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As Partisan Hostility Grows, Signs of Frustration With the Two-Party System

Nearly half of younger adults say they 'wish there were more parties to choose from'

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How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to better understand Americans' feelings about the country's major political parties and the reasons why they choose to affiliate with or lean toward a party. For this analysis, we surveyed 6,174 U.S. adults between June 27 and July 4, 2022. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses. This way nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other categories. <u>Read more about the ATP's methodology</u>.

Here are the <u>questions used for the report</u> and its <u>methodology</u>.

As Partisan Hostility Grows, Signs of Frustration With the Two-Party System

Nearly half of younger adults say they 'wish there were more parties to choose from'

Partisan polarization has long been a fact of political life in the United States. But increasingly,

Republicans and Democrats view not just the opposing party but also the *people* in that party in a negative light. Growing shares in each party now describe those in the other party as more closed-minded, dishonest, immoral and unintelligent than other Americans.

Perhaps the most striking change is the extent to which partisans view those in the opposing party as immoral. In 2016, about half of Republicans (47%) and slightly more than a third of Democrats (35%) said those in the other party were a lot or somewhat more immoral than other Americans. Today, 72% of Republicans regard Democrats as more immoral, and 63% of Democrats say the same about Republicans.

The pattern is similar with other negative partisan stereotypes: 72% of Republicans and 64% of Democrats say people in the

Growing shares of both Republicans and Democrats say members of the other party are more immoral, dishonest, closed-minded than other Americans

% who say members of the **other** party are a lot/somewhat more _____ compared to other Americans

- Republicans say Democrats are more ...
- Democrats say Republicans are more ...



Note: Partisans do not include those who lean to each party. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

opposing party are more dishonest than other Americans. Fewer than half in each party said this six years ago. Large majorities in both parties also describe those in the other party as more closed-minded than other Americans (83% of Democrats and 69% of Republicans say this), and

this sentiment also has increased in recent years.

Yet there is one negative trait that Republicans are far more likely than Democrats to link to their political opponents. A 62% majority of Republicans say Democrats are "more lazy" than other Americans, up from 46% in previous studies in 2019 and 2016. Only about a quarter of Democrats (26%) say Republicans are lazier than others, and this has changed only modestly since 2016.

The new survey on parties and partisanship by Pew Research Center, conducted among 6,174 Americans between June 27 and July 4, 2022, on the nationally representative American Trends Panel, finds that negative sentiment – the belief that the opposing party's policies are harmful to the country – remains a major factor in *why* Republicans and Democrats choose to affiliate with their party.

In fact, nearly equal shares of Republicans cite the harm caused by Democratic policies (78%)

Support for more political parties is highest among independents, higher among Democrats than Republicans

% who say "I often wish there were more political parties to choose from in this country" describes their views ...



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.



and the positive impact of GOP policies (76%) as major reasons why they identify with their party. This also is the case for Democrats, with identical shares (68% each) citing these negative and positive reasons for their decision to affiliate with the Democratic Party.

The belief that the opposing party's policies are harmful to the country is a particularly prominent factor in why independents lean toward the Republican and Democratic parties. It is the only one, among the five included on this survey, cited by majorities of both Republican-leaning (57%) and Democratic-leaning independents (55%) as a major reason why they lean toward their parties.

The survey finds that while negative partisanship remains extensive – and in many cases is increasing – there also are signs of frustration with the two-party system and the parties themselves. This frustration is more evident among partisan leaners – who tend to be <u>younger and less politically engaged than partisans</u> – than among those who identify as Republicans or Democrats.

Among the public overall, 39% say the following describes their views extremely or very well: "I often wish there were more political parties to choose from in this country." Another 32% say the statement describes their views somewhat well, while 28% say it describes their views not too well or not at all well.

Notably, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to express a desire for more political parties: 38% of those who identify with the Democratic Party say this describes their views extremely or very well, compared with 21% of Republicans. Yet it is among independents and others who do not identify with a party that the sentiment is most pronounced: 48% say it describes their views extremely or very well, including 48% of those who lean Republican and 53% of those who lean Democratic.

Overall, interest in having more political parties is higher among younger Americans than older adults. Nearly half of those ages 18 to 49 say they often wish there were more parties to choose from (47% say it describes their views extremely or very well); that compares with 35% of those ages 50 to 64 and just 23% of those 65 and older.

Neither party is <u>very popular with the public</u>: Roughly four-in-ten Americans (41%) have a very or somewhat favorable view of the Democratic Party, while even fewer (37%) have a favorable impression of the Republican Party.

Over the past several decades, the share of Americans who express unfavorable opinions of *both* major parties has grown: In 1994, just 6% of the public had an unfavorable view of the Republican and Democratic parties. Today, about a quarter (27%) have negative views of both parties. This view is especially pronounced among partisan leaners: 44% of Republicanleaning independents – and an identical share of Democratic leaners – currently have negative views of both parties.

The Democratic Party has advantages over the GOP on several traits and attributes, particularly when it comes to tolerance for different types of people and *not* making excuses for hateful views among members of their own party. About six-in-ten adults (57%) say the phrase "respectful and tolerant of different types of people" describes the Democratic Party very or somewhat well,

Share of Americans holding unfavorable views of *both* parties among the highest in decades

% who have an unfavorable view of the Republican and Democratic parties



compared with 38% who say it describes the Republican Party.

And while 61% say the phrase "too often makes excuses for party members who have hateful views" describes the Republican Party, a smaller share (51%) say it describes the Democratic Party.

At the same time, there are more modest differences in views of the parties' respect for the nation's democratic institutions. About half of adults (51%) say "respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions" describes the Democratic Party very or somewhat well, while 45% say it applies to the GOP. And neither party gets high ratings for honesty: 43% say the phrase "governs in an honest and ethical way" describes the Democratic Party, compared with 37% who characterize the Republican Party this way.

Other important findings from the survey

Those who lean to the Democratic Party have become more critical of Democratic leaders.

When asked why they lean toward a party – rather than identify with it – many leaners say they do not want to put a political label on their views, while nearly as many offer that they are frustrated with the leadership of the party they lean toward. The share of Democratic leaners who cite frustration with the party's leaders as a major reason for why they do not more closely associate with the party has risen from 28% in 2016 to 40% currently. Over the same period, the share of Republican leaners who express frustration with GOP leadership has declined from 52% to 39%.

The GOP is divided over leaders who endorse

Trump's unproven election claims. About half of Republicans (51%) say they like political leaders who publicly assert that Donald Trump was the legitimate winner of the 2020 presidential election; 17% say they do not like such leaders,

Rise in share of Democratic leaners who cite frustration with party leadership as reason they don't identify with the party

% who say _____ is a **major reason** why they lean to, but do not identify with, the party that they lean toward



Note: Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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while 31% neither like nor dislike them. Those who identify strongly with the GOP – strong Republicans, who make up 70% of all Republicans – are far more likely than those who identify with the party less strongly or Republican leaners to express positive views of such leaders. About six-in-ten strong Republicans (59%) express positive views of leaders who say Trump won in 2020, compared with 31% of less strong Republicans and 24% of Republican-leaning independents.

Republicans and Democrats express increasingly positive views of themselves. While Republicans and Democrats express increasingly negative views of those in the other party, they have become more positive about the people in *their* party. For example, a majority of Republicans (63%) now say that members of their party are a lot or somewhat more moral than other Americans; about half of Republicans (51%) said that in 2016 and 2019. The share of Democrats who say their fellow Democrats are more moral than other Americans has increased from 38% in 2016 to 51% currently.

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Deeply negative views of the opposing party are far more widespread than in the past.

About six-in ten Republicans (62%) and more than half of Democrats (54%) have a very unfavorable view of the other party in Pew Research Center surveys conducted this year. While these highly negative views of the opposing party are little changed in the last few years, the share expressing this level of antipathy is higher than it was even five years ago, and considerably higher than it was a few decades ago. In 1994, fewer than a quarter in both parties rated the other party very unfavorably.

Two decades of rising partisan antipathy



Note: Based on partisans and does not include those who lean to each party. Source: Yearly averages of survey data from Pew Research Center American Trends Panel (2020-2022) and Pew Research Center phone surveys (1994-2019).

1. Rising partisan antipathy; widening party gap in presidential job approval

About six-in-ten U.S. adults (61%) have an unfavorable view of the Republican Party, with nearly as many (57%) holding a negative view of the Democratic Party. While there have been relatively modest changes in the overall ratings of each party over the last few years, the share of the public

holding unfavorable views of *both* of the major parties has grown over the past few years and is now as high as at any point in more than two decades.

At the same time, deep partisan dislike of the "other side" in politics remains substantially higher than it was even a decade ago – and this is evident both among those who identify with a party and among independents who lean to a party.





Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

Approval ratings for modern presidents mirror this trend.

Over the course of Joe Biden's presidency, the average gap between Democratic and Republican ratings of the president stands at 76 percentage points – roughly on par with the 80-point gap over the course of Donald Trump's presidency, but wider than during the presidencies of Barack Obama (67 points) and George W. Bush (58 points). And the gaps under Biden and Trump are far wider than for presidencies in the mid-20th century (39 points during Dwight Eisenhower's presidency, 30 points during Lyndon Johnson's).

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Leaners' ratings of the opposing party are quite negative, but ratings of their 'own' party are lukewarm

Overwhelming majorities of partisans – those who identify as Republicans or Democrats – view their party positively. About nine-in-ten Republicans and Democrats (both 89%) have a favorable view of their own party. Negative views of the opposing party are also near universal: 92% of Democrats have an unfavorable view of the GOP, while 96% of Republicans view the Democratic Party negatively.

Partisan leaners – those who identify as independent or something else, but lean Democratic or Republican – hold nearly as negative views of the opposing party as do partisan identifiers. Nine-inten Republican leaners have an unfavorable view of the Democratic Party, while a nearly identical share of Democratic leaners (89%) have an unfavorable view of the GOP.

But leaners diverge from partisans in that they are far

Republican and Democratic leaners are nearly as negative about the opposing party as partisans, but far less positive about 'their' party



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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less likely to hold favorable views of the party they lean toward – and these views are more negative today than they were a few years ago.

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About half of Democratic-leaning independents (53%) now have a favorable opinion of the Democratic Party, down from roughly six-in-ten from 2019 to 2021. Among Republican leaners, 53% now say they have a favorable view of the Republican Party; as recently as two years ago, 61% had a favorable view.

Intensely negative feelings about the opposing party grow

Clear majorities of both Republicans and Democrats have long viewed the other party negatively,

but the shares saying their opinions are *very unfavorable* in recent years is considerably higher today than it was in prior decades.

Across Pew Research Center surveys conducted this year, 62% of Republicans and 54% of Democrats say they hold very unfavorable views of the other party.

By comparison, 10 years ago, 43% of Republicans and 46% of Democrats had very unfavorable views of the other party. And 10 years before that (in 2002), just two-in-ten Republicans (20%) and about a quarter of Democrats (26%) expressed very unfavorable views of the opposing party.

Highly negative views of the opposing party are far more widespread than in the past



Note: Based on partisans and does not include those who lean to each party. Source: Yearly averages of survey data from Pew Research Center American Trends Panel (2020-2022) and Pew Research Center phone surveys (1994-2019).

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Partisan antipathy has increased not just among partisan identifiers, but also among those who lean to a party.

About half of Republican leaners (47%) have very unfavorable views of the Democratic Party – a substantial increase since 2012, when 36% of Republican leaners held this view, and far higher than the share with very unfavorable views of the Democratic Party in 2002 (10%).

Views of the Republican Party among Democratic leaners have followed the same

pattern: 45% of Democratic leaners have a very unfavorable view of the Republican Party in Pew Research Center surveys this year – a significantly larger share than the 36% who said this in 2012 and the 19% who held this view in 2002.

Partisan antipathy has significantly increased among partisan leaners in recent years



Note: Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. Source: Yearly averages of survey data from Pew Research Center American Trends Panel (2020-2022) and Pew Research Center phone surveys (1994-2019).

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A rise in the share of Americans with unfavorable views of both parties

Unfavorable views of both the Republican and Democratic parties have increased among the public over the last two decades.

Today, about a quarter of Americans (27%) have unfavorable views of both parties, a substantial increase from the roughly four times the share who held this combination of views in 2002 (7%). The percentage of the public that expresses unfavorable opinions of both parties is as high as it has been in more than two decades of polling.

Around two-thirds of Americans have a favorable opinion of one party and an unfavorable view of the other: 31% view the GOP favorably but the Democratic Party unfavorably, while 35% rate the Democratic Party favorably while viewing the Republican Party unfavorably. Few Americans (6%) view both of the parties favorably.

About a quarter of the public has unfavorable views of *both* parties

% who have an unfavorable view of Republican and

Note: Based on those who rated both the Republican and Democratic parties.

Source: Yearly averages of survey data from Pew Research Center American Trends Panel (2020-2022) and Pew Research Center phone surveys (1994-2019).

Democratic parties 25 27 20 13 6 71994 2002 2010 2018 2022

% who are ...

18

Unfavorable opinions of both parties are concentrated among independents and those with other political affiliations: About half of all independents and others who decline to identify with a party (47%) have unfavorable views of both the Republican and Democratic parties. Those who lean toward the Republican Party and those who lean Democratic are equally likely to view both parties unfavorably (44% for both).

Most Americans who identify with a party – even if the attachment is not strong – have a favorable view of their party Partisans with weaker ties to their party more likely to have unfavorable views of both parties



Note: Based on those who rated both the Republican and Democratic parties. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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and an unfavorable view of the other party. Fully 86% of Republicans and 84% of Democrats view their party favorably but the other unfavorably. About nine-in-ten strong partisans hold this combination of views, compared with about seven-in-ten not strong partisans. About two-in-ten not strong Republicans (23%) and not strong Democrats (19%) see both parties in a negative light.

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Younger adults are more likely to hold an unfavorable view of both political parties than those who are older: About a third of adults under age 50 (35%) say they hold unfavorable views of both major parties, compared with about two-in-ten of those ages 50 to 64 (21%) and 16% of those 65 and older.

Younger adults more likely to hold unfavorable views of both Democratic and Republican parties



Note: Based on those who rated both the Republican and Democratic parties. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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In most age groups, there is a roughly equal balance of opinion between those who

have a favorable view of the Republican Party but an unfavorable view of the Democratic Party, and those who have a favorable view of the Democratic Party but an unfavorable view of the Republican Party. Adults ages 18 to 29 are an exception: On balance, a larger share of adults under 30 view just the Democratic Party favorably than just the Republican Party favorably (34% vs. 21%).

The partisan gap in presidential approval ratings has grown over time

There has long been a partisan gap in assessments of presidential performance, with members of the party occupying the White House expressing more positive evaluations of the president's job performance than those whose party is in opposition. However, the partisan gap has grown in the modern polling era, primarily driven by an increase in negative sentiments from those in the opposing party.

Partisan gaps on recent presidents far wider than for their predecessors

EISENHOWER JOHNSON NIXON CARTER TRUMP BIDEN REAGAN G.H.W. CLINTON G.W. BUSH OBAMA **KENNEDY** FORD BUSH Average approval among own 100 party: 88 84 70 75 67 57 83 82 80 81 81 86 83 Republicans 75 **Democrats** 50 25 Average approval among other party: 49 40 34 36 30 31 44 27 23 49 14 7 6 0 1953 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010 2020

% who approve of president's job performance, by party

Notes: Lines show yearly approval averages; data labels show administration averages. Because some earlier data did not include partisan leaning, Republicans and Democrats in this graphic do not include leaners.

Source: Annual totals of survey data from Pew Research Center American Trends Panel (2017-2022), Pew Research Center phone surveys (1993-2017), and Gallup organization (1953-1993).

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More than six decades ago, President Eisenhower enjoyed an average 88% approval rating from Republicans and a 49% approval rating from Democrats, a 39 percentage point partisan gap. And during Johnson's presidency, 70% of Democrats, on average, approved of his handling of the job, compared with 40% of Republicans – a partisan gap of 30 points.

In the years since, the partisan divide in presidential ratings has grown relatively steadily, largely as average out-party ratings of the president's job performance have declined. Across his eight years in office, an average of 23% of Democrats approved of George W. Bush's performance. That dropped to an average of 14% of Republicans approving of Obama's performance over his eight years, resulting in average partisan approval gaps of 58 points for Bush and 67 points for Obama.

The partisan gap grew even wider during Trump's presidency. An average of just 6% of Democrats approved of Trump over the course of his four-year term, while an average of 86% of Republicans did so – a gap of 80 points.

The partisan gap in views of Biden's presidency to date is comparable to the gap during the Trump administration. While views of Biden among Democrats have <u>declined since his first months in</u> <u>office</u>, on average, 83% of Democrats have approved of his job performance over the course of his term. By contrast, an average of 7% of Republicans say they have approved of how Biden handles the job as president – a partisan gap of 76 percentage points.

2. Traits of the parties; Trump and the GOP

Slightly more than half of U.S. adults (55%) say the Democratic Party is too extreme in its positions, while a somewhat larger share (61%) say the same about the Republican Party. Similarly, while 61% say the phrase "too often makes excuses for party members with hateful views" describes the Republican Party very or somewhat well, 51% say this about the Democratic Party.

Americans are slightly more likely to say the Democratic Party supports policies that interfere too much in people's lives than to describe the Republican Party this way (54% vs. 50%).

The Democratic Party holds a sizable advantage with the public on being seen as "respectful and tolerant of different types of people." Nearly six-in-ten (57%) say this describes the Democratic Party at least somewhat well; 38% say the same for the GOP.

Public criticism of the parties: Majorities say they are each too extreme, don't govern honestly and ethically

hat	Not too Not at all							
Too often makes excuses for members with hateful views								
25		23	13					
	28		18					
Too extreme in its positions								
30		22	15					
		27	16					
	3	0	18					
		-	16					
Democratic Party 28 26 28 16								
Respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions								
	25		29					
<mark>30</mark> 20		27						
			27					
			27					
27			27 34					
	22							
	22		34					
	22		34					
			34					
:		18	34 33					
:	i 1		34 33 35					
	30	230	28 28 30 22 27 30 28 28					

And while the Democratic Party also holds modest advantages on respecting the country's democratic institutions and traditions and on governing honestly and ethically, neither party rates highly among the public on these measures. While 45% characterize the Republican Party as

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respecting the country's democratic institutions, 51% say the same about the Democratic Party. And just 37% say the phrase "governs in an honest and ethical way" describes the Republican Party at least somewhat well, with 43% saying this description applies to Democrats.

Partisans overwhelmingly offer criticisms of the other party while evaluating their own in generally positive terms.

For example, 84% of Republican identifiers say "governs in an honest and ethical way" describes the Republican Party at least somewhat well, while 85% of those who identify as Democrats say the same about the Democratic Party. Conversely, just 9% of Republicans say the Democratic Party governs in an honest and ethical way, and only 12% of Democrats say this about the GOP.

Partisans are similarly positive toward their party and negative toward the other party on respecting the country's democratic institutions.

However, while large shares in both parties say their own party is respectful and tolerant of different types of people, about a quarter of Republicans describe the Democratic Party

Republicans and Democrats negatively characterize other party, generally positive toward own

Ratings of the Ratings of the Republican Party Democratic Party Too often makes excuses for Too often makes excuses for members with hateful views members with hateful views Rating by ... Very Somewhat Very Somewhat Republicans 6 33 39 NET 52 23 76 NET Democrats 17 **81** 7 22 **29** Too extreme in its positions Too extreme in its positions Republicans 35 41 18 79 8 31 **39** Democrats 22 80 Supports policies that interfere Supports policies that interfere too much in people's lives too much in people's lives Republicans 8 25 33 17 **74** 57 Democrats 44 24 68 9 26 **36** Respects the country's Respects the country's democratic institutions democratic institutions and traditions and traditions Republicans 11 **13** 46 88 Democrats 13 17 40 90 Governs in an honest Governs in an honest and ethical way and ethical way Republicans 79 62 84 Democrats 9 12 54 85 Respectful and tolerant of Respectful and tolerant of different types of people different types of people Republicans 56 85 20 26 6 Democrats 9 12 39 92

How well do each of the following describe the parties? (%)

Note: Partisans do not include those who lean to each party. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022

this way; just 12% of Democrats view the GOP as respectful and tolerant of different types of people.

Partisans are somewhat critical of their own party on some traits. About four-in-ten in both parties say that "too extreme" describes their own party at least somewhat well (41% of Republicans, 39% of Democrats), while roughly a third in both parties say their party supports policies that interfere too much in people's lives (33% of Republicans, 36% of Democrats). About four-in-ten Republicans (39%) characterize their own party as too often making excuses for members hateful views, while about three-in-ten Democrats (29%) say this about their party.

Overall, about a quarter of adults (27%) say *neither* party governs honestly and ethically, while 30% say *both* parties are too extreme in their positions. Nearly as many (28%) say both too often make excuses for party members who have hateful views.

While few Americans say both of the parties are described well as respectful and tolerant (13%) or as respecting the country's democratic institutions (also 13%), similar shares (16% for each) say these descriptions apply to neither of the parties (in both cases, the public is more likely to say these terms apply to the Democratic Party, but not the Republican Party, than to say the reverse).

About a quarter see *neither* party as governing in an honest and ethical way, 30% see *both* as too extreme



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

About half of Republicans like leaders who contend Trump won 2020 election

Among Republicans, strength of partisanship is closely associated with feelings about Donald Trump and his unsupported assertion that he was the legitimate winner of the 2020 presidential election.

Overall, 51% of Republicans say they like political leaders who assert this, compared with 17% who dislike such leaders. About a third of Republicans (31%) say they neither like nor dislike leaders who assert that Trump was the legitimate winner.

Nearly six-in-ten Republicans who identify *strongly* with the Republican Party (59%) say they like political leaders who assert that Trump won, including 39% who like such leaders *a lot*. Just 11% of strong Republicans dislike leaders

A majority of 'strong' Republicans say they like political leaders who claim that Trump won in 2020

% who _____ a political leader who publicly asserts that Donald Trump is the legitimate winner of the 2020 election



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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who assert Trump was the winner in 2020, while 29% say they neither like nor dislike leaders who assert this.

By contrast, Republicans who identify with the Republican Party but not as strongly are divided in views of political leaders who assert that Trump was the legitimate winner of the election. While 31% say they like such leaders, about as many (33%) do not; another 36% say they neither like nor dislike leaders who assert that Trump was the winner.

Strong Republicans represent a much larger share of Republicans than those who identify with the party but not as strongly; 70% of all Republicans say they strongly identify with the Republican Party.

Republican-leaning independents, like those who identify as Republicans but not strongly, have mixed views of leaders who claim that Trump was the rightful election winner. A third of independents who lean toward the Republican Party dislike leaders who assert Trump was the winner of the most recent presidential election, compared with 24% who like leaders who assert

this. The largest share of Republican leaners – 43% – say they neither like nor dislike leaders who assert that Trump won in 2020.

The share of Republicans who say they like a political leader who publicly asserts that Trump is the legitimate winner of the 2020 election (51%) is essentially unchanged since September 2021, when 53% of Republicans said this.

The share of Republicans who say they like a leader who asserts this *a lot* is down somewhat over the past year. About a third (32%) of Republicans say they like a leader who asserts this a lot, compared with 38% in 2021; the share who like a leader who asserts this *a little* has increased slightly over the same period, from 15% to 19%.

Among Republican leaners, the share who like leaders who assert that Trump won in 2020 has decreased by 4 percentage points since 2021. The share of leaners who dislike leaders who assert this is unchanged at 33%.

Republican views of leaders who say Trump won in 2020 are essentially unchanged over the past year

% who _____ a political leader who publicly asserts that Donald Trump is the legitimate winner of the 2020 election



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

Republicans without college degrees are more likely than those with four-year degrees to say they like political leaders who assert that Trump was the legitimate winner in 2020. A majority of Republicans without four-year degrees (56%) like political leaders who assert this, including 37% who like such leaders *a lot*. Just 13% of Republicans without degrees have negative views of political leaders who assert Trump won, while 30% neither like nor dislike leaders who assert this.

Among Republican college graduates, more have a positive view than a negative view of political

leaders who assert that Trump legitimately won the last election (37% like these leaders vs. 28% who dislike them). About a third (34%) of Republican college graduates neither like nor dislike leaders who assert that Trump was the legitimate winner.

While Republican-leaning independents are less positive toward leaders who assert that Trump won in 2020 than Republican identifiers overall, there is also an educational divide within this group. Republican leaners without college degrees are 11 percentage points more likely

Republicans without college degrees have more positive views of leaders who say Trump won in 2020

% who _____ a political leader who publicly asserts that Donald Trump is the legitimate winner of the 2020 election



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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to say they like leaders who assert Trump won than those with college degrees (27% vs. 16%). And leaners with college degrees are 18 points more likely than those without degrees to say they *dislike* leaders who assert this (45% vs. 27%).

Views of political leaders' approach to the other party

People who identify with each party are somewhat more likely to say they dislike leaders from their own party who call leaders of the other party "evil" than they are to say they like leaders who do this. Roughly a quarter of Republicans (28%) and Democrats (25%) say they like such leaders, while somewhat more (33% of Republicans and 36% of Democrats) say they dislike leaders of their own party who describe opponents as evil. About four-in-ten in each party say they neither like nor dislike such leaders (39% of Republicans, 38% of Democrats).

Compared with those who identify with a party, independents who lean toward each party have more negative views of leaders who call those in the other party evil. Identical shares of Republican leaners and Democratic leaners say they like (18%) and dislike (42%) political leaders from their party who call leaders from the opposing party evil.

Democrats more likely than Republicans to say they like political leaders who think the opposing party has good ideas on some issues

% who _____ political leaders from their **own** party who do each of the following



Notes: Republicans and Republican leaners asked about the Republican Party. Democrats and Democratic leaners asked about the Democratic Party. Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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Among both Democrats and Republicans, larger shares say they dislike leaders from their party who refuse to ever work with leaders from the other party than say they like them. However,

Democrats are more likely to have negative views of such leaders (60% dislike) than Republicans are (49%). Only small shares in each party (15% of Republicans, 10% of Democrats) say they like leaders of their own party who rule out working with the opposition.

Democrats also have more positive views of leaders from their own party who think the other party has good ideas on some issues. Democrats are more than twice as likely to say they like a Democratic leader who thinks Republicans have good ideas on some important issues as they are to say they dislike this type of Democratic leader (44% vs. 18%). Among Republicans, nearly identical shares like (30%) and dislike (28%) Republican leaders who think Democrats have good ideas on some important issues.

Similar shares of Republican leaners (42%) and Democratic leaners (41%) say they like leaders from the party they lean toward who say that the other party has good ideas on some issues.

Does support for a political party reflect on a person's character?

While large shares of Republicans and Democrats have negative impressions of those in the other party, a majority of all Americans (54%) say that, in general, the political party someone supports

does not say anything about whether they are a good or bad person. Nearly three-in-ten (29%) say one's political party says a little about whether they are a good or bad person, and 15% say it says a lot.

Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say the party that someone supports says a lot or a little about whether they are a good or bad person (59% of Democrats vs. 40% of Republicans).

There also are age differences in these views: 52% of adults younger than 50 say support for a party says at least a little about someone's character compared with 37% of those 50 and older.

In both parties, those who are younger than 50 are more likely than those who are older to say that the party someone supports says something about their character. However, these differences are much more pronounced among Democrats.

Seven-in-ten Democrats ages 18 to 49 say a person's partisanship says something about whether they are a good person compared with about half of older Democrats (48%).

Among Republicans, 47% of those younger than 50 and 36% of those 50 and older say the party someone supports says something about whether they are a good person.

Differences by party, age in views of whether a person's party says a lot or a little about their character

% who say the political party someone supports says ____ about whether they are a good or bad person

Total	A lotA little1529			Nothing 54		
Ages 18-49	17 34		47			
50+	13 24		62			
Republican	14	26	6	0		
Strong	17	25	5	58		
Not strong	6 30)	64	64		
Ages 18-49	18	29	!	53		
50+	12 2	24	64			
Lean Rep	8 23		69			
Ages 18-49	7 26		66	66		
50+	9 18	72				
Democrat	24	35		40		
Strong	28	36		35		
Not strong	17	33		48		
Ages 18-49	27	43	3	28		
50+	21	27	!	51		
Lean Dem	15	35		49		
Ages 18-49	18	39		42		
50+	8 27	7	65			

Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

3. The two-party system and views of differences between the Republican and Democratic parties

The two-party system is well-entrenched in American politics. It has been <u>more than half a</u> <u>century</u> since a candidate who was not from the Republican or Democratic Party has won a single state in a presidential election.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the poor recent track record of alternative parties, a sizable minority of Americans are supportive of the idea of having a greater choice of parties.

Nearly four-in-ten (39%) say the statement "I wish there were more political parties to choose from in this country" describes their views extremely (21%) or very well (17%). About a third (32%) say it describes their views somewhat well, while 28% say it describes their views not too well (16%) or not at all well (12%).

As might be expected, support for a wider range of parties is greatest among those who do not have strong allegiances to the Republican or Democratic Party.

Nearly four-in-ten Americans express a desire for more political parties

% who say "I often wish there were more political parties to choose from in this country" describes their views ...



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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About half of independents and others not aligned with a party (48%) say wishing they had more parties to choose from describes their views extremely (29%) or very well (19%). Similar shares of Republican-leaning independents (48%) and Democratic-leaning independents (53%) say this is something they would like to see in the U.S.

Among partisans, support for more choice in parties is higher among Democrats than Republicans.

About four-in-ten Democrats (38%) say wishing for more political parties to choose from describes their views extremely or very well, while 21% of Republicans say the same (8% extremely and 13% very). Almost half of Republicans say they do not wish for more political parties in the country

(46% say this describes their views not too or not at all well); about a quarter of Democrats (26%) say this.

The desire for more political parties to choose from in the U.S. also varies across age groups and by educational attainment.

Younger adults are more likely than older adults to say they wish there were more political parties to choose form in this country. About half of adults ages 18 to 49 (47%) say this sentiment describes their views extremely or very well, compared with 35% of those ages 50 to 64 and about a quarter of adults who are 65 and older (23%).

Americans who have a high school education or less are the least likely to say they would like to have more choices of political parties: Just 34% say wanting more choices describes their views extremely or very well. About four-in-ten of those with some college education (40%) or

Younger adults, college graduates are more likely to want more choices of political parties

% who say "I often wish there were more political parties to choose from in this country" describes their views ...

Extremely Very Somewhat well well well			t ■Not to well	Not too Not at well all wel		
Total	21	17	32	16	12	
Ages 18-29	28	20	33		12 6	
30-49	29	17	33	1	19	
50-64	16	19	32	18	14	
65+	10 13	32	24	4	20	
College grad+	25	18	30	16	9	
Some college	21	19	32	15	12	
HS or less	18	16	34	16	14	

Note: No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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with a college degree or more (43%) say they would like more parties to choose from.

Across partisan groups, younger American adults under age 40 are among the most likely to say

they wish there were more political parties to choose from in the U.S., while Americans 65 and older are the least likely to express this opinion.

Overall, about half of adults under age 40 (48%) say they wish there were more political parties to choose from, but that share falls to about three-in-ten among those under age 40 who identify as Republicans (29%). About half or more of these younger adults who are Democrats (49%), lean toward the Democratic Party (54%) or lean toward the GOP (58%) say they wish there were more parties to choose from.

Adults ages 65 and older are generally less likely to express a desire for more parties. Among this age group, more than twice as many Democrats than Republicans indicate support for more parties (23% vs. 10%). Roughly a third of partisan leaners ages 65 and older express this sentiment.

Republicans regardless of age express less support for more choices of political parties

% who say "I often wish there were more political parties to choose from in this country" describes their views **very or extremely well**



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

Majority of public sees a great deal of difference between Republican and Democratic parties

Most Americans (57%) say there is a great deal of difference in what the Republican and Democratic parties stand for, while about a third (31%) say there is a fair amount of difference and 11% say there is hardly any difference at all. These views have changed little since 2019.

Views of differences between the parties vary across racial, ethnic, age and educational lines. The most likely groups to say there is a great deal of difference between the two major parties are White adults, older people and those with postgraduate degrees.

About six-in-ten White adults (61%) say there is a great deal of difference in what the parties stand for, which is somewhat higher than the shares of Black (56%), Asian American (51%) and Hispanic adults (46%) who say that. The shares who say there is hardly any difference between the parties is low across racial and ethnic lines, but Black (19%) and Hispanic (17%) adults are about twice as likely as Asian (9%) and White adults 8% to hold this view.

About three-quarters of adults ages 65 and older (73%) say there is a great deal of

Wide age differences in perceptions of how much parties differ from each other

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



* Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Notes: White, Black and Asian adults include only those who report being one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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difference between Republicans and Democrats, while 63% of those ages 50 to 64 also say this. Only about half of adults ages 18 to 50 (48%) share this position.

There are modest educational differences in these views. Adults with postgraduate degrees (65%) are somewhat more likely than those with less educational attainment to say there is a great deal of difference between what the Republican and Democratic parties stand for.

Strong partisans are the most likely to view a great deal of difference between what the Democratic and Republican parties stand for. About three-quarters of strong Republicans (76%) and strong Democrats (78%) say there is a great deal of difference between the parties.

The share who express that view falls to 61% among less strong Democrats and 51% among less strong Republicans. About half of independents who lean toward the Democratic Party (49%) say there is a great deal of difference, while about four-in-ten Republicanleaning independents (43%) say this.

Democratic leaners (18%) and Republican leaners (13%) are the most likely groups to say there is hardly any difference between the parties; few share this view within any of the partisan groups.

Those with weaker partisan ties are less likely to see major differences between the two major parties

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



Note: No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

Most Americans say at least one candidate for office shares their views

Most Americans say that they usually feel like there is at least one candidate who shares most of their views (55%), while about four-in-ten (43%) say they feel like none of the candidates represents their views well.

Partisans and older adults are the most likely to say they feel like there are candidates who share their views, while partisan leaners and younger adults say there are not candidates who represent their views well.

Seven-in-ten or more Republicans (74%) and Democrats (69%) say there is usually at least one candidate who shares most of their views, compared with fewer than half of Republican (42%) and Democratic leaners (38%).

Among adults ages 18 to 49, 53% say there are usually no candidates that represent their views well, while just 27% of adults ages 65 and older say the same. Most adults 50 and older say they usually have candidates to vote for who share most of their views: 62% of those ages 50 to 64 say this, as do 71% of those 65 and older.

Younger people more likely than older adults to say they usually feel like no candidate shares their views

When it comes to candidates for political office, I usually feel ... (%)



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.
Since 2018, the shares of independents who lean toward a party that say they feel that none of the candidates represents their views well has increased. Among Democratic leaners, the share saying this increased from 50% in 2018 to 61% today, while the share of Republican leaners with the same opinion increased from 39% to 57%. Views among Republicans and Democrats are little changed over that same period.

Partisan leaners increasingly feel no candidates represent their views well

When it comes to candidates for political office, I usually feel **none of the candidates represent my views well** (%)



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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The feeling that candidates for political office do not represent

their views well also has increased across age groups over the past four years. The share who say that none of the candidates represents their views has increased from 47% in 2018 to 54% now among those ages 18 to 29, and from 43% to 52% among those ages 30 to 49. There have been similar increases among older Americans (36% today vs. 29% in 2018 for those ages 50 to 64, and 27% now vs. 22% then for those 65 and older).

4. Why people identify with – or lean toward – a political party

Republicans and Democrats are as likely to point to the harm of the other party's policies as a major reason for affiliating with their party as they are to point to the good of their party's policies.

Those who don't identify as a partisan, but lean toward one of the parties, are most likely point to the negative impacts they see coming from the other party's agenda as a major reason for why they lean toward that party.

About eight-in-ten Republicans (78%) and seven-in-ten Democrats (68%) say that the harm of the other party's policies to the country is a major reason they identify with their own party. The shares citing these negative factors for their partisan affiliation have increased since Pew Research Center's <u>2016 study of partisanship</u>. At that time, 68% of Republicans and 62% of Democrats cited the harm to the country by the other party's policies as a major reason for their decision to identify with their party.

About three-quarters of Republicans (76%) and 68% of Democrats say their own party's policies being good for the country is a major reason they affiliate with their party.

Partisans about equally likely to cite harm from opposing party's policies, good resulting from *their* party's policies as major reason for their partisan identification

% of **Republicans** who say each is a _____ for why % of Democrats who say each is a _____ for why they are a Republican they are a Democrat Major reason Minor reason Not a reason Dem policies Dem policies 16 6 25 78 6 harmful to country good for country Rep policies Rep policies 76 21 3 21 11 68 good for country harmful to country Rep Party sticks up Dem Party sticks up 30 13 29 15 for people like me for people like me Have a lot in Have a lot in 37 23 36 18 common with Reps common with Dems Most friends and Most friends and 26 62 25 60 12 family are Reps family are Dems

Notes: Partisans do not include those who lean to each party. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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Just over half of Republicans (56%) and Democrats (55%) say that their party sticking up for people like them leads them to adopt the party label. Around four-in-ten in each party (40% of Republicans, 45% of Democrats) say having a lot in common with people who are members of their party is a major reason for their affiliation.

Few in either party point to most of their friends and family being of the same party as a major contributor to their partisan identity: Just 12% of Republicans and 15% of Democrats say this is a major reason.

Why partisan leaners lean – and why they don't identify with a party

Those who lean toward one of the two major parties but do not identify as partisans most commonly cite harm to the country from the other party's policies as a reason for why they choose to lean as they do.

Negative assessments of other party's policies are biggest reason for leaning toward a party among independents



% of *Republican leaners* who say each is a _____ for why they do not identify as a Republican

% of *Republican leaners* who say each is a _____ for why

% of Democratic leaners who say each is a _____ for why they lean toward the Democratic Party



% of Democratic leaners who say each is a ____ for why they do not identify as a Democrat



Notes: Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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Majorities of Republican leaners (57%) and Democratic leaners (55%) say the other party's policies being harmful to the country is a major reason why they lean toward their party. Nearly four-inten Republican leaners (39%) and about a quarter of Democratic leaners (27%) say the policies of the party they lean toward being good for the country is a major reason they lean in that direction.

About a quarter of both GOP leaners (27%) and Democratic leaners (24%) say the party sticking up for people like them is a major reason for their leaning. About two-in-ten say having a lot in common with party members is a major reason (21% of Republican leaners and 20% of Democratic leaners).

Asked why they lean toward a party but do not identify with it, about four-in-ten leaners say a major reason is that they do not like putting labels on their political views (45% of Republican leaners and 43% of Democratic leaners). Nearly as many cite frustration with the party's leaders as a major reason keeping them from embracing the party more (39% of Republican leaners, 40% of Democratic leaners).

About three-in-ten leaners (31% of Republican leaners and 30% of Democratic leaners) say disagreeing with the party on important issues is a major reason why they don't embrace the party label, while about two-in-ten cite not caring enough about politics to identify with a party as a major reason (21% and 19%, respectively).

Since 2016, the share of Democratic leaners who say frustration with party leadership is a major reason they don't identify with the Democratic Party has increased. At the same time, the share of Republican leaners who cite frustration with GOP leaders as a major reason for not identifying as Republicans has declined.

As a result, today there is essentially no difference in the shares of Republican (39%) and Democratic leaners (40%) who say frustration with party leaders is a major reason they don't identify with the party.

Since 2016, a growing share of Democratic leaners cite frustration with the party's leadership as a major reason why they do not identify as Democrats

% who say _____ is a **major reason** why they lean to, but do not identify with, the party that they lean toward



Note: Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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Six years ago, there was a 24 percentage point gap between Republican and Democratic leaners (52% of Republican leaners vs. 28% of Democratic leaners) on this question.

The share of Republican leaners citing disagreement with GOP policies as a major reason for not identifying as a partisan has declined over the last several years: Today, 31% say this is a major reason, while 37% said this in 2018 and 40% said this in 2016. Democratic leaners are also less likely to cite this as a major reason for not identifying as a Democrat than they were four years ago (30% now, 38% then), though the share saying this today is little different than it was in 2016 (when 33% said this).

Non-college adults are more likely than college graduates to cite the party 'sticking up for people like them' as a major reason for identifying with it

Partisans without four-year college degrees are more likely than those with degrees to say a major reason for affiliating with their party is because it "sticks up for people like me" – and this is especially the case among Republicans.

Republicans and Democrats without college degrees say their party sticking up for people like them is a 'major reason' for affiliating



% of *Republican leaners* who say each is a **major reason** for why they lean toward the *Republican Party*



% of Democratic leaners who say each is a **major reason** for why they lean toward the Democratic Party



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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A 61% majority of Republicans who do not have bachelor's degrees say the party sticking up for them is a major reason for their party identification; 43% of Republicans with more education say the same. There is a narrower but still significant gap among Democrats: 59% without college degrees say the Democratic Party sticking up for people like them is a major reason for identifying

as a Democrat. By comparison, 50% of Democrats with bachelor's degrees or more education say this.

Republican leaners without bachelor's degrees (29%) also are more likely than those with a bachelor's or more education (22%) to cite the GOP standing up for them as a major reason for their leaning.

Democrats and Democratic leaners *with* four-year degrees are more likely than those without degrees to say policies play a major role in their political affiliation – especially in negative views of Republican policies. Two-thirds or more of Democrats (75%) and Democratic leaners (67%) with college degrees say negative views of Republican policies are a major reason they identify with or lean toward the Democratic Party. Democrats and Democratic leaners without college degrees are less likely to say this (64% of Democrats and 49% of Democratic leaners without four-year degrees).

Few voters say it is likely they will vote for the other party

Most registered voters – regardless of whether they identify with a party or are independents who lean toward a party – say it is unlikely they will cast a ballot for a candidate from the other party for any office over the next several years.

About eight-in-ten or more Democrats (83%) and Republicans (87%) say it is at least somewhat unlikely they will cast a ballot for a candidate from the other party, including 63% of Democrats and 71% of Republicans who say it is very unlikely.

Most voters who lean toward a party also say they're unlikely to cast ballots for the other party's candidates for any political offices. About sevenin-ten of those who lean toward the Democratic Party (68%) or

Looking ahead, most Democrats and Republicans say it is 'very unlikely' they will vote for the other party's candidates

Among Democratic registered voters, % who say it is _____ they will cast a ballot for a **Republican** candidate for any political office over the next several years



Among **Republican registered voters**, % who say it is _____ they will cast a ballot for a **Democratic** candidate for any political office over the next several years



Notes: Based on registered voters. Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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the Republican Party (73%) say it is somewhat or very unlikely they would vote for the other side. About half of these voters say it is *very* unlikely they would do this (46% of Democratic leaners and 49% of GOP leaners).

However, leaners are somewhat more likely than those who identify with the parties to say it is somewhat or very likely they would swing to vote for the other party: 27% of Democratic leaners and 22% of Republican leaners say it is somewhat or very likely they will vote for the other party's candidates in the next several years, compared with just 15% of Democrats and 11% of Republicans.

5. Republicans and Democrats increasingly critical of people in the opposing party

Increasing shares of Republicans and Democrats ascribe several negative traits to members of the

other party. And there is a similar pattern in views among those who lean toward the parties but do not identify as Republicans or Democrats.

There also has been a rise in the shares in both parties who describe their co-partisans in positive terms – saying they are more moral, open-minded and honest than other Americans.

On several traits, majorities of both Republicans and Democrats attribute negative stereotypes to members of the opposing party: An overwhelming majority of Democrats (83%) say Republicans are a lot or somewhat more closed-minded

Majorities in both parties view members of the other party as more immoral, dishonest and closed-minded than other Americans

% who say members of the **other** party are a lot/somewhat more _____ compared to other Americans



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than other Americans, while nearly seven-in-ten Republicans (69%) say the same about Democrats.

Nearly three-quarters of Republicans say Democrats are more immoral (72%) than other Americans, while an identical share (72%) say Democrats are more dishonest. Smaller majorities of Democrats characterize Republicans as more immoral (63%) or more dishonest (64%).

About half of Republicans (51%) and Democrats (52%) say that members of the other party are more unintelligent compared with other Americans.

The widest imbalance in partisans' views of their opponents is on whether those in the other party are viewed as lazier than other Americans. About six-in-ten (62%) Republicans say Democrats are



more lazy than other Americans. By contrast, only about a quarter of Democrats (26%) describe Republicans as lazier than others.

Shares of partisans describing members of the other party in negative terms has risen since 2016

% who say members of the **other** party are a lot/somewhat more _____ compared to other Americans



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The shares of Republicans and Democrats describing members of the other party with these negative traits has risen since 2016, when Pew Research Center <u>first asked this set of questions</u>.

There has been a particularly pronounced increase in the shares of partisans describing members of the other party as immoral over the past six years. In 2016, 47% of Republicans and 35% of Democrats said members of the other party were more immoral than other Americans; that increased to 55% and 47%, respectively, in 2019. Today, majorities in both parties (72% of Republicans, 63% of Democrats) view members of the opposing party as more immoral. The shares describing members of the other party as more dishonest have grown by a similar degree over the last six years.

Since 2016, there also have been sizable increases in the shares of both Republicans and Democrats who describe members of the other party as more closed-minded and unintelligent than other Americans.

Republicans also are increasingly likely to characterize Democrats as lazier than other Americans. A majority of Republicans (62%) say Democrats are more lazy than other Americans, up from 46% in 2019 and 2016. About a quarter of Democrats (26%) say the same about Republicans, which is a modest 8 percentage point increase since 2016.

Leaners hold fewer negative stereotypes about the other party than partisans, but rising shares attribute negative traits

People who lean toward a party hold fewer positive stereotypes about members of that party than do those who affiliate with it. They also hold fewer negative stereotypes of members of the opposing party than do partisans.

For example, while 72% of Republicans say Democrats are more immoral than most Americans and an identical share say they are more dishonest, those shares drop to 54% among Republicanleaning independents.

Similarly, about half of Republican leaners describe Democrats as more lazy (49%) or closed-minded (52%) than other Americans (compared with 62% and 69% of Republican partisans, respectively).

While a large majority of Democratic leaners (73%) describe Republicans as closedminded, those who identify as Democrats are even more likely to say this about Republicans (83%). And at least half of Democratic leaners describe

Republican and Democratic leaners view the opposing party more negatively than other Americans, but to a lesser extent than partisans

% who say members of the **other** party are a lot/somewhat more _____ compared to other Americans



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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Republicans as more dishonest (54%) and immoral (50%) than other Americans, compared with 64% and 63% of Democratic partisans, respectively. Relatively low shares of both Democrats (26%) and Democratic leaners (20%) say Republicans are more lazy than other Americans.

Just as partisans have become more negative toward those in the other party, so too have partisan leaners. Those who lean to the Republican and Democratic parties are more likely to describe those in the opposing party as more immoral, closed-minded, unintelligent, dishonest and lazy than they were in 2016.

Partisan leaners increasingly describe members of the other party in negative terms

% who say members of the **other** party are a lot/somewhat more _____ compared to other Americans

- Republican leaners say Democrats are more ...
- Democratic leaners say Republicans are more ...



Notes: Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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Most Democrats view those in their party as more open-minded than other Americans; most GOP see co-partisans as more hardworking

Large shares of Democrats and Republicans associate their fellow partisans with positive traits in

a pattern generally opposite of how they view the other party's members.

Two-thirds of Republicans say that Republicans are *more* hardworking compared with other Americans. Democrats are considerably less likely to describe Democrats in this way: About a third (34%) say Democrats are more hardworking than other Americans, while 60% say they are about the same.

However, Democrats are substantially more likely than Republicans to characterize members of their own party as

How partisans view members of their own party

% who say members of their **own** party are a lot/somewhat more _____ compared to other Americans



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open-minded. While nearly three-quarters of Democrats (74%) describe other Democrats as more open-minded, about half of Republicans (52%) say the same about Republicans.

Roughly half of Democrats say Democrats are more moral (51%), honest (49%) and intelligent (47%) than other Americans. Larger shares of Republicans say that Republicans are more moral (63%) and honest (55%), while about the same share say they are more intelligent (49%).

Partisans increasingly view members of their own party as more moral, open-minded and honest than others; shift is more modest among leaners

% who say members of their **own party/the party they lean toward** are a lot/somewhat more _____ compared to other Americans



Notes: Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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Republicans and Democrats increasingly associate their fellow partisans with positive traits.

The share of Republicans who say that Republicans are more moral than others has increased over the past six years. In 2016 and 2019, about half of Republicans (51%) said Republicans were moral than other Americans; today, 63% say this. The share of Democrats who say their co-partisans are more moral has increased from 38% in 2016 to 47% in 2019 and 51% in the current survey.

Republicans in particular are more likely to view members of their party as more open-minded than they were a few years ago. Since 2016, there has been a 20-point increase in the share of

Republicans who say members of the GOP are more open-minded than other Americans (from 32% to 52%). There has been less change among Democrats, who had already widely associated this trait with members of their party; currently, 74% say they are more open-minded than other Americans.

The shares of Republicans and Democrats who see the members of their own party as more intelligent and honest also have risen since 2016. And Republicans, who already viewed their fellow partisans as more hardworking, are now even more likely to say this (67%, compared with 53% in 2019 and 59% in 2016). About a third of Democrats (34%) say members of their party are more hardworking – little changed since 2016, when 37% said this.

Across the board, Republican and Democratic leaners are *less* likely than partisans to ascribe positive traits to the party they lean toward. And – with a few exceptions – their descriptions of members of the party that they lean toward have remained mostly stable the past few years.

Across the political spectrum, a rise in the number of negative traits attributed to opposing partisans

In both parties, and among both partisans and leaners, the number of negative traits Americans ascribe to members of the opposing party has increased substantially over the past six years. Today, more than half of Republicans (53%) ascribe at least four of the five negative traits asked about in the survey to Democrats, up from 30% six years ago.

Though Democrats are somewhat less likely to ascribe four or more of the five traits to Republicans than Republicans are to Democrats, the share doing so is double what it was in 2016. Today, 43% of Democrats ascribe four or more of these negative traits to Republicans, up from 22% six years ago.

In both parties, and among leaners, the shares describing opposing partisans with multiple negative traits has increased over the last several years



Notes: Five traits asked about how members of both parties compare to the average American: honest/dishonest, intelligent/unintelligent, hardworking/lazy, moral/immoral, open-minded/closed-minded. See topline for details. Partisans do not include leaners. Leaners are those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic (identifying as independent or other party) and lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022.

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Strong partisans are particularly likely to hold several negative stereotypes of the other party's members and have become more so since 2016. Today, about six-in-ten strong Republicans (59%) say at least four of the five negative traits apply to Democrats to a greater extent than they do to the average American, up 21 percentage points from 2016. Similarly, while nearly half of strong

Democrats (48%) associate four or more negative traits with Republicans today, only about a quarter (26%) did so in 2016.

But while these negative stereotypes are less widely held among those who identify less strongly with the parties – or among independents who lean to each party – the shares of these groups holding more negative stereotypes of those on the "other side" in politics have also grown substantially. Four-in-ten Republicans who do not strongly identify with the GOP, and a similar share of Republican leaners (37%), now associate four or more of the five negative traits with Democrats. By comparison, in 2016, only 16% of not strong Republicans and 23% of Republican leaners did so. The pattern is similar among Democrats. Today, about a third of not strong Democrats (36%) and about a third of Democratic leaners (33%) associate four or more negative traits with Republicans, roughly double the shares (15% and 17%, respectively) who did so in 2016.

Acknowledgments

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

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Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

Overview

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. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report is drawn from the panel wave conducted from June 27 to July 4, 2022, and includes oversamples of Asian, Black and Hispanic adults, as well as 18- to 29-year-old Republicans and Republican-leaning independents in order to provide more precise estimates of the opinions and experiences of these smaller demographic subgroups. These oversampled groups are weighted back to reflect their correct proportions in the population. A total of 6,174 panelists responded out of 7,176 who were sampled, for a response rate of 86%. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 3%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged on to the survey and completed at least one item is 2%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 6,174 respondents is plus or minus 1.8 percentage points.

Panel recruitment

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 whom 9,942 (50%) agreed to participate.

American Trends Panel recruitment surveys

Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	panelists remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	1,593
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	936
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	470
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS	9,396	8,778	4,420
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS	5,900	4,720	1,618
June 1 to July 19, 2020; Feb. 10 to March 31, 2021	ABS	3,197	2,812	1,692
May 29 to July 7, 2021				
Sept. 16 to Nov. 1, 2021	ABS	1,329	1,162	931
	Total	39,540	27,414	11,660

Activo

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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In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a stratified, random sample of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Sampled households receive mailings asking a randomly selected adult to complete a survey online. A question at the end of the survey asks if the respondent is willing to join the ATP. Starting in 2020 another stage was added to the recruitment. Households that do not respond to the online survey are sent a paper version of the questionnaire, \$5 and a postage-paid return envelope. A subset of the adults returning the paper version of the survey are invited to join the ATP. This subset of adults receive a follow-up mailing with a \$10 pre-incentive and invitation to join the ATP.

Across the four address-based recruitments, a total of 19,822 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 17,472 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. 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. Of the 27,414 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 11,660 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.¹ The American Trends Panel never uses breakout routers or chains that direct respondents to additional surveys.

Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was non-institutionalized persons ages 18 and older living in the U.S., including Alaska and Hawaii. It featured a stratified random sample from the ATP in which Asian, Black and Hispanic adults and 18- to 29-year-old Republicans and Republican-leaning independents were selected with certainty. The remaining panelists were sampled at rates designed to ensure that the share of respondents in each stratum is proportional to its share of the U.S. adult population to the greatest extent possible. Respondent weights are adjusted to account for differential probabilities of selection as described in the Weighting section below.

Questionnaire development and testing

The questionnaire was developed by Pew Research Center in consultation with Ipsos. The web program was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the Ipsos project management team and Pew Research Center researchers. The Ipsos project management team also populated

¹ AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. "AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling."

test data that was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the survey.

Incentives

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or a gift code to Amazon.com or could choose to decline the incentive. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$20 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

Data collection protocol

The data collection field period for this survey was June 27 to July 4, 2022. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on June 27.

Invitations were sent out in two separate launches: Soft Launch and Full Launch. Sixty panelists were included in the soft launch, which began with an initial invitation sent on June 27. The ATP panelists chosen for the initial soft launch were known responders who had completed previous ATP surveys within one day of receiving their invitation. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on June 28.

All panelists with an email address received an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. All ATP panelists that consented to SMS messages received an SMS invitation and up to two SMS reminders.

Invitation and reminder dates							
	Soft Launch	Full Launch					
Initial invitation	June 27, 2022	June 28, 2022					
First reminder	June 30, 2022	June 30, 2022					
Final reminder	July 2, 2022	July 2, 2022					

Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, the Center's researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing clear patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for very high rates of leaving questions blank, as well as always selecting the first or last answer presented. As a result of

this checking, one ATP respondent was removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

Weighting

The ATP data is weighted in a multistep process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and

nonresponse that occur at different points in the survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of selection for their initial recruitment survey. The base weights for panelists recruited in different years are scaled to be proportionate to the effective sample size for all active panelists in their cohort and then calibrated to align with the population benchmarks in the accompanying table to correct for nonresponse to recruitment surveys and panel attrition. If only a subsample of panelists was invited to

Weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source		
Age x Gender Education x Gender Education x Age Race/Ethnicity x Education Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans Years lived in the U.S.	2019 American Community Survey (ACS)		
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	2020 CPS March Supplement		
Volunteerism	2019 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement		
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement		
Party affiliation Frequency of internet use Religious affiliation	2021 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)		
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 U.S. adult population.			

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participate in the wave, this weight is adjusted to account for any differential probabilities of selection.

Among the panelists who completed the survey, this weight is then calibrated again to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table and trimmed at the 1st and 99th percentiles to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. Sampling errors and tests of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

Some of the population benchmarks used for weighting come from surveys conducted prior to the coronavirus outbreak that began in February 2020. However, the weighting variables for panelists recruited in 2021 were measured at the time they were recruited to the panel. Likewise, the profile variables for existing panelists were updated from panel surveys conducted in July or August 2021.

This does not pose a problem for most of the variables used in the weighting, which are quite stable at both the population and individual levels. However, volunteerism may have changed over the intervening period in ways that made their 2021 measurements incompatible with the available (pre-pandemic) benchmarks. To address this, volunteerism is weighted using the profile variables that were measured in 2020. For all other weighting dimensions, the more recent panelist measurements from 2021 are used.

For panelists recruited in 2021, plausible values were imputed using the 2020 volunteerism values from existing panelists with similar characteristics. This ensures that any patterns of change that were observed in the existing panelists were also reflected in the new recruits when the weighting was performed.

Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 27-July 4, 2022 Unweighted Weighted % Group Plus or minus ... sample size Total sample 6.174 1.8 percentage points At least 3.085 Half form 2.5 percentage points 24 Republican 1,551 3.4 percentage points Half form At least 764 4.8 percentage points 17 Strong Rep 1.071 4.0 percentage points Half form At least 527 5.7 percentage points 7 Not strong Rep 476 6.3 percentage points Half form At least 219 9.2 percentage points 19 Lean Rep 1.154 4.1 percentage points Half form At least 571 5.9 percentage points 28 Democrat 1,886 3.3 percentage points Half form At least 929 4.7 percentage points 17 Strong Dem 1,214 4.0 percentage points Half form At least 605 5.8 percentage points 660 10 Not strong Dem 5.5 percentage points Half form At least 313 7.9 percentage points 23 Lean Dem 1.360 3.9 percentage points Half form At least 673 5.5 percentage points

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.

Note: This survey includes an oversample of Asian, Black and Hispanic Americans, as well as Republican and Republican-leaning respondents ages 18-29. Unweighted sample sizes do not account for the sample design or weighting and do not describe a group's contribution to weighted estimates. See the Sample design and Weighting sections above for details. See appendix for full details on state groupings.

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

Final dispositions	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	6,174
Logged onto survey; broke off	2.12	101
Logged onto survey; did not complete any items	2.1121	51
Never logged on (implicit refusal)	2.11	847
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	2
Completed interview but was removed for data quality		1
Screened out		0
Total panelists in the survey		7,176
Completed interviews	l	6,174
Partial interviews	Р	0
Refusals	R	1,000
Non-contact	NC	2
Other	0	0
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		7,176
AAPOR RR1 = $I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)$		86%

Cumulative response rate	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	12%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	69%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 110	43%
Response rate to Wave 110 survey	86%
Cumulative response rate	3%

Negative traits attributed to the other party

In this survey and an early survey conducted in 2016, respondents were asked how members of both parties compare to the average American on five pairs of corresponding positive and negative traits: honest/dishonest, intelligent/unintelligent, hardworking/lazy, moral/immoral and open-minded/closed-minded. In order to measure the rise in the number of traits attributed to opposing partisans since 2016, a simple additive scale was created for both surveys measuring the number of negative traits a given respondent attributed to members of the other party. This scale ranges from 0 (no negative traits attributed to the other party) to 5 (all five negative traits attributed to the other party).

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2022 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL WAVE 110 JULY 2022 FINAL TOPLINE JUNE 27-JULY 4, 2022 N=6,174

ADDITIONAL QUESTION PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL:

INSTFAV

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following? [RANDOMIZE ITEMS]

			Favora	ble		Unfavora	able	
								No
		<u>NET</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>NET</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	answer
a.	The Republican Party							
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	37	7	30	61	32	29	2
	Mar 21-27, 2022	40	8	32	58	26	33	2
	Jan 10-17, 2022	35	7	28	63	31	32	2
	Mar 1-7, 2021	38	7	31	60	29	31	2
	Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020	41	11	30	57	31	27	1
	Jan 6-19, 2020	41	9	32	57	28	29	2
	Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	41	10	31	57	27	30	2
b.	The Democratic Party							
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	41	8	33	57	30	27	2
	Mar 21-27, 2022	43	7	36	55	28	27	2
	Jan 10-17, 2022	43	7	35	55	28	28	2
	Mar 1-7, 2021	47	10	37	51	24	26	2
	Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020	46	11	35	53	29	24	1
	Jan 6-19, 2020	43	8	35	55	27	29	2
	Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	47	10	37	51	27	24	1

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL:

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

	A great deal of difference in what	A fair amount of difference in what	Hardly any difference at all in	No
	<u>they stand for</u>	<u>they stand for</u>	<u>what they stand for</u>	<u>answer</u>
Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	57	31	11	1
Jul 8-18, 2021	59	31	9	1
Sep 3-15, 2019	55	37	7	*

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPPTYTRAIT AND DEMPTYTRAIT, SHOW ON SEPARATE SCREENS] ASK ALL:

REPPTYTRAIT

T How well do each of the following phrases describe the REPUBLICAN PARTY? [RANDOMIZE ITEMS, USE SAME ORDER FOR DEMPTYTRAIT]

ASK FOF	RM 1 [N=3,085]:	Very <u>well</u>	Somewhat <u>well</u>	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at <u>all well</u>	No <u>answer</u>
EXTR	Too extreme in its positions Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021 Sep 3-15, 2019	32 30 27 30	30 30 34 33	22 26 25 23	15 11 12 12	2 3 2 2
ASK FOF EXCHT	RM 2 [N=3,089]: Too often makes excuses for party members who have hateful views					
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	36	25	23	13	3
ASK ALL						
HON	Governs in an honest and ethical way Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021 Sep 3-15, 2019	8 6 8 7	29 32 33 31	27 29 29 30	34 31 29 30	2 2 1 1
TOL	Respectful and tolerant of different types of people Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Sep 3-15, 2019	11 9	28 29	25 27	35 33	2 1
TRADS	Respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	16	29	25	29	2
	Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021	13 16	34 32	25 25	27 26	2 1
INTF	Supports policies that interfere too much in people's lives Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	25	25	30	18	2
	Juli 27 Juli 7, 2022	25	25	50	10	~

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPPTYTRAIT AND DEMPTYTRAIT, SHOW ON SEPARATE SCREENS] ASK ALL:

DEMPTYTRAIT How well do each of the following phrases describe the DEMOCRATIC PARTY? [RANDOMIZE ITEMS, USE SAME ORDER FOR REPPTYTRAIT]

ASK FOF	RM 1 [N=3,085]:	Very <u>well</u>	Somewhat <u>well</u>	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at <u>all well</u>	No <u>answer</u>
EXTR	Too extreme in its positions Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021 Sep 3-15, 2019	30 25 26 29	25 32 34 32	27 25 26 27	16 16 12 11	1 3 2 2
ASK FOF EXCHT	RM 2 [N=3,089]: Too often makes excuses for party members who have hateful views					
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	26	25	28	18	3
ASK ALL HON	: Governs in an honest and ethical way					
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021 Sep 3-15, 2019	12 10 12 10	32 35 38 38	22 25 22 27	33 29 27 25	2 2 1 1
TOL	Respectful and tolerant of different types of people Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Sep 3-15, 2019	24 22	33 37	18 19	23 20	2 1
TRADS	Respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions					
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021	20 16 20	30 35 36	20 21 19	27 27 24	2 2 1
INTF	Supports policies that interfere too much in people's lives Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	28	26	28	16	2

RANDOMIZE TRAITREPa-f BLOCK WITH TRAITDEMa-f BLOCK; DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR EACH QUESTION IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE; USE SAME RESPONSE OPTION ORDER FOR BOTH BLOCKS.

ASK ALL:

Thinking about some traits that might describe some people and not others...

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITREP a-f

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

Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u>		Sep 3-15, <u>2019</u>	Mar 2-Mar 28, <u>2016</u>
25	NET More moral	23	23
9	A lot more moral	8	5
16	Somewhat more moral	15	18
39	About the same	50	55
33	NET more Immoral	25	20
18	Somewhat more Immoral	16	13
15	A lot more Immoral	9	6
2	No answer	2	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITREP a-f

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

Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u>		Sep 3-15, <u>2019</u>	Mar 2-Mar 28, <u>2016</u>
30	NET more hard-working	25	28
12	A lot more hard-working	9	9
17	Somewhat more hard-working	16	19
54	About the same	62	60
15	NET more lazy	11	9
9	Somewhat more lazy	7	7
6	A lot more lazy	4	3
2	No answer	2	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITREP a-f

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

Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u> 20 6	NET more open-minded A lot more open-minded	Sep 3-15, <u>2019</u> 18 5	Mar 2-Mar 28, <u>2016</u> 15 4
14	Somewhat more open-minded	13	11
29	About the same	34	37
49	NET more closed-minded	46	46
20	Somewhat more closed-minded	25	27
28	A lot more closed-minded	21	19
2	No answer	2	2

NO ITEM D

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITREP a-e

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

Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u> 19	NET more intelligent	Sep 3-15, <u>2019</u> 17	Mar 2-Mar 28, <u>2016</u> 18
6	A lot more intelligent	5	5
13	Somewhat more intelligent	12	14
51	About the same	62	61
27	NET more Unintelligent	20	19
16	Somewhat more Unintelligent	14	13
12	A lot more Unintelligent	6	6
2	No answer	2	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITREP a-f

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

Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022		Mar 2-Mar 28, 2016
22	NET more honest	17
7	A lot more honest	4
15	Somewhat more honest	13
41	About the same	58
35	NET more DISHONEST	23
18	Somewhat more DISHONEST	15
18	A lot more DISHONEST	8
2	No answer	2

RANDOMIZE TRAITREPa-f BLOCK WITH TRAITDEMa-f BLOCK; DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR EACH QUESTION IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE; USE SAME RESPONSE OPTION ORDER FOR BOTH BLOCKS.

ASK ALL:

Thinking about some traits that might describe some people and not others...

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITDEM a-f

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

Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u>		Sep 3-15, <u>2019</u>	Mar 2-Mar 28, <u>2016</u>
23	NET more moral	22	19
7	A lot more moral	7	6
15	Somewhat more moral	15	13
42	About the same	50	57
33	NET more Immoral	26	22
15	Somewhat more Immoral	15	14
18	A lot more Immoral	12	8
2	No answer	2	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITDEM a-f

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

Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u>		Sep 3-15, <u>2019</u>	Mar 2-Mar 28, <u>2016</u>
16	NET more hard-working	15	17
5	A lot more hard-working	6	7
10	Somewhat hard-working	9	10
53	About the same	61	60
29	NET more lazy	22	20
17	Somewhat more lazy	15	15
13	A lot more lazy	7	6
2	No answer	2	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITDEM a-f

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

Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u>		Sep 3-15, <u>2019</u>	Mar 2-Mar 28, <u>2016</u>
41	NET more open-minded	38	38
15	A lot more open-minded	17	12
25	Somewhat more open-minded	22	26
26	About the same	30	36
31	NET more closed-minded	30	25
12	Somewhat more closed-minded	15	14
19	A lot more closed-minded	16	11
2	No answer	1	2

NO ITEM D

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITDEM a-f

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

Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u>		Sep 3-15, <u>2019</u>	Mar 2-Mar 28, <u>2016</u>
22	NET more intelligent	20	21
6	A lot more intelligent	6	7
15	Somewhat more intelligent	14	15
53	About the same	61	62
23	NET more Unintelligent	17	15
12	Somewhat more Unintelligent	11	11
11	A lot more Unintelligent	7	3
2	No answer	2	2

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF TRAITDEM a-f

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

Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u>		Mar 2-Mar 28, <u>2016</u>
21	NET more honest	17
6	A lot more honest	5
15	Somewhat more honest	11
44	About the same	60
33	NET more DIShonest	21
15	Somewhat more DIShonest	12
18	A lot more DIShonest	9
2	No answer	2

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=3,085]:

PARTY_GOOD The political party someone supports says...

Jun 27-Jul 4,

<u>2022</u>	
15	A lot about whether they are a good or bad person
29	A little about whether they are a good or bad person
54	Nothing about whether they are a good or bad person
1	No answer

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=3,089]

VIEWSCHAR Which of these statements comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

Jun 27-Jul 4,		Mar 2-Mar 28,
<u>2022</u>		<u>2016</u>
65	How someone thinks about politics says a lot about the kind of person they are	65
32	How someone thinks about politics doesn't say much about the kind of person they are	32
2	No answer	3

ADDITONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ADDITIONAL QUESTION HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

CANMTCHPOL Which comes closer to your view of candidates for political office, even if neither is exactly right?

I usually feel like... [RANDOMIZE]

			Jan 29-
Jun 27-Jul 4,		Jul 8-18,	Feb 13,
2022		<u>2021</u>	<u>2018</u>
55	There is at least one candidate who shares most of my views	60	63
43	None of the candidates represent my views well	38	36
2	No answer	3	1

ASK ALL:

LEADERCHAR Please indicate how much you like or dislike each of the following characteristics of political leaders. [RANDOMIZE ITEMS; REVERSE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 AND 5-1 FOR RANDOM ¹/₂ SAMPLE USE SAME ORDER FOR RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR LEADERCHAR, REPLEAD, AND DEMLEAD]

WIN	Publicly asserts that Donald Trump is the legitimate winner of the 2020 election	Dislike <u>a lot</u>	Dislike <u>a little</u>	Neither like nor <u>dislike</u>	Like <u>a little</u>	Like <u>a lot</u>	No <u>answer</u>
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	47	8	23	8	11	2
	Sep 13-19, 2021	50	7	22	7	14	1

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

PRTY_CHSE How well does the following statement describe your own views?

I often wish there were more political parties to choose from in this country

Jun 27-Jul 4,

- 2022 21 Extremely well
- 17 Very well
- 32 Somewhat well
- 16 Not too well
- 12 Not at all well
- 1 No answer

[ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1), REPLEAD FIRST AND DEMLEAD SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2), DEMLEAD FIRST AND REPLEAD SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS]

ASK ALL:

REPLEAD Now thinking specifically about Republican political leaders...

How much do you like or dislike REPUBLICAN political leaders who... [RANDOMIZE ITEMS USING SAME ORDER AS DEMLEAD; REVERSE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 AND 5-1 FOR RANDOM 1/2 SAMPLE; USE SAME ORDER FOR RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR LEADERCHAR, REPLEAD, AND DEMLEAD]

BASED ON FORM 1 ONLY [N=3,085]²:

		Dislike <u>a lot</u>	Dislike <u>a little</u>	Neither like <u>nor dislike</u>	Like <u>a little</u>	Like <u>a lot</u>	No <u>answer</u>
EVIL	Call Democratic political leaders evil Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	45	15	26	7	5	1
COOP	Refuse to ever work with Democrats Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	51	16	23	5	4	1
DMGD	Think Democrats have good ideas on some important issues Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	7	7	31	32	22	1

[ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1), REPLEAD FIRST AND DEMLEAD SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2), DEMLEAD FIRST AND REPLEAD SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS]

ASK ALL:

DEMLEAD Now thinking specifically about Democratic political leaders...

How much do you like or dislike DEMOCRATIC political leaders who... [RANDOMIZE ITEMS USING SAME ORDR AS REPLEAD; REVERSE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 AND 5-1 FOR RANDOM ¹/₂ SAMPLE; USE SAME ORDER FOR RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR LEADERCHAR, REPLEAD, AND DEMLEAD]

BASED ON FORM 2 ONLY [N=3,089]³:

		Dislike <u>a lot</u>	Dislike <u>a little</u>	Neither like <u>nor dislike</u>	Like <u>a little</u>	Like <u>a lot</u>	No <u>answer</u>
EVIL	Call Republican political leaders evil Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	43	17	26	7	5	2
COOP	Refuse to ever work with Republicans Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	49	20	23	3	2	1
RPGD	Think Republicans have good ideas on some important issues Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	6	6	31	34	21	2

³ Question only reported on form 2 due to order effects.

² Question only reported on form 1 due to order effects.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a... ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3 or 4) OR MISSING:

As of today do you lean more to ... PARTYLN

				Something	No	Lean	Lean
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>else</u>	answer	<u>Rep</u>	Dem
Jun 27- Jul 4, 2022	24	28	30	16	2	19	23

ASK IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT (PARTY=1,2) [N=3,437]:

Do you identify with the [IF PARTY=1: Republican; IF PARTY=2: Democratic] Party... PARTYSTR

BASED ON TOTAL:

Jun 27-Jul 4, <u>2022</u>

<u>2022</u>	
43	The Republican Party
17	Strongly
7	Not strongly
19	Lean Rep
*	No answer
51	The Democratic Party
17	Strongly
10	Not strongly
23	Lean Dem
*	No answer
6	Refused

ASK REPUBLICANS (PARTY=1) [N=1,551]:

IDENTITYREP How much of a reason is each of the following for WHY YOU ARE A REPUBLICAN? [RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Major reason</u>	Minor reason	<u>Not a reason</u>	No answer
a.	I think the Republican Party's policies are good for the country				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	76	21	3	*
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	76	20	4	*
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	64	27	8	1
b.	I think the Democratic Party's policies are harmful to the country				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	78	16	6	*
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	71	17	11	1
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	68	19	11	2
c.	I have a lot in common with people who are Republicans				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	40	37	23	*
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	45	31	24	1
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	38	36	26	1

IDENTITYREP CONTINUED NO ITEMS D-E		<u>Major reason</u>	Minor reason	Not a reason	No answer
f.	Most of my friends and family are Republicans Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	12	26	62	*
g.	I feel like the Republican Party sticks up for people like me Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	56	30	13	*

ASK DEMOCRATS (PARTY=1) [N=1,886]: IDENTITYDEM How much of a reason is each of the following for WHY YOU ARE A DEMOCRAT? [RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Major reason</u>	Minor reason	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>No answer</u>
а.	I think the Democratic Party's policies are good for the				
	country				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	68	25	6	1
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	72 68	22 25	5 6	1 1
		00	25	Ū	-
b.	I think the Republican Party's				
	policies are harmful to the country				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	68	21	11	1
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	63 62	21 22	15 13	1 3
	Api 3-May 2, 2010	02	22	15	5
с.	I have a lot in common with				
	people who are Democrats Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	45	36	18	*
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	51	30	18	1
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	41	35	21	2
NO	ITEMS D-E				
f.	Most of my friends and family				
1.	are Democrats				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	15	25	60	*
g.	I feel like the Democratic Party				
5-	sticks up for people like me				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	55	29	15	1

ASK REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTYLN=1) [N=1,154]: IDENTITYLN1R How much of a reason is each of the following for WHY YOU LEAN TOWARD THE REPUBLICAN PARTY? [RANDOMIZE]

		Major reason	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	No answer		
a.	I think the Republican Party's policies are good for the country						
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	39 42	44 40	17 19	1 *		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	30	49	20	2		
b.	I think the Democratic Party's policies are harmful to the country						
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	57	24	19	*		
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	58	21	21	*		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	55	23	21	1		
c.	I have a lot in common with people who are Republicans Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	21 21 19	42 37 37	37 42 44	1 * *		
NO	NO ITEMS D-F						
g.	I feel like the Republican Party sticks up for people like me Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	27	37	36	1		

ASK REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTYLN=1) [N=1,154]:

IDENTITYLN2R And thinking about why you lean toward the Republican Party but choose not to identify as a Republican...

> How much of a reason is each of the following for WHY YOU DO NOT IDENTIFY AS A REPUBLICAN? [RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Major reason</u>	Minor reason	<u>Not a reason</u>	No answer
a.	I disagree with the Republican	-			
	Party on some important				
	issues				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	31	43	26	1
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	37	37	25	1
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	40	39	21	*
b.	I'm frustrated with the				
	Republican Party's leaders				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	39	34	27	*
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	44	25	30	1
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	52	22	26	*

IDENTITYLN2R CONTINUED...

		<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	Not a reason	No answer
c.	I don't care enough about politics to identify with a party	-			
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	21	26	52	*
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	22	19	59	*
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	14	22	63	1
NO	ITEM D				
e.	I don't like putting a label on my political views				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	45	29	26	*

ASK DEMOCRATIC LEANERS (PARTYLN=2) [N=1,360]: IDENTITYLN1D How much of a reason is each of the following for WHY YOU LEAN TOWARD THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY? [RANDOMIZE]

_	This is the Desservation Destrict	<u>Major reason</u>	Minor reason	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>No answer</u>	
a.	I think the Democratic Party's policies are good for the country Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	27 34 34	51 41 41	22 25 25	1 * 1	
b.	I think the Republican Party's policies are harmful to the country Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	55	25	20	*	
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	57 51	21 26	22 24	*	
c.	I have a lot in common with people who are Democrats Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	20 26 18	43 43 39	36 31 42	* * 1	
NO ITEMS D-F						
g.	I feel like the Democratic Party sticks up for people like me Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	24	41	34	1	

ASK DEMOCRATIC LEANERS (PARTYLN=2) [N=1,360]:

IDENTITYLN2D And thinking about why you lean toward the Democratic Party but choose not to identify as a Democrat...

> How much of a reason is each of the following for WHY YOU DO NOT IDENTIFY AS A DEMOCRAT? [RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Major reason</u>	Minor reason	<u>Not a reason</u>	No answer
a.	I disagree with the Democratic Party on some important issues				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	30	45	24	*
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	38 33	33 36	29 30	* 1
	Api 5-May 2, 2010	55	50	50	T
b.	I'm frustrated with the				
	Democratic Party's leaders Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	40	32	28	*
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	38	29	32	1
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	28	33	38	1
c.	I don't care enough about politics to identify with a party				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	19	26	55	*
	Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	18 17	23 20	58 62	* 1
	Api 5-May 2, 2010	17	20	02	T
NO	ITEM D				
e.	I don't ike putting a label on my political views				
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	43	26	31	1

ASK DEM/LEAN DEM (PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2) AND CITIZEN (XCITIZEN=1) [N=3,013]: DVOTER How likely do you think it is you will cast a ballot for a REPUBLICAN candidate for any political office over the next several years? [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1-4 AND 4-1; ALWAYS ASK **OPTION 5 LAST**]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,516]:

Jun 27-Jul 4,

- <u>2022</u>
 - 3 Very likely
 - 16 Somewhat likely
 - 21 Somewhat unlikely
 - Very unlikely 57
 - 3 Do not plan to vote *
 - No answer

ASK REP/LEAN REP (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) AND CITIZEN (XCITIZEN=1) [N=2,597]:

RVOTER How likely do you think it is you will cast a ballot for a DEMOCRATIC candidate for any political office over the next several years? [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1-4 AND 4-1; ALWAYS ASK OPTION 5 LAST]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,171]:

Jun 27-Jul 4,

2022	
5	Very likely
10	Somewhat likely

- 19 Somewhat unlikely
- 62 Very unlikely
- 3 Do not plan to vote
- * No answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL: PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a: ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3 or 4) OR MISSING:

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...

			Something	No	Lean	Lean
<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	Independent	<u>else</u>	<u>answer</u>	Rep	Dem
24	28	30	16	2	19	23