

# Political Polarization in the U.S. The 2012 Elections & Beyond

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Abramowitz, Chapter 7

**TABLE 7.1**  
Characteristics and Political Attitudes of 2008 Republican Presidential Primary Voters versus All General Election Voters

|                              | Rep. minus all | REPUBLICAN PRIMARY VOTERS (%) | ALL GENERAL ELECTION VOTERS (%) |
|------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| WHITE                        | 18%            | 94                            | 76                              |
| UNDER AGE 30                 | 7%             | 10                            | 17                              |
| 65 OR OLDER                  | 10%            | 30                            | 20                              |
| BORN AGAIN, EVANGELICAL      | 22%            | 62                            | 40                              |
| WEEKLY CHURCHGOER            | 22%            | 59                            | 37                              |
| CONSERVATIVE                 | 42%            | 86                            | 44                              |
| STRONG CONSERVATIVE          | 36%            | 64                            | 28                              |
| PRO-LIFE ON ABORTION         | 20%            | 59                            | 39                              |
| OPPOSE GAY ADOPTION          | 20%            | 68                            | 48                              |
| OPPOSE UNIVERSAL HEALTH CARE | 37%            | 77                            | 40                              |

Source: 2008 American National Election Study

**TABLE 7.2**  
Ratings of President Obama in 2010 by Voter Groups

|                          | POSITIVE (%) | NEUTRAL (%) | NEGATIVE (%) |
|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| ALL REGISTERED VOTERS    | 47           | 7           | 46           |
| WHITES                   | 40           | 8           | 52           |
| LATINOS                  | 61           | 11          | 28           |
| BLACKS                   | 91           | 2           | 8            |
| <b>WHITES ONLY</b> ***** |              |             |              |
| LIBERAL                  | 82           | 3           | 15           |
| MODERATE                 | 48           | 15          | 36           |
| CONSERVATIVE             | 12           | 7           | 80           |
| BORN AGAIN, EVANGELICAL  | 21           | 6           | 73           |
| OTHER                    | 48           | 9           | 43           |
| GUN OWNER                | 27           | 8           | 65           |
| NOT GUN OWNER            | 49           | 8           | 43           |
| UNION MEMBER             | 39           | 5           | 56           |
| NOT UNION MEMBER         | 40           | 9           | 51           |
| <b>INCOME</b>            |              |             |              |
| UNDER \$50,000           | 41           | 9           | 50           |
| \$50,000-\$74,999        | 42           | 6           | 52           |
| \$75,000-\$99,999        | 35           | 7           | 58           |
| \$100,000+               | 42           | 8           | 50           |
| HIGH SCHOOL              | 36           | 10          | 53           |
| SOME COLLEGE             | 36           | 7           | 57           |
| GRAD COLLEGE             | 48           | 7           | 45           |

Source: ANES Evaluations of Government and Society Survey, 2010

**TABLE 7.3**  
2012 Electoral College Outlook

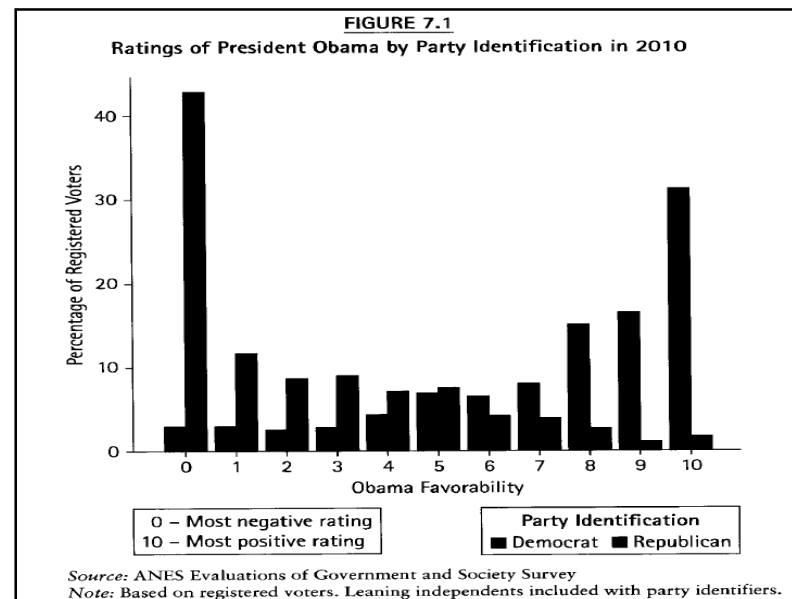
| (179 + 68 = 332)          |                      | (40 + 166 = 206)        |                      |                           |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| STRONGLY DEMOCRATIC (179) | LEAN DEMOCRATIC (68) | TOSSUP (85)             | LEAN REPUBLICAN (40) | STRONGLY REPUBLICAN (166) |
| California (55)           | Michigan (16)        | Colorado (9)            | Indiana (11)         | Alabama (9)               |
| Connecticut (7)           | Minnesota (10)       | Florida (29)            | Missouri (10)        | Alaska (3)                |
| Delaware (3)              | New Mexico (5)       | Iowa (6)                | Montana (3)          | Arizona (11)              |
| D.C. (3)                  | Oregon (7)           | Nevada (6)              | North Carolina (15)  | Arkansas (6)              |
| Hawaii (4)                | Pennsylvania (20)    | North New Hampshire (4) | Nebraska (1)         | Georgia (16)              |
| Illinois (20)             | Wisconsin (10)       | Ohio (18)               |                      | Idaho (4)                 |
| Maine (4)                 |                      | Virginia (13)           |                      | Kansas (6)                |
| Maryland (10)             |                      |                         |                      | Kentucky (8)              |
| Massachusetts (11)        |                      |                         |                      | Louisiana (8)             |
| New Jersey (14)           |                      |                         |                      | Mississippi (6)           |
| New York (29)             |                      |                         |                      | Nebraska (4)              |
| Rhode Island (4)          |                      |                         |                      | North Dakota (3)          |
| Vermont (3)               |                      |                         |                      | Oklahoma (7)              |
| Washington (12)           |                      |                         |                      | South Carolina (9)        |
|                           |                      |                         |                      | South Dakota (3)          |
|                           |                      |                         |                      | Tennessee (11)            |
|                           |                      |                         |                      | Texas (38)                |
|                           |                      |                         |                      | Utah (6)                  |
|                           |                      |                         |                      | West Virginia (5)         |
|                           |                      |                         |                      | Wyoming (3)               |

Source: Data compiled by author

**TABLE 7.4**  
U.S. House Seats in 112th Congress

| TYPE OF DISTRICT    | SEATS CURRENTLY HELD BY |            |            |
|---------------------|-------------------------|------------|------------|
|                     | REPUBLICAN              | DEMOCRAT   | TOTAL      |
| SAFE DEMOCRATIC     | 0                       | 112        | 112        |
| STRONGLY DEMOCRATIC | 2                       | 42         | 44         |
| LEANS DEMOCRATIC    | 30                      | 24         | 54         |
| LEANS REPUBLICAN    | 55                      | 4          | 59         |
| STRONGLY REPUBLICAN | 61                      | 6          | 67         |
| SAFE REPUBLICAN     | 94                      | 5          | 99         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>        | <b>242</b>              | <b>193</b> | <b>435</b> |

*Source: Data compiled by author*



**TABLE 7.5**  
U.S. Senate Seats in 112th Congress

| TYPE OF STATE       | SEATS CURRENTLY HELD BY |           |            |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
|                     | REPUBLICAN              | DEMOCRAT  | TOTAL      |
| SAFE DEMOCRATIC     | 1                       | 11        | 12         |
| STRONGLY DEMOCRATIC | 3                       | 17        | 20         |
| LEANS DEMOCRATIC    | 5                       | 11        | 16         |
| LEANS REPUBLICAN    | 6                       | 6         | 12         |
| STRONGLY REPUBLICAN | 12                      | 4         | 16         |
| SAFE REPUBLICAN     | 20                      | 4         | 24         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>        | <b>47</b>               | <b>53</b> | <b>100</b> |

*Source: Data compiled by author*

**TABLE 7.6**  
U.S. Senate Seats Up for Election in 2012

| TYPE OF STATE       | SEATS CURRENTLY HELD BY |           |           |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|
|                     | REPUBLICAN              | DEMOCRAT  | TOTAL     |
| SAFE DEMOCRATIC     | 1                       | 5         | 6         |
| STRONGLY DEMOCRATIC | 1                       | 7         | 8         |
| LEANS DEMOCRATIC    | 1                       | 4         | 5         |
| LEANS REPUBLICAN    | 1                       | 4         | 5         |
| STRONGLY REPUBLICAN | 3                       | 2         | 5         |
| SAFE REPUBLICAN     | 3                       | 1         | 4         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>        | <b>10</b>               | <b>23</b> | <b>33</b> |

*Source: Data compiled by author*