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Political Polarization in Action

Insights into the 2014 Election from the American Trends Panel

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
ON THIS REPORT:**

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Political Polarization in Action: Insights into the 2014 Election from the American Trends Panel

The Pew Research Center has developed a new tool for looking at the 2014 elections – a panel survey that enables us to check in with the same representative group of Americans several times during the course of the campaign. This survey includes far more information about respondents than is found in a typical election poll: their underlying attitudes on a wide range of political issues, drawn from the largest political survey in the Center’s history; a track of voter preferences over the course of 2014; and a link to their actual voting histories.

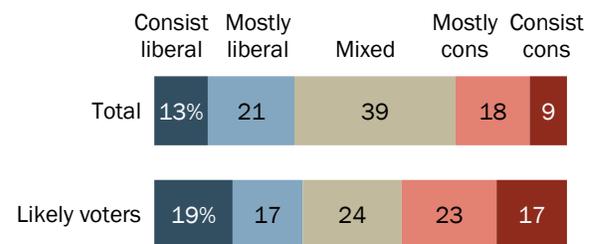
The new wave of the panel survey was conducted Sept. 9-Oct. 3 with 3,154 adults who are part of the Pew Research Center’s American Trends Panel, a nationally representative group of randomly selected U.S. adults surveyed online and by mail. These respondents are a subset of the more than 10,000 adults interviewed earlier this year as part of a year-long series of reports on [political polarization in the American public](#).

Here are the key findings from the latest wave of the panel survey:

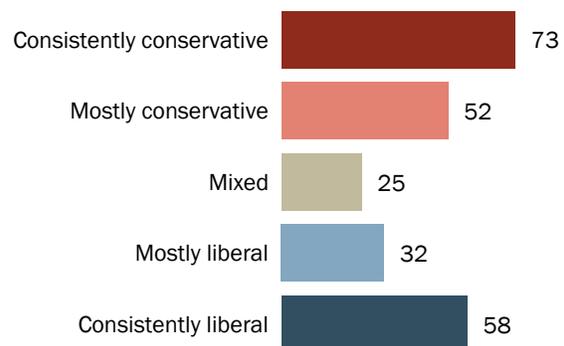
The likely electorate is more polarized than the public. As we noted in our first major report on political polarization, the most ideologically-oriented Americans are also the most politically active, while many in the center “remain on the edges of the political playing field.” This is the case when it comes to which ideological groups are most likely to vote on Nov. 4.

Likely Voters More Ideologically Polarized than Public Overall

Ideological consistency among ...



Share of each group likely to vote



American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9 – October 3, 2014. Based on average historical midterm election turnout of 40%.

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Those who are consistently conservative and liberal, who together make up only about one-in-five (22%) in the general public, make up 36% of those most likely to vote. By contrast, those with mixed opinions will be only 24% of the electorate, although they constitute 39% of the general public. (Click [here](#) for details about how ideological consistency is measured.)

Although overall turnout among the public is likely to be around 40%, 73% of those who hold consistently conservative attitudes are likely to vote in the midterm, as are 52% of those with mostly conservative views. As [other surveys](#) have found, voters on the left are less politically engaged in this election: 58% of those with consistently liberal views and just 32% of those with mostly liberal attitudes are likely to turn out. And among those with about an equal mix of conservative and liberal attitudes, just 25% are likely to go to the polls.

Hostility toward the opposing party is a key marker of polarization and a strong motivator for voting, especially among Republicans. Both Republicans and Democrats have long held negative views of the opposite party. But the level of partisan hostility has [grown dramatically](#) in the past 20 years. The new panel survey finds a strong link between having a highly negative reaction to the opposing party and likelihood of turning out to vote, particularly among Republicans.

Among Republicans and Republican leaners with a *very* unfavorable view of the Democratic Party in the current survey, 65% are likely voters; among Republicans and GOP leaners who have *mostly* unfavorable views of the Democratic Party, just 40% are likely to vote. Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, 49% of those with very

The Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel

Earlier this year, the Pew Research Center released a major analysis of changes in the American electorate titled [Political Polarization in the American Public](#). The study, based on interviews with over 10,000 adults nationwide, tracked the growing [ideological consistency](#) and [partisan antipathy](#) expressed by Americans, and how these views correlate with people's [willingness to compromise](#), [relations with friends and family](#), and even [where they prefer to live](#).

This report is based on a follow-up survey, conducted Sept. 9-Oct. 3 among 3,154 adults who are part of the Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel, a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults surveyed online and by mail. Many panelists had also been interviewed about the election two previous times over the course of 2014, allowing us to make conclusions about change over time. Most (about 80%) were also matched to a large national database of voter records, adding additional depth to the analysis.

unfavorable opinions of the GOP are likely to vote, compared with 33% of those with mostly unfavorable views.

Voting preferences have been fairly stable in this relatively low profile midterm election year. Roughly nine-in-ten respondents who said they were voting Democratic in June are still leaning Democrat; about as many Republicans say the same. Among likely voters, however, shifts among the relatively small number of undecided or third-party voters in June slightly favor the Republicans.

Ticket splitting? Don't expect much. The survey suggests that voters who split their ballot between Republicans and Democrats will be relatively rare in the states and districts where there are tickets to be split. An analysis of likely voters living in areas with two or three major political contests this fall suggests about eight-in-ten voters (81%) will vote a straight party ticket.

Who voted in the primaries? Highest reported rate: consistent conservatives.

Primaries often hold the key to the general election, in that they determine the choices available to voters. Is there polarization there? Absolutely. We find that 64% of consistent conservatives reported voting in a primary election this year, compared with 49% of consistent liberals. The self-reported turnout numbers are lower among those with mostly conservative or liberal views, though the pattern of higher turnout on the right remains, with 46 percent of “mostly conservative” voters having cast a primary ballot and 30 percent of “mostly liberal” voters.

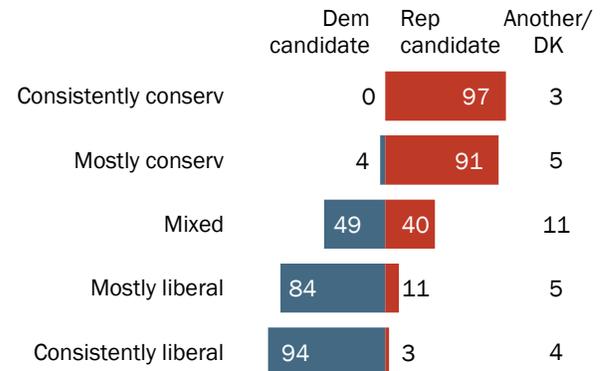
Ideological Consistency and the 2014 Vote

Vote choices are strongly related to voters' underlying political attitudes and values, as evidenced by the fact that ideologically consistent voters are nearly uniformly supportive of the candidates of their respective political parties. Among likely voters who are consistent conservatives, 97% say they will vote for the Republican candidate for U.S. House in their district; 91% of those with mostly conservative opinions will also do so. Among those with consistently liberal views, 94% say they will vote Democratic, followed by 84% among those with mostly liberal views.

Likely voters with ideologically mixed views divide more evenly (49% Democratic, 40% Republican).

On Left and Right, Few Deviate from Party Vote

% of likely voters who favor/lean toward ...



American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9 – October 3, 2014. Overall vote choice among likely voters is 49% Republican, 45% Democratic, 6% other/don't know. The survey does not provide a new estimate of the race for Congress. The division of the vote among registered voters is weighted to match findings from a telephone [survey](#) conducted by the Pew Research Center in September. Determining likely voters is described in the "About the Survey" section of this report.

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Vote Intentions Largely Stable in 2014

Despite the intense campaign that has raged throughout 2014, and the national and international events that many observers believe have roiled the political landscape, preferences for Democratic or Republican candidates for Congress have remained unchanged for the vast majority of voters this year.¹

Members of the American Trends Panel were first asked in February for their preference in the election for U.S. House, and again in June. Among registered voters in the current survey, very few report a difference choice today than in June or in February.

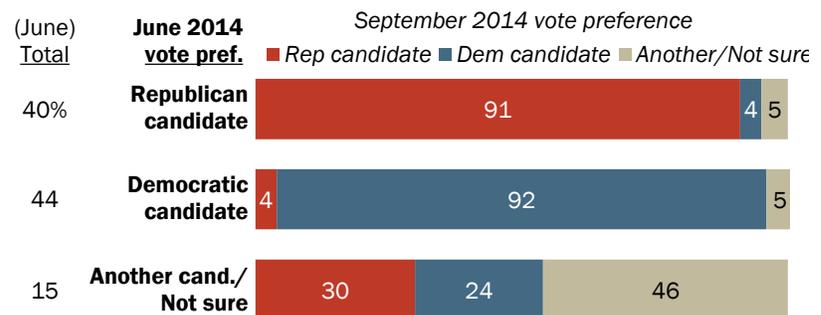
Republicans retain 91% of those who said in the June survey that they would choose the Republican candidate for Congress, while 92% of voters who chose a Democrat for

Congress in June remain committed to a Democratic candidate. About half of voters who chose a third party candidate or were not sure of their vote in June now support one of the two major parties in October, splitting about evenly between Republicans and Democrats (30% Republican, 24% Democratic).

Among likely voters, however, shifts among third party or undecided voters have slightly favored the Republicans, adding perhaps one point to their advantage over the Democrats.

Few Voters Have Changed Their Minds about Midterm Election

Change in vote preference (based on registered voters)



Data represents only those who completed Wave 4 and Wave 7 of the American Trends Panel.

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¹ This pattern is typical in U.S. elections, where most voter choices are based on long-standing attitudes and predispositions. For example, most voter choices in the 2004 presidential election were [highly stable](#) during the fall campaign.

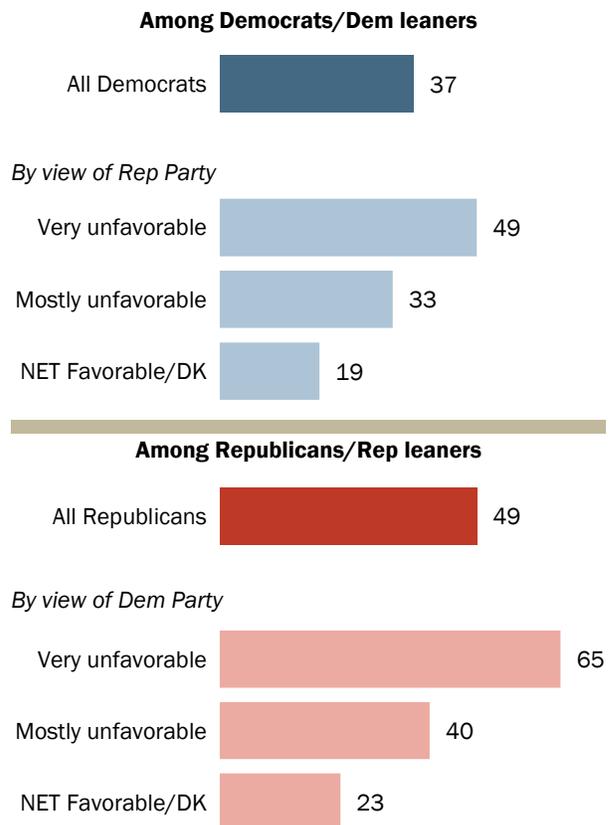
Partisan Antipathy a Powerful Motivator

Hostility to the opposing party is a key marker of polarization and is a strong motivator to vote, especially among conservatives and Republicans. Ideology and partisan antipathy [are related](#): Those holding ideologically consistent opinions are far more likely than others to view the opposing party negatively, and even to view it as a threat to the nation's well-being.

Among Republicans and Republican leaners with a *very* unfavorable view of the Democratic Party in the current survey, 65% are likely voters, compared with only 49% among Democrats with a very unfavorable view of the Republican Party. Those who are less hostile to the opposite party are considerably less likely to vote. Among Republicans, 40% of those with a mostly unfavorable view of Democrats are likely to vote, and only 23% of those with positive views (or who offer no opinion) of the Democratic Party are likely to vote. On the other side, 33% of Democrats with a mostly unfavorable view of the Republican Party are forecasted to turn out, as are 19% of those with positive views of (or no opinion about) the GOP.

Disliking the Other Party Motivates Voter Turnout

Share of each group likely to vote



American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9 – October 3, 2014. Republicans and Democrats include those who lean to each party.

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Ticket Splitters Rare among Voters in Either Party

As voters become more polarized ideologically, fewer opt to select candidates from more than one political party when they go to the polls. According to the [American National Election Study](#), ticket-splitting reached an all-time low in 2012 with only 13% of voters selecting a different political party for the U.S. Senate than the U.S. House.

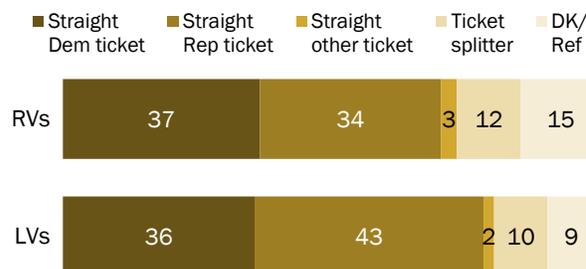
An analysis of voters living in areas with two or three major political contests this November shows that only 12% of registered voters say they are splitting their vote between multiple political parties. About three-quarters of registered voters (74%) in these areas say they will select candidates from the same party for all major political races in their area, known as “straight ticket” voting.²

When narrowed to those most likely to vote in the November election, about eight-in-ten voters (81%) choose a straight party ticket. They are slightly more likely to select only Republican candidates than only Democratic candidates (43% to 36%).

Majorities of Democratic (78%) and Republican (74%) registered voters are voting straight down their party’s ticket for major races. Even among self-identified independents who are registered to vote, 65%

Most Vote Straight Party Ticket

% of voters with more than one major political contest (Congress, Senate, or governor) in their state or district...

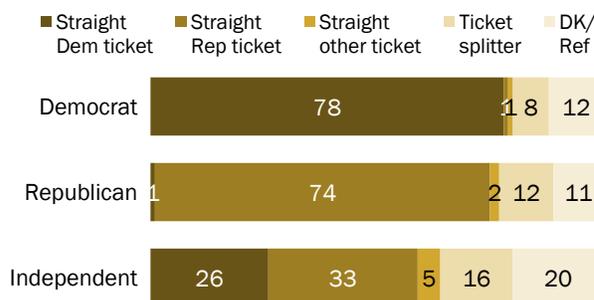


American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9 – October 3, 2014. Voters categorized as “straight ticket” if they chose a party in all major races (Congress, Senate, or Governor) available in their state or district.

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Ticket Splitting by Party

Based on registered voters



American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9 – October 3, 2014. Voters categorized as “straight ticket” if they chose a party in all major races (Congress, Senate, or Governor) available in their state or district.

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² For the purposes of this report, the “major political contests” analyzed are elections for U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Senate, and Governor. In states with a U.S. Senate or gubernatorial election this November, the names of actual candidates on the ballot in each state were used in the survey. Respondents were included in the analysis if there are elections in November for U.S. Senate, Governor, or both.

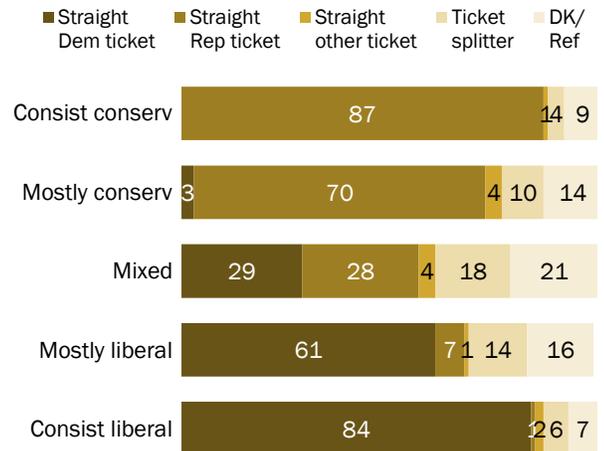
say they will vote a straight ticket. Independents are seven points slightly more likely to choose a straight Republican ticket than a straight Democratic ticket (33% to 26%).

Voters who hold consistent ideological viewpoints are highly likely to vote a straight party ticket. Nearly nine-in-ten (87%) with consistently conservative views choose Republican candidates down the line, while 84% of those with consistently liberal views choose a straight Democratic ticket.

Even among voters with ideologically mixed views, most (61%) still choose a slate of candidates from one party; 18% split their tickets between parties.

Ticket Splitters and Ideological Consistency

Based on registered voters



American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9-October 3, 2014.

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Primary Voting and Polarization

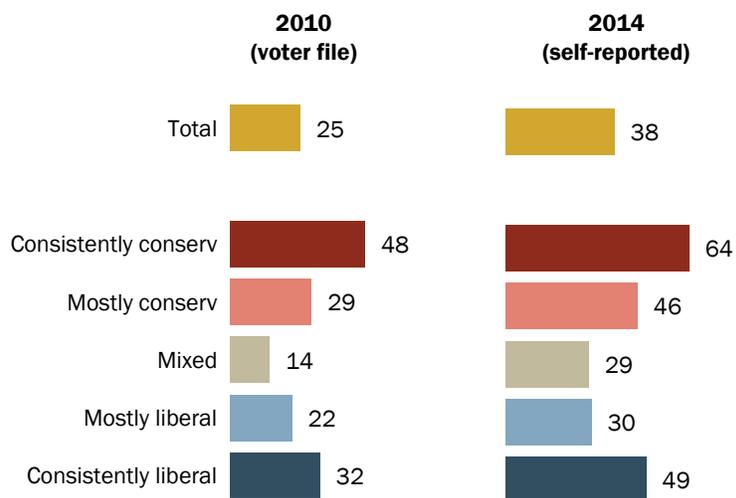
Consistent conservatives are considerably more likely than consistent liberals and those in other groups to report voting in the 2014 primaries. Looking at the approximately 80% of panelists for whom a record exists in the voter file, the same pattern was true in 2010.

Asked about voting in this year's primary elections, 38% of those surveyed say they have voted.

(Self-reported voting rates tend to be considerably higher than actual turnout.) This varies from 29% among those with ideologically mixed opinions to 64% among those with consistently conservative views. Among those with consistently liberal opinions, 49% say they voted in a primary. Among those with mostly conservative views, 46% say they voted in a primary. Among those with mostly liberal views, 30% say they voted in a primary. Among those with mostly liberal opinions, 30% say they voted.

Primary Vote Higher among Consistent Conservatives

% voting in each primary...



American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9-October 3, 2014.

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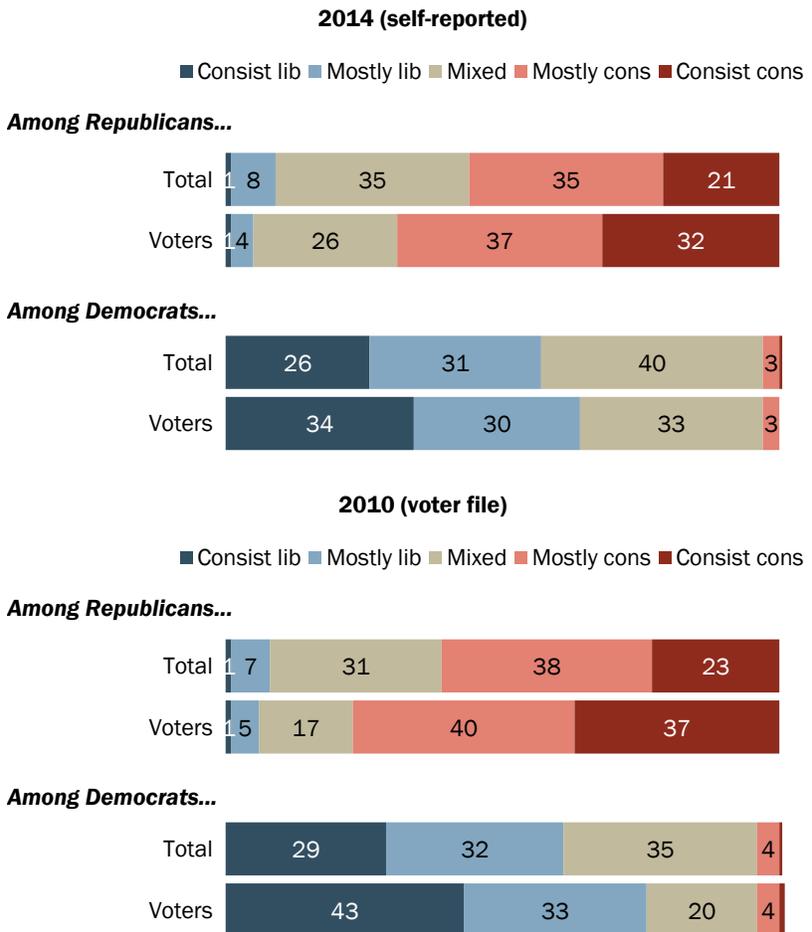
The pattern was very similar in the 2010 primaries, based on voter records, but the estimated level of turnout was considerably lower than 2014 self-reports (25% of those matched to the voter file were recorded as voting in a primary). Consistent conservatives again stand out, with 48% recorded as having voted in a primary in 2010, compared with 32% among consistent liberals, 29% among those with mostly conservative views, 22% among those with consistent liberal views and just 14% among those with mixed views.

These patterns of turnout mean that conservatives and liberals make up a larger majority of primary voters than they do among all partisans in the general public. Among Republicans and those who lean Republican, 69% of 2014 primary voters (and 77% in 2010) are either consistently or mostly conservative in their views. Among Democrats and leaners, 64% in 2014 (and 75% in 2010) are consistently or mostly liberal. To be sure, most partisans tilt in the ideological direction of their party. But primaries exaggerate this tilt.

Nonetheless, the most ideological voters still do not constitute a majority within their own party's primary electorates.

Among Republicans and those who lean Republican, consistent conservatives constitute 32% of self-reported 2014 primary voters and 37% of 2010 primary voters in the voter file, compared with 21% and 23% overall among Republicans. Similarly, among Democrats, consistent liberals make up 34% of those who say they voted in the 2014 primary and 42% among 2010 voters in the voter file; by comparison, they constitute 26% and 29% of all Democrats and leaners of the general public in 2014 and 2010, respectively.

Primary Electorates Disproportionately Composed of Ideologically Consistent Voters



American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9-October 3, 2014. Republicans and Democrats include those who lean to each party.

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Party as a Motivator of the Vote

In a year where spending on political ad spending is **poised to break \$1 billion**, with nearly half of that being spent on negative ads, more than a third of likely voters (36%) say that negativity toward the opposing party is driving their vote on Election Day. This number is about the same among supporters of Republican and Democratic candidates this November. About half of voters (48%) view their choice as a vote in favor of their own party.

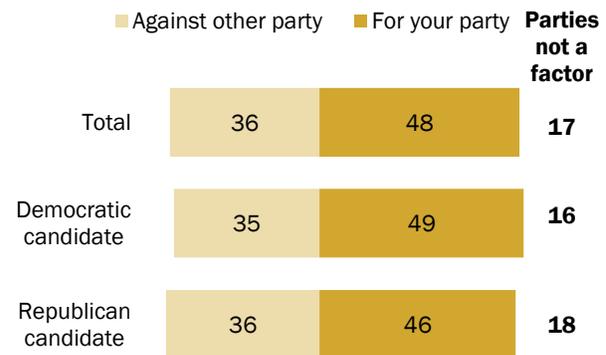
Ideologically consistent voters are more likely to see party as a factor in their vote this November; only 10% of each group say party is not a factor.

Those voters who hold ideologically mixed viewpoints are less likely than the average to see their vote in partisan terms (26% say the parties are not a factor). A 46% plurality say that voting for their party is the driving factor in their vote, while 27% say they are voting against the other party.

On both sides, the plurality reason of support for one's party is shared values (38% of Republicans and 45% of Democrats say this). However, hostility towards the opposing party still seems to be a driving force in the vote, even for those who say their vote is for their own party. Among Republicans, the number two reason for voting in favor of their own party is disagreement with Democrats (17%). Similarly, 8% of Democrats say that disagreement with Republicans is a top reason to vote for the Democratic Party.

Partisanship Driving the Vote

Based on likely voters

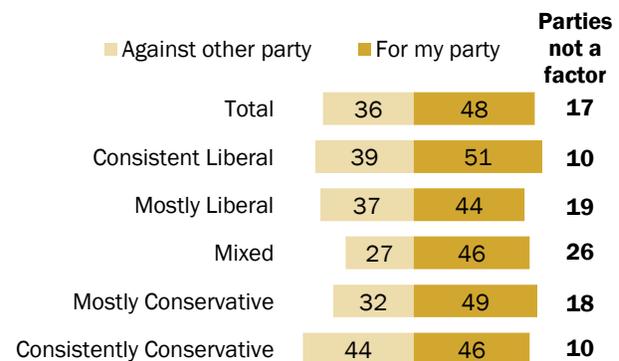


American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9-October 3, 2014. Based on web respondents who chose a Democratic or Republican candidate.

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Ideological Consistency and the Motivation to Vote

Based on likely voters



American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9-October 3, 2014. Based on web respondents who chose a Democratic or Republican candidate.

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Among Republican voters who are voting more against the Democrats, about one-in-four (26%) mainly say it's because they do not share the same values. In addition, 14% mention the Democrats' government mismanagement and 12% specifically name fiscal policies and disagreements about the size of government.

The top issue for Democrats who consider their vote as against the Republicans is the GOP's obstructionism and lack of compromise (29%). And two-in-ten (20%) each cite the Republican Party's lack of support for the middle class and overall disagreement with the party's platform.

Main Reasons to Vote for – Or Against – Parties

Is vote more for your party/against other party? What's the main reason?

Among Rep voters, 52% are voting "for Reps" and 29% "against Dems"

Among vote for Republican Party		Among vote against Democratic Party	
Shared conservative values	38%	Do not share values	26%
Disagreement with Dems/Obama	17	Mismanagement of gov't	14
Fiscal policy/Small gov't	13	Fiscal policies/Big gov't	12
Votes w/ party ID	7	Disagreement with Dems/Obama	7
Entitlement programs	5	Dems are worse	7

Among Dem voters, 54% are voting "for Dems" and 30% "against Reps"

Among vote for Democratic Party		Among vote against Republican Party	
Shared liberal values	45%	Obstructionism/No compromising	29%
Support of middle class	13	Do not support middle class	20
Votes w/ party ID	13	Disagreement with Reps	20
Disagreement with Reps	8	Too conservative	9
Immigration policy	4	Dislike Reps more than Dems	6

American Trends Panel (wave 7). Survey conducted September 9–October 3, 2014. Top responses shown; for complete list, see survey topline. Open-ended question, multiple responses accepted. Based on registered voters.

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The American Trends Panel Surveys (ATP)

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by the Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults living in households. Respondents who self-identify as internet users (representing 89% of U.S. adults) participate in the panel via monthly self-administered Web surveys, and those who do not use the internet participate via telephone or mail. The panel is being managed by Abt SRBI.

Data in this report are drawn from the September wave of the panel, conducted September 9-October 3, 2014 among 3,154 respondents (2,811 by Web and 343 by mail). The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 3,154 respondents is plus or minus 2.7 percentage points. Among the 1,803 likely voters in the sample, the margin of error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

Data in this report are also drawn from the June wave of the panel and the March Political Polarization and Typology Survey. The June survey was conducted May 30-June 30, 2014 among 3,217 respondents (2,849 by Web and 368 by mail). The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 3,217 respondents is plus or minus 2.3 percentage points.

All current members of the American Trends Panel were originally recruited from the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey, a large (n=10,013) national landline and cellphone random digit dial (RDD) survey conducted January 23rd to March 16th, 2014, in English and Spanish. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 10,013 respondents is plus or minus 1.1 percentage points. At the end of that survey, respondents were invited to join the panel. The invitation was extended to all respondents who use the internet (from any location) and a random subsample of respondents who do not use the internet.³

Of the 10,013 adults interviewed, 9,809 were invited to take part in the panel. A total of 5,338 agreed to participate and provided either a mailing address or an email address to which a welcome packet, a monetary incentive and future survey invitations could be sent. Panelists also receive a small monetary incentive after participating in each wave of the survey.

The ATP data were weighted in a multi-step process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents' original survey selection probability and the fact that some panelists were subsampled for invitation to the panel. Next, an adjustment was made for the fact that the

³ When data collection for the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey began, non-internet users were subsampled at a rate of 25%, but a decision was made shortly thereafter to invite all non-internet users to join. In total, 83% of non-internet users were invited to join the panel.

propensity to join the panel varied across different groups in the sample. The final step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and region to parameters from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2012 American Community Survey. Population density is weighted to match the 2010 U.S. Decennial Census. Telephone service is weighted to estimates of telephone coverage for 2014 that were projected from the July-December 2013 National Health Interview Survey. It also adjusts for U.S. House Vote Choice among registered voters from the September 2014 national dual frame RDD telephone survey of U.S. adults, party affiliation using an average of the three most recent Pew Research Center general public telephone surveys, and for internet use using as a parameter a measure from the 2014 Survey of Political Polarization. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The Hispanic sample in the American Trends Panel is predominantly native born and English speaking. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

The Web component of the September wave had a response rate of 60% (2,811 responses among 4,674 Web-based individuals enrolled in the panel); the mail component had a response rate of 61% (343 responses among 560 non-Web individuals enrolled in the panel). Taking account of the response rate for the 2014 Survey of Political Polarization (10.6%), the cumulative response rate for the September ATP wave is 3.5%.

Likely Voter Scale

Likely voter estimates are based on a 7-item turnout scale that includes the following questions: **thought** (thought given to the election), **precinct** (ever voted in your precinct or election district), **Q.6** (follow government and public affairs), **oftvote** (how often vote), **pgeneral** (likelihood of voting), **pvote12a** (voted in the 2012 presidential election) and **scale10** (chances of voting on 1-10 scale). The items are combined to form a seven-point index. The turnout estimate used in identifying likely voters is 40%, which is the approximate average turnout rate over the past few midterm elections. Thus, respondents who score in the top 40% of the distribution are considered to be likely voters. That includes all respondents who received a score of 7 plus a percentage of those who received a score of 6. More details about the Pew Research Center's methodology for estimating likelihood to vote are available at <http://www.people-press.org/files/2011/01/UnderstandingLikelyVoters.pdf>.

2014 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 7 SEPTEMBER
FINAL TOPLINE
SEPTEMBER 9-OCTOBER 3, 2014
TOTAL N=3,154
WEB RESPONDENTS N=2,811
MAIL RESPONDENTS N=343¹

ASK ALL:

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

25	Satisfied
75	Dissatisfied
5	No answer

ASK ALL:

Q.2 Thinking about things in your state, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your state today?²

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

38	Satisfied
61	Dissatisfied
*	No answer/Live in a different state

ASK ALL:

Q.3 And thinking about the local community where you live, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your local community today?

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

60	Satisfied
40	Dissatisfied
*	No answer

¹ Question wording in this topline is that from the web version of the survey unless otherwise noted. Question wording and format was adapted for the paper questionnaire delivered by mail; this questionnaire is available on request. All questions asked in both modes unless noted.

² In web version, respondent's state name was shown instead of "your state."

ASK ALL:

POL1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President?

ASK IF APPROVE (POL1=1):

POL1AGR. Do you approve very strongly, or not so strongly?

ASK DISAPPROVE (POL1=2):

POL1DIS. Do you disapprove very strongly, or not so strongly?

Sep 15-Oct 3 <u>2014</u>		May 30-June 30 <u>2014</u>
44	Approve	47
21	Very strongly	23
23	Not so strongly	24
*	No answer	*
55	Disapprove	53
41	Very strongly	40
15	Not so strongly	13
0	No answer	0
*	No answer	*

ASK ALL:

Q.4 Thinking about the State Legislature in your state, do you approve or disapprove of the way the State Legislature is handling their job?³ *Program an answer choice of "Live in different state" that will appear only when a soft prompt is used.*

Sep 15-Oct 3 <u>2014</u>	
41	Approve
57	Disapprove
2	No answer/Live in a different state

ASK ALL:

Q.5 Do you approve or disapprove of the way your governor is handling their job?

Sep 15-Oct 3 <u>2014</u>	
50	Approve
49	Disapprove
1	No answer

ASK ALL:

THOUGHT The congressional elections will be coming up later this year.
How much thought have you given to the coming November election?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,886]

Sep 15-Oct 3 <u>2014</u>	
32	Quite a lot
41	Some
20	Only a little
8	None
0	No answer

³ In web version, respondent's state name was shown instead of "your state" and state legislature type (e.g., state legislature, general assembly, general court, legislative assembly) was shown instead of "State Legislature."

ASK ALL:

CAMPNII

How closely have you followed news about candidates and election campaigns in your state and district?

Sep 15-Oct 3 <u>2014</u>		May 30-June 30 <u>2014</u>
12	Very closely	10
33	Fairly closely	37
35	Not too closely	35
20	Not at all closely	17
*	No answer	*

ASK ALL:

PRECINCT

Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

Sep 15-Oct 3 <u>2014</u>	
64	Yes
36	No
*	No answer

ASK ALL:

Q.6

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

Sep 15-Oct 3 <u>2014</u>	
34	Most of the time
39	Some of the time
17	Only now and then
11	Hardly at all
*	No answer

ASK ALL:

OFTVOTE

How often would you say you vote?

Sep 15-Oct 3 <u>2014</u>	
35	Always
27	Nearly always
11	Part of the time
25	Seldom
1	No answer

ASK ALL:**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]**

CONG If the elections for the U.S. House of Representatives were being held TODAY, who would you vote for? Response options: Republican Party's candidate; Democratic Party's candidate; Another party's candidate; Not sure

ASK IF 'NOT SURE' (CONG=4) OR NO RESPONSE TO CONG (CONG=99):**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, KEEPING THEM IN THE SAME ORDER AS CONG]**

CONGA As of TODAY, who do you LEAN more towards for the U.S. House of Representatives?⁴ Response options: Lean to Republican Party's candidate; Lean to Democratic Party's candidate; Lean to another party's candidate; Not sure

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,874]:

Sep 15-Oct 3 <u>2014</u>		May 30-June 30 <u>2014</u>
42	Rep/Lean Rep	38
47	Dem/Lean Dem	42
5	Another/Lean to another	5
6	Not sure	14
*	No answer	*

ASK ALL:**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]**

SEN. If the elections for the U.S. Senate were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Democratic Party's candidate OR the Republican Party's candidate for U.S. Senate in your state?⁵

ASK IF ANSWERED NOT SURE (SEN=4) OR IF NO RESPONSE TO SEN (SEN=99):**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, KEEPING THEM IN THE SAME ORDER AS SEN]**

SENA. As of TODAY, who do you LEAN more towards for the U.S. Senate?⁶ Program an answer choice of "Live in different state" that will appear only when a soft prompt is used.

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS IN STATES WITH SENATE RACES [N=1,593]:

Sep 15-Oct 3 <u>2014</u>	
40	Rep/Lean Rep
45	Dem/Lean Dem
6	Another/Lean to another
9	Not sure
*	No answer

⁴ Question wording on mail mode questionnaire asked POL5 only as follows: "If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for [FORM1/FORM2: "the Republican Party's candidate" OR "the Democratic Party's candidate"] for Congress in your district?"

⁵ In web version, question was asked "If the elections for the U.S. Senate in [RSTATE] were being held TODAY, who would you vote for?" where respondent's state name was shown in place of [RSTATE]. Response options were customized based on respondent's state; the candidate's name and political affiliation were shown in addition to "Another candidate" and "Not sure."

⁶ Question wording on mail mode questionnaire asked SEN only as follows: "If the elections for U.S. Senate were being held TODAY, would you vote for [FORM1/FORM2: "the Republican Party's candidate" OR "the Democratic Party's candidate"] for U.S. Senate in your state?"

ASK ALL:**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]**

GOV. If the elections for Governor were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Democratic Party's candidate OR the Republican Party's candidate for Governor in your state?⁷

ASK IF ANSWERED NOT SURE (GOV=4) OR IF NO RESPONSE TO GOV (GOV=99):**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, KEEPING THEM IN THE SAME ORDER AS GOV]**

GOVA. As of TODAY, who do you LEAN more towards for the U.S. Senate?⁸ Program an answer choice of "Live in different state" that will appear only when a soft prompt is used.

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS IN STATES WITH GUBERNATORIAL RACES [N=2,274]:

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

40	Rep/Lean Rep
45	Dem/Lean Dem
6	Another/Lean to another
8	Not sure
*	No answer

ASK IF REP CANDIDATE IN CONG (CONG = 1 OR CONGA = 1) [N=921]:

Q.7 Thinking again about the elections for the U.S. House of Representatives, do you think of your vote for Congress as more of a vote for the Republican party or more of a vote against the Democratic party?

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

52	For the Republican Party
29	Against the Democratic Party
19	The parties are not a factor
--	No answer

ASK IF DEM CANDIDATE IN CONG (CONG = 2 OR CONGA = 2) [N=1038]:

Q.8 Thinking again about the elections for the U.S. House of Representatives, do you think of your vote for Congress as more of a vote for the Democratic Party or more of a vote against the Republican Party?

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

54	For the Democratic Party
30	Against the Republican Party
16	The parties are not a factor
--	No answer

⁷ In web version, question was asked "If the elections for Governor in [RSTATE] were being held TODAY, who would you vote for?" where respondent's state name was shown in place of [RSTATE]. Response options were customized based on respondent's state; the candidate's name and political affiliation were shown in addition to "Another candidate" and "Not sure."

⁸ Question wording on mail mode questionnaire asked GOV only as follows: "If the elections for Governor were being held TODAY, would you vote for [FORM1/FORM2: "the Republican Party's candidate" OR "the Democratic Party's candidate"] for U.S. Senate in your state?"

ASK IF 'FOR THE REPUBLICANS' in Q.7 (Q.7 = 1) [N=496]

Q.9 What is the main reason you consider your vote a vote FOR the Republican Party?

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

38	Conservative/shared values
17	Disagreement with Democrats and/or Obama
13	Fiscal policy/smaller government
7	Votes with party identification
5	Entitlement programs
5	Party control of Congress
4	Abortion policy
4	"Lesser of two evils"
4	Better at handling economy
2	Foreign policy/defense
1	The candidate (specific mention)
1	Gun control policy
1	Immigration policy
1	Health care policy
1	Same-sex marriage
1	Religious reasons
1	Fewer regulations
4	None
7	Other
5	Don't know/Refused

*Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.***ASK IF 'AGAINST THE DEMOCRATS' in Q7 (Q.7 = 2) [N=358]**

Q.10 What is the main reason you consider your vote a vote AGAINST the Democratic Party?

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

26	Too liberal/Do not share values
14	Mismanagement of country
12	Fiscal policies/Government too big
7	Disagreement with Obama/other Democrats
7	Democrats are worse than Republicans
6	Frustration with entitlement programs
4	Health care
4	Immigration
3	Party control of Congress
3	Foreign policy/national security
2	Abortion
2	Economy
2	Religious reasons
2	Gun control
1	Corruption
1	IRS problems
*	None
11	Other
12	Don't know/Refused

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

ASK IF 'FOR THE DEMOCRATS in Q.8 (Q.8 = 1) [N=630]

Q.11 What is the main reason you consider your vote a vote FOR the Democratic Party?

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

45	Liberal/shared values
13	Support of middle class
13	Votes with party identification
8	Disagreement with Republicans
4	Stance on immigration
2	Fiscal policies
2	Stance on women's issues
1	Health care
1	"Lesser of two evils"
1	Environmental issues
1	Party control of Congress
3	None
10	Other
5	Don't know/Refused

*Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.***ASK IF 'AGAINST THE REPUBLICANS' in Q.8 (Q.8 = 2) [N=430]**

Q.12 What is the main reason you consider your vote a vote AGAINST the Republican Party?

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

29	Lack of compromise/obstructionism
20	Favor the rich/Do not support middle class
20	Disagreement with Republican Party platform
9	Too conservative
6	Dislikes Democrats but dislikes Republicans more
4	Stance on women's issues
3	Frustration with Tea Party
2	Party control of Congress
1	The candidate
1	Environmental issues
1	Economic policies
1	Out of touch
5	None
12	Other
1	Don't know/Refused

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

Voter Registration Summary (used for analysis in this survey -- based on previous and current reported registration status)

Sep 15-Oct 3
2014
 72 Registered to vote
 20 Not registered to vote
 8 Not sure/No answer

ASK ALL CITIZENS [N=3,094]:

REGSTATUS Which of these statements best describes you?

Sep 15-Oct 3
2014
 73 I am registered to vote in **[FILL R'S STATE from prior wave/from typology for March wave]**
 2 I am registered to vote in a different state **[SPECIFY / DROPDOWN LIST OF 50 STATES AND DC]**
 16 I am not registered to vote
 8 I am not sure if I'm registered to vote
 * No answer

ASK IF REGISTERED TO VOTE (REGSTATUS=1,2) [N=2,877]:

UPDATE In the past 30 days, did you register to vote or update your voter registration?

Sep 15-Oct 3
2014
 9 Yes, I registered to vote
 7 Yes, I updated my registration
 82 No, I am registered to vote and made no changes in the past 30 days
 2 No answer

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTER IF STATE IS POST-PRIMARY AND NOT LA [N=2,944]:

PRIMARY14 As you may know, primary elections take place in the months before general elections. Did you happen to vote in the primary election this year?

Sep 15-Oct 3
2014
 47 NET Yes
 31 Yes, voted in person on Election Day
 5 Yes, voted in person before Election Day
 10 Yes, mailed in ballot
 53 No, did not vote this year
 1 No answer

ASK IF YES (PRIMARY14=1, 2, or 3) [N=1,583]:

PRIM14PTY Primaries are often associated with a specific political party. Did you vote in the Republican primary, the Democratic primary, or something else?

Sep 15-Oct 3
2014
 44 Republican Primary
 46 Democratic Primary
 8 Something else
 2 No answer

ASK ALL CITIZENS [N=3,094]:

PGENERAL How likely are you to vote in [the general election] [IF LOUISIANA: the election] this November?

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

57	Definitely will vote
18	Probably will vote
12	Probably will not vote
12	Definitely will not vote
1	No answer

QUESTIONS PLAN2-26 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (F_REG TYPOLOGY=1):**

PVOTE12A In the 2012 presidential election between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,886]:

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

88	Voted
46	<i>Obama</i>
38	<i>Romney</i>
4	<i>Other candidate</i>
1	<i>DK/Ref</i>
10	Did not vote
2	Too young to vote
*	No answer

ASK ALL:

SCALE10 Please rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 1 to 10.

Sep 15-Oct 3

2014

52	10 (Definitely will vote)
7	9
6	8
4	7
3	6
4	5
3	4
3	3
3	2
15	1 (Definitely will not vote)
1	No answer

QUESTIONS 27-40 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE