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**CONTACT:** Adam Clymer at 202-879-6757 or 202 549-7161 (cell)

VISIT: www.naes04.org

## Party Identification Shifts Toward Republicans, But Democrats Still Lead, Annenberg Data Show

Republicans narrowed the gap in party allegiance in the 2004 campaign, but are still outnumbered by Democrats, the University of Pennsylvania's National Annenberg Election Survey shows.

Polling of 67,777 registered voters from October 7, 2003, through November 16, 2004, showed that 31.8 percent called themselves Republicans and 34.6 percent said they were Democrats, a Democratic edge of 2.8 percentage points. The margin of sampling error on those findings was just over one third of one percentage point, up or down.

The 2000 National Annenberg election Survey, involving 46,697 registered voters interviewed from December 14, 1999 through January 19, 2001, showed that 29.9 percent called themselves Republicans and 33.7 percent said they were Democrats, a slightly larger Democratic advantage of 3.8 percentage points. The margin of sampling error for the 2000 findings was less than one half of one percentage point, up or down.

"We ordinarily do not report tenths of percentage points," said Adam Clymer, political director of the survey, "but with samples this large and sampling errors this small, we feel confident in reporting relatively small changes.

The Annenberg polling, conducted every night except for a few holidays, showed that Republicans started the campaign about even with Democrats, fell behind during the Democratic primary campaign, but caught up briefly at the end of April before slipping again and then were about even before the Democratic convention, which was followed by higher Democratic numbers. From the Republican convention through mid-September, the parties were about even. Then Democrats pulled ahead again before a post-election slump in which the parties were roughly even again.

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Clymer said "Our data reflects steady Republican gains, though both parties gained allegiance from independents in a year of a spirited presidential contest. Republicans have been looking for a party realignment in which they would assume dominant status ever since Ronald Reagan's victory in 1980, and they moved closer this year."

"But the narrowing of the gap is more reflective of Democratic losses than Republican gains," he said. In presidential elections in the 1960s, according to the data of the American National Election Survey, just 27 percent of Americans called themselves Republicans but 48 percent said they were Democrats.

The biggest Republican gains were recorded among evangelical white Protestants. In 2000, 42 percent called themselves Republicans, and 25 percent called themselves Democrats, a 17 percentage point Republican advantage. In 2004, the margin increased to 25 points, as 48 percent said they were Republicans and 23 percent said they were Democrats.

But G.O.P. growth was registered in most population groups, except for blacks and people between 18 and 29 years old. Among people with a high school education or less, where Republican support went from 26 to 30 percent, and among both married women and southerners.

Women are still substantially more Democratic than men are Republican. In 2000, 28.0 percent of women called themselves Republicans and 38.8 percent said they were Democrats, an edge of 10.8 percentage points. In 2004 the advantage slipped to 9.5 percentage points, as 30.1 percent of women said they were Republicans and 39.6 percent said they were Democrats.

Among men in 2000, 32.1 percent said they were Republicans and 28.0 percent said they were Democrats, a Republican advantage of 4.1 percentage points. That grew to 4.9 percentage points in 2004 when 33.8 percent of men said they were Republicans and 28.9 percent said they were Democrats.

Along with tables showing changes in various population groups, attached to this report is a graph which shows variation during the campaign in allegiance to both parties, a clear reminder that party allegiance in not a demographic constant, but ebbs and flows as campaigns progress.

The National Annenberg Election Survey is a project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania (www.AnnenbergPublicPolicyCenter.org). Dr. Kathleen Hall Jamieson is the director of the survey. Ken Winneg is the managing director of the survey. Adam Clymer is the political director of the survey.

Another major election project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center is FactCheck.org, a project that tries to hold politicians accountable by exposing false or misleading campaign statements. It is available online at www.FactCheck.Org.

## <u>Tables</u>

Changes in Party Identification

Generally	Changes III I	<u>,</u>					
speaking, do							
you usually	you usually		blican	Dem	ocrat	Independent	
think of yourself							
as a		2000*	2004**	2000*	2004**	2000*	2004**
Total		2000*	2004**	2000*	2004** <b>34.6</b>	2000*	2004**
Total		29.9	31.8	33.7	34.0	26.7	25.2
Men		32.1	33.8	28.0	28.9	30.0	28.6
Women		28.0	30.1	38.8	39.6	23.9	22.2
High school or les	SS	26	30	38	38	25	23
Some college		32	34	30	31	27	26
College degree or more		34	33	30	33	29	27
	Men high school or less	27	31	34	33	29	26
	Women high school or less	26	28	42	42	22	21
	Men some college	34	34	24	26	31	30
	Women some college	30	33	35	36	25	23
	Men college degree or more	38	37	23	26	31	31
	Women college degree or more	30	30	37	40	26	24
18-29 years old		29	28	31	34	27	27
30-44 years old		32	35	32	31	26	25
45-64 years old		28	31	35	35	29	26
65 and over		30	32	38	39	24	22
	Men 18-29						
		32	30	24	27	30	30
	Women 18-29	27	25	36	40	24	25
	Men 30-44	35	37	26	26	28	28
	Women 30-44	29	33	37	37	24	22
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	Men 45-64	30	33	29	30	32	29
	Women 45-64	26	29	40	40	25	23
	Men 65 and over	31	33	33	34	28	26
	Women 65 and over	29	32	42	42	21	20

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a  Household income below \$35,000  \$35,000 to less than \$75,000		Republican		Democrat		Independent	
		24	25	40	42	25	24
		33	33	31	33	28	26
\$75,000 and over		37	38	28	29	28	26
	Men below \$35,000	25	26	35	36	29	28
	Women below \$35,000	23	24	44	45	23	22
	Men \$35,000 to \$75,000	34	35	26	28	30	29
	Women \$35,000 to \$75,000	31	32	36	38	25	23
	Men \$75,000 and over	39	40	23	25	30	29
	Women \$75,000 and over	35	37	33	35	25	23
Whitee		00	22	00	20	00	
Whites		33	36	29	30	28	26
African Americans		5	5	68	69	19	17
Hispanic/Latinos Asians		22	23	46	44	21	23
Native Americans		23 20	25 22	39 34	37 36	28 31	28 28
	White Men	35	38	24	25	31	29
	White Women	32	35	34	34	25	24
	African American Men				C4	22	24
	African American Women	6 5	7 4	62 72	61 75	23 15	24 13
	Amedia American Women		4	12	73	10	13
	Hispanic/Latino Men	23	26	43	39	24	26
	Hispanic/Latino Women	21	20	50	49	19	21
Union Household		23	24	40	44	27	24
OHIOH HOUSEHOIU	Union Men	23 25	24 25	35	39	29	27
	Union Women	25 21	22	45	<u> </u>	29 24	21
	Married	33	36	31	31	27	25
	Single	24	24	39	41	27	26
	Married Men	35	38	27	27	29	28
	Married Women	31	35	36	36	24	22
	Single Men	26	25	31	33	31	30
	Single Women	23	22	44	46	23	23

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a		Republican		Democrat		Independent	
Northeast		27	28	36	38	30	28
Midwest		29	31	30	33	29	27
South		31	35	35	34	25	23
West		33	33	33	33	24	34
	Northeast Men	28	31	31	31	33	31
	Northeast Women	26	24	40	44	27	25
	Midwest Men	31	33	25	28	32	31
	Midwest Women	27	29	35	38	26	24
	South Men	33	36	30	29	28	26
	South Women	29	34	40	39	21	20
	West Men	36	35	26	28	27	28
	West Women	30	31	39	38	22	22
Urban		25	26	40	42	26	24
Suburban		32	34	31	32	27	26
Rural		31	34	32	32	27	25
	Urban Men	28	28	33	35	29	28
	Urban Women	22	24	46	47	23	21
	Suburban Men	34	36	26	26	30	29
	Suburban Women	31	32	36	37	25	23
	Rural Men	32	36	28	28	30	27
	Rural Women	29	33	37	36	24	23
White - Born Again/Evangelical Protestants		42	48	25	23	23	21
Men		43	49	21	20	26	24
	Women	41	48	29	26	21	19

<sup>\*</sup>Asked of 46,697 registered voters between Dec. 14, 1999 and Jan. 19, 2001 \*\*Asked of 67,777 registered voters between Oct. 7, 2003 and Nov. 16, 2004

## Survey Methodology

The National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES) is a survey conducted each presidential election by the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania.

The 2004 National Annenberg Election Survey is based on telephone interviews which began October 7, 2003 and concluded on November 16, 2004.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was randomly selected by a computer from a complete list of thousands of active residential exchanges across the country. Within each exchange, random digits were added to form a complete telephone number, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household, one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the survey. The interviewing is conducted by Schulman, Ronca, Bucuvalas, Inc.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence and to adjust for variation in the sample relating to geographic region, sex, race, age and education.

This report deals with two sets of interviews. The 2004 campaign interviewing was conducted from October 7, 2003 through November 16, 2004, reaching 67,777 registered voters. The 2000 campaign interviewing began on December 14, 1999, and continued through Jan. 19, 2001, reaching 46,697 registered voters.

In theory, in 19 out of 20 cases, results for all registered voters in 2004 will differ will differ by just over one third of one percentage point, up or down, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all American adults. For smaller subgroups the margin of sampling error would be higher. Fir 2000, the margin of sampling error would be less than one half of one percentage point, up or down.

For smaller groups, the margin of sampling error would be higher. The findings for all men and all women in 2004 would be subject to sampling of one half of one percentage point, up or down. In 2000, the potential sampling error for men and women would be about six-tenths of one percentage point, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all American adults.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll. Variations in the wording and order of questions, for example, may lead to somewhat different results.

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