

PATTERNS IN PARTY

Editor's Note: In the 1992 presidential balloting, voters rejected George Bush's re-election bid and installed Bill Clinton in the White House. Was this electoral shift, which saw the Democrats regain the presidency for the first time in a dozen years, accompanied by any substantial shift in partisan loyalties—overall, or among certain groups?

To get a reading on this, we turned to Gallup data and, as we've done frequently in the past, combined a number of surveys—all asking party identification and the same set of demographics—to get a bigger "n." For 1993, we combined seven Gallup polls taken from May through July, with a combined sample of 7,063. We also combined eight polls taken by Gallup late in Bush's tenure, from October 1991 through May 1992, with an "n" of 9,095. Shown below are the

Broad Continuities Since the Mid-1980s

	1993		1991-92		1985		1978		1965		1955		1947	
	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R
By gender														
Men	32	-3	35	-7	34	0	23	+23	24	+26	29	+16	35	+6
Women	30	+11	33	+4	34	+6	24	+25	25	+30	34	+10	35	+8
By region														
Northeast	29	+6	34	-3	32	+6	24	+22	25	+28	37	+1	38	-2
South	32	+5	34	+3	34	+8	19	+36	17	+40	23	+34	19	+50
Midwest	28	+6	32	-2	34	-2	25	+18	29	+19	35	+3	40	-4
West	36	-6	33	-7	37	-1	26	+20	30	+20	35	+9	34	+7
Whites, by region														
Northeast	32	0	37	-8	33	+2	26	+17	26	+24	38	0	38	-2
South	36	-5	38	-6	39	-3	21	+30	18	+36	21	+37	18	+53
Midwest	30	+1	35	-7	38	-10	27	+13	32	+11	35	+2	41	-6
West	39	-11	39	-11	40	-7	28	+16	32	+15	37	+5	35	+5
By education														
<High school	26	+18	28	+15	26	+23	19	+39	19	+40	29	+21	34	+14
High school grad	31	+4	32	+2	34	+3	23	+24	25	+26	34	+6	35	+5
Some college	32	+1	37	-8	39	-9	26	+14	34	+7	32	+10	37	-3
College grad	33	-3	38	-11	39	-9	30	+7	33	+5	36	+3	40	-9
By ethno-cultural group														
Protestants	Religion		37	-3	38	-2	28	+17	29	+19	35	+7	Religion	
Catholics	not		32	+1	30	+10	16	+40	13	+54	26	+22	not	
Jews	asked		23	+24	22	+26	10	+54	8	+54	10	+48	asked	
No. White Prot.	regularly		42	-15	45	-19			41	-5	44	-12	regularly	
No. White Cath.			32	+1	30	+8			14	+52	28	+19		
So. White Prot.			40	-6	41	-7			20	+32	22	+37		
Blacks	8	+63	8	+51	10	+63	7	+67	9	+70	18	+44	34	+9
TOTAL	31	+4	34	-1	34	+3	23	+25	24	+28	32	+12	35	+7

IDENTIFICATION

distributions in partisan identification from these two collections. We also show the partisan preferences in earlier years, back to 1947—all based on Gallup surveys with combined sample sizes of at least 10,000.

These data show that the New Deal alignment largely persisted—in party identification, though not in presidential voting—on through the 1970s. Then, large shifts occurred in the Reagan years, bringing the two major parties into essential parity overall, and altering the ties of many social groups. This new alignment has not changed significantly since the mid-1980s. In particular, little has happened to party ties over the last two years.

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The Democrats look a little stronger in party ID in the spring and summer of 1993 than they did in the fall and winter of 1991-92

	1993			1991-1992		
	R	D	I	R	D	I
By age and education						
18-29 years of age						
Less than HS	28%	26%	46%	26%	30%	44%
HS Grad	28	30	42	21	35	45
Some College	31	29	40	30	46	24
College Grad	31	33	36	33	26	40
30-49 years of age						
Less than HS	21	38	41	31	32	38
HS Grad	30	33	37	33	40	28
Some College	31	34	34	38	30	32
College Grad	31	32	37	37	27	36
50+ years of age						
Less than HS	27	50	23	37	33	30
HS Grad	32	41	27	43	25	32
Some College	34	35	31	36	28	37
College Grad	39	27	34	41	27	32
By gender and education						
Men						
Less than HS	24	39	36	30	38	33
HS Grad	32	30	39	32	30	38
Some College	33	26	40	40	25	35
College Grad	35	24	41	40	23	37
Women						
Less than HS	27	49	24	26	47	27
HS Grad	30	40	31	32	37	31
Some College	31	39	31	35	33	32
College Grad	31	38	31	37	32	31
By self-described ideology						
Conservative	48	24	28	45	27	28
Moderate	24	37	38	28	35	37
Liberal	11	54	35	13	44	43
TOTAL	31	35	34	34	33	34

AGE COHORTS AND

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The Republicans may have lost a little ground recently among the youngest voters. Still, the young remain the party's best age group, with the single exception of the very old. Inevitably, some static enters into these data. We know that not every shift suggested in these distributions—again based on the combined Gallup surveys in the several years—from one

Party ID by Current Age, 1952-1993

	1993		1991-92		1985		1978		1952	
	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R
By age										
18-21	31	-3	34	-6	40	-10	20	+21	25	+15
22-25	29	+5	35	-8	35	-4	18	+26	27	+15
26-29	29	-2	38	-10	35	-4	17	+28	26	+17
30-33	34	-4	36	-8	31	+3	17	+27	26	+19
34-37	30	+4	34	-4	30	+7	21	+24	29	+14
38-41	28	+8	30	-2	32	+6	24	+23	30	+15
42-45	28	+5	32	-5	32	+5	24	+27	36	+2
46-49	28	+9	30	0	33	+4	24	+27	36	+3
50-53	31	+3	32	+3	36	-1	25	+26	32	+10
54-57	27	+11	31	+6	32	+9	27	+23	38	+1
58-61	31	+9	32	+4	35	+7	26	+27	37	+4
62-65	33	+5	36	0	32	+16	27	+26	39	0
66-69	33	+8	32	+9	35	+11	28	+26	45	-8
70-73	35	+9	33	+9	35	+12	32	+20	43	-3
74-77	31	+23	35	+5	41	0	33	+19	49	-13
78-81	34	+7	39	+3	41	-1	36	+13	50	-16
82+	44	-12	40	+1	42	-2	40	+6	57	-26

THEIR PARTY TIES

narrow age cohort to another is real. But overall what's striking is how consistent the picture yielded by these polls is. Gallup surveys taken in 1952 showed those who came of age politically in the 1930s and 1940s—the New Deal generations—to be the Democrats' best age groups. Now in 1993 these cohorts, forty years older, still give the Democrats their biggest margins.

Party ID by the Years Respondents Came of Age Politically

YEAR	1952		1985		1993	
	%D less % R	%R	%D less %R	%R	%D less %R	%R
1890-93	-26	63				
1894-97	-8	54				
1898-1901	-2	51				
1902-05	-8	54				
1906-09	+2	49				
1910-13	+4	48				
1914-17	+6	47				
1918-21	+8	46				
1922-25	+4	48	0	50		
1926-29	+8	46	0	50		
1930-33	+18	41	+14	43	+6	47
1934-37	+22	39	+14	43	+16	42
1938-41	+26	37	+20	40	+20	40
1942-45	+22	39	+10	45	+12	44
1946-49	+22	39	+12	44	+12	44
1950-53			0	50	+8	46
1954-57			+6	47	+6	47
1958-61			+6	47	+12	44
1962-65			+10	45	+10	45
1966-69			+10	45	+13	43
1970-73			+6	47	+8	46
1974-77			-6	53	+6	47
1978-81			-6	53	-6	53
1982-85			-14	57	-4	52
1986-89					+8	46
1990-93					-4	52

Note: The percentages shown above on p. 13—but *not* any of the data on the three preceding pages—have been recalculated based on the exclusion of everyone who does not identify as a Democrat or a Republican. Here, D + R = 100%. This lets us see the relative sizes of the two groups of partisans more cleanly.