

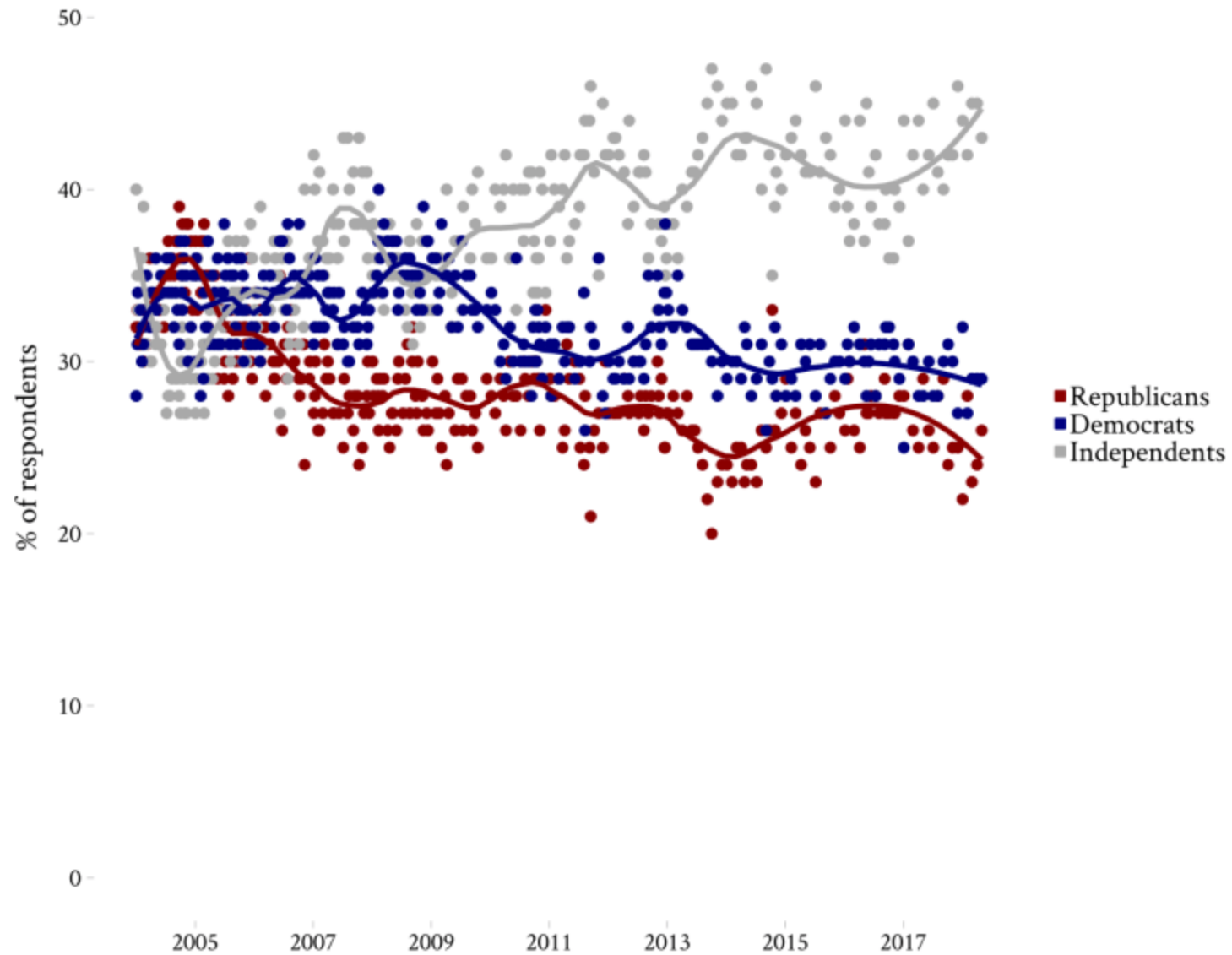
Major Development in Public Opinion
Professor Laura Stoker, UC Berkeley

San Ramon Valley Democratic Club
June 28, 2018.

Party Identification and the 2018 Midterm Elections

Party Affiliation Trends from 2004 to present

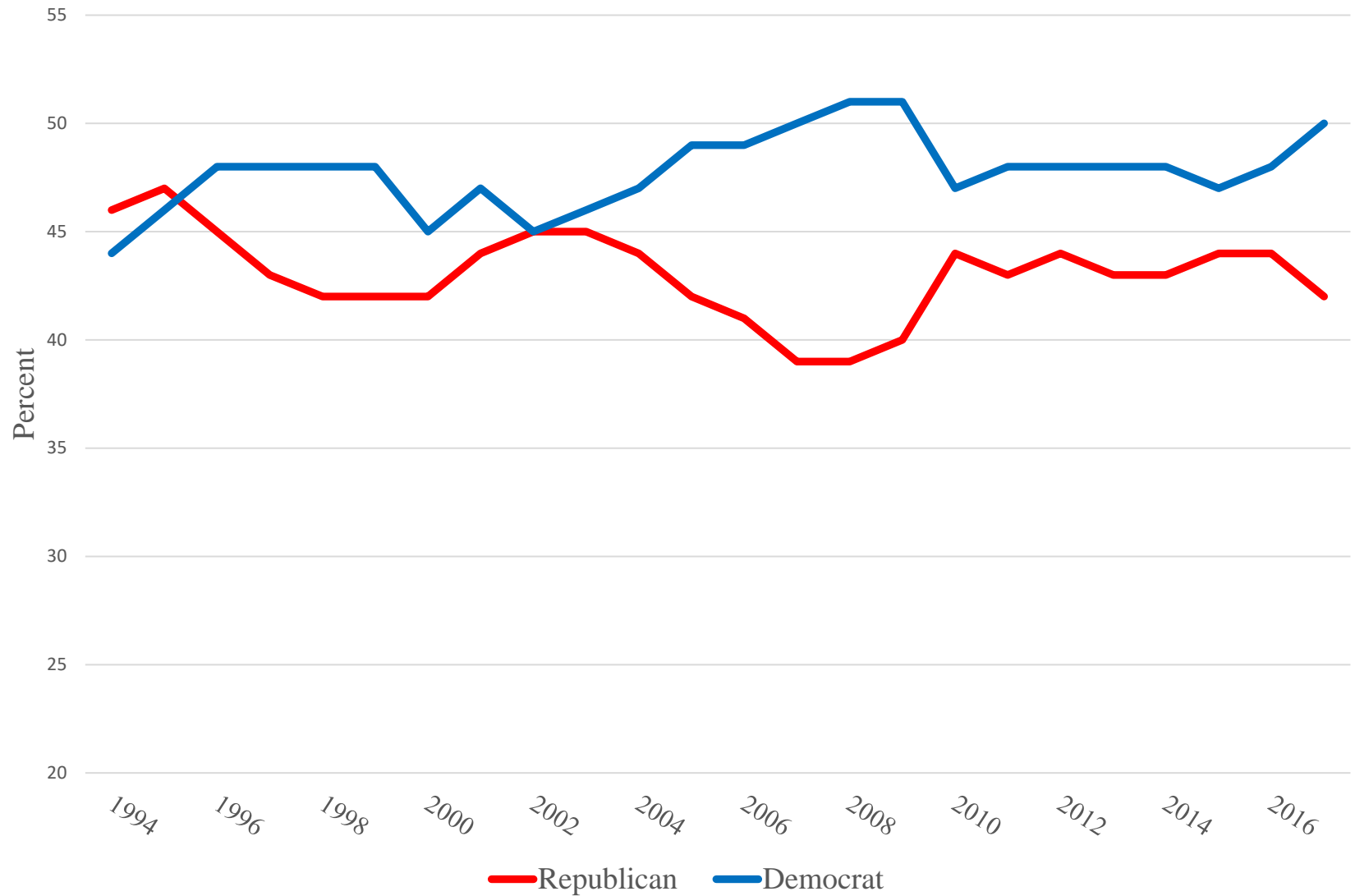
Source: Gallup



Source: Trump owns a shrinking Republican party. Brookings.

Elaine Kamarck, Alexander R. Podkul, and Nicholas W. Zeppos Thursday, June 14, 2018

Partisan Affiliation 1994-2017
(Pew data, registered voters only)

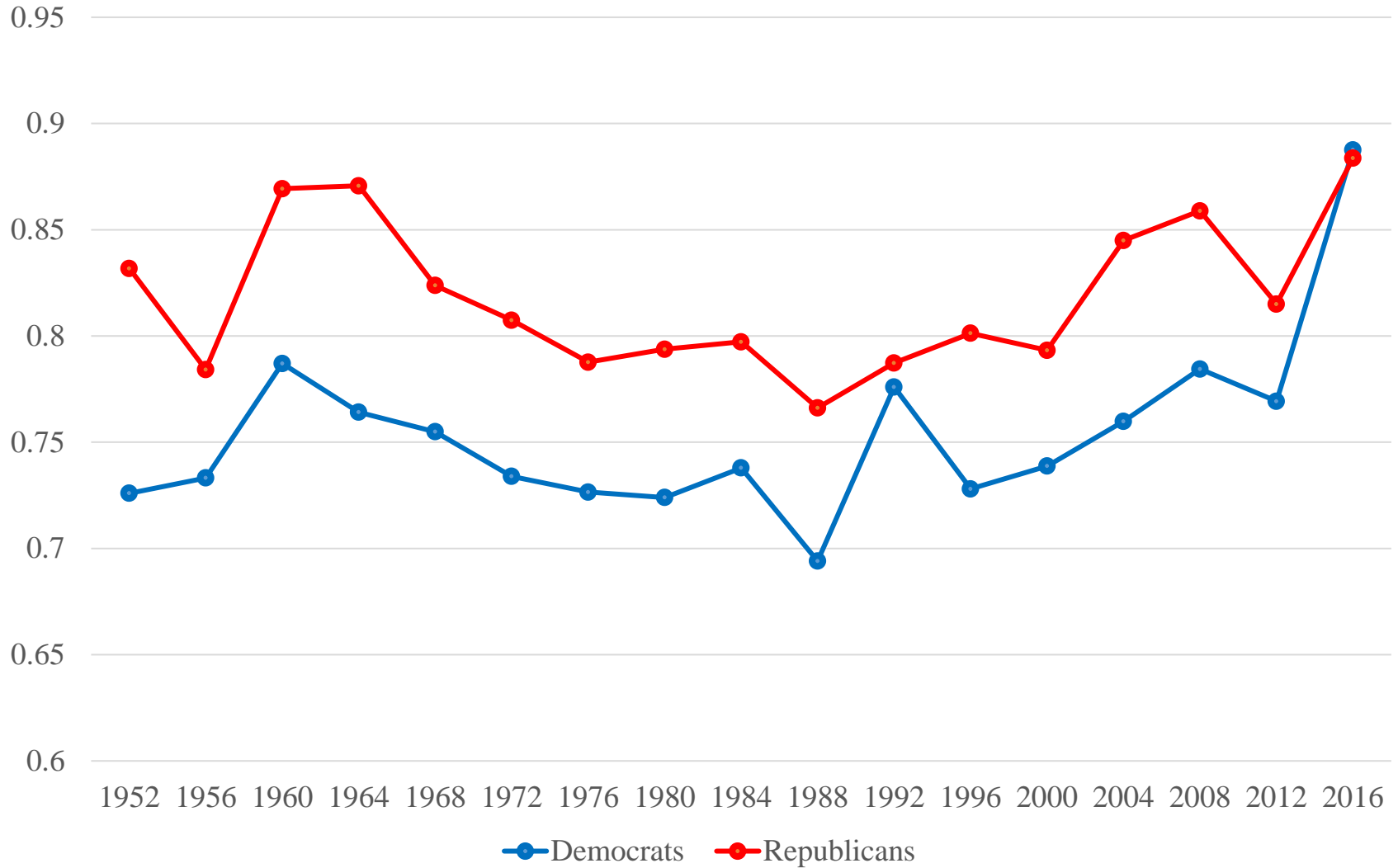


Share of voters backing their party nominees



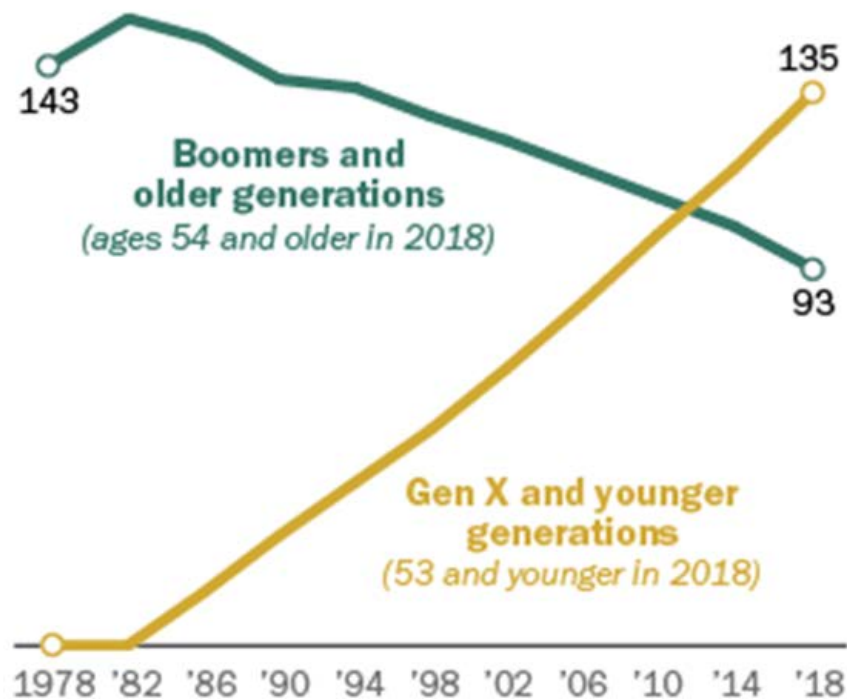
Self-Reported Voter Turnout among Democratic and Republican Identifiers

(Weighted ANES Data)



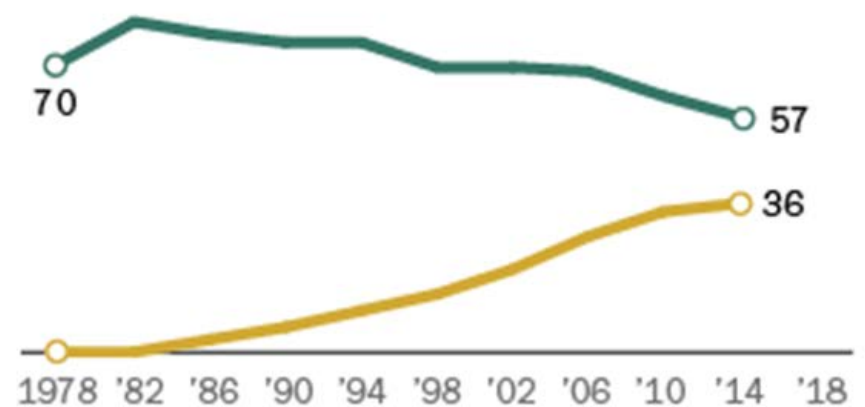
Gen Xers and younger generations are the clear majority of eligible voters ...

Eligible voters, in millions



... but cast 21 million fewer votes than older generations in 2014

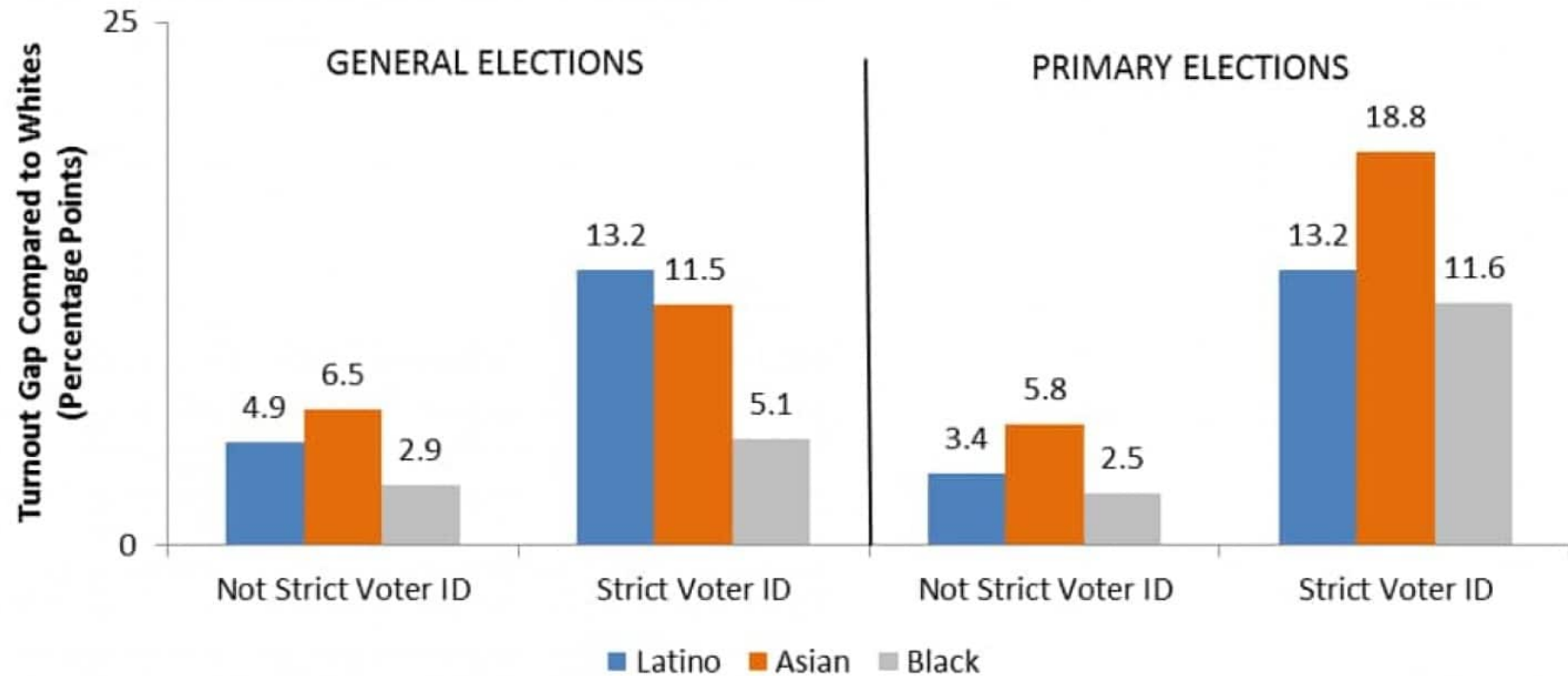
Reported votes cast in midterm elections, in millions



Note: Eligible voters are U.S. citizens ages 18 and older.
Source: Pew Research Center analysis of the 1978-2014 Current Population Survey November Supplement (IPUMS) and April 2018 Current Population Survey.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Racial Gaps in Turnout are Higher in Strict Voter ID States



Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes

Zoltan Hajnal, University of California, San Diego

Nazita Lajevardi, University of California, San Diego

Lindsay Nielson, Bucknell University

Journal of Politics January 2017

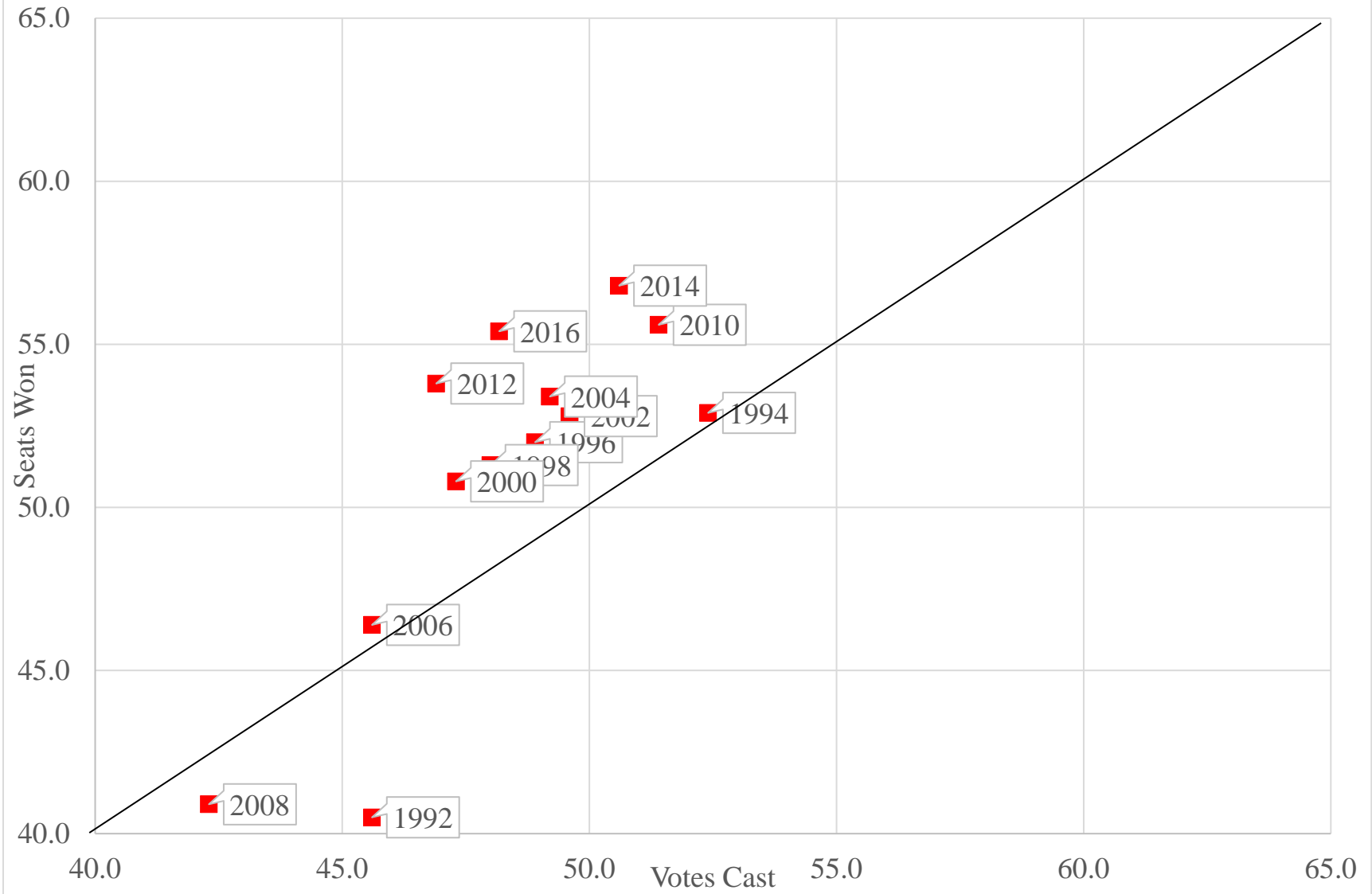
Graphic from WAPO news article: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/15/do-voter-identification-laws-suppress-minority-voting-yes-we-did-the-research/?utm_term=.aef1abc3fc5b

REPUBLICAN MIDTERM TURNOUT ADVANTAGE

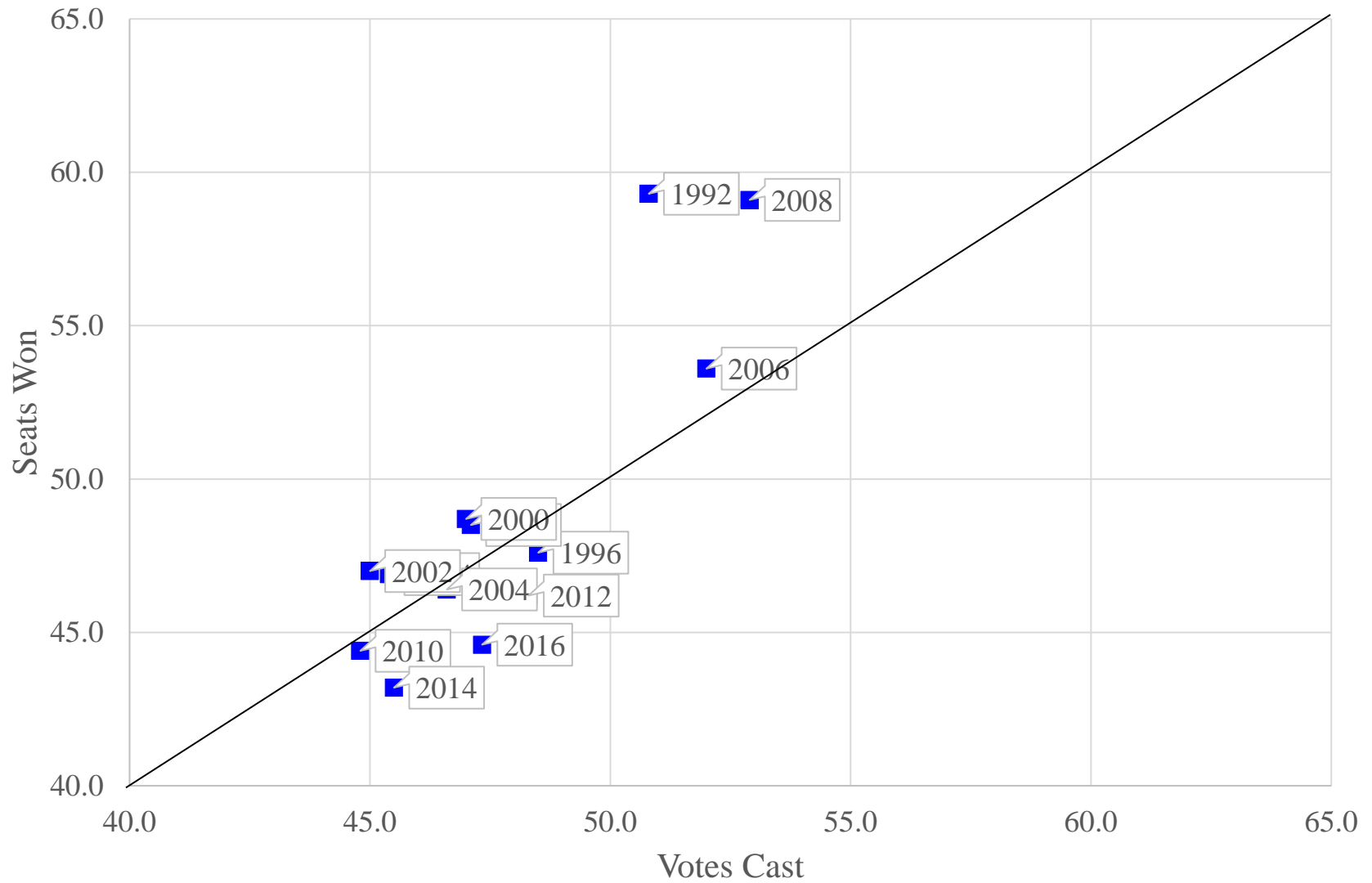
	UNDER A DEM. PRESIDENT	UNDER A GOP PRESIDENT
1978 (Carter)	+6	–
1982 (Reagan)	–	+1
1986 (Reagan)	–	None
1990 (H.W. Bush)	–	+3
1994 (Clinton)	+6	–
1998 (Clinton)	+3	–
2002 (W. Bush)	–	+2
2006 (W. Bush)	–	None
2010 (Obama)	+6	–
2014 (Obama)	+5	–
Average	+5	+1
Median	+6	+1

Turnout is self-reported for 1982, 1994, 1998 and 2002. Turnout is from verified voter files for all other years.

Votes Cast vs Seats Won U.S. House Republicans, 1992-2016

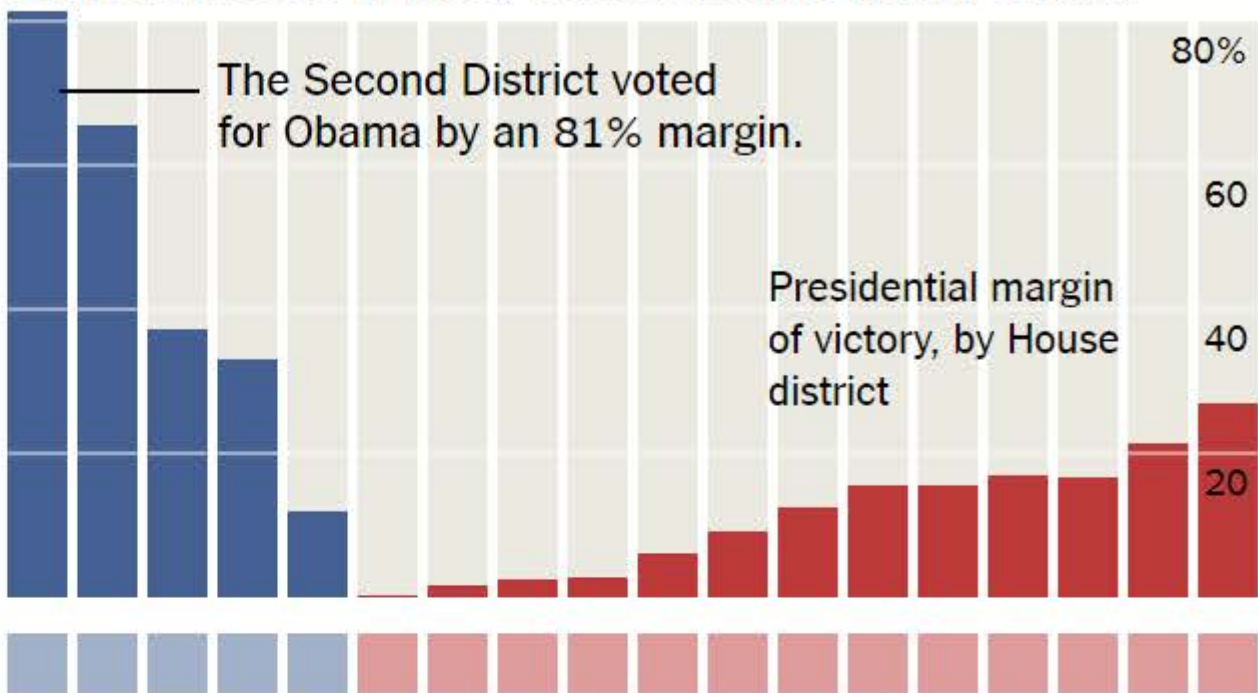


Votes Cast versus Seats Won U.S. House Democrats, 1992-2016



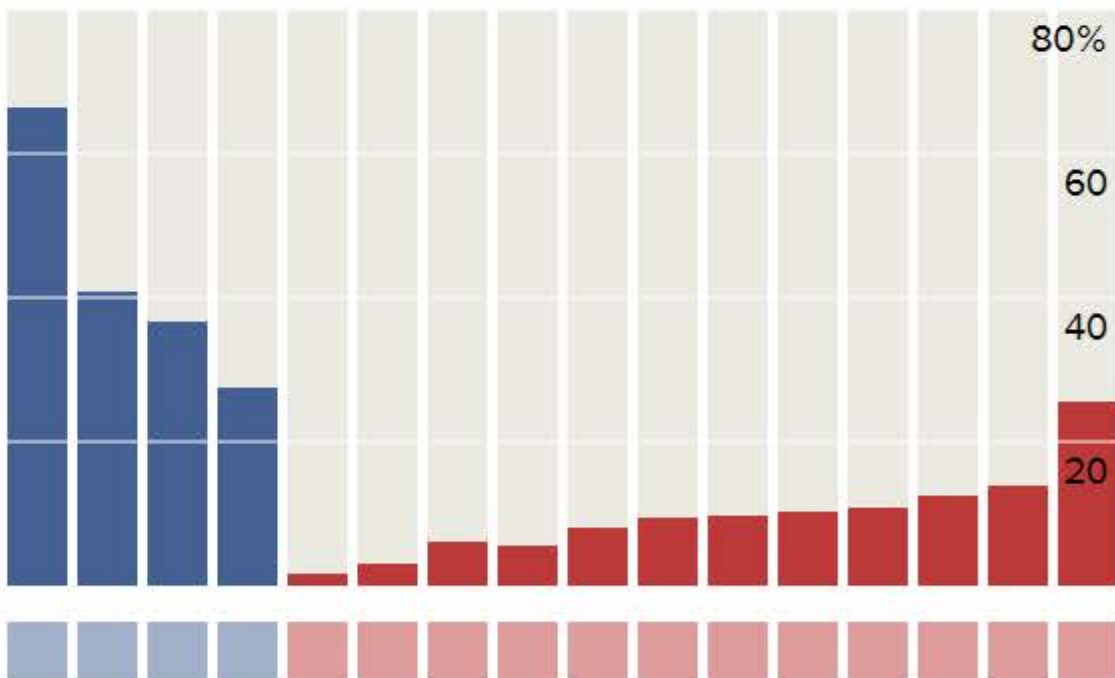
Pennsylvania vote, 2012

Democrats: 52% of votes, 28% of districts won by Obama



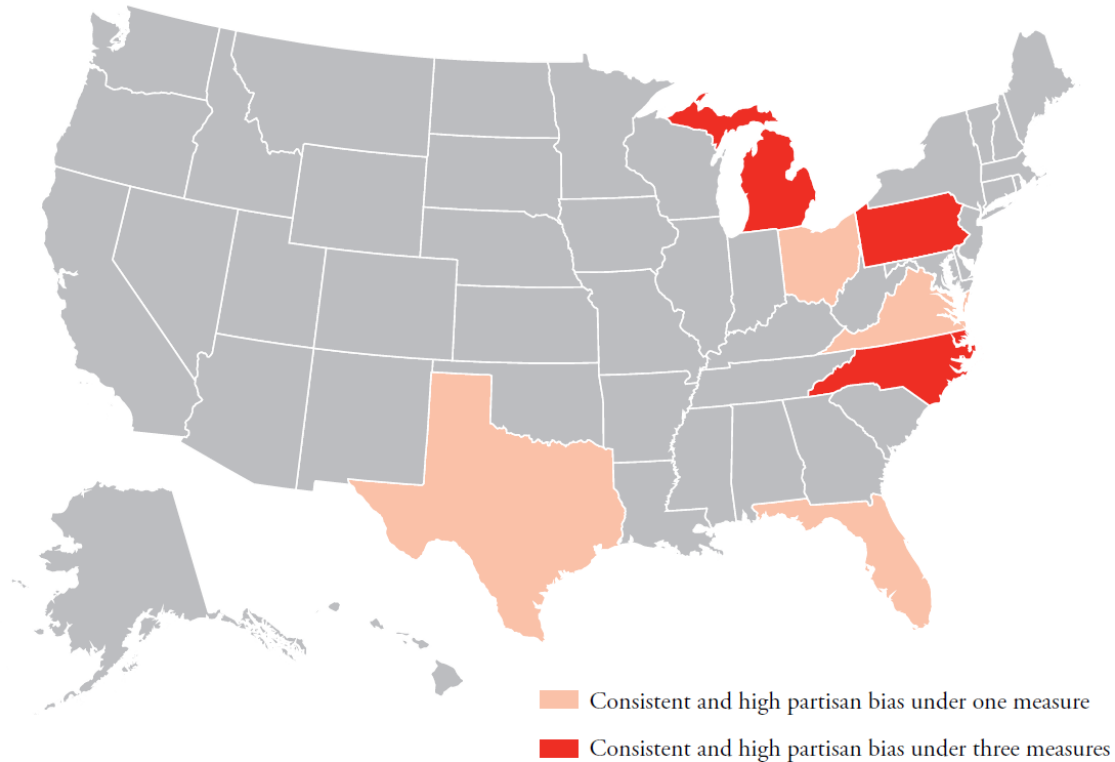
Ohio vote, 2012

Democrats: 51% of votes, 25% of districts



Source: The Upshot: Why Democrats Can't Win the House

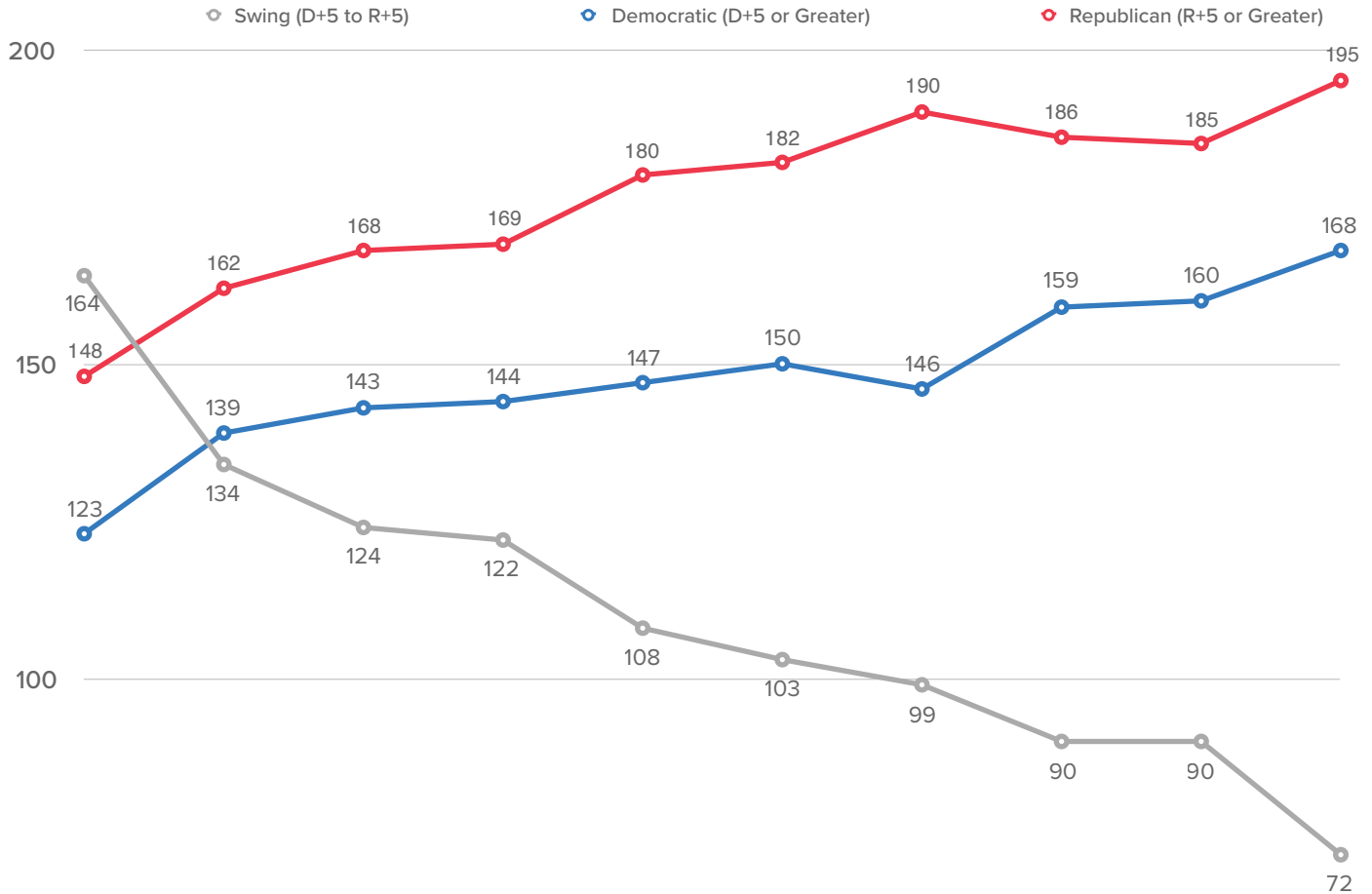
States with Consistent and High Partisan Bias in Current Congressional Maps













From 2017 Brennan Center for Justice report, “Extreme Maps,” by Laura Royden and Michael Li.

“This decade’s congressional maps are consistently biased in favor of Republicans. In the 26 states that account for 85 percent of congressional districts, Republicans derive a net benefit of at least 16-17 congressional seats in the current Congress from partisan bias. This advantage represents a significant portion of the 24 seats Democrats would need to pick up to regain control of the U.S. House of Representatives in 2018 Just seven states account for almost all of the bias.”

The Incredible Shrinking Swing Seat, 1997 - 2017

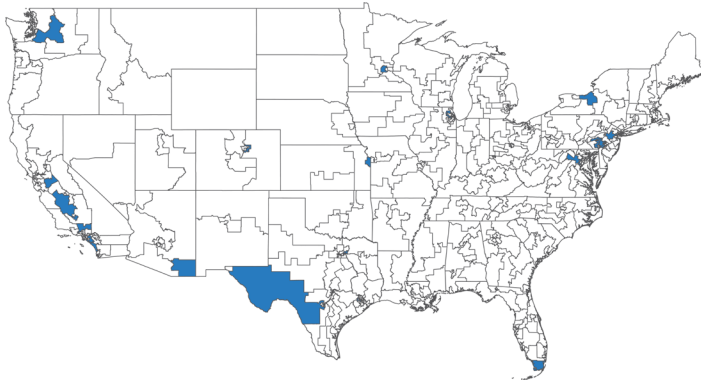


 1997 After 1996 Election	 2001 After 2000 Election	 2002 After 2001 Redistricting	 2004 After TX Redistricting	 2005 After 2004 Election	 2009 After 2008 Election	 2012 After 2011 Redistricting	 2013 After 2012 Election	 2016 After FL/NC/VA Redistricting	 2017 After 2016 Election
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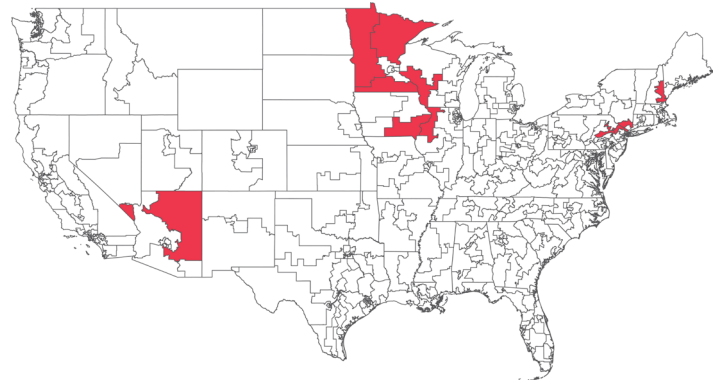
The House has become well-sorted out: only 35 of 435 districts “crossed over” to vote for presidential and House candidates of opposite parties, down from 108 in 1996. Today, there are 23 Republicans sitting in districts Clinton carried, and 12 Democrats sitting in districts Trump carried. However, this is slightly higher than the record low of 26 “crossover districts” following the 2012 election.

Source: <https://www.cookpolitical.com/introducing-2017-cook-political-report-partisan-voter-index>

23 Clinton Republicans

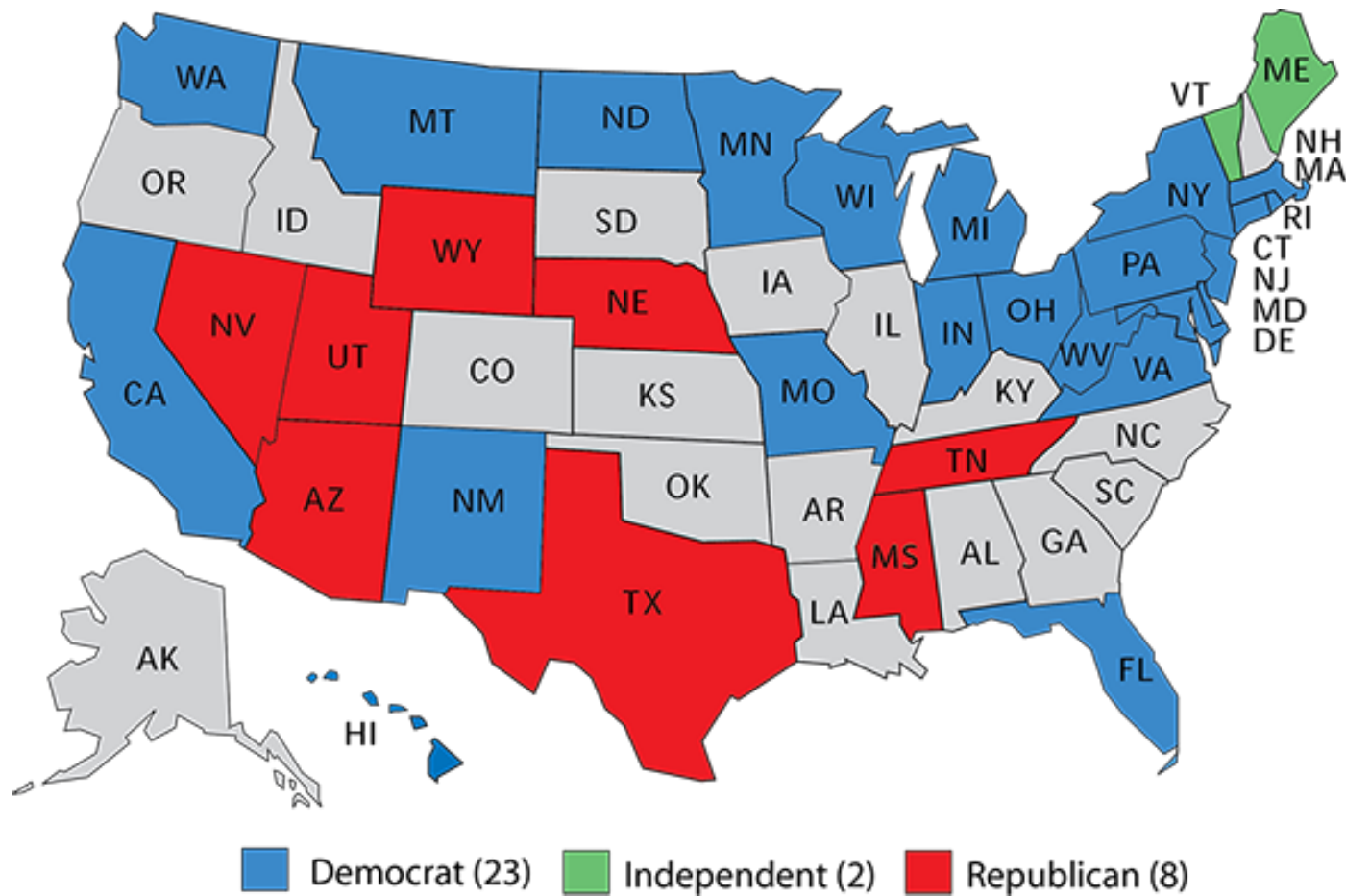


12 Trump Democrats



D+10 or Greater	D+5.0 to D+9.9	D+2.0 to D+4.9	D+1.9 to R+1.9	R+2.0 to R+4.9	R+5.0 to R+9.9	R+10.0 or Greater
Democrat-Held Seats						
118	47	11	13	3	1	1
Republican-Held Seats						
0	3	2	18	25	61	132
Total						
118	50	13	31	28	62	133
168		72			195	

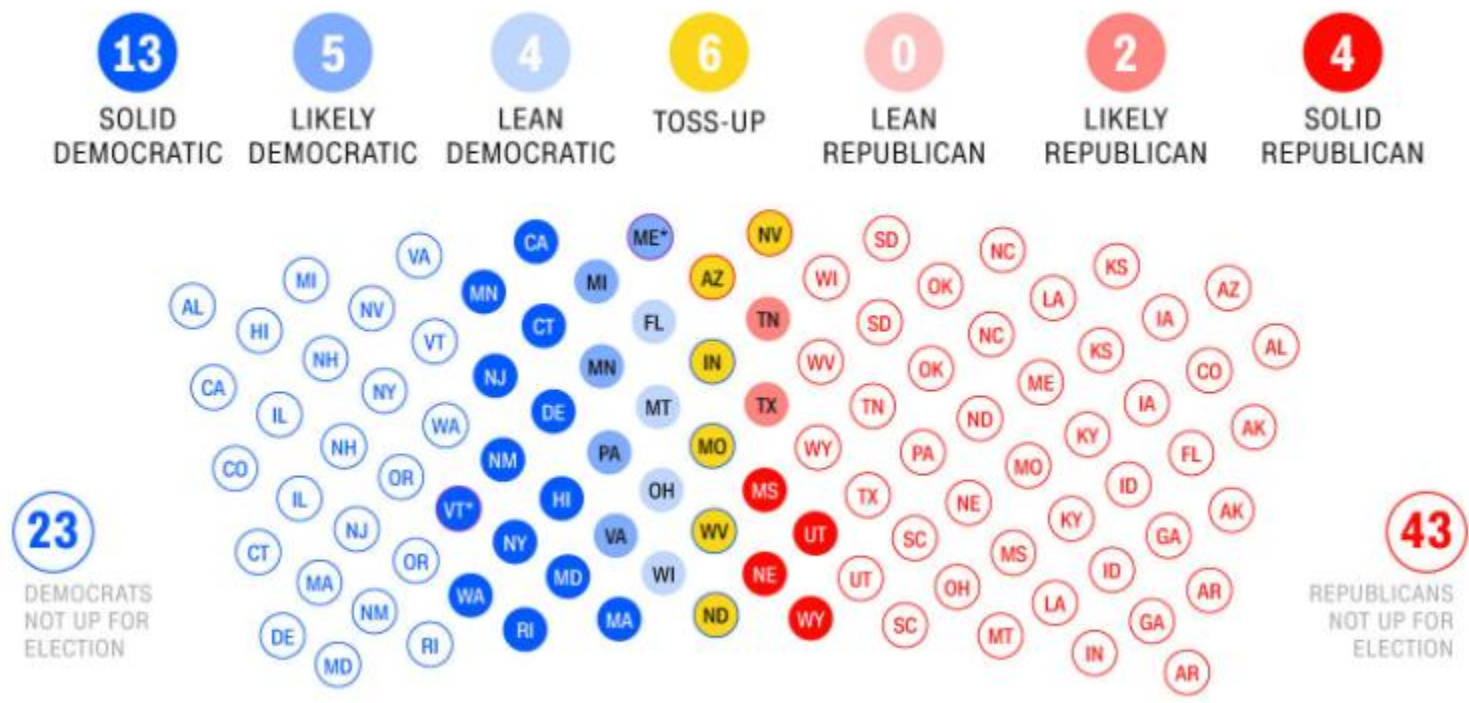
From Cook Political Report. Partisanship in the district based on Cook PVI, which looks at voting in last two presidential elections.



Map 1: Current party control of Senate Class I, up for election in 2018

Source: <http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/the-republican-senate-edge/> 10/17

Note: Senate Democrats are defending 10 seats in states Trump won in the presidential race, while Senate Republicans are defending only one seat in a Clinton-won state, held by Sen. Dean Heller (R-NV).



LAST UPDATED: FEBRUARY 16, 2018 | CNN POLITICS

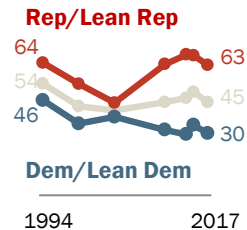
Source: CNN Key Races: Democrats Tough Senate Map

Growing Differences between Democrats and Republicans

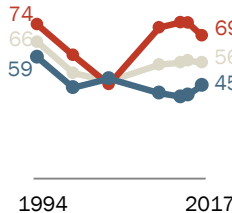
Growing gaps between Republicans and Democrats across domains

% who say ...

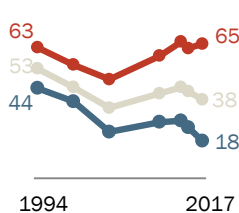
Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good



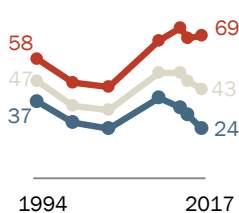
Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient



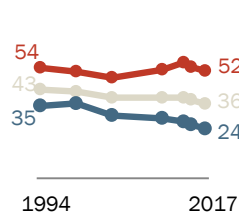
Poor people have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return



The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy



Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit



Dem/Lean Dem

1994

2017

1994

2017

1994

2017

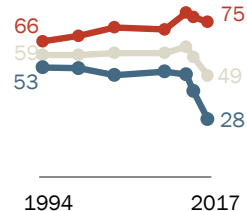
1994

2017

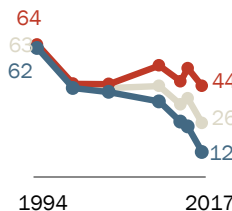
1994

2017

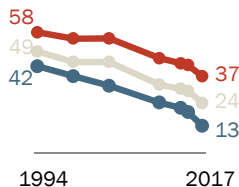
Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition



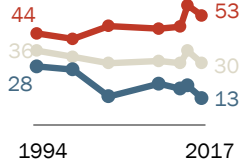
Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care



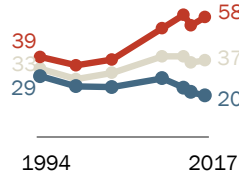
Homosexuality should be discouraged by society



The best way to ensure peace is through military strength



Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy



1994

2017

1994

2017

1994

2017

1994

2017

1994

2017

Source: Survey conducted June 8-18 and June 27-July 9, 2017.

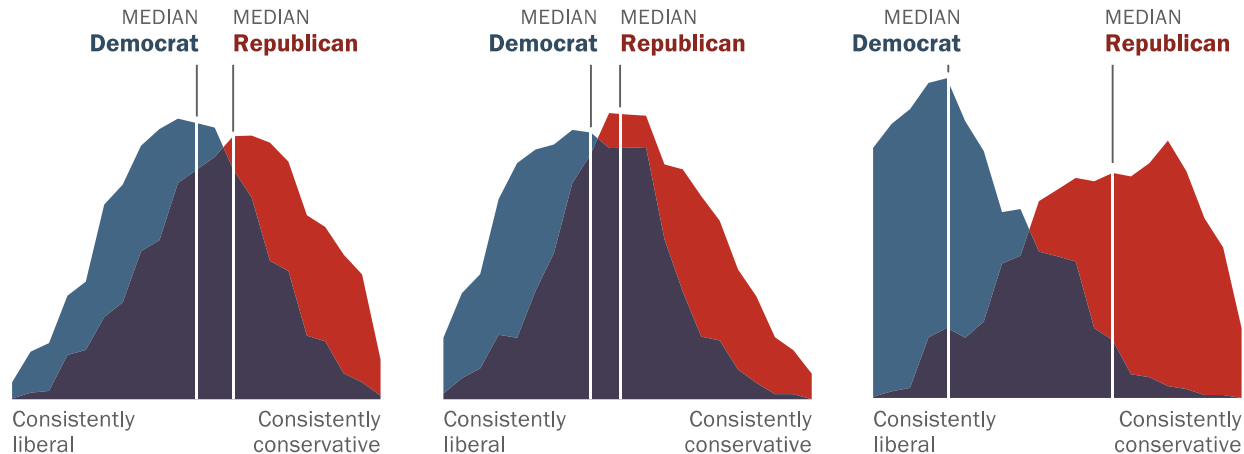
Democrats and Republicans more ideologically divided than in the past

Distribution of Democrats and Republicans on a 10-item scale of political values

1994

2004

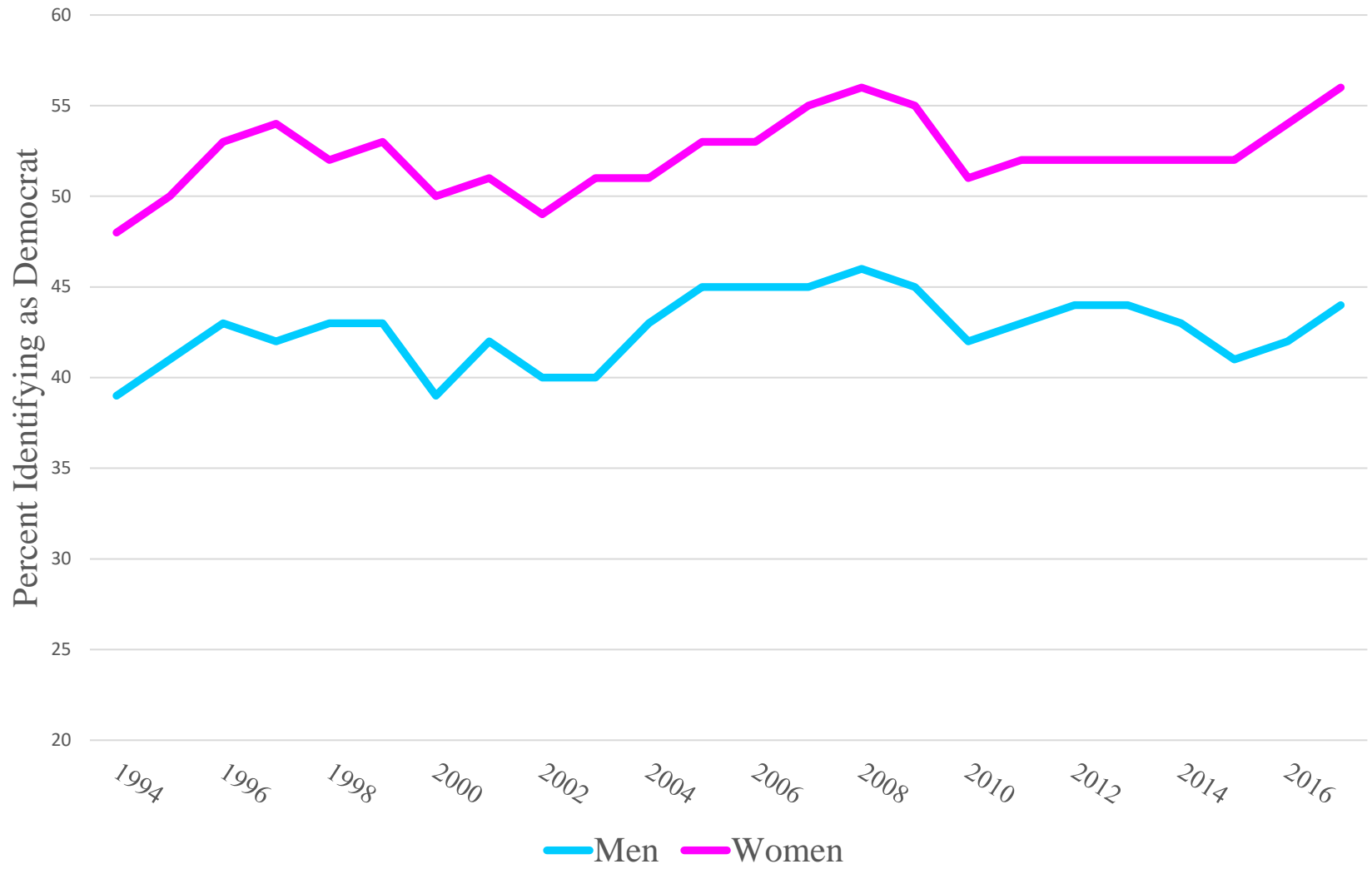
2017



Notes: Ideological consistency based on a scale of 10 political values questions (see methodology). The blue area in this chart represents the ideological distribution of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents; the red area of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents. The overlap of these two distributions is shaded purple.

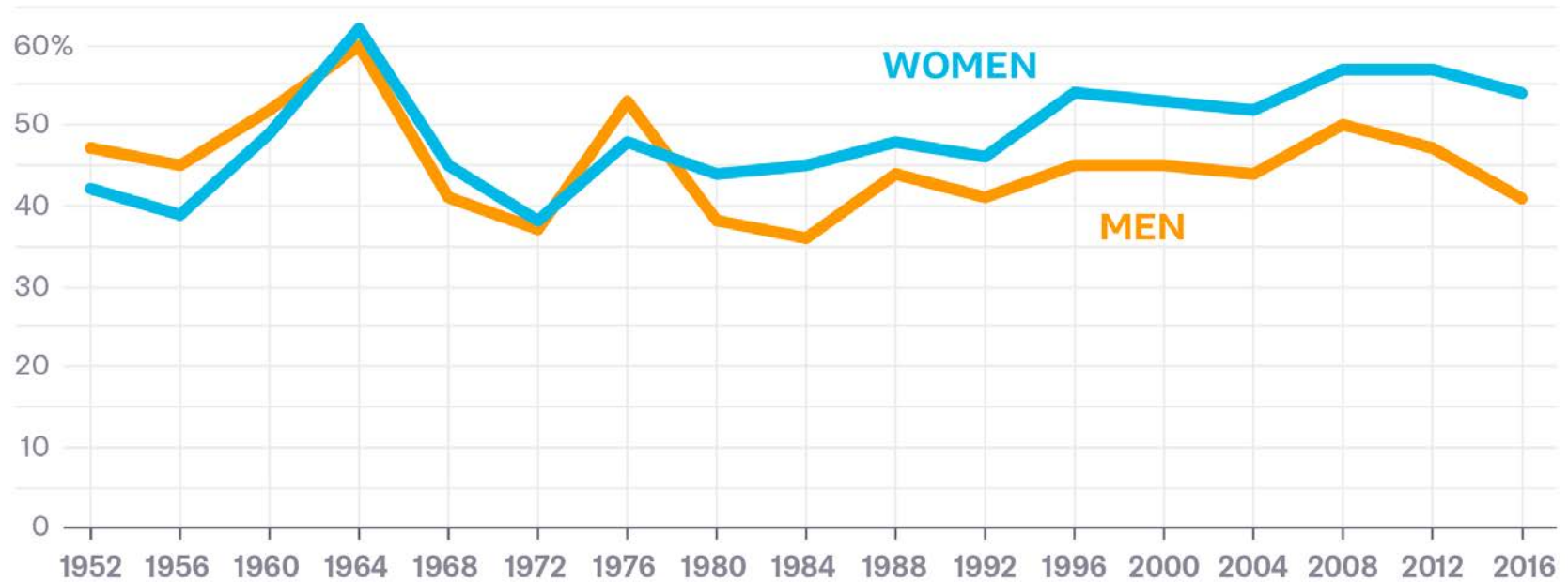
Source: Survey conducted June 8-18, 2017.

Gender Gap in Party Identification--% Democrat
(Pew data)



Gender Gap in U.S. Presidential Elections

Percentage voting for the Democratic presidential candidate in each election

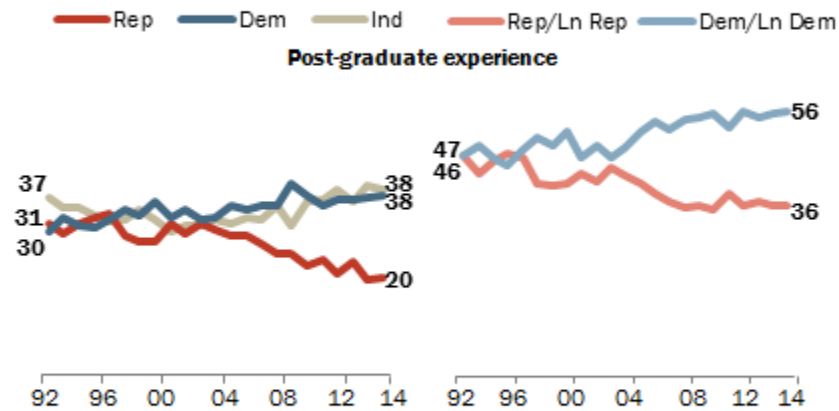


Sources: Gallup Polls (1952-2012);
Edison Research for the National Election Pool (preliminary 2016)

BloombergQuickTake

Democrats' Growing Advantage in Party Identification Among Post-Grads

% who identify as/lean toward...



Data points represent annual totals based on monthly political surveys conducted by Pew Research in each calendar year. Post-graduates include those with any post-graduate experience.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Table 1. Non-White Percentage of Voters in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1976–2012

Year	All Voters	Democratic Voters	Republican Voters
1976	11	15	4
1980	12	23	3
1984	14	29	4
1988	15	26	4
1992	13	21	4
1996	17	25	7
2000	19	29	7
2004	23	34	12
2008	26	40	10
2012	28	45	10

Source: National Exit Polls.

Source: Abramowitz and Webster 2018.
Negative Partisanship: Why Americans
Dislike Parties but Act like Rabid Partisans

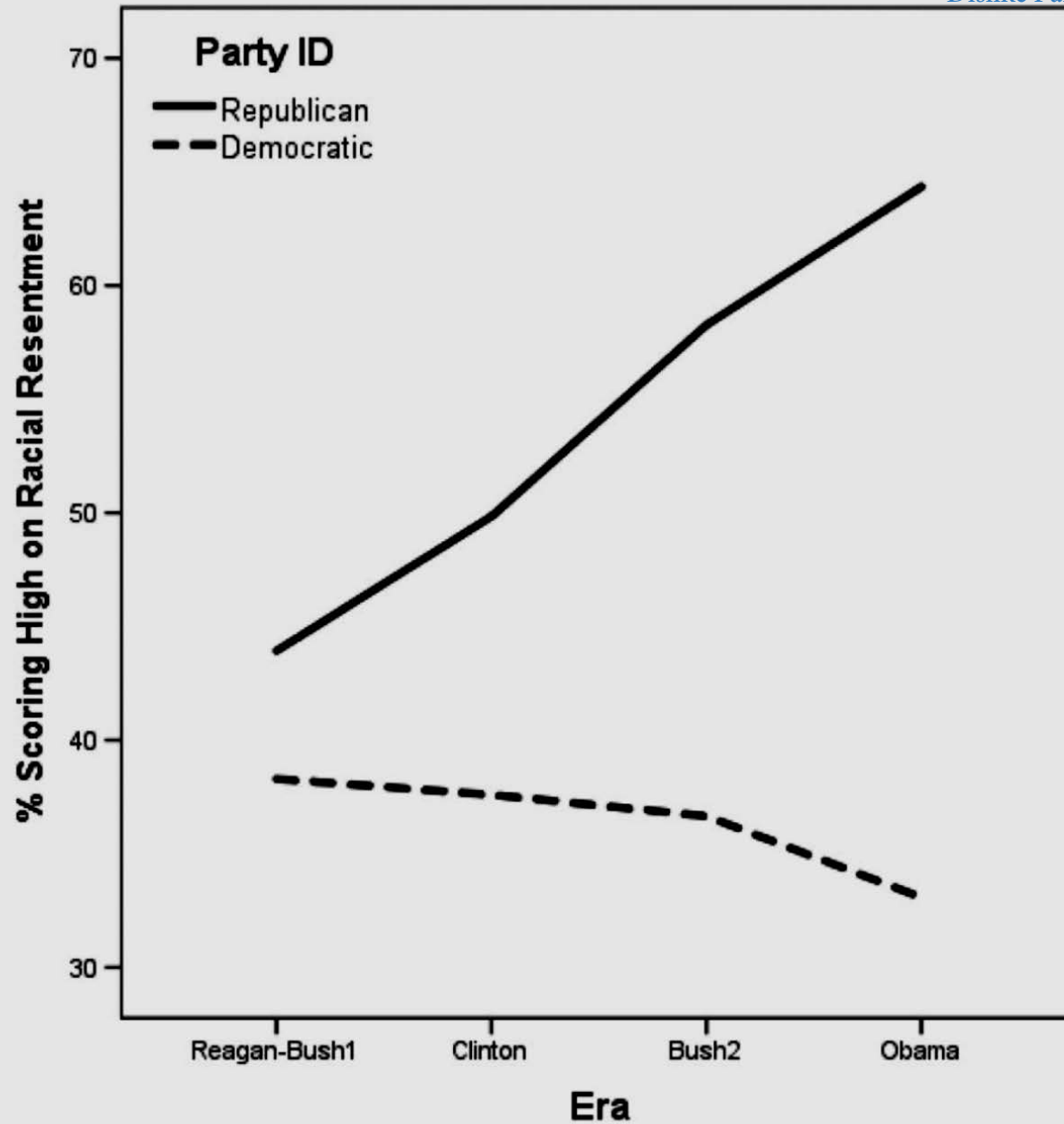


Figure 3. Trends in racial resentment among White Democrats and Republicans from Reagan to Obama. Leaning independents included with party identifiers.

Source: American National Election Studies Cumulative File.

Generations defined

Post-Millennial generation

Born: 1997 and later

Age of adults in 2018: 18 to 21

Share of adult population: 5%

Share non-Hispanic white: 53%^

Millennial generation

Born: 1981 to 1996

Age in 2018: 22 to 37

Share of adult population: 28%

Share non-Hispanic white: 56%

Generation X

Born: 1965 to 1980

Age in 2018: 38 to 53

Share of adult population: 26%

Share non-Hispanic white: 61%

Baby Boom generation

Born: 1946 to 1964

Age in 2018: 54 to 72

Share of adult population: 29%

Share non-Hispanic white: 72%

Silent Generation

Born: 1928 to 1945

Age in 2018: 73 to 90

Share of adult population: 11%*

Share non-Hispanic white: 79%*

Greatest Generation

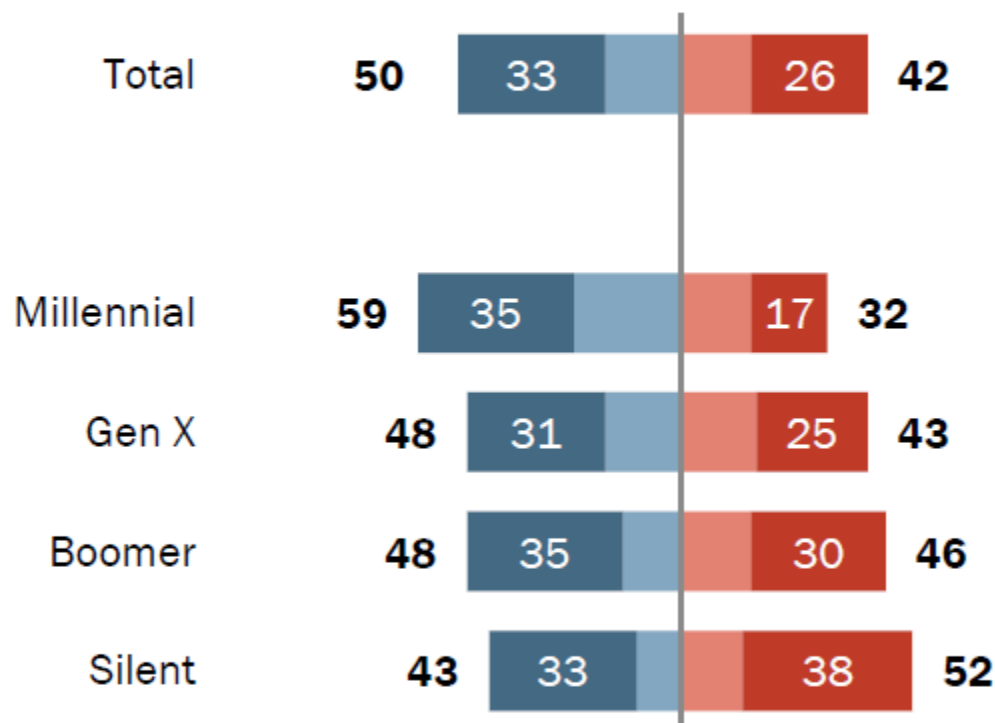
Born: 1901 to 1927

Age in 2018: 91 and older

Millennials are the most Democratic generation, Silents the most Republican

% of registered voters who identify as or lean toward ...

■ Democrat ■ Lean Democratic ■ Lean Republican ■ Republican



Notes: Based on registered voters.

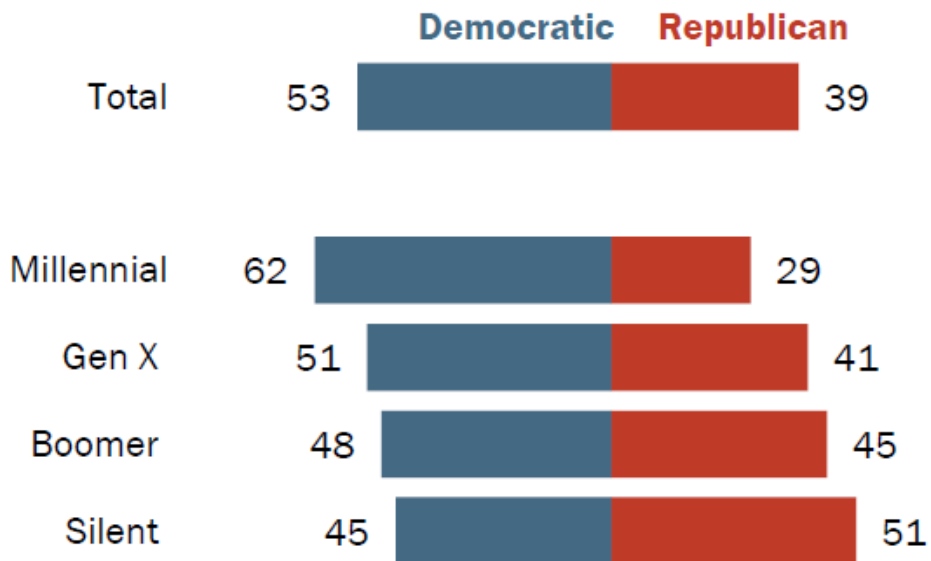
Those who do not lean toward a party not shown.

Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted in 2017.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Most Millennials favor the Democrat for Congress; older cohorts more divided

% of registered voters who say they support or lean toward the ____ candidate for Congress in their district



Note: Based on registered voters.

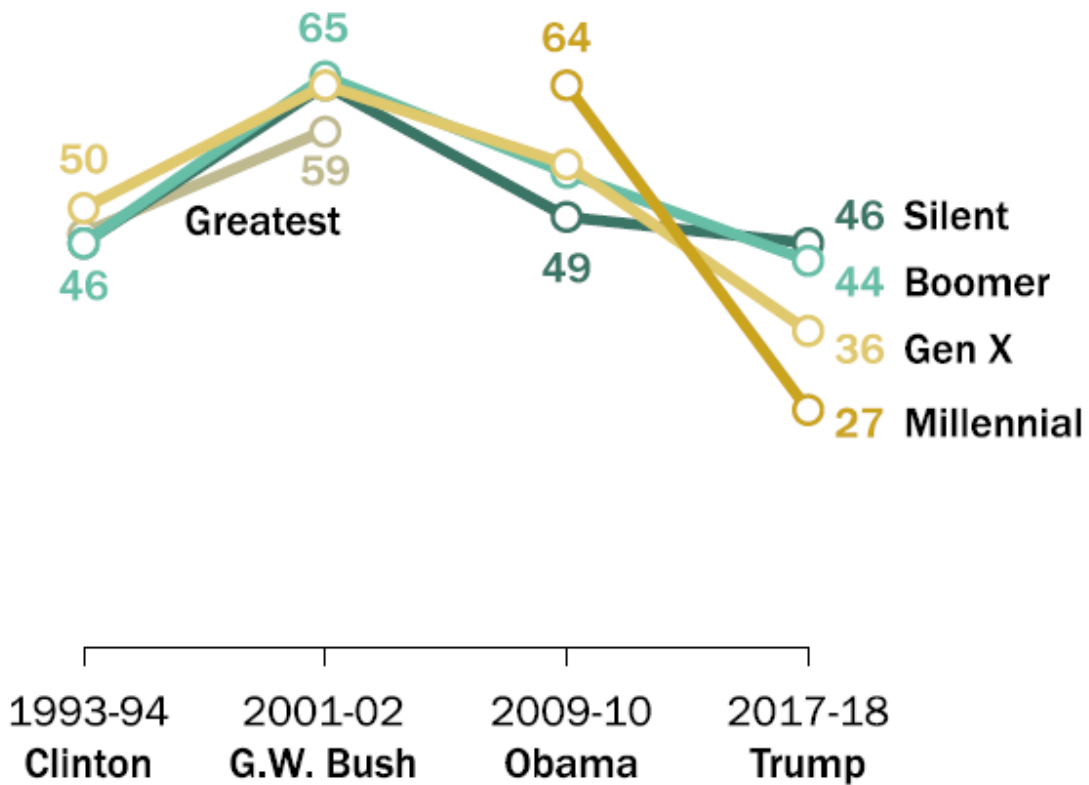
Other/Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults Jan. 10-15, 2018.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Generational differences in job approval much wider for both Obama and Trump

% approving of president's job during first year in office



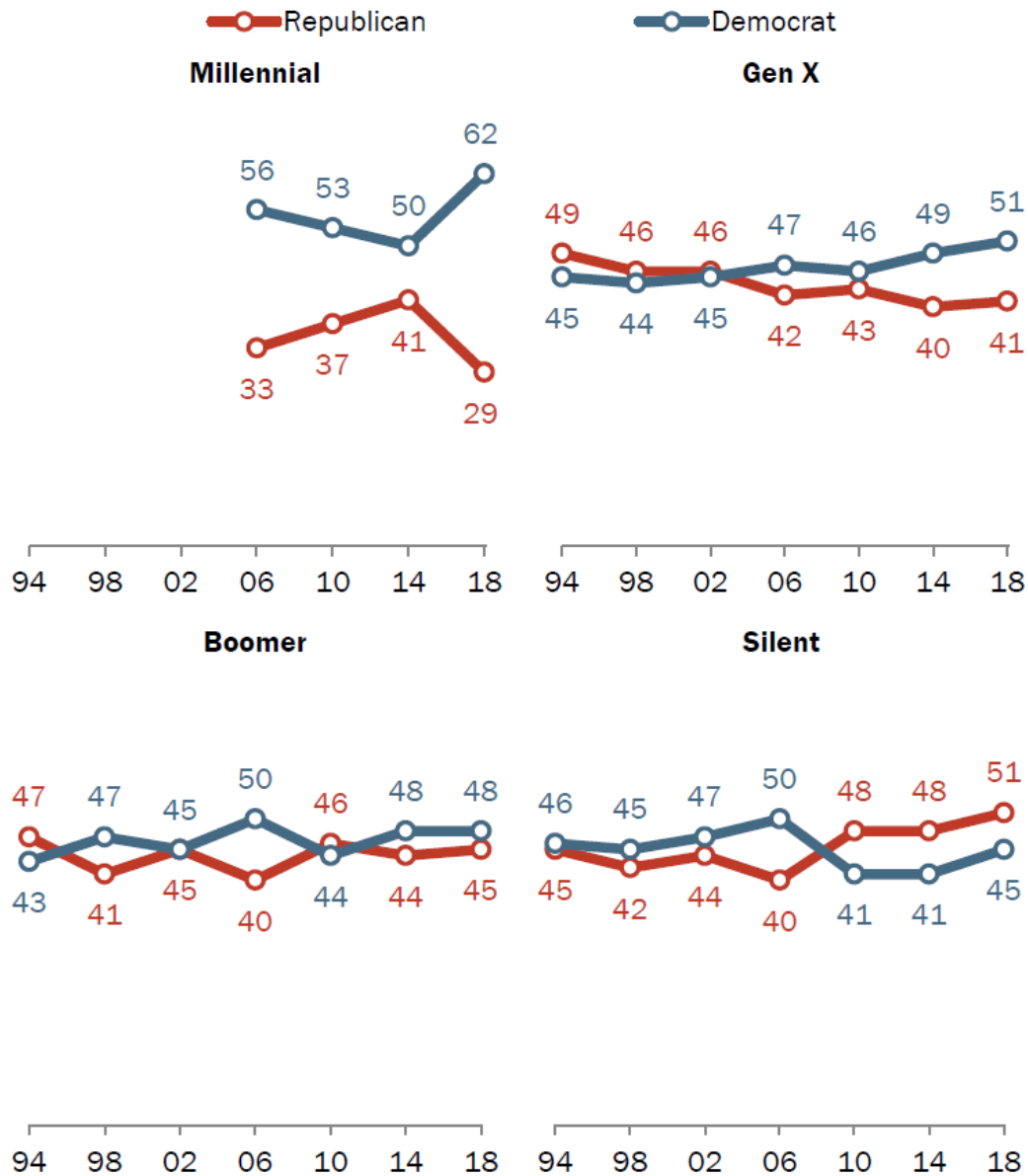
Note: Data include all surveys asking job approval in first year of first term.

Source: Surveys of U.S. adults.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Generational differences in midterm preferences wider in early 2018 than in recent midterm years

Congressional vote preference, by generation, based on registered voters ...



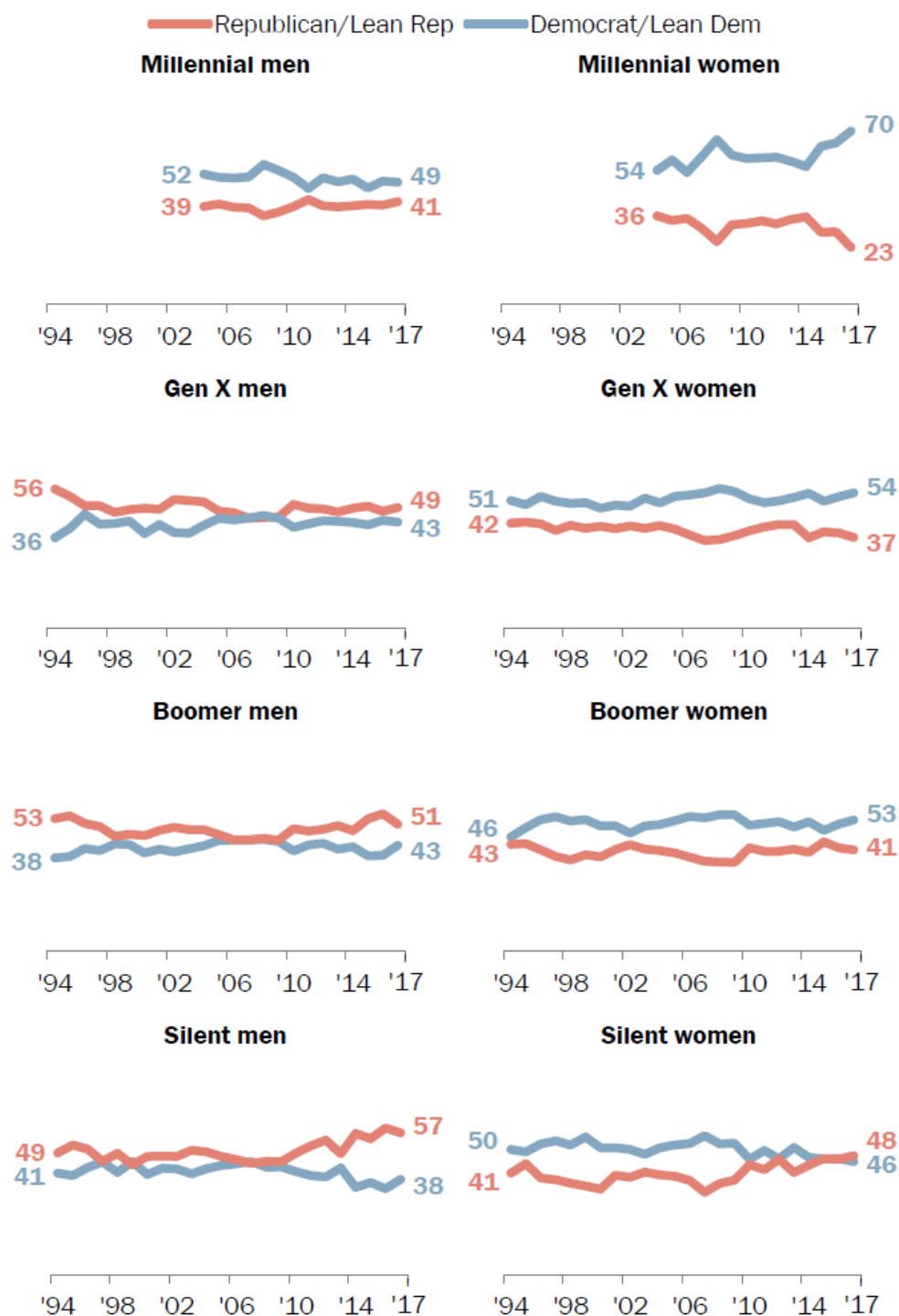
Note: Based on registered voters. Other/Don't know responses not shown. Previous years include all pre-election Pew Research Center surveys conducted in the calendar year of the election. 2018 data from January survey.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 10-15, 2018.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

In recent years, a sharp shift in leaned partisanship among Millennial women

% of registered voters who identify as ...

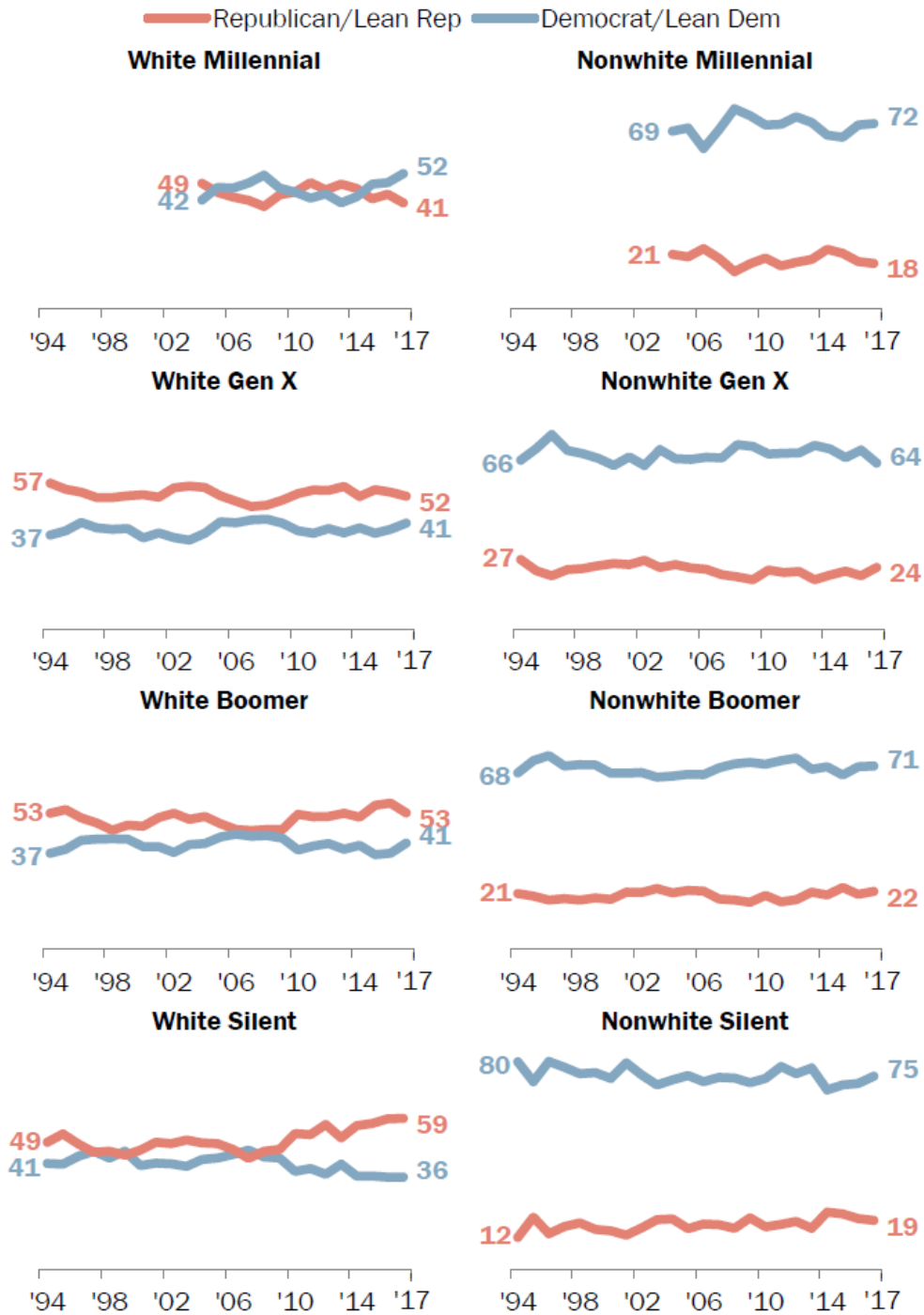


Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Annual totals of Pew Research Center survey data (U.S. adults).

White Millennial voters are more Democratic than white voters in older generations

% of registered voters who identify as ...



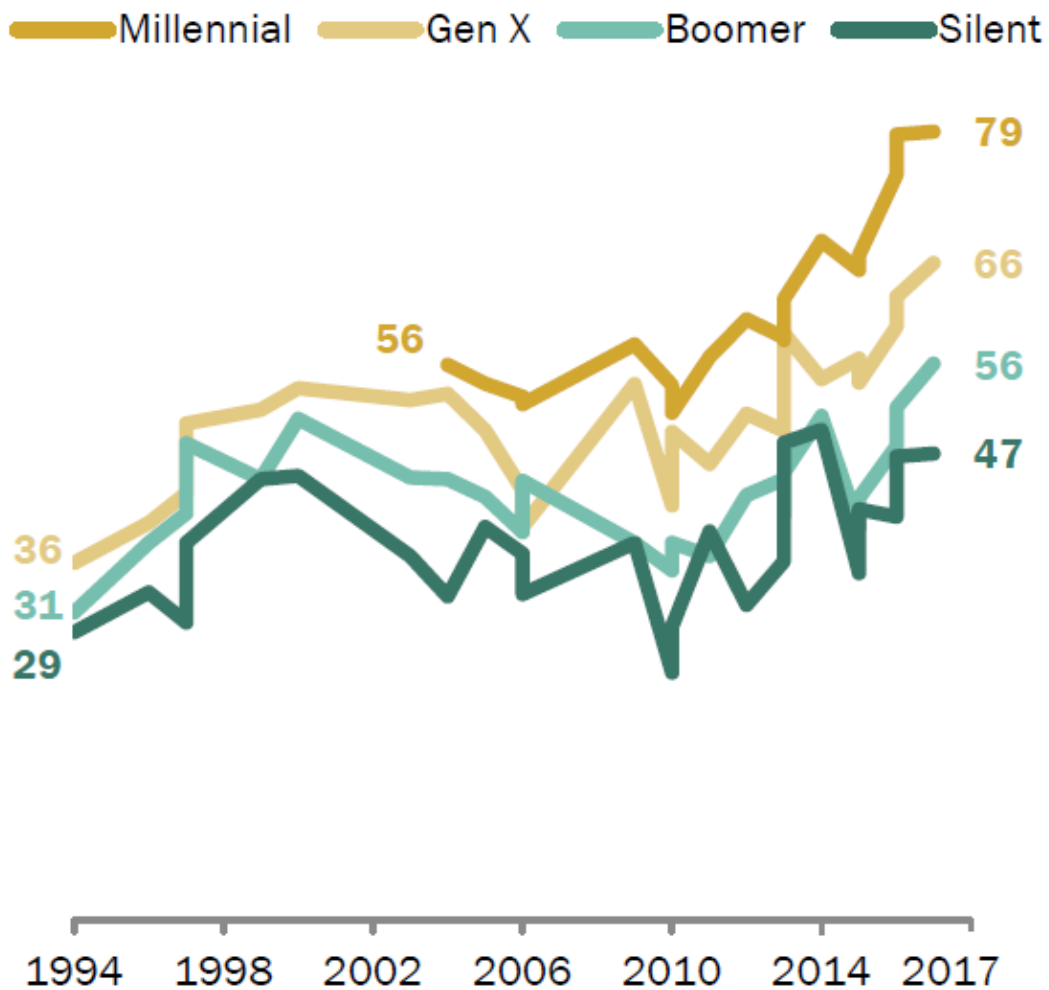
Notes: Based on registered voters.

Whites include only those who are not Hispanic; nonwhites include Hispanics.

Sources: Annual totals of Pew Research Center survey data (U.S. adults).

Across generations, increasing shares say immigrants strengthen the country

% who say immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents

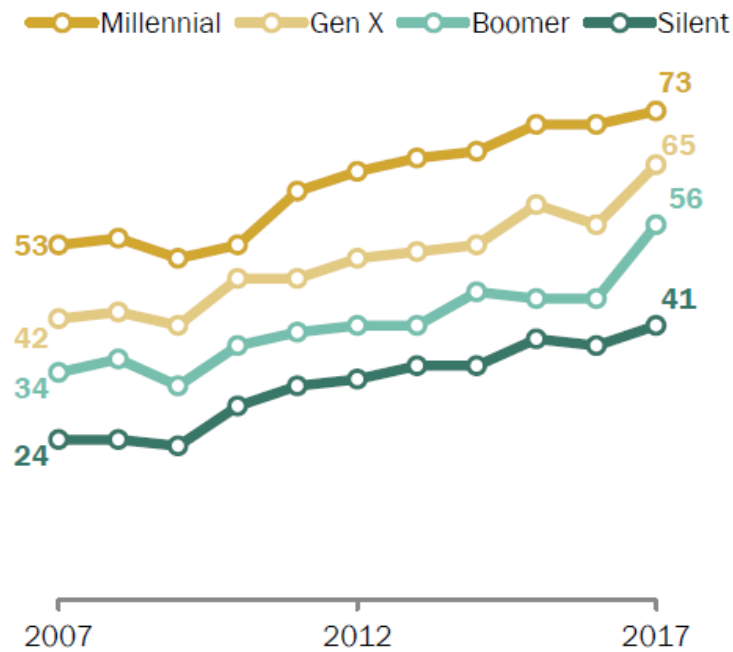


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 8-18 and June 27-July 9, 2017.

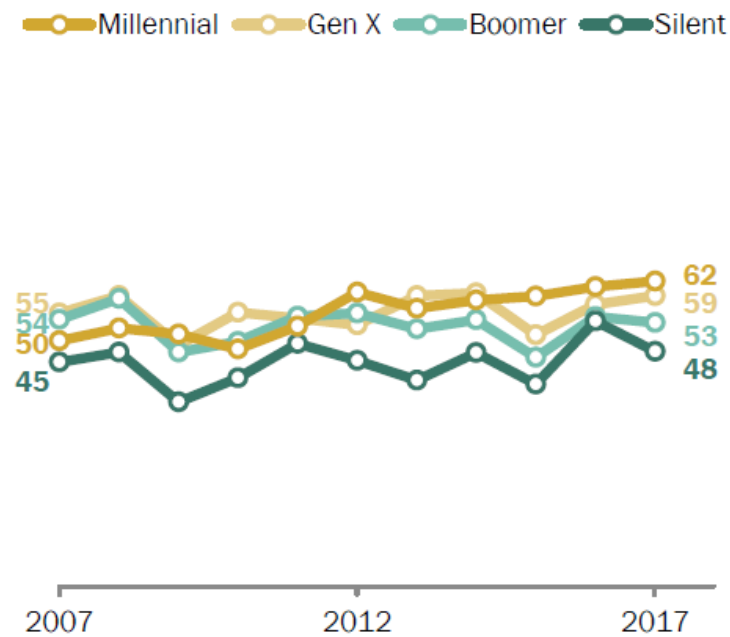
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Continued generational differences on gay marriage; modest gaps on abortion

% who favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally



% who say abortion should be legal in all/most cases

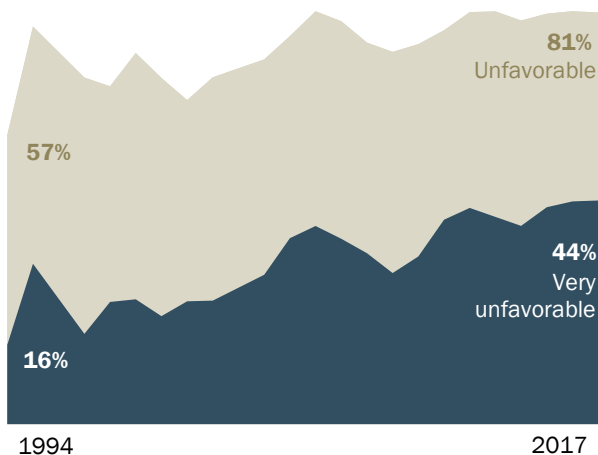


Note: Data based on yearly averages.
Source: Survey conducted June 8-18, 2017.

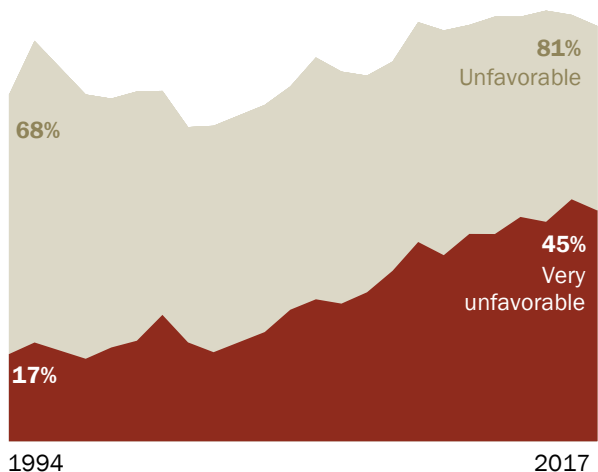
Growing Partisan Antipathy

Rising tide of partisan antipathy

% of Democrats and Democratic leaners who have a _____ opinion of the Republican Party



% of Republicans and Republican leaners who have a _____ opinion of the Democratic Party



Note: Data shown are yearly averages. QA15.
Source: Survey conducted June 8-18, 2017.

Source: Abramowitz and Webster 2018.
Negative Partisanship: Why Americans
Dislike Parties but Act like Rabid Partisans.

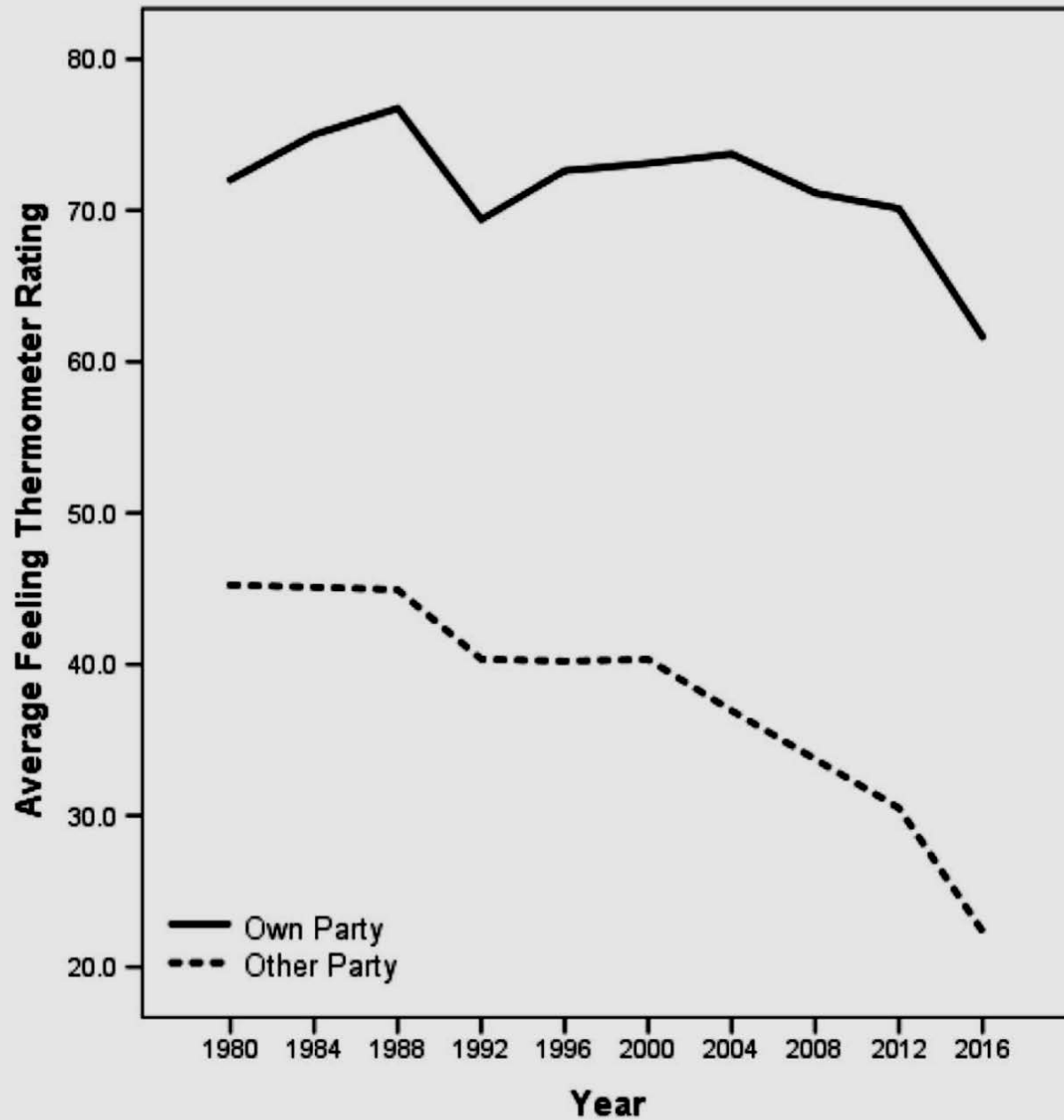


Figure 1. Average feeling-thermometer ratings of own party and opposing party, 1980–2016.
Source: American National Election Studies.

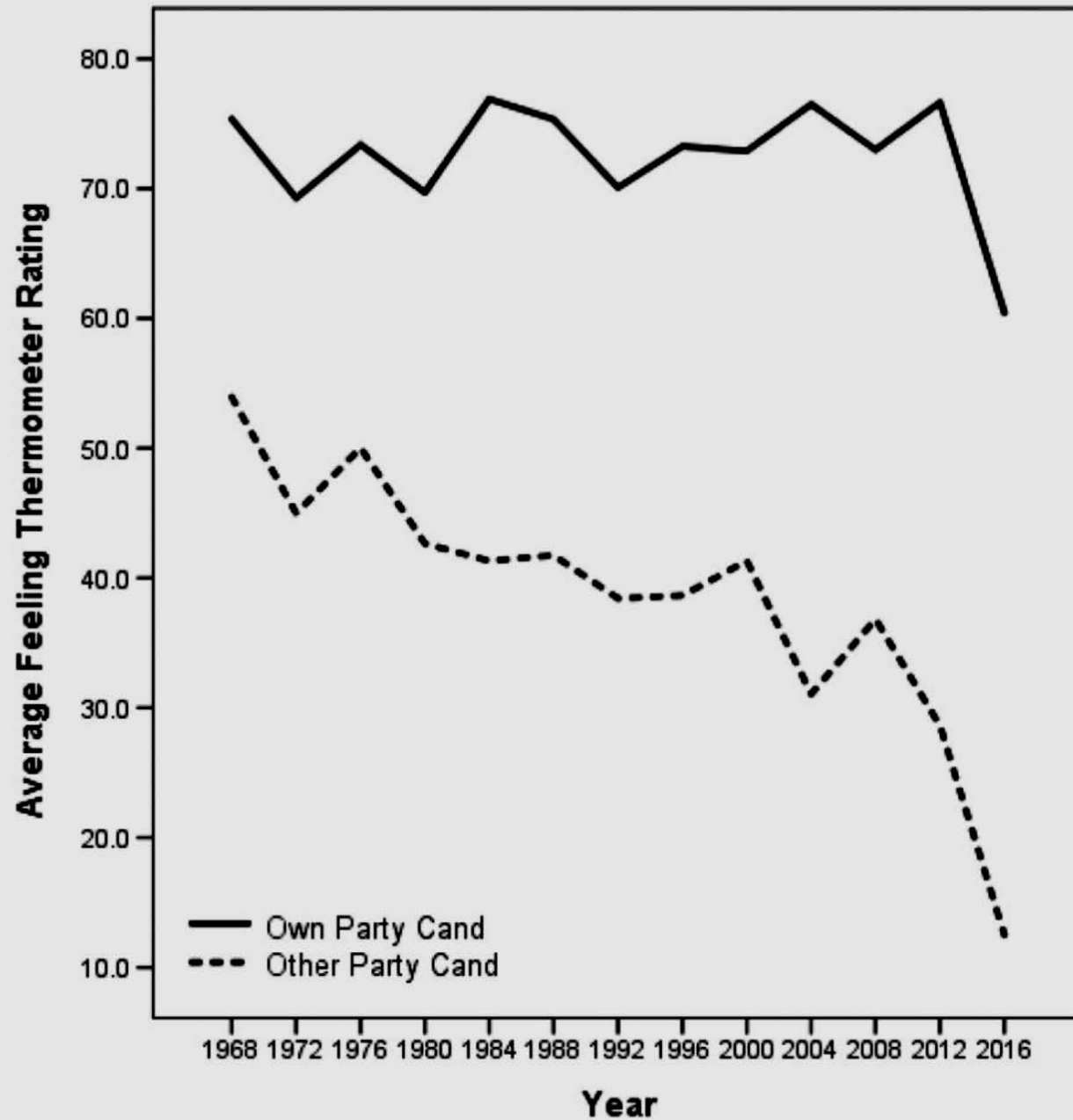
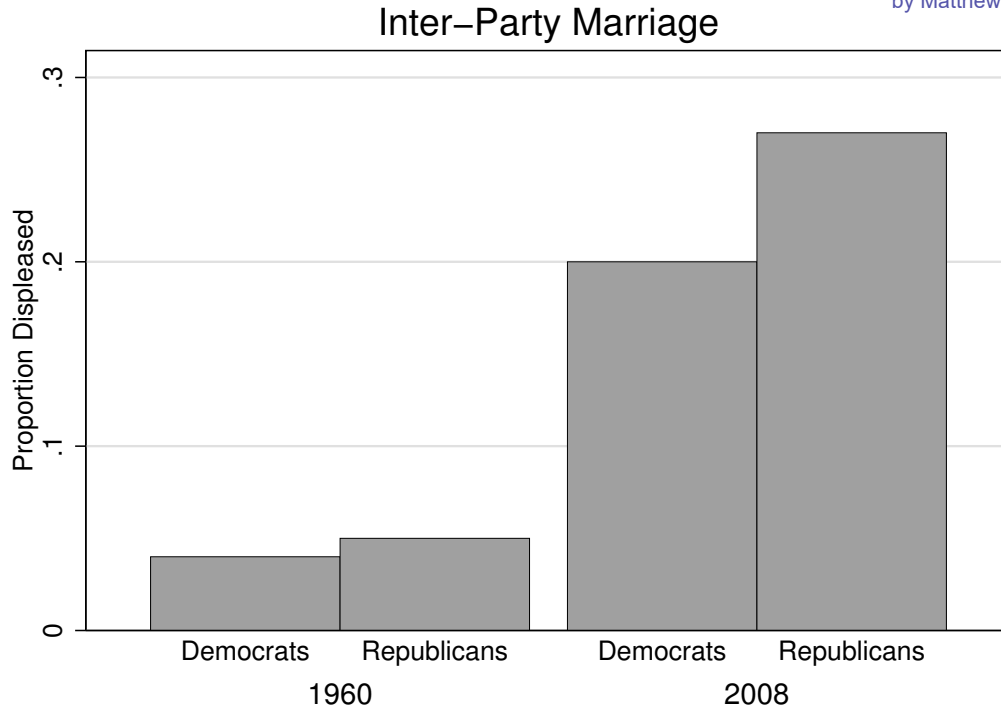
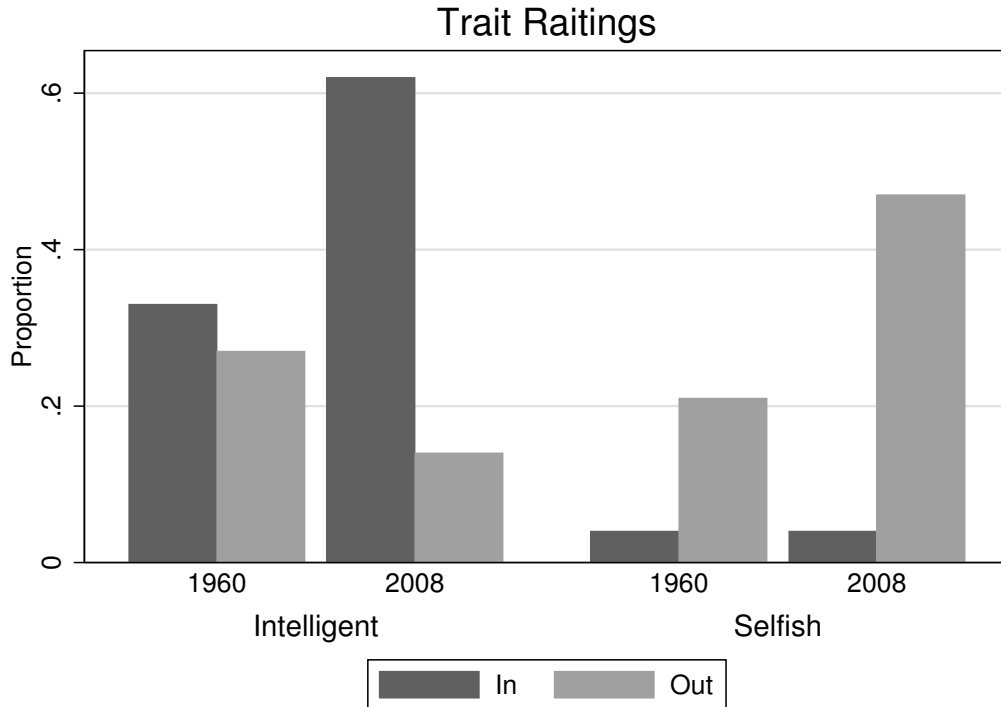


Figure 2. Average feeling–thermometer ratings of own–party and opposing–party presidential candidates, 1968–2016.
Source: American National Election Studies.



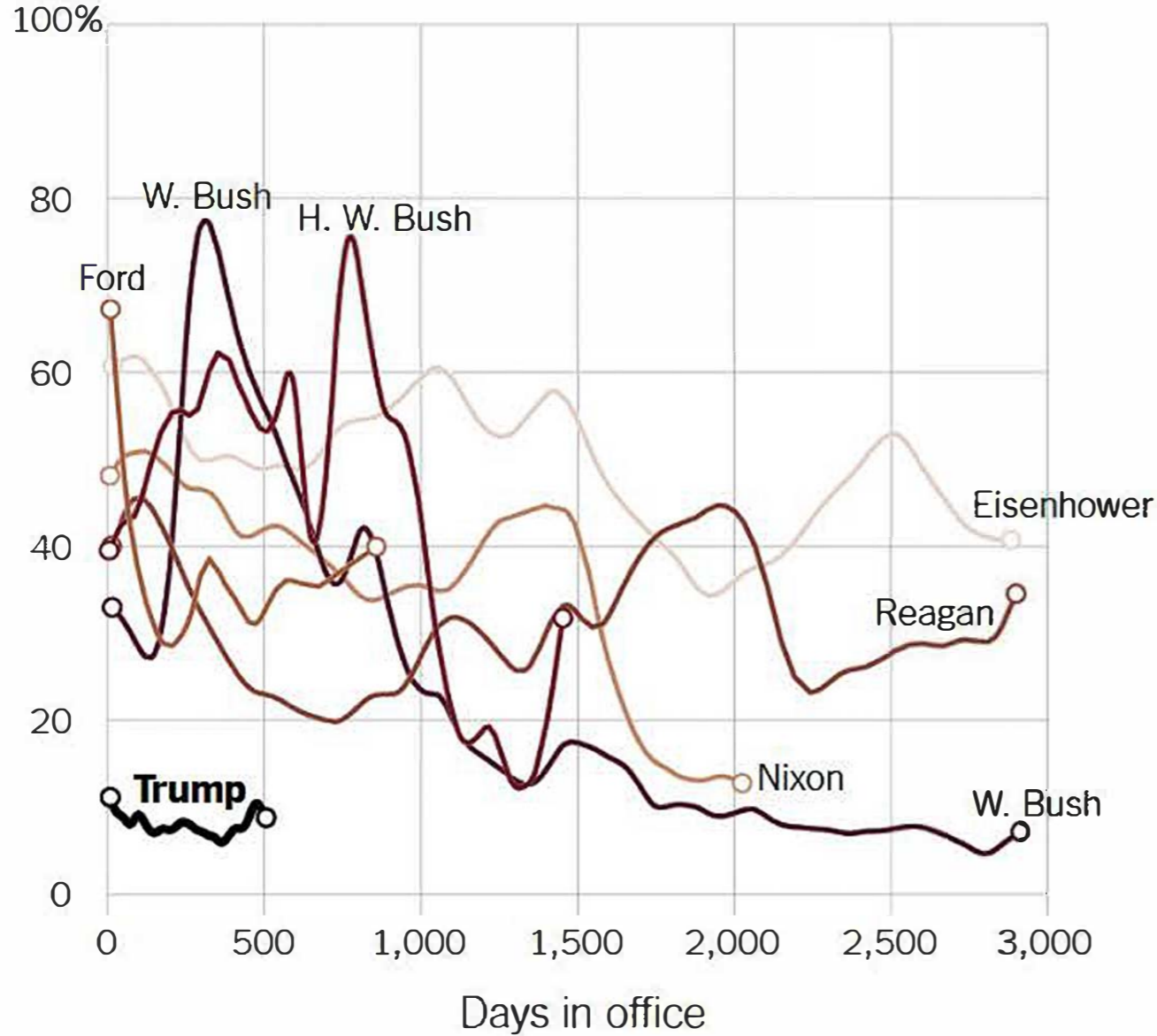
Notes: Plot shows the proportion of Republican (Democrat) survey respondents who would be displeased if their child married a Democrat (Republican). The data for 1960 comes from Almond and Verba (1960), while the data for 2008 comes from YouGov (2008).



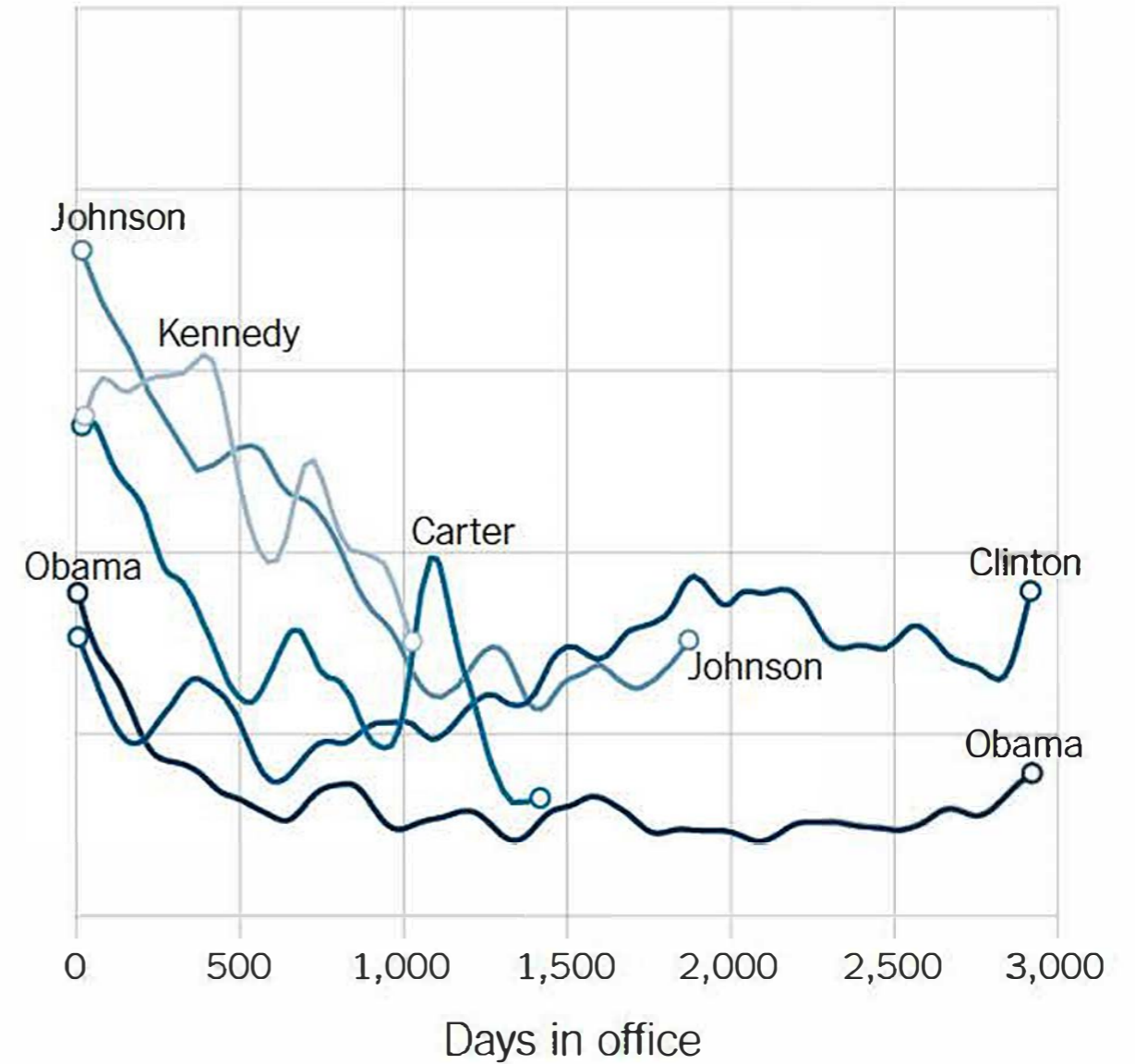
Notes: Plot shows the proportion of survey respondents who viewed the members of their own party (In) and their opposing party (Out) as intelligent and selfish. The data for 1960 comes from Almond and Verba (1960), while the data for 2008 comes from YouGov (2008).

Approval rating from president's opposing party

Republican presidents

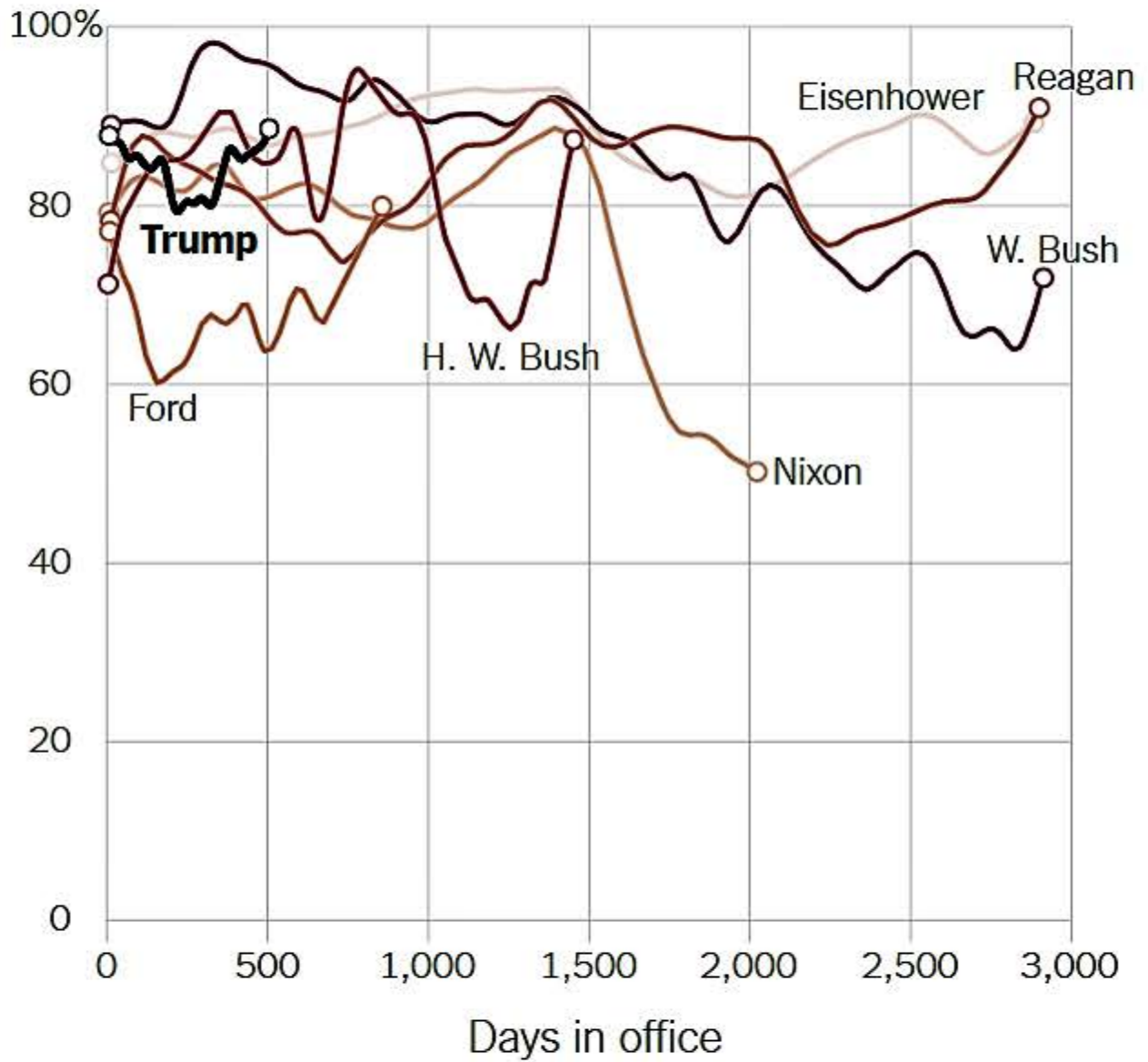


Democratic presidents

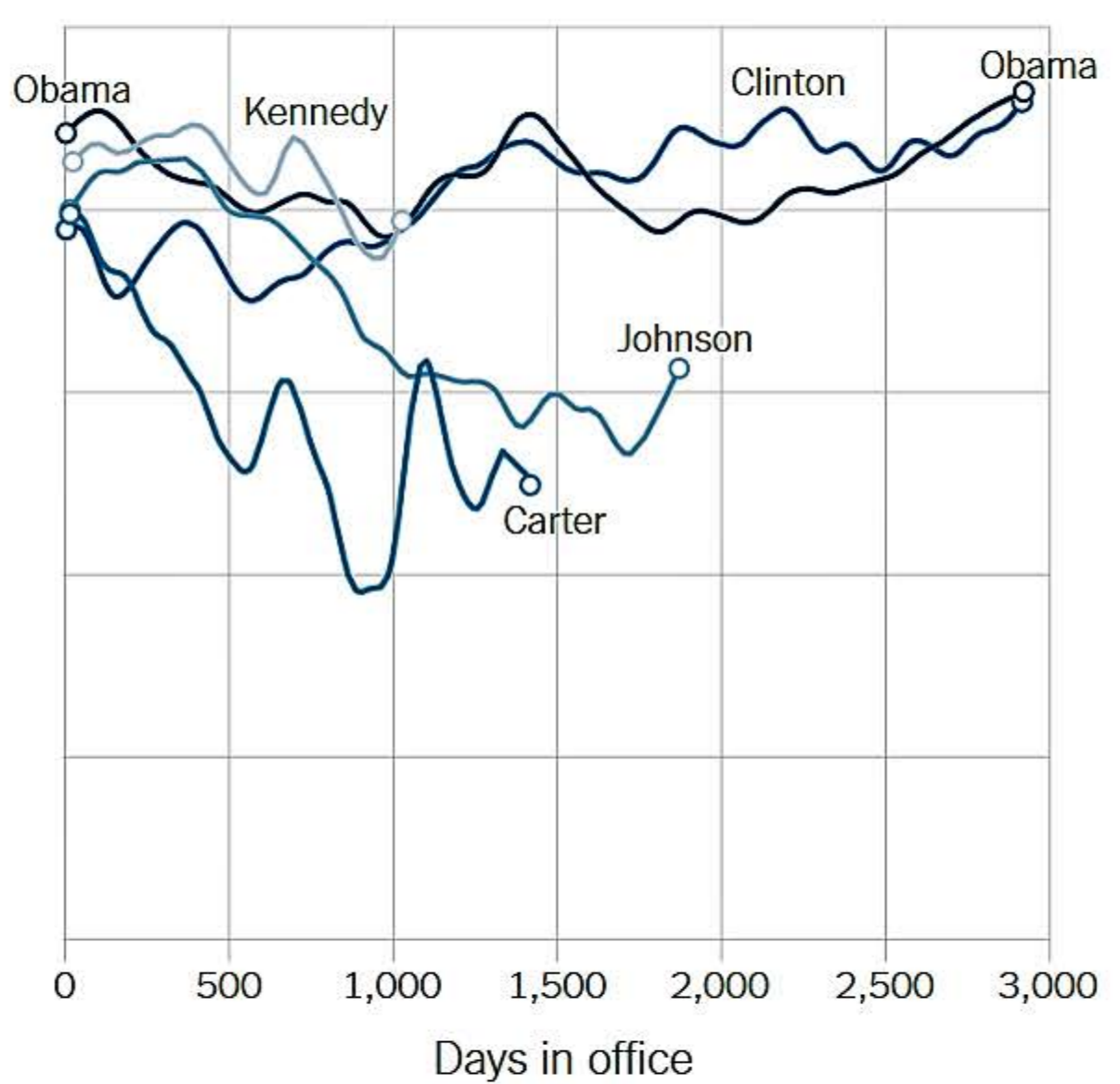


Approval rating from president's own party

Republican presidents

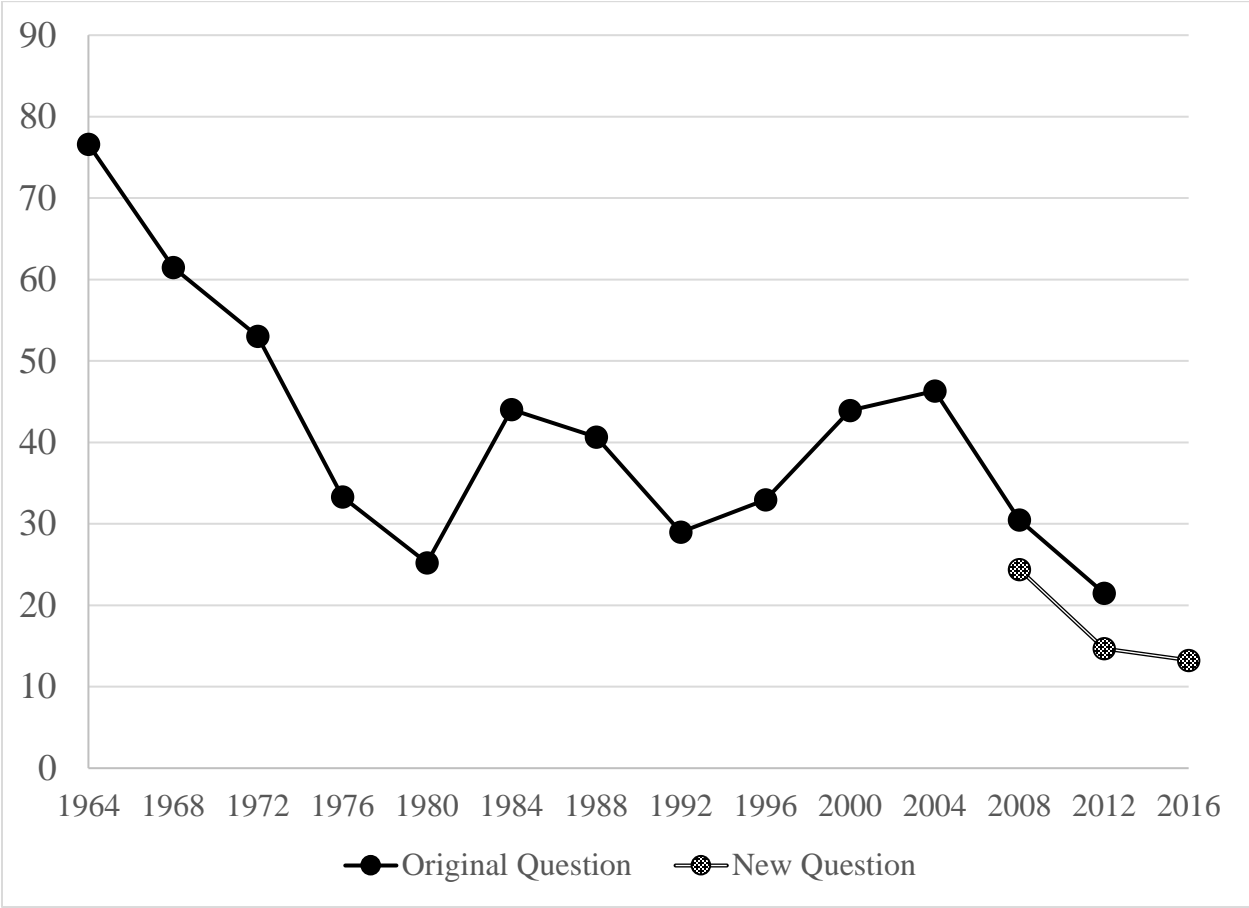


Democratic presidents



Growing Distrust in Government and the Media

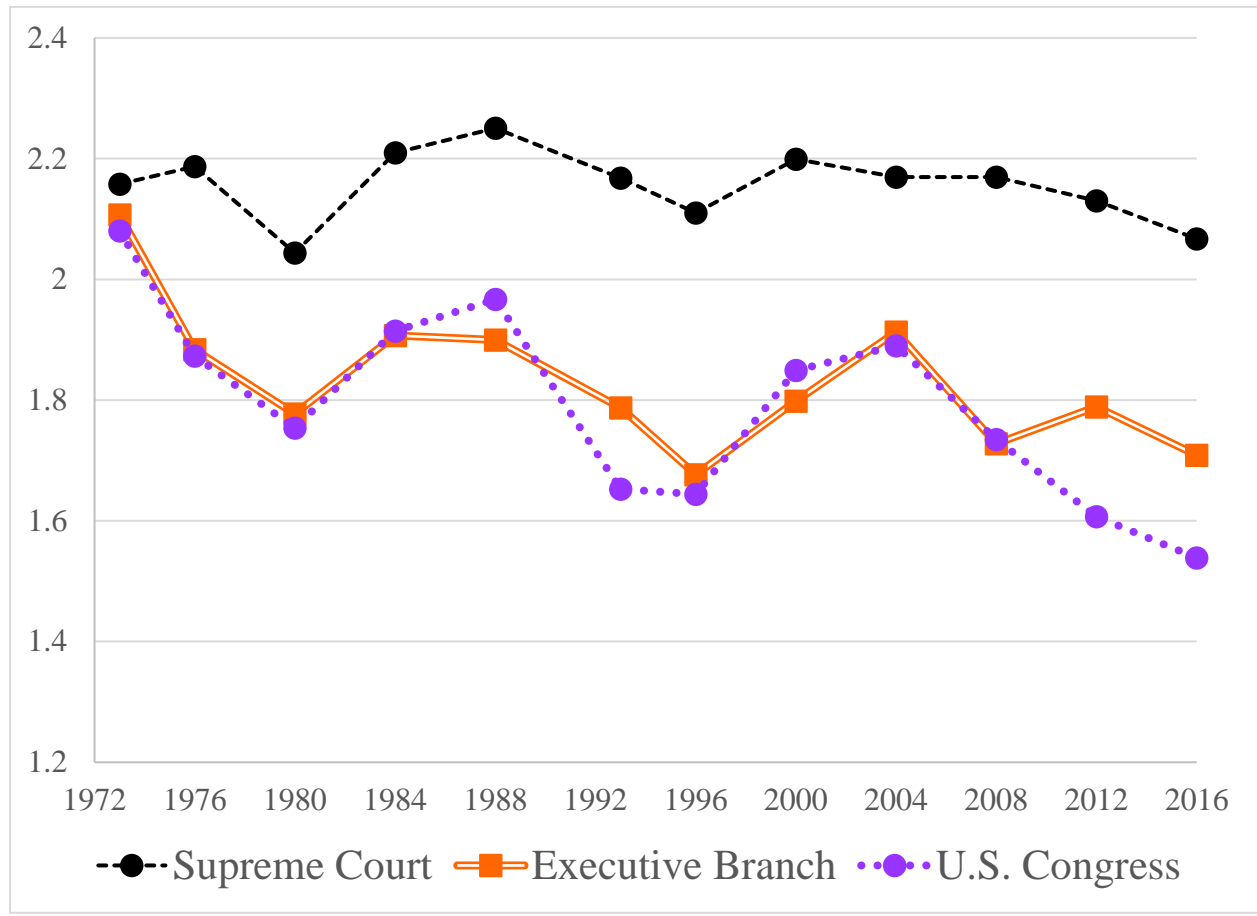
Figure 1
Percentage Trusting the U.S. Government over Time



Note: Entries are the weighted percentage of ANES face-to-face respondents saying that they trust the government most or all of the time.

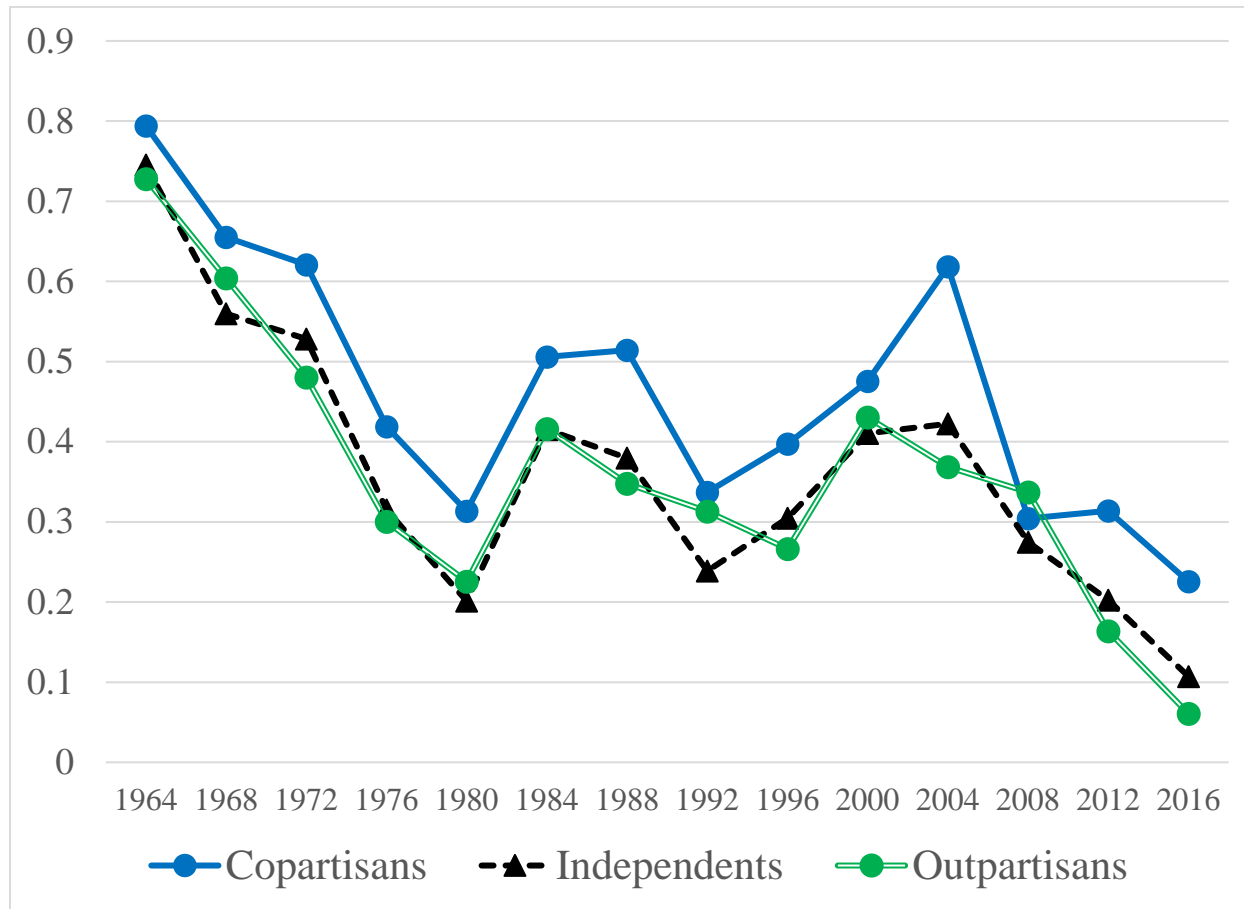
Source: Citrin and Stoker 2018, "Political Trust in a Cynical Era"

Figure 2
Confidence in U.S. Institutions over Time



GSS Data. Source: Citrin and Stoker 2018, "Political Trust in a Cynical Era"

Figure 5
Percentage Trusting the Government
Among Co-partisans, Out-partisans, and Independents



ANES Data. Source: Citrin and Stoker 2018, "Political Trust in a Cynical Era"

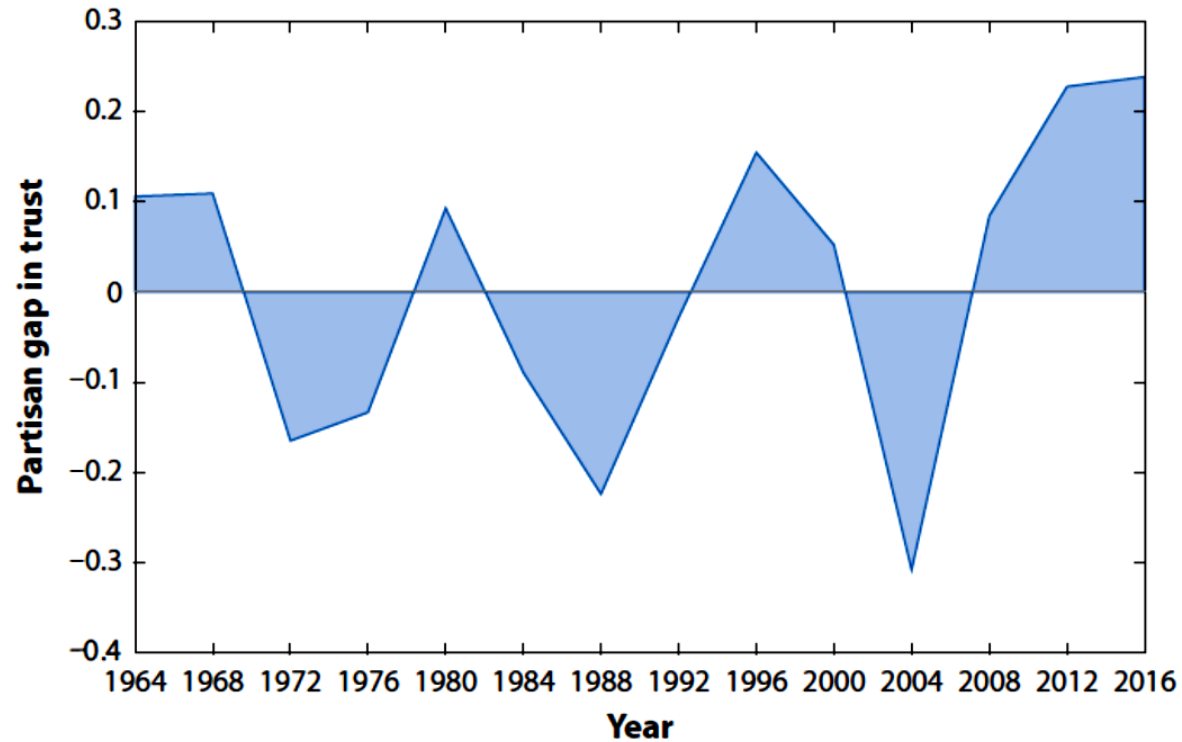


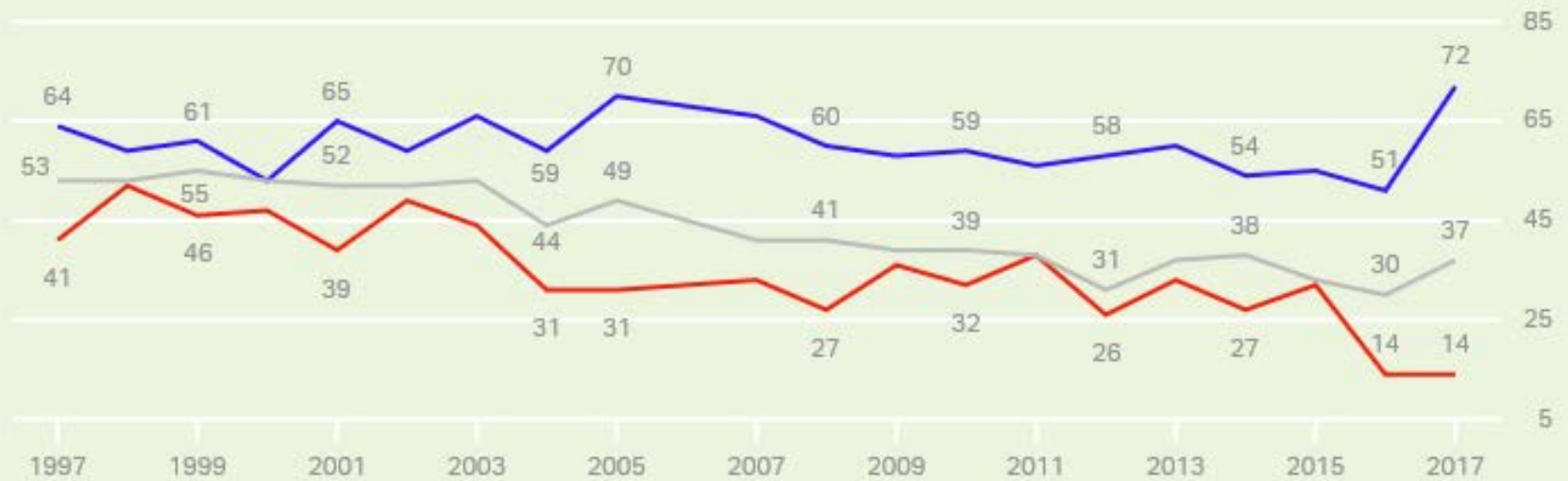
Figure 4

Partisan gap in trust in the US government over time: difference in (weighted) average trust of Democrats and Republicans from ANES data. For 1964–2012, the original trust variable was coded 1 = never; 2 = some of the time or don't know; 3 = most of the time; 4 = almost always. For 2016 the new trust variable was coded 1 = never; 2 = some of the time, half of the time, or don't know; 3 = most of the time; 4 = always. When the difference is positive, Democrats are more trusting than are Republicans, and when the difference is negative, Republicans are more trusting than are Democrats.

Democrats' Trust in Mass Media Zooms in 2017

% Great deal/Fair amount of trust and confidence

■ Republicans ■ Democrats ■ Independents



GALLUP