

The Makeup of Today's Electorate in Party Identification, Ideology, Presidential and Congressional Approval

Note: Between early January of 1997 and late February of this year, Gallup conducted 22 national surveys for *USA Today* and CNN—most posing these four basic political questions. (The congressional approval question is less familiar than the other three. Gallup asks: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?") We combined these surveys (including their common demographics), producing a composite dataset of 21,934 cases. The pages that follow show the responses given each political variable in each survey, and then (pp. 8-12) the combined responses of social groups often too small for reliable estimates in individual studies.

		1997						
		(1/3-5)	(1/10-13)	(2/24-26)	(3/24-26)	(4/11-13)	(5/6-7)	(6/23-24)
		1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Party ID								
Democrat		34	39	35	37	33	37	36
Republican		31	28	32	32	30	30	32
Independent		35	34	33	32	38	33	32
Self-Described Ideology								
Liberal		--	18	17	22	20	21	--
Moderate		--	41	42	42	42	45	--
Conservative		--	41	41	36	39	35	--
Presidential Approval								
Approve		58	62	57	59	54	57	--
Disapprove		35	31	33	35	37	35	--
Congressional Approval								
Approve		--	41	37	--	30	32	--
Disapprove		--	49	48	--	59	58	--

		1997						
		(6/26-29)	(7/25-27)	(8/12-13)	(8/22-25)	(9/6-7)	(10/3-5)	(10/27-29)
		8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Party ID								
Democrat		36	37	37	40	--	31	38
Republican		26	30	31	28	--	29	32
Independent		37	33	32	33	--	40	30
Self-Described Ideology								
Liberal		21	20	21	20	--	19	18
Moderate		41	43	42	42	--	42	42
Conservative		38	37	37	38	--	39	40
Presidential Approval								
Approve		55	58	60	60	61	55	59
Disapprove		35	34	32	34	28	36	32
Congressional Approval								
Approve		--	34	--	41	--	--	36
Disapprove		--	57	--	48	--	--	53

We show the proportions of the combined dataset identifying themselves as Democrats and as Republicans, as liberals and as conservatives, and as approving Clinton's performance as President and as approving of Congress; and then we compare various groups to the overall distributions. Thus, southern white Protestants, 39% of whom identified themselves as Republicans, are shown in the master table as +9—since they are 9 percentage points more Republican than all respondents. With the exception of blacks and whites, group differences by these political variables are modest. Republicans do better in higher SES groups, among men compared to women, and among voters who came of age politically during the Reagan years. But the striking finding of this analysis is how small aggregate differences among social groups have become.

1997

	(11/6-9)	(11/21-23)	(12/18-21)	(1/6-7)	(1/16-18)
	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th
	%	%	%	%	%
Party ID					
Democrat	37	38	33	32	38
Republican	32	30	29	33	30
Independent	32	33	39	35	32
Self-Described Ideology					
Liberal	21	19	18	19	19
Moderate	41	42	41	40	48
Conservative	38	39	41	41	33
Presidential Approval					
Approve	59	61	56	59	60
Disapprove	31	30	36	32	30
Congressional Approval					
Approve	--	--	39	--	42
Disapprove	--	--	52	--	47

1998

	(1/30-2/1)	(2/13-15)	(2/20-22)	Combined
	20th	21st	22nd	Combined
	%	%	%	%
Party ID				
Democrat	35	32	38	30
Republican	28	30	28	36
Independent	37	38	34	34
Self-Described Ideology				
Liberal	22	19	20	20
Moderate	41	40	44	42
Conservative	38	41	36	38
Presidential Approval				
Approve	69	66	66	60
Disapprove	28	30	29	33
Congressional Approval				
Approve	56	57	--	40
Disapprove	35	33	--	49

How Key Groups Compare to the Entire Population: Percentage By Which Each is More Or Less (-) Democratic, Republican, Liberal, Conservative, etc., Than the Country As a Whole

	Dem. ID 36%	Rep. ID 30%	Lib. 20%	Con. 38%	Approve President 60%	Approve Congress 40%
Everyone						
Age						
18-24	-5	-6	10	-9	1	10
25-29	-5	1	4	-6	1	4
30-39	-3	3	0	0	0	1
40-49	1	-1	0	0	0	1
50-59	0	-2	-3	5	-1	0
60-69	5	-1	-7	6	-2	-7
70+	9	2	-6	6	-2	-7
Age and Sex						
18-29						
Women	0	-4	10	-12	2	8
Men	-9	-2	5	-2	0	7
30-39						
Women	1	2	1	-3	0	1
Men	-8	5	-2	3	-1	2
40-49						
Women	6	-3	2	-2	2	2
Men	-5	0	-2	3	-1	0
50-59						
Women	4	-4	-2	1	1	-1
Men	-5	-1	-5	10	-4	1
60-69						
Women	9	-2	-6	1	0	-9
Men	0	0	-8	10	-6	-4
70+						
Women	14	1	-6	3	0	-8
Men	3	5	-6	11	-5	-5
All Women	5	-1	1	-3	1	0
All Men	-5	1	-2	4	-2	1
Age and Education						
18-29						
Less than H.S.	-9	-8	9	-7	-1	5
H.S. Grad	-8	-6	6	-5	-1	6
Some College	-2	-1	8	-9	2	8
College Grad	-3	4	4	-9	3	6
Grad+	2	3	12	-9	9	14
30-39						
Less than H.S.	0	-7	11	-1	-4	-8
H.S. Grad	-7	2	-2	0	-1	-4
Some College	0	4	-1	3	-1	6
College Grad	-6	11	-2	-1	2	6
Grad+	0	3	2	-7	3	8
40-49						
Less than H.S.	8	-5	9	-1	6	5
H.S. Grad	5	-5	-3	5	-1	-4
Some College	-3	0	-1	1	0	0
College Grad	-5	4	-1	-1	-3	8
Grad+	1	-1	4	-6	5	5

The Democrats' Big Historic Margin Among Catholics...

	Dem. ID 36%	Rep. ID 30%	Lib. 20%	Con. 38%	Approve President 60%	Approve Congress 40%
50-59						
Less than H.S.	12	-11	1	6	8	-5
H.S. Grad	4	-6	-5	8	2	0
Some College	-9	4	-7	7	-9	2
College Grad	-7	9	-4	6	-8	0
Grad+	-4	-3	3	-5	-1	2
60-69						
Less than H.S.	22	-13	-2	-1	2	11
H.S. Grad	3	-2	-9	6	0	-6
Some College	-3	7	-11	8	-7	-7
College Grad	-7	8	-7	17	-11	0
Grad+	-5	6	-3	0	-7	-1
70+						
Less than H.S.	23	-7	-2	2	3	-8
H.S. Grad	11	1	-9	6	2	-8
Some College	-9	14	-8	12	-14	-2
College Grad	-6	13	-7	9	-15	-4
Grad+	-3	11	-1	-1	-3	-9
Everyone						
Less than H.S.	10	-8	3	0	2	-4
H.S. Grad	0	-3	-3	4	0	-2
Some College	-3	3	0	0	-2	3
College Grad	-5	8	-2	0	-2	5
Grad+	-1	2	3	-6	2	4
Age and Ethnicity						
18-29						
Whites	-11	2	6	-5	-5	8
Blacks	22	-21	10	-9	23	0
Hispanics	8	-12	12	-13	15	6
30-39						
Whites	-9	8	-1	1	-5	2
Blacks	29	-22	5	-4	24	2
Hispanics	14	-12	3	-6	9	-8
40-49						
Whites	-5	2	-1	1	-4	1
Blacks	38	-24	3	-4	27	-4
Hispanics	22	-13	TFC*	TFC	12	TFC
50-59						
Whites	-6	1	-4	7	-5	--
Blacks	43	-27	4	-8	26	1
Hispanics	TFC	TFC	TFC	TFC	TFC	TFC
60-69						
Whites	-1	2	-9	7	-5	-6
Blacks	52	-26	8	-6	21	-12
Hispanics	TFC	TFC	TFC	TFC	TFC	TFC
70+						
Whites	7	4	-7	8	-5	-7
Blacks	47	-22	16	-18	30	-9
Hispanics	TFC	TFC	TFC	TFC	TFC	TFC
Everyone						
Whites	-5	4	-2	2	-5	1
Blacks	34	-23	7	-7	24	-2
Hispanics	15	-13	8	-8	14	1

*TFC = Too few to count.

...Is Now Confined to the Elderly

	Dem. ID 36%	Rep. ID 30%	Lib. 20%	Con. 38%	Approve President 60%	Approve Congress 40%
Everyone						
Age and Relig. Denom.						
18-29						
Protestants	-8	3	0	-1	-8	8
Catholics	2	-5	8	-11	8	14
30-39						
Protestants	-3	9	-2	5	-8	1
Catholics	-3	2	-2	-3	6	6
40-49						
Protestants	-2	3	-5	3	-4	5
Catholics	6	-5	-4	-2	2	6
50-59						
Protestants	0	2	-7	8	-5	-4
Catholics	6	-4	-6	3	1	1
60-69						
Protestants	2	5	-13	8	-8	-11
Catholics	16	-6	-9	1	14	TFC
70+						
Protestants	8	4	-8	7	-5	-6
Catholics	24	-8	-3	0	8	TFC
All Protestants	-1	4	-5	5	-7	-1
All Catholics	6	-3	-1	-3	6	5
All Jews	10	-9	19	-10	9	-6
Age and Region						
18-29						
Easterner	-3	-8	10	-11	6	9
Southerner	-7	2	4	-3	-2	8
Midwesterner	-4	-4	7	-9	0	6
Westerner	-5	-3	9	-8	3	5
30-39						
Easterner	-2	0	2	-4	5	4
Southerner	-1	4	-3	4	-1	0
Midwesterner	-6	3	-3	-1	-2	3
Westerner	-6	7	2	0	-4	-2
40-49						
Easterner	4	-6	1	-2	5	5
Southerner	2	-1	-3	3	0	2
Midwesterner	-2	-3	-1	-8	-1	-2
Westerner	-2	3	3	-3	-3	-2
50-59						
Easterner	-1	-5	-1	2	2	4
Southerner	-1	0	-5	11	-6	-2
Midwesterner	-1	-5	-5	4	1	1
Westerner	4	0	-1	1	-2	-2
60-69						
Easterner	5	-2	-6	3	2	-1
Southerner	7	1	-7	10	-6	-7
Midwesterner	4	-6	-7	4	0	-8
Westerner	2	2	-8	2	-4	-11
70+						
Easterner	11	0	0	-1	4	-10
Southerner	11	0	-7	12	-6	-7
Midwesterner	7	5	-9	10	-3	-3
Westerner	7	4	-7	1	-2	-7
All Easterners	2	-4	2	-3	4	3
All Southerners	0	1	-2	5	-3	0
All Midwesterners	-2	-2	-2	0	-1	0
All Westerners	-1	2	1	-2	-2	-2

Republicans Do Better Among Men Than...

	Dem. ID 36%	Rep. ID 30%	Lib. 20%	Con. 38%	Approve President 60%	Approve Congress 40%
Everyone						
Education and Sex						
Less than H.S.						
Women	16	-10	2	-2	2	-5
Men	4	-7	4	2	2	-3
H.S. Grad						
Women	3	-3	-3	0	0	-2
Men	-4	-3	-3	6	-1	-2
Some College						
Women	1	2	1	-3	0	2
Men	-8	4	-3	5	-5	4
College Grad						
Women	1	5	1	-6	1	5
Men	-11	10	-4	6	-5	4
Grad+						
Women	6	-2	9	-12	5	3
Men	-7	4	-2	0	-1	5
Education and Region						
Less than H.S.						
Easterner	13	-11	5	-4	7	2
Southerner	9	-6	5	1	1	-3
Midwesterner	11	-10	-2	6	0	-7
Westerner	9	-9	4	-7	1	-10
H.S. Grad						
Easterner	0	-3	-2	1	3	0
Southerner	3	-3	-4	6	-3	-4
Midwesterner	-1	-4	-4	2	1	-1
Westerner	-3	0	-1	1	-3	-4
Some College						
Easterner	-1	-3	3	-3	3	7
Southerner	-4	5	-3	5	-3	4
Midwesterner	-5	2	0	-1	-4	1
Westerner	-2	5	0	-1	-4	2
College Grad						
Easterner	-4	1	3	-5	3	4
Southerner	-6	12	-7	7	-8	4
Midwesterner	-6	6	-2	0	-4	5
Westerner	-6	11	0	-3	1	5
Grad+						
Easterner	1	-4	7	-13	8	6
Southerner	-4	7	-4	4	-5	4
Midwesterner	-4	1	1	-5	5	9
Westerner	1	2	7	-7	0	-3
Region and Sex						
Easterner						
Women	6	-5	4	-7	6	3
Men	-4	-2	0	1	2	2
Southerner						
Women	4	2	-2	1	-2	0
Men	-6	2	-3	8	-4	0
Midwesterner						
Women	4	-2	0	-2	0	-1
Men	-7	-1	-3	3	-2	2
Westerner						
Women	4	1	3	-18	0	-4
Men	-7	3	12	2	-4	1

Among Women in all Regions and Educational Strata

	Dem. ID 36%	Rep. ID 30%	Lib. 20%	Con. 38%	Approve President 60%	Approve Congress 40%
Everyone						
Region and Ethnicity						
Easterners						
Whites	-3	0	1	-2	1	4
Blacks	32	-23	7	-11	25	2
Southerners						
Whites	-7	7	-5	8	-9	0
Blacks	35	-22	6	-5	24	-4
Midwesterners						
Whites	-5	1	-3	1	17	1
Blacks	35	-25	4	-4	27	-4
Westerners						
Whites	-5	6	0	0	14	-2
Blacks	31	-27	15	-15	14	TFC
Income						
Less than \$10,000	11	-9	7	-6	3	-2
\$10,000-\$14,999	10	-9	3	-3	1	-5
\$15,000-\$19,999	4	-6	2	0	2	0
\$20,000-\$29,999	3	-5	1	0	3	-1
\$30,000-\$49,999	-2	0	-1	0	-1	0
\$50,000-\$74,999	-4	4	-4	2	-1	3
\$75,000+	-9	12	-3	2	-4	7
Income and Race						
Less than \$20,000						
Whites	2	-4	2	-1	-3	-2
Blacks	37	8	-22	7	-5	21
\$20,000-\$29,999						
Whites	-2	-1	-1	2	-2	-1
Blacks	34	-21	7	-6	26	-1
\$30,000-\$49,999						
Whites	-7	4	-3	2	-5	0
Blacks	3	-25	8	-11	28	-2
\$50,000-\$74,999						
Whites	-8	7	-4	3	-4	3
Blacks	34	-24	2	-8	28	-4
\$75,000+						
Whites	-12	14	-3	3	-6	8
Blacks	27	-25	8	-14	24	TFC
Party Identification						
Democrat	--	--	8	-11	25	-1
Republican	--	--	-14	24	-28	10
Independent	--	--	2	8	-2	-4
Ideology						
Liberal	16	-21	--	--	15	-5
Conservative	-11	19	--	--	-17	4
Moderate	2	-7	--	--	8	2
Presidential Approval	15	-14	4	-10	--	6
Congressional Approval	-2	6	-4	3	7	--
Region and Ethnicity and Denomination						
Eastern White Protestant	-12	10	-5	3	-11	6
Eastern White Catholic	4	-3	27	-4	7	2
Southern White Protestant	-6	9	-8	12	-15	2
Southern White Catholic	-4	7	-8	0	-3	6
Midwestern White Protestant	-5	5	-7	6	-8	-1
Midwestern White Catholic	1	-2	-3	0	0	3
Western White Protestant	-9	13	-6	-20	-10	-3
Western White Catholic	11	-1	19	0	6	6