

January 31, 1955

EDUCATION RELATED TO THE PARTY VOTEI. SUMMARY

Statement of Problem: Was a person's vote for the Democratic or Republican Party in 1952 affected by his level of education?

Report of Finding: The more educated a person, the more likely he was to vote Republican for President in 1952 despite the influence of income, occupation, and religion.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOLUTION

1. Higher education is related to a higher Republican vote without controls over other factors.

| <u>Educational Level</u>                                                    | <u>1952 vote in %</u> |             |                    |                   | <u>Total</u> | <u>No. of Cases</u> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|
|                                                                             | <u>Dem.</u>           | <u>Rep.</u> | <u>Other or NA</u> | <u>Non Voting</u> |              |                     |
| Grade School Education<br>(no educ., some GS, only graduated GS.)           | 36                    | 39          | 2                  | 23                | 100          | 433                 |
| High School Education<br>(some HS, HS diploma, other non-college training.) | 33                    | 51          | 0                  | 16                | 100          | 589                 |
| College Education<br>(some college or college degree.)                      | 20                    | 70          | 2                  | 8                 | 100          | 187                 |

2. Higher education is related to a higher Republican vote when income is controlled.

| <u>Annual Family Income</u> | <u>% Republican of 2-Party vote*</u> |                    |                       |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
|                             | <u>College</u>                       | <u>High School</u> | <u>Grammar School</u> |
| Family Income under \$3000  | 81                                   | 68                 | 53                    |
| " " \$3000-\$4999           | 70                                   | 54                 | 50                    |
| " " \$5000-\$7499           | 76                                   | 64                 | 52                    |
| " " over \$7500             | 83                                   | 70                 | 67                    |

Note: Republicanism increases with income, but regardless of income, Republicanism increases with education.

\* To find Democratic % subtract Republican figure from 100%.

3. Higher education is related to a higher Republican vote when occupational status is controlled.

| <u>Occupation of Head<br/>of Household</u>                                                | <u>% Republican of 2-Party vote</u> |                    |                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
|                                                                                           | <u>College</u>                      | <u>High School</u> | <u>Grammar School</u> |
| Professional & Semi-Professional                                                          | 85                                  | 77                 | 75                    |
| Self-employed business men &<br>artisans; managers & officials                            | 76                                  | 72                 | 51                    |
| Clerical and sales; buyers, agents,<br>brokers                                            | 70                                  | 77*                | 27                    |
| Skilled and Semi-Skilled                                                                  | 56                                  | 47                 | 45                    |
| Unskilled, service workers,<br>farm laborers                                              | -                                   | 36                 | 30                    |
| Farm Operators                                                                            | 86                                  | 65                 | 64                    |
| All other (including protective<br>services, unemployed, retired,<br>housewife, student). | 85                                  | 70                 | 73*                   |

\* These are two deviant figures out of thirteen possibilities. An occupational breakdown is significant but very difficult because of the generality of many occupational titles.

Note: Again, farmers apart, higher occupational status increases with Republicanism; but also, farmers included, education increases with Republicanism.

4. Higher education is related to a higher Republican vote when religious affiliation is controlled.

| <u>Religious Affiliation</u> | <u>% Republican of 2-Party vote</u> |                    |                     |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
|                              | <u>College</u>                      | <u>High School</u> | <u>Grade School</u> |
| Protestant                   | 83                                  | 67                 | 62                  |
| Catholic                     | 72                                  | 53                 | 38                  |
| Jewish*                      | 25                                  | 28                 | 29                  |

\* The number of cases (43) is small and must be interpreted with caution; otherwise this is the only exception to the trend.

### III. CONDITIONS OF THE REPORT

Restrictions of the Finding: a) The election of 1952 may not be typical of other elections; however, the finding is probably reliable for a number of elections, such as that of 1948. b) Any difference between holders of the A.M. or Ph.D and of the A.B. is not reflected in the finding. c) The finding probably does not hold for persons of Jewish faith (and perhaps other small religious groups such as the Unitarians). d) The South is not included in the generalization, because of its one-party situation which might interfere with the solution of the problem. e) There is a margin of error to be expected, because in some of the tabulations, only a few cases were used as a basis for the percentages; however, the trends of the data lend support to the finding, because almost all of them move the same way. f) There may be other variables, not here tested, that account for educational superiority being associated with Republican voting.

Population base of the finding: The sample consists of all those who voted Democratic or Republican in 1952 out of a national sample selected by area-probability methods, less the Southern share of the sample. The study was administered by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The total number of respondents for whom information was available was 1320. Of these, 987 reported casting a ballot for Dwight Eisenhower or Adlai Stevenson and it is this group that is analyzed in this report. The sample was interviewed during the week following the election of 1952.

February 28, 1955

## THE POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

### I. SUMMARY

Statement of Problem: What are the limits of the influence of education upon the party affiliation and vote?

Report of Findings: The more educated a person, the more likely he is to be Republican and to have voted Republican in 1952 despite the influence of his father's occupation, his place of upbringing or his(her) sex. One limitation was found in the South where Grade School people were less Democratic in 1952 than High School people.

Reference: Refer for further definitions, information, and findings to report of January 31, 1955, entitled, "Education related to the Party Vote."

### II. DETAILED REPORT OF FINDINGS

1. The preference of college-educated people for the Republican Party should not obscure the fact that the Republican Party relies strongly too upon the votes of grade-school people.

#### EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

|                         | <u>None</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>G.S.</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>H.S.</u> | <u>Some</u>          | <u>H.S.</u> | <u>H.S. &amp;</u> | <u>Some</u>    | <u>College</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>No. of</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
|                         |             | <u>G.S.</u> |             | <u>H.S.</u> |             | <u>&amp; special</u> |             | <u>special</u>    | <u>College</u> | <u>Degree</u>  |              | <u>Cases</u>  |
| VOTED FOR<br>EISENHOWER | 1           | 12          | 17          | 13          | 20          | 4                    |             | 10                | 13             | 10             | 100%         | 717           |
| VOTED FOR<br>STEVENSON  | 2           | 19          | 19          | 17          | 15          | 7                    |             | 10                | 5              | 6              | 100%         | 518           |

\* Includes the South (this table only).

2. The stable preferences of people for one party or the other show that an increase in Republicanism accompanies an increase in education

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

| <u>Education</u> | <u>Strong</u><br><u>Dem.</u> | <u>Weak</u><br><u>Dem.</u> | <u>Indep.</u><br><u>Dem.</u> | <u>Indep.</u> | <u>Indep.</u><br><u>Rep.</u> | <u>Weak</u><br><u>Rep.</u> | <u>Strong</u><br><u>Rep.</u> | <u>Misc.</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Grade School     | 23                           | 24                         | 10                           | 10            | 5                            | 14                         | 12                           | 2            | 100%         | 477                 |
| High School      | 13                           | 18                         | 11                           | 8             | 9                            | 12                         | 16                           | 13           | 100%         | 625                 |
| College          | 9                            | 13                         | 13                           | 4             | 15                           | 20                         | 26                           | 0            | 100%         | 191                 |

Note: Among other things, this table evidences how the Grade School people concentrate in the stronger Democratic sentiments, while the college educated concentrate in the stronger Republican categories. This indicates a class orientation of the parties, though a weak one. Party Identification as used here is defined in The Voter Decides and The Western Public.

2a. College degree-holders were less Republican in 1952 than people of some college education only, but are more Republican in general than the latter.

1952 VOTE

| <u>Education</u>  | <u>% Stevenson</u> | <u>% Eisenhower</u> | <u>Non-Voters</u> | <u>Unclass.</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Some College      | 17                 | 70                  | 11                | 2               | 100%         | 105                 |
| Completed College | 25                 | 68                  | 4                 | 3               | 100%         | 81                  |

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|                   | <u>SD</u> | <u>WD</u> | <u>ID</u> | <u>I</u> | <u>IR</u> | <u>WR</u> | <u>SR</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Some College      | 11        | 16        | 9         | 4        | 14        | 24        | 22        | 100%         |
| Completed College | 7         | 16        | 19        | 4        | 16        | 17        | 33        | 100%         |

4. The South shows a special limitation to the positive relationship of education to Republicanism

**VOTE IN 1952**

| <u>Education</u> | <u>Stevenson</u> | <u>Eisenhower</u> | <u>DK</u><br><u>voted</u> | <u>Non-voting</u><br><u>Stev.Pref.</u> | <u>Non-voting</u><br><u>Eis.Pref.</u> | <u>N.V.</u><br><u>DK.Pref.</u> | <u>Tot.</u> | <u>No.</u><br><u>case</u> |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| de School        | 17               | 17                | 1                         | 31                                     | 25                                    | 9                              | 100%        | 254                       |
| n School         | 36               | 23                | 0                         | 19                                     | 19                                    | 3                              | 100%        | 160                       |
| lege             | 29               | 51                | 1                         | 9                                      | 9                                     | 1                              | 100%        | 69                        |

5. The occupation of a person's father introduces some significant variations in the pattern of voting, but again education remains associated with Republicanism

VOTE IN 1952 (in percentages)

Raised in Middle class household and:

|                        | <u>Stevenson</u> | <u>Eisenhower</u> | <u>Non-Voters</u> | <u>Misc.</u> | <u>Total.</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------|
| Grade School Education | 49               | 38                | 13                | 0            | 100%          | 45                  |
| High School Education  | 30               | 55                | 14                | 1            | 100%          | 163                 |
| College Education      | 17               | 67                | 11                | 5            | 100%          | 32                  |

Raised in Working Class household and:

| Grade school Education | 34 | 32 | 31 | 3 | 100% | 157 |
|------------------------|----|----|----|---|------|-----|
| High School Education  | 36 | 46 | 17 | 1 | 100% | 259 |
| College Education      | 26 | 70 | 4  | 0 | 100% | 53  |

Raised in Farmer's Household and:

| Grade School Education | 35 | 44 | 19 | 2 | 100% | 210 |
|------------------------|----|----|----|---|------|-----|
| High School Education  | 29 | 58 | 13 | 0 | 100% | 137 |
| College Education      | 18 | 73 | 9  | 0 | 100% | 40  |

Note: College-educated persons from working class background are not greatly less Republican than those from farm and middle class backgrounds. The definition of parental household is the response of people to the question regarding what was the occupation of their head of household when they were growing up; "working-class" includes skilled and unskilled workers whereas "middle-class" includes professional, managerial, brokers, salesmen, clerks, artisans and proprietors.

6. Men preferred Eisenhower more than women but education was still related to Republicanism despite sex differences.

VOTE IN 1952 (in %)

| <u>Education</u> | <u>Stevenson</u> |              | <u>Eisenhower</u> |              | <u>Non-Voting</u> |              | <u>Miscellaneous</u> |              | <u>Totals</u> |              |
|------------------|------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
|                  | <u>Men</u>       | <u>Women</u> | <u>Men</u>        | <u>Women</u> | <u>Men</u>        | <u>Women</u> | <u>Men</u>           | <u>Women</u> | <u>Men</u>    | <u>Women</u> |
| Grade School     | 38               | 35           | 42                | 33           | 17                | 31           | 3                    | 1            | 238           | 207          |
| High School      | 36               | 31           | 48                | 53           | 16                | 16           | 0                    | 1            | 241           | 348          |
| College          | 16               | 26           | 74                | 63           | 7                 | 10           | 3                    | 1            | 105           | 81           |

7. The Eisenhower voting among college-educated white Protestants of over \$5000 income, of middle-class urban occupation and from white-collar middle-class parental households was 82%, which appears to be the maximum Republicanism of any grouping in 1952 of national significance. Only 34 cases occurred in the sample of approximately 1900 (including South) that satisfied all of these requirements, and<sup>3</sup> voted for either Eisenhower (28) or Stevenson (4). Only one person of grade school education satisfied all the requirements and this one voted for Stevenson. No person in the sample of high-school education satisfied all the requirements.

The results of this complicated set of runs, while unsatisfying in the specific context, are generally significant. They show:

- a. The heterogeneous nature of the population and consequently the difficulty of close prediction of a vote by the use of socio-economic variables
- b. The plain social fact that hardly any urban grade school and high school educated persons exist who are white Protestants of over \$5000 annual family income, whose childhood breadwinner was in a middle-class urban occupation. (The major drop in persons qualifying through the hurdles occurred on parent's occupation; apparently almost entirely among college-educated persons are middle-class, urban, parental occupations to be found.

March 7th, 1955

**SHIFTS IN THE VOTE OF EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, 1948-1952 AND  
FACTORS IMPORTANT TO THREE LEVELS OF EDUCATION IN 1952**

**I. SUMMARY**

**Statement of Problem:**

A. What educational level shifted its vote most from 1948 to 1952?

B. What difference does nativity of parents, age, and party affiliations of parents make on the votes of different educational levels.

C. What major factors did the three general educational levels respond to in the campaign of 1952?

**Report of Findings:**

A. College-educated people shifted to Eisenhower more than high-school and grade-school people in 1952.

B. While the younger and second-generation voters were less Republican than the older and third generation of more people, the higher educational levels in both groups were more Republican than the lower educational levels. The party affiliation of parents is often transmitted to the young; yet, higher education means higher Republicanism among children of two Democratic parents as well as among those of two Republican parents.

C. The most compelling forces working on the Republican voters were party attachment and Eisenhower's popularity; corruption in government, taxation, living conditions and issues in general were next most effective (but only about half as general). Among Democratic voters, party loyalty and prosperity were most appealing; issues were more important than among Republicans proportionately; and special group appeals were very strong save in the college-educated group.

**Reference:**

Refer for further information and findings to reports of January 31, 1955, entitled "Education Related to the Party Vote," and February 28, 1955, entitled "The Political Behavior of Educational Levels."

## II. DETAILED REPORT OF FINDINGS

1. The largest proportional shift in the vote between 1948 and 1952 was a 32% shift of the Truman vote to Eisenhower among college-educated people

### Shifts in the Presidential Vote, 1948-1952 (percentages)

|                           | <u>Tru-Stev</u> | <u>T-Eis</u>  | <u>T-Non-voting</u> | <u>No. of cases</u>                               |
|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| a. Grade School Education | 60              | 23            | 7                   | 214(Tru.1948)                                     |
| High School Education     | 61              | 25            | 8                   | 233 "                                             |
| College Education         | 51              | 32            | 2                   | 47 "                                              |
|                           | <u>Dew-Stev</u> | <u>D-Eis</u>  | <u>D-Non-voting</u> |                                                   |
| b. Grade School Education | 4               | 77            | 7                   | 110(Dew.1948)                                     |
| High School Education     | 3               | 87            | 5                   | 211 "                                             |
| College Education         | 4               | 87            | 4                   | 102 "                                             |
|                           | <u>NV-Stev</u>  | <u>NV-Eis</u> | <u>NV-NV</u>        |                                                   |
| c. Grade School Education | 16              | 28            | 47                  | 58 [Non-voters who had a "reason" for non-voting] |
| High School Education     | 21              | 34            | 25                  | 56 "                                              |
| College Education         | 13              | 50            | 26                  | 8 "                                               |

2. Americans of first and second generation, in all or part, were less Republican in 1952 than others, but maintained the same positive relationship between education and Republicanism.

|                        | <u>Both Parents<br/>Born in U.S.A.</u> | <u>One or Both Parents<br/>Born Abroad</u> |
|------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
|                        | % Rep. of 2<br>party vote, 1952        | % Rep. of 2 party<br>vote, 1952            |
| Grade School Education | 54                                     | 46                                         |
| High School Education  | 60                                     | 52                                         |
| College Education      | 76                                     | 64                                         |

3. Younger Americans were less Republican in 1952 than older Americans, but maintained the same positive relationship between education and Republicanism.

|                        | <u>Age 40 or<br/>younger in<br/>1952</u> | <u>Over 40<br/>in 1952</u>       |
|------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|                        | <u>% Rep. of<br/>2 party vote</u>        | <u>% Rep of<br/>2 party vote</u> |
| Grade School Education | 48                                       | 52                               |
| High School Education  | 50                                       | 66                               |
| College Education      | 70                                       | 77                               |

4. A great many voters follow the same party as their parents, but education is associated with Republicanism even when both parents were Democratic. Fully 95% of college-educated children of Republican parents voted Republican in 1952.

A. Relations between Education, Parents' Party and the 1952 Vote  
(excluding South)

|              | <u>Parents were Democrats</u> | <u>Parents were Republicans</u> | <u>All others</u>          |
|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
|              | % Rep. '52 of 2 party vote    | % Rep. '52 of 2 party vote      | % Rep. '52 of 2 party vote |
| College      | 60                            | 95                              | 73                         |
| High School  | 46                            | 84                              | 58                         |
| Grade School | 35                            | 63                              | 55                         |

Total cases in above cells as follows:

|     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|
| 52  | 59  | 49  |
| 181 | 142 | 162 |
| 99  | 81  | 140 |

# B. The Same: South only

|              | <u>Both Parents<br/>were Democrats</u> | <u>Both Parents<br/>were Republicans</u> | <u>All other combin-<br/>ations and DK</u> |
|--------------|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
|              | % Rep. in '52<br>of 2 party vote       | % Rep. in '52 of<br>2 party vote         | % Rep in '52 of<br>2 party vote            |
| College      | 60                                     | 86                                       | 50                                         |
| High School  | 32                                     | 29                                       | 62                                         |
| Grade School | 39                                     | 83                                       | 47                                         |

Total cases in the above cells as follows: 35 7 8  
63 7 13  
41 23 17

5. Party attachments, Eisenhower's personality, corruption, and financial problems were of strongest interest to Republican voters. Party loyalty, special appeals and prosperity were of greatest importance to Democrats, College-educated Democrats were more issue-conscious by far than other Democrats and much less prone to thinking in special group terms.

## Main Reasons for Supporting One or the Other Presidential Candidate

| <u>Major Reason</u>                                                                       | <u>Grade School</u><br>Eis. Stev. | <u>High School</u><br>Eis. Stev. | <u>College</u><br>Eis. Stev. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. Party Attachment                                                                       | 35 25 46                          | 27 46 38                         | 23 38                        |
| b. Favoring the Candidate                                                                 | 23 3                              | 31 7                             | 20 9                         |
| c. Hostility to Opposed Candidate                                                         | 1 1                               | 2 2                              | 2 5                          |
| d. Issues: Both Foreign or Domestic or No Answer as to either                             | 3 2                               | 5 2                              | 8 11                         |
| e. Foreign Policy, Korea, war, peace, etc.                                                | 5 3                               | 5 1                              | 4 2                          |
| f. Domestic issues (other than g, h, i)                                                   | 1 1                               | 2 2                              | 6 11                         |
| g. Corruption, "mess in Washington," "time for a change," etc.                            | 16 3                              | 16 1                             | 27 2                         |
| h. Prosperity, good times, fear of depression, lower taxes, other economic considerations | 11 16                             | 10 19                            | 4 16                         |