

FOR RELEASE OCTOBER 10, 2019

Partisan Antipathy: More Intense, More Personal

Majority of Republicans say Democrats are 'more unpatriotic' than other Americans

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RECOMMENDED CITATION

Pew Research Center, October, 2019, "Partisan Antipathy: More Intense, More Personal"

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Partisan Antipathy: More Intense, More Personal

Majority of Republicans say Democrats are 'more unpatriotic' than other Americans

Three years ago, Pew Research Center found that the 2016 presidential campaign was "unfolding

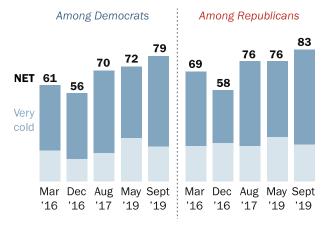
against a backdrop of intense partisan division and animosity." Today, the level of division and animosity – including negative sentiments among partisans toward the members of the opposing party – has only deepened.

The share of Republicans who give Democrats a "cold" rating on a 0-100 thermometer has risen 14 percentage points since 2016 — with virtually all of the increase coming in "very cold" ratings (0-24). Democrats' views of Republicans have followed a similar trajectory: 57% give Republicans a very cold rating, up from 41% three years ago.

The survey by Pew Research Center was conducted Sept. 3-15 among 9,895 adults (it was completed before House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's Sept. 24 announcement of an impeachment inquiry into President Donald Trump). It finds that both Republicans and

Growing shares in both parties give 'cold' ratings to those in opposing party

% of partisans who give members of the other party a cold rating on a 'feeling thermometer'



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. On a feeling thermometer from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest), cold ratings are 0-49, very cold 0-24. See appendix for details.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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Democrats express negative views about several traits and characteristics of those in the opposing party, and in some cases these opinions have grown more negative since 2016.

For example, 55% of Republicans say Democrats are "more immoral" when compared with other Americans; 47% of Democrats say the same about Republicans. Three years ago, 47% of Republicans and 35% of Democrats said members of the other party were less moral than other people.

For the most part, Republicans are more likely than
Democrats to ascribe negative characteristics to people in the opposing party, with one exception: 75% of Democrats say Republicans are "more closed-minded" than other Americans, while 64% of Republicans say the same about Democrats.

Yet Republicans are far more likely than Democrats to view members of the opposing party as unpatriotic. A 63% majority of Republicans say that, compared with other Americans, Democrats are "more unpatriotic." Just 23% of Democrats say the same about Republicans.

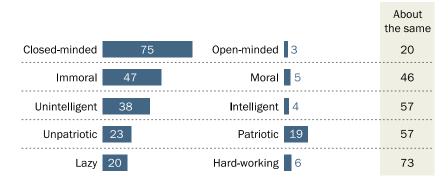
The survey also finds that partisan hostility extends beyond politics. Fewer than half of Democrats (45%) and

Most partisans view the other side as 'closed-minded'; Republicans see Democrats as 'unpatriotic'

% of Republicans who say Democrats are more ____ than other Americans

			About the same
Closed-minded	64	Open-minded 12	24
Unpatriotic	63	Patriotic 2	33
Immoral	55	Moral 4	41
Lazy	46	Hard-working 3	51
Unintelligent	36	Intelligent 2	62

% of Democrats who say Republicans are more ____ than other Americans



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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just 38% of Republicans say that while members of the other party feel differently about politics, they share many of their *other* values and goals. Majorities in both parties say those in the opposing party do not share their nonpolitical values and goals.

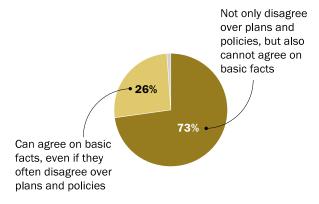
As prior surveys on partisan polarization have shown, partisans who are highly attentive to politics are most likely to express negative sentiments about the opposing party. For example, both Republicans and Democrats who follow government and public affairs most of the time are more likely to give cold ratings to members of the other party – and warm ratings to their fellow partisans – than those who follow government less closely.

Even as Republicans and Democrats have grown more critical of each other, they acknowledge – and voice concern about – the partisanship dividing the nation. Overwhelming majorities in both parties (85% of Republicans and 78% of Democrats) say divisions between the two parties are increasing. Similar shares express concern about the partisan divide, with about half in each party saying they are very concerned about this.

Partisans also generally agree about their *inability* to agree on "basic facts." Overall, 73% of the public – including 77% of Republicans and 72% of Democrats – say that voters in both parties "not only disagree over plans and policies, but also cannot agree on the basic facts."

Republicans and Democrats say they can't agree on 'basic facts'

On important issues facing the country, most Republican voters and Democratic voters ... (%)



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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These are among the other important findings from the survey on how partisans view each other and the political parties:

Majorities of Americans describe both parties as 'too extreme.' More Americans say the Democratic Party than Republican Party is described well by such phrases as "is respectful and tolerant of different types of people," "cares about the middle class" and "governs in an honest and ethical way." But nearly identical majorities say each party is described at least somewhat well by the phrase "is too extreme in its positions" (63% say this about the Republican Party, 61% about the Democratic Party).

Partisan 'leaners' also are hostile to the opposing party. Independents who lean toward the Republican and Democratic parties are much less likely than those who identify with a party to express warm feelings about the people in their own parties. But large majorities of Republican and Democratic leaners give cold ratings to the people in the opposing party, and there are only modest differences between leaners and partisan identifiers in these views.

Majority of Democrats want a presidential candidate who seeks 'common ground' with GOP.

Nearly six-in-ten Democrats (58%) say it is more important for a Democratic presidential candidate, if elected, to find common ground with Republicans on policies even if that means giving up some things Democrats really want, while 41% say it's more important to push hard for Democratic policies even if it's harder to get things done. By contrast, about half of Republicans (53%), say Donald Trump should push hard for GOP policies even if that means less gets done; 45% say he should make compromises with Democrats even if that means giving up things Republicans really want.

1. The partisan landscape and views of the parties

Republicans and Democrats agree on very little in the current political environment, but there is a widespread belief in both parties that partisan divisions in the country are increasing. Among the

public overall, 78% say divisions between Republicans and Democrats in this country are increasing, while just 6% say they are decreasing and 16% say they are staying the same.

Large majorities in both parties say partisan divisions are increasing, though Republicans are somewhat more likely than Democrats to express this view (85% vs. 78%).

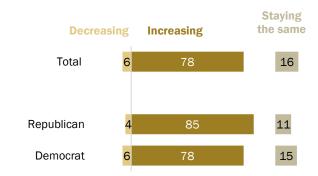
Similarly, large majorities in both parties express concern about rising partisanship. About eight-in-ten adults (81%) say they are very or somewhat concerned about divisions between Republicans and Democrats, including nearly half (46%) who say they are *very* concerned about the growing divide.

Comparable shares of Republicans and Democrats express concern about divisions between the two parties, though Democrats are slightly more likely to say this than Republicans (88% vs. 83%).

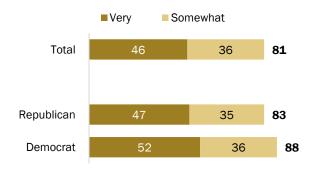
A similar pattern is evident among independents who lean toward a party. About three-quarters of independents who lean toward the Republican Party (77%) or

Large majorities in both parties say nation's partisan divisions are growing

% who say they think divisions between Republicans and Democrats in this country today are ...



% who say they are __ concerned about divisions between Republicans and Democrats



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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Democratic Party (74%) say partisan divisions are growing. Comparable shares of those who lean toward each party express concern about this.

Growing share of Americans say there are major differences in what the parties stand for

A majority of Americans (55%) say there is a "great deal" of difference in what the Republican and Democratic parties stand for, while 37% see a "fair amount" of difference and 7% say there is "hardly any" difference between the two parties.

These opinions have changed dramatically over the past three decades. From the late 1980s through the mid-2000s, no more than about a third of Americans said there were major differences between the two parties. But the share expressing this view has increased, especially over the past decade.¹

In the current survey, Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say there are major differences in what the parties stand for (74% of Republicans vs. 59% of Democrats).

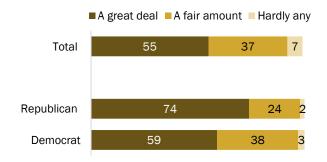
In both parties, people who are attentive to politics on a regular basis are more likely than those who are less attentive to see wide, growing divides in the country.

Most Republicans who say they follow what is

happening in government and public affairs most of the time perceive a great deal of difference in what the Democratic and Republican parties stand for (85%). Among Republicans who follow government and public affairs less often, a smaller majority (65%) says there are major differences between the parties. Among Democrats, there is a similar gap in views by engagement; 70% of politically attentive Democrats see a wide gulf between the parties, while just 49% of less-attentive Democrats say the same.

Majority of public says there is 'great deal' of difference between the parties

% who say there is ___ of difference in what the Democratic and Republican parties stand for



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

¹ The current survey marks the first time Pew Research Center has asked this question on the online American Trends Panel; previously, it was asked on telephone surveys. To evaluate <u>mode differences</u>, this question was also included on a recent telephone survey. Because mode differences were found, the online responses are not directly comparable to the telephone trends.

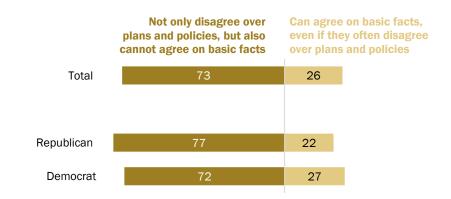
Most Americans say partisan disagreements extend beyond policies to 'basic facts'

Fully 73% of the public says that most Republican and Democratic voters not only disagree over plans and policies, but also disagree on "basic facts." Just 26% say that while partisan voters often differ over plans and policies, they *can* agree on basic facts. These opinions have changed only modestly since last year.

Comparable majorities of Republicans (77%) and Democrats (72%) say that Republican and Democratic voters cannot agree on basic facts.

Republicans and Democrats agree that they cannot agree on 'basic facts'

On important facing issues facing the country, most Republican voters and Democratic voters ... (%)



Note: Partisans do not include leaners. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

Does the other party have any good ideas?

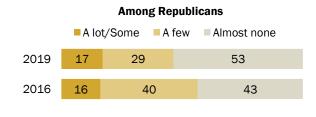
Most Republicans and Democrats believe that few – or no – good ideas come from the other party. Only 17% of Republicans say that the Democratic Party has "a lot" or "some" good ideas" and only 13% of Democrats say this about the Republican Party. In fact, nearly half in both parties say the other has almost no good ideas.

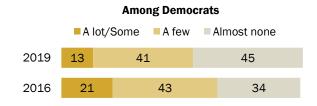
Overall, 45% of Democrats say the GOP has almost no good ideas, while 41% say it has a few and just 13% say it has a lot or some good ideas. The share of Democrats saying the Republican Party has almost no good ideas is higher than it was in the spring of 2016 (45% now, 34% then), while the share saying the GOP has at least some good ideas has dropped from 21% to 13%.

Among Republicans, 53% say the Democratic Party has almost no good ideas, while another 29% say they have a few; just 17% of Republicans say the Democratic Party has a lot or some good ideas. The share of Republicans who say the Democratic Party has almost no good ideas has increased since 2016 (from 43% to 53%).

Most partisans say the opposing party has few – or no – good ideas

How many good ideas does the <u>other</u> party have? (%)





Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. No answer responses not

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

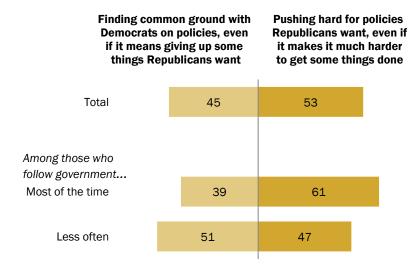
Republicans and Democrats have different views about compromising with the other party

Overall, Republicans are divided over whether Donald Trump should focus on finding common ground with Democrats, even if that means giving up some things Republicans want, or pushing hard for GOP policies, even if it means less gets done. While 53% of Republicans say Trump should "push hard" for the party's policies, 45% say it's more important for the president to find common ground with Democrats.

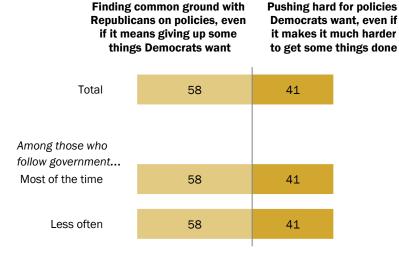
However, politically attentive Republicans broadly oppose Trump seeking compromise with Democrats even if it means giving up some things Republicans want. Just 39% of Republicans who follow government and public affairs most of the time say it is more important for Trump to find common ground with Democrats; 61% say he should push hard for GOP policies. Opinion is more evenly divided among less politically attentive Republicans.

Republicans divided on whether Trump should find 'common ground' with Democrats; Democrats say a 2020 candidate should seek compromise with GOP

% of Republicans who say it's more important for Donald Trump to focus on ...



% of Democrats who say it's more important for a Democratic presidential candidate to be someone who, if elected, will focus on ...



Note: Partisans do not include leaners. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

Democrats, who were asked a hypothetical version of the question about the party's 2020 presidential candidates, are more open to potential compromise with Republicans. About six-inten Democrats (58%) say it is more important for a candidate, if elected, to find common ground with Republicans even if it means giving up things Democrats want.

There are no differences in these views among Democrats based on political attentiveness. But liberal Democrats (54%) are less likely than conservative and moderate Democrats (62%) to say it is more important for a candidate to seek compromises with Republicans.

There is an even sharper ideological divide among Republicans in views of whether Trump should make compromises. Just 39% of conservative Republicans say Trump should find common ground with Democrats if it means giving up things Republicans want; about two-thirds of GOP moderates and liberals (63%) say the same.

Views of the parties' traits and characteristics

The Republican Party and the Democratic Party are both seen as too extreme by a majority of Americans. About six-in-ten (63%) say the phrase "too extreme in its positions" describes the Republican Party at least somewhat well, including 30% who say this describes the GOP very well. The share of Americans who say the same phrase applies to the Democratic Party is nearly identical: 61% say this applies at least somewhat, and 29% say it describes the party very well.

The public also is critical of the parties ability to govern honestly and ethically: Just 38% say the phrase "governs in an honest and ethical way" describes the Republican Party at least somewhat well, while 61% say it does not. Roughly half (47%) say this describes the Democratic Party at least somewhat well, while about as many (52%) say it doesn't.

The public views the Democratic Party more positively than the Republican Party on three other traits and characteristics. Four-in-ten (40%) say that the phrase "represents the interests of people like me" applies at least somewhat well to the Republican Party, while half (50%) say this phrase describes the Democratic Party at least somewhat well.

A majority (55%) says the description "cares about the middle class" describes the Democratic Party at least somewhat well. By comparison, 39% say that it applies to the Republican Party.

The widest gap in opinion across the items included in the survey is over whether the two parties are "respectful and tolerant of different types of people." Six-in-ten (60%) say this

Both parties viewed as 'too extreme' How well does describe each of the parties? (%) ■Very ■Somewhat ■Not too ■Not at all Too extreme in its positions 12 Republican Party 33 23 32 Democratic Party 27 Governs in honest and ethical way Republican Party 30 30 Democratic Party 38 27 25 Represents interests of people like me Republican Party 30 26 Democratic Party 36 22 Cares about the middle class Republican Party 30

Respectful and tolerant of different types of people

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

phrase describes the Democratic Party at least somewhat well; 38% say it describes the Republican Party somewhat or very well.

Democratic Party

Republican Party

Democratic Party

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Note: No answer responses not shown.

Large majorities of Republicans and Democrats assign positive characteristics to their own party, while taking a much more negative view of the opposing party.

For instance, 83% of Republicans say the phrase "governs in an honest and ethical way" describes the GOP very or somewhat well; just 12% say this phrase describes the Democratic Party well. The

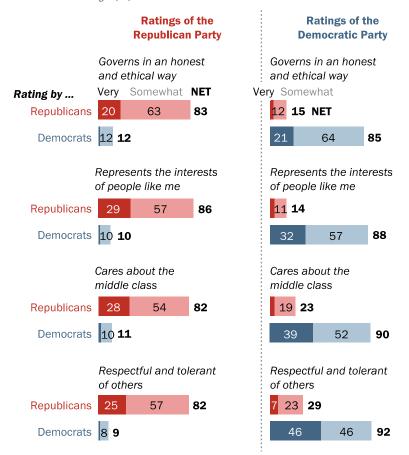
pattern of opinion is very similar among Democrats: 85% of Democrats describe their own party as governing in an honest and ethical way, while just 15% say this describes the Republican Party.

However, a greater share of Democrats (90%) than Republicans (82%) say their own party cares about the middle class. In addition, the share of Republicans who say the Democratic Party cares about the middle class (23%) is larger than the share of Democrats who describe the GOP this way (11%).

There is a similar pattern on views of how respectful and tolerant the parties are of different types of people. A larger majority of Democrats (92%) than Republicans (82%) describe their own party this way. And out-party assessments – while low

Small shares of Republicans and Democrats assign positive descriptions to opposing party

How well does each characteristic describe the Republican/ Democratic Party? (%)



Note: Partisans do not include leaners. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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among both sets of partisans – are more positive among Republicans than Democrats.

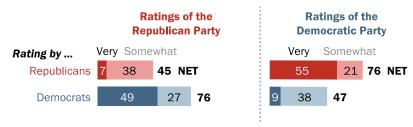
Republicans and Democrats are more willing to critique their own party over the extremity of its positions. Overall, 47% of Democrats and 45% of Republicans say *their own party* is described very or somewhat well by the phrase "too extreme in its positions."

Still, partisans are much more likely to cast this criticism toward the opposing party than their own: Majorities of Republicans and Democrats (both 76%) describe the opposing party as too extreme in its positions.

On this measure, there is little difference between partisan leaners and identifiers. Similar majorities of those who identify with a party and those who lean toward a party view

Nearly half of Republicans and Democrats say 'too extreme' describes own party very or somewhat well

% who say '<u>too extreme in its positions</u>' describes the Republican/ Democratic Party very or somewhat well



Note: Partisans do not include leaners. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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the other side as too extreme in its positions.

Across the positive traits included in the survey – such as governing in an honest and ethical way – smaller majorities of partisan leaners than identifiers take a positive view of the party they associate with.

2. How partisans view each other

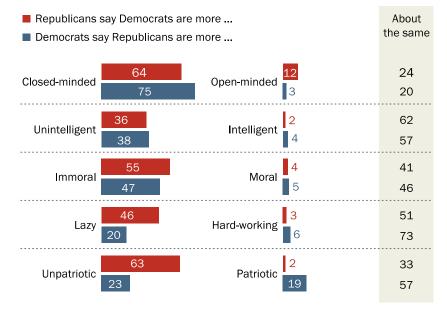
Large shares of Republicans and Democrats associate several negative traits with members of the other party. Wide majorities in both parties – three-quarters of Democrats (75%) and 64% of Republicans – say those in the other party are more closed-minded than other Americans. And 55% of Republicans and 47% of Democrats view members of the other party as more immoral than other Americans. In both parties, the share saying those in the other political camp are closed-minded or immoral has increased since these questions were last asked in 2016.

Republicans are substantially more likely to characterize Democrats as more unpatriotic than other Americans than Democrats are to say this of Republicans: 63% of Republicans view Democrats as more unpatriotic. By comparison, just 23% of Democrats say this about Republicans, while a majority (57%) say Republicans are about as patriotic as other Americans. In fact, Democrats are roughly as likely to say Republicans are *more* patriotic than other Americans as they are to say they are *less* patriotic (19% vs. 23%).

Republicans also are more likely to describe Democrats as lazy than Democrats are to

Most Republicans and Democrats view each other as more closed-minded than other Americans

% who say members of the <u>other</u> party are a lot/somewhat more ____ compared to other Americans



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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characterize Republicans in this way. Still, this is a minority opinion in both parties (46% of Republicans and 20% of Democrats view those in the other party as more lazy than other Americans).

Most Democrats and Republicans do not think of those in the other party as different from their fellow Americans when it comes to intelligence (roughly six-in-ten say they are about the same as

other Americans). However, 36% of Republicans and a similar share of Democrats (38%) do say those in the other party are more unintelligent than other Americans.

Overall, roughly eight-in-ten Republicans (82%) and Democrats (78%) say at least one of these negative descriptors applies to those in the other party. But Republicans are substantially more likely than Democrats to ascribe multiple negative characteristics to Democrats. Seven-in-ten Republicans ascribe two or more of the five negative characteristics to Democrats, while 58% of Democrats associate two or more of these characteristics with Republicans. And 20% of Republicans associate all five negative characteristics with Democrats, while 8% of Democrats say all five negative descriptors apply to Republicans.

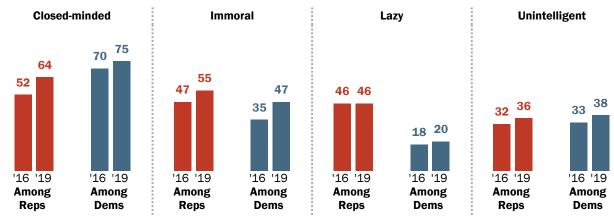
More now associate some negative traits with the 'other side' than in 2016

The shares of both Republicans and Democrats ascribing several of these negative traits to members of the other party have increased significantly since the spring of 2016.

The share of Republicans who say Democrats are more closed-minded has increased substantially over this time period. In 2016, about half of Republicans (52%) said Democrats were more closed-minded than other Americans. Now, a clear majority (64% of Republicans) say this – an increase of 12 percentage points. While the shift is more modest among Democrats, it is in the same direction (from 70% to 75% saying Republicans are more closed-minded than other Americans).

Increasing shares of partisans see members of the other party as 'closed-minded' and 'immoral'

% who say members of the <u>other</u> party are a lot/somewhat more ____ compared to other Americans



Note: Partisans do not include leaners.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

Members of both parties are now substantially more likely to say those in the other party are more immoral than other Americans than they were three years ago. Today, 47% of Democrats say this of Republicans, up from 35% in 2016. The share of Republicans who say Democrats are more immoral than other Americans is 8 percentage points higher (47% then, 55% today).

There has been little or no change in the shares of Republicans and Democrats saying that members of their opposing parties are lazier or more unintelligent than other Americans.

How partisans see themselves: Republicans say they are more patriotic than others, Democrats say they are more open-minded

Many Republicans and Democrats also associate their fellow partisans with positive traits. And with some exceptions, these are broadly the inverse of how they see the other party's members.

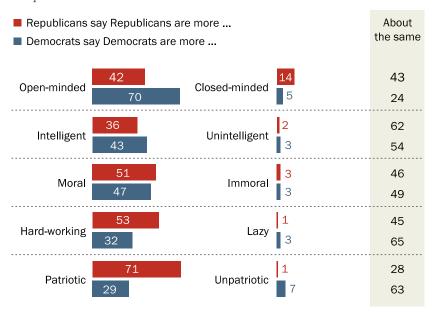
A clear majority (70%) of Democrats say that Democrats are more open-minded compared with

other Americans. Republicans are considerably less likely to ascribe this trait to members of their party: 42% say members of the GOP are more openminded than other Americans, while about as many (43%) say they are on par with other Americans (14% say they are more closed-minded).

However, Republicans are much more likely than
Democrats to describe
members of their own party as
more patriotic (71% say this).
By comparison, just 29% of
Democrats say Democrats are
more patriotic than other
Americans (the majority – 63%
– say they are about the same
as other Americans).

How partisans view members of their own party

% who say members of their <u>own</u> party are a lot/somewhat more <u>own</u> compared to other Americans



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

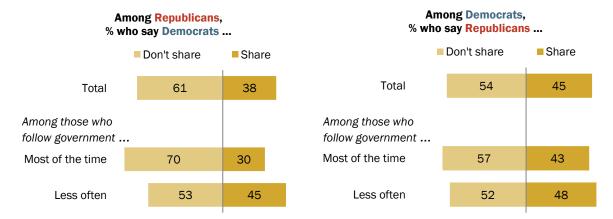
While majorities of those in both parties say their co-partisans are about as intelligent as other Americans, Democrats are slightly more likely to view members of their party as more intelligent (43%) than Republicans are (36%).

Partisans say their differences with other party extend beyond politics

Majorities in both parties say that, aside from political differences, people in the other party do not share many of their other values and goals. About six-in-ten Republicans (61%) say, thinking about more than just politics, Democrats do not share many of their other values and goals; 54% of Democrats say the same about Republicans.

Politics aside, majorities of Republicans and Democrats say people in the opposing party do not share many of their *other* values and goals

% who say, though they feel differently about politics, members of the other party probably ____ many of their other values and goals



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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In the current survey, politically attentive Republicans are especially likely to say Democrats do not share their nonpolitical values and goals. Among Republicans who follow government and public affairs most of the time, 70% say that, setting political differences aside, Democrats do not share many of their other values and goals. That compares with 53% of Republicans who follow government less often.

Among Democrats, the differences based on attentiveness to government and politics are more modest: 57% of highly attentive Democrats say Republicans do not share many of their other values and goals, compared with 52% of less politically attentive Democrats.

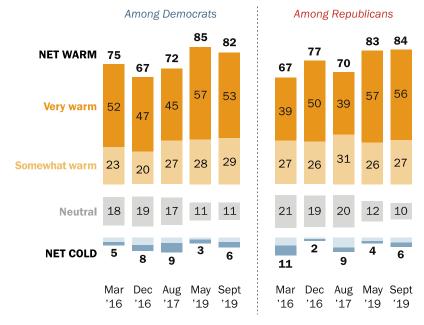
Republicans, Democrats are increasingly positive about members of their own parties

When asked to rate
Republicans and Democrats
on a "feeling thermometer"
between 0 and 100 – where 0
is the most negative rating and
100 is the most positive rating
– large majorities of partisans
rate the members of their own
party warmly. In both parties,
the shares giving warm ratings
(a rating of 51-100) have
increased since March 2016.

About eight-in-ten Democrats (82%) and Republicans (84%) feel warmly toward their own party. In March 2016 – prior to the conclusion of the presidential primaries – 75% of Democrats and 67% of Republicans said that they had a warm view of their fellow partisans.

Republicans and Democrats have both grown warmer toward members of their own parties

% of partisans who rate **members of their own party** on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. See appendix for details on the feeling thermometer scale.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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Since 2016, the shares of partisans with neutral feelings (a rating of 50 on the 0-100 thermometer) toward members of their own party have dropped from about one-in-five (19% of Democrats and 22% of Republicans) to about one-in-ten (11% of Democrats and 10% of Republicans).

As Republicans and Democrats take an increasingly positive view of members of their own parties, they have become more negative toward members of the opposing party.

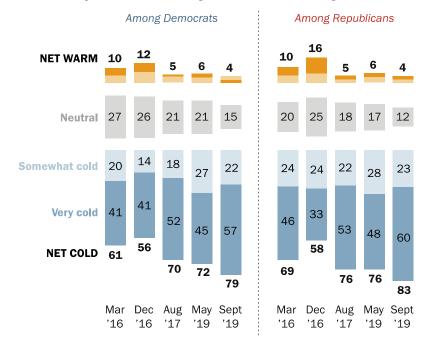
Today, 79% of Democrats and 83% of Republicans rate the other party coldly (a thermometer rating of 0-49).

Three years ago, narrower majorities in both parties gave the other party a cold rating. In March 2016, 61% of Democrats gave Republicans a cold rating and 69% of Republicans gave Democrats a cold rating.

Since 2016, there has been an especially sharp rise in "very cold" feelings toward the

Majorities of Republicans and Democrats now offer 'very cold' ratings of members of the other party

% of partisans who rate **members of the other party** on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. No answer responses not shown. See appendix for details on the feeling thermometer scale.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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opposing party. In March 2016, 41% of Democrats and 46% of Republicans gave the other party a *very* cold rating (less than 25 on the 0-100 scale). Today, 57% of Democrats and 60% of Republicans give the other party a very cold rating. And about three-in-ten Democrats (30%) and Republicans (32%) give members of the opposing party a rating of zero – the lowest on the scale.

'Leaners' are much less warm to their own party than are partisans

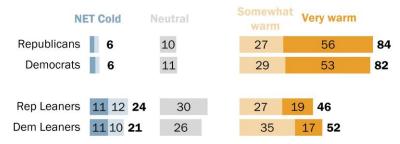
Compared with those who identify with one of the political parties, those who "lean" toward a party are considerably less likely to view members of their own party warmly. However, they are only modestly less likely to give a cold rating to the opposing party.

While about eight-in-ten of those who identify with a party (84% of Republicans and 82% of Democrats) say they have warm feelings toward the members of their own party, only about half of partisan leaners say the same.

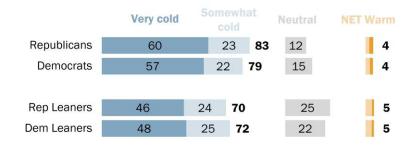
Among Republicans leaners, 46% rate Republicans warmly, while about as many Democratic leaners (52%) rate Democrats warmly.

'Leaners' are slightly less cold to the other party than partisans, substantially less warm to their own party

% of each who rate **members of their own party** on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)



% of each who rate **members of the other party** on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)



Notes: No answer responses not shown. See appendix for details on the feeling thermometer scale.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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However, majorities of partisan leaners – and those who identify with a party – have negative opinions of members of the opposing party. About eight-in-ten partisan identifiers (83% of Republicans and 79% of Democrats) have a cold view of the other party compared with about seven-in-ten leaners (70% of Republican leaners and 72% of Democratic leaners).

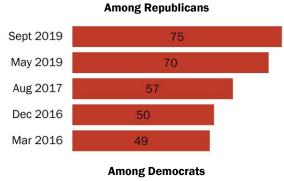
Growing shares of partisans give opposing ratings to the two parties

Three-quarters of Republicans (75%) and 71% of Democrats now rate the members of their own party warmly *and* the other party coldly. In both parties, the shares holding this combination of views have steadily increased over the past three years.

The share of Republicans with this combination of views is 26 percentage points higher than it was just three years ago (75% now, 49% then). Among Democrats, there has been a similar increase in the share with a warm view of Democrats and a cold view of Republicans over this period (71% now, 53% then).

Partisans increasingly view their own party warmly and the other party coldly

% who give members of their own party a warm rating <u>and</u> other party a cold rating on a 'feeling thermometer' from o (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)





Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. See appendix for details on the feeling thermometer scale.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

Men, older partisans most likely to view the other party 'very coldly'

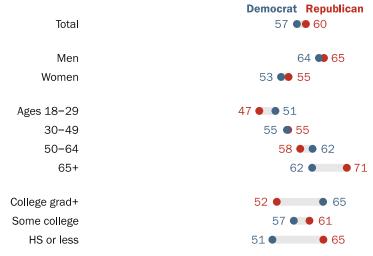
In both parties, there are gender, age and educational differences in "very cold" (0-24) ratings of members of the opposing party.

Men in both parties are more likely than women to give colder ratings to the members of the other party. About two-thirds of Republican (65%) and Democratic (64%) men give the other party a very cold rating.

By comparison, 55% of Republican women and 53% of Democratic women offer a very cold rating to the members of the other party.

Very cold feelings toward opposing party higher among Democratic college grads, non-college Republicans

% who give **members of the other party** a very cold rating (0-24) on a 0-100 feeling thermometer'



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. See appendix for details on the feeling thermometer

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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Similarly, in both parties, younger adults are less likely than older people to give highly negative ratings to the members of the opposing party.

Yet the education differences in these attitudes differ among Republicans and Democrats. Nearly two-thirds of Democrats with at least a four-year college degree (65%) give Republicans a very cold rating. That compares with 51% of Democrats who have not attended college. The pattern is reversed among Republicans: 52% of Republicans with a college degree give Democrats a very cold rating, compared with 65% of those with no college experience.

Politically attentive have stronger feelings toward both parties

Partisans who follow government and politics most closely are more likely than less attentive partisans to give a cold rating to the other party – and a warm rating to their own.

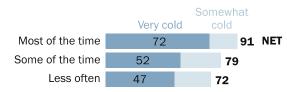
About nine-in-ten (91% of both Republicans and Democrats) who say they follow government and public affairs most of the time give members of the other party a cold rating. By comparison, smaller majorities of those who follow government some of the time or less often give the opposing partisans cold ratings

The most politically attentive are also most likely to have warm views of their own party. Overwhelming majorities of partisans who say they follow government most of the time give members of their own party a warm rating (88% of both Republicans and Democrats). Narrower majorities of those who are less attentive to politics say the same.

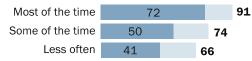
Politically attentive are coldest to the other party, warmest to their own

% of each who rate **members of the other party** on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)

Among Republicans who follow government ...



Among Democrats who follow government ...

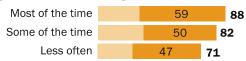


% of each who rate **members of their own party** on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)

Among Republicans who follow government ...



Among Democrats who follow government ...



Note: See appendix for details on the feeling thermometer scale. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

Acknowledgments

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

Research team

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Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access at home are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report are drawn from the panel wave conducted September 3 to September 15, 2019. A total of 9,895 panelists responded out of 10,478 who were sampled, for a response rate of 94%.

This does not include four panelists who were removed from the data due to extremely high rates of refusal or straightlining. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 5.9%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged onto the survey and completed at least one item is 0.8%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 9,895 respondents is plus or minus 1.5 percentage points.

American Trends P	anel recr	uitment	surveys	
Recruitment Dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	Active panelists remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	2,272
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	1,298
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	652
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS/web	9,396	8,778	6,256
	Total	29.114	18.720	10.478

Note: Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel.

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The sample consisted of all existing panelists who had completed the annual profile survey as of August 25, 2019. Panelists who had not yet completed the profile survey were ineligible.

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of which 9,942 agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a random, address-based sample (ABS) of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. In each household, the adult with the next birthday was asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. For a random half-sample of invitations, households without internet access were instructed to return a postcard. These households were contacted by telephone and sent a tablet if they agreed to participate. A total of 9,396 were invited to join the panel, and 8,778 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. Of the 18,720 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 10,478 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

The U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File has been estimated to cover as much as 98% of the population, although some studies suggest that the coverage could be in the low 90%range.²

Weighting

The ATP data were weighted in a multistep process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents' original survey selection probability and the fact that in 2014 and 2017 some respondents were subsampled for invitation to the panel. The next step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that aligns the sample to population benchmarks on the dimensions listed in the accompanying table.

Sampling errors and test of statistical-significance take into account the effect of weighting. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish, but the American Trends Panel's Hispanic sample is predominantly U.S. born and English speaking.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Weighting dimensions Variable **Benchmark** source Gender 2017 American Community Age Survey Education Race/Hispanic origin Hispanic nativity Home internet access Region x 2018 CPS March Metropolitan status Supplement Volunteerism 2017 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement 2016 CPS Voting Voter registration and Registration Supplement Party affiliation Average of the three most recent Pew Research Center telephone surveys.

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total US adult population.

² AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling, 2016. "AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling."

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Group Total sample	Unweighted sample size 9,895	Plus or minus 1.5 percentage points
Half sample Quarter sample	At least 4,941 At least 2,470	2.1 percentage points3.0 percentage points
Republican Half sample Quarter sample	2,580 At least 1,284 At least 641	2.8 percentage points 4.0 percentage points 5.6 percentage points
Democrat Half sample Quarter sample	3,717 At least 1,830 At least 899	2.6 percentage points3.5 percentage points5.0 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

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Appendix:

Thermometer ratings

The survey measured ratings toward a number of groups and people in the U.S. on a "feeling thermometer" ranging from zero ("as cold and negative as possible") to 100 ("as warm and positive as possible"), with 50 as the neutral point. See topline for full question wording.

Throughout this report, ratings on the scale are grouped according to intensity as shown in the accompanying table.

Feeling thermometer categories in this report

Cold	0-49	
Very cold	0-24	
Somewhat cold	25-49	
Neutral	50	
Warm	51-100	
Somewhat warm	51-75	
Very warm	76-100	

2019 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL WAVE 53 SEPTEMBER FINAL TOPLINE SEPTEMBER 3-15, 2019 N=9,895

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=2,480]:

RDFACTS When it comes to important issues facing the country, would you say most Republican voters and Democratic voters...

Sep 3-15 2019		Jul 30- Aug 12 2018
26	Can agree on the basic facts, even if they often disagree over	2016 20
	plans and policies	
73	Not only disagree over plans and policies, but also cannot agree	78
4	on the basic facts	2
l l	No Answer	,

ASK FORM 4 [N=2,470]:

DIFFPARTY Thinking about the Democratic and Republican parties, would you say there is...

	A great deal of	A fair amount of	Hardly any	
	difference in what	difference in what	difference at all in	No
	they stand for	they stand for	what they stand for	<u>answer</u>
Sep 3-15, 2019	55	37	7	*

ASK FORM 1 AND 3 ONLY [N=4,945]:

DIVISIONSRD Do you think divisions between Republicans and Democrats in this country today are...

Sep 3-15	
<u>2019</u>	
78	Increasing
6	Decreasing
16	Staying about the same
*	No answer

ASK FORM 1 AND 3 ONLY [N=4,945]:

DIVISIONSCONC How concerned, if at all, are you about divisions between Republicans and Democrats?

Sep 3-15 2019	
46	Very concerned
36	Somewhat concerned
13	Not too concerned
5	Not at all concerned
*	No answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK IF DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT(F_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2) [N=5,498]³:

DEMDEALFGHT Which is more important to you in a Democratic presidential candidate?

Someone who, if elected president, will focus on... [RANDOMIZE]

Sep 3-15 2019	
60	Finding common ground with Republicans on policies,
	even if it means giving up some things Democrats want
38	Pushing hard for policies Democrats want,
	even it makes it much harder to get some things done
2	No answer

ASK IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN(F_PARTYSUM_FINAL=1) [N=4,093]:4

REPDEALFGHT Which is more important to you for Donald Trump to focus on [RANDOMIZE]?

Sep 3-15 2019	
51	Finding common ground with Democrats on policies, even if it means giving up some things Republicans want
47	Pushing hard for policies Republicans want, even it makes it much harder to get some things done
2	No answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

_

Due to a programming error, 37 respondents were not asked DEMDEALFGHT on the first night of the survey. Results are based only on those who received the question.

Due to a programming error, 31 respondents were not asked REPDEALFGHT on the first night of the survey. Results are based only on those who received the question.

ASK FORMS 1 AND 4 REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICANS LEANERS (F_PARTYSUM_FINAL=1) [N=2,064]⁵:

DEMVALREP Thinking for a moment about people who consider themselves Democrats, which of these comes closer to your views about them? [RANDOMIZE]

Sep 3-15 2019	
43	They feel differently than I do about politics, but they probably SHARE many of my other values and goals
56	They feel differently than I do about politics, and they probably DON'T SHARE many of my other values and goals, either
1	No answer

ASK FORMS 1 AND 4 DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATICS LEANERS (F_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2) [N=2,716]⁶

REPVALDEM Thinking for a moment about people who consider themselves Republicans, which of these comes closer to your views about them? [RANDOMIZE]

Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>	
49	They feel differently than I do about politics, but they probably SHARE many of my other values and goals
50	They feel differently than I do about politics, and they probably DON'T SHARE many of my other values and goals, either
2	No answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELASE

ASK ALL:

FOLGOV Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs...

		Apr 29-	Jan 29-	Sep 2/-	Sep 9-
Sep 3-15		May 13	Feb 13	Oct 10	Oct 3
<u>2019</u>		<u>2019</u>	<u>2018</u>	<u>2016</u>	<u>2014</u>
39	Most of the time	42	48	40	34
35	Some of the time	36	33	37	39
17	Only now and then	15	13	16	17
8	Hardly at all	7	6	7	11
*	No answer	*	*	1	0

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

Due to a programming error, 14 respondents were not asked DEMVALREP on the first night of the survey. Results are based only on those who received the question.

Due to a programming error, 18 respondents were not asked REPVALDEM on the first night of the survey. Results are based only on those who received the question.

ASK ALL:

THERMO

We'd like to get your feelings toward a number of groups in the U.S. on a "feeling thermometer." A rating of zero degrees means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 degrees means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the group at 50 degrees if you don't feel particularly positive or negative toward the group.

How do you feel toward **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**? Enter the number in the box between 0 and 100 that reflects your feelings

	Rating of 0 to 24	Rating of 25 to 49	Rating of <u>50</u>	Rating of 51 to 75	Rating of 76 to 100	No answer	Mean <u>rating</u>
a. Republicans					<u> </u>	<u></u>	
Sep 3-15, 2019	32	15	19	14	19	1	44
Apr 29-May 13, 2019	25	17	24	14	19	1	47
Aug 8-21, 2017	31	16	24	14	12	2	41
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	23	10	28	15	21	3	50
Mar 2-28, 2016	25	15	29	13	16	2	46
b. Democrats							
Sep 3-15, 2019	29	14	18	18	21	1	47
Apr 29-May 13, 2019	22	13	22	18	24	1	51
Aug 8-21, 2017	28	14	23	16	18	1	45
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	19	13	26	14	24	3	52
Mar 2-28, 2016	22	12	26	15	23	2	51

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK FORMS 3 AND 4 ONLY [N=4,944]:

REPPTYTRAIT How well do each of the following phrases describe the REPUBLICAN PARTY?

	Very <u>well</u>	Somewhat <u>well</u>	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at all <u>well</u>	No <u>answer</u>
a. Too extreme in its positions Sep 3-15, 2019	30	33	23	12	2
b. Governs in an honest and ethical way Sep 3-15, 2019	7	31	30	30	1
c. Cares about the middle class Sep 3-15, 2019	10	29	30	30	1
d. Represents the interests of people like me Sep 3-15, 2019 Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016 ⁷ Apr 5-May 2, 2016	10 8 6	30 31 33	26 29 29	32 31 29	1 2 3
e. Respectful and tolerant of different types of people Sep 3-15, 2019	9	29	27	33	1

RANDOMIZE REPPTYTRAIT AND DEMPTYTRAIT

In Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016 and prior, this item was asked as a stand-alone question worded, "How well does the REPUBLICAN PARTY represent the interests of people like you?"

ASK FORMS 3 AND 4 ONLY [N=4,944]:
DEMPTYTRAIT How well do each of the following phrases describe the DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

	Very <u>well</u>	Somewhat <u>well</u>	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at all <u>well</u>	No <u>answer</u>
a. Too extreme in its positions Sep 3-15, 2019	29	32	27	11	2
b. Governs in an honest and ethical way Sep 3-15, 2019	10	38	27	25	1
c. Cares about the middle class Sep 3-15, 2019	17	38	22	22	1
d. Represents the interests of people like me Sep 3-15, 2019 Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016 ⁸ Apr 5-May 2, 2016	14 13 14	36 36 37	22 24 24	27 26 22	1 2 3
e. Respectful and tolerant of different types of people Sep 3-15, 2019	22	37	19	20	1

RANDOMIZE PTYIDEADEM AND PTYIDEAREP ASK FORM 3 AND IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN OR NO LEAN (F_PARTYSUM_FINAL=1,9) [N=1,058]⁹:

BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS [N=1,005]:

PTYIDEADEM Overall, would you say the DEMOCRATIC PARTY has...

Sep 3-15 Ap	
<u>2019</u>	2016^{10}
4 A lot of good ideas	2
16 Some good ideas	19
33 A few good ideas	38
47 Almost no good ideas	39
1 No answer	2

In Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016 and prior, this item was asked as a stand-alone question worded, "How well does the DEMOCRATIC PARTY represent the interests of people like you?"

Due to a programming error, 7 respondents were not asked PTYIDEADEM on the first night of the survey. Results are based only on those who received the question.

¹⁰ In Apr 5-May 2, 2016, this question was asked only of Republicans and Republican leaners.

RANDOMIZE PTYIDEADEM AND PTYIDEAREP ASK FORM 3 AND IF DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT OR NO LEAN (F_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2,9) [N=1,452]¹¹

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS [N=1,399]

PTYIDEAREP Overall, would you say the REPUBLICAN PARTY has...

Sep 3-15		Apr 5-May 2
<u> 2019</u>		<u>2016¹²</u>
1	A lot of good ideas	1
15	Some good ideas	21
42	A few good ideas	41
41	Almost no good ideas	35
1	No answer	2

RANDOMIZE TRAITREP a-e BLOCK WITH TRAITDEM a-e BLOCK; DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR EACH QUESTION IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE; USE SAME RESPONSE OPTION ORDER FOR BOTH BLOCKS.

Now thinking about some traits that might describe some people and not others...

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITREP a-e ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [N=4,951]:

TRAITREPa Compared to other Americans, would you say Republicans are...

Sep 3-15		Mar 2-Mar 28
2019		<u>2016</u>
23	NET More moral	23
8	A lot more moral	5
15	Somewhat more moral	18
50	About the same	55
25	NET more IMmoral	20
16	Somewhat more IMmoral	13
9	A lot more IMmoral	6
2	No Answer	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITREP a-e ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [N=4,951]:

TRAITREPb Compared to other Americans, would you say Republicans are...

Sep 3-15 2019		Mar 2-Mar 28 2016
25	NET more hard-working	28
9	A lot more hard-working	9
16	Somewhat more hard-working	19
62	About the same	60
11	NET more lazy	9
7	Somewhat more lazy	7
4	A lot more lazy	3
2	No Answer	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITREP a-e

Due to a programming error, 10 respondents were not asked PTYIDEAREP on the first night of the survey. Results are based only on those who received the question.

In Apr 5-May 2, 2016, this question was asked only of Democrats and Democratic leaners.

ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [N=4,951]:

TRAITREPC Compared to other Americans, would you say Republicans are...

Sep 3-15		Mar 2-Mar 28
<u>2019</u>		<u>2016</u>
18	NET more open-minded	15
5	A lot more open-minded	4
13	Somewhat more open-minded	11
34	About the same	37
46	NET more closed-minded	46
25	Somewhat more closed-minded	27
21	A lot more closed-minded	19
2	No answer	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITREP a-e ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [N=4,951]:

TRAITREPd Compared to other Americans, would you say Republicans are...

Sep 3-15	
2019	
40	NET more patriotic
19	A lot more patriotic
21	Somewhat more patriotic
46	About the same
12	NET more UNpatriotic
7	Somewhat more UNpatriotic
5	A lot more UNpatriotic
2	No answer

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITREP a-e ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [N=4,951]:

TRAITREPE Compared to other Americans, would you say Republicans are...

Sep 3-15 2019		Mar 2-Mar 28 2016
17	NET more intelligent	18
5	A lot more intelligent	5
12	Somewhat more intelligent	14
62	About the same	61
20	NET more UNintelligent	19
14	Somewhat more UNintelligent	13
6	A lot more UNintelligent	6
2	No answer	2

RANDOMIZE TRAITREP a-e BLOCK WITH TRAITDEM a-e BLOCK; DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR EACH QUESTION IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE; USE SAME RESPONSE OPTION ORDER FOR BOTH BLOCKS.

Now thinking about some traits that might describe some people and not others...

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITDEM a-e ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [N=4,951]:

TRAITDEMa Compared to other Americans, would you say Democrats are...

Sep 3-15		Mar 2-Mar 28
2019		<u>2016</u>
22	NET more moral	19
7	A lot more moral	6
15	Somewhat more moral	13
50	About the same	57
26	NET more IMmoral	22
15	Somewhat more IMmoral	14
12	A lot more IMmoral	8
2	No answer	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITDEM a-e ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [N=4,951]:

TRAITDEMb Compared to other Americans, would you say Democrats are...

Sep 3-15 2019		Mar 2-Mar 28 2016
15	NET more hard-working	17
6	A lot more hard-working	7
9	Somewhat hard-working	10
61	About the same	60
22	NET more lazy	20
15	Somewhat more lazy	15
7	A lot more lazy	6
2	No answer	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITDEM a-e ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [N=4,951]:

TRAITDEMc Compared to other Americans, would you say Democrats are...

Sep 3-15		Mar 2-Mar 28
2019		<u>2016</u>
38	NET more open-minded	38
17	A lot more open-minded	12
22	Somewhat more open-minded	26
30	About the same	35
30	NET more closed-minded	25
15	Somewhat more closed-minded	14
16	A lot more closed-minded	11
1	No answer	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITDEM a-e ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [N=4,951]:

TRAITDEMd Compared to other Americans, would you say Democrats are...

Sep 3-15	
2019	
14	NET more patriotic
5	A lot more patriotic
10	Somewhat more patriotic
53	About the same
31	NET more UNpatriotic
19	Somewhat more UNpatriotic
13	A lot more UNpatriotic
2	No answer

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITDEM a-e ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [N=4,951]:

TRAITDEMe Compared to other Americans, would you say Democrats are...

Sep 3-15		Mar 2-Mar 28
2019		<u>2016</u>
20	NET more intelligent	21
6	A lot more intelligent	7
14	Somewhat more intelligent	15
61	About the same	62
17	NET more UNintelligent	15
11	Somewhat more Unintelligent	11
7	A lot more Unintelligent	3
2	No answer	2

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE