26 May 1987

TO: NES Board
FROM: John Brehm, NES Staff

RE: How representative is the 1986 Post-election Survey?

The response rate for the 1986 National Election Studies Post-election survey is 68%, a full four percent lower than the response rate for the 1984 Pre-/Post-election survey. This lower response rate pans out as 125 fewer interviews than would be expected if the response rate were as high as 1984. The lower response rate for the 1986 survey raises two concerns about the representativeness of the survey:

- Does the sample for the 1986 survey look any different from the samples in previous NES surveys? How comparable are the surveys?
- How well does the 1986 survey sample represent the voting age population of the U.S.?

At the outset, one should consider whether the 4% lower response rate for 1986 than 1984 constitutes a surprisingly lower rate. If the same factors that cause participation in the election to decline in off-year elections influence "participation" in the survey, the lower response rate should hardly be considered surprising. The lower saliency of the off-year elections induces fewer people to the polls; why shouldn't it also induce a lower response rate?

The response rate for the 1982 off-year election survey, roughly equals the response rate for the 1980 and 1984 on-year surveys. The response rate for 1978, however, roughly equals the response rate for 1986. It is possible that the 1982 response rate is unusually high, not that the 1986 response rate is unusually low.

How comparable is the 1986 sample with previous samples?

Users of the National Election Studies expect to see some changes in the characteristics of the sampled population from election to election. One expects drifts in party identification, feeling thermometer scores, liberal-conservative distributions from one election to another. One expects more glacial drifts in demographic variables, but explainable drift in demographic characteristics of the sample should also be expected. Table 1 provides frequency distributions for the 1978-1986 NES samples on demographic and selected political variables. This table also includes equivalent distributions of demographic variables from the 1978-1984 U.S. Census Current Population Survey November Supplements, discussed in the subsequent section on the representativeness of the 1986 sample.

In brief, demographic characteristics of the 1986 NES sample look very much like the demographic characteristics of the 1978-1984 samples. Some distributions vary from year to year, but not in ways that cohere with the differences in response rate. Political characteristics of the 1986 sample differ from the 1984 sample, but in explainable and expectable ways.

The proportion of Blacks in the 1986 sample is higher than one would expect (14.9% vs. an average of 11.7%). Because non-response covaries with race (O'Neil, 1982?), one would expect fewer Blacks in the 1986 survey than in 1984.

The proportion of males in the 1986 sample deviates from the average by less than one-tenth of one percent (43.8% vs. an average of 43.9%).

The distribution of age varies in an explainable way over time. Since 1978, the proportion of respondents between 17 and 30 years old drops from 30.5% to 28.5% in 1986. The corresponding proportion of respondents between 31 and 50 years old rises steadily from 35.4% in 1978 to 38.8% in 1986. The

aging of the sample parallels the aging of the "Baby Boom" generation. The proportion of respondents between 17 and 30 years old rises from 1984 to 1986, but by only seven-tenths of one percent.

The proportion of respondents living alone rises from 20.6% to 22.4% from 1984 to 1986, consistent with the increase in people living alone for each survey from 1978 to 1984.

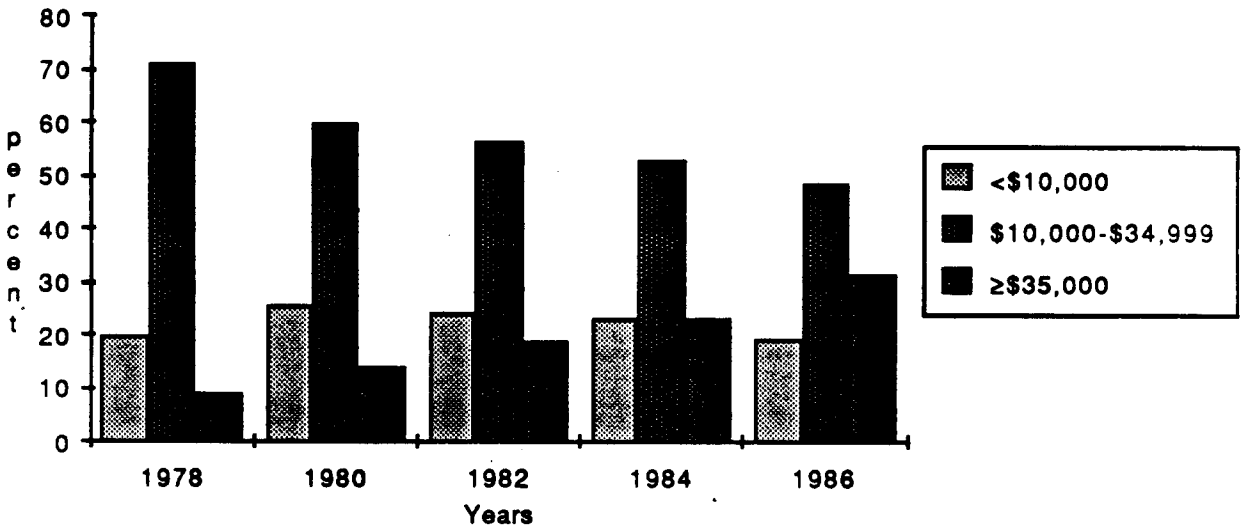
The distribution of education of respondents raises minor concern about the comparability of the 1986 sample. The fraction of respondents with 8 grades or less of education drops from 10.8% in 1984 to 8.8% in 1986. The fraction of respondents with a college degree rises from 11.3% in 1984 to 13.2% in 1986. The change is consistent with the change in response rate, since one would expect the less educated respondents to drop out of the sample more than better educated respondents. However, the changes are only slightly larger than one sees in the samples from election to election since 1978.

Marital status of respondents changes from 1984 to 1986 in a manner consistent with change since 1978. The proportion of married respondents drops, but by two-tenths of one percent. (The proportion of married respondents drops over the five surveys, but the largest drop is from 1978 at 64.3% to 1980 at 60.4%.) The proportion of respondents in "common law" marriage ("Partners") rises dramatically from 1984 (1.9%) to 3.6%, but this is most likely a question effect. Respondents prior to the 1986 survey had to identify themselves voluntarily as "Partners," while respondents in the 1986 survey were offered "Partners" as one of the choices for marital status.

Family income distributions change from 1984 to 1986 in ways consistent with changes since 1978. The family income distribution is bimodal: a poorer mode of respondents maintains the same income from survey to survey, while the remaining mode of respondents rises steadily in income. Histograms of the family income variables over time (Chart 1) display the drift in the two

modes. The fraction of respondents' families earning $10,000 or less fluctuates around 20% of the sample. (The fraction rises slightly from 1978 to 1980, then drops slightly from 1980 to 1986). The fraction of respondents' families earning $35,000 or more rises steadily from 1978 to 1986. The increase in the wealthier mode derives from a corresponding decrease in the middle income bracket of the histogram ($10,000-$35,000). Although the family income of 1986 respondents is higher than the family income of 1984 respondents, it rises consistent with change since 1978.

Chart I
Family Income in the NES over time

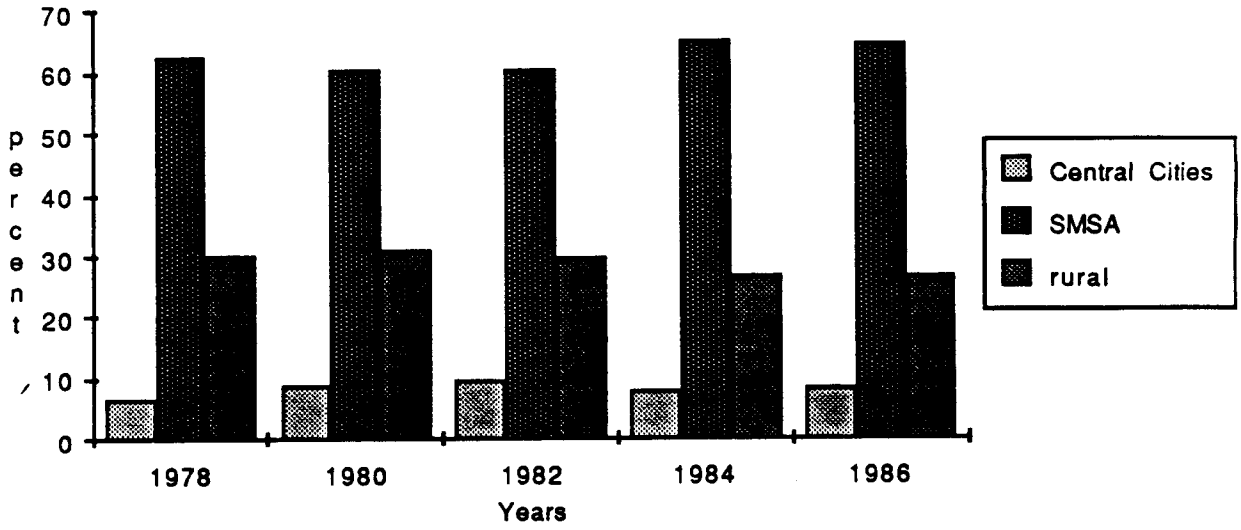


The number of respondents with Hispanic origin drops by 1.2% from 1986 to 1984, but perhaps this is due to an oversampling of Hispanic respondents in 1984. The fraction of respondents with Mexican American/Chicano origin oscillates throughout the five election years tabulated here.

The distribution of respondents according to Census Region changes consistently over the five election years. The fraction of respondents from Northeastern states drops from 18.5% in 1984 to 16.7% in 1986, but this

fraction dropped steadily from 1978 through 1986. The fraction of respondents from Southern states rises from 33.2% in 1984 to 35.8% in 1986, but deviates from the five year mean by only seven-tenths of one percent.

Chart II
Size of Place of Interview, Bracketed, in NES over time



Members of the Field Section of the Survey Research Center hypothesize that the change in response rate from 1984 to 1986 is due to changes in characteristics of the respondents in urban and rural areas. For various reasons, respondents in urban and rural areas are supposedly harder to persuade now than in previous years. This may be true, but the distribution of respondents from these areas remains highly stable over the five election years in the table. There are different ways to operationalize the "urbanness" or "ruralness" of the respondent. One way is to group by the "Size of Place of Interview" variable into three categories: respondents in Central Cities, respondents in rural areas (including rural suburbs), and all others. Respondents in Central Cities oscillates around 8% through the five years, actually rising from 7.8% in 1984 to 8.6% in 1986. The proportion of

respondents in rural areas drops slightly over time, averaging at 28.9%. The fraction of respondents in rural areas drops by three-tenths of one percent from 27.0% in 1984 to 26.7% in 1986. A histogram of the distribution of respondents in these categories over the five election years (Chart 2) looks level in all three categories, belying the possibility of a change in the "urbanness" or "ruralness" of the respondents.[1]

Working status of the respondent is one demographic characteristic that one might expect to be less stable than other demographic characteristics. The distribution of respondents "working now" and "unemployed" changes from year to year. There are fewer unemployed respondents in the 1986 sample (4.7%) than in 1984 (5.4%), but the deviation is less than one-half of one percent from the five year average.

Demographic characteristics of the 1978-1986 samples fluctuate over time, but as one would expect. Fortunately for the utility of the National Election Studies, the distributions of attitudinal variables fluctuates over time as well. This report will not detail the changes in political variables over time, leaving this enterprise to the users of the study. Readers of this report who are as curious as the committee preparing this report are directed to the last pages of the table.

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[1]Giovanna Morchio's accompanying memo pursues the problem of response rate by size of population in greater detail. Among her findings, the response rate for non-SMSA areas fell by nearly nine percent from 1984 to 1986. How can a nine percent change in the response rate for a subsection of the sample be consistent with negligible change in the percentage of interviews from that subsection? There are two reasons. First, not only did the response rate for rural areas fall from 1984 to 1986, but also the response rate for SMSAs fell by nearly as large a margin. In other words, the drop in response rate for SMSAs paralleled the drop in rural areas, leaving their relative proportions about the same. Secondly, if one classifies the population size of the place of interview as Morchio does, one does see about a 2% decline in the overall percentage of non-SMSA interviews. This is approximately the decline one would expect if the decline in response rate were multiplied by the proportion of the subsample.

How representative is the 1986 sample of the voting age population?

The question about the representativeness of the 1986 sample, in particular, and NES samples, in general, concerns comparisons between our samples and the voting age population. An appropriate basis of comparison is the U.S. Bureau of the Census Current Population Survey November Supplements for election years. CPS data is available from 1978 to 1984; the 1986 CPS estimates were not available at the time of preparing this report. The CPS estimates fluctuate only slightly from 1980 to 1984, but differ from the NES survey in some predictable ways.[2]

Some deviations of NES samples from the Census population estimates are perhaps due to different operationalizations of some concepts. The Working Status variable differs between NES and CPS in that NES places into the Working Now category any Student or Housewife working over 20 hours per week. CPS leaves respondents who classify themselves as Students or Housewives in those categories. The CPS variable for working status used in this report combines retired people with unemployed people who are not currently looking for work. CPS classifies marital status by "never married", "married", and

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[2]The National Election Studies samples are samples of households, not of individuals. In order to convert from a sample of households to a sample of individuals, one should weight the responses by the inverse of the probability of selection, or multiply by the number of eligible adults. In general, weighting will effect the distributions only where the type of household interacts with the number of people. Weighted estimates for the NES demographics are appended to this report. Political variables are largely unaffected by the use of weights, the difference between weighted and unweighted frequency counts is in all cases less than one percent. Demographic variables are affected by the weights only when the number of people in the household interacts with the variable. Race, Education, Hispanic Origin, Census Region, Size of Place of Interview and Working Status do not substantially differ across the weighted and unweighted distributions. Sex, Age, whether the respondent lives alone, Marital Status and Family Income differ to varying degrees across the weighted and unweighted distributions.

"no longer married" -- combining widowed and divorced people. Hispanic Origin in the CPS refers to a Hispanic surname, rather than respondent assessments of his/her origin.

NES samples underrepresent some groups in expected ways. Some people are harder to reach because they aren't at home during the day. People who are currently working, males, or between the ages of 31 and 50 are more difficult to reach during the day; these groups of people are underrepresented in the survey. People who are disinterested in politics are less likely to participate in the survey than people who are interested in politics; respondents with low levels of education, political interest or participation are also underrepresented.

There are fewer NES respondents who are male than the Census estimates for the voting age population. Unweighted, NES obtains a fairly consistent 44% of the sample as male, while Census estimates the proportion of males at 48%. (Weighted, NES estimates a consistent 45% male). Because NES respondents disproportionately belong to the group of people "at home," fewer males enter the NES sample than the proportion of the voting age population.

NES elicits interviews from fewer people with less than high school education than their proportion in the voting age population. NES draws 6% fewer people with less than high school education than estimated by the CPS. Conversely, NES obtains interviews from about 3% more people with college educations than in the voting age population. One might expect to draw fewer people with low levels of education in the NES survey to the extent that interest covaries with level of education. If less educated people are less interested in politics and less likely to participate in politics, then these people are probably less likely to participate in the survey.

NES obtains interviews from slightly fewer families with low incomes than their fraction in the population. The CPS obtains 2% more respondents

with family incomes in the two lowest categories (<$5000 and $5000-$9999) than the NES (unweighted). Weighted estimates indicate NES obtains about 4% fewer respondents in the two lowest income categories, and from 3-6% more respondents in the highest income category, than does CPS.

The Bureau of the Census employs different definitions of working status than the NES. Comparisons, then, between the CPS and NES estimates of working status of the voting age population are misleading. The CPS estimates for those "working now" falls 9-10% below the NES estimates for the same category; NES folds all students, housewives, and retired people working over 20 hours per week into this category. The CPS estimate of the proportion of housewives in the voting age population is about 5-6% higher than the NES estimates. The CPS estimate of the proportion of students is about 10% higher. Just between the "student" and "housewife" categories, the CPS estimates about 15% more in the population than the NES; if all the NES "underestimate" of students and housewives went into the "working now" category, NES would underestimate the fraction "working now" by 5%. The NES probably underrepresents students in the population anyway: the NES does not sample from dormitories, presumably where most of the students live. The differences between NES and CPS estimates of those working now, although striking in the table, arise from differences in definitions; despite the differences in definition, NES estimates come close to the CPS estimates.

CPS estimates of the distribution of age diverge minorly from NES estimates. The more interesting deviations of NES population proportions from CPS estimates occur in the elderly (65 years and over).[3] The proportion of the voting age population over 65 years old has been a fairly consistent 16%

[3]Weighting by inverse probability of selection reduces the number of elderly by about 3% over the unweighted distribution. Because the elderly live in families with fewer eligible adults, weighting reduces their relative proportion in the population.

through the years 1978-1986. Unweighted NES estimates of the proportion of elderly come very close to the 16% national proportion. Weighted estimates of the proportion of the elderly fall short by three-four percent. Higher refusal rates among the elderly is a finding reported widely in studies of non-response bias in many surveys (e.g., DeMaio, 1980); one should expect higher refusal rates among the elderly for the NES as well.

The sole political variable in the CPS November Supplement is the estimate for turnout in the general election. Presumably, the CPS confronts the same self-reporting bias in turnout as the NES: both CPS and NES estimates exceed the actual turnout by at least 15%. NES respondents claim that they voted in the general election 5-6% more often than the CPS respondents. This difference might be due to non-response bias. The non-response rate for the CPS estimates is a measly 4-5%; non-response for the NES runs from 28-34%. One might reasonably hypothesize that the NES draws disproportionately from the most interested and participative respondents.

The four percent lower-than-usual response rate for the 1986 Post-election survey did not demonstrably change the demographic distributions of the 1986 sample. In comparison with the four previous surveys, the 1986 sample looks very much the same on the most stable demographics and changes consistent with change over the four surveys in the remaining demographics. In comparison to the CPS November estimates of the population, the 1986 fares no better or worse than any of the four previous surveys. All five of the surveys underrepresent some groups: males, those with less than high school education, low income families, the elderly. This appears to be non-response bias, but not a bias that increased with the drop in response rate.

Simple Frequency Distributions for Selected Demographics and Attitudes

Variable	Census estimates 1980	Census estimates 1985	Current Population Survey November Estimates 1978	CPS 1980	CPS 1982	CPS 1984	NES estimates 1978	NES 1980	NES 1982	NES 1984	NES 1986	NES Avg.
Race												
White	85.9	85.1	87.3	86.1	86.1	86.1	88.5	87.3	88.5	86.7	83.2	86.8
Black	11.8	12.2	10.2	10.6	10.3	10.1	10.3	11.6	10.8	11.1	14.9	11.7
Indian							0.7	0.6	0.2	1.4	1.1	0.8
Asian							0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.5
Sex												
Male	48.6	48.7	48.1	48.1	48.2	48.1	44.1	43.1	44.7	43.8	43.8	43.9
Female	51.4	51.3	51.9	51.9	51.8	51.9	55.9	56.9	55.3	56.2	56.3	56.1
Age												
17-35 years							42.2	39.9	38.6	39.9	40.2	40.2
36-50 years							23.7	22.0	22.2	24.3	27.1	23.8
51-64 years							19.6	20.7	20.6	17.2	16.5	18.9
65+ years							14.5	17.4	18.6	17.8	16.2	16.9
Living Alone?	(Households)											
Yes	22.7						17.9	19.0	21.9	20.6	22.4	20.4
No	77.3						82.1	81.0	78.1	79.4	77.6	79.6
Education	(1982)											
8 grades or less	15.8		13.8	12.8	11.9	10.9	11.9	12.0	11.3	10.8	8.8	11.0
9-11 grades	13.3		19.6	18.9	17.6	17.0	15.0	15.0	12.0	12.2	12.6	13.4
H.S. diploma	37.9		35.1	35.5	36.3	36.4	37.7	36.2	33.6	35.7	35.9	35.8
Some college	15.3		17.1	17.8	18.0	18.9	17.3	17.8	21.2	21.2	17.4	19.0
Jr. or Comm. Coll.							2.1	2.8	3.2	3.5	5.2	3.4
BA degree	17.7		8.3	8.6	9.3	9.7	10.9	10.7	11.7	11.3	13.2	11.6
Advanced degree			6.0	6.5	6.9	7.1	5.1	5.5	7.0	5.3	6.9	6.0

Variable	Census estimates 1980	1985	Current Population Survey November Estimates 1978	1980	1982	1984	NES estimates 1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	Avg.
Marital Status												
Married	65.5		61.2	60.5	59.8	59.4	64.3	60.4	58.5	56.8	56.6	59.3
Never Married	20.3		12.3	12.8	13.3	13.5	13.9	15.1	15.7	15.9	15.7	15.3
Divorced	6.0		26.5	26.7	26.9	27.0	8.2	9.3	9.3	10.9	9.7	9.5
Separated							3.2	2.6	4.0	3.1	3.9	3.4
Widowed	8.0						9.8	11.3	11.2	11.3	10.5	10.8
Partners							0.7	1.3	1.4	1.9	3.6	1.8
Family Income	(1982)											
<$5000	5.8		2.0	9.8	9.2	8.9	5.8	10.4	10.7	9.3	7.5	8.7
$5000-$9999	11.5		19.6	17.1	14.9	13.0	14.2	15.5	13.7	14.1	12.1	13.9
$10000-$14999	13.5		21.5	18.7	15.7	14.2	19.4	15.7	14.8	13.9	13.1	15.4
$15000-$19999	25.2		16.3	15.0	13.3	12.3	18.5	12.2	10.9	10.0	8.8	12.1
$20000-$24999	|		12.9	14.8	11.9	11.0	16.2	15.2	13.7	11.6	10.5	13.4
$25000-$29999	35.1		14.9	20.6	9.4	9.4	8.9	9.4	8.4	9.4	8.6	8.9
$30000-$34999	|				7.5	8.5	8.0	7.4	8.9	8.1	7.9	8.1
$35000-$49999	|				11.3	13.2	6.2	8.6	11.2	13.6	17.3	11.4
≥$50000	8.9		2.7	4.0	5.0	9.7	2.8	5.5	7.7	9.8	14.2	8.0
Hispanic Origin?												
Mex. Am./Chicano	6.3						1.6	2.1	1.2	4.8	3.6	2.7
Puerto Rican	|						1.2	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.8
Other Hispanic	|						0.6	0.9	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.1
Not Hispanic	93.6						96.6	96.2	96.7	93.3	94.6	95.5
Census Region												
Northeast	21.7		21.3	20.4	20.5	21.8	21.6	21.0	20.0	18.5	16.7	19.6
North Central	25.9		26.1	25.1	25.1	24.9	25.3	26.6	26.9	27.5	26.7	26.6
South	33.3		29.1	30.6	29.9	29.5	35.2	35.4	36.0	33.2	35.8	35.1
West	19.1		23.5	23.8	24.5	23.8	17.8	17.0	17.2	20.8	20.8	18.7

Variable	Census estimates 1980	1985	Current Population Survey November Estimates 1978	1980	1982	1984	NES estimates 1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	Avg.
Population Size												
Central Cities	29.5						6.9	8.7	9.5	7.8	8.6	8.3
SMSA	38.6						62.9	60.4	60.6	65.2	64.7	62.8
rural	31.9						30.2	30.9	29.8	27.0	26.7	28.9
R's Working Stat	(1982)											
Working Now	64.4		51.4	51.4	50.2	52.3	60.8	59.9	57.2	60.4	62.6	60.2
Laid off							0.7	0.8	0.7	1.7	1.3	1.0
Unemployed			1.1	1.7	2.5	1.7	4.2	4.6	6.4	5.4	4.7	5.1
Retired			10.4	11.7	13.0	13.1	11.2	13.5	14.8	15.0	13.9	13.7
Disabled			1.6	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.9	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.9	2.7
Housewife			22.0	20.9	20.3	19.3	19.1	15.4	15.9	12.8	12.3	15.1
Student			13.5	12.9	12.8	12.4	2.1	2.8	2.6	1.8	2.3	2.3

Variable	Census estimates 1980	Census estimates 1985	Current Population Survey November Estimates 1978	CPS 1980	CPS 1982	CPS 1984	NES estimates 1978	NES 1980	NES 1982	NES 1984	NES 1986	NES Avg.
Party ID												
Strong Democrat							14.8	17.7	20.1	17.2	17.9	17.5
Weak Democrat							24.3	23.1	24.0	20.4	22.1	22.8
Ind. Democrat							14.3	11.4	11.0	11.0	10.4	11.6
Ind. Independent							13.6	12.9	11.0	11.1	11.5	12.0
Ind. Republican							9.5	10.2	7.9	12.6	10.8	10.2
Weak Republican							12.8	13.9	14.3	15.0	14.5	14.1
Strong Republican							7.8	8.5	9.6	12.6	10.5	9.8
Lib/Con												
Extr liberal							2.3	2.5	2.1	2.3	1.5	2.1
Liberal							10.7	9.3	9.0	10.4	8.0	9.5
Sltly liberal							13.4	13.5	11.7	12.9	14.2	13.1
Moderate							36.5	30.6	34.9	33.4	36.9	34.5
Sltly conservative							18.5	21.0	19.8	20.1	20.1	19.9
Conservative							15.5	19.8	19.0	18.5	17.3	18.0
Extr conservative							3.1	3.3	3.5	2.3	2.0	2.8
Turnout	(of V.A.P.)											
Voted	52.6		49.9	64.7		66.0	54.5	71.4	60.4	73.6	52.5	62.5
Did Not Vote	47.4		50.1	35.3		34.0	45.4	28.6	39.6	26.4	47.5	37.5
Reagan F-T												
0°-10°							5.8	6.9	11.9	8.3	7.3	8.0
11°-20°							3.8	5.4	5.5	4.7	2.5	4.4
21°-30°							5.7	6.0	6.5	5.4	5.4	5.8
31°-40°							8.5	9.0	7.5	6.6	7.0	7.7
41°-50°							22.5	15.9	11.5	10.6	10.4	14.2
51°-60°							15.8	18.1	13.8	11.1	13.2	14.4
61°-70°							15.8	16.3	16.6	18.5	18.6	17.2
71°-80°							1.8	2.0	1.9	1.1	1.2	1.6
81°-90°							12.1	14.9	17.5	21.4	20.6	17.3
91°-100°							8.1	5.5	7.2	12.2	13.7	9.3

Variable	Weighted NES estimates						Unweighted - Weighted					
	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	Avg.	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	Avg.
Race												
White	89.0	87.4	89.3	86.8	83.8	87.3	-0.5	-0.1	-0.8	-0.1	-0.6	-0.4
Black	9.8	11.5	10.0	10.8	14.3	11.3	0.5	0.1	0.8	0.3	0.6	0.5
Indian	0.7	0.6	0.2	1.5	1.2	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	-0.1	-0.1	0.0
Asian	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Sex												
Male	45.9	44.9	46.4	45.3	45.8	45.7	-1.8	-1.8	-1.7	-1.5	-2.0	-1.8
Female	54.1	55.1	53.6	54.7	54.2	54.3	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.5	2.1	1.8
Age												
17-35 years	43.0	41.4	40.2	41.6	41.8	41.6	-0.8	-1.5	-1.6	-1.7	-1.6	-1.4
36-50 years	25.4	23.5	23.2	25.7	28.3	25.2	-1.7	-1.5	-1.0	-1.4	-1.2	-1.4
51-64 years	19.6	21.0	20.7	17.6	16.7	19.1	0.0	-0.3	-0.1	-0.4	-0.2	-0.2
65+ years	12.0	14.2	15.9	15.1	13.3	14.1	2.5	3.2	2.7	2.7	2.9	2.8
Living Alone?												
Yes	9.2	9.7	11.5	10.8	11.8	10.6	8.7	9.3	10.4	9.8	10.6	9.8
No	90.8	90.3	88.5	89.2	88.2	89.4	-8.7	-9.3	-10.4	-9.8	-10.6	-9.8
Education												
8 grades or less	11.2	11.2	10.2	10.1	8.1	10.2	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.8
9-11 grades	14.9	14.7	11.8	12.3	12.5	13.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	-0.1	0.1	0.1
H.S. diploma	38.5	37.9	35.7	37.0	36.6	37.1	-0.8	-1.7	-2.1	-1.3	-0.7	-1.3
Some college	18.0	18.1	20.7	21.3	18.0	19.2	-0.7	-0.3	0.5	-0.1	-0.6	-0.2
Jr. or Comm. Coll.	2.1	2.9	2.9	3.5	5.4	3.4	0.0	-0.1	0.3	0.0	-0.2	0.0
BA degree	10.7	10.0	12.0	10.8	13.1	11.3	0.2	0.7	-0.3	0.5	0.1	0.2
Advanced degree	4.7	5.3	6.7	5.0	6.3	5.6	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.4

Variable	Weighted NES estimates 1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	Avg.	Unweighted - Weighted 1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	Avg.
Marital Status												
Married	70.5	66.6	66.0	63.8	64.4	66.3	-6.2	-6.2	-7.5	-7.0	-7.8	-6.9
Never Married	14.8	15.9	15.9	16.9	15.8	15.9	-0.9	-0.8	-0.2	-1.0	-0.1	-0.6
Divorced	5.4	6.7	6.2	7.6	6.1	6.4	2.8	2.6	3.1	3.3	3.6	3.1
Separated	2.2	2.0	3.0	2.3	2.8	2.5	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.9
Widowed	6.4	7.5	7.4	7.3	6.8	7.1	3.4	3.8	3.8	4.0	3.7	3.7
Partners	0.7	1.4	1.5	2.2	4.1	2.0	0.0	-0.1	-0.1	-0.3	-0.5	-0.2
Family Income												
<$5000	5.6	7.6	7.9	7.5	5.8	6.9	0.2	2.8	2.8	1.8	1.7	1.9
$5000-$9999	13.1	12.9	12.2	12.4	10.2	12.2	1.1	2.6	1.5	1.7	1.9	1.8
$10000-$14999	19.2	14.5	13.4	13.1	11.9	14.4	0.2	1.2	1.4	0.8	1.2	1.0
$15000-$19999	18.6	12.3	10.2	9.5	8.5	11.8	-0.1	-0.1	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.3
$20000-$24999	16.3	16.1	14.1	11.8	10.4	13.7	-0.1	-0.9	-0.4	-0.2	0.1	-0.3
$25000-$29999	9.0	10.6	8.8	9.6	8.8	9.4	-0.1	-1.2	-0.4	-0.2	-0.2	-0.4
$30000-$34999	8.6	8.9	10.3	9	8.0	9.0	-0.6	-1.5	-1.4	-0.9	-0.1	-0.9
$35000-$49999	6.6	10.0	13.2	11.4	18.7	12.0	-0.4	-1.4	-2.0	2.2	-1.4	-0.6
≥$50000	3.2	7.1	9.8	16.4	17.8	10.9	-0.4	-1.6	-2.1	-6.6	-3.6	-2.9
Hispanic Origin?												
Mex. Am./Chicano	1.6	1.9	1.2	5.5	3.8	2.8	0.0	0.2	0.0	-0.7	-0.2	-0.1
Puerto Rican	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Hispanic	0.6	1.0	1.6	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.0	-0.1	-0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0
Not Hispanic	96.7	96.3	96.4	92.7	94.5	95.3	-0.1	-0.1	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.2
Census Region												
Northeast	22.3	20.8	20.4	18.5	17.3	19.9	-0.7	0.2	-0.4	0.0	-0.6	-0.3
North Central	25.3	27.1	26.4	27.6	26.4	26.6	0.0	-0.5	0.5	-0.1	0.3	0.0
South	35.6	35.8	35.8	33.6	36.6	35.5	-0.4	-0.4	0.2	-0.4	-0.8	-0.4
West	16.6	16.3	17.5	20.3	19.7	18.1	1.2	0.7	-0.3	0.5	1.1	0.6

Variable	Weighted NES estimates						Unweighted - Weighted					
	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	Avg.	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	Avg.
Population Size												
Central Cities	6.5	8.1	9.0	7.4	8.1	7.8	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5
SMSA	62.7	59.6	59.8	64.6	63.6	62.1	0.2	0.8	0.8	0.6	1.1	0.7
rural	30.8	32.4	31.2	28.0	28.3	30.1	-0.6	-1.5	-1.4	-1.0	-1.6	-1.2
R's Working Status												
Working Now	61.4	61.6	58.1	62.1	64.7	61.6	-0.6	-1.7	-0.9	-1.7	-2.1	-1.4
Laid off	0.6	0.8	0.8	1.8	1.3	1.1	0.1	0.0	-0.1	-0.1	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	4.2	4.7	6.8	5.4	4.7	5.2	0.0	-0.1	-0.4	0.0	0.0	-0.1
Retired	9.9	11.3	12.9	12.9	11.5	11.7	1.3	2.2	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.0
Disabled	1.7	2.9	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.3
Housewife	19.3	15.4	15.8	13.1	12.7	15.3	-0.2	0.0	0.1	-0.3	-0.4	-0.2
Student	2.9	3.4	3.3	2.1	2.6	2.9	-0.8	-0.6	-0.7	-0.3	-0.3	-0.5

Variable	Weighted NES estimates						Unweighted - Weighted					
	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	Avg.	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	Avg.
Party ID												
Strong Democrat	14.5	17.2	19.9	16.9	17.1	17.1	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.4
Weak Democrat	24.3	22.8	23.6	20.8	22.1	22.7	0.0	0.3	0.4	-0.4	0.0	0.1
Ind. Democrat	14.5	11.8	10.6	10.6	9.9	11.5	-0.2	-0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.1
Ind. Independent	13.7	13.2	10.9	11.3	12.1	12.2	-0.1	-0.3	0.1	-0.2	-0.6	-0.2
Ind. Republican	10.1	10.2	8.6	12.7	11.2	10.6	-0.6	0.0	-0.7	-0.1	-0.4	-0.4
Weak Republican	12.8	14.0	14.4	15.2	14.4	14.2	0.0	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2	0.1	-0.1
Strong Republican	7.2	8.6	9.9	12.5	10.9	9.8	0.6	-0.1	-0.3	0.1	-0.4	0.0
Lib/Con												
Extr liberal	2.2	2.5	1.8	2.2	1.6	2.1	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	-0.1	0.1
Liberal	10.4	8.1	8.7	9.9	7.8	9.0	0.3	1.2	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.5
Sltly liberal	13.3	13.8	10.9	13.2	14.4	13.1	0.1	-0.3	0.8	-0.3	-0.2	0.0
Moderate	36.9	29.5	35.4	33.9	36.2	34.4	-0.4	1.1	-0.5	-0.5	0.7	0.1
Sltly conservative	18.8	21.9	20.2	19.6	20.6	20.2	-0.3	-0.9	-0.4	0.5	-0.5	-0.3
Conservative	15.4	20.5	19.5	18.9	17.4	18.3	0.1	-0.7	-0.5	-0.4	-0.1	-0.3
Extr conservative	2.9	3.7	3.4	2.3	2.2	2.9	0.2	-0.4	0.1	0.0	-0.2	-0.1
Turnout												
Voted	53.9	71.9	60.1	73.8	52.2	62.4	0.6	-0.5	0.3	-0.2	0.3	0.1
Did Not Vote	46.0	28.1	39.9	26.2	47.8	37.6	-0.6	0.5	-0.3	0.2	-0.3	-0.1
Reagan F-T												
0°-10°	5.4	6.8	11.4	7.8	7.1	7.7	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.3
11°-20°	3.5	5.2	5.4	4.8	2.1	4.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	-0.1	0.4	0.2
21°-30°	5.7	6.0	6.4	5.4	5.0	5.7	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.1
31°-40°	8.5	9.2	7.5	6.5	6.9	7.7	0.0	-0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
41°-50°	22.8	15.8	11.3	10.2	10.9	14.2	-0.3	0.1	0.2	0.4	-0.5	0.0
51°-60°	15.7	18.5	14.0	11.3	13.6	14.6	0.1	-0.4	-0.2	-0.2	-0.4	-0.2
61°-70°	16.2	16.3	17.2	19.3	19.0	17.6	-0.4	0.0	-0.6	-0.8	-0.4	-0.4
71°-80°	1.8	1.9	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
81°-90°	12.4	14.6	17.4	21.7	20.8	17.4	-0.3	0.3	0.1	-0.3	-0.2	-0.1
91°-100°	8.1	5.7	7.3	12.0	13.5	9.3	0.0	-0.2	-0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0