

# **Rockefeller Republicans Redux: Political Moderates on the Right in New York State**

Jason Barabas  
Professor, Department of Government  
Director, Nelson A. Rockefeller Center for Public Policy and the Social Sciences  
Dartmouth College  
Hanover, NH 03755  
jason.barabas@dartmouth.edu

Cristina Javens  
Research Assistant, Nelson A. Rockefeller Center for Public Policy and the Social Sciences  
Undergraduate Major, Department of Sociology  
Dartmouth College  
Hanover, NH 03755  
cristina.m.javens.23@dartmouth.edu

Paper Prepared for the 2022 State Politics and Policy Conference  
Florida State University  
Tallahassee, FL 32306

April 15, 2022

## **Abstract**

While ideological consistency is often prized by scholars, many citizens adopt seemingly odd mixtures of political views. These amalgams sometimes become recognizable brands. One example from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century is the “Rockefeller Republicans,” although policy moderates on the right part of the political spectrum have long been thought of as scarce if not extinct. More specifically, in a highly polarized era with combative partisans at the extremes, the conventional wisdom is that ideologically speaking, Republicans are virtually all conservative in their ideology and policy views. Yet, statewide surveys from the Siena College Research Institute in New York reveal a surprising level of diversity within the subset of respondents who identify as Republicans. Roughly half of modern-day Republicans in New York hold moderate or liberal views across dozens of policy and attitudinal questions. Consistent with scholarship that questions the depth of conservative ideology in America (e.g., “conflicted conservatives,” “conservative egalitarians,” or “operational liberals”), policy moderates in the Republican party are plentiful and, many times, are largely in agreement with moderate Democrats on economic and social policy issues. Preliminary analyses suggest that these results extend to other surveys of Americans and provide a counterintuitive perspective on the extent of mass political polarization in the United States.

Most Americans are hard to categorize politically. While the world is often portrayed by pundits as an ideological battle between the right and the left, in reality, many citizens hold mixed political views, blending conservative and liberal attitudes and preferences. For much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such mingled political views were problematic, at least from a democratic theory perspective. For instance, Converse (1964) demonstrated that ideologues with constrained political views were the exception, not the rule; he demonstrated that few people “know what goes with what” politically. Moreover, and especially as high-quality public opinion surveys proliferated, many respondents were shown to be not only inconsistent at any given moment in time but also across time, shifting their views dramatically over relatively brief periods of time (Converse 1964; 1970). As Achen (1975, 1220) summarized it, the lack of meaningful political views meant that, “democracy theory loses its starting point.” A government built upon public preferences could unravel if those views are highly contradictory.

In subsequent years, there were attempts to resuscitate democratic citizenship in various ways by anchoring political views in highly stable partisanship or social groups attitudes (Campbell et al 1960; Kane 2019; cf. Groenendyk 2013), through better measurement techniques (Achen 1975; Ansolabehere, Rodden, and Snyder 2008), by reconceiving the nature of survey opinions (Zaller and Feldman 1992), or by shifting the focus to the macro-level (Page and Shapiro 1992; Druckman and Leeper 2012). But while scholars were debating the existence and merits of ideological consistency, the political world features atypical political combinations. Some politicians have thrived as ideological mavericks at the national level (e.g., Wallace, Anderson, Perot; see Rosenstone, Behr, and Lazarus 1984), but this sort of phenomenon was especially prevalent at the state level. Governors like George Romney in Michigan or William Scranton in

Pennsylvania showed their electoral appeal in large urban states. In New York, Nelson Rockefeller won four gubernatorial elections as a Republican in a state often seen as reliably in the Democratic column for presidential elections, with only two Republicans (Reagan and Nixon) winning the state since the 1960s.

However, the tables may have finally turned. In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, scholars have come to appreciate nuances in political attitudes. Americans are increasingly viewed as operational liberals but philosophically conservative (Page and Jacobs 2009), or to put it another way, they could be considered “conflicted conservatives” (Stimson and Ellis 2012). Americans hold ambivalent views, with sympathies on various sides of an issue (Lavine, Johnson, and Steenbergen 2012). More specifically, Americans often appear to be liberal with respect to specific policy preferences but conservative in more general ideological attitudes (Grossman and Hopkins 2015). This conflicts with the conventional wisdom, particularly at the elite-level, that the parties are at historical levels of partisan polarization (Mason 2018; McCarty 2019). It also begs the question of whether the hybrids noted years ago—e.g., Rockefeller Republicans—are in fact still accurate descriptors.<sup>1</sup>

Our study picks up at this moment. Scholars are increasingly open to the idea that policy moderation is a real and coherent perspective, while some accounts paint a picture of stark polarization. In particular, we return to one of the states that helped bring about policy moderates: New York and its early support for Rockefeller Republicans. Is it the case that these moderate-to-liberal identifiers exist in the modern era? Using several statewide surveys, we

---

<sup>1</sup> Later, we will contrast Rockefeller Republicans with their counterparts on the left, Blue Dog Democrats (Cook 2001).

show that they are a small but consistent subgroup. We further demonstrate that party adherents are not monolithic. The moderate wings of each party often have more in common with each other than they do with the strongest identifiers in their parties. In that sense, and at least in the state of New York, sizeable portions of the parties are more aligned from a policy point of view than it might seem.

### **Nelson Rockefeller and Rockefeller Republicans in Historical Context**

Nelson A. Rockefeller was the grandson of the John D. Rockefeller, a legendary businessman and creator of the Standard Oil Trust during the Gilded Age before it was broken up by the federal government in 1911. While the Rockefellers are perhaps best known for their business and philanthropic endeavors, Nelson rose to great heights politically, winning four gubernatorial elections in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s as governor of New York. In 1975, President Gerald Ford tapped Nelson Rockefeller to be the Vice President of the United States in the wake of Richard Nixon's resignation. Ironically, Rockefeller's initial appeal to Ford and moderate establishment Republicans may have been what led to his downfall. The country was in the midst of change, politically, not just in the Democratic Party, but also in the Republican Party (Hare and Poole 2014). Conservatives succeeded in handing the presidential nomination to Barry Goldwater in 1964, but he was decisively defeated in the general election.

In addition to being a dynamic public leader from an iconic family, Rockefeller was known as taking a variety of progressive political stances, including being pro-environment, pro-education, pro-transportation, and pro-free trade. For instance, he was an early champion of solar power and energy conservation (Rockefeller 1977, 5). In a quote from an era well before widespread climate consciousness, Rockefeller was quoted as saying, "As for the possibility of

converting sunlight into a substitute for fossil fuels....,'I could not be more interested.'" (Norton Smith 2014, 220). Rockefeller also was an early advocate of public health measures; for instance, he was put in charge of an effort to distribute the Salk vaccine globally and spoke of the need for health and sanitation during his trips abroad. Furthermore, Nelson Rockefeller pressed the White House to establish a national council of the arts (Norton Smith 2014, 233). Rockefeller wanted to decrease defense spending by billions (Norton Smith 2014, 330) while he would also entertain tax increases or fees (Gervasi 1964, 226-30). He had "passionate support of Medicare" (Rockefeller 1968, 66) as well as state provided health care and medical research. At the same time, he was a staunch anti-communist and gained a reputation as being harsh on criminals. Rockefeller enlarged the state police force (Gervasi 1964, 237), and the Rockefeller Drug laws were seen, especially years later, as being punitive (Fortner 2015). Many states, including by Republicans in New York, repealed the mandatory minimum sentences, even for first time non-violent drug offenses.

While the racial implications of Rockefeller's crime policies might lead some to suspect that the right-ward stance would carry over to proximate issues, that was not the case. In fact, few issue areas defined the Rockefeller Republican brand more than his progressive stance on civil rights. Under Governor Rockefeller, New York banned racial discrimination in the sale or rental of apartments, commercial space, and private housing developments (Norton Smith 2014). Rockefeller also supported the civil rights movement in the south, endorsing the Freedom March (Norton Smith 2014, 457) and securing funding for historically black colleges. The nomination of Barry Goldwater in 1964 was a key moment. As Wright Rigueur (2014) notes, "For many black Republicans, endorsing Goldwater was tantamount to betraying their race.

Athlete-turned-activist Jackie Robinson aggressively promoted New York governor Nelson Rockefeller as a respected alternative to Goldwater” (p. 54). As Dionne notes, Republicans have abandoned the cause of civil rights and voting rights that had been from “the Lincoln era to Rockefeller’s time, the GOP’s calling card” (2019). Yet, progressive stances on race relations for Republicans hardly seem commonplace in American politics during the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> These views and the others just discussed are so at odds with the contemporary experience that many openly discuss the demise of the entire political brand.

### **Do Rockefeller Republicans Still Exist?**

In New York, the populous northeastern state where Rockefeller was first elected, local newspapers have run headlines in the last few years proclaiming, “‘Rockefeller Republicans’ are scarce in New York these days” (McCarthy 2016). Likewise, scholars like Geoffrey Kabaservice (2012) have argued that moderate Republicans are essentially extinct as a political species. That is, the period since the time Rockefeller served in office has witnessed, “...the transformation of the Republican Party over the past half-century into a monolithically conservative organization” (p. xvi) or that moderates in the Republican Party experienced “...near complete disappearance during the first decade of the twenty-first century...” (p. 395). Kabaservice (2012, xiv) describes the combative natures of the conservative-moderate fight. He writes,

In the years after Ronald Reagan’s election in 1980, however, moderates did not simply die out, but were killed off by conservative enmity from within their own party as well as Democratic opposition and their own failures. The first decade

---

<sup>2</sup> Contrast the Rockefeller Republicans stance with the prevailing view, captured by Valentino and Sears (2005), that “...over time racial conservatism has become closely associated with Republican partisanship [especially] in the White south...” (674).

of the twenty-first century witnessed the final decline and virtual extinction of moderates' power and representation in the Republican party.

These impressions are not unique. Dionne (2016) writes, "It is a mark of the success of the Goldwater movement that in the ensuing decades, it did more than simply drive liberals and then moderates out of the Republican Party" (p. 5). He goes on to say that there were efforts to keep the conservative brand from becoming more tolerant on the use of government to correct societal problems.<sup>3</sup>

Yet, conservatives found the moderate elements of their party useful as a foil. In particular, conservatives defined themselves in opposition to Rockefeller. One insult conservative commentators used was to accuse centrists in the Republican party sounding like Nelson Rockefeller (Balz 1999). At the same time, there have been many who have wondered what has happened to Republicans (Cobb 2021), with some speculating that the Republican party may be on the verge of destroying itself (Patterson 2021). Some of this might be anti-Trumpism, with Republicans defecting to support Joe Biden (Kabaservice 2020).<sup>4</sup> Given all of this, we can see why many would be tempted to write obituaries for Rockefeller Republicans and other moderates on the right. Even wealthy right-leaning "Greenwich Republicans" threw their support to Donald Trump (Osnos 2020; 2021). Yet, scholars

---

<sup>3</sup> So-called "Blue Dog" Democrats with conservative views, who were once plentiful may also be on the decline ((Block Rubin 2017; Kane 2014; Blake 2012).

<sup>4</sup> Kabaservice (2012) reminds us that many prominent conservatives once considered themselves to be moderates who supported Nelson Rockefeller. This list includes Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, and Mitch McConnell as well as Newt Gingrich. On the latter, "In fact, when he became involved with politics in the late 1960s, as a Ph.D. student in history at Tulane University, he was a moderate or even progressive Republican with connections to the Ripon Society. At the 1968 Republican national convention, Gingrich was one of New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller's strongest Southern supporters....He believed that 'one of the gravest mistakes the Reagan Administration made was its failure to lead aggressively in civil rights.' He identified with 'the classic moderate wing of the party, where, as a former Rockefeller state chairman, I've spent most of my life.'" (2012, 371).

increasingly believe that liberal and conservative views may be held in tandem. An alternative to the typical left-right view of American politics may once again accurately describe many citizens who demonstrate consistency of their own: they reliably champion views that while they seem at odds, represent a distinct worldview for a sizable percentage of the public. Moreover, they may have more in common with partisans on the other side of the aisle than they do with extreme parts of their own party.

### **Data and Methods**

Our investigation draws upon four statewide public opinion polls from Siena Research Institute in the state of New York, all of which were accessed from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research data archive. The polls were conducted from January 2019 through March 2020, just as the COVID-19 pandemic was becoming more severe. Although some questions are repeated or only slightly reworded across different polls, many questions are unique to a given dataset. Compiling the data from these four datasets which were available to access and download, allowed for more insight into a broader range of policy topics affecting New York residents.

#### *Survey Datasets*

All four surveys randomly sampled registered voters in New York. More specifically, the Siena Research Institute describes the sampling process as “a stratified dual frame probability sample of both landline and cell phone telephone numbers drawn from registered voters from within New York State.” The datasets were statistically adjusted (using post-stratification weights supplied by Siena) by age, party by region, race/ethnicity, and gender to increase



representativeness on the selected dimensions. The field dates and sample sizes for the polling are shown below:

• January 2019	(Field Dates: January 6 - 10, 2019)	$n = 805$
• February 2019	(Field Dates: February 4 - 7, 2019)	$n = 778$
• April 2019	(Field Dates: April 8 - 11, 2019)	$n = 735$
• March 2020	(Field Dates: March 22 - 26, 2020)	$n = 566$

It is worth noting that the geographical focus of this the surveys takes on special relevance. As noted earlier, New York is a highly diverse state and one that was Rockefeller's starting point in electoral politics. While Rockefeller served in several presidential administrations across the aisle, his ability to win in New York put his name in contention for loftier ambitions. Rockefeller considered running for president in 1960, even dabbling a bit to keep people guess, but he saved his formal run for the 1964 and 1968 electoral contests. He lost both primaries, although he kept his visibility. As a first cut, then, looking for evidence of Rockefeller Republicans in New York in the 21<sup>st</sup> century could provide clues on the continued viability of the political brand. Moreover, there could be added support for a revisionist view of ideological coherence, one that embraces citizens who prefer policies from across the political spectrum.

### *Topics and Questions*

The Siena surveys feature a range of different policy questions and attitudes toward state officials and the direction of the state. Broadly, the surveys pertain to gun control, environmental policy, economic policy, election policy, criminal policy, and identity politics in the policy domains. There are also broad evaluations of state and national figures (e.g., Gov. Cuomo and President Trump) as well as approval and beliefs about COVID-19 response actions.

Instead of targeting specific areas, we examine all attitudinal questions in the surveys to avoid creating a biased impression by favoring some topics over others.<sup>5</sup>

There are dozens of survey questions. Appendix A contains a detailed list of the questions by topic and for each survey, if that survey asked a question in that topical area. Please note that in the tables, the wording was adapted to identify a particular policy position. Additionally, in the appendix, questions were adapted to the positive form of possible responses (e.g., “support” or “approve” instead of “oppose” or “disapprove”). As an example, one question in the February 2019 survey read: “The Census is supposed to count all people living in New York regardless of whether or not they are citizens, whether or not they are here legally. Do you support or oppose adding a question to the 2020 Census that asks whether or not each person is a United States citizen?” In the appendix (and in the tables), this question was shortened in the tables to “support census US citizenship question.” Once the position was clear, dichotomous variables were generated for the question such that higher values indicated support and lower values were set to zero for opposition or refusal/don’t know answers.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> We do not examine subgroup differences in demographic factors. However, it is worth considering whether Rockefeller Republicans are demographically distinctive. While the sample sizes are small (e.g., only 167 Republicans in the April 2019 Siena survey), the only significant predictor of RR is gender, which is negatively related, with women being about 17 percentage points less likely to be classified as RR (OLS coeff.=-.17, se=.08); the only other time this variable was significant was Feb. 2019, at  $p < .10$ . Other factors, such as education, income age, and being black or Hispanic, were not significant predictors in most surveys; education was  $p < .10$  in the March 2020 survey with more highly educated being more apt to be a RR. These results replicate with logit specifications for the dichotomous outcome variables.

<sup>6</sup> Many questions followed the “support vs. oppose,” “approve vs. disapprove,” “good vs. bad” dichotomies. The evaluation questions, which had multiple levels of response, were similarly recoded into a dichotomous variable using top-2 box responses. For example, when response options were “excellent, good, fair, or poor,” the dichotomous variable created corresponded to either “excellent/good” or “fair/poor.”

### *Coding Rockefeller Republicans and Their Democratic Counterparts (Blue-Dog Democrats)*

While the Siena surveys are comprehensive with respect to issues, they are more limited in terms of partisanship and ideology variables. More specifically, rather than a five or seven point scale that get at strength of partisanship or degrees of ideology, the Siena surveys are three point substantive scales with added categories for refusal or don't know responses. We reclassify them into three-point ordinal measures (-1=Republican, 0=Independent or Refuse/DK, 1=Democrat as well as the same from -1 =Conservative to 1=Liberal).

Next, we created the variables of Rockefeller Republicans (denoted "RR") and Blue Dog Democrats ("BDD") to capture particular intersections of the party identification and ideology variables. Specifically, RR are defined as those respondents who identify with the Republican Party, and who have a liberal *or* moderate ideology. Blue-Dog Democrats are defined as those respondents who identify with the Democratic Party, and who have a conservative *or* moderate ideology. So, any moderate or liberal republican was classified as a Rockefeller Republican. Any moderate or conservative Democrat was classified as a BBD.<sup>7</sup>

### *Positions on Policy Issues & Gaps*

Once Rockefeller Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats were defined variables, the next step in our analysis was to find how these groups differ in policy preferences from others within their own party. In other words, we wanted to find how much Rockefeller Republicans differed

---

<sup>7</sup> While a narrow definition of Rockefeller Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats might exclude the moderates in either party, we decided to include those with self-defined moderate ideology in each party in our definitions. This is consistent with how others have defined Blue Dog Democrats. In particular, Watts (2010) writes that, "Blue Dig Democrats, collectively known as the Blue Dog Coalition, are a grouping in Congress of conservative and moderate Democrats" (p. 22).

from conservative Republicans, and – on the other side of the aisle – how much Blue Dog Democrats differed from liberal Democrats. We coined this difference a “gap,” which helps illustrate the disunity that exists even within a shared party identity. Then, we conducted a survey-weighted Chi-Square 2x2 cross tabulation to determine, within the party, the percentage of Rockefeller Republicans who supported the policy versus the percentage of non-Rockefeller Republicans (i.e., conservative Republicans) who supported the policy. For the Democrats, we calculated the percentage of Blue Dog Democrats who supported the policy versus the percentage of non-Blue Dog Democrats (i.e., liberal Democrats) who supported the policy.

To return to the citizenship question discussed earlier, 91% of conservative Republicans support the census U.S. citizenship question, while 81% of Rockefeller Republicans support it. On the other side of the aisle, 64% of Blue Dog Democrats support the census U.S. citizenship question, while only 23% of liberal Democrats feel the same. Thus, the gaps, in terms of absolute values, were much bigger on the Democratic side (almost 40 points versus 10 points) for this issue.

After determining the percentages of Rockefeller Republicans, non-Rockefeller Republicans, Blue Dog Democrats, and non-Blue Dog Democrats who support a policy (or have some other positive position towards it), we found the “gaps.” Within a party, the gap is the absolute value of the difference in these percentages between the two factions we defined. Worth noting is that the unit of the gaps is in percentage points, but it does *not* read as “Rockefeller Republicans are \_\_\_% more likely to support....” It does *not* make any predictions on policy preferences based on party identification or ideology. Rather, the gap tells us how much

disunity exists within a party. It tells us that there is a significant difference in the percentage of Rockefeller Republicans or Blue Dog Democrats who support a policy versus their more extreme party members.

To confirm the significance of any gaps, we conducted statistical significance tests using a variety of techniques to determine whether “gap” in the policy preferences within a party was meaningful enough to conclude that there were compelling divides among voters of the same party identification. In a first pass, we employed chi-square statistics on the 2x2 tables (e.g., RR or non-RR by support or oppose). In addition, we conducted robust regression analysis with and without controls for education, income, age, race, and gender. These subsequent tests confirmed or challenged the original Chi-Squared analysis. We followed the standard significance levels (e.g.,  $p < .01$  or  $< .05$ ), but also included the 90 percent confidence threshold.

### **Empirical Results**

Some stark patterns emerge. First, there are large and significant gaps between the Rockefeller Republicans (i.e., liberals or moderates in terms of ideology) as compared to conservative Republicans. Abortion is one area of major disagreement. Moderate/liberal Republicans overwhelmingly support legalized abortion (78%) while conservatives mostly oppose it (only 36% support), which is a highly significant 42 point gap ( $p < .01$ ). Support for immigration in terms of the Dream Act is another area of significant disagreement with a 30 point gap between RR and non-RR (40% vs. 10%,  $p < .01$ ). The same holds for gun control with a 34 percentage point gap (81% support vs. 47%, a 34 point difference,  $p < .01$ ). These patterns continue on most issues (see Appendix B). In other areas, though, the gaps were insignificant.

There is basically no difference in support for a statewide childhood victims Act (1 point, n.s.) and making election day a state holiday (RR=55% vs. 48% for non-RR, n.s.). True to their historic roots, RRs are only modestly in support of eliminating monetary bail for misdemeanors as compared to 48% among non-RRs, which is an insignificant 7 point gap. The average gap was about 16 points in nearly 90 comparisons, but most were significant and sometimes it rose to more than 50 percentage points (max=52 pts).

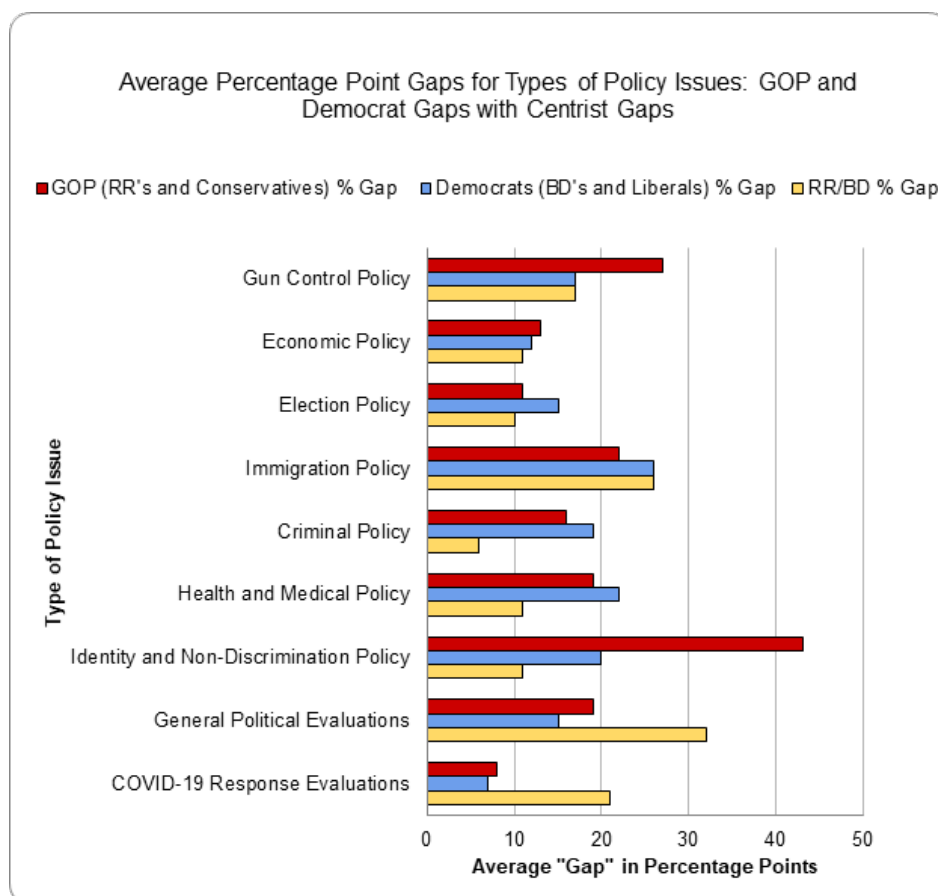
In addition to looking at gaps on individual policies, we also considered trends by type of policy issue. After sorting each specific policy position into types of issues (gun control, economic, election, immigration, criminal, health and medical, identity and non-discrimination, general political evaluations, and COVID-19 response evaluations); we calculated the average gaps by type of issue. Table 2 shows the results.

<b>Table 2. Average Percentage Point Gaps for Types of Policy Issues</b>			
	<b>GOP AVG Gap %</b>	<b>Dems AVG Gap%</b>	<b>RR/BD AVG Gap %</b>
<i><b>Identity and Non-Discrimination Policy</b></i>	43	20	11
<i><b>Gun Control Policy</b></i>	27	17	17
<i><b>Immigration Policy</b></i>	22	26	26
<i><b>Health and Medical Policy</b></i>	19	22	11
<i><b>General Political Evaluations</b></i>	19	15	32
<i><b>Criminal Policy</b></i>	16	19	6
<i><b>Economic Policy</b></i>	13	12	11
<i><b>Election Policy</b></i>	11	15	10
<i><b>COVID-19 Response Evaluations</b></i>	8	7	21

We also considered gaps within each of the parties for Rockefeller Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats. Table 2 shows the gaps. Within parties, NY Republicans are most divided on Identity and Non-Discrimination Policy, while NY Democrats are most divided on Immigration

Policy. We then calculated the “RR/BD % Gap,” which refers to the absolute value of the difference, in percentage points, between the percentage of Rockefeller Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats who support a policy or political leader. That value, shown in yellow in Figure 1, quantifies the disunity between the moderates on either side of the political aisle.

Figure 1.



Looking at the bar chart, Republicans in New York are most divided on identity and non-discrimination policy, with a gap of 43 percentage points between Rockefeller Republicans and conservative Republicans on their support for related policies. Looking at Democrats, Blue Dogs and liberal Democrats experience their most dramatic divide of 26 percentage points when it comes to matters of immigration policy, such as the DREAM Act. Such disunity within the

parties demonstrates that policy positions not always driven by party identification, particularly when it comes to contentious topics that feel more personal or social.

When it comes to evaluating political leaders, Rockefeller Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats remain loyal to their parties; and while policy decisions on the COVID-19 pandemic act as unifiers within each party, they are a divider between them. Despite the existing gaps within parties, positions on supporting political leaders and COVID-19 responses from political players illustrate the greatest gaps between centrists (Rockefeller Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats). These centrist groups generally follow their parties when it comes to supporting leaders such as politicians or institutions.

Finally, we found was that, on a number of issues, there was less of a “gap” between Rockefeller Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats than there was between each group and the other members of their respective parties. In other words, on these issues, Rockefeller Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats agreed more with each other than they did with more extreme members of their own party.

<b>Table 3. Issues where Rockefeller Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats are more Unified with Each Other (Across Party Lines) than with their Own Party</b>				
<b>Siena Poll Date</b>	<b>Policy Position</b>	<b>GOP Abs Gap %</b>	<b>Dems Abs Gap %</b>	<b>RR/BD Abs Gap %</b>
Jan 2019	<i>Support more gun control</i>	<b>34</b>	15	5
Apr 2019	<i>Ban single-use plastic bags in grocery stores good</i>	11	<b>30</b>	10
Avg of Jan and April 2019	<i>Support congestion pricing</i>	18	<b>20</b>	3
Jan 2019	<i>Support eliminating "LLC loophole"</i>	<b>20</b>	15	2
Feb 2019	<i>Approve Amazon NY deal</i>	16	<b>21</b>	8
Jan 2019	<i>Support a ban on corporate campaign contributions</i>	<b>17</b>	6	1



Apr 2019	<i>Support increase governor's salary</i>	14	<b>18</b>	7
Apr 2019	<i>Allow undocumented immigrants to get driver's license</i>	25	<b>30</b>	12
Avg of Jan, Feb, and April 2019	<i>Support legalize marijuana</i>	18	<b>27</b>	6
Apr 2019	<i>Eliminating monetary bail for misdemeanors good</i>	<b>31</b>	27	1
Apr 2019	<i>Ban release of mugshots good</i>	12	<b>19</b>	3
Feb 2019	<i>Support Child Victims Act</i>	<b>19</b>	7	2
Jan 2019	<i>Support legalize abortion</i>	<b>42</b>	18	2
Apr 2019	<i>Support requirement of parents to have children vaccinated for schools</i>	2	<b>9</b>	0
Feb 2019	<i>Support legalize physician assisted suicide</i>	4	<b>27</b>	6
Feb 2019	<i>Support Gender Expression Non Discrimination Act</i>	<b>52</b>	29	6

This has important implications for the two-party system, shedding light on the fact that having the same party identification does not always mean having the same policy position. The two-party system forces generalization of parties and their positions, but there is much more disagreement and complexity within the parties than we acknowledge. In practice, centrists such as Rockefeller Republicans and Blue Dog Democrats may act more as their own party when it comes to agreeing on policy positions.

#### *Other Survey Evidence on Subgroup Partisan Gaps*

It is possible to see similar patterns in national surveys from Pew Research Center. These surveys are A) national in scope, and B) have more nuanced questions when it comes to partisanship. For instance, is the federal government doing enough to combat climate change? Among Republican adults, only 24% of conservative Republicans think the federal government is doing too little to reduce the effects of climate change; while 65% percent of

moderate/liberal Republicans think the federal government is doing too little to reduce the effects of climate change. This is a 41% gap between conservative and moderate/liberal Republicans. On immigration, the question was should the U.S. increase security along the U.S. Mexico border? Fully 95% of conservative Republicans say that increasing the security along the US-Mexico border is a very or somewhat important goal for US immigration policy, compared to 85% of moderate/liberal Republicans who agreed. This is a 10% gap between conservative and moderate/liberal Republicans. With respect to economic policy, Americans in the Pew survey were asked, should there be a universal income for U.S. adults. Again, 87% of conservative republicans either strongly or somewhat oppose the federal government providing a universal basic income of about \$1,000 a month for all adult citizens, whether or not they work. Fully 65% of moderate/liberal republicans had the same sentiment. This is a 22% gap. And finally, on a topic where there were big differences in the Siena data, we see the same in the Pew surveys. Roughly 61% of conservative republicans strongly agree with the GOP on abortion policy, while only 17% of moderate/liberal republicans do. With respect to strong support for GOP abortion policy, there is a 44% gap between conservative republicans and moderate/liberal republicans. Clearly, then, there the party is not entirely in agreement on major policy issues of the day.

### **Conclusions**

Patterns consistent with the Rockefeller Republican profile can be found in contemporary surveys. Even in a highly polarized era with partisans often portrayed at the extremes, the political right is not monolithic. There are many who self-categorize as Republicans but who hold distinct policy views. In many instances, the partisan cleavages are stark within parties than across them. Thus, despite rumors of their demise (e.g., Kabaservice

2012; Dionne 2016), survey evidence points to many respondents on the right, even in “blue” state like New York, holding a mixing of policy positions. In other words, citizens are not reliably conservative if they are Republicans, or for that matter, liberal if they are Democrats.

For years, this lack of constraint and consistency was deemed problematic. As with the scholars who were flummoxed by ideological consistency, pundits found it hard to locate Rockefeller as well. As Norton Smith (2014, 149) writes, “To observers, Nelson seemed to have no discernable ideology.” Yet, the patterns remained despite decades of advances in survey methods and in our understanding of topics like partisanship. They have gone by different names—such as conflicted conservatives or operational liberals (e.g., Page and Jacobs 2009; Ellis and Stimson 2012; Kinder and Kalmoe 2017)—but the world view of the moderate has not vanished.

We are not the first to draw insights about the state of American politics from an analysis of gaps within public opinion preferences (e.g., Holbrook 2002; Norrander 1999; Page and Barabas 2000; Page and Shapiro 1992). Of course, our analyses were largely confined to the state of New York, using polling evidence from randomly sampled voters statewide. In the future, it would be beneficial to see if these patterns hold in other areas or even nationally. We previewed some national evidence, but this style of analysis lends itself to other surveys well. Additionally, it would help to consider other analytical techniques and time periods to show the ebb and flow of these patterns. Finally, our analyses only went to the point of preferences and evaluations, but it would help to see the patterns in voting behavior as well as, perhaps, in experimental settings to pin down the pathways.

Nevertheless, the early 21<sup>st</sup> century has been tumultuous politically, even to the point of violence. Perhaps presciently, some have warned that the disappearance of moderates would lead to such extreme politics. In particular, and in a book written years before the January 6<sup>th</sup> Capitol insurrection in Washington DC insurrection, Kabaservice (2012) wrote, “...As the Republican party continues to reject its own [moderate] heritage and forgets the hard lessons of the 1960s, it seems increasingly likely that right-wing activists may prevail over the party professionals and nominate an extreme presidential candidate” (p. 401). While many doubt whether a recurrence of progressive views is likely,<sup>8</sup> or whether it would be enough to pull the country back from the brink of hostilities, reminding us of the divisions within the parties may eventually be the start of a bridge across them.

---

<sup>8</sup> As Kabaservice (2012) writes, “Conservatives dominate every aspect of the party and its political infrastructure, and moderates would be hard put to mount a serious challenge in any area” (p. 401).

## References

- Achen, Christopher H. 1975. "Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response." *American Political Science Review* 69: 1218-23.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Jonathan Rodden, and James M. Snyder. 2008. "The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 102 (2): 215-32.
- Balz, Dan. 1999. "Bush Shows A Shadow of Clintonism; Criticism of Hill GOP Mirrors President's 'Triangulation.'" *Washington Post*, October 7.
- Blake, Aaron. 2012. "Why the Blue Dogs' Decline was Inevitable." *Washington Post*, April 25.
- Block Rubin, Ruth. 2017. *Building the Bloc: Intraparty Organization in the U.S. Congress*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.
- Cobb, Jelani. 2021. "What is Happening to the Republicans?" *The New Yorker*, March 15.
- Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. D. E. Apter. New York: Free Press.
- Converse, Philip E. 1970. "Attitudes and Non-Attitudes: Continuation of a Dialogue." In *The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems*, ed. E. R. Tufte. Reading, MA.: Addison-Wesley.
- Cook, Charlie. 2001. "Tax-Cut Politics and 'Blue Dog' Democrats." *National Journal* 33 (7): 510.
- Dionne, E.J., Jr. 2016. *Why the Right Went Wrong: Conservatism from Goldwater to Trump and Beyond*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Dionne, E.J., Jr. 2019. "Opinion: History Will Mark How Many Republicans Shy from Trump's Extremism." *The Washington Post*.
- Druckman, James N., and Thomas J. Leeper. 2012. "Is Public Opinion Stable? Resolving the Micro/Macro Disconnect in Studies of Public Opinion." *Daedalus* 141: 50-68.
- Ellis, Christopher, and James A. Stimson. 2012. *Ideology in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fortner, Michael Javen. 2015. *Black Silent Majority: The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gervasi, Frank. 1964. *The Real Rockefeller*. New York: Atheneum.

Groenendyk, Eric. 2013. *Competing Motives in the Partisan Mind: How Loyalty and Responsiveness Shape Party Identification and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Grossman, Matt, and David A. Hopkins. 2015. "Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats: The Asymmetry of American Party Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 13 (1): 119-39.

Hare, Christopher, and Keith T. Poole. 2014. "The Polarization of Contemporary American Politics." *Polity* 46 (3): 411-29.

Holbrook, Thomas M. 2002. "Presidential Campaigns and the Knowledge Gap." *Political Communication* 19: 437-54.

Kabaservice, Geoffrey. 2012. *Rule and Ruin: The Downfall of Moderation and the Destruction of the Republican Party, From Eisenhower to the Tea Party*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kabaservice, Geoffrey. 2020. "What's Driving so many Republicans to Support Joe Biden?" *The Washington Post*.

Kane, Paul. 2014. "Blue Dog Democrats, Whittled Down in Number, Are Trying to Regroup." *Washington Post*, January 15.

Kane, John V. 2019. "'Enemy or Ally? Elites, Base Relations, and Partisanship in America.'" 2019. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 83 (3): 534-58.

Kinder, Donald R., and Nathan P. Kalmoe. 2017. *Neither Liberal nor Conservative: Ideological Innocence in the American Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lavine, Howard G., Christopher D. Johnson, and Marco R. Steenbergen. 2012. *The Ambivalent Partisan: How Critical Loyalty Promotes Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mason, Lilliana. 2018. *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became our Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McCarthy, Robert J. 2016. "'Rockefeller Republicans' are scarce in New York these days." *Buffalo News*, March 3<sup>rd</sup>.

McCarty, Nolan. 2019. *Polarization: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Norrander, Barbara. 1999. "The Evolution of the Gender Gap." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 63 (4): 566-76.
- Norton Smith, Richard. 2014. *On His Own Terms: A Life of Nelson Rockefeller*. New York: Random House.
- Osnos, Evan. 2020. "How Greenwich Republicans Learned to Love Trump." *The New Yorker*, May 3.
- Osnos, Evan. 2021. *Wildland: The Making of America's Fury*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Page, Benjamin I, and Jason Barabas. 2000. "Foreign Policy Gaps between Leaders and Citizens." *International Studies Quarterly* 44 (3): 339-64.
- Page, Benjamin I., and Lawrence R. Jacobs 2009. *Class War? What Americans Really Think about Economic Inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rockefeller, Nelson A. 1964. *The Future of Federalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rockefeller, Nelson A. 1968. *Unity, Freedom & Peace: A Blueprint for Tomorrow*. New York: Random House.
- Rockefeller, Nelson A. 1977. *Vital Resources*, Vol. 1 of *Critical Choices for Americans*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Rosenstone, Steven J., Roy L. Behr, and Edward H. Lazarus. 1984. *Third Parties in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Valentino, Nicholas A., and David O. Sears. 2005. "Old Times There Are Not Forgotten: Race and Partisan Realignment in the Contemporary South." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 672-88.
- Watts, Duncan. 2010. *Dictionary of American Government and Politics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Wright Rigueur, Leah. 2014. *The Loneliness of the Black Republican*. Princeton University Press.
- Zaller, John, and Stanley Feldman. 1992. "A Simply Theory of the Survey Response." *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 579-616.

## Appendix A - Question Wording

Data on the positions on policy issues were adapted from the questions and available response choices in the four Siena Research Institute New York Polls from January 2019 to March 2020. See text for more details.

Date	Position on Policy Issue	Full Question Wording
GUN POLICY		
Jan 2019	<i>Support more gun control</i>	Extend the waiting period for purchasing a gun from three days to 10 days [IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Feb 2019	<i>Support more gun control</i>	The new gun control laws [IF NEEDED: Tell me if you think each new law will be good for New York or bad for New York.]
ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY		
Apr 2019	<i>Ban single-use plastic bags in grocery stores good</i>	I'm going to ask you about several provisions included in the recently passed state budget and I want you to tell me if you think these new laws passed as part of the budget will be good for New York or bad for New York.  <i>Banning single-use plastic bags at grocery stores</i>
ECONOMIC POLICY		
Jan 2019	<i>Support congestion pricing</i>	Institute congestion pricing for parts of Manhattan to help fund the MTA, which operates New York City Subways, downstate suburban railroads and many downstate bridges and tunnels[IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Apr 2019	<i>Congestion pricing good</i>	I'm going to ask you about several provisions included in the recently passed state budget and I want you to tell me if you think these new laws passed as part of the budget will be good for New York or bad for New York.  <i>Instituting congestion pricing for parts of Manhattan to help fund the MTA, which operates New York City Subways, downstate suburban railroads and many downstate bridges and tunnels</i>



Jan 2019	<i>Support making property tax cap permanent</i>	Make New York's two percent property tax cap permanent[IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Apr 2019	<i>Permanent tax cap good</i>	I'm going to ask you about several provisions included in the recently passed state budget and I want you to tell me if you think these new laws passed as part of the budget will be good for New York or bad for New York.  <i>Making permanent the two percent property tax cap</i>
Jan 2019	<i>Support eliminate "LLC loophole"</i>	Eliminate the so-called LLC loophole that allows corporations or individuals to donate almost unlimited amounts of money to candidates in New York[IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Feb 2019	<i>Support allow online sports betting</i>	The state is expected to soon allow sports betting at the four upstate commercial casinos.Do you support or oppose broadening the sports betting law to allow for online sports betting?
Feb 2019	<i>Approve Amazon NY deal</i>	Do you approve or disapprove of the recently announced deal between Amazon and New York, which grants up to 3 billion dollars in state and city incentives to Amazon in return for Amazon locating its corporate offices in Queens, where it is projected to generate 25 thousand jobs?
Apr 2019	<i>Sales tax online good</i>	I'm going to ask you about several provisions included in the recently passed state budget and I want you to tell me if you think these new laws passed as part of the budget will be good for New York or bad for New York.  <i>Requiring all online retailers to collect sales tax on purchases made by New Yorkers</i>
Apr 2019	<i>State budget overall good</i>	Overall, do you think the recently passed state budget will be good for New York or bad for New York?
Feb 2019	<i>Support education of job skills; Guaranteed education for all ages</i>	The state's constitution guarantees the right of all children to receive an education. Some education advocates pointing towards rapid changes in technology and needed job skills, call for guaranteeing educational opportunities for all New Yorkers regardless of age. One proposal would amend New York's Constitution to guarantee public library services for all residents of New York State, and require state funding for the maintenance and support of public libraries. Do you support or oppose such an amendment?
ELECTION POLICY		

Jan 2019	<i>Support making election day a state holiday</i>	Make election day a state holiday [IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Jan 2019	<i>Support ban corporate campaign contributions</i>	Ban corporate campaign contributions in New York elections [IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Apr 2019	<i>Support public campaign financing plan</i>	Another action in this year's state budget was the creation of a commission to implement a system of public campaign financing for candidates for statewide and legislative races. The commission is required to put forward a plan for public campaign financing by December 1. Its plan will become law unless changed by the Legislature and Governor before the end of the year. This new public campaign finance system will cost the state up to one hundred million annually. Based on what you know, do you support or oppose the public campaign finance plan included in the state budget?
Apr 2019	<i>Support increase governor's salary</i>	As you may know, last year a pay commission increased the salary of state legislators- which hadn't increased since 1999 - from \$79,500 to \$110,000 this year, increasing to \$130,000 in 2021. As part of the budget this year, the Legislature approved an increase in the Governor's salary - as recommended by the pay commission - from \$179,000 to \$200,000 this year, and \$250,000 in 2021. Do you support or oppose the Legislature increasing the Governor's salary?
Jan 2019	<i>Support raise salaries of elected officials</i>	On another topic, last month a special pay commission created by the Governor and Legislature raised the base pay of state legislators from \$79,500 to \$110,000 annually, increasing to \$130,000 in 2021. At the same time, the commission limited legislators' outside income to no more than 15 percent of their legislative salary, and the commission eliminated nearly all stipends for legislative leadership positions. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the pay commission's actions to increase legislative salaries and limit outside income and legislative stipends?
IMMIGRATION POLICY		
Jan 2019	<i>Support DREAM Act</i>	Pass the New York Dream Act, which would allow the children of undocumented immigrants to receive financial aid for higher education [IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Feb 2019	<i>Support DREAM Act</i>	The New York Dream Act [IF NEEDED: Tell me if you think each new law will be good for New York or bad for New York.]
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Democrats should support fund wall</i>	Do you think Democrats in Congress should or should not include the border wall funding President Trump has called for in order to avoid a second partial government shutdown?
Feb 2019	<i>Support declaring national emergency to fund wall</i>	Do you think President Trump should or should not declare a national emergency in order to fund a border wall if Congress fails to fund the wall?

Apr 2019	<i>Support allowing undocumented immigrants to get driver's license</i>	Now I want to ask you about some proposed new laws being debated in Albany and I'd like you to tell me for each whether you support or oppose that proposal.  <i>Allowing undocumented immigrants to get a New York driver's license</i>
Feb 2019	<i>Support census US citizenship question</i>	The Census is supposed to count all people living in New York regardless of whether or not they are citizens, whether or not they are here legally. Do you support or oppose adding a question to the 2020 Census that asks whether or not each person is a United States citizen?
CRIMINAL POLICY		
Jan 2019	<i>Support legalize marijuana</i>	Legalize the recreational use of marijuana [IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Feb 2019	<i>Support legalize marijuana</i>	Switching gears, do you support or oppose legalizing the recreational use of marijuana?
Apr 2019	<i>Support legalize marijuana</i>	Now I want to ask you about some proposed new laws being debated in Albany and I'd like you to tell me for each whether you support or oppose that proposal.  <i>Legalizing the recreational use of marijuana</i>
Jan 2019	<i>Support eliminating monetary bail for misdemeanor</i>	Pass a law to eliminate monetary bail for people facing misdemeanor and non-violent felony charges[IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Apr 2019	<i>Eliminating monetary bail for misdemeanors good</i>	I'm going to ask you about several provisions included in the recently passed state budget and I want you to tell me if you think these new laws passed as part of the budget will be good for New York or bad for New York.  <i>Eliminating monetary bail for people facing misdemeanor and non-violent felony charges</i>
Apr 2019	<i>Ban release of mugshots good</i>	I'm going to ask you about several provisions included in the recently passed state budget and I want you to tell me if you think these new laws passed as part of the budget will be good for New York or bad for New York.  <i>Banning the release of mugshots by police for people arrested in New York</i>
Jan 2019	<i>Support Child Victims Act</i>	Pass the Child Victims Act, which would, among other provisions, eliminate the statute of limitations for all sexually-related criminal cases when committed against a person less than 18 years old, and

		extend the statute of limitations for civil litigation [IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Feb 2019	<i>Support Child Victims Act</i>	The Child Victims Act [IF NEEDED: Tell me if you think each new law will be good for New York or bad for New York.]
HEALTH AND MEDICAL POLICY		
Jan 2019	<i>Support legalize abortion</i>	Make New York's law on abortion consistent with the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision in Roe versus Wade [IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Feb 2019	<i>Support Reproductive Health Act</i>	The Reproductive Health Act [IF NEEDED: Tell me if you think each new law will be good for New York or bad for New York.]
		Now I want to ask you about some proposed new laws being debated in Albany and I'd like you to tell me for each whether you support or oppose that proposal.
Apr 2019	<i>Support requirement of parents to have children vaccinated for schools</i>	<i>Requiring parents to have their children vaccinated for diseases such as measles before the children can attend school, regardless of the parents' religious beliefs</i>
		Now I want to ask you about some proposed new laws being debated in Albany and I'd like you to tell me for each whether you support or oppose that proposal.
Apr 2019	<i>Support implementing single-payer health insurance system</i>	<i>Implementing a single-payer health insurance system in New York State, similar to the "Medicare for All" proposal in Washington. It would be state-run insurance and eliminate private insurance.</i>
Feb 2019	<i>Support legalize physician assisted suicide</i>	Do you support or oppose legislation that would allow a doctor to prescribe lethal drugs that a terminally ill patient with demonstrated decision making capacity would take on their own in order to end their own life?
IDENTITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION POLICY		
Jan 2019	<i>Support Gender Expression Non-Discrimination Act</i>	Pass the Gender Expression Non-Discrimination Act to provide protections for transgendered New Yorkers [IF NEEDED: I'd like you to tell me whether you support or oppose this proposal.]
Feb 2019	<i>Support Gender Expression Non-Discrimination Act</i>	The Gender Expression Non-Discrimination Act [IF NEEDED: Tell me if you think each new law will be good for New York or bad for New York.]

GENERAL POLITICAL EVALUATIONS		
Jan 2019	<i>Believe NY is on the right track</i>	Is New York State on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?[IF NEEDED: "Based on anything you may have seen or heard, if you had to pick, would you say right track or wrong direction?"]
Feb 2019	<i>Believe NY is on the right track</i>	Is New York State on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?[IF NEEDED: "Based on anything you may have seen or heard, if you had to pick, would you say right track or wrong direction?"]
Apr 2019	<i>Believe NY on right track</i>	Is New York State on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?
Mar 2020	<i>Believe NY on right track</i>	Is New York State on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?
Jan 2019	<i>Believe US is on the right track</i>	Is the United States on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?[IF NEEDED: "Based on anything you may have seen or heard, if you had to pick, would you say right track or wrong direction?"]
Feb 2019	<i>Believe US is on the right track</i>	Is the United States on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?[IF NEEDED: "Based on anything you may have seen or heard, if you had to pick, would you say right track or wrong direction?"]
Apr 2019	<i>Believe US on right track</i>	Is the United States on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?
Mar 2020	<i>Believe US on right track</i>	Is the United States on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?
Jan 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	How would you rate the job that Andrew Cuomo [QUO-mo] is doing as Governor? Would you rate it as excellent, good, fair, or poor?
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	How would you rate the job that Andrew Cuomo [QUO-mo] is doing as Governor? Would you rate it as excellent, good, fair, or poor?
Apr 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	How would you rate the job that Andrew Cuomo [QUO-mo] is doing as Governor? Would you rate it as excellent, good, fair, or poor?
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	How would you rate the job that Andrew Cuomo [QUO-mo] is doing as Governor? Would you rate it as excellent, good, fair, or poor?

Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Andrew Cuomo</i>	I'm going to read a series of names of people and institutions in public life and I'd like you to tell me whether you have a favorable opinion or an unfavorable opinion of each person or institution I name.  <i>Andrew Cuomo</i>
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Trump excellent/good</i>	How would you rate the job that Donald Trump is doing as President? Would you rate it as excellent, good, fair, or poor?
Apr 2019	<i>Believe Trump excellent/good</i>	How would you rate the job that Donald Trump is doing as President? Would you rate it as excellent, good, fair, or poor?
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Trump excellent/good</i>	How would you rate the job that Donald Trump is doing as President? Would you rate it as excellent, good, fair, or poor?
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Donald Trump</i>	I'm going to read a series of names of people and institutions in public life and I'd like you to tell me whether you have a favorable opinion or an unfavorable opinion of each person or institution I name.  <i>Donald Trump</i>
Jan 2019	<i>Believe minorities in NY experience racial/ethnic discrimination</i>	Do you think minorities including African-Americans, Hispanics and Asians who live in New York State experience racial or ethnic discrimination, or not?
Jan 2019	<i>Believe NY fiscal condition excellent/good</i>	How would you describe the fiscal condition of New York State right now? Would you describe it as excellent, good, fair, or poor?
Apr 2019	<i>Believe NY fiscal condition excellent/good</i>	How would you describe the fiscal condition of New York State right now? Would you describe it as excellent, good, fair, or poor?
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Democrat control will move New York State on the right track</i>	Turning back to New York State, would you say that having the governorship and both houses of the State Legislature controlled by the Democrats will - over the next two years - move New York State on the right track or move it in the wrong direction?
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Joe Biden</i>	I'm going to read a series of names of people and institutions in public life and I'd like you to tell me whether you have a favorable opinion or an unfavorable opinion of each person or institution I name.  <i>Joe Biden</i>
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Chuck Schumer</i>	I'm going to read a series of names of people and institutions in public life and I'd like you to tell me whether you have a favorable opinion or an unfavorable opinion of each person or institution I name.  <i>Chuck Schumer</i>

Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Nancy Pelosi</i>	I'm going to read a series of names of people and institutions in public life and I'd like you to tell me whether you have a favorable opinion or an unfavorable opinion of each person or institution I name.  <i>Nancy Pelosi</i>
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Mitch McConnell</i>	I'm going to read a series of names of people and institutions in public life and I'd like you to tell me whether you have a favorable opinion or an unfavorable opinion of each person or institution I name.  <i>Mitch McConnell</i>
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Mike Pence</i>	I'm going to read a series of names of people and institutions in public life and I'd like you to tell me whether you have a favorable opinion or an unfavorable opinion of each person or institution I name.  <i>Mike Pence</i>
Mar 2020	<i>Would vote Biden (D) for POTUS right now</i>	If the 2020 election for President was being held today who would you vote for if the candidates were: Joe Biden on the Democratic line Donald Trump on the Republican line
COVID-19 PANDEMIC-SPECIFIC POLITICAL EVALUATIONS		
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Trump COVID-19 response</i>	Now, looking at the coronavirus, or COVID19 [nineteen], pandemic and the national emergency, I'm going to read you a list of people and institutions and I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job each is doing to address the pandemic?  <i>Donald Trump</i>
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Cuomo COVID-19 response</i>	Now, looking at the coronavirus, or COVID19 [nineteen], pandemic and the national emergency, I'm going to read you a list of people and institutions and I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job each is doing to address the pandemic?  <i>Andrew Cuomo</i>
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Pence COVID-19 response</i>	Now, looking at the coronavirus, or COVID19 [nineteen], pandemic and the national emergency, I'm going to read you a list of people and institutions and I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job each is doing to address the pandemic?  <i>Mike Pence</i>

Mar 2020	<i>Approve Fauci COVID-19 response</i>	<p>Now, looking at the coronavirus, or COVID19 [nineteen], pandemic and the national emergency, I'm going to read you a list of people and institutions and I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job each is doing to address the pandemic?</p> <p><i>Anthony Fauci</i></p>
Mar 2020	<i>Approve US House COVID-19 response</i>	<p>Now, looking at the coronavirus, or COVID19 [nineteen], pandemic and the national emergency, I'm going to read you a list of people and institutions and I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job each is doing to address the pandemic?</p> <p><i>U.S. House of Representatives</i></p>
Mar 2020	<i>Approve US Senate COVID-19 response</i>	<p>Now, looking at the coronavirus, or COVID19 [nineteen], pandemic and the national emergency, I'm going to read you a list of people and institutions and I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job each is doing to address the pandemic?</p> <p><i>U.S. Senate</i></p>
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Bill de Blasio COVID-19 response (NYC)</i>	<p>Now, looking at the coronavirus, or COVID19 [nineteen], pandemic and the national emergency, I'm going to read you a list of people and institutions and I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job each is doing to address the pandemic?</p> <p><i>(If NYC)</i> <i>Bill de Blasio</i></p>
Mar 2020	<i>Approve local govt. leader COVID-19 response (not NYC)</i>	<p>Now, looking at the coronavirus, or COVID19 [nineteen], pandemic and the national emergency, I'm going to read you a list of people and institutions and I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job each is doing to address the pandemic?</p> <p><i>(If not NYC)</i> <i>Your local government leader</i></p>
Mar 2020	<i>Approve local health dept. COVID-19 response</i>	<p>Now, looking at the coronavirus, or COVID19 [nineteen], pandemic and the national emergency, I'm going to read you a list of people and institutions and I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job each is doing to address the pandemic?</p> <p><i>Your local health department</i></p>



Mar 2020	<i>Approve CDC COVID-19 response</i>	Now, looking at the coronavirus, or COVID19 [nineteen], pandemic and the national emergency, I'm going to read you a list of people and institutions and I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job each is doing to address the pandemic?  <i>The Federal Centers for Disease Control or CDC</i>
Mar 2020	<i>Very/somewhat concerned about COVID-19 pandemic</i>	How concerned are you about the coronavirus pandemic?
Mar 2020	<i>Very/somewhat concerned getting COVID-19</i>	How concerned are you about getting the coronavirus yourself?
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing all it can to help protect the health of Americans</i>	Given where things are today, do you think the Federal government is or is NOT doing all it can to help protect the health of Americans?
Mar 2020	<i>Believe NY government is doing all it can to help protect the health of New Yorkers</i>	Given where things are today, do you think the New York State government is or is NOT doing all it can to help protect the health of New Yorkers?
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of average Americans</i>	Do you think the Federal government is or is NOT doing enough to meet the financial needs of average Americans?
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of America's most affected industries</i>	Do you think the Federal government is or is NOT doing enough to meet the financial needs of America's most affected industries?
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of America's small, local businesses</i>	Do you think the Federal government is or is NOT doing enough to meet the financial needs of America's small, local businesses?

## Expanded Data Tables and Significance Tests for Gaps within Partisan Subgroups

Table B-1 sorts individual policy issues by theme and shows the absolute values of the percentage “gaps” for three different groups: the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, and the moderates of both parties. For example, the Absolute Percentage Gap within the Republican Party is the absolute value of the difference between the percentage of Conservative Republicans (i.e., “non-RR GOP” below) and the percentage of Rockefeller-Republicans (i.e., moderate or “liberal” Republicans, designated as RR GOP below) who support particular policy or evaluation. Similarly, the Absolute Percentage Gap within the Democratic Party is the absolute value of the difference between the percentage of Liberal Democrats and the percentage of Blue-Dog-Democrats (i.e., moderate or “conservative” Democrats, designated as “BD Dems”) who support a particular policy or evaluation. The yellow column repeats this process using the “moderates” of both parties as its two groups. Thus, the Absolute Percentage Gap (“Abs Gap %”) between the centrists is the absolute value of the difference between the percentage of Rockefeller Republicans and the percentage of Blue-Dog Democrats who support particular policy or evaluation. This number allows us to compare the “gaps” – which correlate to (dis)unity – that exist within each party and across party lines within the group of centrists. Tables B-2 and B-3 report significance tests using five techniques and specifications on the sizes of the gaps within partisan groups for Republicans and Democrats, respectively. a

**Table B-1. Gaps Within and Between Party Adherents in the Siena Research Institute Data for New York, 2019-2020**

Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
GUN POLICY								
Jan 2019	Support more gun control	47	81	34***	91	76	15***	5
Feb 2019	Support more gun control	25	44	19*	91	73	18***	29

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY								
Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
Apr 2019	<i>Ban single-use plastic bags in grocery stores good</i>	55	66	11	86	56	30***	10
ECONOMIC POLICY								
Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
Jan 2019	<i>Support congestion pricing</i>	31	58	27*	74	57	17**	1
Apr 2019	<i>Congestion pricing good</i>	32	41	9	69	46	23***	5
Jan 2019	<i>Support making property tax cap permanent</i>	74	72	2	75	80	5	8
Apr 2019	<i>Permanent tax cap good</i>	72	84	12	78	67	11	17
Jan 2019	<i>Support eliminating "LLC loophole"</i>	43	63	20*	76	61	15**	2
Feb 2019	<i>Support allowing online sports betting</i>	47	58	11	49	50	1	8
Feb 2019	<i>Approve Amazon NY deal</i>	46	62	16	49	70	21**	8
Apr 2019	<i>Sales tax online good</i>	40	32	8	61	53	8	21
Apr 2019	<i>State budget overall good</i>	24	33	9	78	59	19**	26

Feb 2019	<i>Support education of job skills; Guaranteed education for all ages</i>	66	77	11	89	86	3	9
ELECTION POLICY								
Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
Jan 2019	<i>Support make election day a state holiday</i>	36	47	11	82	64	18***	17
Jan 2019	<i>Support ban corporate campaign contributions</i>	58	75	17*	80	74	6	1
Apr 2019	<i>Support public campaign financing plan</i>	6	14	8	58	27	31***	13
Apr 2019	<i>Support increase governor's salary</i>	14	28	14*	53	35	18**	7
Jan 2019	<i>Support raise salaries of elected officials</i>	5	10	5	24	22	2	12
IMMIGRATION POLICY								
Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
Jan 2019	<i>Support DREAM Act</i>	10	40	30***	92	65	27***	25
Feb 2019	<i>Support DREAM Act</i>	19	44	25**	97	75	22***	31
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Democrats should support fund wall</i>	89	72	17*	8	39	31***	33
Feb 2019	<i>Support declaring national emergency to fund wall</i>	62	40	22*	6	2	4***	38
Apr 2019	<i>Allow undocumented immigrants to get driver's license</i>	7	32	25***	74	44	30***	12

Feb 2019	<i>Support census US citizenship question</i>	91	81	10	23	64	41***	17
CRIMINAL POLICY								
Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
Jan 2019	<i>Support legalize marijuana</i>	33	47	14	82	55	27***	8
Feb 2019	<i>Support legalize marijuana</i>	29	50	21*	78	51	27***	1
Apr 2019	<i>Support legalize marijuana</i>	25	45	20*	81	53	28***	8
Jan 2019	<i>Support eliminating monetary bail for misdemeanor</i>	48	55	7	83	72	11*	17
Apr 2019	<i>Eliminating monetary bail for misdemeanors good</i>	24	55	31***	83	56	27***	1
Apr 2019	<i>Ban release of mugshots good</i>	21	33	12	55	36	19**	3
Jan 2019	<i>Support Child Victims Act</i>	83	84	1	89	80	9*	4
Feb 2019	<i>Support Child Victims Act</i>	72	91	19*	96	89	7	2

HEALTH AND MEDICAL POLICY								
Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
Jan 2019	<i>Support legalize abortion</i>	36	78	42***	94	76	18***	2
Feb 2019	<i>Support Reproductive Health Act</i>	11	34	23**	93	58	35***	24
Apr 2019	<i>Support requirement of parents to have children vaccinated for schools</i>	83	81	2	90	81	9*	0
Apr 2019	<i>Support implementing single-payer health insurance system</i>	13	35	22*	83	60	23***	25
Feb 2019	<i>Support legalize physician assisted suicide</i>	53	57	4	78	51	27***	6
IDENTITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION POLICY								
Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
Jan 2019	<i>Support Gender Expression Non-Discrimination Act</i>	32	66	34***	92	81	11*	15
Feb 2019	<i>Support Gender Expression Non-Discrimination Act</i>	23	75	52***	98	69	29***	6
GENERAL POLITICAL EVALUATIONS								
Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
Jan 2019	<i>Believe NY is on the right track</i>	6	43	37***	81	68	13*	25

Feb 2019	<i>Believe NY is on the right track</i>	11	27	16*	90	51	39***	24
<b>Date</b>	<b>Position on Policy Issue</b>	<b>non-RR GOP %</b>	<b>RR GOP %</b>	<b>Abs Gap %</b>	<b>non-BD Dems %</b>	<b>BD Dems %</b>	<b>Abs Gap %</b>	<b>Centrists Abs Gap %</b>
Apr 2019	<i>Believe NY on right track</i>	10	28	18*	79	56	23***	28
Mar 2020	<i>Believe NY on right track</i>	35	47	12	84	76	8	29
Jan 2019	<i>Believe US is on the right track</i>	76	45	31***	12	27	15**	18
Feb 2019	<i>Believe US is on the right track</i>	76	53	23**	10	32	22***	21
Apr 2019	<i>Believe US on right track</i>	76	64	12	6	39	33***	25
Mar 2020	<i>Believe US on right track</i>	88	65	23**	16	36	20***	29
Jan 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	13	35	22*	57	52	5	17
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	8	14	6	50	49	1	35
Apr 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	9	24	15**	60	46	14*	22
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	22	45	23**	82	77	5	32
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Andrew Cuomo</i>	38	51	13	92	90	2	39
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Trump excellent/good</i>	77	47	30***	8	21	13**	26

Apr 2019	<i>Believe Trump excellent/good</i>	86	51	35***	2	29	27***	22
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Trump excellent/good</i>	87	70	17*	2	16	14***	54
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Donald Trump</i>	88	71	17*	3	20	17***	51
Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
Jan 2019	<i>Believe minorities in NY experience racial/ethnic discrimination</i>	40	63	23*	93	80	13***	17
Jan 2019	<i>Believe NY fiscal condition excellent/good</i>	8	28	20***	48	38	10	10
Apr 2019	<i>Believe NY fiscal condition excellent/good</i>	21	26	5	40	36	4	10
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Democrat control will move New York State on the right track</i>	9	15	6	94	62	32***	47
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Joe Biden</i>	17	36	19*	72	81	9	45
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Chuck Schumer</i>	12	27	15*	84	70	14	43
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Nancy Pelosi</i>	6	17	11	80	71	9	54
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Mitch McConnell</i>	84	62	22*	3	16	13***	46
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Mike Pence</i>	87	71	16	7	30	23***	41
Mar 2020	<i>Would vote Biden (D) for POTUS right now</i>	5	24	19**	99	86	13***	62



COVID-19 PANDEMIC-SPECIFIC POLITICAL EVALUATIONS								
Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Centrists Abs Gap %
Mar 2020	Approve Trump COVID-19 response	91	78	13	13	26	13*	52
Mar 2020	Approve Cuomo COVID-19 response	71	76	5	93	97	4	21
Mar 2020	Approve Pence COVID-19 response	91	81	10	13	35	22***	46
Mar 2020	Approve Fauci COVID-19 response	93	98	5	91	95	4	3
Mar 2020	Approve US House COVID-19 response	48	55	7	69	68	1	13
Mar 2020	Approve US Senate COVID-19 response	72	65	7	33	44	11	21
Mar 2020	Approve Bill de Blasio COVID-19 response (NYC)	44	38	6	76	79	3	41
Mar 2020	Approve local govt. leader COVID-19 response (not NYC)	83	87	4	80	85	5	2
Mar 2020	Approve local health dept. COVID-19 response	84	89	5	86	83	3	6
Mar 2020	Approve CDC COVID-19 response	86	86	0	79	78	1	8
Mar 2020	Very/somewhat concerned about COVID-19 pandemic	82	90	8	96	96	0	6
Mar 2020	Very/somewhat concerned getting COVID-19	64	65	1	91	82	9*	17

Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing all it can to help protect the health of Americans</i>	91	76	15*	16	35	19***	41
Mar 2020	<i>Believe NY government is doing all it can to help protect the health of New Yorkers</i>	88	75	13	81	80	1	5
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of average Americans</i>	76	51	25**	11	31	20***	20
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of America's most affected industries</i>	69	65	4	32	32	0	33
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of America's small, local businesses</i>	57	47	10	9	20	11*	27

Significance is derived from regression analysis: \*\*\*  $p \leq 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , and \*  $p < 0.05$

Tables B-2 and B-3 show the results of significance tests for percentage “gaps” for between the Rockefeller Republican (“RR”) and non-RR groups. Five versions of the significance tests are employed, ranging from tabular chi-square tests to ordinary least squares regression and logit models, with and without control variables. The controls included common demographics (e.g., age, race, income, education, and gender).

**Table B-2. Republican Party - Survey Weighted Percentages and Gaps with Significance Tests**

Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-RR GOP %	RR GOP %	Abs Gap %	Statistical Significance				
					ChSq 2x2	Regress	Logit	Regress w/Controls	Logit w/Controls
GUN POLICY									
Jan 2019	<i>Support more gun control</i>	47	81	34	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Feb 2019	<i>Support more gun control</i>	25	44	19	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
		Avg gap =		26.5					
ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY									
Apr 2019	<i>Ban single-use plastic bags in grocery stores good</i>	55	66	11	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
ECONOMIC POLICY									
Jan 2019	<i>Support congestion pricing</i>	31	58	27	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
Jan 2019	<i>Support eliminate "LLC loophole"</i>	43	63	20	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.1	p<0.1

Feb 2019	<i>Approve Amazon NY deal</i>	46	62	16	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1
Apr 2019	<i>Permanent tax cap good</i>	72	84	12	n.s.	p<0.1	n.s.	p<0.05	p<0.05
Feb 2019	<i>Support allow online sports betting</i>	47	58	11	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	p<0.1
Feb 2019	<i>Support education of job skills; Guaranteed education for all ages</i>	66	77	11	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	<i>Congestion pricing good</i>	32	41	9	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	<i>State budget overall good</i>	24	33	9	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	<i>Sales tax online good</i>	40	32	8	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Jan 2019	<i>Support make property tax cap permanent</i>	74	72	2	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
		Avg gap =		12.5					
ELECTION POLICY									
Jan 2019	<i>Support ban corporate campaign contributions</i>	58	75	17	p<0.1	p<0.05	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1
Apr 2019	<i>Support increase governor's salary</i>	14	28	14	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p≤0.05	p<0.05
Jan 2019	<i>Support make election day a state holiday</i>	36	47	11	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	<i>Support public campaign financing plan</i>	6	14	8	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Jan 2019	Support raise salaries of elected officials	5	10	5	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	p<0.1	n.s.
		Avg gap =		11					
IMMIGRATION POLICY									
Jan 2019	Support DREAM Act	10	40	30	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Feb 2019	Support DREAM Act	19	44	25	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.1	p<0.1
Apr 2019	Support allowing undocumented immigrants to get driver's license	7	32	25	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Feb 2019	Support declaring national emergency to fund wall	62	40	22	p<0.05	p<0.05	p≤0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
Feb 2019	Believe Democrats should support fund wall	89	72	17	p<0.05	p<0.05	p≤0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
Feb 2019	Support census US citizenship question	91	81	10	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1
		Avg gap =		21.5					
CRIMINAL POLICY									
Apr 2019	Eliminating monetary bail for misdemeanors good	24	55	31	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Feb 2019	Support legalize marijuana	29	50	21	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
Apr 2019	Support legalize marijuana	25	45	20	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05

Feb 2019	Support Child Victims Act	72	91	19	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
Jan 2019	Support legalize marijuana	33	47	14	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	Ban release of mugshots good	21	33	12	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Jan 2019	Support eliminating monetary bail for misdemeanor	48	55	7	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Jan 2019	Support Child Victims Act	83	84	1	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
		Avg gap =		15.6					
HEALTH AND MEDICAL POLICY									
Jan 2019	Support legalize abortion	36	78	42	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Feb 2019	Support Reproductive Health Act	11	34	23	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01
Apr 2019	Support implementing single-payer health insurance system	13	35	22	p<0.001	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
Feb 2019	Support legalize physician assisted suicide	53	57	4	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	Support requirement of parents to have children vaccinated for schools	83	81	2	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
		Avg gap =		18.6					
IDENTITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION POLICY									
Feb 2019	Support Gender Expression Non Discrimination Act	23	75	52	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001

Jan 2019	Support Gender Expression Non Discrimination Act	32	66	34	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.05
		Avg gap =		43					
GENERAL POLITICAL EVALUATIONS									
Jan 2019	Believe NY is on the right track	6	43	37	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Apr 2019	Believe Trump excellent/good	86	51	35	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p≤0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.05
Jan 2019	Believe US is on the right track	76	45	31	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.05	p<0.05
Feb 2019	Believe Trump excellent/good	77	47	30	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p≤0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.05
Feb 2019	Believe US is on the right track	76	53	23	p<0.05	p≤0.01	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
Mar 2020	Believe US on right track	88	65	23	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.1	p<0.05	p<0.1
Mar 2020	Believe Cuomo excellent/good	22	45	23	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.05
Jan 2019	Believe minorities in NY experience racial/ethnic discrimination	40	63	23	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
Jan 2019	Believe Cuomo excellent/good	13	35	22	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
Mar 2020	Favorable opinion of Mitch McConnell	84	62	22	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p≤0.05	p<0.1
Jan 2019	Believe NY fiscal condition excellent/good	8	28	20	p<0.01	p≤0.001	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05

Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Joe Biden</i>	17	36	19	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05
Mar 2020	<i>Would vote Biden (D) for POTUS right now</i>	5	24	19	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.1
Apr 2019	<i>Believe NY on right track</i>	10	28	18	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.01	p≤0.01
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Trump excellent/good</i>	87	70	17	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.1	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Donald Trump</i>	88	71	17	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	n.s.	n.s.
Feb 2019	<i>Believe NY is on the right track</i>	11	27	16	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.1	p<0.1
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Mike Pence</i>	87	71	16	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	9	24	15	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Chuck Schumer</i>	12	27	15	p<0.1	p<0.05	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Andrew Cuomo</i>	38	51	13	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Believe NY on right track</i>	35	47	12	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	<i>Believe US on right track</i>	76	64	12	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	p<0.05
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Nancy Pelosi</i>	6	17	11	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	n.s.
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	8	14	6	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.



Feb 2019	<i>Believe Democrat control will move New York State on the right track</i>	9	15	6	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	<i>Believe NY fiscal condition excellent/good</i>	21	26	5	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
		Avg gap =		18.7					
COVID-19 PANDEMIC-SPECIFIC POLITICAL EVALUATIONS									
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of average Americans</i>	76	51	25	p<0.05	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.1	p<0.1
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing all it can to help protect the health of Americans</i>	91	76	15	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Trump COVID-19 response</i>	91	78	13	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Believe NY government is doing all it can to help protect the health of New Yorkers</i>	88	75	13	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Pence COVID-19 response</i>	91	81	10	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of America's small, local businesses</i>	57	47	10	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Very/somewhat concerned about COVID-19 pandemic</i>	82	90	8	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	p<0.1	p<0.1
Mar 2020	<i>Approve US House COVID-19 response</i>	48	55	7	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Mar 2020	<i>Approve US Senate COVID-19 response</i>	72	65	7	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Bill de Blasio COVID-19 response (NYC)</i>	44	38	6	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	error
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Cuomo COVID-19 response</i>	71	76	5	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Fauci COVID-19 response</i>	93	98	5	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	p<0.1	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve local health dept.COVID-19 response</i>	84	89	5	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve local govt. leader COVID-19 response (not NYC)</i>	83	87	4	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of America's most affected industries</i>	69	65	4	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Very/somewhat concerned getting COVID-19</i>	64	65	1	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve CDC COVID-19 response</i>	86	86	0	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
		Avg gap =			8.1				

Table B-3. Democratic Party - Survey Weighted Percentages and Gaps with all Significance Tests

Date	Position on Policy Issue	non-BD Dems %	BD Dems %	Abs Gap %	Statistical Significance				
					ChSq 2x2	Regress	Logit	Regress w/Controls	Logit w/Controls
GUN POLICY									
Feb 2019	<i>Support more gun control</i>	91	73	18	p≤0.001	p<0.001	p<0.01	p≤0.001	p≤0.001
Jan 2019	<i>Support more gun control</i>	91	76	15	p<0.01	p≤0.001	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.05
		Avg gap =		16.5					
ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY									
Apr 2019	<i>Ban single-use plastic bags in grocery stores good</i>	86	56	30	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001

ECONOMIC POLICY									
Apr 2019	<i>Congestion pricing good</i>	69	46	23	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.01	p<0.01
Feb 2019	<i>Approve Amazon NY deal</i>	49	70	21	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.05
Apr 2019	<i>State budget overall good</i>	78	59	19	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.05
Jan 2019	<i>Support congestion pricing</i>	74	57	17	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	p≤0.05	p<0.1
Jan 2019	<i>Support eliminate "LLC loophole"</i>	76	61	15	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	<i>Permanent tax cap good</i>	78	67	11	p<0.1	p<0.1	p<0.1	n.s.	n.s.
Apr 2019	<i>Sales tax online good</i>	61	53	8	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Jan 2019	<i>Support make property tax cap permanent</i>	75	80	5	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Feb 2019	<i>Support education of job skills; Guaranteed education for all ages</i>	89	86	3	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Feb 2019	<i>Support allow online sports betting</i>	49	50	1	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
		Avg gap =		12.3					
ELECTION POLICY									
Apr 2019	<i>Support public campaign financing plan</i>	58	27	31	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Apr 2019	<i>Support increase governor's salary</i>	53	35	18	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.1	p<0.1

Jan 2019	Support make election day a state holiday	82	64	18	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.01	p<0.05
Jan 2019	Support ban corporate campaign contributions	80	74	6	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Jan 2019	Support raise salaries of elected officials	24	22	2	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
		Avg gap =		15					
IMMIGRATION POLICY									
Feb 2019	Support census US citizenship question	23	64	41	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Feb 2019	Believe Democrats should support fund wall	8	39	31	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Apr 2019	Support allowing undocumented immigrants to get driver's license	74	44	30	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Jan 2019	Support DREAM Act	92	65	27	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Feb 2019	Support DREAM Act	97	75	22	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Feb 2019	Support declaring national emergency to fund wall	6	2	4	p<0.01	p≤0.001	p<0.01	p≤0.001	p<0.01
		Avg gap =		25.8					
CRIMINAL POLICY									
Apr 2019	Support legalize marijuana	81	53	28	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Apr 2019	Eliminating monetary bail for misdemeanors good	83	56	27	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001

[illegible]

Feb 2019	<i>Support Gender Expression Non-Discrimination Act</i>	98	69	29	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Jan 2019	<i>Support Gender Expression Non-Discrimination Act</i>	92	81	11	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	n.s.	n.s.
		Avg gap =		20					
GENERAL POLITICAL EVALUATIONS									
Feb 2019	<i>Believe NY is on the right track</i>	90	51	39	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Apr 2019	<i>Believe US on right track</i>	6	39	33	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Democrat control will move New York State on the right track</i>	94	62	32	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Apr 2019	<i>Believe Trump excellent/good</i>	2	29	27	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001
Apr 2019	<i>Believe NY on right track</i>	79	56	23	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Mike Pence</i>	7	30	23	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p≤0.001
Feb 2019	<i>Believe US is on the right track</i>	10	32	22	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001
Mar 2020	<i>Believe US on right track</i>	16	36	20	p<0.01	p≤0.001	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.05
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Donald Trump</i>	3	20	17	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.001	p<0.01
Jan 2019	<i>Believe US is on the right track</i>	12	27	15	p<0.01	p<0.01	p<0.001	p<0.05	p<0.05

Mar 2020	<i>Believe Trump excellent/good</i>	2	16	<b>14</b>	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.01	p<0.001	p≤0.01
Apr 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	60	46	<b>14</b>	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.1	p<0.1
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Chuck Schumer</i>	84	70	<b>14</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Jan 2019	<i>Believe NY is on the right track</i>	81	68	<b>13</b>	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	n.s.	n.s.
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Trump excellent/good</i>	8	21	<b>13</b>	p<0.05	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.001	p<0.01
Jan 2019	<i>Believe minorities in NY experience racial/ethnic discrimination</i>	93	80	<b>13</b>	p<0.01	p≤0.001	p<0.01	p<0.1	p<0.1
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Mitch McConnell</i>	3	16	<b>13</b>	p<0.01	p≤0.001	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.05
Mar 2020	<i>Would vote Biden (D) for POTUS right now</i>	99	86	<b>13</b>	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.01	p<0.001	n.s.
Jan 2019	<i>Believe NY fiscal condition excellent/good</i>	48	38	<b>10</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Joe Biden</i>	72	81	<b>9</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Nancy Pelosi</i>	80	71	<b>9</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Believe NY on right track</i>	84	76	<b>8</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	82	77	<b>5</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Jan 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	57	52	<b>5</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.



Apr 2019	<i>Believe NY fiscal condition excellent/good</i>	40	36	<b>4</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Favorable opinion of Andrew Cuomo</i>	92	90	<b>2</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Feb 2019	<i>Believe Cuomo excellent/good</i>	50	49	<b>1</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
		Avg gap =		15.2					
COVID-19 PANDEMIC-SPECIFIC POLITICAL EVALUATIONS									
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Pence COVID-19 response</i>	13	35	<b>22</b>	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.01
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of average Americans</i>	11	31	<b>20</b>	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.001	p<0.01	p<0.01
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing all it can to help protect the health of Americans</i>	16	35	<b>19</b>	p<0.01	p<0.001	p≤0.001	p<0.05	p≤0.05
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Trump COVID-19 response</i>	13	26	<b>13</b>	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of America’s small, local businesses</i>	9	20	<b>11</b>	p<0.05	p<0.05	p<0.05	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve US Senate COVID-19 response</i>	33	44	<b>11</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Very/somewhat concerned getting COVID-19</i>	91	82	<b>9</b>	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.01	p<0.05	p<0.05
Mar 2020	<i>Approve local govt. leader COVID-19 response (not NYC)</i>	80	85	<b>5</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Mar 2020	<i>Approve Cuomo COVID-19 response</i>	93	97	<b>4</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Fauci COVID-19 response</i>	91	95	<b>4</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve Bill de Blasio COVID-19 response (NYC)</i>	76	79	<b>3</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve local health dept.COVID-19 response</i>	86	83	<b>3</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Believe NY government is doing all it can to help protect the health of New Yorkers</i>	81	80	<b>1</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve US House COVID-19 response</i>	69	68	<b>1</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Approve CDC COVID-19 response</i>	79	78	<b>1</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Very/somewhat concerned about COVID-19 pandemic</i>	96	96	<b>0</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Mar 2020	<i>Believe Federal government is doing enough to meet the financial needs of America's most affected industries</i>	32	32	<b>0</b>	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
		<b>Avg gap =</b>		<b>7.5</b>					