FOR RELEASE OCTOBER 30, 2025

A Year Ahead of the Midterms, Americans' Dim Views of Both Parties

Democrats' frustration with their own party is up sharply, as many say it hasn't pushed back hard enough against Trump and the GOP

BY Steven Shepard, Andy Cerda, Joseph Copeland, Ted Van Green and Shanay Gracia

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

Jocelyn Kiley, Director of Political Research Steven Shepard, Associate Director of Political Research

Nida Asheer, Senior Communications Manager

202.419.4372

www.pewresearch.org

RECOMMENDED CITATION

Pew Research Center, October 2025, "A Year Ahead of the Midterms, Americans' Dim Views of Both Parties"

About Pew Research Center

Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan, nonadvocacy fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes and trends shaping the world. It does not take policy positions. The Center conducts public opinion polling, demographic research, computational social science research and other data-driven research. It studies politics and policy; news habits and media; the internet and technology; religion; race and ethnicity; international affairs; social, demographic and economic trends; science; research methodology and data science; and immigration and migration. Pew Research Center is a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts, its primary funder.

© Pew Research Center 2025

How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to better understand how Americans feel about the Republican and Democratic parties. This analysis seeks to examine the public's feelings about the behavior of party leaders, party issues and how well each of the major parties represent Americans. For this analysis, we surveyed 3,445 U.S. adults from Sept. 22 to 28, 2025. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), a group of people recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses who have agreed to take surveys regularly. This kind of recruitment gives nearly all U.S. adults a chance of selection.

Interviews were conducted either online or by telephone with a live interviewer. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education, presidential vote (among voters) and other factors. Read more about the ATP's methodology.

Here are the <u>questions</u> used for this report, the <u>topline</u> and the <u>survey methodology</u>.

A Year Ahead of the Midterms, Americans' Dim Views of Both Parties

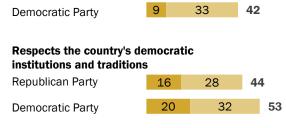
Democrats' frustration with their own party is up sharply, as many say it hasn't pushed back hard enough against Trump and the GOP

With the 2026 midterm elections a year away, neither the Republican nor Democratic Party is widely seen as having good ideas. And both are viewed by majorities as too extreme and not governing honestly and ethically:

- 39% of Americans describe the Republican Party as governing ethically and honestly – and about the same share (42%) say this about the Democratic Party.
- Majorities continue to view both parties as too extreme in their positions – though more apply this to the GOP (61%) than the Democratic Party (57%).

Majorities are also frustrated with both parties, and about half say each makes them angry. A Pew Research Center survey of 3,445 U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28 (just before the now monthlong government shutdown) also finds that just 36% say the Republican Party makes them feel hopeful, with even fewer (28%) saying this about the Democrats.

Most Americans don't see either party as governing honestly and ethically % who say each statement describes the parties ___ well ■ Very ■ Somewhat NET Too extreme in its positions Republican Party 28 61 29 27 57 **Democratic Party** Governs in honest and ethical way 29 Republican Party 39



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

Frustration runs particularly high among Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents, who are frustrated not just with Republicans – who control the White House and both chambers of Congress – but with *their own party*:

- 67% of Democrats say their own party makes them feel frustrated in the September survey – far higher than the roughly half who said this in 2021 and 2019.
- Asked the main reason for their frustration, the dominant pre-shutdown response of frustrated Democrats (41%) is that the party has not pushed back hard enough against the Trump administration.

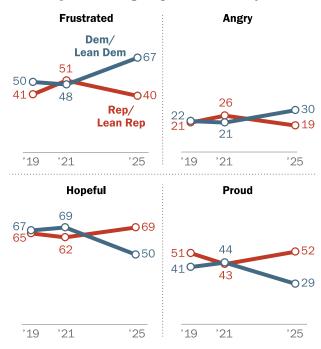
In contrast, Republican frustration with the GOP is far lower than in 2021: 40% of Republicans and Republican leaners say they are frustrated with their party. And 69% now say the party makes them feel hopeful.

The survey explores several aspects of public attitudes about the two major political parties, including:

- How Americans feel about the Republican and Democratic parties (<u>Chapter 1</u>)
- How Americans see the parties on key issues (Chapter 2)
- What Americans want and expect from party leaders (<u>Chapter 3</u>)
- How well the parties represent Americans' interests (<u>Chapter 4</u>)

Democrats' frustration with their party rises as hope declines; Republicans feel much more positively about the GOP

% who say **their own party** __ makes them feel ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

The parties and key issues

The Republican Party continues to have a clear edge on crime and immigration policies – two hallmarks of President Donald Trump's first year back in the White House.

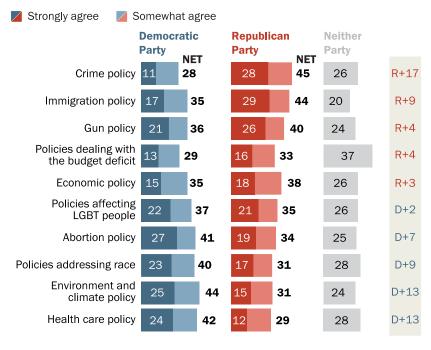
By 17 percentage points, more Americans say they agree with the GOP than the Democrats (45% vs. 28%) when it comes to crime policy – a <u>larger</u> <u>Republican edge on this issue</u> <u>than two years ago</u>.

The Republican advantage on immigration policy stands at 9 points (44% vs. 35%), essentially unchanged since 2023.

By comparison, **Republicans'** advantage on the economy has largely eroded since 2023.

Republicans hold a wide advantage on crime policy, while Democrats' biggest advantages are on health care and environmental policies

% who say that they agree with the ___ on the following policy issues



Note: No answer responses are not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Today, 38% of Americans say they agree with the Republican Party on policies to deal with the economy, while nearly as many (35%) agree with the Democratic Party – a narrow 3 percentage point advantage. Two years ago, the GOP had a 12-point advantage on this issue.

The Democratic Party, in contrast, continues to hold advantages on policies concerning health care, the environment and climate, abortion, and race.

But Americans are now about equally likely to agree with the Republican and Democratic parties when it comes to policies affecting people who are lesbian, gay and transgender – a shift from

recent years. Today, 37% say they agree more with Democrats on this issue, while 35% agree more with Republicans. The Democratic Party held an 8-point edge on this previously (37% in 2023 to 29% today).

For more about how the public views the parties on issues, read <u>Chapter 2</u>.

Other key findings

A quarter of Americans say that *neither* party represents their interests particularly well. Overall, 42% say the Republican Party represents people like them at least somewhat well, and a similar share (40%) says this about the Democratic Party. However, as has been the case for the last several years, about a quarter of Americans don't see themselves represented well by either party.

For more about how well people feel the parties represent them, read <u>Chapter 4</u>.

Democrats' frustration with their party centers on the feeling that it is not pushing back hard enough against Trump and his administration. About four-in-ten frustrated Democrats (41%) describe this as the main source of their frustration. Many other answers hit on related themes: 13% offer criticisms of the Democratic Party's leadership, while 10% point to a lack of a cohesive message or agenda.

Related: <u>Americans view Trump, Vance and</u> <u>congressional leaders in both parties more negatively</u> <u>than positively</u>

Large shares of Americans say they agree with neither party on two of the central foreign policy issues today – the Israel-Hamas conflict in Gaza and Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Nearly half (46%) – including 52% of Democrats and 36% of Republicans – say this about the Israel-Hamas conflict. More than a third (36%) say the same when it

party say it's because it's not doing enough to fight against Donald Trump

Many Democrats frustrated with their

Among **Democrats/Democratic leaners** who are frustrated with the Democratic Party, % who say they are most frustrated by ... **[open-end]**

Not fighting hard enough against Trump		41
Lack of good leadership	13	
Lack of cohesive agenda or message	10	
Out of touch with voters	8	
Ineffective when in power/ Did not keep promises	7	
Lack of party unity	5	

Note: Based on the 67% of Democrats and Democratic leaners who say they are frustrated with their own party. Researchers coded up to three categories. Only categories that made up 5% or more of responses are shown here. Refer to topline for full question wording and response list.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

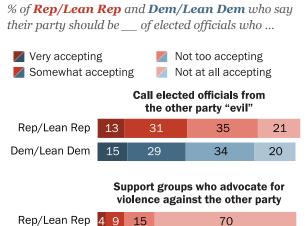
comes to Russia and Ukraine. (*Note: This survey was fielded before the early October <u>deal</u> <u>between Israel and Hamas.</u>)*

Both Republicans and Democrats are divided over whether the party should accept members who call opponents "evil." Over four-in-ten in both parties say their party should be somewhat accepting of this, while narrow majorities say it should not. But overwhelming shares in both parties say officials who advocate violence against the other party should not be accepted.

Most continue to see large differences between the two parties. Six-in-ten

Americans say there is a great deal of difference in what the Democratic and Republican parties stand for, and another 27% say there is a fair amount of difference between the parties. Only 12% say there is hardly any difference at all in what the parties stand for.

Both parties split over acceptability of calling opposition 'evil,' but most say advocating violence should be rejected



Note: No answer responses are not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

17

68

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Dem/Lean Dem

Most Republicans and Democrats say it's

very important for the *other party's* elected officials to compromise with officials in their party to solve problems. As in the past, wide majorities of Democrats (78%) and Republicans (71%) say it's very important for the other party's politicians to compromise with those in the party they support. But fewer than half in either coalition (46% of Democrats, 39% of Republicans) place the same level of importance on their own party's elected officials compromising with those on the other side.

1. How Americans feel about the Republican and **Democratic parties**

Americans largely have negative feelings toward both political parties, while positive sentiments are far less common.

Three-quarters of U.S. adults say the **Democratic Party makes them feel frustrated**, while a smaller majority (64%) says the same of the Republican Party.

Roughly half of Americans also say the Democratic Party (50%) and the Republican Party (49%) make them feel angry.

Far smaller shares say either party makes them feel hopeful or proud:

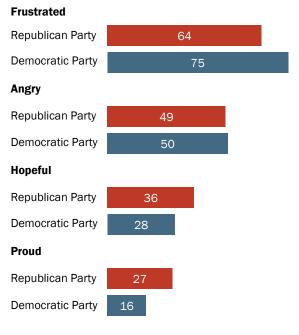
- 36% of adults say the Republican Party makes them feel hopeful, compared with 28% who say the same of the Democratic Party.
- 27% say they feel *proud* when thinking about the Republican Party, while only 16% say the same of the Democratic Party.

Americans are more likely to express

PEW RESEARCH CENTER frustration with the Democratic Party

Many Americans express frustration with both parties, especially Democrats

% who say the ___ makes them feel ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

today than they were four years ago (75% today vs. 64% in September 2021). There also have been declines in the shares saying the Democratic Party makes them feel hopeful (28% today vs. 39% in 2021) and proud (16% today vs. 25% in 2021). The new Pew Research Center survey was conducted from Sept. 22 to 28, before the now monthlong government shutdown.

Conversely, higher shares of adults say they feel hopeful (36% today vs. 31% in 2021) and proud (27% today vs. 21% in 2021) about the Republican Party. The share of adults who say the Republican Party makes them feel frustrated dropped slightly compared with four years ago (64% today vs. 68% in 2021).

How partisans feel about the opposing party compared with their own

Both Republicans and Democrats overwhelmingly express negative feelings toward the opposing party.

More than eight-in-ten Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (86%) say the Democratic Party makes them feel frustrated, while 89% of Democrats and Democratic leaners say the Republican Party makes them feel this way.

Sizable majorities in each party also say the opposing party makes them feel angry (81% of Democrats say this, compared with 70% of Republicans).

No more than one-in-ten in either party say the opposing party makes them feel hopeful or proud.

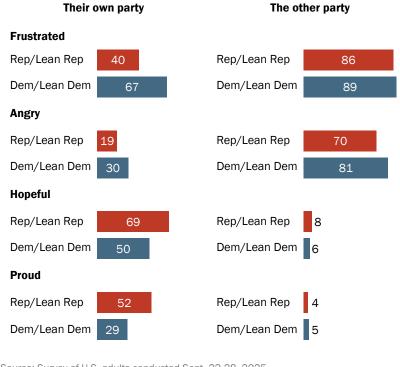
Partisans' views of their parties

Democrats are much more likely than Republicans to have negative feelings about their own party. This largely accounts for the more negative views of the Democratic Party among the overall public.

 Two-thirds of Democrats say they are frustrated with

Democrats are highly critical of their own party; Republicans feel much more positively about the GOP

% who say __ makes them feel ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

the Democratic Party. Fewer than half of Republicans (40%) say the same of the GOP.

Three in ten Democrate also say their own party makes them feel angry. Just 10% of

• Three-in-ten Democrats also say their own party makes them feel angry. Just 19% of Republicans say the same of their own party.

Democrats also are much less likely than Republicans to feel hopeful and proud when thinking about their party.

- Half of Democrats say their party makes them feel hopeful, compared with 69% of Republicans who say the same of the GOP.
- Just 29% of Democrats say the Democratic Party makes them feel proud; 52% of Republicans say their party evokes feelings of pride.

How partisans' feelings about their own parties have changed

Both Democrats and Republicans feel very differently about their own parties than they did in September 2021, during Joe Biden's presidency.

Democrats have become much more negative toward their party since then, while Republicans have more positive feelings toward theirs.

Among Democrats

Two-thirds of Democrats say the Democratic Party makes them feel frustrated, up from 48% who said the same in 2021.

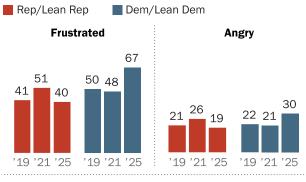
Notably, a much larger share of Democrats also feel frustrated with their party today than did so in 2019, during Donald Trump's first term (50%).

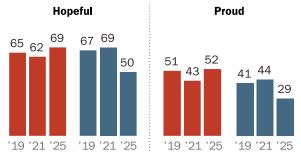
Democrats also are more likely to express anger toward their own party (30% express this, up from 21% in 2021).

Half of Democrats say their party makes them feel hopeful, down 19 points from four years ago.

Democrats are increasingly frustrated with their party, as feelings of hope and pride go down sharply

% who say **their own party** makes them feel ...





Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Just 29% of Democrats feel pride in their party, compared with 44% who said the same in 2021.

Among Republicans

By contrast, larger shares of Republicans say the GOP makes them feel hopeful and proud compared with four years ago; smaller shares say the party makes them feel frustrated or angry:

- 52% of Republicans say the Republican Party makes them feel proud, up from 43% who said the same in 2021.
- Roughly seven-in-ten Republicans say their party makes them feel hopeful, up somewhat from four years ago (69% today, 62% in 2021).
- 40% of Republicans say their own party makes them feel frustrated, 11 points lower than in 2021.
- 19% of Republicans say the party makes them feel angry, down from 26% four years ago.

In their own words: Why Democrats and Republicans express frustration with their parties

Democrats and Republicans who express frustration with their parties were asked to describe, in their own words, what frustrates them most about their parties. While Democrats focused on the party's failure to take a more aggressive stance against Trump, Republicans were more likely to cite the party's policies.

What frustrates Democrats about the Democratic Party?

By far the most common response from Democrats is that the party is not fighting hard against Trump (41%).

Those who identify as a Democrat are especially likely to cite this as a reason for frustration compared with independents who *lean* toward the Democratic Party: 48% of Democratic partisans say the party isn't fighting hard enough against Trump, compared with 32% of Democratic leaners.

Other reasons Democrats cite include lack of good leadership within the party (13%), lack of a cohesive message or agenda

Main reason why Democrats say they are frustrated with their party: Democratic leaders aren't fighting hard enough against Donald Trump

What most frustrates you about your party? (%) [open-end] (Asked of Republicans/Democrats who say they are frustrated)

Republican Party Among Rep/Lean Rep	Democratic Party Among Dem/Lean Dem
Specific policy 20	Not fighting hard enough against Trump
Economic policies/ "The economy"	Lack of good leadership 13
Lack of policy action 16	Lack of cohesive agenda or message
Has not kept promises 10	Out of touch with voters 8
Lack of compromise with Democrats	Ineffective when in power/ Did not keep promises
Lack of party unity 9	Lack of party unity 5
Only cares about donors/"Corrupt" Agrees with Trump too much	

Note: Based on the 40% of Republicans and Republican leaners and 67% of Democrats and Democratic leaners who say they are frustrated with their own party. Researchers coded up to three categories. Only categories that made up 5% or more of responses are shown here. Refer to topline for full question wording and response list. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

(10%), the party being out of touch with voters (8%), its failure to keep promises when the party held power (7%), and lack of unity within the party (5%).

Related: <u>Most Democrats say their party's elected officials are not pushing hard enough against Trump's policies</u>

What frustrates Republicans about the Republican Party?

Republicans overall are less likely than Democrats to voice frustration with their party. Among Republicans who are frustrated, 20% mention a specific policy they are unhappy with, including 8% who cite the party's economic policies.

Republicans also cite other reasons for their frustration, including 16% who complain about a lack of action on a certain issue. Others cite unkept promises by the party (10%), not enough compromising with Democrats (9%) and a lack of party unity (9%).

How Americans describe the Republican and Democratic parties

Americans largely describe both parties as too extreme and supportive of policies that interfere too much in people's lives. Smaller shares say the parties govern honestly.

- 61% say the phrase "too extreme in its positions" describes the Republican Party very or somewhat well; 57% describe the Democratic Party as too extreme.
- Nearly identical shares say both parties support policies that interfere too much in people's lives (55% say this of the Democratic Party, 54% say it about the Republican Party).

Neither party is widely seen as governing

honestly. Fewer than half say the Democratic Party (42%) and the Republican Party (39%) govern in an honest and ethical way.

There are wider differences in views of the parties' respect for democracy and tolerance for different types of people.

Majorities describe both parties as 'too extreme.' Democrats are more widely viewed as respectful of democracy and tolerant of different types of people

% who say each statement describes each party $__$ well

■Very ■Somewhat ■Not too ■Not at all

Too extreme in its positions

Republican Party	34	28	23	14
Democratic Party	29	27	27	15

Supports policies that interefere too much in people's lives

Republican Party	27	27	28	16
Democratic Party	25	30	28	15

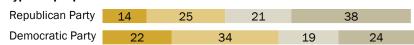
Governs in honest and ethical way

Republican Party	10	29	22	37
Democratic Party	9	33	26	30

Respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions

Republican Party	16	28	22	34
Democratic Party	20	32	22	24

Respectful and tolerant of different types of people



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

More Americans say the Democratic Party respects the country's democratic institutions, compared to the Republican Party. A narrow majority (53%) describe the Democratic Party as respectful of the country's democratic institutions and traditions, while fewer (44%) say the same of the GOP.

Democrats also are more widely described as respectful and tolerant of different types of people. A 56% majority say this describes the Democratic Party very or somewhat well; 40% say the same sentiment accurately describes the Republican Party.

How partisans describe both parties

In general, both Republicans and Democrats are overwhelmingly critical of the other party, while offering more positive descriptions of their own party.

However, on some traits, relatively large minorities of Republicans and Democrats fault their own parties:

Nearly half of Republicans (46%) and 38% of Democrats say their own parties are too extreme in their positions.

By contrast, about threequarters of Republicans (77%) and Democrats (78%) say this description applies to the opposing party.

Similarly, about four-in-ten in each party say their party backs policies that interfere too much in people's lives. Again, much larger shares say this describes the other party.

Nearly half of Republicans say the GOP is too extreme; 38% of Democrats say the same of their party

% who say each statement describes very or somewhat well Their **own** party The **other** party 46% of Rep/Lean Rep say this describes the Republican Party very or somewhat well; 38% of Dem/Lean Dem say it describes the **Democratic Party.** Too extreme in its positions Somewhat Very Somewhat Rep/Lean Rep 10 36 **46 NET** 54 23 **77 NET** Dem/Lean Dem 30 59 19 77% of Rep/Lean Rep say this describes the **Democratic Party** very or somewhat well; 78% of Dem/Lean Dem say it describes the Republican Party. Supports policies that interfere too much in people's lives Rep/Lean Rep 31 41 45 72 Dem/Lean Dem 32 39 45 22 68 Governs in honest and ethical way Rep/Lean Rep 14 **16** 72 Dem/Lean Dem 53 8 10 Respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions Rep/Lean Rep 46 19 **23** Dem/Lean Dem 85 10 **12** Respectful and tolerant of different types of people Rep/Lean Rep 7 22 29 Dem/Lean Dem Note: No answer responses are not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

Large majorities in both parties (72% of Republicans vs. 71% of Democrats) credit their own parties for governing honestly. Relatively small shares say this trait describes the opposing party, although Republicans are more likely to say the Democratic Party governs honestly (16%) than vice versa (10% of Democrats).

Republicans are less likely than Democrats to say their own party respects democratic traditions; 77% of Republicans say this describes their party, while 85% of Democrats describe their party this way. And Republicans are about twice as likely as Democrats to say the opposing party is respectful of democratic institutions and traditions (23% vs. 12%).

This dynamic is more pronounced in views of whether the parties are respectful and tolerant of different types of people. More than eight-in-ten Democrats (86%) say this description applies to their party; a smaller majority of Republicans (72%) say it applies to their party.

Nearly three-in-ten Republicans (29%) say the Democratic Party is tolerant of different types of people; just 9% of Democrats say the same about the Republican Party.

While views among partisans are largely similar to those from <u>two years ago</u>, Democrats have grown more critical of the Republican Party on some traits:

- Just 12% of Democrats say that "respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions" describes the Republican Party, down from 24% in 2023.
- Democrats are also less likely to say the Republican Party governs in an honest and ethical way (10% say this now, compared to 16% two years ago).

Some describe both parties as too extreme and not honest

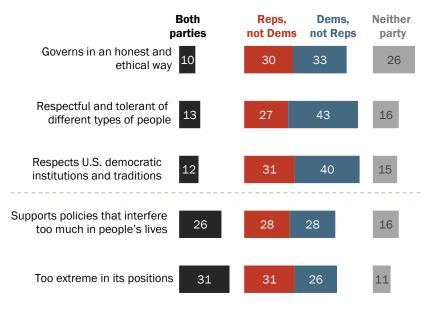
Overall, about three-in-ten U.S. adults (31%) say both parties are too extreme in their positions, while about a quarter (26%) say *neither* party governs honestly and ethically.

By contrast, just 11% say both parties are *not* too extreme, and 10% say *both* govern honestly and ethically.

Roughly a quarter of Americans (26%) say both parties support policies that interfere too much in people's lives; fewer (16%) say this description applies to neither party.

Nearly a third of Americans say both parties are 'too extreme'; about a quarter say neither governs in an honest and ethical way

% who say each statement describes __ very or somewhat well



Note: Data on party descriptions is based on responses from two separate questions; those who skipped either question were coded as "no answer." Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

2. How Americans see the parties on key issues

All in all, Americans don't see many good ideas from either political party. But when it comes to specific issues, the Republican Party holds advantages on crime and immigration, while the Democratic Party holds advantages on policies related to race, health care, abortion and the environment.

In contrast to a few years ago, neither party now holds a clear edge on economic policy.

On some other issues – particularly the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza – significant shares say they do not agree with either party.

Do the parties have good ideas?

Very few Americans characterize either the Republican or Democratic Party as having a lot of good ideas. And majorities say each has few or no good ideas.

Just 15% of U.S. adults say the Republican Party has a lot of good ideas. Even fewer (8%) say this about the Democratic Party. Majorities say both the Republican and Democratic parties have few or no 'good ideas' – though GOP has a modest edge on good ideas

% who say the ___ has ...

	A lot of good ideas	Some good ideas	A few good ideas	Almost no good ideas
Republican Party	15	29	27	28
Democratic Party	8	32	31	28

Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

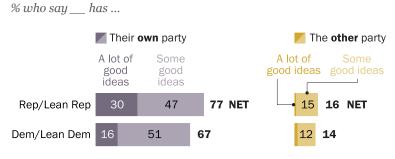
This is largely because of differences in how Republicans and Democrats rate their own party's ideas.

Their party's ideas versus the other party's ideas

Those in both partisan coalitions largely say that their own party has some or a lot of good ideas, while the other party has few or almost no good ideas.

Republicans and Republicanleaning independents, however, are more likely than their Democratic counterparts to rate their own party's ideas positively.

Most partisans say their party has good ideas – and the other does not



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Their own party

- 77% of Republicans say their party has a lot (30%) or some good ideas (47%).
- Fewer Democrats (67%) say their party has a lot (16%) or some good ideas (51%).

The other party

- Just 16% of Republicans say the Democratic Party has at least some good ideas.
- Similarly, only 14% of Democrats say the GOP has good ideas.

Parties on the issues

On balance, Americans agree with the Republican Party more than the Democratic Party on policy issues related to immigration and crime.

Conversely, more Americans agree with the Democratic Party than the GOP on policies that deal with race in the country, health care policy, abortion policy, and environmental and climate policy.

While the balance of Americans agreeing with each party is largely similar to 2023, there have been a few notable shifts:

Crime

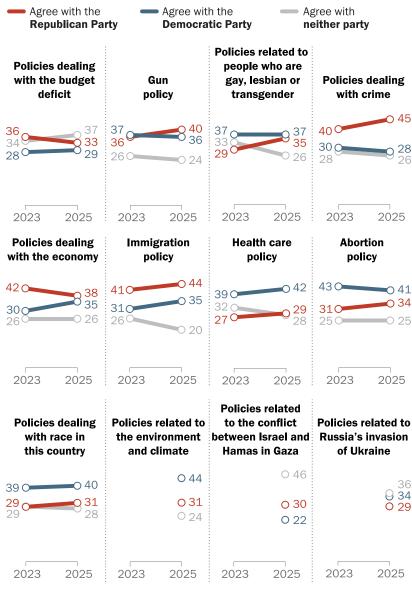
The Republican Party's advantage has grown from 10 percentage points in 2023 to 17 points today.

Policies related to people who are gay, lesbian or transgender

Today, neither party holds a clear advantage on this issue. In 2023, Democrats held an 8-point edge. The shift is largely due to a rise in the share of Americans saying they agree

Republican Party's advantage on crime grows, while its edge on the economy disappears. Many don't agree with either party on key foreign conflicts

% who say they agree with the __ on the following policy issues



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

with the GOP and a decline in the share Americans who say they do not agree with either party. The percentage agreeing with the Democratic Party is the same today as it was two years ago (37%).

Policies to deal with the economy and budget deficit

In 2023, the Republican Party had a wide (12-point) advantage over the Democratic Party on economic policy. Today, that advantage has all but disappeared: 38% of Americans agree with the Republican Party, and 35% agree with the Democratic Party. About a quarter (26%) say they agree with neither party – the same share that said so in 2023.

On the budget deficit, the Republican Party has a slight advantage. Today, 33% agree with the GOP on this issue, while 29% agree with the Democratic Party. About four-in-ten (37%) do not agree with either party.

Some issues see more partisans diverging from their parties

While partisans generally stick with their own parties on most issues, **there are some notable exceptions:**

The conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza

- About half of Democrats (52%) say they do not agree with either party's position on policies related to the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza. By comparison, 40% of Democrats say they agree with their own party. Still, very few (7%) say they agree more with the GOP.
- A sizeable though smaller share of Republicans (36%) also say they don't agree with either party on this issue, although a majority of Republicans (57%) agree with the GOP. Just 6% agree with Democrats.

This survey was fielded before the early October <u>deal between Israel and Hamas</u>.

Crime

■ 17% of Democrats agree with the Republican Party's stance on crime. Just over half agree more with the Democratic Party (54%), while about one-in-three (29%) say neither party reflects their views.

Environment and climate

• 60% of Republicans agree with the GOP on this issue, but 15% of Republicans agree more with the Democratic Party.

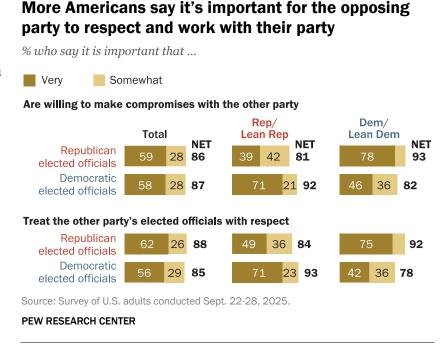
Abortion

• While 64% of Republicans agree with the GOP on abortion, 14% say they agree more with the Democratic Party.

3. What Americans want and expect from party leaders

Wide majorities of Americans say it is important that both Republican and Democratic elected officials are knowledgeable and admit when they are wrong. Smaller majorities say it is very important that elected officials in both parties be willing to make compromises with the other party and treat their counterparts with respect.

And while most Republicans and Democrats say that their party should be at least somewhat accepting of elected officials who agree with the



other party on some important issues, at least a quarter of those in both parties say their party should not be so accepting. The survey was conducted Sept. 22-28, before the now-monthlong government shutdown.

Republicans and Democrats are also both somewhat split over whether their party should be accepting of elected officials who call the other party evil: Among U.S. adults, 43% of Republicans and 44% of Democrats say this is at least somewhat acceptable for members of their own party to do.

Still, overwhelming majorities in both parties say their party should not be accepting of figures who support groups that advocate violence against their political opponents.

Compromise and respect

Both Republicans and Democrats are more likely to say that it is very important that the *other* party's elected officials be willing to compromise to solve important problems than it is for their *own* elected officials to do so.

But Democrats are more likely to call compromise very important for both the other party and their own.

Other party

- 78% of Democrats say it is very important for Republican elected officials to be willing to make compromises with Democrats.
- 71% of Republicans say it is very important that Democratic officials be willing to compromise with Republicans.

Own party

- 46% of Democrats say it is very important that Democratic officials make compromises with Republicans.
- 39% of Republicans say it is very important that Republican elected officials compromise with Democrats.

There is a nearly identical pattern on treating elected officials in the other party with respect. Those in both partisan coalitions say it's more important for the other party's officials to treat their party with respect than the converse, but Democrats also are more likely than Republicans to say respect is important in both directions.

What should be acceptable from elected officials in your party?

Occasional agreement with the other party

About two-thirds of Republicans (67%) say the GOP should be accepting of Republican elected officials who agree with the Democratic Party on some important issues. A slightly larger share of Democrats (72%) say their party should be accepting of politicians who agree with Republicans on some issues.

Calling the opposing side 'evil'

Asked if their party should be accepting of those who call elected officials in the other party evil, modest majorities on each side say it should *not*:

- 56% of Republicans say their party should not be accepting of GOP officials who call Democrats evil.
- A nearly identical share of Democrats (55%) say this about officials in their party who call Republicans evil.

Support for groups advocating violence

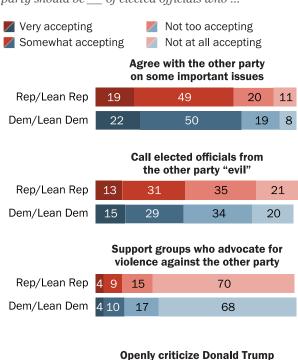
Both Republicans and Democrats overwhelmingly say their party should not at all be accepting of elected officials who support groups that advocate for violence against the other party. This includes 70% of Republicans and 68% of Democrats.

Criticism of leadership

Republicans are divided over whether their party should be accepting of officials who openly criticize President Donald Trump. Half of Republicans say their party should *not* be accepting of officials who do this, while 40% sa

Most say their party should accept those who agree with the other party on some issues

% of Rep/Lean Rep and Dem/Lean Dem who say their party should be ___ of elected officials who ...



Note: No answer responses are not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

30

20

14

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Rep/Lean Rep

accepting of officials who do this, while 49% say it should be accepting of this.

Strong partisans are less likely than others to say their party should be accepting of officials who agree with the other party on some important issues.

- 56% of Republicans who say they strongly identify with the GOP say the party should be accepting of Republican elected officials who agree with Democrats on some issues.
- This rises to 73% among Republicans who aren't strong identifiers and a nearly identical share (75%) of independents who lean toward the GOP.

The pattern is similar, but somewhat less pronounced, among Democrats:

Less strong partisans are more likely to say their party should be accepting of those who agree with the other party on some important issues

% who say their party should be at least **somewhat accepting** of elected officials who agree with the other party on some important issues ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

- 66% of *strong* Democrats say the Democratic Party should accept elected officials who agree with the Republican Party on some issues.
- That rises to about three-quarters among less-strongly identified Democrats (75%) and Democratic leaners (74%).

4. How well the Republican and Democratic parties represent Americans' interests

About four-in-ten U.S. adults (42%) say the Republican Party represents the interests of people like them very or somewhat well. A similar share (40%) say this about the Democratic Party.

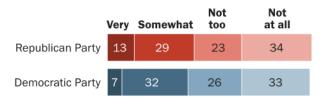
But majorities say the Republican Party (56%) and Democratic Party (58%) do not represent the interests of people like them.

Combining these measures:

- 33% of adults say they feel well-represented by the Republican Party, but *not* by the Democratic Party.
- About as many (31%) feel represented by the Democratic Party, but not the Republican Party.

A quarter of Americans say neither party represents their interests well

% who say each party represents the interests of people like them well



% who say __ represents the interests of people like them **very or somewhat well**



Note: No answer responses are not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

While most adults say they feel at least somewhat well-represented by at least one of the two major parties, **25% say neither party represents the interests of people like them even somewhat well.** About one-in-ten (9%) say *both parties* represent the interests of people like them well.

How well the parties represent people's interests

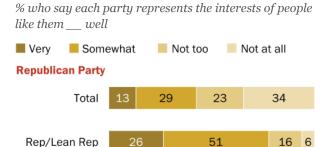
Substantial shares of Americans who identify with the Republican or Democratic parties say they

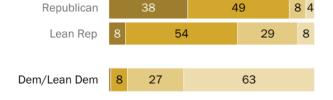
feel at least somewhat well-represented by their party – though smaller shares say they feel *very* well-represented.

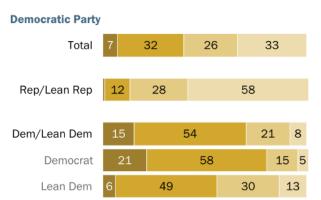
Leaners – those who don't identify as Republican or Democrat, but say they lean towards one of the major parties – tend to be more skeptical of how well their preferred party represents their interests:

- 77% of all Republicans and Republicanleaning independents say their party represents their interests very or somewhat well.
- Those who identify as a Republican (87%) are more likely to express this view than independents who lean toward the GOP (62%).
- Nearly eight-in-ten Democrats (79%) say they feel well-represented by their party, compared with 55% of Democratic-leaning independents.

Most partisans feel at least somewhat well-represented by their own party







Note: No answer responses are not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

Most Americans feel represented by only one of the major parties

Two-thirds of Republicans and Republican leaners (67%) say the GOP, not the Democratic Party,

represents them well. By comparison, 62% of Democrats and Democratic leaners say the Democratic Party represents people like them well, but not the Republican Party.

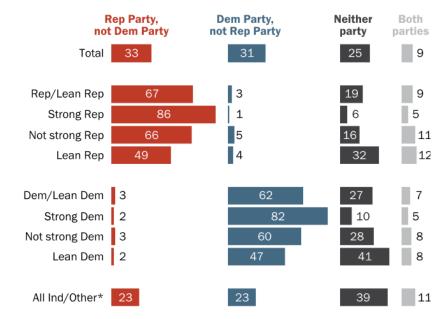
Democratic and Democratic leaners are more likely than Republicans and Republican leaners to say neither party represents them well (27% vs. 19%).

But in both coalitions, stronger partisans are far more likely to say they are well-represented by their party than weaker partisans or leaners.

Overall, about four-in-ten independents and those who identify with other parties (39%) say neither major party represents people like them well. But Democratic-leaning independents are more likely

Democratic-leaning independents are more likely than Republican leaners to say neither party represents their interests well

% who say __ represents the interests of people like them well



^{*} All Independent/Other includes those who do not identify as Republican or Democratic but lean toward either the Republican or Democratic Party.

Note: No answer responses are not shown. Data on party representation is based on responses from two separate questions; those who skipped either question were coded as "no answer."

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

than Republican leaners to say this (41% vs. 32%).

Demographic differences on views of representation by both parties

Americans' views of how well each major party represents the interests of people like them vary by gender, race, ethnicity and age.

Gender

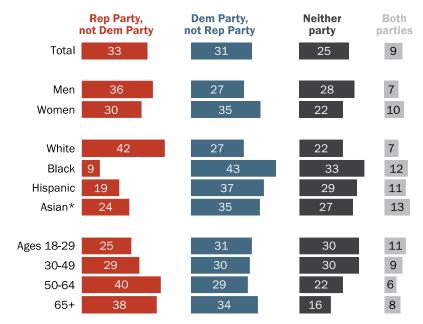
Men are more likely to say their interests are well-represented by the Republican Party, not the Democratic Party (36%), than to say the reverse (27%).

Conversely, women are more likely to feel well-represented by the Democratic Party, but not the GOP (35%), than the reverse (30%).

Men are more likely than women to see neither party as representing their interests well (28% vs. 22%).

Adults under 50 are more likely than older adults to say *neither* party represents them well

% who say __ represents the interests of people like them well



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

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include only those who report being one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Data on party representation based on responses from two separate questions; those who skipped either question were coded as "no answer."

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 22-28, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Race and ethnicity

About four-in-ten White adults (42%) say the Republican Party, rather than Democratic Party, represents them at least somewhat well. Far fewer (27%) say the Democratic Party, but not the GOP, represents them well.

By contrast, Black (43%), Hispanic (37%) and Asian adults (35%) are more likely to say the Democratic Party, but not the Republican Party, represents their interests well than to say the reverse.

Black (33%), Hispanic (29%) and Asian (27%) adults are also all more likely than White adults (22%) to say *neither* party represents their interests well.

Age

Older adults are more likely than younger adults to say they feel well-represented by the Republican Party, but not the Democratic Party. But the age difference in the shares saying they are well-represented by the Democratic Party, but not the Republican Party, is relatively modest.

Adults under 50 are considerably more likely than older adults to say *neither* party represents them well: 30% say this, compared with 22% of those 50 to 64, and 16% of those 65 and older.

Acknowledgments

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

Research team

Jocelyn Kiley, *Director*, *Political Research* Steven Shepard, *Associate Director*, *Political Research*

Hannah Hartig, Senior Researcher
Baxter Oliphant, Senior Researcher
Gabe Borelli, Research Associate
Andrew Daniller, Research Associate
Andy Cerda, Research Analyst
Joseph Copeland, Research Analyst
Shanay Gracia, Research Analyst
Ted Van Green, Research Analyst

Communications and editorial

Nida Asheer, Senior Communications Manager

Mithila Samak, Communications Associate David Kent, Senior Editorial Specialist Mia Hennen, Editorial Assistant

Graphic design and web publishing

Peter Bell, Associate Director, Design and Production

Alissa Scheller, Senior Information Graphics Designer

Reem Nadeem, Digital Producer

Methodology

Andrew Mercer, Senior Research Methodologist

Dorene Asare-Marfo, Senior Panel Manager Dana Popky, Associate Panel Manager Arnold Lau, Research Methodologist

In addition, former Director of Political Research Carroll Doherty contributed as an editor on this report.

Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

Overview

Data in this report comes from Wave 180 of the American Trends Panel (ATP), Pew Research Center's nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. The survey was conducted from Sept. 22 to 28, 2025. A total of 3,445 panelists responded out of 3,926 who were sampled, for a survey-level response rate of 88%.

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 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 3,445 respondents is plus or minus 1.9 percentage points.

The survey includes an <u>oversample</u> of Hispanic validated voters who voted for Donald Trump in the 2024 election and of non-Hispanic Asian adults 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.

SSRS conducted the survey for Pew Research Center via online (n=3,303) and live telephone (n=142) interviewing. Interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish.

To learn more, read about the <u>American Trends Panel</u>.

Panel recruitment

Since 2018, the ATP has used address-based sampling (ABS) for recruitment. A study cover letter and a pre-incentive are mailed to a stratified, random sample of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service's Computerized Delivery Sequence File. This Postal Service file has been estimated to cover 90% to 98% of the population. Within each sampled household, the adult with the next birthday is selected to participate. Other details of the ABS recruitment protocol have changed over time but are available upon request. Prior to 2018, the ATP was recruited using landline and cellphone random-digit-dial surveys administered in English and Spanish.

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

² Email pewsurveys@pewresearch.org.

A national sample of U.S. adults has been recruited to the ATP approximately once per year since 2014. In some years, the recruitment has included additional efforts (known as an "oversample") to improve the accuracy of data for underrepresented groups. For example, Hispanic adults, Black adults and Asian adults were oversampled in 2019, 2022 and 2023, respectively.

Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was noninstitutionalized persons ages 18 and older living in the United States. It featured a stratified random sample from the ATP in which Hispanic validated voters who voted for Donald Trump in the 2024 election and non-Hispanic Asian adults 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 SSRS. The web program used for online respondents was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the SSRS project team and Pew Research Center researchers. The SSRS project team also populated 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 gift code to Amazon.com, Target.com or Walmart.com. 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 Sept. 22 to Sept. 28, 2025. Surveys were conducted via self-administered web survey or by live telephone interviewing.

For panelists who take surveys online: Postcard notifications were mailed to a subset on Sept. 22.4 Survey 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 Sept. 22. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled online panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on Sept. 23.

Invitation and reminder dates for web respondents,
ATP Wave 180

	Soft launch	Full launch
Initial invitation	Sept. 22, 2025	Sept. 23, 2025
First reminder	Sept. 25, 2025	Sept. 25, 2025
Final reminder	Sept. 27, 2025	Sept. 27, 2025
PEW RESEARCH CENTER		

Panelists participating online were sent an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. ATP panelists who consented to SMS messages were sent an SMS invitation with a link to the survey and up to two SMS reminders.

For panelists who take surveys over the phone with a live interviewer: Prenotification postcards were mailed on Sept. 19. Soft launch took place on Sept. 22 and involved dialing until a total of four interviews had been completed. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled phone panelists' numbers were dialed throughout the remaining field period. Panelists who take surveys via phone can receive up to six calls from trained SSRS interviewers.

Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, Center researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for whether respondents left questions blank at very high rates or always selected the first or last answer presented. As a result of this checking, six ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

³ The ATP does not use routers or chains in any part of its online data collection protocol, nor are they used to direct respondents to additional surveys.

⁴ Postcard notifications for web panelists are sent to 1) panelists who were recruited within the last two years and 2) panelists recruited prior to the last two years who opt to continue receiving postcard notifications.

Weighting

The ATP data is weighted in a process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the panel survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of recruitment into the panel. These weights are 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 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 2nd and 98th 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.

Benchmark source
2023 American Community Survey (ACS)
2023 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
2025 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Candidate vote share is based on official results from the Federal Election Commission. Turnout is based on estimates from the Electio Lab at the University of Florida. The size of the voting-eligible population based on the 2023 ACS.

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.

Sample sizes and margins of error, ATP Wave 180

0	Unweighted	Walakta d 0/	Plus or minus
Group Total sample	sample size 3,445	Weighted %	1.9 percentage points
· ·	•		
Half form	At least 1,718		2.7 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep	1,569	46%	2.8 percentage points
Half form	At least 776		4.0 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	1.682	46%	2.7 percentage points
Half form	At least 836		3.8 percentage points
Hall form	At least 550		5.5 percentage points
Strong Republican	631		4.4 percentage points
Half form	At least 313		6.3 percentage points
Not strong Republican	345		5.8 percentage points
Half form	At least 172		8.4 percentage points
Lean Republican	589		4.6 percentage points
Half form	At least 288		6.5 percentage points
Strong Democrat	554		4.5 percentage points
Half form	At least 276		6.4 percentage points
Not strong Democrat	460		5.1 percentage points
Half form	At least 211		7.6 percentage points
Lean Democrat	658		4.3 percentage points
Half form	At least 313		6.2 percentage points

Note: This survey includes oversamples of Hispanic validated voters who voted for Donald Trump in the 2024 election and of non-Hispanic Asian adults. 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.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

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.

Dispositions and response rates

	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	3,445
Logged in (web) / Contacted (CATI), but did not complete any items	2.11	84
Started survey; broke off before completion	2.12	52
Never logged on (web) / Never reached on phone (CATI)	2.20	339
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	0
Other non-interview	2.30	0
Completed interview but was removed for data quality	2.90	6
Total panelists sampled for the survey		3,926
Completed interviews	l	3,445
Partial interviews	Р	0
Refusals	R	136
Non-contact	NC	339
Other	0	6
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		3,926
AAPOR RR1 = I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)		88%

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Response rate to Wave 180 survey	88%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 180	40%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	74%
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	12%
	Total

[©] Pew Research Center 2025

2025 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL Wave 180: POLITICAL PARTIES SURVEY September 22-28, 2025

TOPLINE N=3,445

Note: This survey was conducted primarily online, with some interviews conducted by live telephone. This topline shows the programming language for online administration. For details on how questions were slightly modified for phone administration, visit the questionnaire.

American Trends Panel surveys conducted between October 2016 and June 2024 were conducted fully online (with tablets and data plans provided to adults without home internet). American Trends Panel surveys conducted prior to October 2016 were conducted primarily online, with some respondents completing by mail. For additional details, visit the methodology.

* "No answer" includes web respondents who do not answer the question as well as telephone respondents who refuse to answer or who say that they don't know how to answer. In cases where "Not sure" was offered as an explicit option to web and telephone respondents, the "No answer" category includes only web skips and telephone refusals.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF EMTREP AND EMTDEM SHOWN ON DIFFERENT SCREENS]

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,727]:

EMTREP Does the Republican Party make you feel...[RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS EMTDEM]

	Yes, makes me feel this way	No, does not make me feel this way	No <u>answer</u> *
FRUST Frustrated	C 4	24	2
Sep 22-28, 2025 Sep 13-19, 2021	64 68	34 30	2 2
Oct 1-13, 2019	64	35	1
Sep 3-15, 2019	65	33	1
			_
ANGR Angry			
Sep 22-28, 2025	49	48	3
Sep 13-19, 2021	50	48	3 2 2
Oct 1-13, 2019	50	48	2
Sep 3-15, 2019	50	49	1
HOPE Hopeful			
Sep 22-28, 2025	36	62	2
Sep 13-19, 2021	31	67	2
Oct 1-13, 2019	33	65	2
Sep 3-15, 2019	34	65	2
PROU Proud			
Sep 22-28, 2025	27	70	3
Sep 13-19, 2021	21	77	3 2
Oct 1-13, 2019	26	72	2
Sep 3-15, 2019	25	74	2

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How does the REPUBLICAN PARTY make you feel? [Check all that apply]

			Not selected/
		<u>Selected</u>	No answer
a.	Frustrated		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	46	54
b.	Angry		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	28	72
c.	Afraid		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	30	70
d.	Hopeful		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	25	75
e.	Enthusiastic		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	8	92
f.	Proud		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	5	95
g.	None of these [EXCLUSIVE PUNCH]		
J.	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	14	86
	, ,		

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF EMTREP AND EMTDEM SHOWN ON DIFFERENT SCREENS]

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,727]:
EMTDEM Does the Democratic Party make you feel... [RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS EMTREP]

	Yes, makes me feel this way	No, does not make me <u>feel this way</u>	No <u>answer</u> *
FRUST Frustrated	<u> </u>		
Sep 22-28, 2025	75	23	2
Sep 13-19, 2021	64	34	2 2
Oct 1-13, 2019	66	32	2
Sep 3-15, 2019	66	32	1
ANGR Angry			
Sep 22-28, 2025	50	48	2
Sep 13-19, 2021	45	53	2
Oct 1-13, 2019	47	51	2 2 2
Sep 3-15, 2019	42	56	2
HOPE Hopeful			
Sep 22-28, 2025	28	71	2
Sep 13-19, 2021	39	59	2 2
Oct 1-13, 2019	38	60	2
Sep 3-15, 2019	43	56	1
PROU Proud			
Sep 22-28, 2025	16	82	2
Sep 13-19, 2021	25	73	2
Oct 1-13, 2019	23	75	2
Sep 3-15, 2019	27	71	2

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How does the DEMOCRATIC PARTY make you feel? [Check all that apply]

		Selected	Not selected/ No answer
a.	Frustrated		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	36	64
b.	Angry		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	22	78
c.	Afraid		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	23	77
d.	Hopeful		
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	36	64
e.	Enthusiastic		20
_	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	11	89
f.	Proud	•	0.4
_	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	9	91
g.	None of these [EXCLUSIVE PUNCH]	1.4	0.0
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	14	86

[ASK EMTREP_FRUST_OE AND EMTDEM_FRUST_OE IN SAME ORDER AS EMTREP AND EMTDEM]

ASK IF FRUSTRATED WITH THE REPUBLICAN PARTY (EMTREP_FRUST=1) [N=1,138]:

EMTREP_FRUST_OE What about the Republican Party most frustrates you?

BASED ON REP/LEAN REP WHO SAW EMTREP FIRST [N=161]:

Sep 22-28,	,
<u> 2025</u>	
20	Specific policy
8	Economic policies / 'the economy'
3	Cuts to government programs and benefits
2	The budget deficit / government spending
1	Immigration
7	Other policies
16	Lack of policy action
10	Has not kept promises
9	Lack of compromise with Democrats
9	Lack of party unity
6	Only cares about donors / 'corrupt'
5	Agrees with Trump too much
4	Lack of civility
4	Not fighting hard enough against Democrats
3	General mentions of Trump or MAGA
3	Prioritizing the wrong issues
3	Out of touch with voters
2	Doesn't support Trump enough
4	Other

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses

19

No answer

[ASK EMTREP_FRUST_OE AND EMTDEM_FRUST_OE IN SAME ORDER AS EMTREP AND EMTDEM]

ASK IF FRUSTRATED WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (EMTDEM_FRUST=1) [N=1,315]:

EMTDEM_FRUST_OE What about the <u>Democratic Party</u> most frustrates you?

BASED ON DEM/LEAN DEM WHO SAW EMTDEM FIRST [N=271]:

	, [
Sep 22-28,	
<u> 2025</u>	
41	Not fighting hard enough against Trump
13	Lack of good leadership
10	Lack of cohesive agenda or message
8	Out of touch with voters
7	Ineffective when in power / Did not keep promises
5	Lack of party unity
4	Specific policy
3	Lack of compromise with Republicans
3	Only cares about donors / 'corrupt'
3	Prioritizing the wrong issues
6	Other
18	No answer

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,718]:

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

	A great deal of	A fair amount of	Hardly any	
	difference in what	difference in what	difference at all in	No
	they stand for	they stand for	what they stand for	answer*
Sep 22-28, 2025	60	27	12	1
Jul 10-16, 2023	54	35	10	1
Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	57	31	11	1
Jul 8-18, 2021	59	31	9	1
Sep 3-15, 2019	55	37	7	*

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,718]:

PTYISSUE

Which party would you say you agree with on each of the following policy areas? [RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SCREEN 1 AND SCREEN 2; RANDOMIZE ITEMS WITHIN EACH SCREEN; **ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4/4-1 WITH 5 ALWAYS LAST]**

[SCREEN		Strongly agree with the Republican <u>Party</u>	Somewhat agree with the Republican <u>Party</u>	Somewhat agree with the Democratic <u>Party</u>	Strongly agree with the Democratic <u>Party</u>	Don't agree with either party	No <u>answer</u> *
ĪMM	Immigration policy Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022	29 25 23 19	15 16 15 17	18 20 22 24	17 11 15 13	20 26 24 25	* 2 1 1
	IMM TREND FOR COMPARISON Policies to deal with illegal immigration						
	Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	25 20	14 17	20 21	20 17	19 23	2 2
DEBT	Policies to deal with the budget deficit						
	Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	16 16 15	17 20 18	16 17 19	13 11 16	37 34 29	1 2 3
HC	Health care policy Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	12 10 11 9 15	18 17 18 17 17	18 20 20 22 21 21	24 19 22 20 24 22	28 32 27 30 21 22	1 2 2 2 2 2 2
GUNS	Gun policy Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	26 20 21 23 25	14 15 16 15	14 13 15 17 15	21 24 25 20 19	24 26 23 24 24	1 1 1 2

47 PEW RESEARCH CENTER

PTYISSU	JE CONTINUED						
		Strongly agree with the Republican <u>Party</u>	Somewhat agree with the Republican <u>Party</u>	Somewhat agree with the Democratic <u>Party</u>	Strongly agree with the Democratic <u>Party</u>	Don't agree with either <u>party</u>	No answer*
LGT	Policies related to people who are						
	gay, lesbian or transgender Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	21 15 11	14 14 12	16 15 19	22 22 25	26 33 31	1 2 1
UKRRU	Policies related to Russia's invasion of Ukraine	4.0	4-		10	2.5	
	Sep 22-28, 2025	12	17	14	19	36	1
[SCREE	N 21:						
CRIME	Policies to deal with crime Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	28 21 19	18 20 18	17 20 20	11 10 12	26 28 29	1 2 2
ABPOL	Abortion policy						
7.51.02	Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022	19 17 17 18	15 13 12 11	14 13 13 14	27 30 30 26	25 25 26 29	* 2 1 1
	Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019 Apr 5-May 2, 2016	21 14	11 13	15 17	28 26	24 27	2
RACE	Policies that deal with race in this country						
	Sep 22-28, 2025	17	14	17	23	28	1
	Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	13 11	16 15	19 18	20 22	29 31	2 2
ECON	Policies to deal with the economy Sep 22-28, 2025	18	20	20	15	26	1
	Jun 5-11, 2023	19	22	19	11	26	2
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022	20 16	20 21	22 23	12 12	25 27	1 1
	Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	21	20	23	14	20	2
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016 ⁵	15	20	23	16	24	2
ENV	Policies related to the environment and climate						
	Sep 22-28, 2025	15	16	19	25	24	1
	TREND FOR COMPARISON: Policies to deal with climate change	4-5		45	0.5		_
	Jun 5-11, 2023	13 11	14 14	18 20	23 25	31 28	1
	Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022	8	14 14	20 23	25 21	28 32	2 2
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	9	14	20	24	31	3

In 2016, each PTYISSUE item was asked on a separate screen; question was programmed: "Would you say you agree with the [RANDOMIZE TO MATCH RESPONSE OPTIONS: Republican Party or the Democratic Party] on the following policy area?" with response options listed in order that they appeared in question stem

PTYISSUE CONTINUED...

		Strongly agree with the	Somewhat agree with the	Somewhat agree with the	Strongly agree with the	Don't agree with	
ISRLHM	Policies related to the conflict	Republican <u>Party</u>	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic Party	Democratic <u>Party</u>	either <u>party</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
101121111	between Israel and Hamas in Gaza Sep 22-28, 2025	16	14	13	8	46	1

[RANDOMIZE PTYIDEADEM AND PTYIDEAREP, SHOW ON SAME SCREEN]

ASK ALL:

PTYIDEADEM Overall, would you say the <u>Democratic Party</u> has...

Sep 22-28,		Jun 5-11,	Jan 10-17,
2025		<u>2023</u>	<u> 2022</u>
8	A lot of good ideas	11	12
32	Some good ideas	33	32
31	A few good ideas	29	27
28	Almost no good ideas	25	27
1	No answer*	2	2

ASK ALL:

PTYIDEAREP Overall, would you say the Republican Party has...

Sep 22-28,		Jun 5-11,	Jan 10-17,
2025		<u>2023</u>	<u>2022</u>
15	A lot of good ideas	11	9
29	Some good ideas	35	32
27	A few good ideas	31	32
28	Almost no good ideas	22	26
1	No answer*	2	2

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

ASK ALL:

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

EXTR	Too extreme in its positions	Very <u>well</u>	Somewhat <u>well</u>	Not too well	Not at all well	No <u>answer</u> *
LAIR	Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021 Sep 3-15, 2019	34 32 30 27 30	28 30 30 34 33	23 22 26 25 23	14 15 11 12 12	2 2 3 2 2
TOL	Respectful and tolerant of different types of people Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Sep 3-15, 2019	14 10 11 9	25 31 28 29	21 26 25 27	38 31 35 33	1 2 2 1
TRADS	Respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021	16 15 16 13 16	28 34 29 34 32	22 25 25 25 25	34 23 29 27 26	1 2 2 2 2
INTF	Supports policies that interfere too much in people's lives Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	27 23 25	27 31 25	28 29 30	16 15 18	1 2 2
HON	Governs in an honest and ethical way Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021 Sep 3-15, 2019	10 7 8 6 8 7	29 33 29 32 33 31	22 30 27 29 29 30	37 28 34 31 29 30	1 2 2 2 1 1

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

ASK ALL:

DEMPTYTRAIT How well do each of the following phrases describe the <u>Democratic Party</u>? [RANDOMIZE ITEMS, USE SAME ORDER FOR REPPTYTRAIT]

E)/ED		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 Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021 Sep 3-15, 2019	29 30 25 26 29	27 25 32 34 32	27 27 25 26 27	15 16 16 12 11	2 1 3 2 2
TOL	Respectful and tolerant of different types of people Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Sep 3-15, 2019	22 20 24 22	34 37 33 37	19 20 18 19	24 21 23 20	1 2 2 1
TRADS	Respects the country's democratic institutions and traditions Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021	20 16 20 16 20	32 35 30 35 36	22 23 20 21 19	24 24 27 27 24	2 2 2 2 1
INTF	Supports policies that interfere too much in people's lives Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	25 25 28	30 30 26	28 28 28	15 15 16	2 3 2
HON	Governs in an honest and ethical way Sep 22-28, 2025 Jun 5-11, 2023 Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022 Jan 10-17, 2022 Mar 1-7, 2021 Sep 3-15, 2019	9 8 12 10 12	33 34 32 35 38 38	26 26 22 25 22 27	30 30 33 29 27 25	2 2 2 2 1 1

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPRSNTREP AND REPRSNTDEM]

ASK ALL:

REPRSNTREP How well does the <u>Republican Party</u> represent the interests of people like you?

	NET WELL	Very <u>well</u>	Somewhat <u>well</u>	NET NOT WELL	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at all well	No <u>answer</u> *
Sep 22-28, 2025	42	<u>wen</u> 13	<u>wen</u> 29	<u> </u>	<u>wen</u> 23	<u>wen</u> 34	aliswei ·
. ,		_	_		_	_	۷.
Nov 12-17, 2024	50	16	34	49	24	25	1
Jul 10-16, 2023	39	6	33	58	<i>27</i>	31	2
Aug 1-14, 2022	44	10	34	53	25	28	3
Jul 8-18, 2021	41	9	33	56	27	29	3
Nov 12-17, 2020	47	16	31	51	25	26	2
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	46	10	36	53	27	26	1
Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	39	8	31	60	29	31	2
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	40	7	33	57	29	28	3

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPRSNTREP AND REPRSNTDEM]

ASK ALL:

REPRSNTDEM How well does the <u>Democratic Party</u> represent the interests of people like you?

	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET NOT	Not too	Not at all	No
	<u>WELL</u>	<u>well</u>	<u>well</u>	WELL	<u>well</u>	<u>well</u>	answer*
Sep 22-28, 2025	40	7	<i>32</i>	58	26	33	2
Nov 12-17, 2024	43	9	35	55	29	27	2
Jul 10-16, 2023	41	7	34	56	26	30	2
Aug 1-14, 2022	47	12	35	50	23	27	3
Jul 8-18, 2021	46	10	36	51	23	28	3
Nov 12-17, 2020	47	11	35	51	21	29	2
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	51	14	<i>37</i>	48	24	24	1
Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	49	13	36	50	24	26	2
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	52	14	38	46	24	22	3

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ELCTRAT1 AND ELCTRAT2]

ASK ALL:

ELCTRAT1 How important is it to you that <u>Republican</u> elected officials... **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME**

ORDER AS ELCTRAT2]

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAW ELCTRAT1 FIRST (ELCTRAT12_ORDER_W180=1) [N=1,714]

		Very <u>important</u>	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	No <u>answer</u> *
KNOW	Are knowledgeable about the issues Sep 22-28, 2025 Apr 29-May 13, 2019	82 85	12 10	4 3	2 2	1 1
COMP	Are willing to make compromises with Democratic elected officials to solve important problems Sep 22-28, 2025 Apr 29-May 13, 2019	59 61	28 29	8 6	5 4	1 *
RSPCT	Treat Democratic elected officials with respect Sep 22-28, 2025 Apr 29-May 13, 2019	62 65	26 25	7 6	4 3	1 *
WRNG	Admit when they are wrong Sep 22-28, 2025 Apr 29-May 13, 2019	73 76	20 18	4 3	2 2	1 *

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ELCTRAT1 AND ELCTRAT2]

ASK ALL:

ELCTRAT2 How important is it to you that <u>Democratic</u> elected officials... **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME**

ORDER AS ELCTRAT1]

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAW ELCTRAT2 FIRST (ELCTRAT12_ORDER_W180=2) [N=1,731]

		Very	Somewhat	Not too	Not at all	No
		<u>important</u>	<u>important</u>	<u>important</u>	<u>important</u>	<u>answer</u> *
KNOW	Are knowledgeable about the issues					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	82	13	3	1	1
	Apr 29-May 13, 2019	85	9	3	3	1
COMP	Are willing to make compromises with Republican elected officials to solve important problems					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	58	28	7	4	1
	Apr 29-May 13, 2019	61	28	6	4	1
RSPCT	Treat Republican elected officials with respect					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	56	29	9	5	1
	Apr 29-May 13, 2019	60	28	7	4	1

ELCTRAT2 CONTINUED ...

	Admit when the consumer	Very <u>important</u>	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	No <u>answer</u> *
WRNG	Admit when they are wrong Sep 22-28, 2025 Apr 29-May 13, 2019	76 78	18 15	4 3	2 3	1 2

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

[IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1), ASK REPPTYACC FIRST AND DEMPTYACC SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; IF DEM/LEAN DEM (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=2), ASK **DEMPTYACC FIRST AND REPPTYACC SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS]**

ASK IF PARTISAN (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1,2) [N=3,251]:

REPPTYACC

How accepting, if at all, do you think the Republican Party should be of Republican elected officials who... [RANDOMIZE ITEMS]

BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (XPARTYSUM=1) [N=1,569]:

		Very accepting	Somewhat accepting	Not too accepting	Not at all accepting	No answer*
CRTDT	Openly criticize Donald Trump	accepting	accepting	ассерента	accepting	<u>anover</u>
	Sep 22-28, 2025	14	36	30	20	1
	Sep 13-19, 2021	11	26	32	30	1
	Mar 1-7, 2021	14	29	29	27	1
AGDEM	Agree with the Democratic Party on some important issues					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	19	49	20	11	1
	Sep 13-19, 2021	12	43	27	17	1
ASK FOR	M 1 ONLY [N=776]					
VIOL	Support groups who advocate violence against Democrats					
	Sep 22-28, 2025	4	9	15	70	1
	Mar 1-7, 2021	3	6	19	71	1
	M 2 ONLY [N=793]					
CALLEVL	Call Democratic elected officials evil					
	Sep 22-28, 2025 Sep 13-19, 2021	13 18	31 29	35 35	21 17	1 2

[IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1), ASK REPPTYACC FIRST AND DEMPTYACC SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; IF DEM/LEAN DEM (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=2), ASK DEMPTYACC FIRST AND REPPTYACC SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS]

ASK IF PARTISAN (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1,2) [N=3,251]:

DEMPTYACC How accepting, if at all, do you think the <u>Democratic Party</u> should be of <u>Democratic</u> elected officials who... **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS (XPARTYSUM=2) [N=1,682]:

		Very <u>accepting</u>	Somewhat accepting	Not too accepting	Not at all accepting	No <u>answer</u> *
CRTJB	Openly criticize Joe Biden Sep 22-28, 2025 Sep 13-19, 2021 Mar 1-7, 2021	22 17 23	35 40 45	24 28 21	17 14 9	2 1 1
AGREP	Agree with the Republican Party on some important issues Sep 22-28, 2025 Sep 13-19, 2021	22 18	50 49	19 22	8 11	1 1
	ACC CONTINUED	Very accepting	Somewhat accepting	Not too accepting	Not at all accepting	No <u>answer</u> *
ASK FOR VIOL	M 1 ONLY [N=846] Support groups who advocate violence against Republicans Sep 22-28, 2025 Mar 1-7, 2021	4 5	10 7	17 18	68 68	1 1
ASK FOR CALLEVL	M 2 ONLY [N=836] Call Republican elected officials evil					
	Sep 22-28, 2025 Sep 13-19, 2021	15 13	29 28	34 38	20 19	1 2

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a...

ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3,4 OR REFUSED):

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...⁶

Something No Lean Lean Republican Democrat Independent else answer* Rep <u>Dem</u> 28 28 28 14 2 18 18

Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

 $(\cup) \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Pew Research Center/USA Today polls}$

⁶ PARTY and PARTYLN asked in a prior survey.