

I. Introduction

II. How social groups voted in 2000 Table 5-1, pp. 98-100

A. Data sources

1. Advantages of pre- and post-election National Election Study (NES) surveys by the U. of Michigan
 - a. Samples include absentee voters
 - b. Samples include nonvoters, so correlates of turnout can be studied
 - c. Longer questionnaire
 - d. Closer supervision and training of interviewers
 - e. Data is free because its collection was largely funded by government NSF grants
2. Advantages of exit polls
 - a. Because the exit-poll sample is over 4 times larger (~13,000 voters v. ~ 1100 NES self-reported voters), much more detailed subgroup analysis can be conducted
 - b. Less ambiguity about which respondents voted (NES must estimate with filter questions)
 - c. Results are available election night (but data are proprietary and expensive to buy)
3. Because of the VNS data-collection and analysis debacle in the 2000 presidential election, their findings (*for that election only*) are highly suspect. The problems were so profound, that VNS has been reconstituted as the *National Election Poll* (NEP) with new safeguards.
4. **NEP 2004 exit poll results for the presidential race are available at:**
<http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/US/P/00/epolls.0.html>

B. Conclusions about the 2000 election: generally, those on the social and economic margins were most likely to vote Democratic **[check the above link to update these conclusions for 2004]**

1. Race: (strongest of all social predictors) – nonwhites more likely than whites to vote Democratic
2. Ethnicity: Hispanics (of any race and national origin, excepting Cubans) – more likely than non-Hispanics to vote Democratic
3. Region: the Southern and Mountain/Plains states are now most Republican; the Northeastern, North Central, and Pacific-coast states are now most Democratic (a reversal of the New-Deal era sectional division) – see also the *Electoral-Vote Outcomes by State, 1980-2000* handout with Ch. 6 in Wayne
4. Among whites
 - a. Gender: gap greater in 2000 than any previous election – since 1980, women are more likely than men to vote Democratic
 - b. Marital status: unmarried are more likely than married to vote Democratic
 - c. Age: non-linear relation – baby boomers (born 1955-70) more Republican; earlier and later generations more evenly divided
 - d. Social class: white have-nots or disadvantaged are now only slightly more Democratic (because class differences in voting have declined since WWII among the white electorate)
 - (1) Education: non-linear relation – Republican voting increases among whites with more formal education until graduate-level degrees
 - (2) Income: Democrats are reducing the Republican advantage among whites in the higher-income category; Republicans are doing the reverse in the lower-income categories
 - (3) Occupation: Democrats are reducing the Republican advantage among whites in the professional/technical categories; Republicans are doing the reverse in the lesser-skilled categories
 - e. Union membership: Republicans have been gaining on the Democrats in this category of whites
 - f. Religion
 - (1) Jewish and secular voters are the most Democratic
 - (2) Theologically conservative white Protestants (evangelicals, fundamentalists,

Pentecostals/charismatics) are the most Republican
(3) Catholics & liberal (mainline) white Protestants are the most centrist

- III. How social groups voted during the post-WWII presidential elections Table 5-2, p. 109
- A. Race Figure 5-1, p. 107 – diverging pattern, especially after 1948 and ‘64
1. Democratic leadership
 - a. FDR: avoided civil rights when possible – but couldn’t with defense plants
 - b. Truman: championed civil rights
 - c. Kennedy: avoided until Birmingham church bombing
 - d. L.B. Johnson: championed
 2. Republican leadership
 - a. Eisenhower: avoided when possible – but couldn’t in Little Rock
 - b. Goldwater: engineered the ‘southern strategy’ of “hunting where the ducks are”
 - c. Nixon: mixed record
 - d. Reagan: played race card but disappointed the New Christian Right
 - e. G. Bush: reversed position on abortion but also disappointed the Christian Right
 - f. G.W. Bush: greatest accommodation of Christian Right (see IV. B. below)
- B. White regional divisions Figure 5-2, p. 110
1. Reversal of the Southern/non-Southern pattern after 1964
 - a. NE/Middle-Atlantic/Pacific-Coast states are now most Democratic
 - b. Southern/Plains/Rocky-Mountain states are now most Republican
 2. Importance of Southern presidential candidates to Democrats is declining? (1968, ‘76-80, ‘92-2000)
- C. White union membership Figure 5-3, p. 112
1. Relatively stable gap over time
 2. But, the proportion of the electorate composed of white union household members has declined from a high of 25% of the electorate in 1952 to 13% in 2000
- D. White social class differences Figure 5-4, p. 114 – convergence to 1996 and reversal in 2000
- E. White religious differences Figure 5-5, p. 116; Figure 5-6, p. 118 – recent convergence of Catholics and Protestants
- IV. Why the New Deal Coalition broke down
- A. National Democratic party leadership’s commitment to civil rights
1. Reversal of white regional differences Figure 5-2, p. 110
 2. Convergence in religious/class differences among whites Figure 5-6, p. 118
 - a. Working-class white Catholics most Democratic
 - b. Working-class white Protestants
 - c. Middle-class white Catholics
 - d. Middle-class white Protestants most Republican
- B. The potential religious wedge issues threatening the emerging Republican coalition
1. Education
 - a. Public-school religious activities (prayer, Bible reading, etc.)
 - b. Creation science v. evolutionary science
 - c. Parochial-school vouchers
 2. Social welfare
 - a. Employee criteria
 - b. Recipient criteria
 3. Sexual morality
 - a. Abortion
 - b. Birth control
 - c. Homosexuality
 4. Medical research
 - a. Fetal tissue
 - b. Cloning