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Abstract

Brody makes a number of recommendations concerning the format of the 1980 NES study based on his analysis of the 1979 Pilot Study. First, Brody finds that the semantic-differential approach to measurement does not yield any evaluative or dynamism dimensions -- the only factors extracted from the responses are content specific. Brody concludes that the feeling thermometer method is a more cost-effective way to measure general affect and should be retained. Brody also recommends that the party thermometer questions follow the format used in the 1968-1976 and 1978 surveys because (1) there is a sufficient lack of redundancy among these measures to support their inclusion in the 1980 study and (2) the traditional measures show a better ability than the Pilot Study instruments to discriminate among the seven response patterns produced by the "core" party ID sequence. Furthermore, Brody finds that the two items designed to examine the Gurin-Miller-Gurin notion of "identification as affective preference" are strongly related to the core measure of party ID and recommends that they be included in the 1980 survey. Finally, he argues that the open-ended partisan probes, attached to the core measure of party identification, should be adopted for the 1980 survey. Brody finds that these follow-up questions allow for discrimination of subgroups within the seven partisan categories at statistically significant levels.

MEASURES OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION IN THE 1979 PILOT STUDY

A Report to the Board of Overseers of the National Election
Project

Richard A. Brody
Stanford University
July 29, 1979

RECAPITULATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Semantic-Differential approach to measurement should not be carried forward to 1980.
- These analyses point to the desirability of continuing both the 68-76 and 78 format party thermometers in the 1980 study.
- The "Political Independents" probe has also proved very useful and will be indispensable in furthering our understanding of party identification.
- The 1980 study provides a good base year for beginning a time series on public attitudes toward parties in general. While there are core items that can give similar information, since it is not expensive, we should add this probe.
- In every analysis done on the thermometers, the 79 party leadership format appears to be the weakest of the three. I will not recommend their retention unless other analyses uncover areas in which they are uniquely useful.
- The two items designed to examine the Gurin-Miller-Gurin notion of "identification as affective preference," individually and in combination, are strongly related to the core measure of party identification.

This fact alone may justify their retention in 1980 but within the confines of the Pilot Study, preliminary efforts to use them to make subsidiary distinctions in hopes of increasing the analytic power of the party identification measure have not proved out. I recommend their retention because they may prove useful in understanding the stability of partisanship under some social reinforcement hypothesis.

- These analyses indicate the potential usefulness of the follow-up probes to the "core" measure; I recommend their being used whenever the "core" questions are asked in 1980.

1. THE PARTY SEMANTIC-DIFFERENTIALS

1.1 RECOMMENDATIONS:

The Semantic-Differential approach to measurement should not be carried forward to 1980.

1.2 EVIDENCE:

The semantic-differentials should not be continued for the following reasons: (1) In the case of each concept--viz., Republicans, Democrats, Political Independents, and Me--only one factor is extracted. Our expectation, based on Osgood's work (Osgood, Tannenbaum and Suci, 1957), would be that at least two and usually three orthogonal factors should emerge. and that these factors can be used to develop the meaning of concepts by comparing their locations in a quite general space. But as Table 1 shows, the factors extracted are concept-specific. Irrespective of the content of the scales they are found to load on factors defined by the concepts. This would indicate the presence of no general bases for establishing the meaning of the parties and political independence; no general evaluative nor dynamism dimensions are produced. Instead we find that we have tapped object specific affects. Compared with the feeling thermometers this is not a cost/efficient way to measure general affect.

(2) The personal concept "me" loads with none of the political concepts. This prevents its being used as a measure of the "strength" of identification in the sense of strength being a function of the degree to which one views one's party in the same way that one views oneself.

(3) Factor scores derived from analyses of the semantic-differentials, as indices of affect, do not discriminate well among the party identification types. As Figure 1 indicates, six of the seven party identification groups have jointly positive means on the two party dimensions and, as we shall see later, occupy a very limited portion of the available space in comparison with their distributions in spaces defined by the thermometers.

Finally, the instrument does not distinguish attitudes towards "Democrats" from attitudes towards "Political Independents." This deprives us of a tool we need to explore hypotheses such as those suggested by Van Wingen and Valentine (1978).

Table 1: Factor Analysis of Semantic Differentials

FACTOR MATRIX USING PRINCIPAL FACTOR WITH ITERATIONS

VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3		FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3
V180	0.54549	-0.19349	0.28085	V180	0.53344	-0.13681	0.33258
V181	0.65640	-0.19914	0.11612	V181	0.65601	-0.01804	0.23091
V182	0.40915	-0.18749	0.06175	V182	0.43803	-0.05808	0.10708
V183	0.59737	-0.09058	0.30044	V183	0.53199	-0.05100	0.41195
V184	0.54086	-0.20816	0.12397	V184	0.55615	-0.06468	0.19426
V185	0.28634	-0.03059	0.00097	V185	0.26800	0.06311	0.08437
V186	0.56044	-0.19911	0.25345	V186	0.55276	-0.12179	0.31241
V187	0.55973	0.01439	0.19848	V187	0.46582	0.07491	0.36096
V188	0.47852	-0.25788	-0.02663	V188	0.54205	-0.04106	0.02609
V189	-0.15298	0.26939	0.07463	V189	-0.26373	0.12363	0.12924
V190	0.24984	0.62201	-0.36889	V190	-0.00201	0.76323	0.05357
V191	0.27501	0.55391	-0.44685	V191	0.06034	0.75987	-0.03275
V192	0.38595	0.35254	0.08489	V192	0.17799	0.34801	0.35730
V193	0.32414	0.68846	-0.29130	V193	0.02491	0.79593	0.17257
V194	0.38753	0.50309	0.00391	V194	0.12403	0.51023	0.35718
V195	0.34151	0.39287	-0.06496	V195	0.14030	0.44719	0.23564
V196	0.24966	0.58169	-0.38108	V196	0.01707	0.73822	0.02554
V197	0.19035	0.69759	-0.18730	V197	-0.11164	0.70579	0.21759
V198	0.21926	0.44679	-0.52456	V198	0.06775	0.70108	-0.16356
V199	0.15881	-0.27725	0.23184	V199	0.23248	-0.29409	0.12371
V200	0.62403	-0.23021	-0.07762	V200	0.66603	0.05273	0.04533
V201	0.61726	-0.27281	-0.17987	V201	0.69196	0.07273	-0.06070
V202	0.44376	-0.16098	-0.13709	V202	0.48309	0.08402	-0.03455
V203	0.63551	-0.24931	-0.35798	V203	0.72109	0.19324	-0.19200
V204	0.48392	-0.25418	-0.17138	V204	0.56408	0.04193	-0.09063
V205	0.16039	-0.07416	-0.12897	V205	0.19193	0.06090	-0.08550
V206	0.54936	-0.28953	-0.42667	V206	0.67100	0.17263	-0.29603
V207	0.44710	-0.13424	-0.02097	V207	0.45924	0.04304	0.07483
V208	0.46450	-0.25359	-0.25166	V208	0.55699	0.07996	-0.16360
V209	0.07952	-0.20592	-0.07274	V209	0.17035	-0.09744	-0.12451
V210	0.23231	0.17915	0.36423	V210	0.08085	0.01390	0.46043
V211	0.20117	0.24509	0.24267	V211	0.04010	0.12187	0.37811
V212	0.13812	0.37074	0.50984	V212	-0.10576	0.05615	0.63413
V213	0.26840	0.28065	0.46265	V213	0.05571	0.05105	0.59928
V214	0.24813	0.37214	0.53952	V214	-0.01237	0.07481	0.69670
V215	0.06453	0.28400	0.64513	V215	-0.15087	-0.10757	0.68313
V216	0.30621	0.20735	0.28685	V216	0.14432	0.10052	0.43371
V217	0.18789	0.17627	0.37161	V217	0.04163	-0.00593	0.45022
V218	0.11612	0.29593	0.32023	V218	-0.06791	0.09362	0.43616
V219	-0.04648	0.00985	0.09939	V219	-0.05860	-0.06037	0.07112

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
1	6.08854	43.9	43.9
2	4.32780	31.2	75.2
3	3.44087	24.8	100.0

2. POLITICAL PARTY AND RELATED THERMOMETER STIMULI

With an instrument like the thermometer the marginal cost of adding a given stimulus is small and the gain from deleting one is correspondingly small. If there were no other reasons, these cost/benefit considerations would lead one to err on the side of inclusiveness in recommending the use of party-related thermometer stimuli for the 1980 instrument. I will argue in the analyses to follow that there are reasons beyond cost/benefit considerations that recommend the inclusion of several party-related thermometers in the 1980 questionnaire.

Two main issues will guide this section of the report: My recommendations will be based on (1) the redundancy/independence of the stimuli formats; and (2) their contribution to the understanding of the seven patterns of responses to the "core" party identification items.

The briefest caveat needs to be entered: Comparison of two formats --the 1968-76 format on the one hand and the 1978 format on the other-- is barred by the fact that no Pilot Study respondents were presented both stimuli. There is a suggestion in the data that the two formats produce different attitudes but since no direct comparison can be used to discipline any recommendation to drop one or the other, I will argue for continuing both forms in 1980.

2.1 THE QUESTION OF REDUNDANCY

Eight party-related thermometer stimuli were employed in the Pilot Study. The intercorrelations of responses to these

TABLE 2: INTERCORRELATION OF THERMOMETER STIMULI*

	V122	V124	V129	V123	V125	V128	V127	V126
V122-REPUBLICANS	XXX	DS	.54	-.24	DS	-.20	.16	-.08
V124-REP. PARTY	DS	XXX	.68	DS	-.26	-.20	.34	-.03
V129-REP. LEADERS	**	**	XXX	.02	-.07	.24	.42	-.09
V123-DEMOCRATS	**	DS	NS	XXX	DS	.65	.28	.15
V125-DEM. PARTY	DS	**	NS	DS	XXX	.70	.20	.17
V128-DEM. LEADERS	*	*	**	**	**	XXX	.42	-.01
V127-POL. PARTIES	*	**	**	**	*	**	XXX	.04
V126-POL. INDP'S.	NS	NS	NS	*	*	NS	NS	XXX

* V122 and v123 are the 1968-76 format stimuli; v124 and v125 are the 1978 format stimuli; the other stimuli are new to the 1979 Pilot Study. "Ds" indicates that the stimuli were presented to different samples and cannot be compared. "***" indicates that the relationship is significant at $p < .01$; "**" indicates that the correlation is significant at $p < .05$; "ns" indicates that the correlation has a $p > .05$.

eight stimuli are found in Table 2.

The "Political Independents" thermometer, v126, shows the greatest independence from the other probes. It shows mild

(albeit, significant) correlations with the 68-76 format "Democrats" and 78 format "Democratic Party" and is totally unrelated to the other thermometers. By contrast, the 79 format thermometer on "political parties" is significantly related to six of the other seven thermometers. These correlations are, on the whole quite modest and do not approach the level at which redundancy becomes an issue.

Since this measure of general attitudes toward parties is positively related to each of the six party specific thermometers (v122,v123,v124, v125,v128,v129) it depresses the level of negative correlation between the thermometers for "Democrats" and "Republicans" and for "The Democratic Party" and "The Republican Party". The positive relationship ($r=.24$) between the two party leadership thermometers (v128 and v129) is inflated by the degree of their positive association with general attitudes toward political parties. The magnitude of these suppression and inflation effects can be gauged from the first-order partial correlations with general attitudes toward party controlled (Table 3):

Even taking account of these suppression effects it cannot be argued that attitudes towards Democrats and Republicans, in any of the tested formats, are simple negative functions of each other. This would argue for including all

TABLE 3: INTERRELATION OF PARTY THERMOMETERS

Thermometer Stimuli				
Correlation	68-76 Dem/Rep	78 Dem Pty/Rep Pty	79 Dem Ldr/Rep Ldr	
Zero-Order	-.24	-.26	.24	
First-Order	-.30	-.36	.07	
Partial				

six stimuli in the 1980 instrument. If any of the stimuli have to go, the "leadership" thermometers would be the ones to choose because they are so highly correlated with the other two formats, have no "time series" claim, and are apt to be derivable from candidate thermometers.

To summarize: From this exploration of the interrelations among the party-related thermometer stimuli, I would recommend continuing the 68-76 format, the 78 format items and, at least, the "political independents" and "political parties" stimuli from the Pilot Study instrument. There is a sufficient lack of redundancy among these stimuli to support their inclusion in the 1980 study.

2.2 THE QUESTION OF POWER OF DISCRIMINATION

The second criterion that will be employed in arguing for the in/exclusion of thermometer stimuli in the 1980 instrument is their relative power to discriminate among the seven response patterns produced by the "core" party identification sequence.

As the data in Table 4 indicate, none of the three party thermometer formats shows strong ordering of the mean ratings across the seven steps of the party identification scale: On the 68-76 format items (v122,v123) "not strong" identifiers break the ordering. On the 78 and 79 format items (v124,v125,v128,v129) only "strong" and "not strong" identifiers of the party in question are distinct from the other five party id groups.

Judging from the individual level correlations between the seven-step scale and a given thermometer, the 1979 "leadership" items do least well in distinguishing among the party identification groups.

The thermometers on "Political Independents" and "Political Parties" are curvilinear in the means for party id groups in the expected manner (Table 5): "Strong" and "Not

TABLE 4: MEAN THERMOMETER SCORES FOR PARTY ID GROUPS

Thermometers	Party Id Group							Corr.
	Democrats			Pure	Republicans			
	Str	-Str	Lean	Ind't	Lean	-Str	Str	
Rep-v122	40.3	51.9	41.1	53.1	60.4	73.1	89.1	.63
Dem-v123	70.6	70.5	59.3	50.0	45.0	48.9	36.5	-.48
Rep-v124	41.9	43.2	42.3	42.1	59.6	66.9	88.6	.56
Dem-v125	80.5	71.0	48.3	42.4	50.2	43.4	40.8	-.54
Dem-v128	72.8	60.6	51.0	44.2	45.7	43.7	44.8	-.43
Rep-v129	49.9	52.3	44.6	42.1	50.6	58.5	68.7	.24

Strong" identifiers tend to be more favorable to the abstract stimulus "Political Parties" and less favorable to "Political Independents" than are those who identify themselves as "independents" on the first party identification probe.

Since the correlational analyses showed that the thermometer on Democrats, Republicans (in all three formats) and political independents were nearly mutually independent, they can be used to construct three-dimensional spaces. Distributions in these spaces can help us assess the usefulness of the thermometer formats in distinguishing among

TABLE 5: MEAN THERMOMETER SCORES FOR PARTY ID GROUPS

Thermometers	Party Id Group							Eta
	Democrats			Pure	Republicans			
	Str	-Str	Lean	Ind't	Lean	-Str	Str	
Ind't-v126	47.6	49.4	58.6	54.8	65.8	41.8	35.6	.29
Parties-v127	61.9	58.0	48.5	37.4	51.1	57.0	67.9	.35

the seven party id types. Figures 2-4 depict these relationships. In these spaces the party id types are located by their mean response on each of the three dimensions.*

* It should be noted that while the vectors in the plane defined by the dimensions reflecting attitudes towards Political Independents and Democrats are of actual length, in order to plot in three dimensions it is necessary to distort means on the Republican dimension --the actual means are divided by root 2 in order to accomplish this.

FIGURE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF PARTY ID. TYPES IN A SPACE

DEFINED BY 68-76 FORMAT AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENTS THERMOMETERS

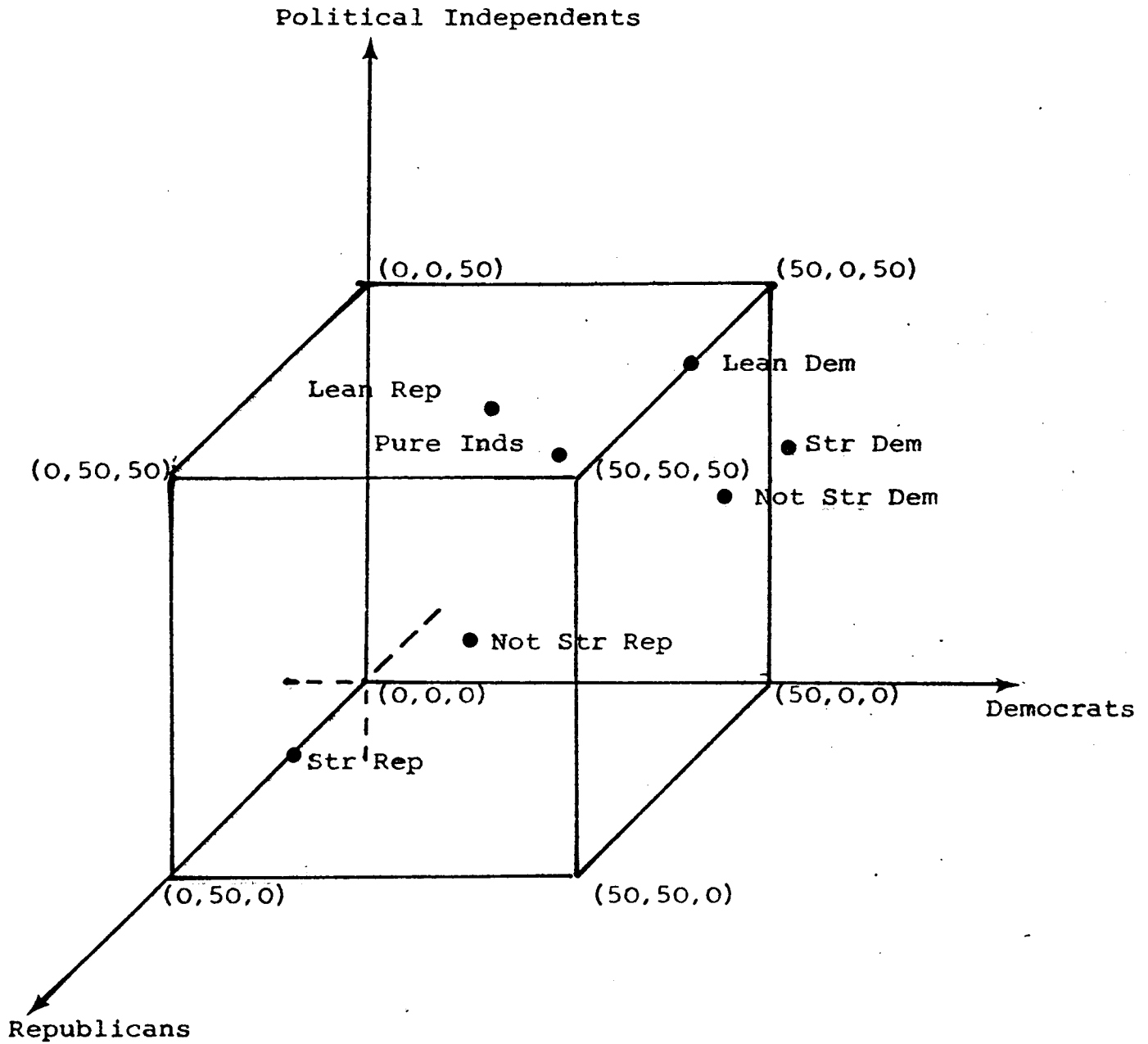
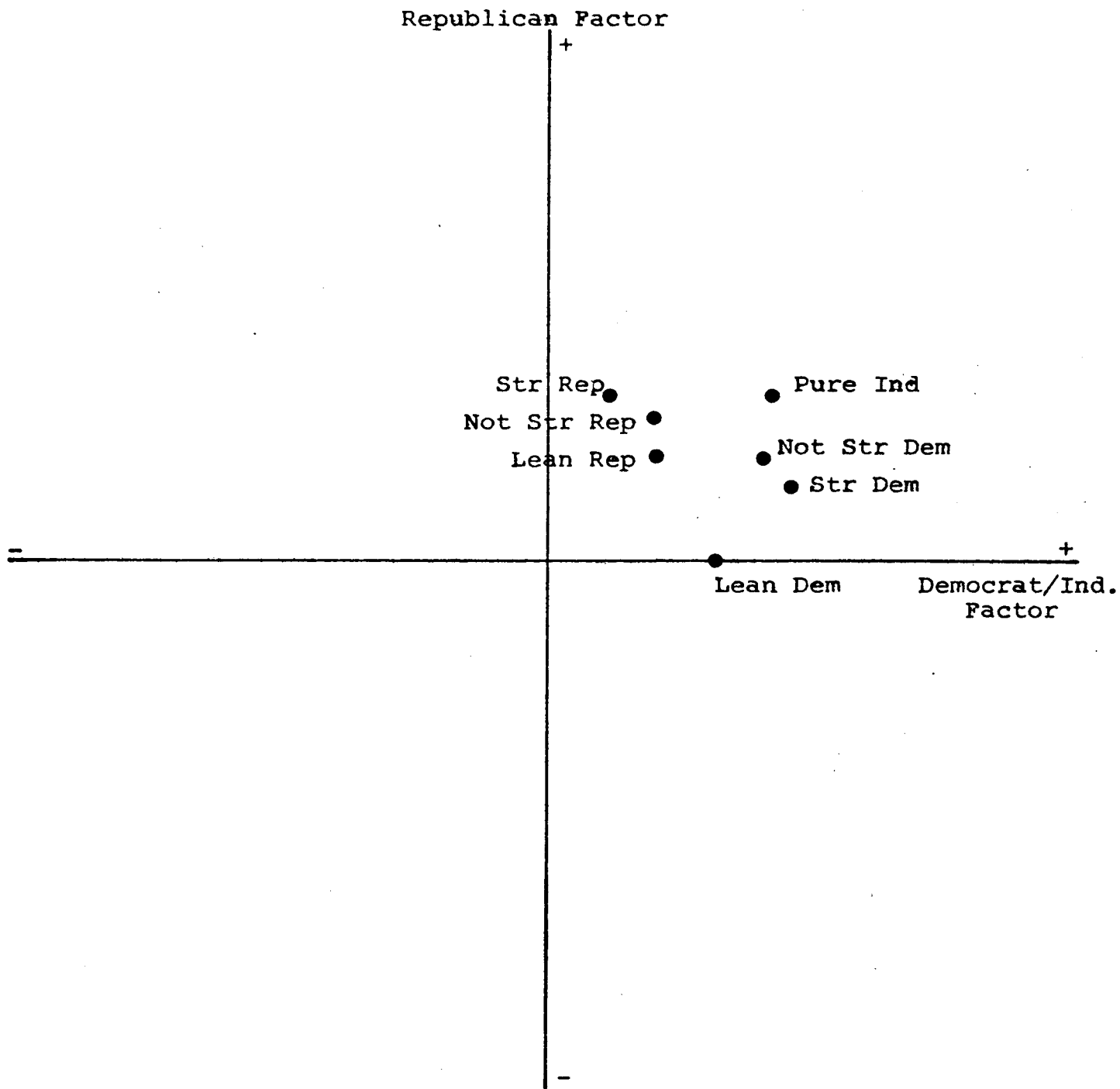


FIGURE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF PARTY ID. TYPES IN A SPACE
DEFINED BY SEMANTIC-DIFFERENTIAL FACTOR SCORES



DISTRIBUTION OF PARTY ID. TYPES IN A SPACE

DEFINED BY 78 FORMAT AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENTS THERMOMETERS

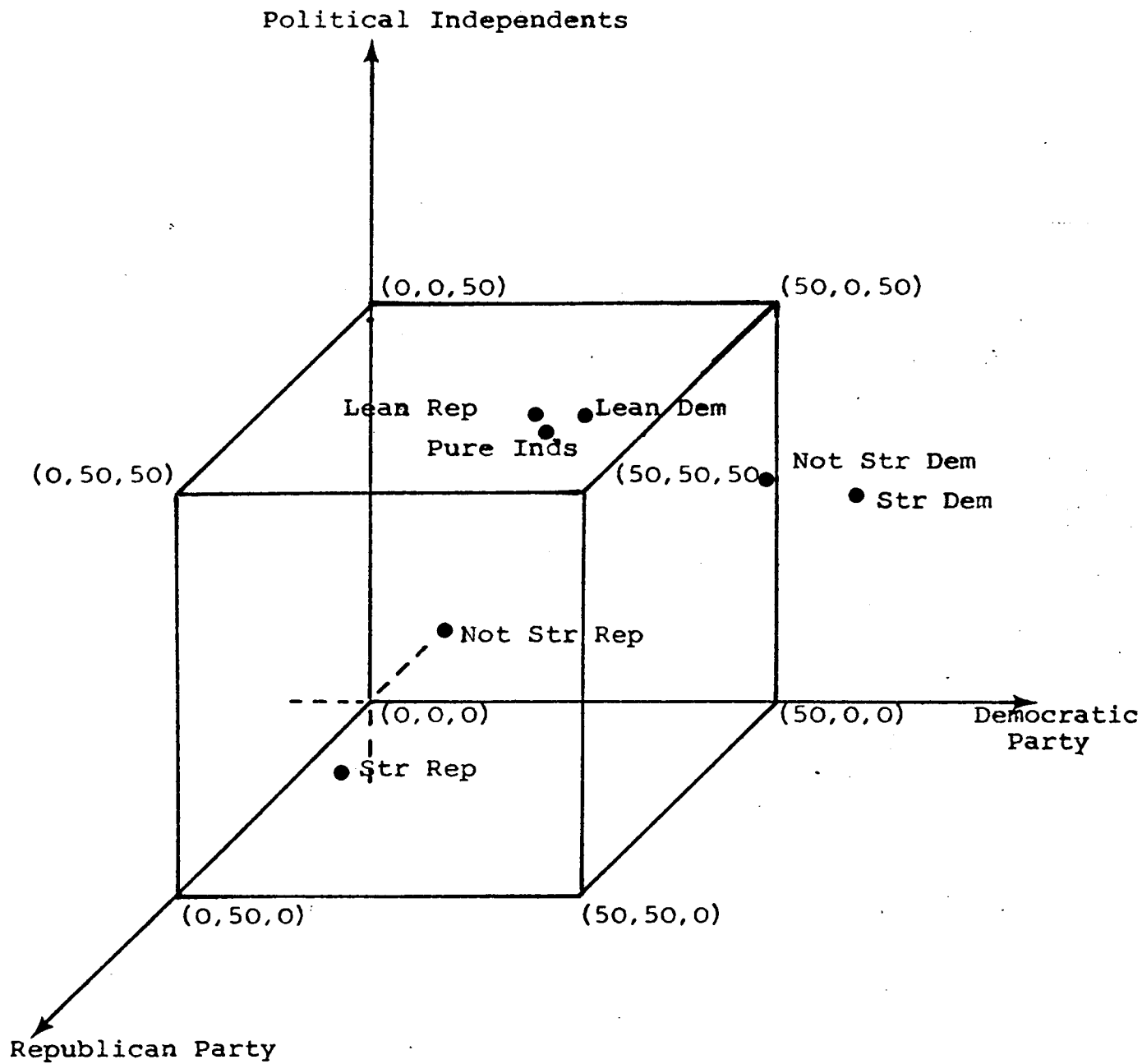
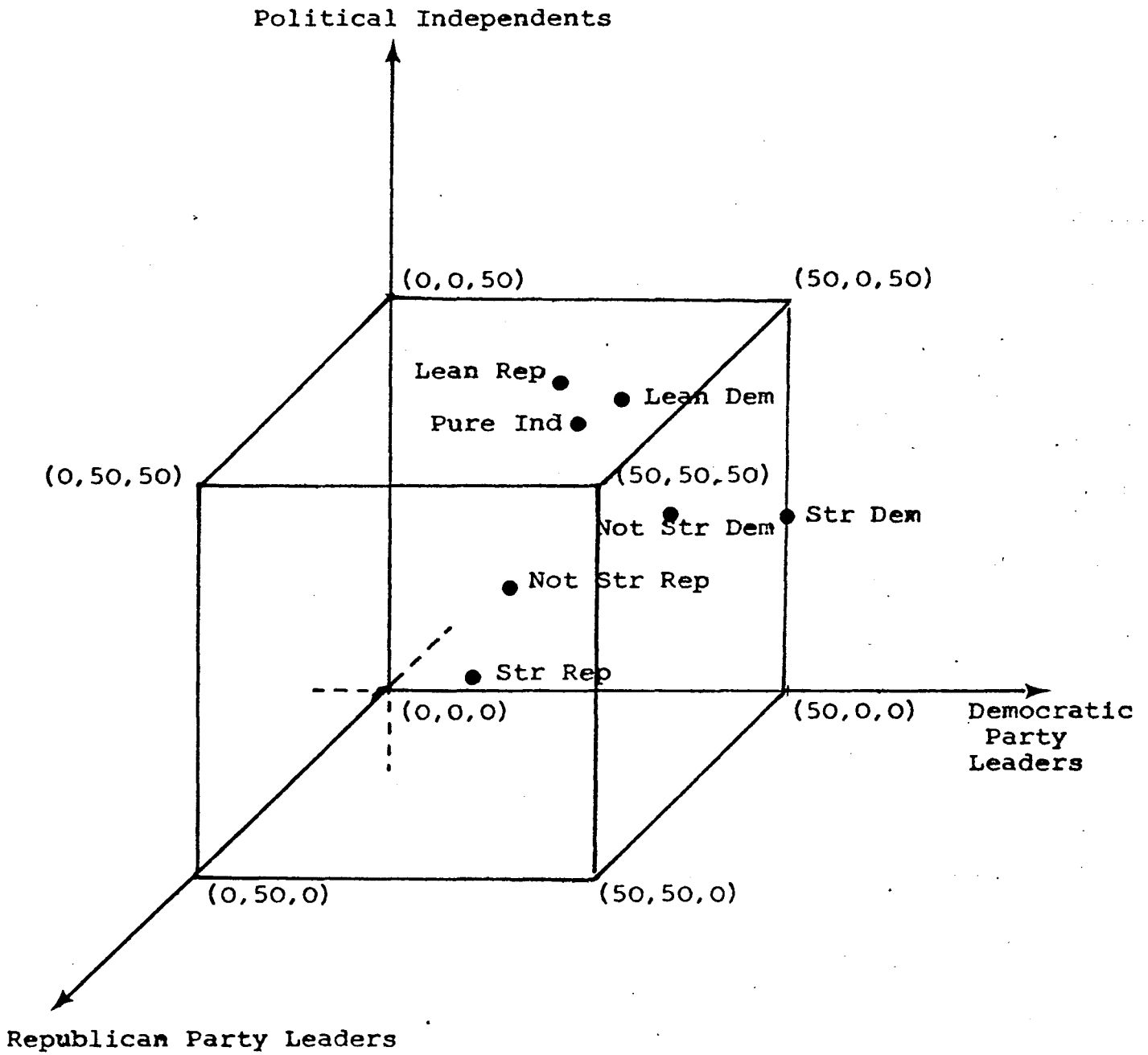


FIGURE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF PARTY ID. TYPES IN A SPACE

DEFINED BY 79 FORMAT AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENTS THERMOMETERS



The three-dimensional plots can help us visualize these relationships but because of the distortions we can more precisely discuss discriminability with the aid of tables of the three-dimensional Euclidean distances. Tables 6, 7 and 8 present the distance matrices for Figures 2, 3 and 4, respectively.

TABLE 6: THREE-DIMENSIONAL EUCLIDEAN DISTANCES BETWEEN PARTY ID TYPES ON 68-76 FORMAT THERMOMETERS

		Party Identification Code						
Party Id Code	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
0	xxxx	11.7	15.8	25.3	37.3	39.8	60.7	
1		xxxx	18.1	21.2	31.5	31.2	52.3	
2			xxxx	15.7	25.1	37.6	57.9	
3				xxxx	14.1	23.9	43.0	
4					xxxx	27.4	42.5	
5						xxxx	21.1	
6							xxxx	

TABLE 7: THREE-DIMENSIONAL EUCLIDEAN DISTANCES BETWEEN PARTY ID TYPES
ON 78 FORMAT THERMOMETERS

Party Id Code	Party Identification Code						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
0	xxxx	9.8	34.0	38.8	39.5	45.1	62.5
1		xxxx	24.5	29.1	31.2	37.2	56.2
2			xxxx	7.0	18.8	30.2	52.2
3				xxxx	22.1	28.0	50.3
4					xxxx	26.0	42.9
5						xxxx	22.7
6							xxxx

Table 6 and Figure 2 present a familiar picture: Strong identifiers are the polar anchors in the three-space; distances from strong Democrats are a monotonic function of the seven-step party id scale. For strong Republicans there is one break in monotonicity; they are closer to not strong Democrats than to Democratic leaners. In general, not strong Democrats are further from independents and closer to Republicans than are leaning Democrats. Pure independents are closer to Democrats in their attitude configurations than they are to Republicans. Finally, we note that the intra-party distances are about half as large among the three

TABLE 8: THREE-DIMENSIONAL EUCLIDEAN DISTANCES BETWEEN PARTY ID TYPES
ON 79 FORMAT THERMOMETERS

Party Id Code	Party Identification Code						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
0	xxxx	12.6	25.0	30.5	32.7	30.9	35.8
1		xxxx	15.4	20.1	22.2	19.5	26.6
2			xxxx	8.2	10.8	23.0	33.9
3				xxxx	14.0	20.9	32.8
4					xxxx	25.3	35.2
5						xxxx	12.0
6							xxxx

types of Democrats than they are among the three types of Republicans--indeed, leaning Republicans are closer to strong Democrats than to strong Republicans.

Table 7 and Figure 3 offer a similiar picture but one that differs in some important respects: Strong identifiers are still the polar anchors but with this format, which includes the reference to "party," the distances from the strong Republicans are monotonic with the seven-point scale. In contrast with the 68-76 format, the distances from the not strong partisans are also monotonic functions of the

party id scale. With this stimulus format, leaners and pure independents cluster together slightly more than with the 68-76 format. Perhaps because of the "anti-party" attitudes of Democratic leaners, the three types of Democrats are much more spread out on these stimuli than on the 68-76 format but they are still more tightly clustered than the three types of Republicans. The two types of formats show about the same level of clustering among Republicans.

The "leadership" format items (Table 8 and Figure 4) yield very different results: The many breaks in monotonicity would indicate that strong identifiers are not the anchors in the space. In general, the space is much tighter than that produced by the other formats--the leadership format is less discriminating than the other two formats.

These analyses point to the same conclusion as the redundancy analyses: If any of the party-related thermometers have to be dropped, the 79 format leadership stimuli would be the best bet.

One further test of discriminability can be devised: Along with the "intransitivity" of the vote, the occasional intransitivities of the party thermometers has been a source of puzzlement. Figure 5 illustrates the problem. In 1968, "weak" Republicans had a more pro-Democratic balance than

did "leaning" Republicans. In 1972, "weak" Democrats had a more pro-Republican balance than did Democratic leaners. In 1976, the index is monotonic with party identification but neither "weak vs leaner" comparison reaches statistical significance.

How do the alternative formats tested in the Pilot Study compare when judged on the monotonicity of the means for party identification groups and on their ability to distinguish weak identifiers from partisan independents? Figure 6 provides the evidence: The 1968-76 format items and the Pilot Study leadership format items fail one or both tests. The 1978 "party" format is, by contrast, monotonic in the means; moreover, the 19 "degree" difference between Democratic "not strong" and "leaning" identifiers is statistically significant ($t=1.80$; $df=28$; $p<.05$) and the 14 "degree" difference among Republicans comes close ($t=1.61$; $df=28$; $.05 < p < .10$).

One might consider this as evidence that the 1968-76 format items should be discontinued but without the ability to directly study the role of these stimuli on the same respondents, I cannot reach that conclusion.

FIGURE 3
AVERAGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
THERMOMETER RATINGS OF
DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS
BY PARTY ID GROUPS
IN THREE PRESIDENTIAL YEARS

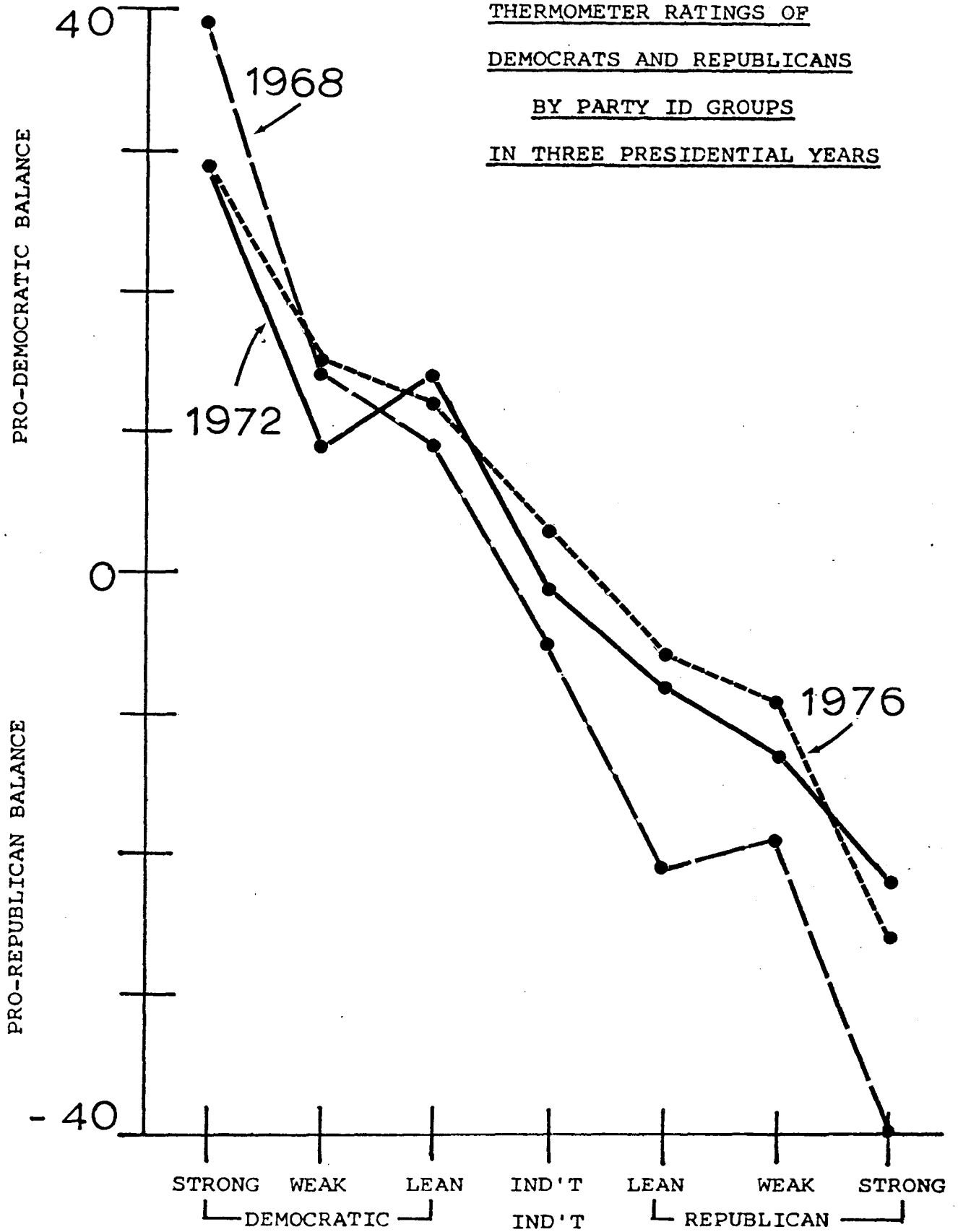
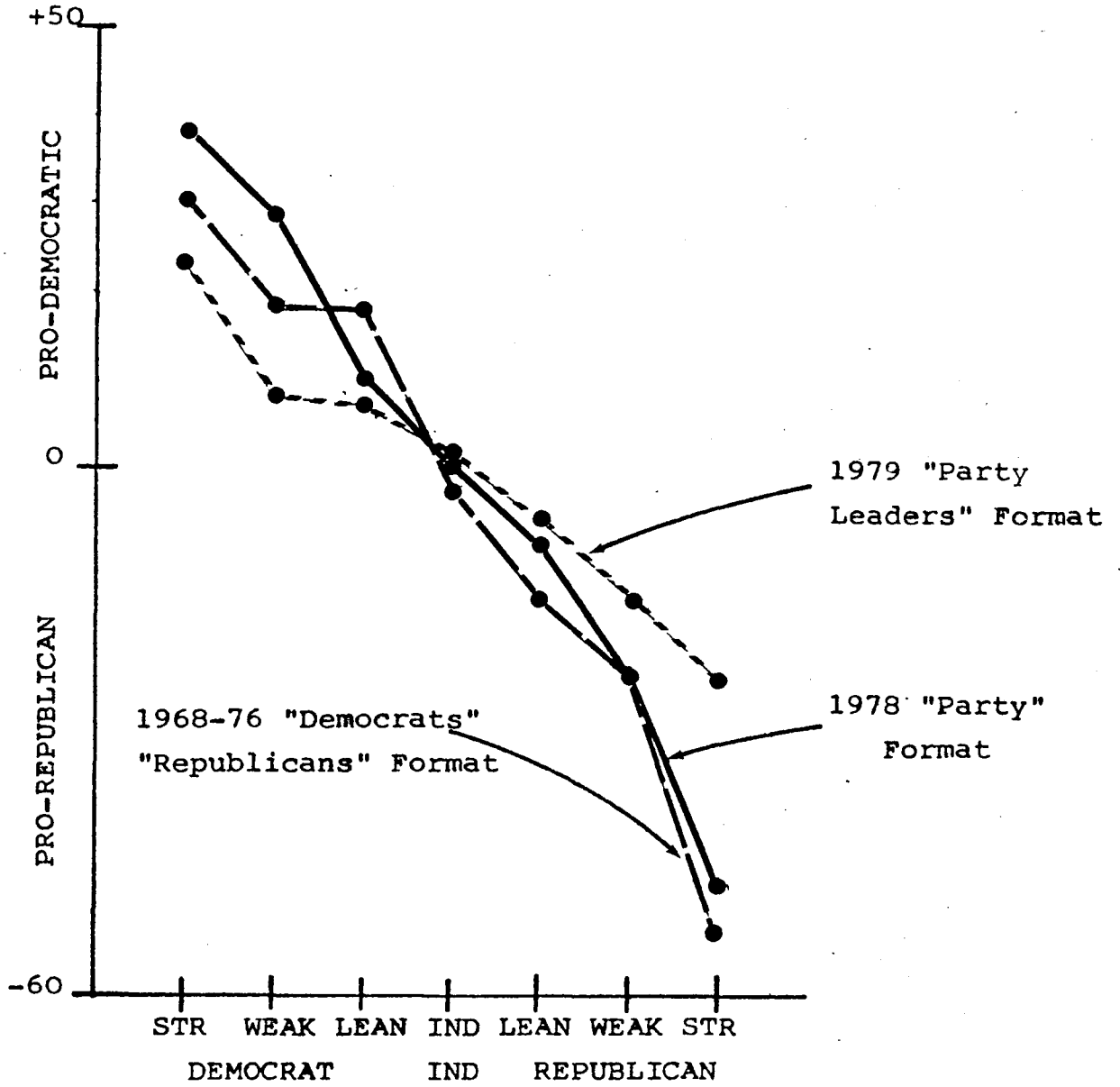


FIGURE 6

AVERAGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THERMOMETERS FOR DEMOCRATS

AND REPUBLICANS BY PARTY ID GROUPS



2.3 SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS

These analyses point to the desirability of continuing both the 68-76 and 78 format party thermometers in the 1980 study. The "Political Independents" probe has also proved very useful and will be indispensable in furthering our understanding of party identification.

The 1980 study provides a good base year for beginning a time series on public attitudes toward parties in general--would that we had this thermometer back into the 1950's. While there are core items that can give similar information, since it is not expensive, we should add this probe.

In every analysis done on the thermometers, the 79 party leadership format appears to be the weakest of the three. I will not recommend their retention unless other analyses uncover areas in which they are uniquely useful.

3. MEASURES OF AFFECTIVE PREFERENCE

3.1 RECOMMENDATIONS:

The two items designed to examine the Gurin-Miller-Gurin notion of "identification as affective preference," individually and in combination, are strongly related to the core

measure of party identification. This fact alone may justify their retention in 1980 but within the confines of the Pilot Study, preliminary efforts to use them to make subsidiary distinctions in hopes of increasing the analytic power of the party identification measure have not proved out. I recommend their retention because they may prove useful in understanding the stability of partisanship under some social reinforcement hypothesis.

3.2 EVIDENCE:

The relationship of these two items to partisanship is presented in Tables 9 and 10: As far as friendships are concerned, all three types of Democrats show similar preferences; Independent Democrats appear to be more likely to say that most of their friends are Independents but given the sample sizes this difference is not statistically reliable. For the three types of Democrats, $\chi^2=6.64$ ($df=6$; $p>.25$). The three types of Republicans are quite dissimilar: the modal response for Independent Republicans is that most of their friends are Democrats and three-fourths of the "not strong" Republicans claim to have friends of both parties. For Republicans these differences are statistically significant; $\chi^2=27.39$ ($df=6$; $p<.005$). Those who claim that the three types of "independents" are different

types of people will find support in these data. Each group of independents exhibits a unique pattern of affective pref-

TABLE 9: FRIENDS PARTISANSHIP AND PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Party Id	Friends Partisanship				Total %
	Reps	Dems	Inds	Both	
Str Dem	6.7	53.3	3.3	36.7	100.0
Wk Dem	5.4	51.4	5.1	37.8	100.0
Ind Dem	6.9	41.4	20.7	31.0	100.0
Ind Ind	4.8	9.5	47.6	38.1	100.0
Ind Rep	17.6	47.1	17.6	17.6	99.9
Wk Rep	4.8	19.0	0.0	76.2	100.0
Str Rep	47.8	8.7	4.3	39.1	99.9

chi-square=84.08; df=18; p < .000; Cramer's V=0.40

erences (chi-square=12.54; df=6; p=.05).

Table 10, shows that the pattern of affective preferences for political discussions is somewhat different: Democrats are no longer indistinguishable from each other (chi-square=14.72; df=6; p<.025). From "strong" to "leaning" Democrats there is a monotonic decline in preference for discussing politics with other Democrats and a monotonic in-

crease in preference for discussing politics with independ-
 TABLE 10: PREFERENCES FOR DISCUSSION AND PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Party Id	Party of Preferred Discussant				Total %
	Reps	Dems	Inds	None	
Str Dem	7.1	60.7	14.3	17.9	100.0
Wk Dem	10.8	43.2	32.4	13.5	99.9
Ind Dem	9.4	18.8	56.3	15.6	100.1
Ind Ind	0.0	3.2	48.4	48.4	100.0
Ind Rep	9.5	14.3	61.9	14.3	100.0
Wk Rep	29.2	12.5	33.3	25.0	100.0
Str Rep	66.7	11.1	0.0	22.2	100.0

chi-square=100.9; df=18; p < .000; Cramer's V=0.42

ents.

The same situation is seen among the three types of Republicans, with preference for discussing politics with Republicans substituted: Republican partisans are significantly heterogeneous (chi-square=21.57; df=6; p<.005) with insularity being the exclusive property of strong identifiers.

Democratic and Republican partisan independents are essentially the same in their discussion preferences but they are different from "pure" independents (chi-square=14.63; df=6; p<.025) who are much more likely to volunteer the fact that they don't like to discuss politics at all.

The two items can be combined into an index of affective preferences.* As we ought to expect and as Table 11 shows, this index is strongly related to the core measure of party identification. The correlation is far from perfect but that may reflect nothing more than the facts that there are many more Democrats than Republicans and no political residential segregation. Thus a Republican who does not choose his/her friends on the basis of politics will state that "most" of my friends are Democrats. In other words, this is a source of noise in v220 as a measure of affective preference.

Affective preference is clearly related to partisanship but does it help us better understand the relationship of

* Those who named partisans of the same party on both items are classified as "strongly" Democrat/Republican in their preferences; those who gave one partisan response and one "neutral" response--viz. independent to either item or "both" to v220--are classified as Democrat/Republican in accord with their one partisan response; those who give neutral responses to both items or reply Democrat to one and Republican to the other are classified as "neutral"; respondents who volunteered that they did not like to discuss politics (n=43) are treated as missing from this index.

TABLE 11: AFFECTIVE PREFERENCE AND PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Index of Affective Preference						
Party Id	Str.Dem	Dem	Neut	Rep	Str.Rep	Total%
Str Dem	40.0	35.0	15.0	10.0	0.0	100.0
Wk Dem	24.0	40.0	32.0	4.0	0.0	100.0
Ind Dem	12.5	33.3	45.8	4.2	4.2	100.0
Ind Ind	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Ind Rep	6.7	40.0	33.3	20.0	0.0	100.0
Wk Rep	0.0	27.3	36.4	36.4	0.0	100.1
Str Rep	7.1	0.0	14.3	14.3	64.3	100.0

chi-square=104.48; df=24; p<.0005; Cramer's V=0.47

partisanship to other aspects of political behavior? Since one key puzzle that candidate measures of party identification are designed to solve requires identifying different types of partisan independents,* a criterion by which we can judge the worth of the measure of affective preference is whether it facilitates sub-classification of "leaning" partisans.

* The problem revolves around distinguishing "leaners" who are simply announcing their vote intention when they report being "closer" to one of the parties from "leaners" who are partisans but who respond positively to the notion of independence on the first core probe.

To test for this type of usefulness in the measures of affective preference, I grouped Democratic leaners who exhibited "strongly" Democratic and Democratic preferences on the index underlying Table 11 and compared their mean responses to the thirteen candidate and party thermometers (v117 to v129) with the mean responses of the Democratic leaners who were classified in one of the other categories on the affective preference index. Not one of the thirteen t-tests is significant at the $p=.05$ level and only one reaches the $p<.10$ level. In other words, independent-Democrats irrespective of their affective preferences are not distinct in their attitudes toward political parties and political figures.

For most of the thirteen thermometers Republican leaners, classified in a manner analogous to the Democrats, show no differences. But the differences between the two groups of Republican leaners on the "Ford" and "Republican Party" thermometers are in the expected directions and have t-values with associated probabilities that are less than .10. The thermometer on "Republican Party Leaders" shows a 21 "degree" difference in the means for the two groups of leaners--Republican leaners with any degree of affective preference for their party are, on the average, positive about their party leaders, those without this preference are, on the average, negative--the t-value associated with this dif-

ference ($t=2.69$; $df=13$) has an associated probability of less than .01. So far so good, however, these Republicans leaners are also less negative about Democratic Party leaders ($t=1.54$; $df=14$; $p=.07$). Perhaps, this merely, reflects less strident anti-party attitudes generally.

Even these modest results coupled with the strong association with the core measures support my recommendation that the items be used in the 1980 study.

4. THE ILLUMINATION OF RESPONSES TO THE CORE PARTY IDENTIFICATION ITEMS

One of the tasks that the research community has set for the national election studies, in 1980 and beyond, is the clarification of responses to the "core" party identification items. To accomplish this task, I developed a series of forced-choice questions to probe the meaning to the respondent of his or her responses. After the January pre-test for the Pilot Study, the forced-choice format was replaced by a procedure which allowed the respondent to choose as many statements as he or she wished in order to characterize the meaning of the response pattern.

This change in procedure was fortunate because, as Table 12 shows, most respondents offer more than one reason for their response pattern on the "core" party items.

TABLE 12: DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBERS OF RESPONSES TO REASONS PROBES

Party Id	Number of Reasons Offered							N
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Str Dem	0.0	5.4	32.4	32.4	10.8	16.2	2.7	37
Wk Dem	2.0	14.3	53.1	20.4	4.1	4.1	2.0	49
Ind Dem	5.9	26.5	41.2	23.5	2.9	0.0	0.0	34
Ind Dem	8.8	8.8	26.5	32.4	11.8	5.9	5.9	34
Ind Ind	2.4	16.7	31.0	21.4	19.0	9.5	0.0	42
Ind Rep	4.0	16.0	48.0	24.0	8.0	0.0	0.0	25
IND Rep	3.8	38.5	38.5	11.5	0.0	7.7	0.0	26
Wk Rep	2.9	32.4	17.6	20.6	11.8	8.8	5.9	34
Str Rep	7.1	21.4	21.4	28.6	17.9	3.6	0.0	28

* The entries for "leaners" adjacent to the figures for "weak" identifiers are the number of reasons offered for feeling closer to the party; the entries for "leaners" adjacent to those for pure independents are the number of reasons for being "independent."

4.1 THE NUMBER OF REASONS AS A TOOL OF DISCRIMINATION

The fact that substantial majorities of each party identification group cite at least two reasons for their response to the "core" id questions is interesting but of little value in distinguishing among members of a particular group. There is little association, for example, between the number of reasons one offers and the thirteen candidate

and party thermometers. Of the 117 correlations between numbers of responses and these thermometers only a dozen are significant at the 5% level in the expected direction (seven more reach the 5% level in the wrong direction). If these associations had been more consistently positive one could have used the sheer number of reasons offered as an index of strength/weakness within an identification group. Perhaps this avenue which is closed within the Pilot Study data base will prove more promising in a larger sample.

4.2 THE SUBSTANCE OF THE REASONS

If the number of reasons is not helpful, what about the specific content of the reasons? The first facts uncovered are that not all the pre-coded* responses were equally likely to be mentioned, nor is the distribution of reasons necessarily the same for partisans of the two parties or for the three groups of independents. Tables 13 to 16 detail these facts:

* Only the "leaners" show any tendency to find the pre-coded responses inadequate. Thirteen per cent of the sixty leaners give other than a pre-coded reason for their closeness to a party; this is about double the rate for the other id groups, including leaners giving their reasons for being "independents." I cannot examine the "other" responses since there are too few cases and I do not have the codes. I would recommend that unpre-coded responses be recorded in the 1980 study.

TABLE 13: REASONS FOR STRONG IDENTIFICATION

Reason Offered	Party Group	
	Democrats	Republicans
Always a Dem/Rep	65%	36%
Parents were Dem/Rep	57%	32%
Involved with party	24%	14%
What party stands for	57%	50%
Support party candidates	57%	50%
'76 Pres. candidate	19%	25%
Attitude toward Carter	16%	21%
Dislike for other party	14%	11%

The differential attractiveness of reasons for being a strong identifier is obvious; some are mentioned by a majority, others are cited by few strong identifiers. Only for two of the reasons are the two party groups statistically distinct: Strong Democrats are more likely than strong Republicans to say that they have always been Democrats and to say that their parents were Democrats, too--the 29% and 25% differences between the party groups on these two reasons are significant at the 2% and 4% levels respectively. In all other respects the two party groups are indistinct.

TABLE 14: REASONS FOR NOT STRONG IDENTIFICATION

Reason Offered	Party Group	
	Democrats	Republicans
Don't agree with stands	43%	36%
Support other party	53%	58%
Vote person not party	69%	76%
Didn't like '76 cand.	14%	6%
Not involved with party	10%	27%
Party isn't important to me	29%	46%
Attitude toward Carter	6%	6%
Dislike for other party	2%	4%

Table 14 indicates that "voting for the person, not the party" is mentioned by nearly all "not strong" identifiers and that "sometimes vote for the other party's candidates" is cited as a reason by a majority of the respondents. Other reasons attract much more scattered mention. Only one reason differentiates the two party groups: The 17% difference in the likelihood of citing "lack of involvement" as a reason distinguishes Democrats and Republicans ($z=2.01$; $p=.04$).

TABLE 15: REASONS FOR LEANING IDENTIFICATION

Reason Offered	Party Group	
	Democrats	Republicans
Like party stands	52%	38%
Prefer party's cand's	38%	54%
Liked '76 candidate	38%	42%
Live around Dem/Rep	35%	15%
Attitude toward Carter	6%	19%
Dislike for other party	21%	19%

Table 15 shows that Democratic leaners are more likely to cite having always "lived around Democrats" as the meaning of "feeling closer" to the party ($D=.20$; $z=1.73$; $p<.05$). Republican leaners are in other respects nearly indistinct from Democratic leaners in the reasons they cite, with the possible exception of showing a greater tendency to cite their evaluation of President Carter's performance as a reason for "feeling closer" to the Republican Party ($D=-.13$; $z=1.60$; $p=.055$).

The two types of "leaners" do not differ from each other in the reasons they cite for being "independent" (Table 16); only the fifteen percentage point difference in the likeli-

TABLE 16: REASONS FOR BEING INDEPENDENT

Reasons Offered	Identification Group		
	Lean-Dem	Pure-Ind	Lean-Rep
Support both parties	39%	17%	44%
Person not party	90%	83%	80%
Issues not party	71%	51%	72%
Dislike parties' stands	13%	12%	12%
Dislike both parties	0%	12%	0%
Not interested	23%	24%	8%
Don't keep promises	29%	24%	16%
Don't know enough	6%	27%	8%
Like both parties	13%	15%	8%
Attitude toward Carter	13%	7%	4%
Parents independents	6%	2%	8%

hood of citing "I'm not much interested in politics" (v256) as the personal meaning of "independence" comes close to statistical significance ($z=1.48$; $p=.07$).

As a groups the "leaners" differ markedly in the reasons they cite for independence from the "pure" independents: Leaners are more likely to cite "supporting both parties" (v251) and "deciding on issues not party" (v253) and less

likely to equate "independence" with "disliking both parties" (v255) or being insufficiently informed to make a choice (v258). These differences are in line with the known differences in education and political interest of the leaners and pure independents (Petrocik, 1974; Keith, et al., 1977). These differences, indeed most of the differences noted in these four tables, have a plausibility which in the present context is the closest I can come to a test of "validity."

4.3 THE SCALABILITY OF REASONS FOR ID

The differential "popularity" of reasons for the core party identification patterns raises the question of whether there is an underlying scale. There are too few cases to attempt factor scaling but Guttman scaling was tried. The results are totally unimpressive--none of the scales has a coefficient of reproducibility of .90 or a coefficient of scalability of .60, which are the minimum standards for a Guttman scale.

When we have more cases, we can explore the analytic power of response pairs or perhaps triplets. In the present context I will report on analyses of the "reasons" taken one at a time since they do not scale and the number of reasons gives us no analytic advantage. This approach means that

variation in the dependent variables will be reapportioned in each test; however undesirable this is, it is the only avenue open to me.

4.4 REASONS AS TOOLS OF DISCRIMINATION

We now know that these follow-up questions can be used to distinguish between identifiers who give the same response pattern on the "core" party identification items. The question remains whether being able to do so is of any utility. I will not burden this report with a detailed examination of the instances in which the distinctions do and do not prove useful. Rather, since I take the purpose of this exercise to be reaching a judgment on whether to proceed with the technique in the 1980 study, a "box score" on overall performance would seem to be sufficient.

To generate these box scores, we need dependent variables and a criterion of discriminability. The scores can then be the proportion of successful discriminations, i.e., the number of instances in which a reason makes a difference to the level of a given dependent variable divided by the total number of test-instances. For dependent variables I have selected the thirteen candidate and party thermometers and added to these four simulated "elections" between Carter and Ford, Kennedy and Ford, Carter and Reagan, and Kennedy and

Reagan.* These seventeen test-instances will be the denominator of the box score. The numerator for the score will be the number of these seventeen test-instances in which stating vs. not stating a given reason makes a statistically significant ($p < .10$) difference in the mean thermometer score or in the classification of likely "voters" in the simulated

TABLE 17: BOX SCORE ON REASONS FOR STRONG IDENTIFICATION

Party	Indicated Reason							
	v225	v226	v227	v228	v229	v230	v231	v232
Str Dem	29.4	29.4	29.4	23.5	23.5	47.1	47.1	47.1
Str Rep	17.6	17.6	11.8	29.4	11.8	41.2	29.4	11.8

elections.

The box scores indicate that in all but a few instances the reasons give more significant discriminations than we would expect by chance alone. I take this as sufficient evidence to continue these follow-up questions in the 1980 study.

* By subtracting the thermometer for the Republican candidate from the thermometer for the Democratic candidate and applying the Brody-Page decision rule, we can classify respondents as pro-Democratic, indifferent, or pro-Republican in each of these simulations.

TABLE 18: BOX SCORE ON REASONS FOR NOT STRONG IDENTIFICATION

Party	Indicated Reason							
	v234	v235	v236	v237	v238	v239	v240	v241
Wk Dem	17.6	0.0	29.4	17.6	11.8	17.6	35.3	23.5
Wk Rep	23.5	17.6	41.2	23.5	23.5	23.5	5.9	35.3

4.5 RECOMMENDATION

These analyses indicate the potential usefulness of the follow-up probes to the "core" measure; I recommend their being used whenever the "core" questions are asked in 1980.

TABLE 19: BOX SCORE ON REASONS FOR LEANING IDENTIFICATION

Party	Indicated Reason					
	v244	v245	v246	v247	v248	v249
Ind Dem	23.5	35.3	52.9	29.4	29.4	5.9
Ind Rep	29.4	47.1	17.6	35.3	11.8	35.3

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TABLE 20: BOX SCORE ON REASONS FOR INDEPENDENT IDENTIFICATION

Party	Indicated Reason								
	v251	v252	v253	v254	v256	v257	v259	v260	v261
Ind Dem	11.8	47.1	17.6	17.6	29.4	29.4	17.6	29.4	0.0
Ind Rep	23.5	29.4	23.5	11.8	--	23.5	--	--	0.0
Ind Ind	23.5	58.8	29.4	17.6	23.5	41.2	23.5	47.1	11.7

