

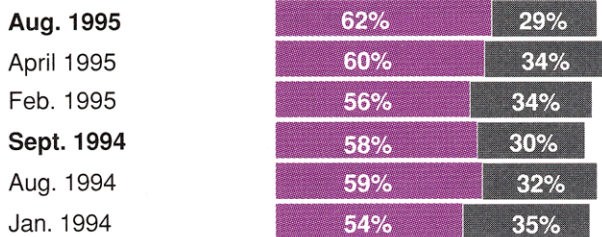
# Independence and Independents in America: A Roper Center Review

## How Independent are We Today of the Historic Major Parties?

### In Record Numbers We Say We're Receptive to a New Partisan Alternative

**Question:** Would you favor or oppose the formation of a third political party that would run candidates for President, Congress and state offices against the Republican and Democratic candidates?

■ Favor ■ Oppose

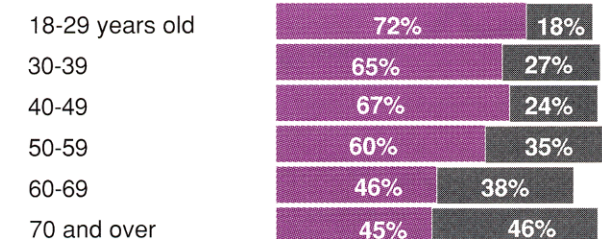


From the August 1995 survey:

#### Gender

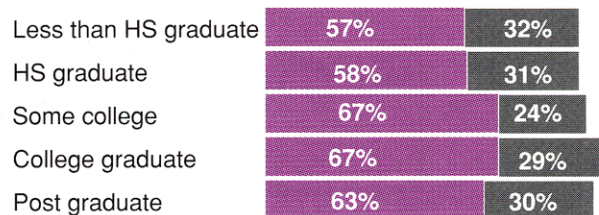


#### Age

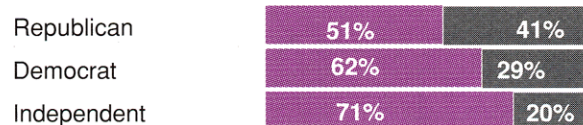


From the August 1995 survey [continued]:

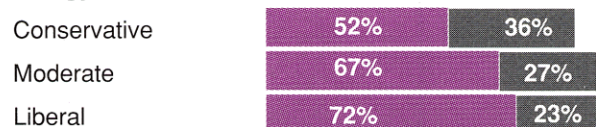
#### Education



#### Party Identification



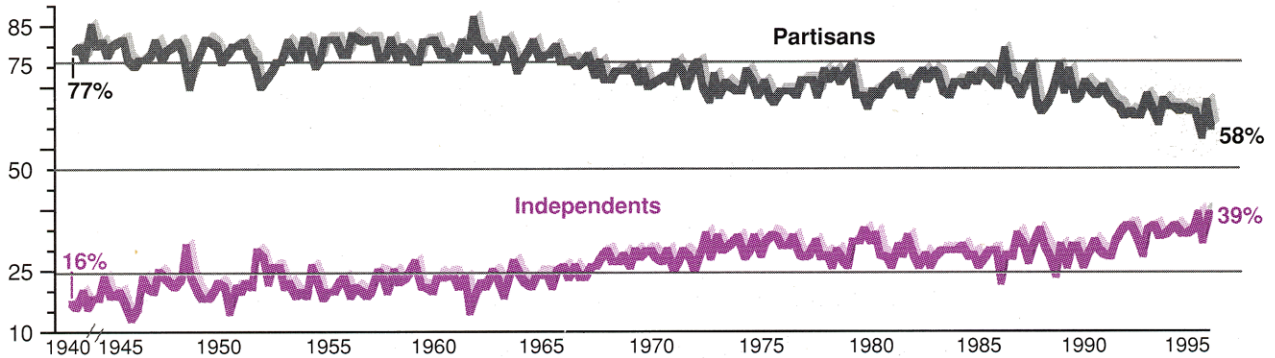
#### Ideology



**Source:** August and April 1995 surveys by the Gallup Organization for CNN/USA Today, latest that of August 4-7, 1995. Earlier survey data by Yankelovich Partners.

# The Long Gallup Series Shows the Proportion Calling Themselves Independents Doubling Since 1940...

**Question:** In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?

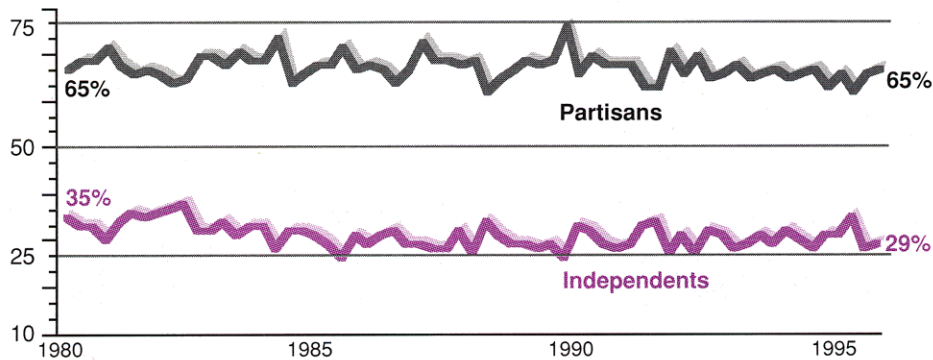


**Note:** From 1940-1985 data are from personal interviews, from 1986-1995 the results are from telephone surveys. From 1940-1953 the exact question text varies slightly.

**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of August 4-7, 1995.

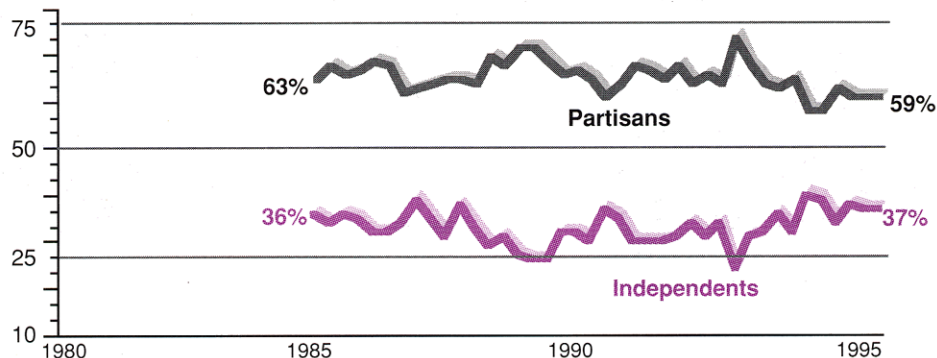
## ...But There's a Dispute in the Polls on What's Happened in the Last Decade

**Question:** Generally speaking, do you usually consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?



**Source:** Surveys by CBS News/*New York Times*, latest that of August 5-9, 1995.

**Question:** Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

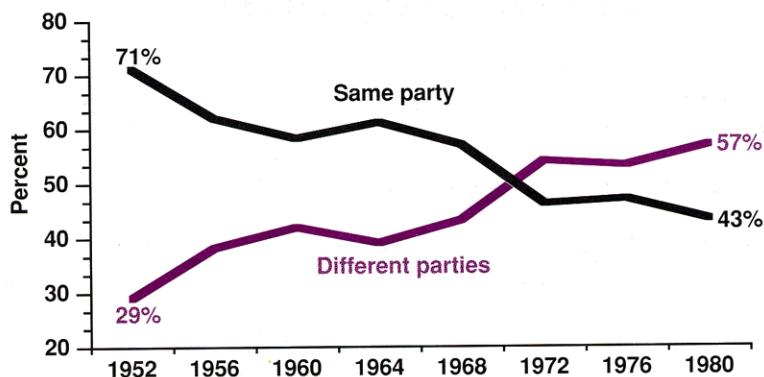


**Source:** Surveys by ABC News/*Washington Post*, latest that of April 4-5, 1995.

**Note:** Those responding Democrat or Republican have been combined as "partisans."

# Ticket Splitting Surged Between 1952 and 1980

**Question:** Have you always voted for the same party, or have you voted for different parties for president? Which party was that?

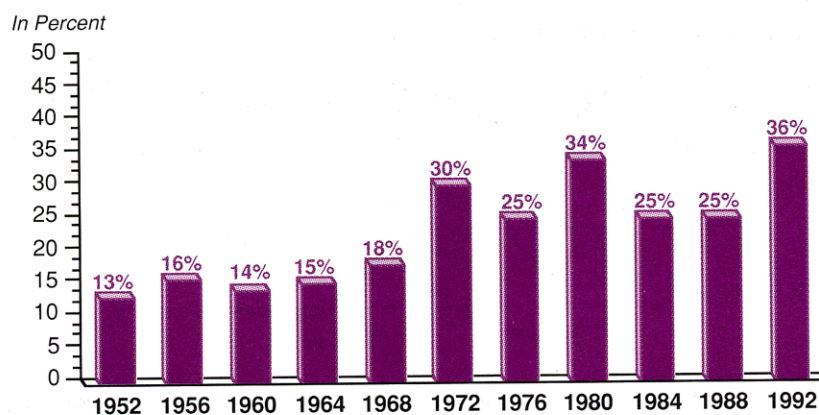


Source: Surveys by the Center for Political Studies, NES, University of Michigan, latest that of September 2-November 3, 1980.

## We Really Don't Know If There's Any Trend Since 1980

**Question:** Who did you vote for president.... How about for the House of Representatives in Washington? Did you vote for a candidate... (If yes, voted:) Who did you vote for? Which party was that?

*Proportion of all voters who split their ballot in the year's presidential and House contests*

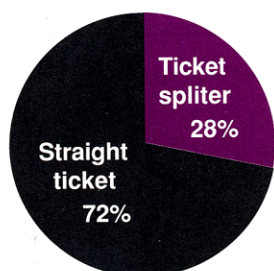


Source: Surveys by the Center for Political Studies, NES, University of Michigan, latest that of November 4-January 13, 1993.

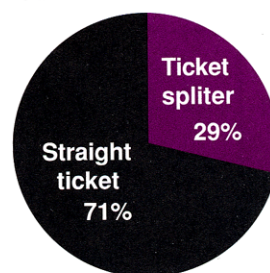
**Question:** How about for the (House of Representatives in Washington/United States Senate/election for Governor)? Did you vote for a candidate... (If yes, voted:) Who did you vote for? Which party is that?

### 1994 Ticket Splitting

#### House-Senate Vote



#### House-Governor Vote

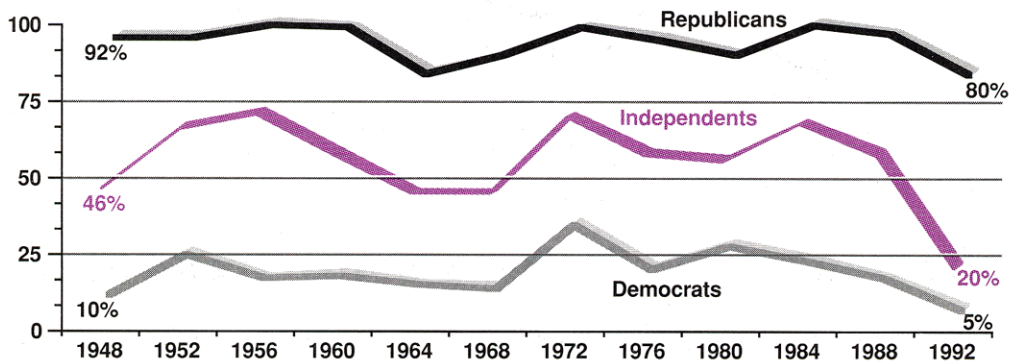


Note: Asked of those 44% who voted in both the House and Senate races and asked of those 41% who voted in both the House and Governor races.  
 Source: Survey by the Center for Political Studies, NES, University of Michigan, November 9, 1994-January 9, 1995.

# 1992 Aside, Self-Described Independents Have Given GOP Presidential Candidates Strong Support

**Question:** In the election this November, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? (If yes, voted:) Did you happen to vote for (name of candidate)?

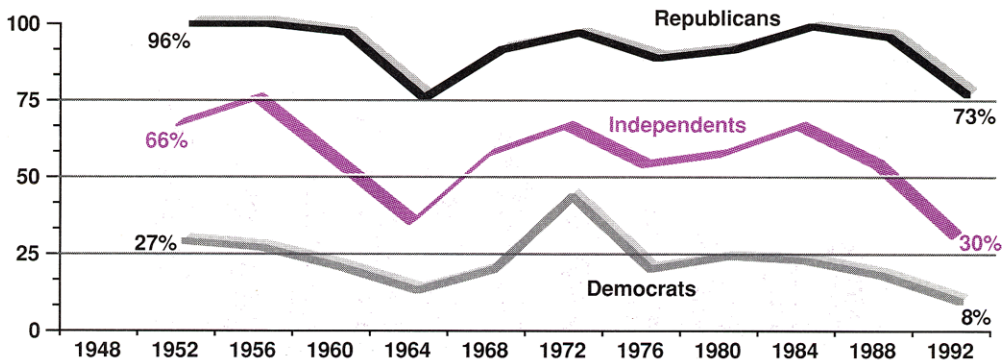
*Voted for Republican candidate by Party Affiliation*



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of December 4-6, 1992.

**Question:** Who did you vote for President?

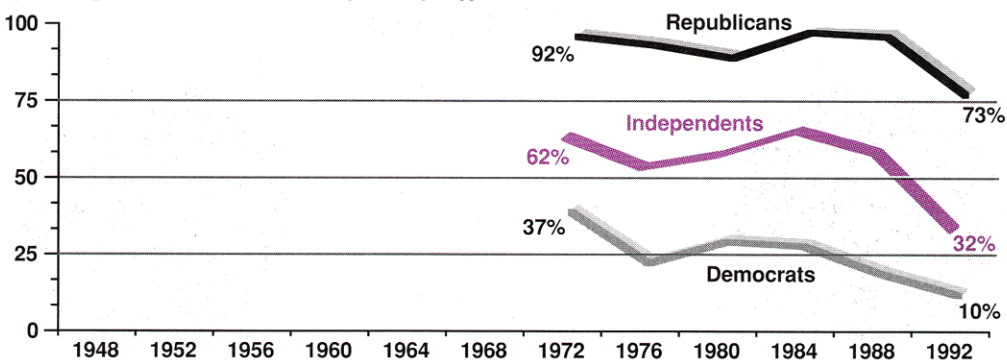
*Voted for Republican candidate by Party Affiliation*



Source: Surveys by the Center for Political Studies, National Election Study (NES), University of Michigan, latest that of November 4-January 13, 1993.

**Question:** In the election for President, did you just vote for (name of candidate)?

*Voted for Republican candidate by Party Affiliation*



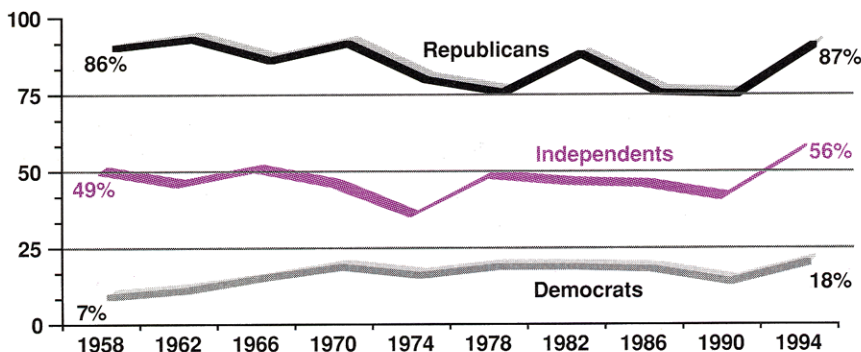
Note: For 1992, sample of 15,490 voters as they left the voting booth.

Source: Surveys by Voter Research & Surveys for ABC News, CBS News, NBC News and CNN, latest that of November 3, 1992.

# Last Year's Off-Year Elections Were the First in Decades to See Independents Voting Republican for Congress

**Question:** How about the election for the House of Representatives in Washington? Did you vote for a candidate for the US House of Representatives? (If yes, voted:) Who did you vote for? Which party was that?

*Voted for Republican by Party Affiliation*

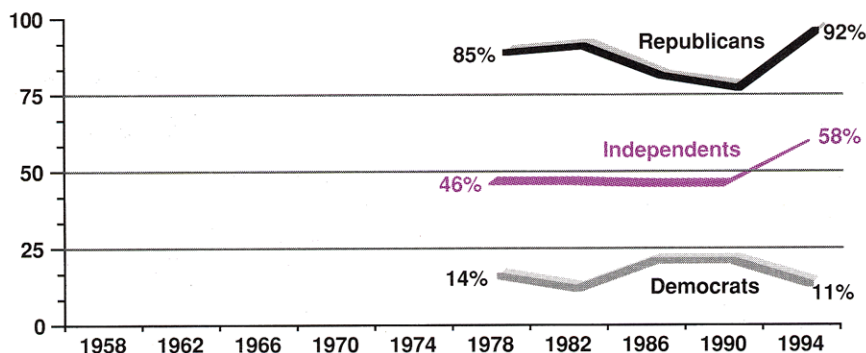


**Note:** For 1958-1974, question wording read, "How about the vote for Congressman. Did you vote for a candidate for Congress? (If yes, voted:) Who did you vote for? Which party was that?" Only off-year election results shown.

**Source:** Surveys by the Center for Political Studies, NES, University of Michigan, latest that of November 9, 1994-January 9, 1995.

**Question:** In today's election for US House of Representatives, did you just vote for: the Democratic candidate, the Republican candidate, other: Who?

*Voted for Republican by Party Affiliation*



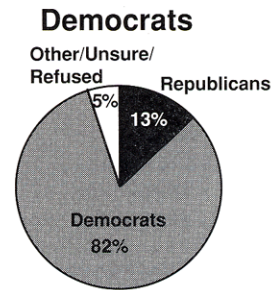
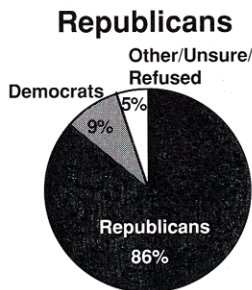
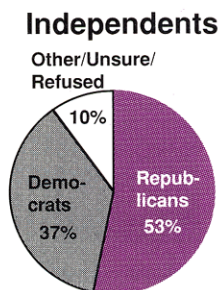
**Note:** For 1994, sample of 11,308 voters as they left the voting booth. Only off-year election results shown.

**Source:** Surveys by Voter News Service for ABC News, CBS News, NBC News, CNN, and the Associated Press, latest that of November 8, 1994.

**Question:** And when you voted, who did you vote for as the Congressional representative in your district—the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate?

1994

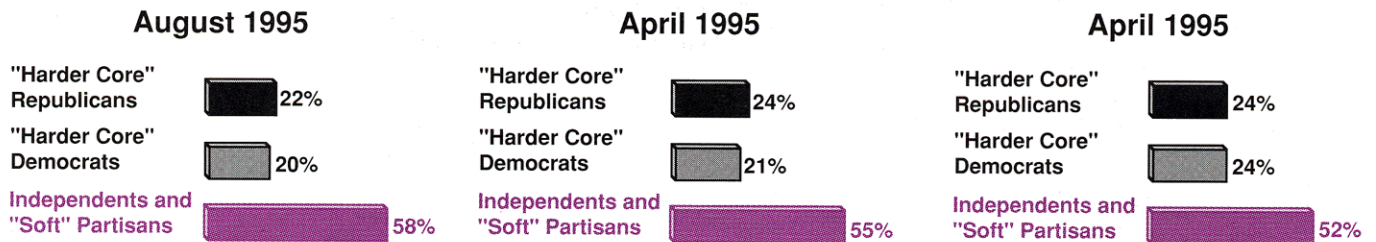
*Voted for Republican by Party Affiliation*



**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN/USA Today, November 28-29, 1994.

# Partisans and Independents: A More Demanding Definition

We redefined partisans and independents using three separate variables: 1. The standard party ID question; 2. A question asking respondents whether their opinion of the Republican party is favorable or unfavorable; and 3. A question asking whether their opinion of the Democratic party is favorable or unfavorable. A "harder core" Republican is one who is self-identified with the party, holds a favorable opinion of it and has an unfavorable opinion of the opposition. The construction of "harder core" Democrats is exactly parallel. Everyone else goes into the third category of independents and "soft" partisans.



**Note:** Two other CBS/NYT polls done in 1995, January 2-3 and February 22-25, found almost exactly the same distributions: 22% and 24% were "harder core" Republicans, 18% and 19% "harder core" Democrats.

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN/USA Today, April 17-19, 1995.

**Source:** Surveys by CBS News/New York Times, latest that of August 5-9, 1995.

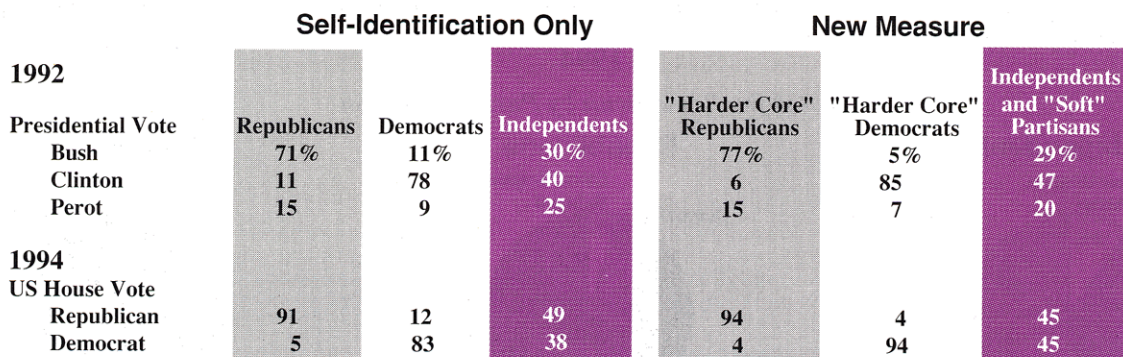
## What Difference Do We See Between The Partisan Groups Self-Located, And The Groups Defined By Our New Measure?



**Note:** Data calculated from combined data sets from January-August 1995.

**Source:** Surveys by CBS News/New York Times, 1995.

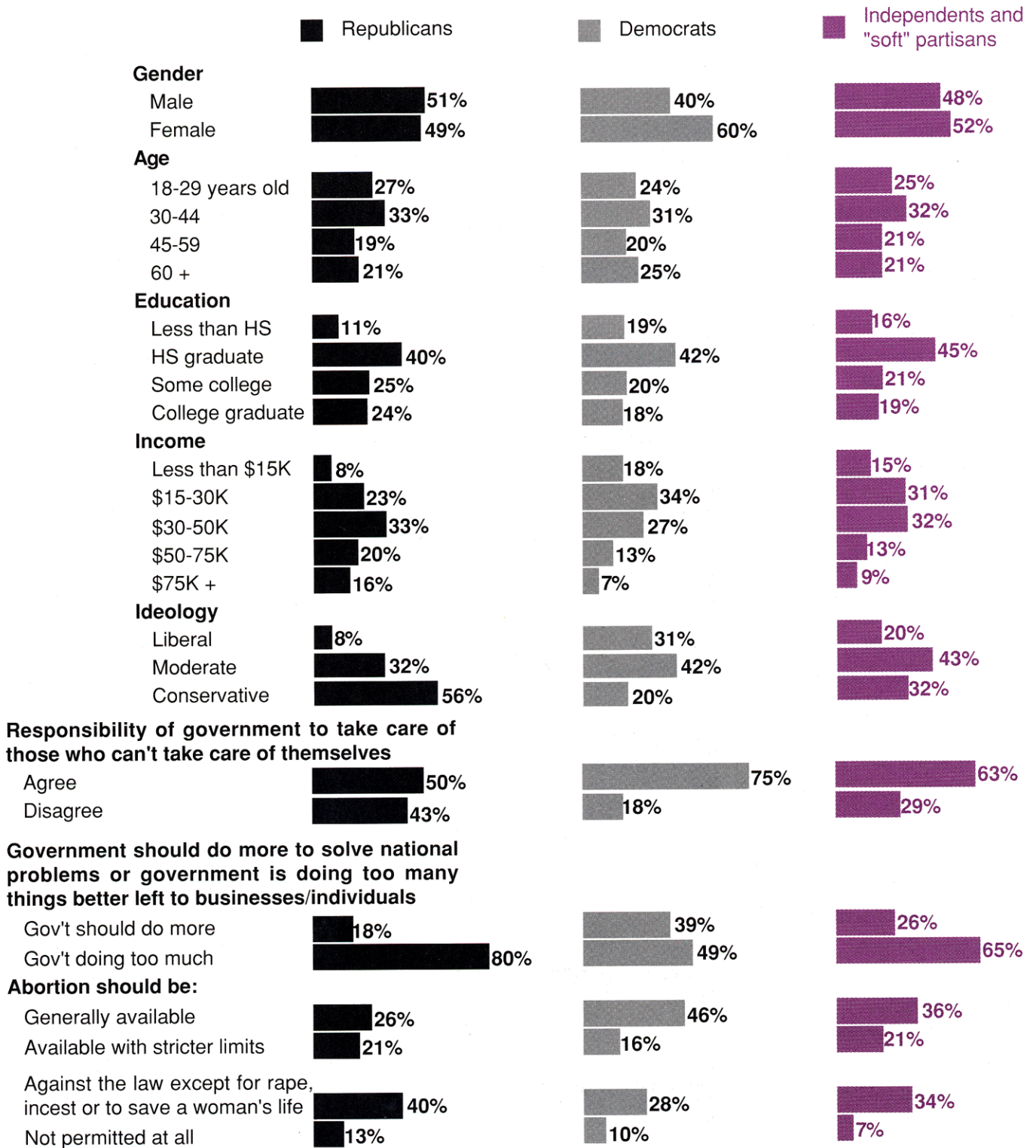
**Question:** ...Did you vote for George Bush, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot?... Did you vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?



**Note:** Data calculated from combined data sets from January-August 1995. For the presidential vote, asked of those 71% who said they voted in 1992. For the US House vote, asked of those 51% who said they voted in 1994.

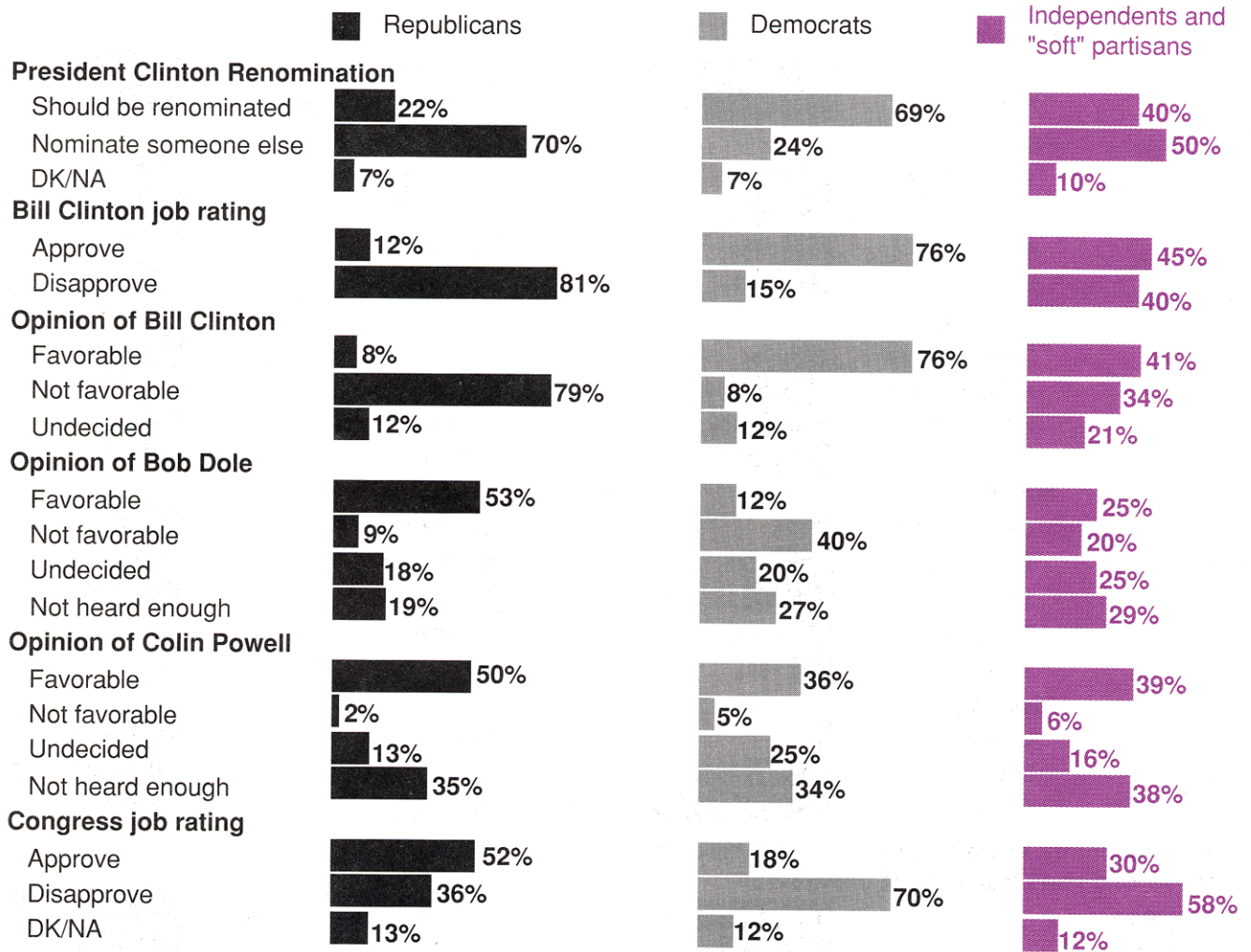
**Source:** Surveys by CBS/NYT, 1995.

# “Harder Core” Partisans: A Demographic Profile



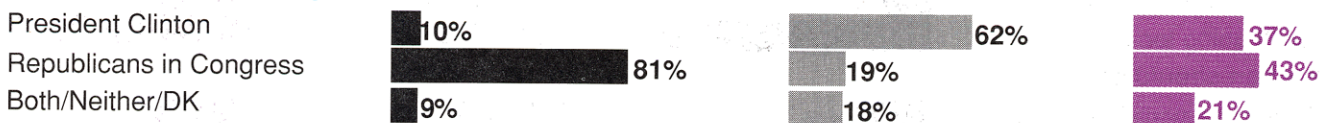
**Note:** Data calculated from the combined data sets (which asked the questions necessary to calculate the new measure) from January-August 1995. In some cases not all response categories are shown.  
**Source:** Surveys by CBS/NT, 1995.

# “Harder Core” Partisans: A Political Profile

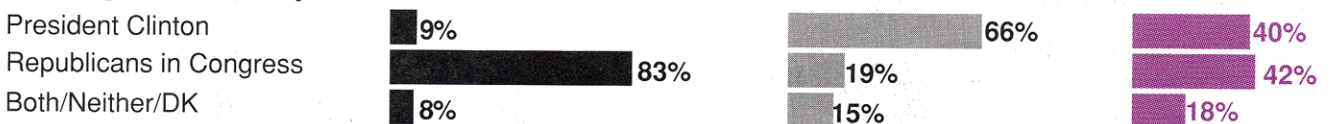


Who has a better idea about...

## Reducing the federal budget deficit



## Reforming the Welfare System



**Note:** Data calculated from the combined data sets (which asked the questions necessary to calculate the new measure) from January–August 1995. In some cases not all response categories are shown.

**Source:** Surveys by CBS/NT, 1995.



## Independents: A Roper Center Review

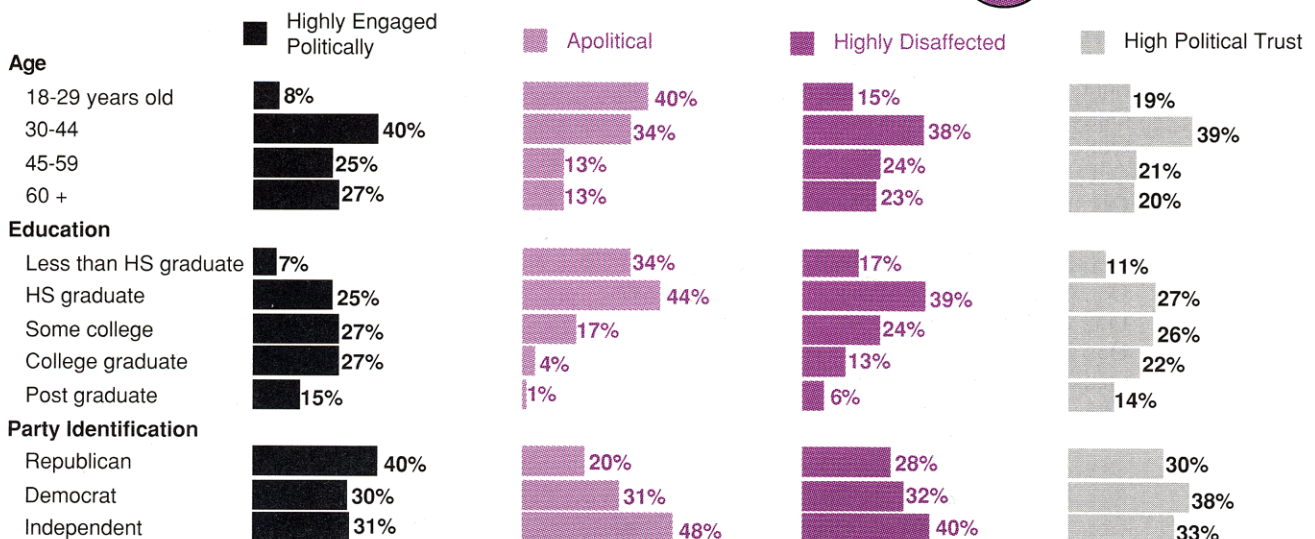
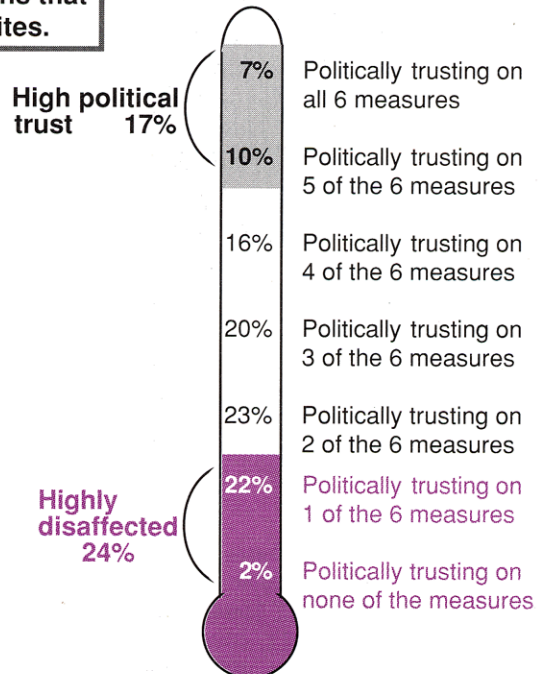
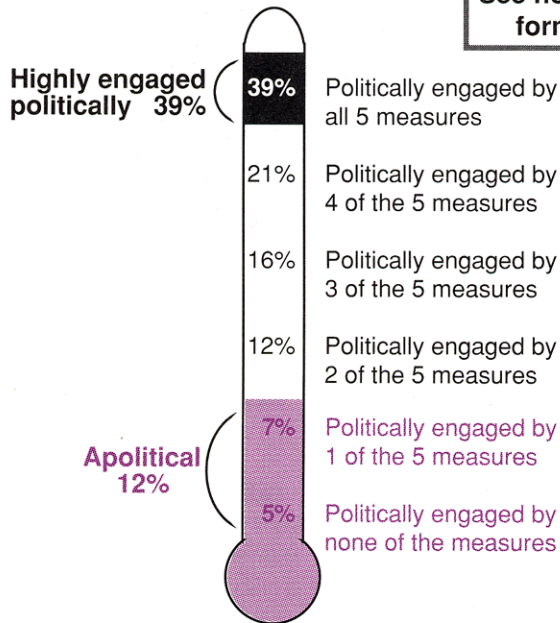
**There are many roads to an “independent” stance vis-a-vis the major parties. Higher proportions of those who are apolitical or generally disengaged call themselves independents. The same is true of those highly disaffected.**

### Americans located by the:

“Engaged/Apolitical” composite

“Trust/Disaffected” composite

See note for questions that form the composites.



**Note:** The populations for the composite scales are calculated using various combinations of questions from the 1994 National Election Study. The Engaged/Apolitical composite is calculated based on the following 5 items: 1) Interest in political campaigns; 2) Care how the election for the House came out; 3) Voted in 1992; 4) Voted in 1994; and 5) Follow what is going on in government/political affairs. For this scale anyone responding “not much interested,” “not very much/not at all,” “no, didn’t vote,” “no, didn’t vote,” or “hardly at all” to the respective items on 4 or all of the 5 questions were considered apolitical. Those responding apolitical to none of the 5 items are considered highly engaged politically. For the Trust/Disaffected composite 6 items were used in the calculation: 1) Trust in government; 2) Wasted tax money; 3) Who is government run for; 4) People running government are crooked; 5) Public officials don’t care what people like me think; and 6) People like me don’t have much say about what government does. For this scale anyone responding “none of the time,” “a lot,” “few big interests,” “quite a few,” “agree,” or “agree” to the respective items on 5 or all of the 6 of the questions are considered highly disaffected. Those responding disaffected to only one or none of the items are considered to have high political trust.

**Source:** Survey by the Center for Political Studies, NES, University of Michigan, November 9, 1994-January 9, 1995.