms in ways that did not ask respondents to classify themselves.[9]

Of the 240 questions about liberal and conservative in these surveys from 1935 through 1969, only 16 asked people about their *own* ideological orientations. Because the questions differed in wording, moreover, poll results from 1930 to 1970 are difficult to compare.[10] (See Appendix A for the text of all 16 questions.)

Not until 1972 did a survey organization—the American National Election Studies—design an interview question that was used unchanged over an extended time period.[11] Here is the ANES interview instrument in full:

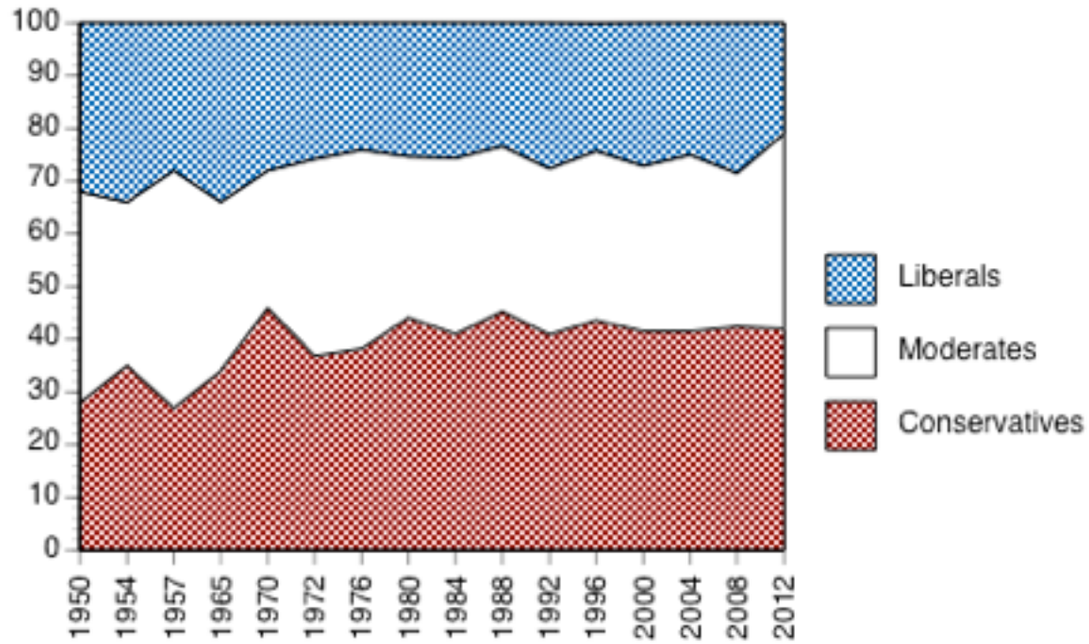
> *We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?* (7-point scale shown to R).[12]

Note that the last portion of the question asks, *"or haven't you thought much about this?"*

Consistently since 1972, from 25 to 35 percent of respondents say that they "haven't thought much about it." This important finding indicates that many citizens do not think much about politics generally and certainly not about political ideology in particular. Lacking the chance to admit that they "haven't thought much about it," many respondents seem to choose the safe "moderate" category instead of either "liberal" or "conservative." Assuming that is true, many citizens opted for "moderate" when they did not quite understand their ideological choices.

Although the ANES question allowed respondents to distribute across seven positions from "extremely liberal" to "extremely conservative," most research collapses their responses to the three categories of "liberal," "moderate," and "conservative"—which corresponds to the ideological options in polls prior to 1972. Figure 8.2 reports the results of various surveys that asked reasonably suitable questions about liberal-conservative self-placement prior to 1972.[13]

Figure 8.2:
Ideological Distribution, 1950-2012



According to surveys available prior to 1972 and to more comparable surveys since, the percentage of self-identified conservatives has grown while liberals have dwindled over time. Recalling that approximately a third of respondents admits that they "haven't thought much" about these terms, we might wonder who does think about the ideological options and what they think the terms mean.

In his searching analysis of respondents' verbatim responses to political questions in the 1950s, Philip Converse concluded that only about 17 percent of the public then understood the liberal-conservative dimension in a way "that captures much of its breadth."[14] Most of the "best" responses indicated "that the Democratic Party was liberal

because it spent public money freely and that the Republican Party was more conservative because it stood for economy in government or pinched pennies."[15]

More than a decade later, Gallup in 1970 asked this pair of questions: (a) *"What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of someone who is a liberal?"* and (b) *"What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of someone who is a conservative?"* About 35 percent of the sample offered what Gallup classified as 12 different answers to "liberal," and about 33 percent offered 8 different views of "conservative."[16] The "top five" types of replies to each question are reported in Appendix B.

Three decades later, a 2006 CBS News poll asked a related question: *"We hear a lot of talk these days about people being liberals, moderates, or conservatives, and we'd like to know what those terms mean to you. What do you think is the biggest difference between liberal views and conservative views?"*[17] Once again, 38 percent didn't know or gave no answer.

So what can we draw from this inquiry into the public's understanding of liberal" and "conservative" over six decades?

1. Roughly 35 percent of the public—then and now—"hadn't thought much" about these terms.

2. Respondents who attempt to define the terms offer wide-ranging definitions, mostly unrelated to politics or economics.

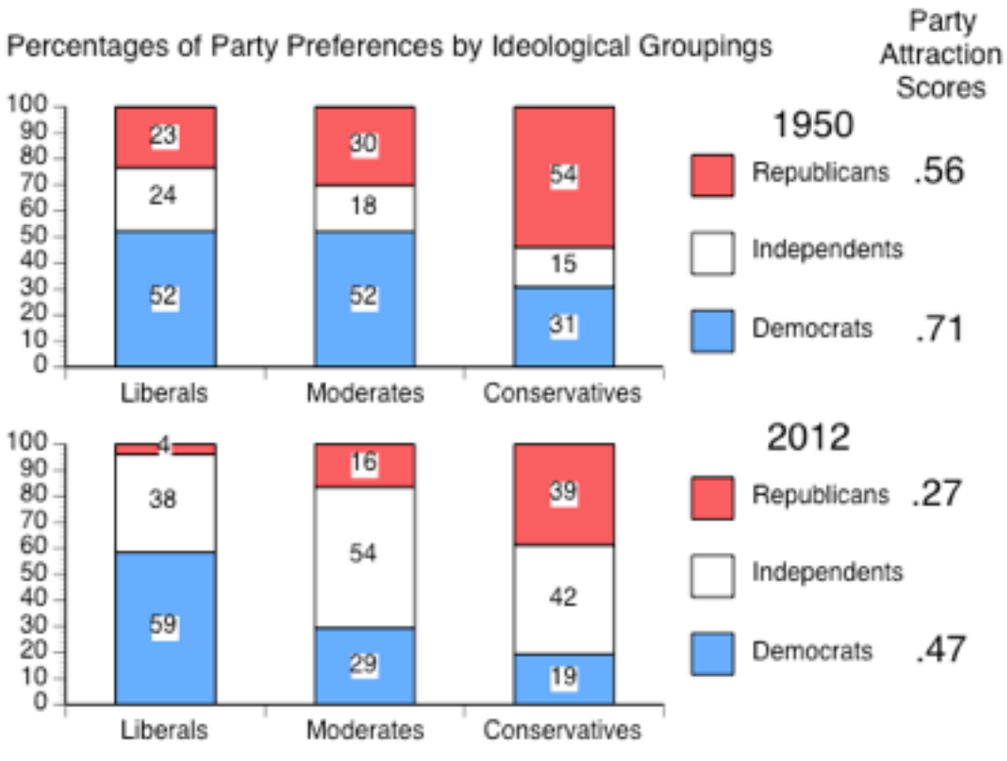
3. A small but substantial minority of citizens (around 15 percent) draws politically relevant differences between liberals and conservatives.

Although most citizens in the 21st century as in the 20th fail to distinguish political differences between liberals and conservatives, both parties today use ideological language in talking politics. Moreover, voters' self-classifications as liberals or conservatives translated remarkably well into voting choices in the 2012 presidential election and to party identifications since 1950.

Ideological Attraction and Concentration

Over the last sixty years, American voters became aligned into partisan ideological camps. As shown in Figure 8.3, about half of all self-identified liberals in a 1950 poll (used for lack of one in 1952 asking about ideology) were Democrats and about half of all conservatives were Republicans. Nevertheless, the Democrats had a fairly high attraction score, and the Republicans also scored above .50.

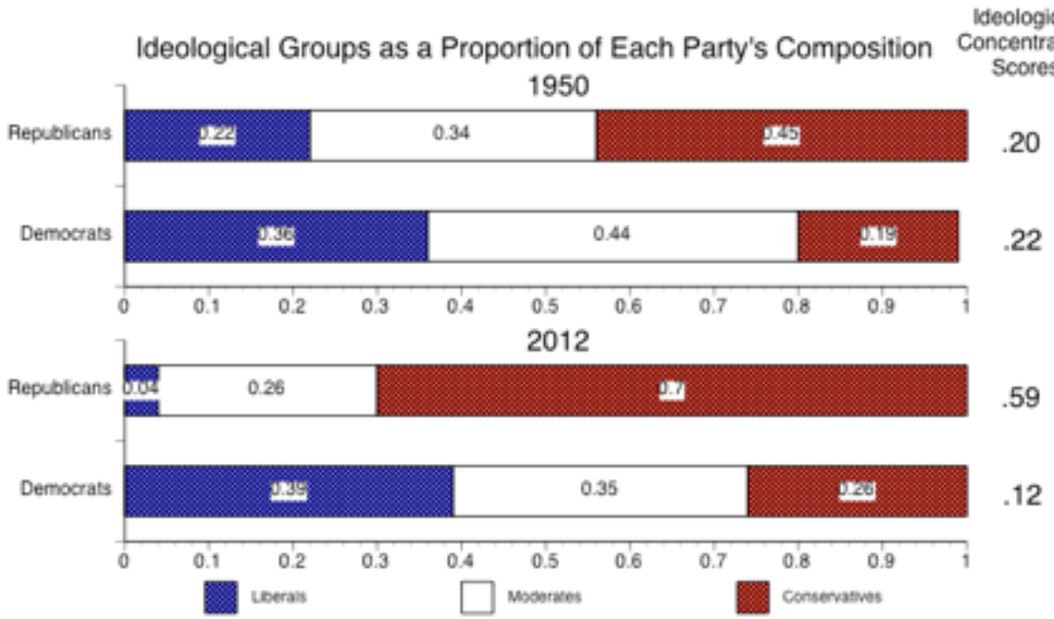
Figure 8.3:
Ideological Attraction, 1950 and 2012



By 2012, almost *no* liberals described themselves as Republicans, and only 19 percent of conservatives felt they were Democrats. The ideological attraction scores for both parties dropped to .27 and .47.

The concentration of ideological groupings within both parties also changed dramatically between 1950 and 2012, as shown in Figure 8.4. In 1950, conservatives accounted for .45 of Republican identifiers but for .70 in 2012. As a result, the Republican ideological concentration jumped from .20 to .59. In contrast, ideological groups were more equally distributed among Democrats at the beginning and at the end of the period.

Figure 8.4:
Ideological Concentration, 1950 and 2012



It is time to point out an important difference between ideology as a base of party support and the six social bases considered earlier. That difference is causality. Social factors such as occupation, education, region, urbanization, religion, and ethnicity tend to induce people to become Democrats or Republicans.

Being a banker nudges a person to become a Republican. Having a low education pushes one to be Democratic. Living in the South (today) inclines one to be Republican. Living in a city encourages being Democratic. Being Protestant favors being Republican, and being black promotes being Democratic.

Certainly one cannot credibly argue the reverse: Being a Republican does not nudge a person to become a banker. Being Democratic does not push one to have a low education, nor does it encourage living in a city nor being black. Being Republican does not incline one to live in the South or to be Protestant.

The direction of causality cannot be argued so persuasively for ideology. Certainly, citizens who understand how political ideology relates to partisan politics may choose parties to fit with their ideologies: liberals gravitating to the Democratic Party and conservatives to the Republican Party.

To the extent that people align their party preference with their ideology, ideology functions as a causal factor. But causality can run in the opposite direction. Recall the third of the electorate that regularly admits not having "thought much about" the meaning of liberal or conservatives, and remember the multitudes who show fuzzy thinking about the terms' meanings. Those substantial segments of the electorate are not likely to choose parties for ideological reasons but may still classify themselves as liberals or conservatives if asked.

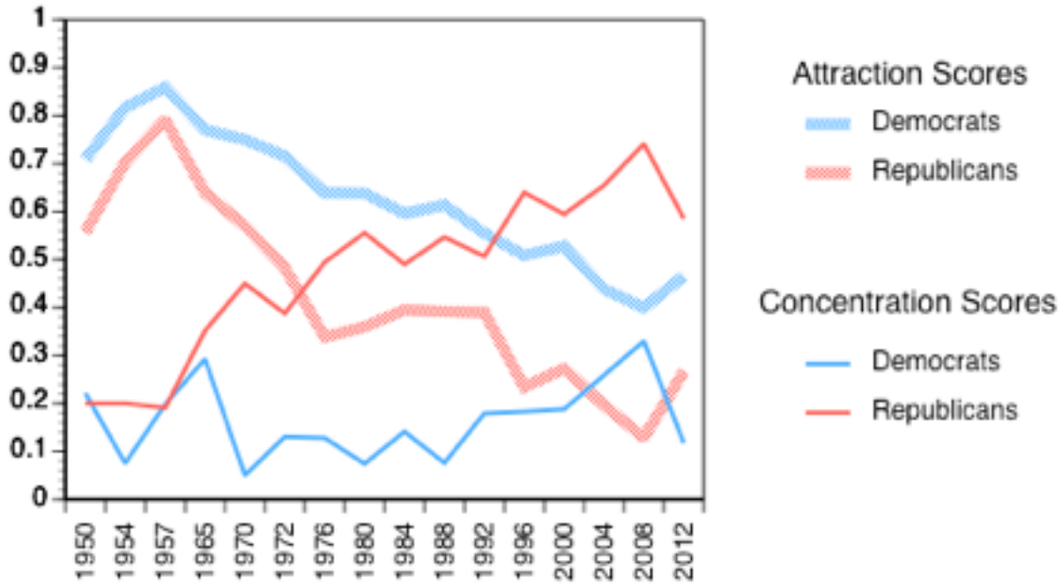
Democrats who are unclear about ideology may describe themselves as liberals simply because the media—and the Republican Party—describe the Democratic Party as the liberal party. In turn, Republicans are apt to regard themselves as conservatives because the media portrays their party as conservative. Moreover, Republican leaders and activists have managed to transform "liberal" into a scornful term to pin on Democrats. Knowing that they are not despicable liberals, self-described idependents and Republicans who are unclear about ideology see themselves as the other guys—the good guys, the un-liberals—the conservatives.

In short, the terms "liberal and "conservative" function in two very different ways. They serve as labels for citizens who differ in their political ideologies—in their values and beliefs about government.

The terms also serve as badges for partisans who may not understand what the terms mean but who want to dress in loyal clothing. Because Republicans have done a good job at marketing by framing the opposition with negative branding, they are more likely to parade as conservatives than Democrats are to wear the liberal mantle.[18]

The "ideology gap" between Democratic and Republican identifiers in 1950 and 2012 was portrayed in the parties' ideological attraction and concentration scores in Figures 8.3 and 8.4. Figure 8.5 traces the same scores over time throughout the sixty years period.

Figure 8.5:
Ideological Attraction and Concentration, 1950-2012



Four points emerge clearly from Figure 8.5:

1. Both parties' ideological attraction scores have tended to decline over time, indicating that both parties increasingly attracted support unequally from liberal and conservative voters.

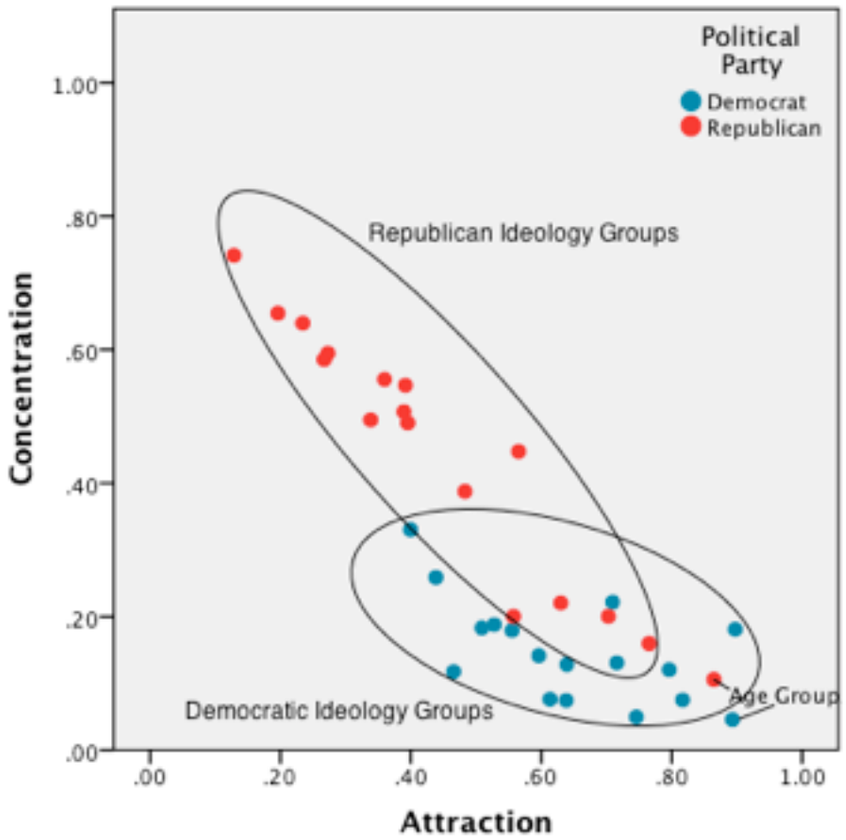
2. The Republicans' ideological attraction scores declined more sharply than the Democrats.

3. The Republicans' ideological concentration scores increased fairly consistently over the period, indicating that Republican support became concentrated among conservatives.

4. Democratic identifiers tended to be spread among liberals, moderates, and conservatives fairly evenly over the period.

Putting the annual attraction and concentration scores in Figure 8.5 into perspective, Figure 8.6 plots both sets of ideology support scores for Democrats and Republicans compared with the 2012 scores for age groups.

Figure 8.6:
Attraction and Concentration: Ideology v. Age



Plotting the scores along two dimensions—the baseline for attraction and the vertical line for concentration—shows that the parties' ide-

ology support differs sharply from their support patterns for all other cultural differentiators—occupation, education, region, urbanization, religion, and even ethnicity. Chapter 7 concluded that the major difference in the social bases of the Democratic and Republican parties was ethnicity. Ideology—the political base—shows comparable differences between the parties.

Although repeated opinion surveys have documented the public's shallow understanding of the ideological terms "liberal" and "conservatives," the Democratic and Republican parties are increasingly differentiated by the self-identified liberals and conservatives in the electorate who selectively self-identify with the two parties. And as exit polls after the 2012 presidential election demonstrated, 86 percent of self-identified liberals voted for the Democratic candidate Barack Obama while 82 percent of conservatives chose Republican Mitt Romney.

Articulation Interests of Ideological Groups

Political ideology clearly is an important basis of cleavage between the Democratic and Republican parties. Do the parties also articulate liberal and conservative interests in government policy making?

Let us consider two nationally prominent, ideologically opposed interest groups, one rated by Vote Smart as "liberal" and the other as "conservative."[19] They are the liberal Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and the American Conservative Union (ACU). The ADA been rating members of Congress since 1947 and the ACU since 1971. Every year, each group chooses a small number of key congressional votes of intense interest to the organizations and rates each member for voting in support of, or in opposition to, the groups' interests.

In 2010, for instance, the ADA chose 20 votes, while the ACU in 2011 chose 25 votes. (These were the last years rated at the time of writing.) The groups' descriptions of the first and last votes in their lists reveal their liberal and conservative interests. Here are the first and last votes from the ADA's 2010 list:[20]

1. H.R. 3590 - Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. Passage of the Senate health care reform bill as written. It facilitates coverage for 30 million uninsured Americans, curbs the worst insurance company abuses, and expands Medicare drug coverage, among other provisions. Passed 219-212: Mar. 21, 2010. A yes vote is a +.

20. H.R. 2751 - FDA Food Safety Modernization Act. Vote to allow the Food and Drug Administration to directly recall tainted products, rather than rely on manufacturers' voluntary cooperation. Passed 215-144: Dec. 21, 2010. A yes vote is a +.

In contrast, here are the first and last votes from the ACU's 2011 list:[21]

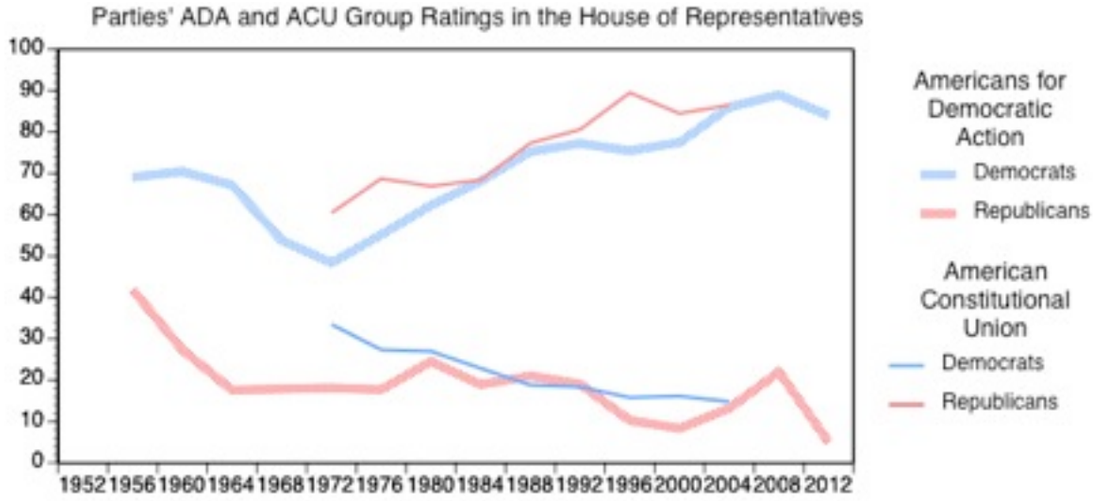
1. Legal Services Corporation. HR 1 (Roll Call 54) The House defeated an amendment to the 2011 appropriations bill that would have struck all funding for the Legal Services Corporation from the budget bill. ACU has always opposed this wasteful program which has been used primarily to expand the welfare state and was found by a GAO study to be rife with waste, fraud and abuse and supported this amendment. The amendment failed February 16, 2011 by a vote of 171-259.

25. "Catch-All Appropriations. HR 2055 (Roll Call 941) The House passed a year-end appropriations bill, known as the "Omnibus" bill that funded $915 billion dollars in one 2,300 page bill for Fiscal Year 2012 The bill avoided limits imposed in the debt-limit negotiations by labeling additional spending as "emergency spending" so the total spending for the year is an increase over Fiscal Year 2011. ACU opposes these massive bills that are written in secret and passed with no amendments allowed. Nevertheless the bill passed the House on December 16, 2011 by a vote of 296-121.

By computing the mean (average) ADA and ACU congressional voting ratings separately for Democrats and Republicans, one can estimate the extent to which each party backs the positions of the ADA

and ACU. These party ratings offer a shortcut to determining whether parties articulate the interests of the ADA and ACU. As shown in Figure 8.7, ADA and ACU ratings over time indicate that Democratic members in the House typically voted in support of the key ADA issues, but not issues favored by the ACU. The rating pattern is completely reversed for the Republicans, who regularly scored high on ACU ratings and low on ADA ratings. Note also that the parties drew further apart over time in their ideological ratings.

Figure 8.7:
Party Voting on ADA and ACU Issues



The ideological bases of the Democratic and Republican parties are linked to the political interests that they articulate in congressional voting—just like their social bases of support. Concerning ideology, the linkage seems even stronger than that with occupation, education, region, and urbanization. Only religion and ethnicity seems to have as strong a connection to party identification and to the articulation of political interests of the parties' supporters.

End Notes

Click on footnote number to return to text

[1] Philip E. Converse thoroughly explores the importance of coherence to ideology in "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David E. Apter (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent* (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 206-261.

[2] Kathleen Knight traces the history of the term in "Transformations of the Concept of Ideology in the Twentieth Century," *American Political Science Review*, 100 (November, 2006), 619-626. Also see Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, "Ideologies, Political," in George Thomas Kurian, *The Encyclopedia of Political Science, Volume 3* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press), pp. 759-762.

[3] Frances E. Lee, *Beyond Ideology: Politics, Principles, and Partisanship in the U.S. Senate* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 27.

[4] Much of this discussion of liberals and conservatives is drawn from Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey Berry, and Jerry Goldman, *The Challenge of Democracy* (Boston: Cengage, 2012), pp. 26-28.

[5] See Kenneth Janda, "1984: When Liberal Became a Dirty Word," a detailed analysis of the usage of "liberal" and "conservative" in Democratic and Republican party platforms since 1840, available at the link below. This research was facilitated by the collected data on party platforms and the dedicated search engine at http://janda.org/politxts/PartyPlatforms/listing.html.

[6] The observed shift to attack mode in Republican Platform rhetoric in 1984 is consistent with the analysis of Walter J. Stone, Ronald B. Rapoport, and Alan I. Abramowitz, "The Reagan Revolution and Party Polarization in the 1980s," in L. Sandy Maisel (ed.), *The Parties Respond: Changes in the American Party System* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), pp. 67-93.

[7] Lee, *Beyond Ideology* pp. 31-32.

[8] The Roper Center web site is at http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/about_roper.html. Roper's iPoll search engine finds words in past survey questions. Terminating a search term with "%" in iPoll allows for truncated searching, which finds liberal, liberals, liberalism, liberalize, and so on. Both "liberal%" and "conserve%" were used as search terms.

[9] For example, a November 6, 1936 Gallup Poll asked, "*Should President Roosevelt's second Administration be more liberal, more conservative, or about the same as his first?*" A series of questions in an August 1938 *Fortune* survey named eleven different people (e.g., Henry Ford) and then asked whether respondents would describe each "as—reactionary, conservative, liberal or radical?" In April 1944 an Office of Public Opinion Research Survey asked "*How important do you think it is that the next President be liberal/conservative? . . .Very important, moderately important.*" None of these questions asked about the *respondent's* ideology.

[10] Consider the question in a 1936 Gallup Poll (the earliest question turned up in the iPoll search), *"If there were only two political parties in this country--Conservative and Liberal--which would you join?"* Two years later, Gallup asked, *"In politics, do you regard yourself as a liberal or conservative?"* Six years later, a 1944 Gallup Poll asked something close, but slightly different, *"Do you regard yourself as a conservative, or a liberal, or somewhere in between?"* As late as 1967, a Harris poll threw "radical" into the options by asking, *"What do you consider yourself--conservative, middle of the road, liberal or radical?"*

[11] *The American Voter* (New York John Wiley, 1960) by Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes

was the landmark book on voting behavior. It was based primarily on the 1952 and 1956 national election surveys conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, where they taught. On page 193, the authors write: "Perhaps no abstraction . . . has been used more frequently in the past century for political analysis than the concept of a liberal-conservative continuum—the 'right' and the 'left' of a political spectrum." Indeed, the authors analyzed open-ended questions to probe respondents' understanding of ideology, finding that "Some people clearly perceived a fundamental liberal-conservative continuum." (p. 227) However, they asked no question in either 1952 or 1956 whether respondents thought of themselves as liberals or conservatives. Despite the fact that ideology was a central concept in their analysis of public opinion and voting behavior, they failed to ask that question in subsequent national surveys in 1960, 1964, and 1968.

[12] When my friend, Philip Converse, the only surviving author of *The American Voter* and a key participant in the Survey Research Center's later surveys, was asked via email, "Why did ANES not ask the ideological self-placement question prior to 1972?" He replied: "I am in my mid-80s and getting very forgetful, so I have no real answer whatever! Nonetheless, it occurs to me that possibly such a way of grading people was more or less unknown until 1972, and we helped give it some publicity that since has taken off!" And take off it did.

[13] No polls taken in presidential years from 1952 to 1968 asked suitable questions or furnished creditable results to include in Figure 8.2 Three Gallup Polls taken March 28-31, 1950; February 25-March 2,1954; and January 17-22, 1957 were used for 1952, 1956, and 1960 respectively. They came from the Roper Center holdings. A June, 1965 poll by the National Opinion Research Center was used for 1964, and another Gallup Poll taken March 18-25, 1970 represented 1968. The data from 1972 through 2008 came from the American National Election Studies, and the 2012 data came from a Pew Research Center survey in January 2012. The 1950 Gallup poll was used to represent 1952.

[14] Converse, 1964, p. 223.

[15] Ibid, p. 222.

[16] The overwhelming response given (32 percent) was that "liberal" and "conservative" referred to "personal characteristics and traits." Only 7 percent replied that the terms referred to "general attitude toward money and economics," and a paltry 4 percent suggested that they reflected a "general attitude toward government." However, 8 percent said that liberals and conservatives differed on "values," often mentioning "abortion."

[17] This CBS News poll occurred Feb 22-26, 2006. It was turned up in an iPoll search for "liberal and conservative" (which turned up over 3,000 questions) and then searching for "mean" within the set. The overwhelming response given (32 percent) was that "liberal" and "conservative" referred to "personal characteristics and traits." Only 7 percent replied that the terms referred to "general attitude toward money and economics," and a paltry 4 percent suggested that they reflected a "general attitude toward government." However, 8 percent said that liberals and conservatives differed on "values," often mentioning "abortion."

[18] "Negative branding" is an established term in advertising. See Maxwell Winchester, Jenni Romaniuk, and Svetlana Bogomolova, "Positive and Negative Brand Beliefs and Brand Defection/Uptake," *European Journal of Marketing*, 42 (2008), 553-570.

[19] Vote Smart on the Internet monitors how interest groups rate congressional voting. See http://votesmart.org/interest-groups . The Americans for Democratic Action site is http://www.adaction.org/, The American Conservative Union site is http://www.conservative.org/.

[20] See the ADA votes at http://www.adaction.org/pages/publications/voting-records.php.

[21] See the ACU votes at http://conservative.org/legislative-ratings.

Appendix A:

Poll Questions on Respondents' Ideology, 1935-1969

If there were only two political parties in this country--Conservative and Liberal--which would you join?
Gallup Poll; May 11, 1936 - May 16, 1936

In politics, do you regard yourself as a liberal or conservative
Gallup Poll (AIPO); Jan 20, 1938 - Jan 25, 1938

Do you regard yourself as a conservative, or a liberal, or somewhere in between?
Roper/Fortune Survey; Aug 1, 1944 - Aug 14, 1944

In politics, do you regard yourself as a liberal or conservative?
NORC Post-Election Survey 1944; Nov 26, 1944 - Dec 3, 1944

Do you consider yourself to be a conservative or a liberal in your political views?
Gallup Poll; Mar 19, 1948 - Mar 24, 1948

When it comes to national issues, do you regard yourself, in general, as a liberal, as a conservative, or as something else?
Foreign Affairs *Survey; Jan 27, 1949 - Feb 6, 1949*

Do you consider yourself to be a conservative or a liberal in your political views?
Gallup Poll (AIPO); Mar 26, 1950 - Mar 31, 1950

Taking everything into account, do you consider yourself, in general, as a liberal or as a conservative?
Gallup Poll; Feb 25, 1954 - Mar 2, 1954

Taking everything into account, would you say that, in general, you think of yourself as a liberal--or as a conservative?
Gallup Poll (AIPO); Dec 31, 1954 - Jan 5, 1955

Taking everything into account would you say that you, yourself, are more of a liberal or more of a conservative in politics
Gallup Poll (AIPO); May 12, 1955 - May 17, 1955

Taking everything into account would you say that you, yourself, are more of a liberal or more of a conservative in politics?
Gallup Poll (AIPO); Jan 17, 1957 - Jan 22, 1957

Which of these probably comes closest to your position in politics?...Conservative Republican, liberal Republican, Independent who leans Republican, Independent without party preference, Independent who leans Democratic, conservative Democrat, liberal Democrat
National Labor Issues Survey; Dec, 1961 - Dec, 1961

I*n politics, would you say you are a liberal or a conservative?*
Survey Research Service Amalgam; Jun, 1965 - Jun, 1965

W*hat do you consider yourself in your political point of view--a conservative, a liberal or middle of the road?*
Harris Survey; Jun, 1967 - Jun, 1967

What do you consider yourself--conservative, middle of the road, liberal or radical?
Harris Survey; Sep, 1967 - Sep, 1967

How would you describe your political beliefs--as conservative, moderately conservative, moderately liberal or liberal?
Gallup Poll (AIPO); Jul 10, 1969 - Jul 15, 1969

Appendix B:
1970 Gallup Poll on Liberal-Conservative

Top Five Answers: Ranked by Number of Replies

What Is the First Thing That Comes to Your Mind . . .

. . . When you think of someone who is a liberal?

182 free thinker, open-minded, fair, lenient: "a person who; is a free thinker", "listens to both sides", "fair in making; decisions", "someone who can look at and see all sides to a problem"

126 gives things away, spends money: "giving away a lot of; things", "determination to spend other people's money", "urges gov't spending", "someone who is eager to spend money

110 names specific person: "Hubert Humphrey", "Eugene McCarthy", "Roosevelt", "Rockefeller"

102 mentions general political position, political party: "like an independent", "neither conservative nor; reactionary", "little left of center", "not middle of road", "middle of road", "a political party", "Democratic Party"

93 free, kind, generous, good-hearted, giving, "somebody freer"; "be free", "kind and good - free hearted", "someone concerned about people in general", "person who is generous; or giving"

. . . When you think of someone who is a conservative?

265 saves, doesn't throw things away, doesn't spend money: "someone who doesn't throw things away", "want to conserve the money of the public", "keep things", "penny pincher", "tight money", "someone who is stingy", "not wasteful", "a person who plans and saves"

186 do not change, does not take a chance: "people who are not so broad minded or go along with the young people with these new changes", "one who is more satisfied with allowing things to be as they are", "stick to the old beaten path and don't like to change too much", "doesn't like to change too much"

161 cautious, careful, sensible, reserved: "a more reserved person", "level headed people", "sensible people", "a person who thinks and considers every aspect", "thinks more before deciding"

132 close minded, strict, square, intolerant, self- centered: (general negative responses) "someone who is not open to new things", "straight or square", "one point of view", "of one opinion", "very self-centered"

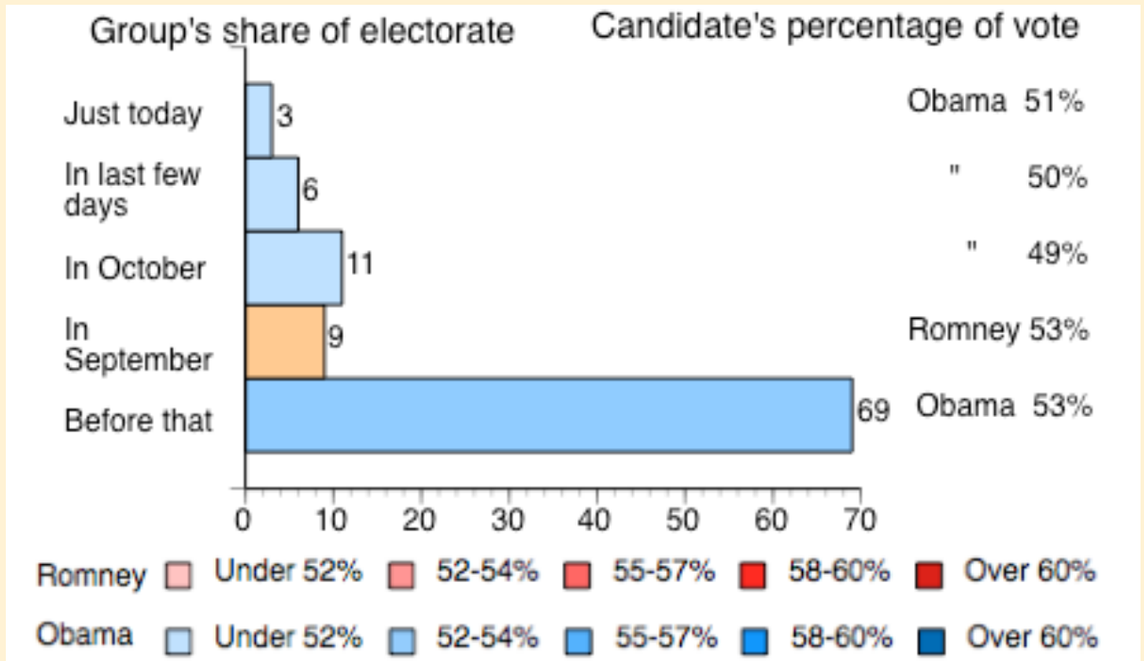
88 Nixon, Republican, current administration: "President Nixon's policy", "the ones in the White House now", "Nixon is a conservative"

Chapter 9:
Reviewing Party Support, 1952-2012

Most citizens decide how they will vote for president long before the November election. The Republican Party did not formally nominate Mitt Romney as its presidential candidate until the end of August. The Democrats did not formally renominate Barack Obama until the beginning of September. Prior to both conventions, most citizens had already made up their minds how they would vote.

As shown in Figure 9.1, exit polls after the 2012 election found that nearly 70 percent of all voters had decided before September how they planned to vote, and 53 percent had already decided for Obama.

Figure 9.1:
2012 Presidential Vote by Time of Decision



The huge sums spent on presidential election campaigns every four years change relatively few votes. Most voters choose candidates that match their party identifications. That is why it is so important to understand the changing patterns of party support.

Social Changes, 1952-2012

Chapters 1-8 presented a lot of information about changes in the social and political composition of the United States from 1952 to 2012. The interactive Recaps in this chapter provide an easy way to review the many figures that contained the data. Recap 9.1 on the facing page contains all eight chapter figures that graphed changes during the past sixty years. Figure 1.2 shows the changing distribution of party identification over time. It shows that the Republican Party declined a little in its claim on the electorate, that the Democratic Party declined a great deal, and that independents increased in percentage over time.

The eBook allows you to cycle through the figures for the other chapters by clicking on the thumbnail images at the bottom, which has space for seven images from the first seven chapters. To view the figure for Chapter 8, click on the arrow at the lower right after the seventh image. Click the center dots to navigate between the two sets.

Each figure reflects major changes in American society. Figure 2.2 illustrates the changing nature of the workforce. As women took outside jobs, the percentage of "homemakers" drastically declined—as did farmers and unskilled workers. Meanwhile, more people became engaged in professional and white collar employment. In fact, the occupational structure changed so much over the six decades that polls stopped asking about occupation. Our last survey was in 2010.

Figure 3.2 dramatically portrays the increased level of education in contemporary society. Figure 4.2, which marks modest but steady increases in population in the South and West at the expense of the Northeast and North Central states, shows fairly few changes.

Figure 5.2 records population movement out of rural areas and small towns to urban areas—especially suburbs—and Figure 6.2 displays the steady decline of the Protestant population and the steady increase of people with other or no religion. Figure 7.2 reveals a similar

Recap 9.1: Figures for Social Changes, 1952-2012

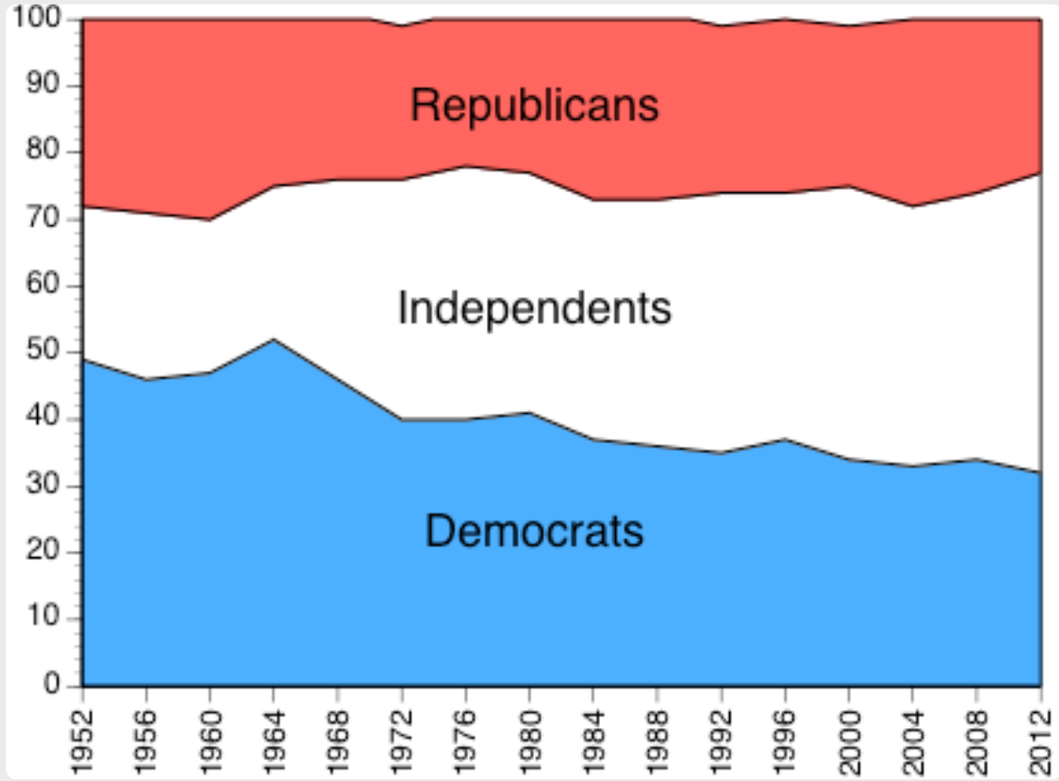
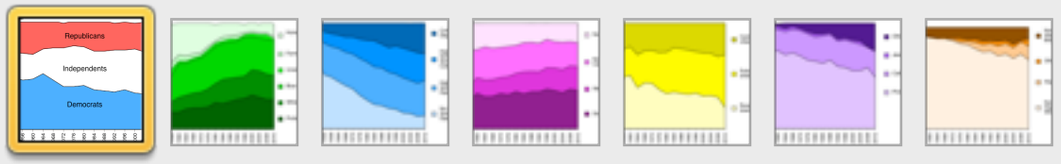


Figure 1.2: Party Identification, 1952-2012



steady decline in the white population and the steady increase of the Hispanic population.

Finally, Figure 8.2 starts at 1950, instead of 1952, to take advantage of one of the few early surveys that asked respondents to classify themselves as liberals or conservatives. It shows that in the 1950s more people classified themselves as liberals than as conservatives. Since the 1970s, however, conservatives consistently prevailed.

Parties' Social Attraction, 1952 & 2012

Table 1.1 in Chapter 1 displays the conventional method of computing percentages for party support from public opinion polls. It reports the percentages of people in each group who identified themselves as Republicans, independents, and Democrats. Percentages like those in Table 1.1 are used to calculate *social attraction* scores, according to the formula in Box 1.1. These scores express the extent to which the Democratic and Republican parties evenly attract party identifiers from various groups.

Social attraction scores range from 0.0 to 1.0. The higher the score, the more evenly a party attracts support from each group. A perfect score of 1.0 means that the party attracts the same percentage of party identifiers from each group. Recap 9.2 contains all the figures that reported social attraction scores for occupation, education region, urbanization, religion, ethnicity, and political ideology for the beginning and end years over six decades of political surveys in presidential years.

By 2012, pollsters had largely given up on trying to track respondents' occupations and began to ask respondents' income instead. So the latest poll in Figure 2.3 represents 2010, not 2012. In any event, the data at the start and end of the six decades show that both parties attracted party identifiers from all occupational groups.

Figure 3.3 conveys a similar story: both parties attracted support fairly evenly at all educational levels. Although Figure 4.3 portrays a similar tale for region, it masks the fact that in 1952 southerners voted heavily for Republicans, but today they are heavily Republican.

Figure 5.3 reveals a change in urban-rural patterns of party support. In 1952, both parties drew support very evenly from cities, suburbs, and small towns and rural areas. By 2012, the Democratic Party appealed more to urbanites than did the Republican Party.

Recap 9.2: Figures for Social Attraction, 1952 & 2012

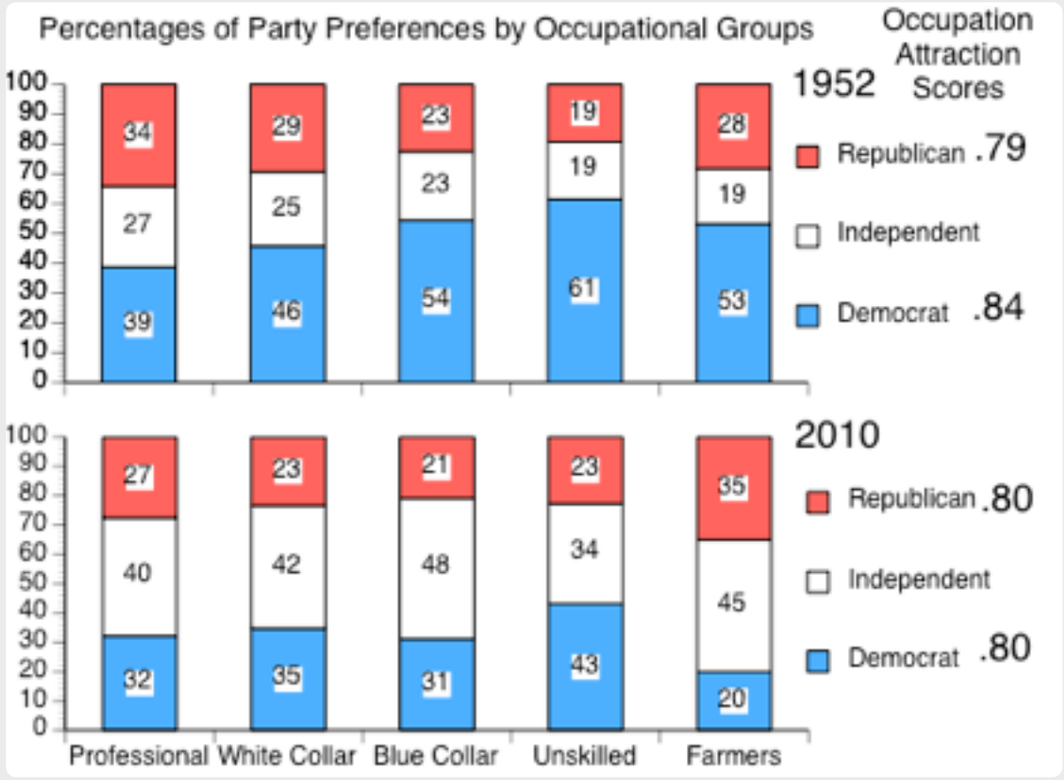


Figure 2.3: Occupational Attraction, 1952 & 2010

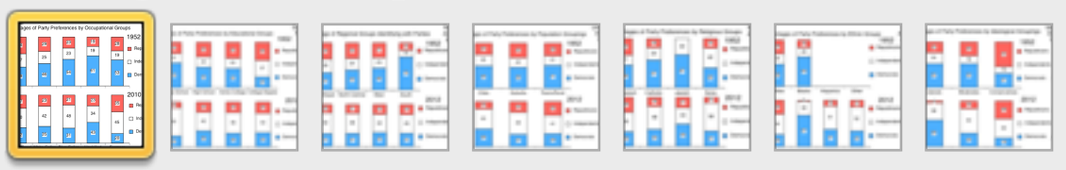


Figure 6.4 demonstrates that the Republican Party attracted a much higher percentage of identifiers from Jews at the end of the period than at the beginning.

Figure 7.3 tells a different story for blacks. In 1952, a substantial minority of blacks said they were Republicans. In 2012, almost no blacks claimed to be Republican.

Figure 8.3 replays the story for the Republican Party and liberals. In 1950, almost a quarter of self-identified liberals regarded themselves as Republicans. In 2012, almost no liberals admitted it.

Parties' Social Concentration, 1952 & 2012

Table 1.2 in Chapter 1 displays an alternative way of computing party support from public opinion polls. It computes proportions of party identifiers who come from each social group, which are used to calculate *social concentration* scores, according to the formula in Box 1.2. These scores express the extent to which Democratic and Republican party identifiers are concentrated within specific groups.

Social concentration scores range from 0.0 to 1.0. The higher the score, the more a party depends on support from specific groups. A perfect score of 1.0 means that all its identifiers come from one group.

Recap 9.3 contains all the figures that reported social concentration scores for occupation, education region, urbanization, religion, ethnicity, and political ideology for the years that begin and end six decades of political surveys.

Figure 2.4 reveals that the parties had identical and fairly concentration scores for occupational groups in both 1952 and 2010. Their concentration scores for educational levels were also similar in 1952 and 2010, as shown in Figure 3.4. Concerning these two social dimensions, Democrats and Republicans had similar support structures.

Figure 4.4 shows that party identifiers in neither party were heavily concentrated within a single region, although specific regions were clearly over-represented in both parties.

As attested in Figure 5.4, both parties' identifiers in 1952 were almost perfectly distributed across urban, suburban, and rural areas. By 2012, both parties showed decreases in identifiers from small towns and rural areas, as population dwindled in those areas.

The higher concentration scores in Figure 6.5 painted different pictures of party support from religious groups. In 1952, Protestants contributed heavily to identifiers in both parties, but particularly to the

Recap 9.3: Figures for Social Concentration, 1952 & 2012

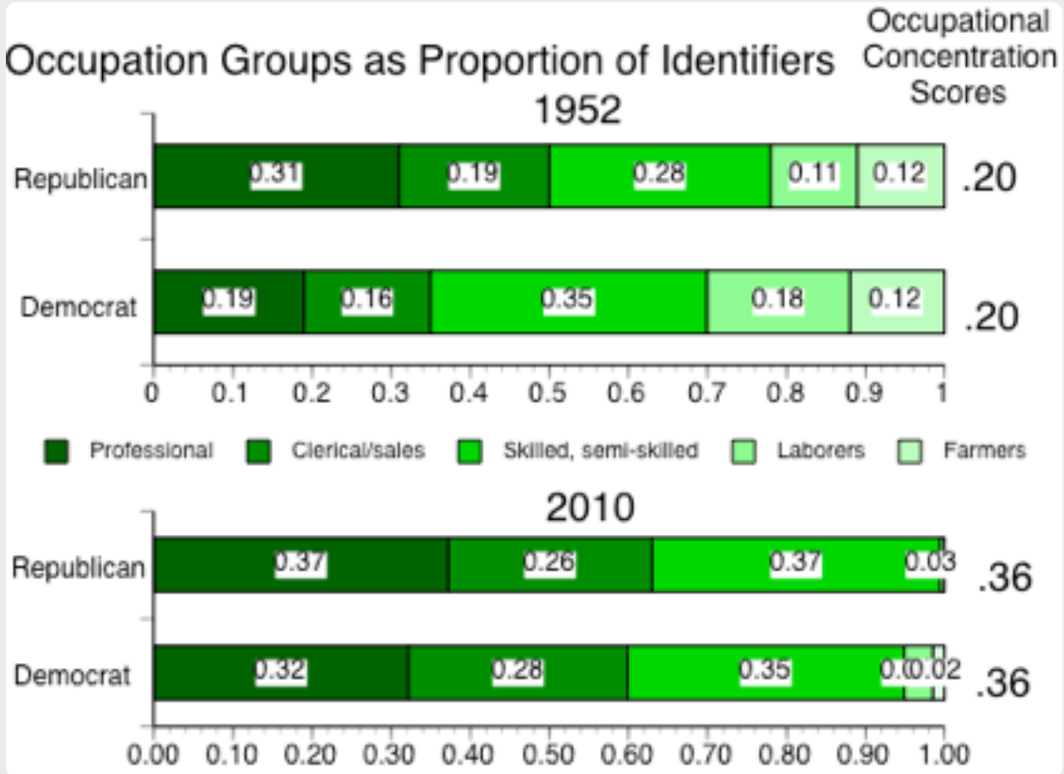
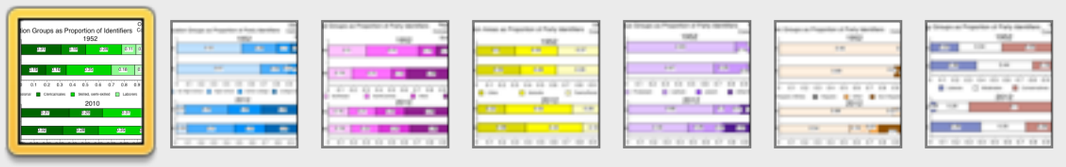


Figure 2.4: Occupational Concentration, 1952 & 2010



Republicans. By 2012, the Republicans were still highly concentrated among Protestants and Catholics. Democrats were spread among different religious groups, including those with no religious preference.

Figure 7.4 repeats the story in Figure 6.5. But this time, Republicans were concentrated among non-Hispanic whites .

Figure 8.4 shows the same tendency for the Republican Party: one group (conservatives) accounted for about 70 percent of all Republican identifiers. Democratic identifiers spread among all three groups.

Parties' Attraction and Concentration, 1952-2012

The preceding figures in Recaps 9.2 and 9.3 showed how social groups distributed their support between the parties for two years at the beginning and end of six decades of poll data. Those figures reported the parties' social attraction and social concentration scores for only 1952 and 2012.

Recap 9.4 contains the figures that plotted the annual parties' attraction and concentration scores from 1952 to 2012. They document how the structure of party support changed over time.

Figure 2.5 demonstrates that, over the last sixty years, both parties attracted support fairly evenly from all occupational groups, and that neither party's supporters were concentrated within a specific group.

Figures 3.5 tells a similar tale for education, and so do Figures 4.5, and 5.5 for region and urbanization. The Democratic and Republican parties did not differ greatly in how evenly they attracted support over time from occupational, educational, regional, and urban-rural population groups. Nor did they differ fundamentally in the extent to which their supporters were concentrated within specific groups in these four dimensions of society.

Figure 6.6 for religion poses a somewhat different story. First, both parties' concentration scores declined over time. Given the steady erosion in the percentage of Protestants in the population, this decline in concentration scores was inevitable. However, the Republican Party relied on Christians throughout time more than the Democratic Party.

Second, and paradoxically, Republicans substantially increased their religious attraction score over time. That resulted from the party attracting more Jews over time.

Recap 9.4: Figures for Party Support Scores, 1952-2012

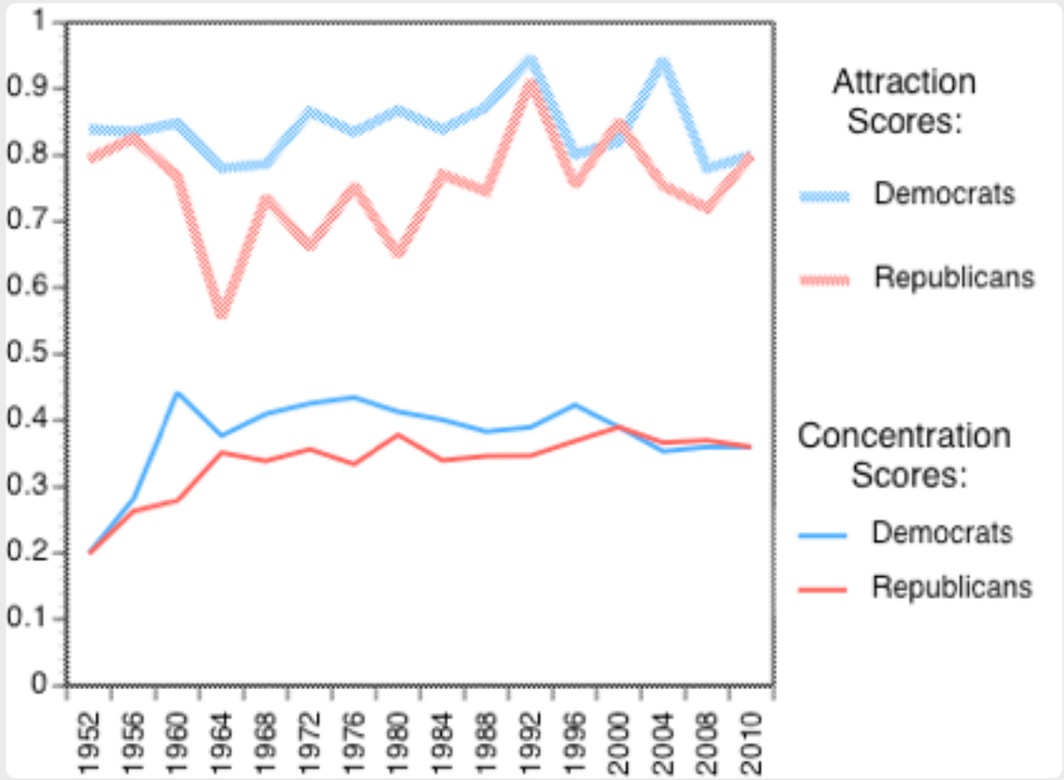


Figure 2.5: Occupation Party Support Scores, 1952-2010

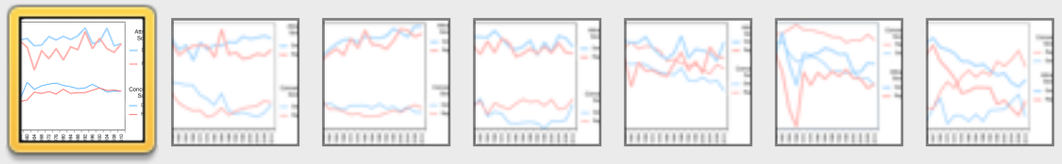


Figure 7.5 for ethnicity tells a *very* different story from all the others. The Republicans began the period as a nearly all-white party and stayed that way for sixty years, which earned it high ethnic concentration scores throughout. The Democrats too began as mostly all white, but attracted support from other ethnic groups over time, steadily lowering its ethnic concentration scores.

Figure 8.5 relates a dramatic story of ideological change. Both parties steadily decreased over time in attracting support from all ideological groups. Republicans identifiers became increasingly concentrated among conservatives.

Attraction Scores v. Concentration Scores, 1952-2012

Chapter 1 stated that attraction and concentration scores were strongly related empirically but were not simply mirror images of each other. High attraction scores are associated with low concentration scores, and vice versa, but the correlation between any pair of scores is not perfect. Moreover the correlations between paired scores vary by social differentiator—occupation, education, region, and so on.

Recap 9.5 displays figures from subsequent chapters that plotted attraction v. concentration scores while displaying for reference the high attraction and low concentration scores for age groups. The size of the ovals around the plots indicate how much (or little) the scores changed over time. In general, ovals placed to the lower right signify high attraction and low concentration scores. That is where the ovals basically fall for occupation, education, region, and urban-rural areas—the first four figures.

For the fifth figure, which plots the religious scores, the ovals not only jump up but they also separate. The parties' religious support patterns are fundamentally different from the other patterns. Moreover, the two parties differ fundamentally from each other.

And these differences in party support are exacerbated for the sixth figure, ethnicity. Concerning ethnic groups in America, the Democratic and Republicans appeal to very different segments of society and include different segments among their party identifiers.

A similar story occurs concerning political ideology, Figure 8.6. The Democratic and Republican ovals embrace very different clusters of scores. Democratic ideology scores tend to be higher in attraction and lower in concentration. Republican scores go in the opposite direction, except for four red dots in the Democratic oval. They represent the four years before 1968. Since then, the Republican Party's ideological scores have occupied a space of their own, generally becoming more extreme over time.

Recap 9.5: Plots of Attraction v. Concentration

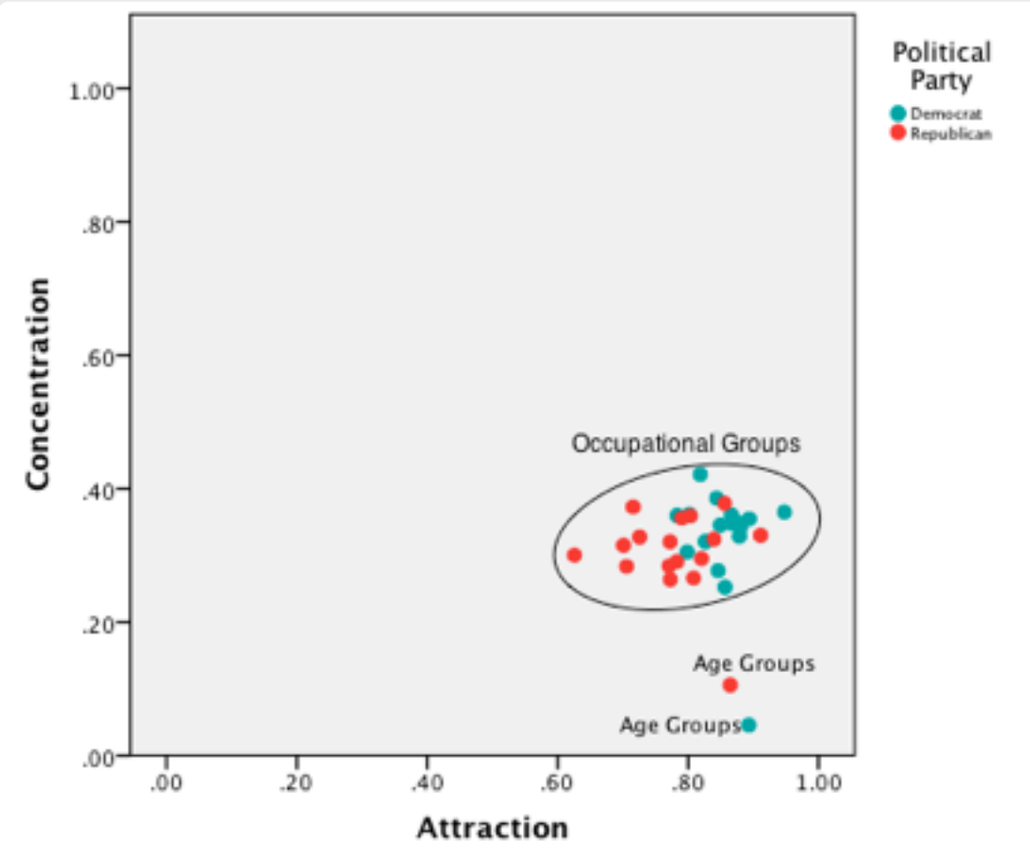
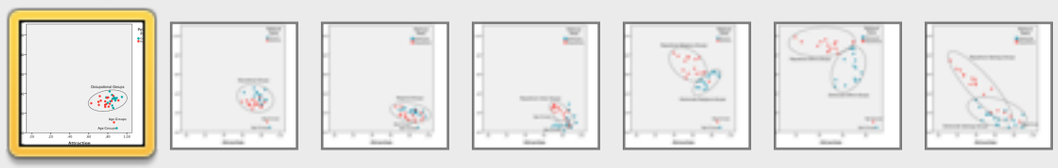


Figure 2.6: Occupational Attraction v. Concentration



The last image plots only the party's *mean* attraction and concentration scores for each dimension of social support. The red and blue ovals mark two different sets of attraction and concentration scores. They demonstrate (1) that the parties differed more on ethnicity, religion, and ideology than on the other dimensions, and (2) that the Republican Party consistently scored lower on social attraction and higher on social concentration for these dimensions than the Democrats.

Parties' Interest Articulation, 1952-2012

As explained in Chapter 1, to "articulate" an interest means to express it clearly. To "aggregate" interests means to collect and balance different, often competing, interests.

We assume that parties articulate the political interests of groups that support them. Chapter 1 set forth this proposition:

P 1: *The larger the proportion of a party supporters concentrated in a group, the more the party will articulate that specific group's interests.*

Its corollary is

P 2: *The more evenly that groups support a party, the more the party will aggregate interests of all the groups.*

It is hard to produce solid evidence of interest aggregation, but how parties vote in Congress provides hard evidence of interest articulation.

Recap 9.6 reprises figures based mainly on how interest groups rated parties' roll-call voting on issues before Congress. Although occupation was not a major source of difference in support for the Democratic and Republican parties, they divided sharply in their congressional voting, as Figure 2.7 shows. The AFL-CIO labor union rated Democrats high in supporting their interests and the Republicans low. The Chamber of Commerce business group judged the parties the other way around. In Figure 3.7, Democrats are again rated high and Republicans low by the National Education Association, which probably acts more as a labor union than as a voice for education.

Figures 4.7 and 5.7 do not reflect interest group ratings. Instead, they demonstrate shifts over time in party representation in Congress. In the 1950s, southern seats were almost all Democratic; now they are Republican. In the 1950s, over half of House Democrats represented small towns, now about a quarter do.

Recap 9.6: Interest Articulation in Congress

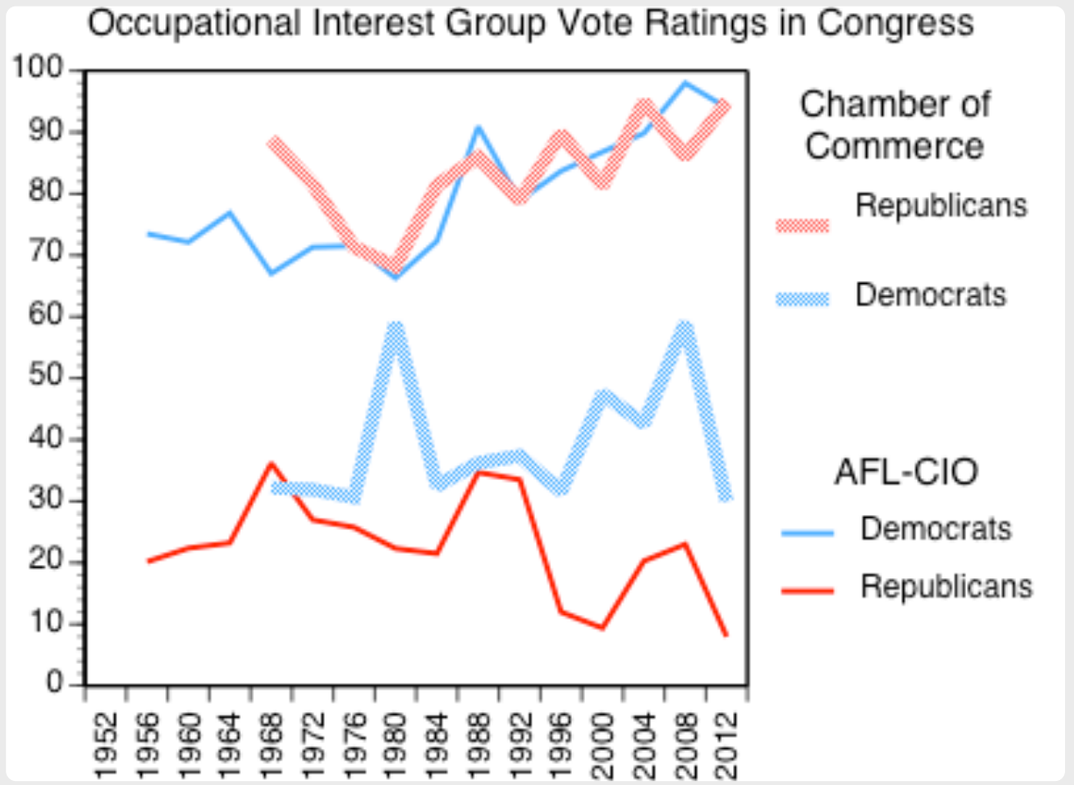


Figure 2.7: Articulating Occupational Interests

Since the Christian Coalition started rating the parties for congressional voting in the early 1990s, the Republicans rated high, the Democrats low (Figure 6.8). Since the NAACP and the Latino NHLA started rating the parties for congressional voting, the Democrats rated high, and the Republicans low (Figure 7.7).

Finally, Figure 8.7 displays much longer vote ratings by the conservative ACU and the liberal ADA. The ideological support patterns of the parties track their ratings by the groups. Moreover, as the ideological support polarized between the parties, Democrats increased support of the ADA and Republicans increased support of the ACU.

Reviewing the Parties' Structure of Support

It is time to review and summarize the Democratic and Republican parties' structure of support over the last sixty years. In reading these summary statements, **pay attention to portions in red** that make key points. We will draw conclusions at the end.

Party Identification (Chapter 1)

1. **Every year from 1952 to 2012, more citizens identified themselves as Democrats than as Republicans**.

2. Over the same period, the percentage of self-identified independents doubled.

3. The increase in independents occurred at the expense of Democrats.

4. Although in 2012 more citizens identify themselves as Democrats than Republicans, the ratio of Democrats to Republicans is lower than in 1952.

Occupation (Chapter 2)

1. The percentage of people employed in managerial and white collar occupations almost doubled since 1952.

2. Despite this major change in the distribution of occupations, the parties' occupational attraction and concentration scores have not changed much over time.

3. The two parties **do not differ in major ways** in their attraction and concentration of support from **occupational groups**.

4. In congressional voting, however, Republicans articulate interests of the Chamber of Commerce, Democrats articulate interests of the AFL-CIO—and both tendencies have increased over time.

Education (Chapter 3)

1. The percentage of citizens with college degrees increased from about 5 percent in 1952 to over 20 percent in 2012; those without a high school diploma dropped from 60 percent in 1952 to under 20 percent in 2012.

2. Despite this major change in the increase in educational levels, the parties' educational attraction and concentration scores have not changed much over time.

3. The two parties **do not differ in major ways** in their attraction and concentration of support from **educational levels**.

4. In congressional voting, however, Democrats articulate interests of the National Education Association, while Republicans vote against the NEA.

Region (Chapter 4)

1. From 1952 to 2012, the West and particularly the South enjoyed population increases, while the North Central and particularly the Northeast suffered population declines.

2. Compared with 1952, when the "Solid South" meant Democratic rule, both parties in 2012 attracted support more evenly across the four major regions of the nation and relied less on support concentrated within regions.

3. Moreover, both parties attracted support more evenly from all the regions over time, while their concentration scores remained almost constant.

4. However, the attraction and concentration scores do not reflect that the **South switched from a solidly Democratic region in 1952 to a predominantly Republican one in 2012**.

5. In 1952, 89 percent of Southern seats in the House were held by Democrats; in 2012, 71 percent were held by Republicans.

Urbanization (Chapter 5)

1. In 1952, about 40 percent of the population lived in rural areas and small towns compared with 20 percent in 2012; the percentages flipped from 20 to 40 for the burgeoning suburbs, while the city percentage remained about the same.

2. Both parties were more attractive of support from urban, suburban, and rural areas in 1952 than in 2012, when Republicans attracted little support from urban dwellers.

3. Both parties showed little concentration of support from urban, suburban, and rural areas in 1952; **in 2012, Republicans supporters were concentrated in suburban areas and Democratic supporters in urban areas**.

4. Over time, however, there was relatively little trend in their attraction and concentration scores.

5. Nevertheless, there was a dramatic change in congressional seats held by the parties: by 2012 about 60 percent of all House Democrats came from urban districts, while about 50 percent of all House Republicans came from suburban districts.

Religion (Chapter 6)

1. In 1952, over 90 percent of respondents said they were Christians; less than 80 percent said so in 2012, when about 20 percent claimed no religion—up from almost zero in 1952.

2. In 1952, Republicans attracted virtually no support from Jews so had a very low religious attraction score, which improved in 2012; Democrats had higher religious attraction scores both years.

3. In 1952, **Republicans identifiers were overwhelmingly Protestant; in 2012, overwhelmingly Christian,** while Democratic identifiers were not heavily concentrated among any single religious group in either year.

4. Due to Protestants' decline as a percentage of the population, both parties' religious concentration scores dropped over time; Republicans improved their religious attraction scores by attracting more Jews.

5. In congressional voting, Republicans strongly backed policies favored by the Christian Coalition; Democrats strongly opposed them.

Ethnicity (Chapter 7)

1. In 1952, whites comprised 90 percent of the population and blacks 10 percent; in 2012, whites dropped to about 70 percent, blacks remained around 10 percent, and Hispanics jumped to over 10 percent.

2. In 1952, Democrats attracted support far more evenly than Republicans from whites and blacks (Hispanics and others were too few to include in polling statistics); in 2012, Democrats again attracted support more evenly from whites, blacks, Hispanics, and other ethnic groups.

3. In 1952, about 90 percent of identifiers in both parties were white, so both parties had high ethnic concentration scores; **in 2012, Republican identifiers were still almost 90 per-**

cent white, while Democrats were not so concentrated within a single ethnic group.

4. From 1952 to 2012, Republican identifiers' concentration among whites produced consistently high ethnic concentration scores, while Democrats' ethnic concentration scores tended to drop; both parties decreased in ethnic attraction.

5. In Congress, Democrats voted for policies backed by the NAACP and the NHLA, a Latino interest group, while Republicans tended to oppose both groups.

Political Ideology (Chapter 8)

1. Few surveys prior to 1972 regularly asked whether respondents were liberal, moderate, or conservative; American politics did not revolve around political ideology then as now.

2. From 1950 to the mid-1960s, there were similar percentages of self-identified liberals and conservatives; since then, conservatives always outnumbered liberals

3. In 1950, Democrats had higher ideological attraction scores, but Republicans attracted significant support from liberals.

4. In 1950, both parties had similar low ideological concentration scores; in **2012, almost 70 percent of Republican identifiers were conservative, almost none liberal,** and the Republican ideological concentration score soared.

5. From 1950 to 2012, both parties' ideological attraction scores declined; the Republicans' ideological concentration score climbed during the period, while the Democrats' score did not.

6. In Congress, Democrats voted heavily in support of the liberal ADA and in opposition to the conservative ACU; the Republicans voted heavily against the ADA and for the ACU.

Major Sources of Party Cleavage

Not all the social bases of party support studied in Chapters 2-8 and summarized above constitute major sources of cleavage in party politics. The findings can be distilled further in five generalizations:

*1. Occupation and Education have **not** been major sources of party cleavage during the last sixty years.*

As stated in point #3 under Occupation and Education, the two parties do not differ greatly in their occupational and educational support structures. Both parties attract significant support from all occupational groups and educational levels, and neither party's identifiers are concentrated in one group or level.

Many Republican identifiers are blue-collar workers and only have high school education. Many Democratic identifiers are in managerial or professional occupations and have college degrees. Occupation and educational differences among party identifiers do not distinguish Democrats from Republicans in the electorate.

2. Region has traditionally been an important source of party cleavage and is today, but partisanship in the South flipped from Democratic to Republican.

As stated in point #3 under the heading, Region, the South is now heavily Republican whereas it was once solidly Democratic. Moreover, in the West, most of the mountain states (e.g., Utah, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho) are also heavily Republican.

3. Urbanization was not an important source of party cleavage in 1952, but it is important today.

As stated in point #4 under Urbanization, today Republican identifiers are concentrated in rural areas and Democratic identifiers in urban areas.

4. *Religion and Ethnicity have traditionally been very important sources of party cleavage and are today the most important social sources of cleavage.*

Religion and Ethnicity are tied together in a traditional view of the nation as overwhelmingly white and Protestant. Due to immigration and changing values, the nation is no longer either.

As stated in point #3 under Religion, Republican identifiers, who were once overwhelmingly Protestant, evolved into becoming overwhelmingly Christian—not quite the same thing but close. Democratic identifiers come from various groups of religions believers and non-believers.

As stated in point #3 under Ethnicity, Republicans identifiers were 90 percent white in 1952 and remained almost 90 percent white in 2012. Democratic identifiers came from various ethnic groups.

5. *Political ideology was once unimportant to party cleavage, today it is as important as religion and ethnicity.*

As stated in point #4 under Political Ideology, Republicans drew substantial support from liberals in 1950. The party attracted virtually no support from liberals in 2012, when almost 70 percent of its identifiers were conservatives. Democratic identifiers in 2012 were fairly equally spread across liberals, moderates, and conservatives.

Since the mid-1960s, self-identified conservatives in the public outnumbered liberals by large margins, almost two to one. Nevertheless, Republicans lost the last two presidential elections. They may have counted too much on a huge conservative audience for their conservative policies. Republicans confront three problems with proposing policies that narrowly cater to a perceived conservative constituency.

The *first* is that many voters who claim to be conservative cannot explain what "conservative" means. They may say they are conservative and not "liberal" because Republicans have succeeded in denigrating the term, liberal. In a curious way, some respondents may try to be politically correct by saying they are conservatives. If they then vote Democratic, they may be quite unaware of the disconnect.

The *second* problem is that many people who say they are conservative are economic but not social conservatives. They favor smaller government in taxing and spending, and not the bigger government required to prohibit behavior they oppose, such as abortion, same-sex marriage, and marijuana usage. In both 2010 and 2012, tea party groups backed socially conservative candidates for the U.S. Senate. Several of them defeated moderate Republican incumbents in primary elections only to lose to Democrats in the general election.

The *third* problem is that conservatives may not deliver on their votes as well as Republican leaders and candidates expect. Exit polls after the 2012 election reported that 82 percent of self-identified conservatives voted for Mitt Romney, the self-proclaimed conservative candidate. That figure seems impressive until compared with 86 of self-identified liberals who voted for Barack Obama, tagged by Republicans as as an extreme liberal, if not a socialist.

Political ideology is not as important to voting behavior as party identification. Almost all Republicans (93 percent) voted for Romney, while almost all Democrats (92 percent) voted for Obama. The Republican party might get more votes by adopting policies that appeal to moderates than by honing their policies to serve conservatives.

Interest Articulation and Aggregation

Chapter 1 introduced the concepts of interest articulation and interest aggregation. Party theory assumes that a party's structure of social support determines the policy interests that the party presses on government, and Chapter 1 set forth these two assumptions:

Assumption 1: *Parties whose supporters are concentrated within a particular group within a social division tend to articulate the interests of that group.*

Assumption 2: *Parties that attract support equally from all groups within a social division tend to aggregate the interests of all groups.*

Chapter 1 also stated that the extent to which interest groups and political parties vary in articulation or aggregation is a matter for theory and research. The theory that links social concentration and attraction to interest articulation and attraction embodies two propositions. The first is derived from Assumption 1:

Proposition 1: *The larger the proportion of a party supporters concentrated in a group, the more the party will articulate that specific group's interests.*

Although this study did not provide a comprehensive test of Proposition 1, it did provide some supporting data. The final point listed after every chapter review stated that congressional Democrats and Republicans tended to support interest groups aligned with their social bases even if those the social groups do not align very strongly with the party—as in the case of occupation and education.

If a social group only *marginally* identifies more with one of the parties, that party still seems eager to articulate the group's interests. So it appears that parties' efforts to articulate political interests may not accurately *mirror* measurable differences their social bases of support. Instead, parties efforts to articulate political interests may *magnify* measurable differences in their social bases of support.

The other proposition in Chapter 1 derives from Assumption 2:

Proposition 2: *The more evenly that groups support a party, the more the party will aggregate interests of all those groups.*

As explained in Chapter 1, the process of interest aggregation involves bargaining and brokering between competing interests to reach acceptable compromises in public policy. These bargaining and brokering activities typically occur behind the scenes. Hence, interest aggregation is typically more difficult to study than interest articulation.

This study touched occasionally on interest aggregation (especially in the chapter on education), but never directly addressed that topic. The standard view in party theory is that both parties in two-party systems must compete with each others to win voters holding middle positions on various issues. Thus, they tend to rate higher in interest aggregation than parties in multi-party systems, which usually appeal to narrower segments of the electorate.

Most scholars would agree that during the 1950s and 1960s, the Democratic and Republican parties engaged in a high degree of interest aggregation in congressional voting. Conservative Democrats often crossed party lines to vote with conservative Republicans, and liberal Republicans frequently crossed over to vote with liberal Democrats. For the last couple of decades, fewer party members have crossed party lines on legislative compromises. In part, that is because there have been fewer conservative Democrats in Congress and almost *no* liberal Republicans.

Although both parties can be faulted for neglecting their roles as interest aggregators in American politics, the Republican Party in particular seems to have abandoned the interest aggregation function of a political party. Instead, it has in recent years passionately sought to articulate interests tailored to its conservative supporters. The next chapter, "The Future of Our Two-Party System," discusses how that narrow focus has affected the operation of our party system and how it has imperiled the very existence of the Republican Party.

Chapter 10:

The Future of Our Two-Party System

The origin of the Democratic Party is usually fixed in 1828 and the Republican Party in 1854. The two parties first competed in the 1856 presidential election. Since then, they have thoroughly dominated U.S. politics in what is called a two-party system.

Figure 10.1:
Percentages of Presidential Votes by Parties in 2012
http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2012/2012presgeresults.pdf

The two major party candidates, won more than 98 percent of all 129 million votes cast in 2012 (Figure 10.1). At least 23 other parties ran presidential candidates, but only Gary Johnson of the Libertarian Party won more than a million votes—less than 1 percent of the total.

In 2003, the Gallup Poll began asking the question, *"In your view, do the Republican and Democratic parties do an adequate job of representing the American people, or do they do such a poor job that a third major party is needed?"* In nine Gallup surveys since 2003, seven showed preferences for a third major party, but often by small margins. For example, the Gallup Poll in September 2012, found only 46 percent favoring a third party and 45 percent saying the two parties did an adequate job.[1]

Although 46 percent favored having a third major party in September, less than 2 percent in November voted for presidential candidates backed by the other 23 parties (Figure 10.1). Voting for the House of Representatives in 2012 was no different. Hundreds of House candidates—over 200 Libertarians alone—were sponsored by many other parties, but over 98 percent of all votes were cast for Republican and Democratic House candidates. Citizens may *say* that they want more options outside the two major parties, but they do not *vote* as they say.

This is not the place to debate the desirability of a third party in American politics, but some explanation should be given for *why* the United States has only two major parties. Other democratic countries typically have multiparty systems, usually featuring more than three parties. In fact, a political system with three relatively equal parties has never existed over a length of time in any country. As Jean Blondel argued, a three-party system is inherently unstable.[2]

The two most convincing explanations for our two-party system lie (1) in its electoral system and (2) in our historical pattern of political socialization.[3] Consider first the electoral system, which sets the "rules of the game" under which the parties play.

In the typical U.S. election, the winner is the single candidate who collects the most votes. Being second or third reaps no rewards, so there is little incentive for third party candidates. The American electoral system may force U.S. politics into a two-party mold, but why must the same two parties reappear from election to election? In fact, they have not. The earliest two-party system pitted the Federalists against the Democratic Republicans. A later two-party system involved the Democrats and the Whig Party, which was formed in the early 1830s to oppose President Andrew Jackson.

The Whigs regarded Jackson as a tyrant, so they adopted the British term, whig, which signified opposition to the king. The Whigs ran candidates in seven presidential elections from 1836 to 1860. Although Whigs twice won the presidency, William Henry Harrison in 1840 and Zachary Taylor in 1848, the party fragmented over the slavery issue prior to the Civil War. More than 150 years ago, the Republicans replaced the Whigs to form our present two-party system.

But with modern issues so different from the issues then, why do the Democrats and Republicans persist? This is where the second explanation, political socialization, comes into play. The two parties persist simply because they have persisted.

After more than one hundred years of political socialization, the two parties today have such a head start in structuring the vote that they discourage challenges from new parties. Third parties still try to crack the two-party system from time to time, but most have had little success. Few people vote for minor party candidates.

In truth, the two major parties also write laws that make it hard for minor parties to get on the ballot, such as requiring petitions with thousands of signatures. But even when other candidates do get on the ballot—Gary Johnson, the Libertarian Party candidate, was on the ballot in almost every state—few citizens vote for them. Most voters identify with one of the two major parties and view elections in terms of competition between the Democratic and Republican parties.

Finally, we should acknowledge that the United States has existed as a democracy for about 150 years under the present two-party system. Have we done so *in spite* of our two-party system or *because*

of our two-party system? Many if not most political theorists would say that our two-party system contributes to democratic government by encouraging candidates in both parties to appeal to voters of all types in order to win a plurality of the votes and thus get elected.

In theoretical language—and using terms introduced in Chapter 1 of this book—having only two major parties forces the two parties to aggregate different political interests from various groups. This means that parties need to attract support from all occupational, educational, regional, urban-rural, religious, and ethnic groups. In multiparty systems, specific groups constitute the base of different parties, which then articulate the specific interests of their base.

In the wake of the 2012 presidential election, however, some analysts now question the future of our two-party system, more specifically, the future role of the Republican Party as a competitive party within the system. Has the party's support become dangerously concentrated within groups that have diminished and are diminishing in size within the electorate? Has the Republican Party become insufficiently attractive across major social groups to win future presidential elections?

Republicans Debate Their Party's Future

Just days after the November 6, 2012 presidential election, a group of Republican consultants and pollsters issued a study titled, "2012: The Year Changing Demographics Caught Up With Republicans."[4] Based on a comprehensive analysis of exit poll data [which we selectively reported in previous chapters], the group's nine-page report stressed eight key points about the structure of the electorate:

1. The 2012 electorate contained the smallest share of white voters and the largest share of nonwhite voters in American history.
2. Mitt Romney won a larger share of the white vote than either John McCain or George W. Bush.
3. Mitt Romney won white voters in almost all demographic groups, usually by substantial margins.
4. Romney lost among African-Americans by roughly the same margin as John McCain and by a greater margin than George W. Bush.
5. Romney lost Hispanic voters by a greater margin than either John McCain or George W. Bush.
6. Romney lost Asians by the greatest margin in recent history, and by a greater margin than he lost Hispanics.
7. The partisan makeup of the electorate in 2012 was closer to 2008 than either 2004 or 2000.
8. Romney won among Independents, but not by enough to overcome the Democratic advantage in the electorate.

The report concluded:

> The handwriting is on the wall. Until Republican candidates figure out how to perform better among non-white voters, especially Hispanics and Asians, Republican presidential contenders will have an extraordinarily difficult time winning presidential elections from this point forward.

This gloomy forecast for the Republican Party was not from a nest of closet party liberals. The group—the Resurgent Republic—consisted of mainstream Republicans who proclaimed to "promote conservative free market principles such as lower taxes and economic growth, and support strong national defense policies."

Besides, the Resurgent Republic only repeated views that were widely reflected after the election. Even local newspapers observed that both presidential candidates ran campaigns targeting their traditional supporters. For example, *The Isthmus*, a newspaper in Madison, Wisconsin, wrote that "Obama made an energetic appeal to his base in this closely divided state."[5] Right after the election, a writer in the Long Beach, California *Post-Telegram*, opined that "It was a costly tac-

tical decision for Romney's platform to so rigidly mirror the base of his party."[6]

The national media—from both sides of the political spectrum—delivered similar postmortems of the election. A front page story in the liberal *New York Times* observed that Obama held onto the demographic groups that made up his party's base—young and unmarried people, political moderates, women, blacks, Latinos, the least and most educated, city dwellers, lower-income voters and union members."[7] In turn, Romney kept support of typically Republican groups: "whites, older Americans, Southerners, rural residents, married voters, regular churchgoers, and, overwhelmingly, white evangelical Christians." Another story in the *Times* the next day said,

> The demographic changes in the American electorate have come with striking speed and have left many Republicans, who have not won as many electoral votes as Mr. Obama did on Tuesday in 24 years, concerned about their future.[8]

The conservative *Wall Street Journal* reported concerns that the Republican Party's base will become "too old, too rural and too white" and quoted former Republican Senator Norm Coleman (Minnesota): "What worries me is that the GOP is about to become the WOP—the White Old Party."[9] Juan Williams, a political analyst for Fox News, implied that the Republican Party stood at a crossroads, saying "American history has shown that as the demographic composition of the country changes—socially, economically, ethnically—political parties must adapt if their principles are to survive."[10]

Two days after the election, the *Wall Street Journal* confided that Republican leaders were meeting about their party's future. Republican pollster Whit Ayres, said that the GOP "looks and acts too white and is not open, sensitive and welcoming to minorities." Matthew Dowd, former campaign adviser to George W. Bush described the GOP as a "Mad Men" party (referring to the TV series set in the 1960s) when Americans today relate to "Modern Family" (the contemporary TV comedy).[11] Centrist Republican Senator Susan Collins (Maine) argued, "If the party choose candidates with extreme views, they are not going to win. There needs to be a more pragmatic viewpoint."

In contrast, Richard Viguerie, a major fundraiser and conservative party activist, denied that the defeat signaled "a rejection of the tea party or grass roots conservatives," but agreed that "the disaster of 2012 signals the beginning of the battle to take over the Republican Party." Republican heavyweight Ralph Reed, president of the conservative Faith and Freedom Coalition, also did not think that the party needed to become less conservative but had "to sell its conservative message to a broader, more ethnically diverse audience."[12]

What Kind of Party?

The Republican Party today confronts the question of its purpose. How should the party define itself? Is it, as 18th century thinker Edmund Burke wrote, "a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed."[13] Or is it, as defined in the mid-20th century by economist Anthony Downs, "a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election."[14]

Replacing "men" with "people" in the definitions by Burke and Downs produces two contrasting views of the purpose of a political party. To Burke, people unite in a party in order to enact agreed policies. To Downs, people unite in a party to get elected. For Burkeans, a party should espouse policies that satisfy its *members*. For Downsians, a party should propose policies that satisfy the *voters*.

From the standpoint of democratic theory, elections facilitate the peaceful transfer of political power between competing elites—the "teams" in Downs' definition. Party scholar Ralph Goldman titled his book *From Warfare to Party Politics* to evoke the process of transferring power peacefully by voting instead of fighting.[15] According to

theory, then, democratic government is promoted when voters decide between parties based on policy alternatives presented by the parties. The voters' decision is clearest when the policy alternatives are reduced to two. Perhaps this explains why the United States has experienced democratic government for over two hundred years. The two-party system may have generated manageable choices for the electorate.

The difference between the Burkean and Downsian definitions of a political party is reflected in this book's theoretical framework. A Burkean party (united to promote a particular political principle) is engaged in interest *articulation*. A Downsian party (united to win the support of most voters in elections) is engaged in interest *aggregation*.

The clearest evidence that the Republicans have focused on interest articulation in recent years exists in the taxpayer's pledge created in 1986 by Grover Norquist, President of Americans for Tax Reform (ATR). Signers pledged to taxpayers in their districts and to the American people that they will

> ONE, oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses; and
>
> TWO, oppose any net reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates.[16]

According to ATR, 236 of 242 Republicans in the 2012 House and 41 of 48 in the Senate pledged not to increase taxes under any circumstances, compared with only two House Democrats and one Senate Democrat.[17]

Opposing tax increases is an understandable, even admirable, principle. To oppose tax increases regardless of economic conditions, however, is like a business pledging not to increase prices regardless of its increased costs for labor, material, and transportation. Governments and businesses alike must weigh their expenses against their income and perhaps adjust both.

The Taxpayers' Pledge and the Fiscal Cliff

In the economic collapse during the George W. Bush administration in 2008, the United States budget deficit ballooned from $415 billion in Fiscal Year 2008 to $1,280 billion in FY 2009. This huge deficit confronted Barack Obama when he was inaugurated president in January, 2009. He was supported by a small Democratic majority in the Senate but opposed by a sizable Republican majority in the House.

To reduce the deficit, Obama proposed what most economists favored: a program of spending cuts and revenue increases, mainly through increased taxes on income above $250,000, which would only apply to about 2 percent of the population. Arguing that increasing taxes on the rich would prevent them from hiring employees, congressional Republicans cited their pledge and fiercely opposed tax increases. They gave no room for their Speaker, John Boehner, to negotiate with the president on a plan to reduce the deficit.

Very little on deficit reduction was accomplished during Obama's first term. In a futile effort to force a resolution, Congress thought to insure success by threatening itself with painful punishment for failure. If Congress did not agree on a program to reduce the deficit by the end of 2012, its members promised an economic disaster: On January 1, 2013, income taxes on everyone would revert to higher rates, and spending would be automatically slashed on domestic and military programs. Economists and business leaders alike predicted that a severe recession would follow—the nation would tumble over a "fiscal cliff" in January.

Obama campaigned for re-election in 2012 on his program of cutting spending and increasing taxes for the wealthy. His opponent, Republican Mitt Romney, had signed the anti-tax pledge and opposed any tax increases.[18] Obama won re-election and claimed a mandate to

raise taxes on the rich to help reduce the deficit. However, the president again faced a House under Republican control and led by Speaker John Boehner.

In December, a Gallup poll asked respondents whether leaders should "stick to their principles and beliefs on tax increases and spending cuts" or "compromise" on them to avoid the fiscal cliff. More than two-thirds of both Democratic and Republican party identifiers urged the leaders to compromise.[19] Still House Republicans defended their pledge against raising taxes on the wealthy. In effect, they were pursuing what their party wanted, not what the public wanted.

House Republicans held fast in opposing all tax increases through the end of 2012. Around 2:00 am on January 1, 2013, Democrats and Republicans in the Senate voted to extend the Bush tax cuts to everyone making less than $400,000. Those making more would pay a tax of 39.6 percent (instead of 35 percent) on earnings over $400,000. That is, they would pay at the tax rate under the Bill Clinton administration instead of the reduced rate under the George W. Bush tax cuts. That bill passed 89 to 8 in the Senate, opposed by only 5 Republicans and 3 Democrats.

Over objections by most House Republicans, Speaker Boehner brought the Senate Bill to a vote in the House, where it passed 257 to 167. Most Democrats voted for the bill (172 to 16), but most Republicans voted against it (151 to 85)—thus keeping true to their pledge against raising taxes for anyone, including those making more than $400,000 a year. Although slightly more than one-third of House Republicans voted to increase taxes on high earners, almost two-thirds stood firm on their anti-tax pledge—including Eric Cantor, the Republican Majority Leader, second in command of the party.

Among House Republicans, almost 90 percent of southerners voted against the tax increase, leading a former GOP strategist to say:

> An increasing challenge for Northeastern Republicans and West Coast Republicans, for that matter, is the growing perception among their constituents that the Republican Party is primarily a Southern and rural party.[20]

Speaking of Virginia's 2013 gubernatorial election, a Republican fundraiser said it would be a test "of where the Republican Party is going and whether we can appeal to independents and win elections."[21]

The day after the historic vote, stock markets across the world rallied on the news that the United States had not jumped off the fiscal cliff. House Republicans, however, were unhappy and in turmoil. Unhappy that Speaker Boehner brought the bill to a vote, and in turmoil because in two days they had to vote to choose a Speaker for the new Congress. Usually, the Speaker is chosen on a straight party-line vote, with all party members supporting their party's candidate. When the new Congress convened on January 3, twelve Republicans (seven from the South) did not vote to keep John Boehner as Speaker. The House Republican Party in 2013 was a party in disarray.

The Republican Party's Prospects

By most accounts, Republicans were stunned that they lost the 2012 election. They were confident that they could defeat a sitting president responsible for an unpopular healthcare law and saddled with a poor economy that featured 8 percent unemployment and a catastrophic budget deficit. Losing the election shocked key Republican support groups.

Christian conservatives had gone all out to defeat Obama. Ralph Reed's Faith and Freedom Coalition distributed anti-Obama voter guides in churches and contacted voters by phone and mail. Catholic bishops denounced Obama's policies as threats to life and the nuclear family. Christian evangelist Billy Graham publicly embraced the candidacy of Mitt Romney, a Mormon who many evangelicals viewed as standing outside their idea of Christianity. After the election, the presi-

dent of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary concluded, "An increasingly secularized America understands our positions and has rejected them." Robert Jones of the Public Religion Research Institute said, "This election signals the last where a white Christian strategy is workable."[22]

Secular conservatives in rural areas also could not understand what had happened. Those in the nation's least populous state, Wyoming, which was 86 percent white and voted 69 percent for Mitt Romney, had thought that the nation would never re-elect a liberal tax-and-spend president. A local newspaper publisher said that Romney lost because "the parasites now outnumber the producers." A lawyer blamed voters outside of Wyoming for their "mind-set change—that government is here to take care of me."[23]

In contrast, some prominent Republican leaders and advisors blamed their loss on the party's inability to appeal to a changed electorate. They wondered whether the party's should redesign its policies to appeal to Hispanics, who voted heavily for Obama. Should the Republican Party abandon Edmund Burke's aim of a political party (to promote principles) and embrace Anthony Downs' (to win votes)?

Reporters for the *Wall Street Journal,* who covered a meeting of top GOP leaders to analyze the election, said that the leaders fell into two camps.[24] Some feared that their message is wrong for a changing population and that the party would need to shift its policies. This might be called the Downsian group; it wanted the party to craft policies that win elections.

The larger group, however, viewed the loss as a "tactical failure": the candidate failed to articulate the party's positions and did not get its voters to the polls. This might be called the Burkean group: it wanted the party to stick to its conservative economic and social policies. Time will tell which group wins in the struggle for control of the party. It is apt to be a long struggle.

The Case for Strong Parties in a Two-Party System

Certainly the Republican Party is in no danger of disappearing from American politics in the near future. In 2012, Romney won the electoral vote in 24 of the 50 states, and Republicans retained control of the House, holding 54 percent of its seats. Moreover, Republicans held 30 of the 50 state governors and controlled both chambers in 25 state legislatures versus 18 for the Democrats. Because Republicans appeal to rural populations and to Southerners, Republican candidates tend to do quite well in state politics.

A unappreciated virtue of our federal system of government is that parties defeated in presidential elections can be sustained by winning in state elections. In fact, this is how the Democratic Party survived from 1896 to 1930, when the Republican Party almost continuously controlled the Senate, the House, and the Presidency. (Woodrow Wilson became president in 1912 because the Republican vote split between candidates, and he won re-election in 1916, during World War I.) Otherwise, Democrats kept alive by dominating Southern politics.

Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, moreover, the respected political analyst Michael Barone contended that Republicans enjoy an structural advantage in the House of Representatives, which they have won in eight of the last ten congressional elections.[25] Three factors favor Republicans in winning congressional districts.

1. Democrats are disadvantaged demographically. They are concentrated in urban districts that vote heavily for Democrats, producing unnecessarily large margins to win the election. Republicans, in contrast, are spread more evenly—especially in suburban districts—electing more Republicans who win by smaller margins.

2. Democrats are disadvantaged politically. The 1982 Voting Rights Act mandated the creation of districts with a *majority* of *minority* citizens (hence, dubbed "majority-minority " districts). This produces oddly-shaped districts packed with minority voters (blacks,

Latinos). They almost always over-elect Democrats, just like urban districts do. Creating majority-minority districts frees up Republican voters to distribute over more districts and elect more Republicans.

3. Republicans are advantaged regionally. They have replaced Democrats as the majority party in the South and can count on winning most of the congressional districts against Democrats. Republicans began the 113th Congress (2013-2015) holding 71 percent of the 138 Southern House seats.

Although Michael Barone found Republicans advantaged in House elections, he granted that Democrats are advantaged in presidential voting. Democratic candidates won the popular vote in five of the last six presidential elections since 1992. (Al Gore won the popular vote in 2000 but not the electoral vote.) Moreover, Democrats have their own structural advantage in the electoral vote system, for they tend to win big states with many electoral votes by small margins.

Assuming that the winds of social change continue to blow in favor of the Democratic Party in presidential elections, can we expect a long string of Democratic victories to rival the Republicans' winning seven out of nine presidential contests from 1896 to 1928? Will the GOP, by insisting on ideological purity and on catering to its dwindling constituency of white religious males, continue to lose votes nationally and become a southern, rural party?

Or is it possible that the Republican Party—like the Whig Party in the first half of the 19th century—will fragment, its ideological space filled by a rump GOP, by an energized Libertarian Party, by a genuine Tea Party formed out of the tea party movement, or perhaps by an ascendant Constitution Party? Life-long Democrats and Republican-haters may salivate by thinking of the fragmentation of the Republican Party. Most democratic theorists, however, would lament the loss.

Democratic government is not easy to establish, and it may be even harder to maintain over time. At its core, democracy requires that government be responsive to the electorate. Governments respond when threatened by being voted out of office by a vibrant opposition. Democratic theory holds that democracy is possible only in nation-states that have free elections contested by strong, stable political parties.[26] Political experience across the world tends to support the theory.[27] Democratic government without political parties may operate in areas with small populations, but not in nations with many thousands of voters.[28]

Some theorists argue that a multi-party system is better suited to democratic government, but a successful multi-party system virtually always requires a different type of electoral system.[29] In successful multi-party systems, citizens vote for parliamentary parties, rather than for individual legislators. That is not the electoral system set forth in the United States Constitution. For better or worse, we have a political structure consisting of an elected President and a separately elected Congress that represents states and congressional districts. That structure has supported a two-party system in the United States for more than two centuries. That system requires two strong parties to challenge each other.

A two-party system is inherently more competitive than a multi-party system in an important way: it facilitates the alternation in power between a governing party and a party that is able to take over the reins of government—one that is both strong and stable. Opposition parties in multi-party systems may be too small to effectively replace the governing party. One scholar of multi-party systems says that rival governing parties must be sufficiently large to have credible "office capacity," enabling them to staff government departments.[30]

However much life-long Democrats and Republican-haters would like to see the Republican Party wither on the electoral grape vine, that is not in the public interest. Effective democratic govern-

ment in the United States requires two strong parties, not just one. The nation will be better-off if Republicans pay attention to Peggy Noonan, President Reagan's leading speech-writer, who—writing after the election—advised in her *Wall Street Journal* column:

> The party can either go the way of the Whigs or they can straighten up and fly right, get serious, make their philosophy feel new again, and pick candidates who can win.[31]

End Notes

Click on footnote number to return to text

[1] The Gallup Poll results concerning the desirability of a third major party are at http://www.gallup.com/poll/157427/americans-split-need-third-party.aspx.

[2] In his study of party systems, Jean Blondel noticed that most three-party systems had two major parties and a much smaller third party, which he called two-and-a-half-party systems. (Britain, for example, has two major parties—Labour and Conservative—and a smaller Liberal Democratic Party. Germany has followed a similar pattern.) Blondel said, "While it would seem theoretically possible for three-party systems to exist in which all three significant parties were of about equal size, there are in fact no three-party systems of this kind among Western democracies." He concluded that "genuine three-party systems do not normally occur because they are essentially transitional, thus unstable, forms of party systems." See his "Types of Party System," in *The West European Party System*, ed. Peter Mair (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 305.

[3] The explanation of why the United States has a two-party system is drawn from Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey Berry, and Jerry Goldman, *The Challenge of Democracy: American Government in Global Politics* (Boston: Cengage, 2012), Chapter 9.

[4] Publicly released on November 18, the Resurgent Republic report is available at http://resurgentrepublic.com.

[5] The election article in *The Isthmus* is available at http://www.isthmus.com/daily/article.php?article=37837.

[6] The *Post-Telegram* article is available at http://www.presstelegram.com/opinions/ci_21945795/breaking-view-gop-extremism-killed-romneys-chances-professor.

[7] Jackie Calmes and Megan Thee-Brennan, "Electorate Reverts to a Familiar Partisan Divide," *New York Times* (November 7, 2012), p.1

[8] Michael D. Shear, "As Electorate Changes, Fresh Worry for G.O.P.," *New York Times* (November 8, 2012), pp. 1 and 12.

[9] Neil King, Jr., "Vote Data Show Changing Nation," *Wall Street Journal* (November 8, 2012), pp. A1 and A7.

[10] Juan Williams, "Obama's Daunting Demographic Message for the GOP," *Wall Street Journal (*November 8, 2012), p. A21.

[11] Janet Hook, "Republicans Differ on Why Party Fell Short," *Wall Street Journal* (November 8, 2012), p. A6.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Edmund Burke, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* (1770).

[14] Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New YOrk: HarperCollins, 1957), p. 25.

[15] Ralph M. Goldman, *From warfare to party politics: the critical transition to civilian control* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1990).

[16] See the Americans for Tax Reform web site at http://www.atr.org. The pledge itself is available at http://www.atr.org/userfiles/Congressional_pledge%281%29.pdf.

[17] Information on the signers of the Taxpayer pledge was downloaded on December 11, 2012 from http://s3.amazonaws.com/atrfiles/files/files/072911-federalpledgesigners.pdf.

[18] See http://www.atr.org/mitt-romney-signs-taxpayer-protection-pledge-a1872.

[19] Frank Newport, "More Americans Want Leaders to Compromise on Fiscal Cliff," Gallup Poll Report, December 10, 2012.

[20] Paul West, "Fiscal Battles Show GOP Divide," *St. Paul Pioneer Press* (January 7, 2013,) p. 6A.

[21] Neil King, Jr., "Virginia Governor's Race Highlights a Republican Rift," *Wall Street Journal* (January 7, 2013), p. A4.

[22] All information in this paragraph came from Laurie Goodstein, "Christian Right Failed to Sway Voters on Issues," *New York Times* (November 10, 2012), pp. A1 and A14.

[23] All information in this paragraph came from Jack Healy, "In Wyoming, Conservatives Feeling Left Behind," *New York Times* (November 19, 2012), p. A10.

[24] Ashley Parker, "Romney Attributes Obama Win to 'Gifts,'" *New York Times* (November 15, 2012), p. A21.

[25] Michael Barone, "Republicans Find Refuge in the House," *Wall Street Journal* (November 9, 2012), p. A13.

[26] Richard S. Katz, "Party in Democratic Theory," in Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, (eds.) *Handbook of Party Politics* (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 34-46.

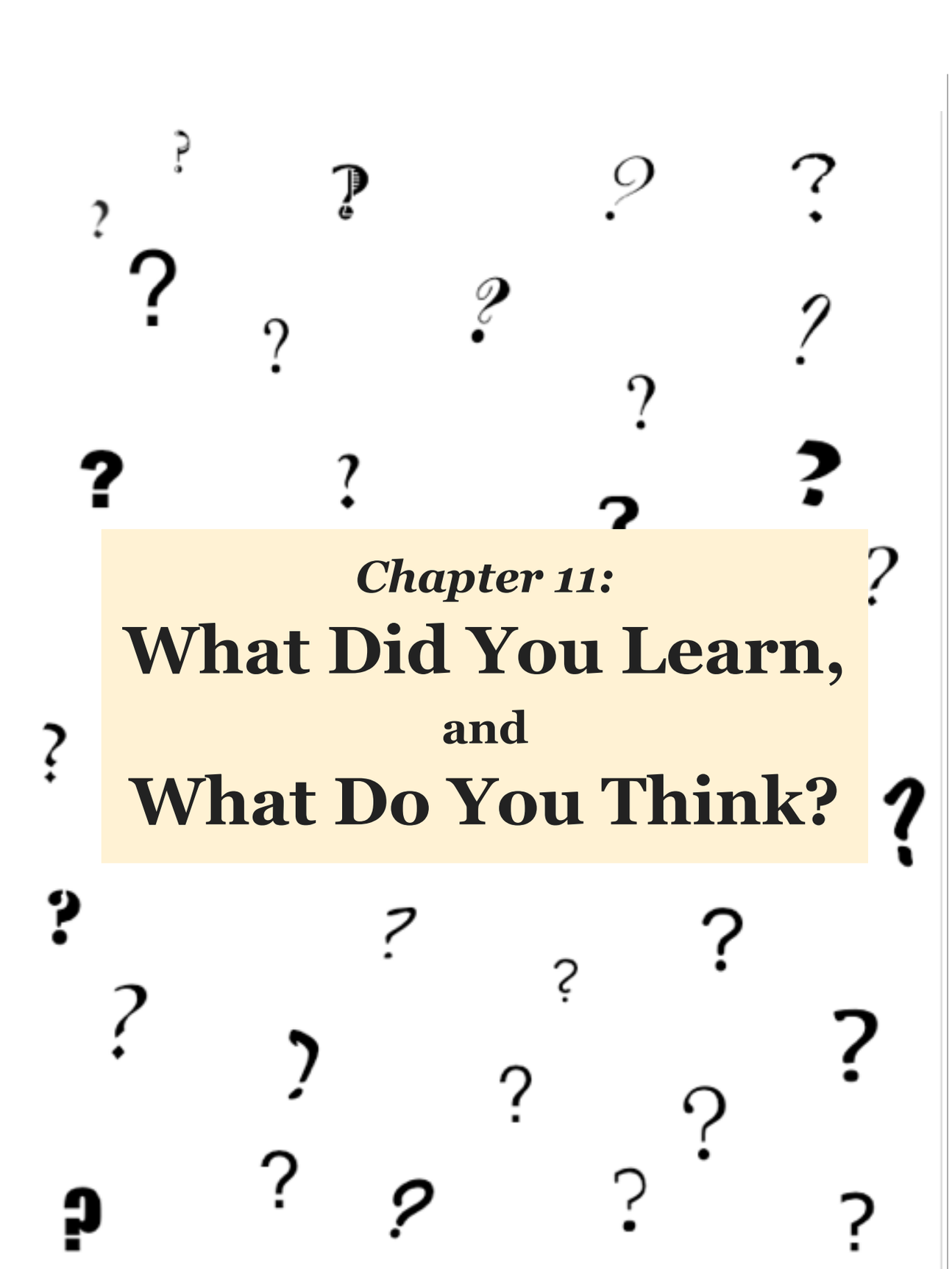
[27] See Kay Lawson (ed.), *Political Parties and Democracy, Volumes 1-5* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010).

[28] The World Bank in 2007 scored 212 countries for the quality of their governance. These countries exhausted virtually all the world's nations and included some tiny island political entities that some may not regard as nations. Over 90 percent of the 212 had political parties, even if they were definitely not democracies. Only eight polities had elections without political parties. All but one (Oman) qualified as an electoral democracy. See Kenneth Janda *Party Systems and Country Governance* Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2011), Chapter 8.

[29] Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[30] Asbjørn Skjæveland, "Modeling Government Formation in Denmark and Beyond," *Party Politics*, 15 (November 2009), 715-735.

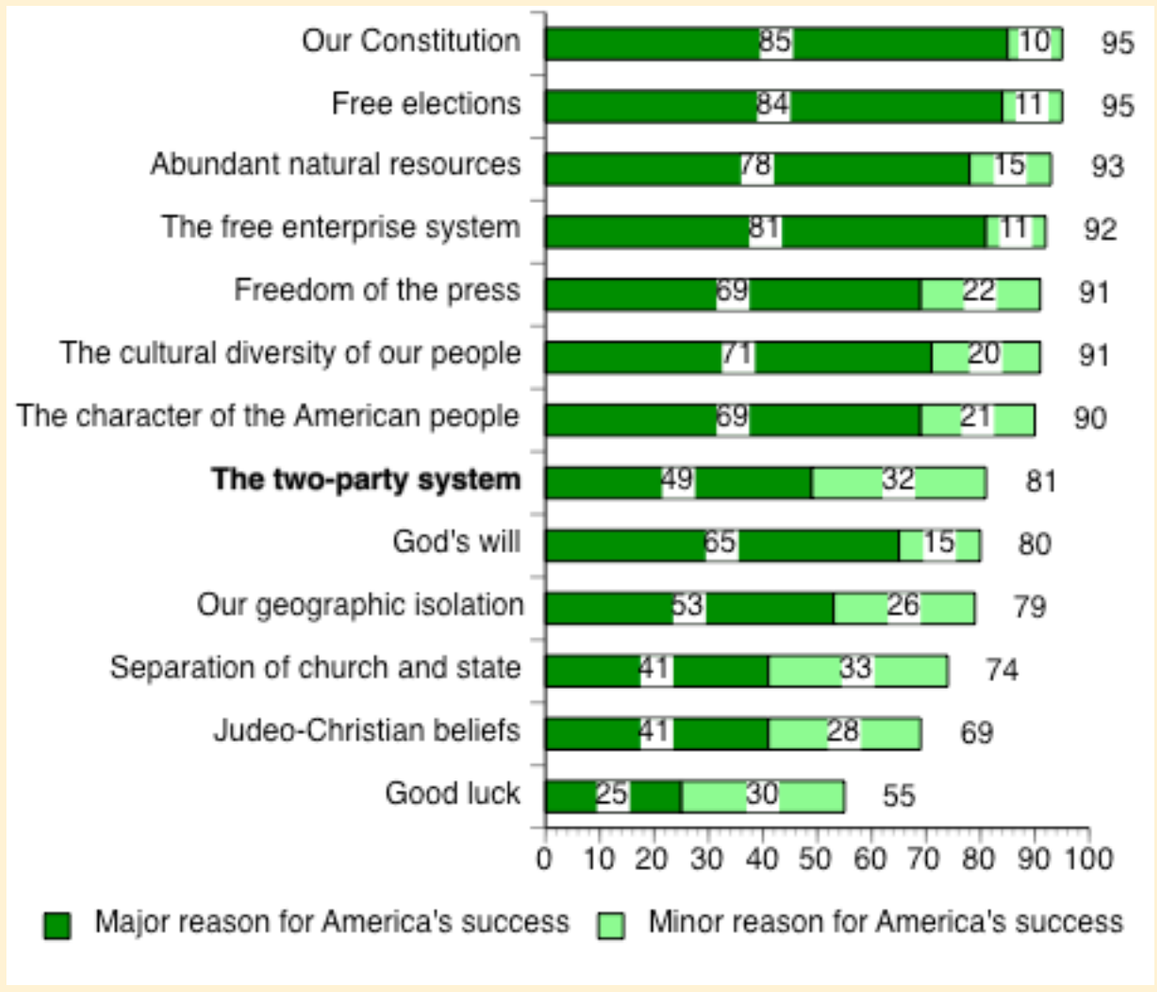
[31] Peggy Noonan, "Republicans Need to Talk," *Wall Street Journal* (December 15, 2012), p. A17.



Chapter 11:
What Did You Learn, and What Do You Think?

In 1999, a Pew Research Center poll (Figure 11.1) asked why people thought "America has been successful during this past century." Tucked in its list of reasons for our nation's success was "the two-party system." Surprisingly, 81 percent credited the two-party system. Surprisingly, because the last chapter cited recent polls that most citizens claimed the two parties did a "poor job" and a third party was needed.

Figure 11.1:
Millennium Poll: What Accounts for America's Success?
(http://www.people-press.org/1999/07/03/)



The last chapter also asked rhetorically whether we enjoyed democracy for 200 years in spite of our two-party system, or because of it. What do you think?

What Did you Learn?

Test your learning about the social bases of the Democratic and Republican parties over time by answering 25 questions presented in the following "Review" box. You **must** check whether each answer is correct before proceeding to the next. You will see your score of correct answers when finished.

After answering the Review questions, you will be invited to tell what you think about the state of American party politics 20 years in the future, in the year 2032.

Review 11.1: 25 Item Review Quiz

Question 1 of 25

A person's "party identification" refers to

- ✓ **A.** a psychological attachment to a political party
- **B.** how the person votes in elections
- **C.** how much the person favors the two-party system
- **D.** a monetary investment in a political party

◀ Check Answer ▶

What Do You Think?

In late January, 2013, the Republican National Committee launched its "Growth and Opportunity Project, an initiative established to help grow the Republican Party and influence future Republican campaigns" at http://growthopp.gop.com. Intended to "serve as a forum for grassroots supporters to share ideas and recommendations about the way forward for the Republican Party," the project invited party supporters to offer their views about the party's future by taking an online survey available through its site.

Readers of this book deserve their own chance to register their views not just on the future of the Republican Party but also on the future of the Democratic Party and of the American party system.

The next four presidential elections are scheduled for 2016, 2020, 2024, and 2028. Assume that the United States government lasts 20 more years to hold a fifth presidential election in 2032. Think about the nature of party politics in 20 years.

Will we still have a two-party system? If so, will the Democratic and Republican parties remain as the two major parties? If not, what party or parties will replace one or both of them? In any event, how will social groups in the 2032 electorate align with political parties in the 2032 party system?

The 2032 Presidential Election

The 2032 election lies two decades in the future. That may seem like an eternity to you—just as the 2012 presidential election probably seemed to people in 1992, the year Bill Clinton defeated G.H.W. Bush. Viewed retrospectively, however, the years flew by.

Bill Clinton was re-elected in 1996. George W. Bush was elected in 2000 and re-elected in 2004. Barack Obama was elected in 2008 and re-elected in 2012.

So here we are, twenty years after the 1992 election, experiencing the inexorable nature of the electoral process in a stable democracy. Someone will be elected in 2016 to succeed Obama, and the cycle will continue through 2020, 2024, and 2028.

The target year of 2032 will come just as surely as 1984 followed 1949, when George Orwell published his novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, describing life under "Big Brother" government. Or as 2001 came after 1968, the year of Stanley Kubrick's epic film *2001: A Space* Odyssey. Or as 2012 came and went without the world ending as predicted in the 2009 sci-fi disaster film, *2012*.

Time marches on. Writing now at age 77, I probably won't be around at 97 to witness the 2032 election. Most people reading this, however, will be mature observers of the political scene. Whether or not you will be present then, you have the chance now to predict the future of American party politics in 2032—or at least to speculate about what the future holds.

Internet Survey: "PartyPolitics2032"

Register your speculations and opinions on my public Internet survey, "PartyPolitics2032." (*Instructors teaching classes can contact me in advance to set up the same survey limited to their students.)*

A person can take the Internet survey only once on a given computer, so you should know in advance what it is like. To prepare yourself, look over the survey questions. In preparing your answers, draw upon the rich history of data in this eBook on changes in society over time and on the changing bases of party support. Understanding the past helps anticipate the future.

Here is a preview of the questions on the Internet survey:

The Future of Our Two-Party System in 2032

Let us define a two-party system as one in which two major parties alternate in control of the presidency, the Senate, or the House of Representatives—winning at least one of these institutions at least a third of the time over the next three decades.

The first set of questions asks about the two-party system.

1. *Will electoral politics in 2032 still be structured under a two-party system?*
   - O Yes, we certainly will have a two-party system
   - O We probably will have a two-party system
   - O It is doubtful that we will still have a two-party system
   - O We probably will not have a two-party system
   - O No, we certainly will not have a two party system

Why do you think so? [Space provided for reply]

2. *If you think we will have a two-party system, which will be its major parties?*
   - O The Democrats and Republicans will remain as its two major parties.
   - O The Democrats will be one of the major parties, but not the Republicans
   - O The Republicans will be one of the major parties, but not the Democrats
   - O Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans will remain major parties

Why do you think so?

3. *If you are uncertain that we will have a two-party system (or certain that we will not), what might replace it?*
   - O A dominant system
   - O A multi-party system
   - O Something else

O I'm sure that we will still have a two-party system in 2032

Why do you think so?

The next set asks about the future of the Democratic and Republican parties.

As reported in *The Social Bases of Political Parties,* more respondents identified themselves as Democrats than as Republicans in every presidential year survey from 1952 to 2012.

4. *Over the next 20 years, do you think that the Democratic Party will*
   - O continue to be the majority party in terms of party identifications
   - O lose enough identifiers to become equal in size to the Republicans
   - O lose enough identifiers to fall to the minority party
   - O split into rival party groups

Why do you think so?

5. *Over the next 20 years, do you think the Republican Party will*
   - O *continue to be the minority party in terms of party identifications*
   - O gain enough identifiers to become equal in size to the Democrats
   - O gain enough identifiers to become the majority party
   - O split into rival party groups

Why do you think so?

The last set asks about the future of Ideology in party politics.

The Social Bases of Political Parties also reported that in the 1950s, more citizens said they were liberal than conservative. Since the late 1960s, however, more regularly described themselves as conservatives.

6. *Do you think that the public's ideological preferences will change again by 2032?*
   - O No, more people will continue to describe themselves as conservatives
   - O Yes the percentages of liberals and conservatives will equalize
   - O Yes, more people will describe themselves as liberal by 2032

Why do you think so?

7. *Do you think that the parties themselves will change ideologically?*
   - O No, the Democrats will stay staunchly liberal and the Republicans staunchly conservative.
   - O Yes, while both parties will retain their ideological orientations, both will moderate their positions.
   - O Yes, the Democrats will remain staunchly liberal but the Republicans less conservative.
   - O Yes, the Republicans will remain staunchly conservative, but the Democrats less liberal.

If you think that the ideological distribution will change, why do you think so?

In lieu of meeting in 2032 to assess the survey's accuracy, discuss today your predictions with classmates and colleagues, some of whom at least may have read this eBook. Demonstrate both what you think and what you learned on the PartyPolitics2032 survey.

To take the Internet survey go to http://janda.org/eBook/.

Box 1.1

Box 1.1: Social Attraction Formula

Start with the percentages, X_i, by which each group supports a party (percentages by column in Table 1.1). Compute the average amount of deviation among the percentages by row (sum of absolute deviations, $\left|X_i - \overline{X}\right|$). Divide by the number of groups, k, for each party to yield the average deviation. Norm the average deviation by dividing by the mean, $\overline{X}$. (An average deviation of 1.0 percentage points is relatively small for a mean support level of 50 percent, but relatively large for a mean support level of only 10 percent.)

Divide the result by the maximum deviation that could be obtained for a specified number of groups. This maximum is achieved when a single group gives a party 100 percent of its support and the party gets no support from any other group. These several concerns are included in our formula for measuring social attraction:

$$\textbf{Social Attraction} = \left(1 - \frac{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{k}\left|X_i - \overline{X}\right|}{k} / \overline{X}}{\frac{2(k-1)}{k}}\right)^2 \qquad [1.1]$$

where k is the number of groups within the cleavage dimension in the analysis; X_i is the percentage of the ith group's support given to the party; and $\overline{X}$ is the mean percentage of support for the party, calculated over all social groupings, k. The quantity is subtracted from 1 so that high scores signify high attraction.

The social attraction values produced by the formula within parentheses range from 0.0 to 1.0. The values are then squared to normalize their distribution, which otherwise would be negatively skewed—i.e., a few scores tending toward 0.0 while many clustering toward 1.0.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Box 1.2

Box 1.2: Social Concentration Formula

Square and sum the proportions, Y_i, of each group's contribution to the total set of party supporters. In Table 1.2 those are the entries along the row for a given party.

$$\textbf{Social Concentration} = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{k} Y_i^2 - 1/k}{1 - 1/k}} \qquad [1.2]$$

where k is the number of groups within the cleavage dimension included in the analysis and Y_i is the proportion of the party's support coming from the ith group of k groups. The social concentration values produced by the formula under the radical (square root sign) range from 0.0 to 1.0. Taking the square root normalizes the distribution of scores, which otherwise would be positively skewed—i.e., a few scores tending toward 1.0 while many clustering toward 0.0.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Interest aggregation

to aggregate interests means to collect and balance different interests; so interest aggregation means to collect and balance interests, often competing interests.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Interest articulation

to articulate an interest means to express it clearly, so interest articulation is the clear expression of political interests.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Party base

the party base is whom the party represents, and its base is composed of its supporters in the electorate.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Party identification

a person’s psychological attachment to a political party.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Political ideology

A political ideology can be defined as a coherent and consistent set of values and beliefs about the proper purpose and scope of government

---

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Political party

For Burkeans, a party should espouse policies that satisfy its *members*. For Downsians, a party should propose policies that satisfy the *voters*.

A Burkean party that is united to promote a particular political principle is engaged in interest articulation. A Downsian party that is united to win the support of most voters in elections is engaged in interest aggregation.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Social attraction

the extent to which the party attracts its supporters evenly from each significant group within any dimension of social cleavage.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Chapter 9 - Reviewing Party Support, 1952-2012

Social concentration

the extent to which party supporters are concentrated in specific groups within any dimension of social cleavage.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Chapter 9 - Reviewing Party Support, 1952-2012

Table 1.1

Percentages by Age Groups Identifying with Parties, 2012

	18-29	30-41	42-53	54-64	65+	Total of Sample
Republicans	19%	20%	25%	23%	28%	23%
Independents	51%	48%	45%	38%	38%	45%
Democrats	30%	32%	30%	39%	34%	32%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Cases	1,140	1,126	1,250	1,009	886	5,410

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Table 1.2

Proportion of Party Identifiers from Age Groups, 2012

	18-29	30-41	42-53	54-64	65+	Total	Number of Cases
Republicans	0.18	0.18	0.25	0.19	0.20	1.00	1,240
Independents	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.16	0.14	1.00	2,411
Democrats	0.19	0.20	0.21	0.22	0.17	1.00	1,759
Total of sample	0.21	0.21	0.23	0.19	0.16	1.00	5,410

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

Index Find Term

Chapter 2 - Occupation
Chapter 9 - Reviewing Party Support, 1952-2012