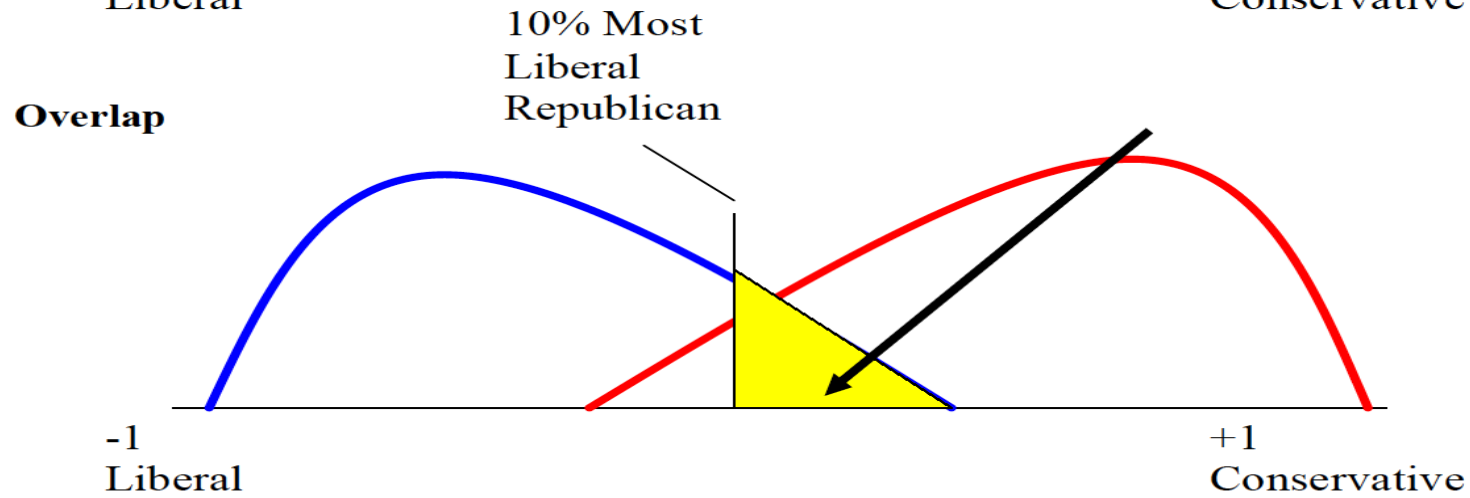
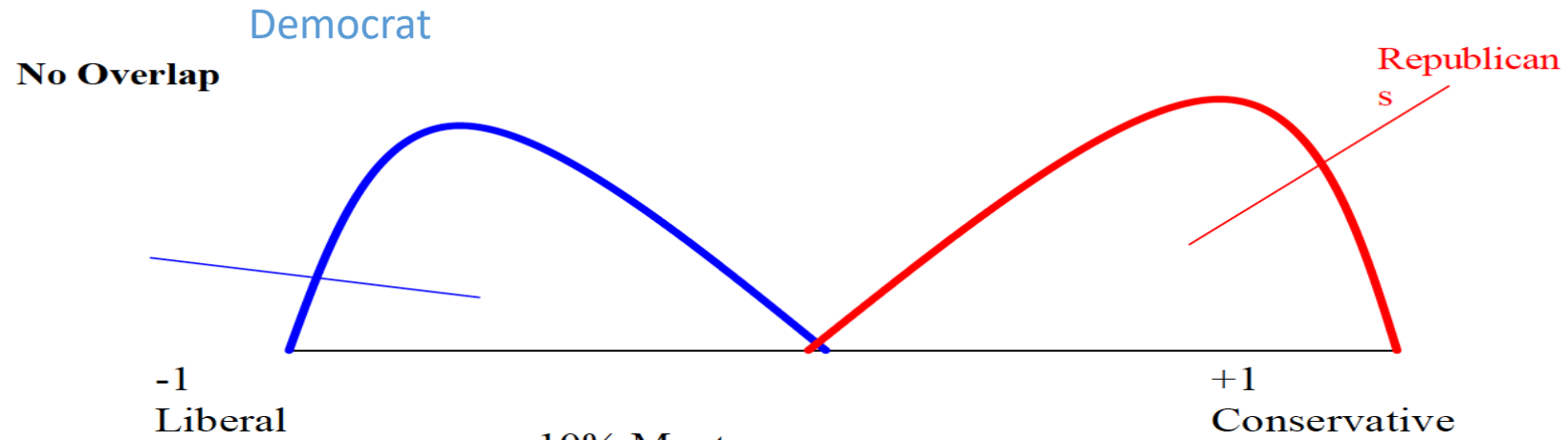


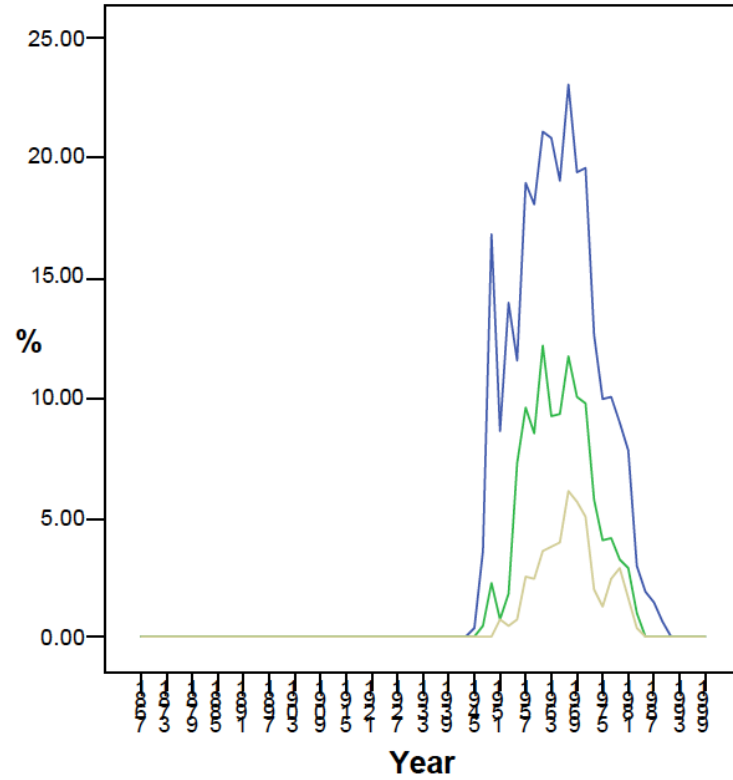
Determining Partisan Overlap in Congress



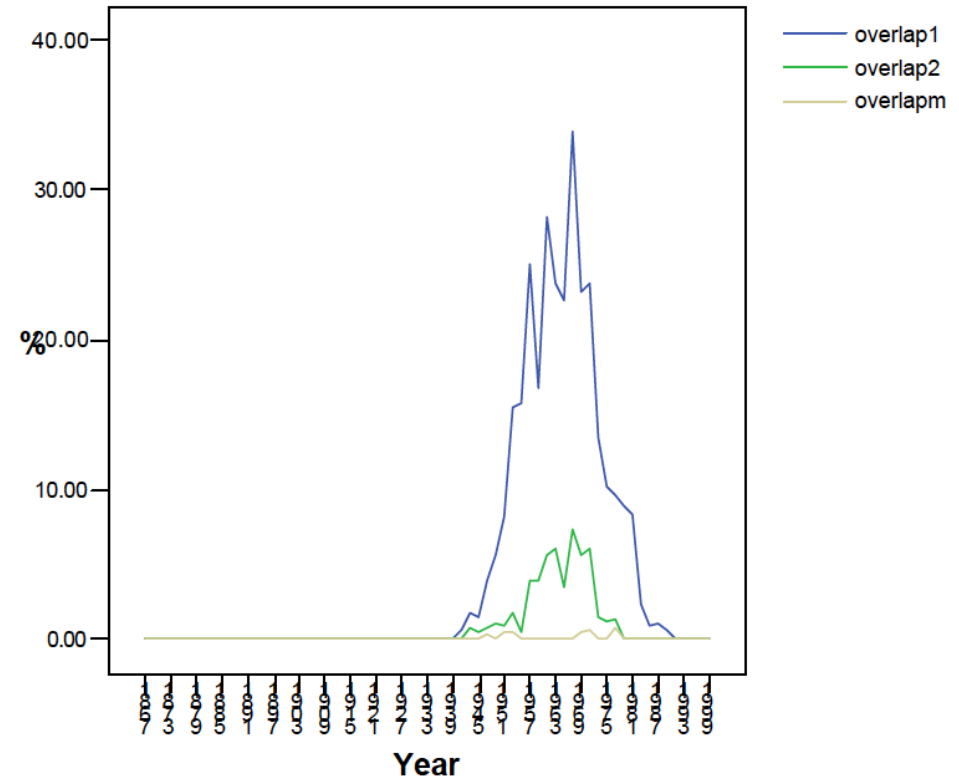
Members measured at overlap of 10,25 and 50 percent

Partisan Convergence in the House, DW-Nominate Scores, 1867-1999

Democrats

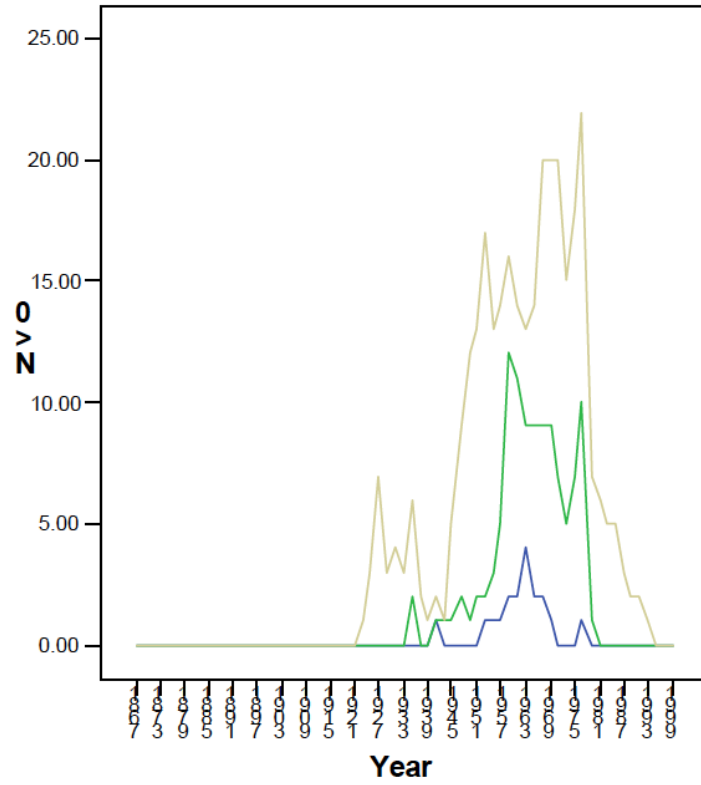


Republicans

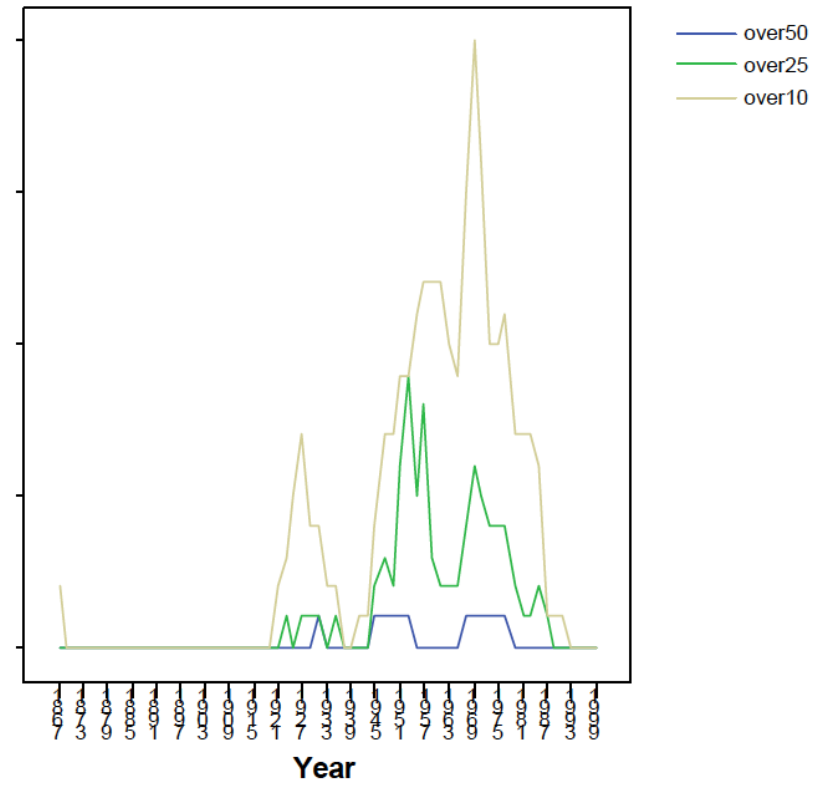


Partisan Convergence in the Senate, DW-Nominate Scores, 1867-1999

Democrats

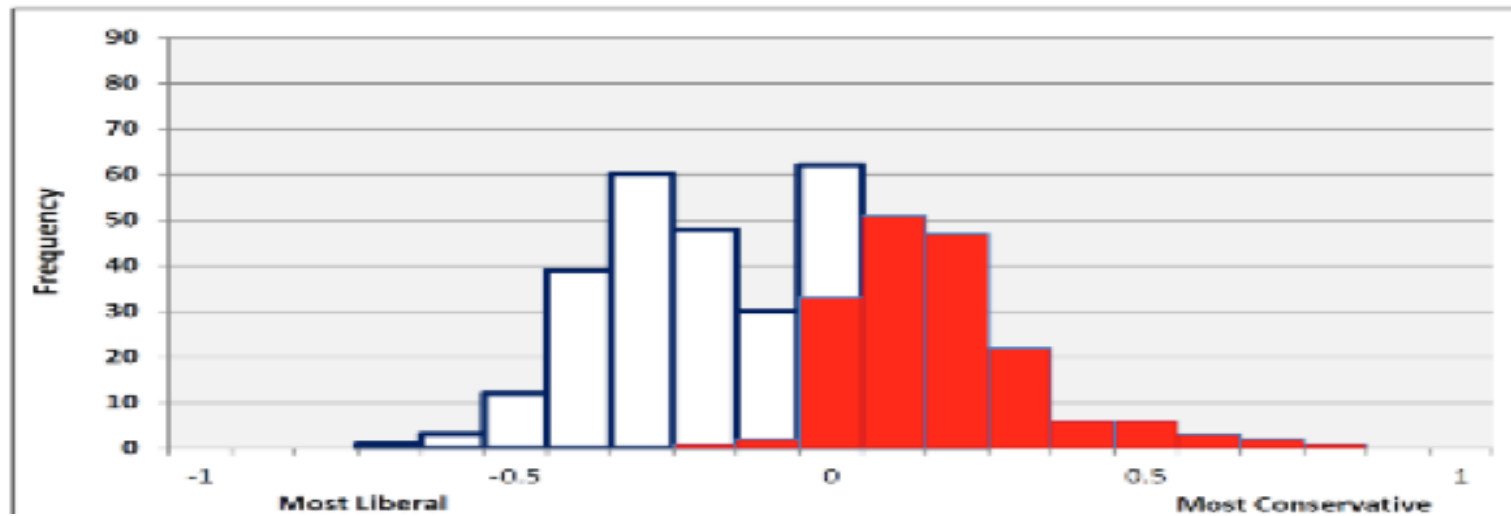


Republicans

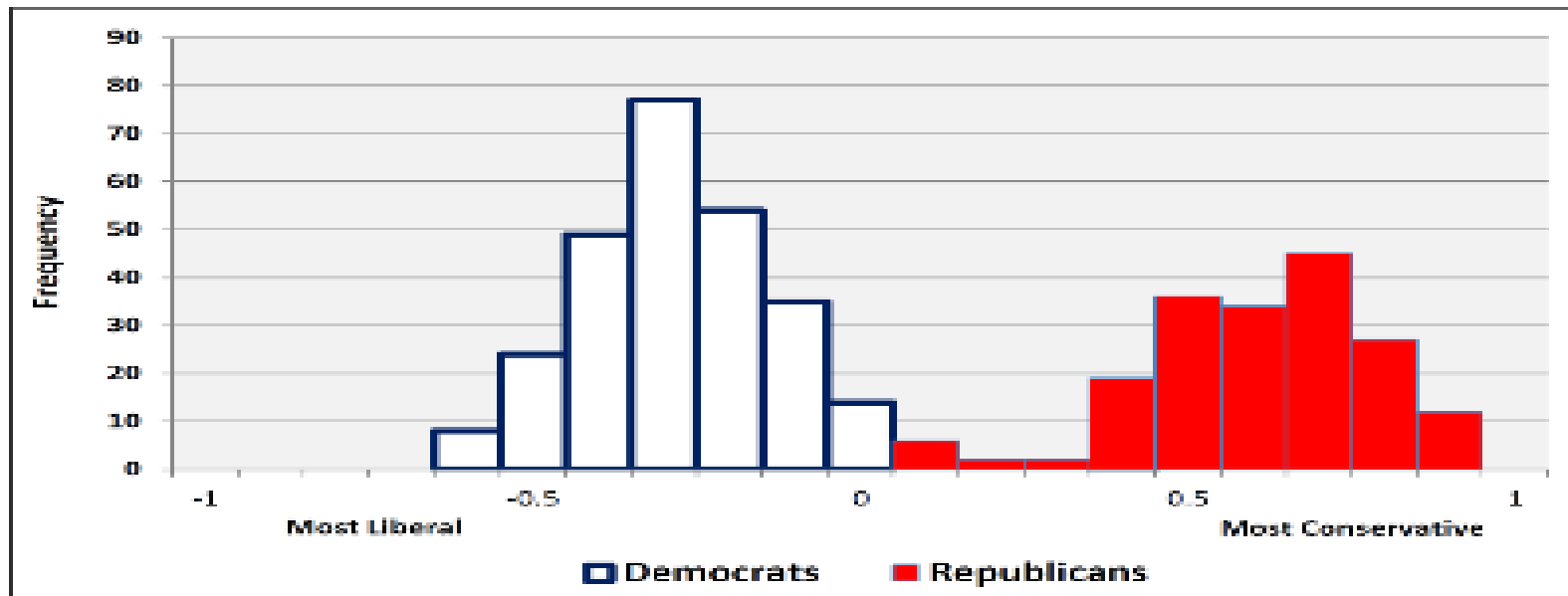


- over50
- over25
- over10

87th Congress, 1961-1963

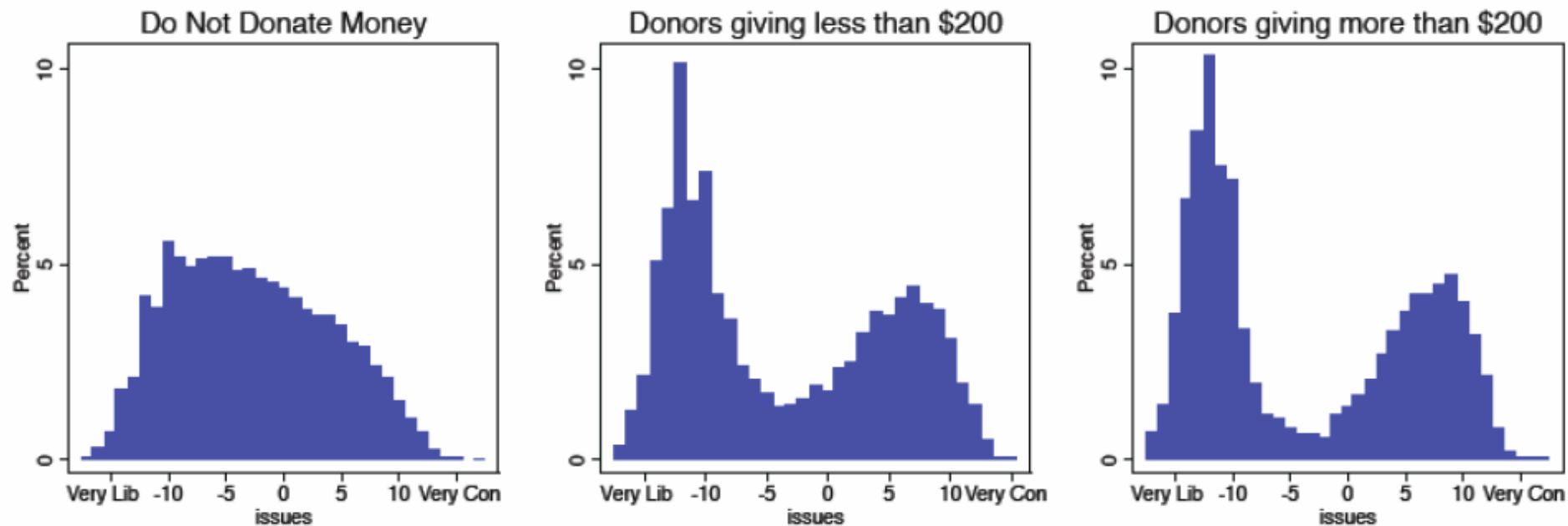


111th Congress, 2009-2011



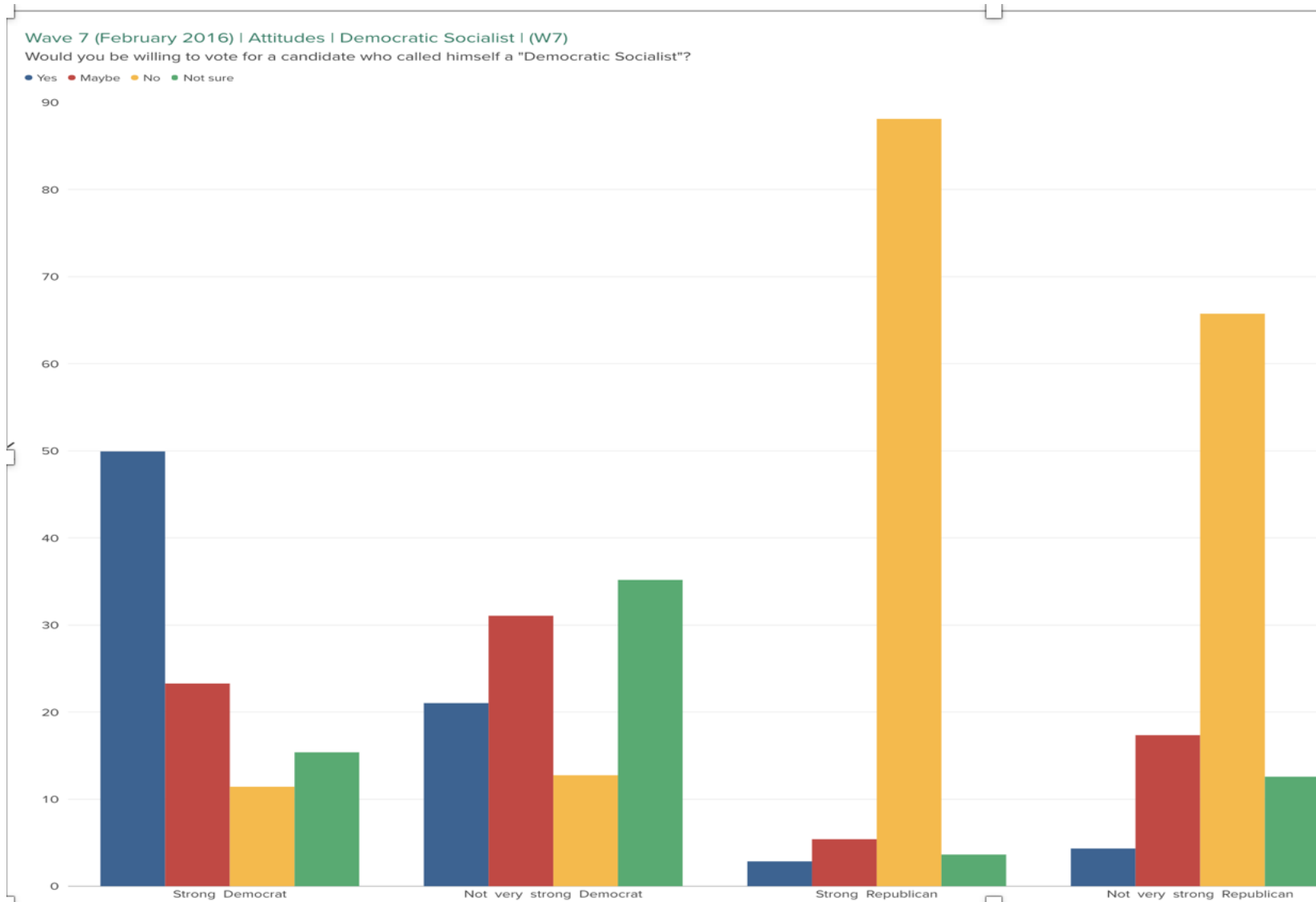
	Congress	year	% active/yr	% active by congress
1936	75	37	10	7.6
		38	4	
76	39	40	6	9.3
		41	11	
77	41	42	11	12.5
		43	14	
78	43	44	18	21.8
		45	28	
79	45	46	12	22.1
		47	30	
80	47	48	18	19.6
		49	22	
81	49	50	21	16.4
		51	13	
82	51	52	22	24.9
		53	28	
83	53	54	11	17.0
		55	12	
84	55	56	8	10.1
		57	14	
85	57	58	18	16.1
		59	17	
86	59	60	22	19.4
		61	28	
87	61	62	14	20.8
		63	17	
88	63	64	15	16.0
		65	25	
89	65	66	19	22.3
		67	20	
90	67	68	24	22.0
		69	27	
91	69	70	22	23.9
		71	30	
92	71	72	27	27.9
		73	23	
93	73	74	24	23.8
		75	28	
94	75	76	24	24.7

Ideological Position of Non-Donors v. Donors



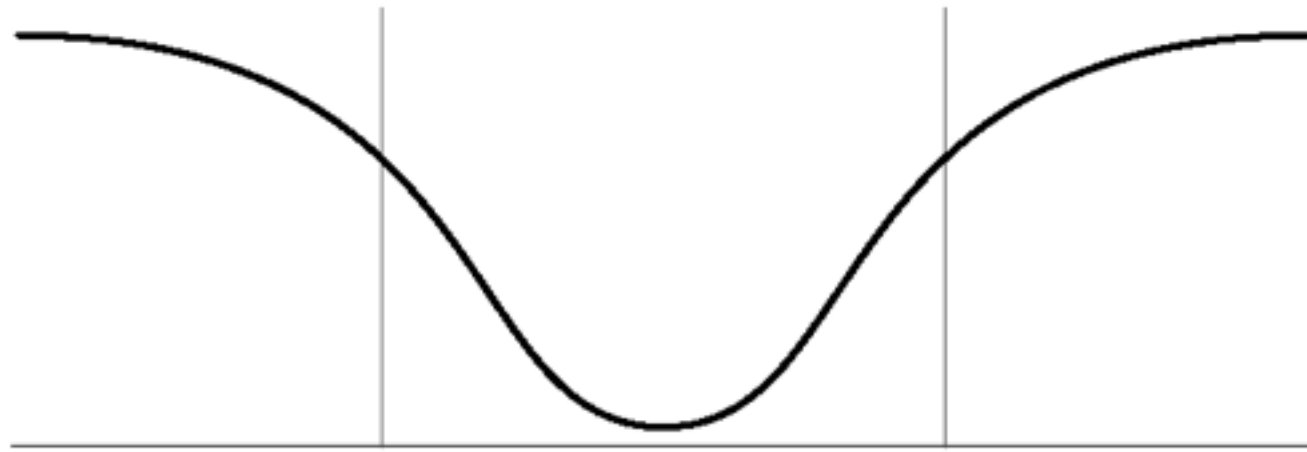
Source: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/07/21/want-to-reduce-polarization-give-parties-more-money/>

Percent willing to vote for Socialist by strength of Party identification

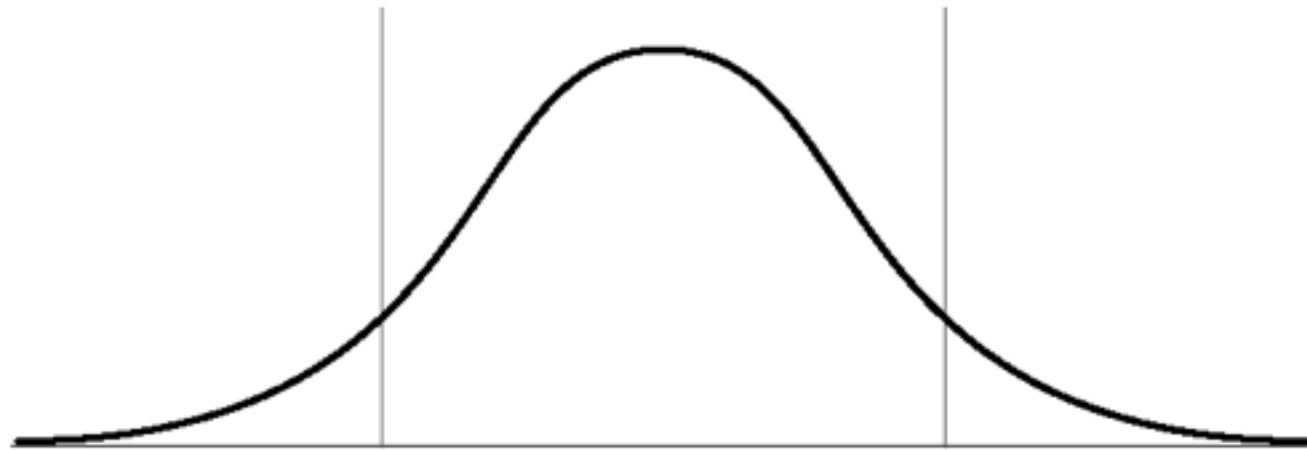


Mo

Polarized



Not Polarized



Has the Public Polarized?

Time 1	25 Liberals	50 Moderates	25 Conservatives
--------	-------------	--------------	------------------

Time 2	50 Liberals	0 Moderates	50 Conservatives
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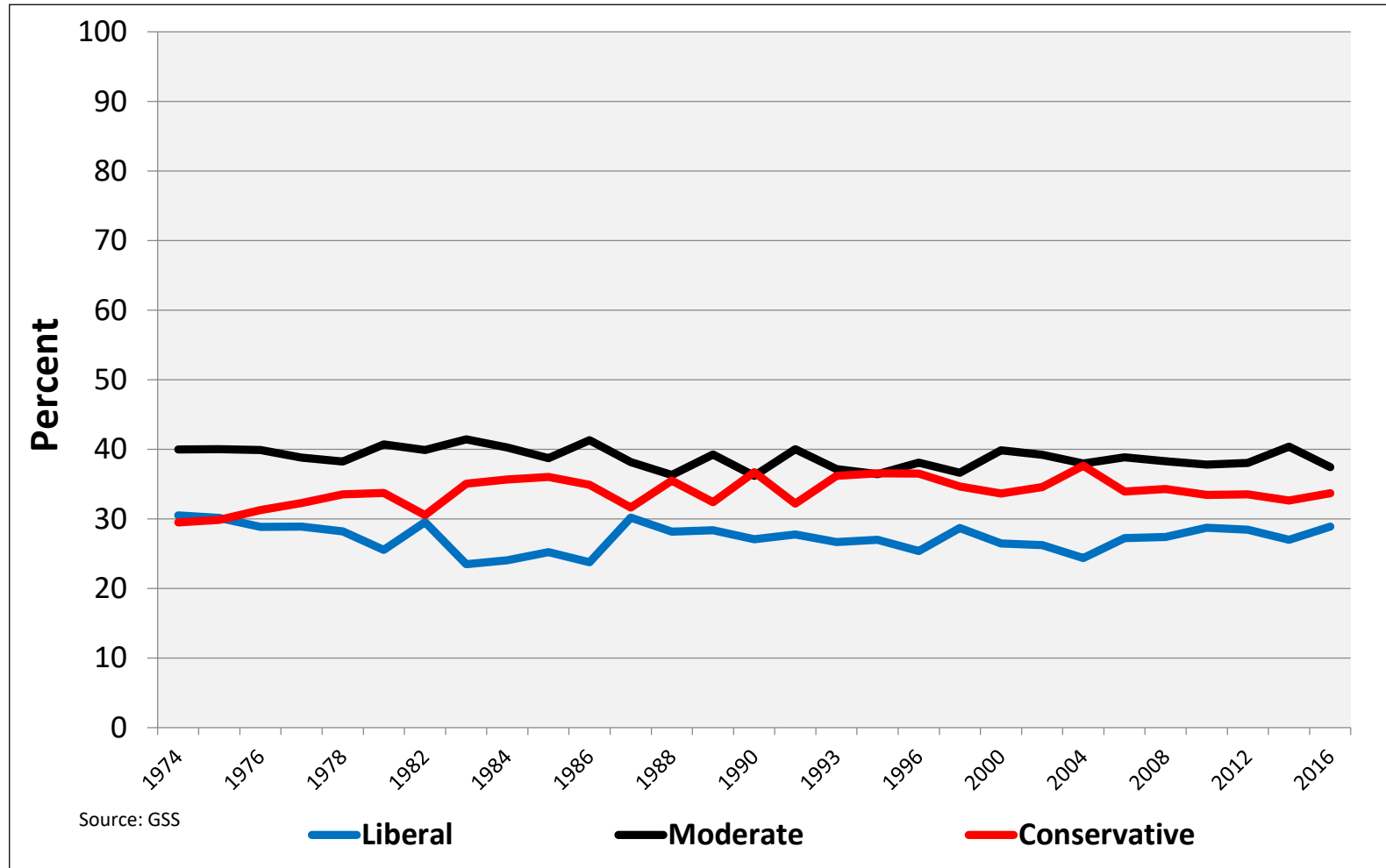
Time 1	25 Always legal	50 Sometimes	25 Never legal
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Time 2	50 Always legal	0 Sometimes	50 Never legal
--------	-----------------	-------------	----------------

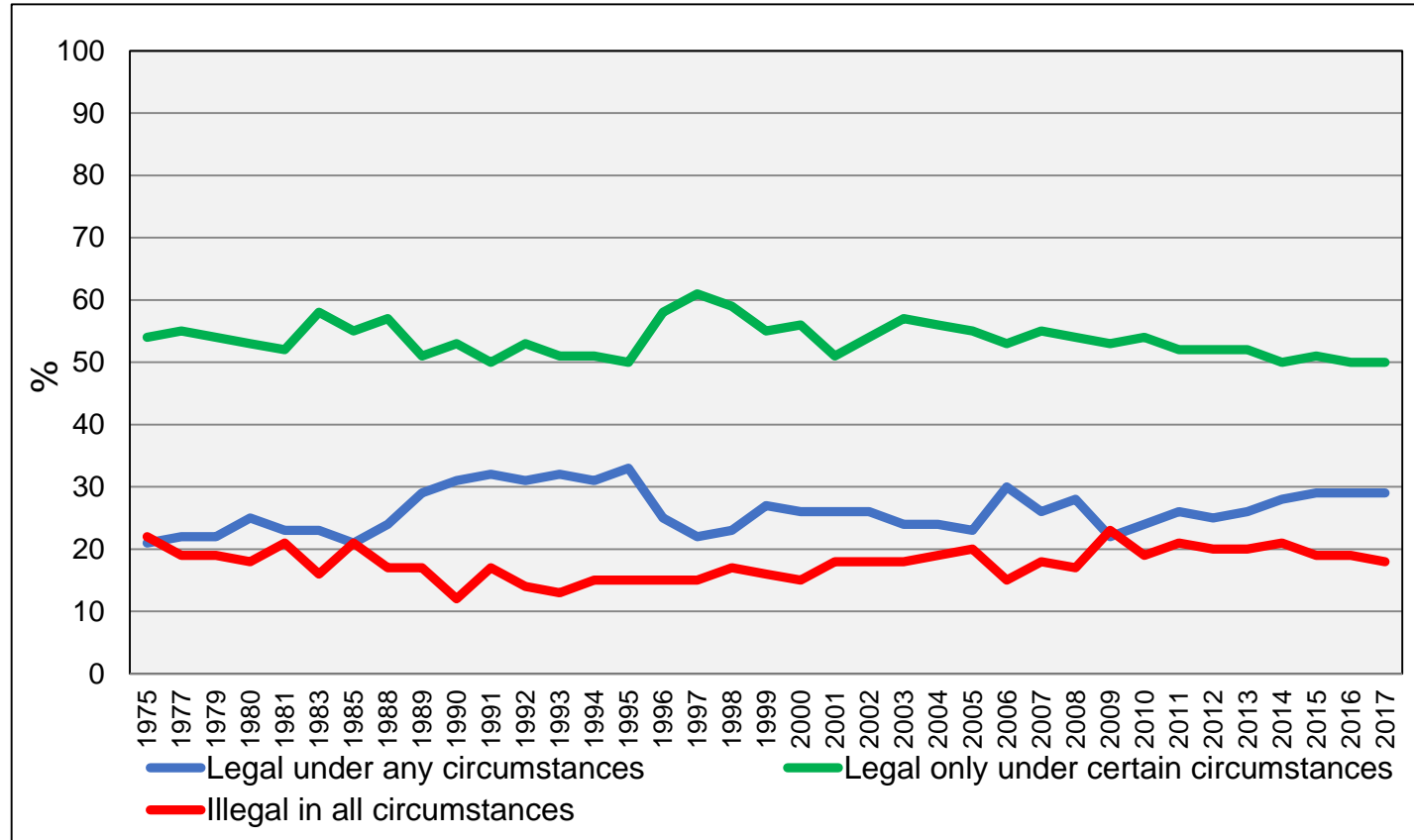
Time 1	40 Democrats	30 Independents	30 Republicans
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Time 2	50 Democrats	0 Independents	50 Republicans
--------	--------------	----------------	----------------

No Decline in Moderates

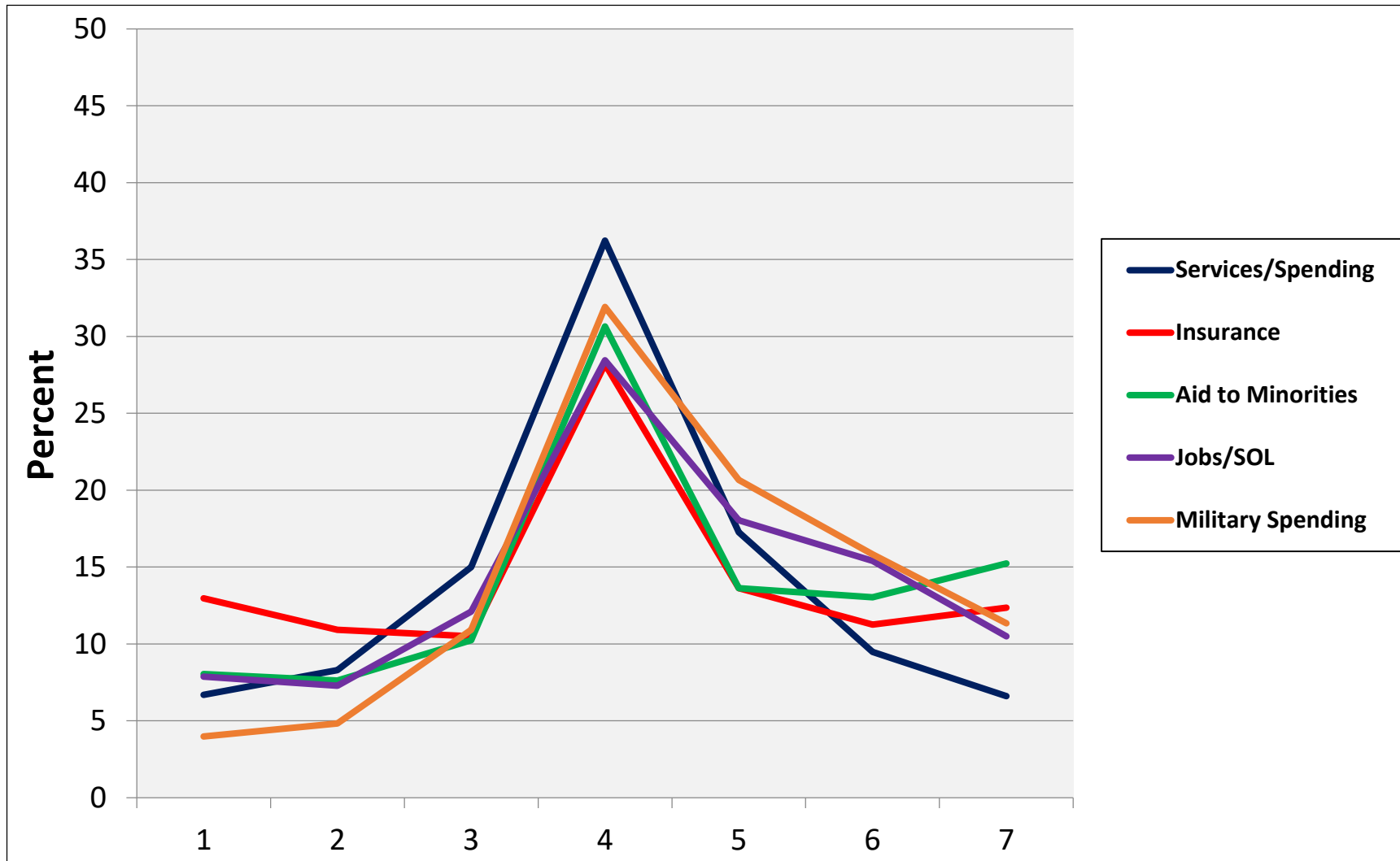


Abortion Should be Legal (Sometimes)



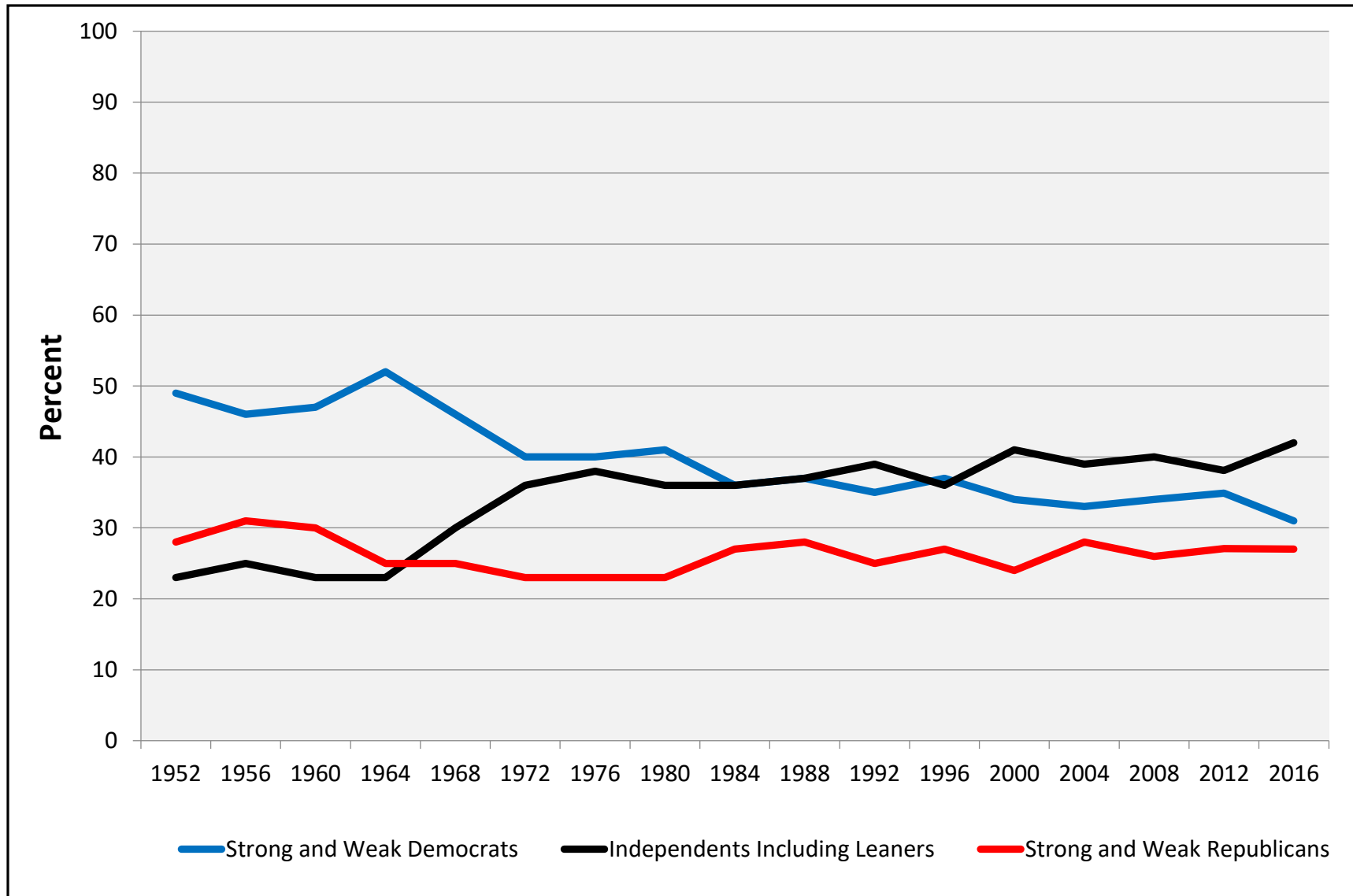
Source: The Gallup Organization

Issue Centrists Still Dominate



Source: 2016 ANES

No Decline in Independents



Party Sorting → *Party* Polarization

Time 1

<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Independents</i>	<i>Republicans</i>
50 liberals		25 liberals
25 moderates	50 moderates	25 moderates
25 conservatives		50 conservatives

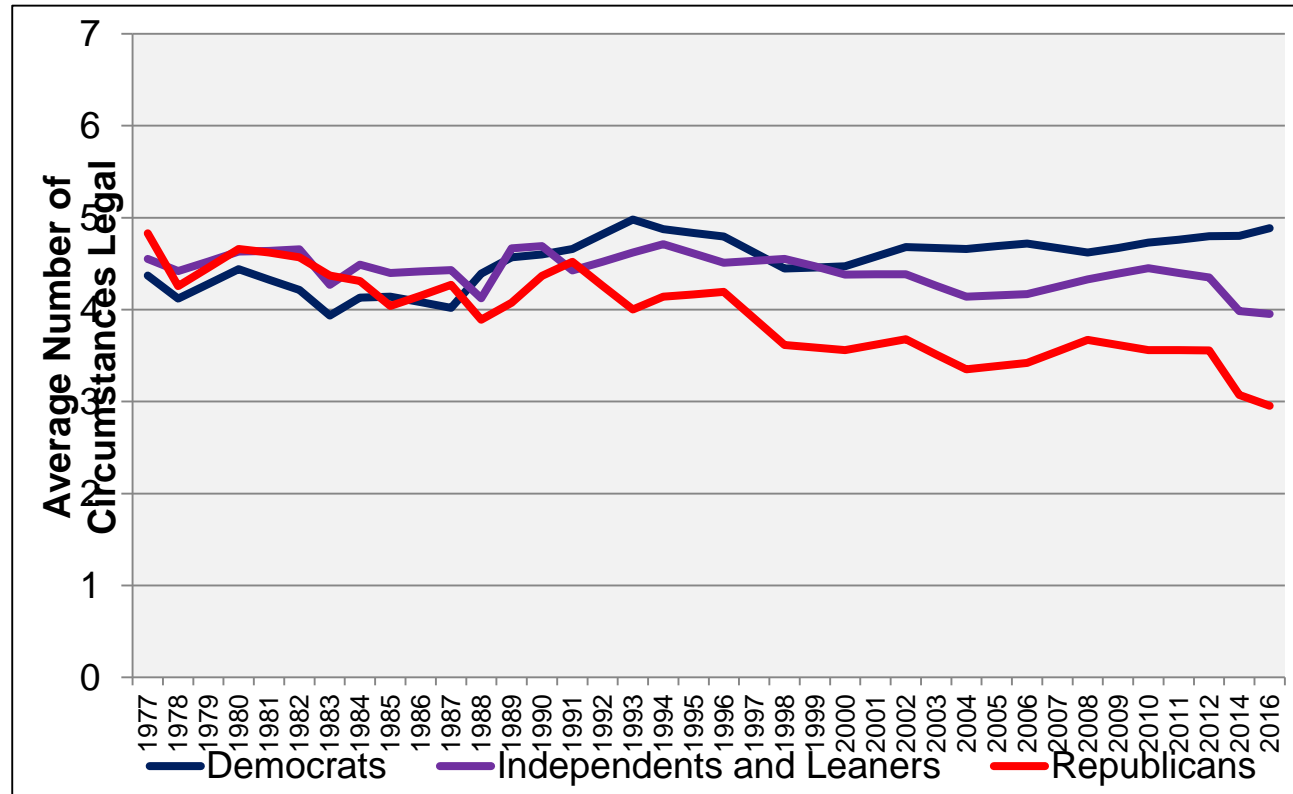
Time 2

<i>Democrats</i>	<i>Independents</i>	<i>Republicans</i>
75 liberals		75 conservatives
25 moderates	50 moderates	25 moderates

Three Features of Party Sorting

1. Top-down (Abortion)
2. Increases with political involvement (activists)
3. Far from perfect among ordinary voters

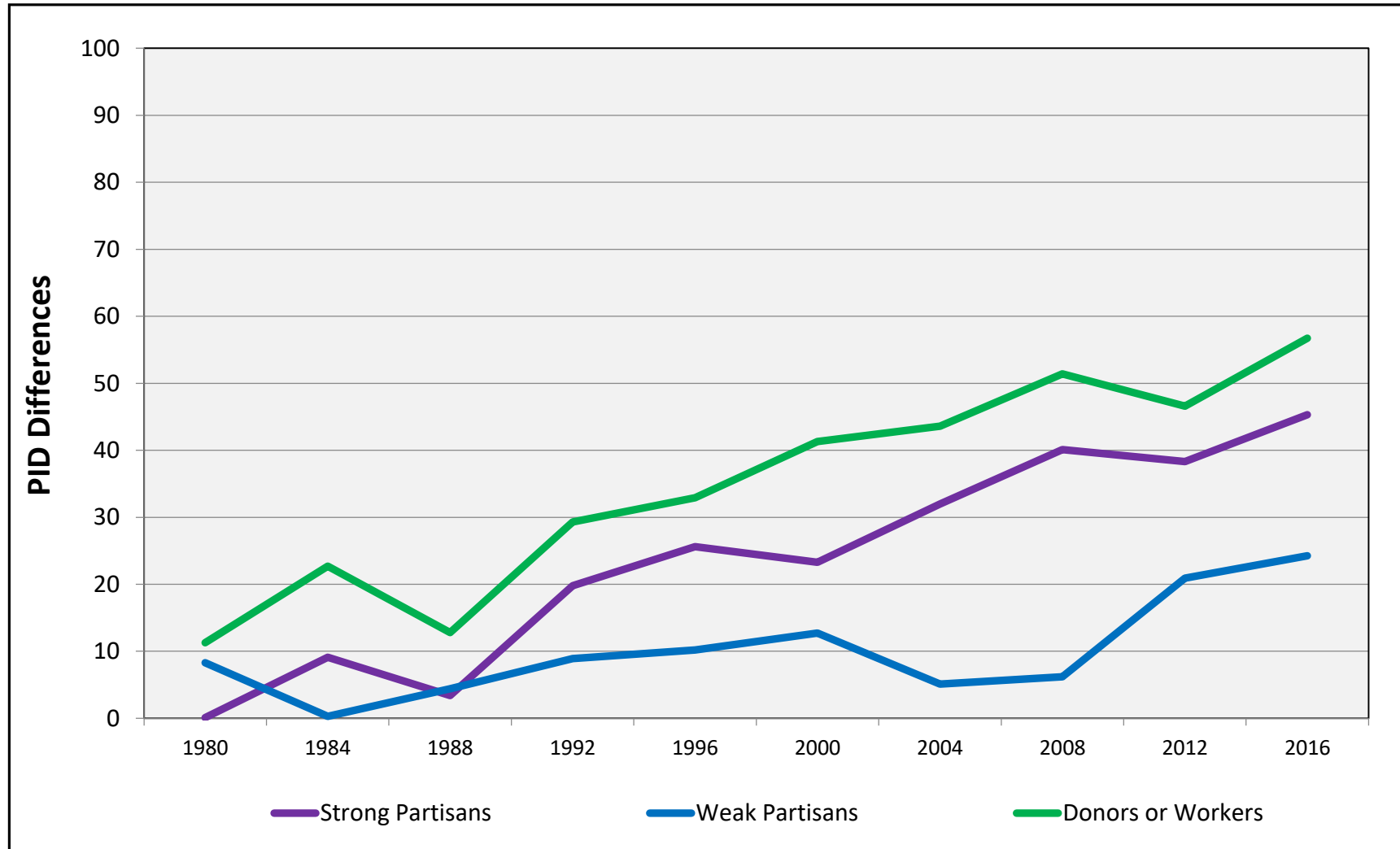
Partisan Sorting on Abortion



Source: General Social Survey.

When Should Abortion Be Permitted?

“Always as a Matter of Personal Choice”



When Should Abortion Be Permitted? (2016 ANES)

	<u>Strong Democrats</u>	<u>Strong Republicans</u>
Never permitted	8%	25%
Only in case of rape, incest, or the woman's life is in danger	15	42
For a clear need	14	13
Always as a personal choice	64	19

Do Two Sizes Fit All?

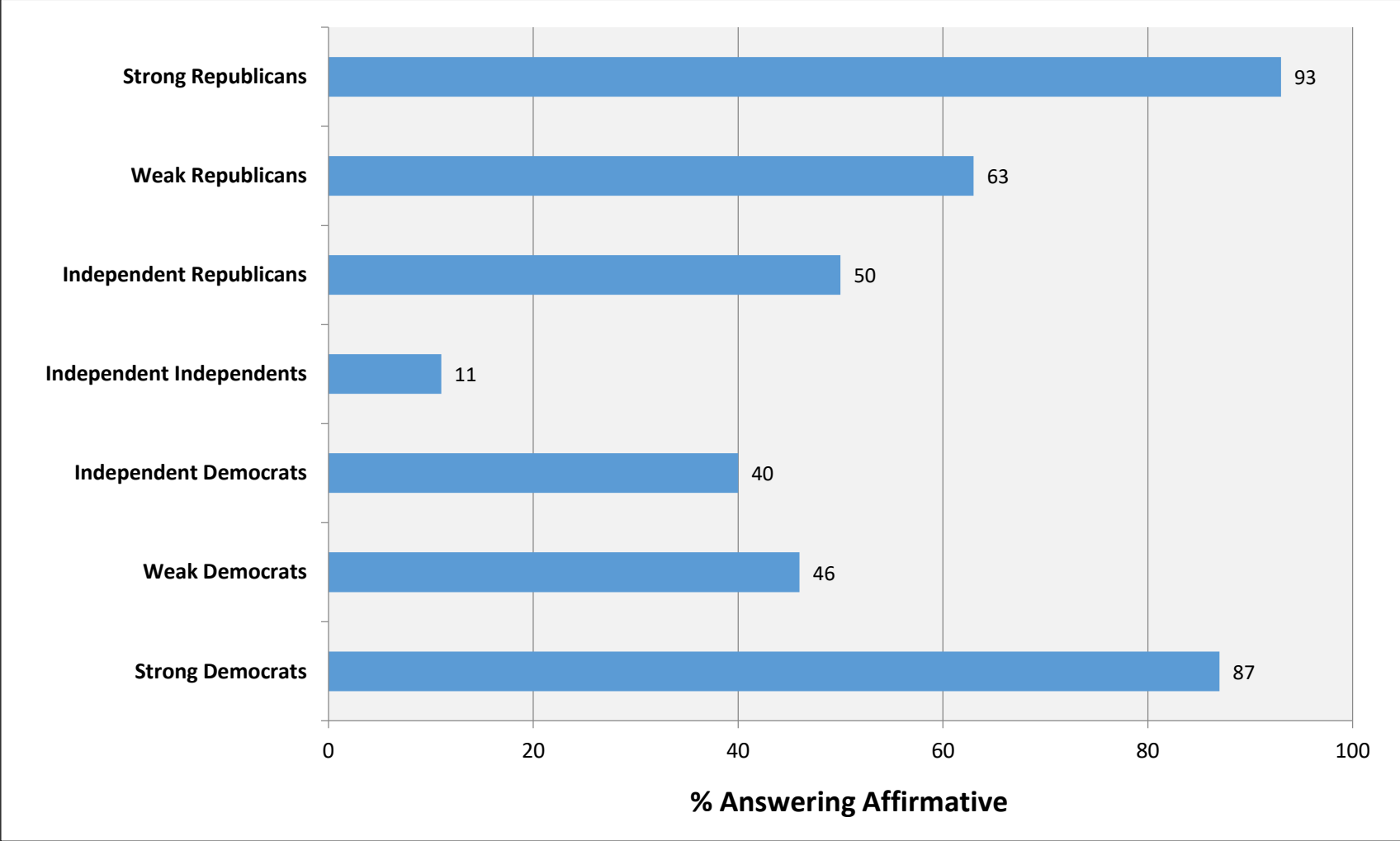
Platform

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Foreign	C	C	C	C	A	A	A	A
Economic	G	G	M	M	G	G	M	M
Cultural	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T
	D							R

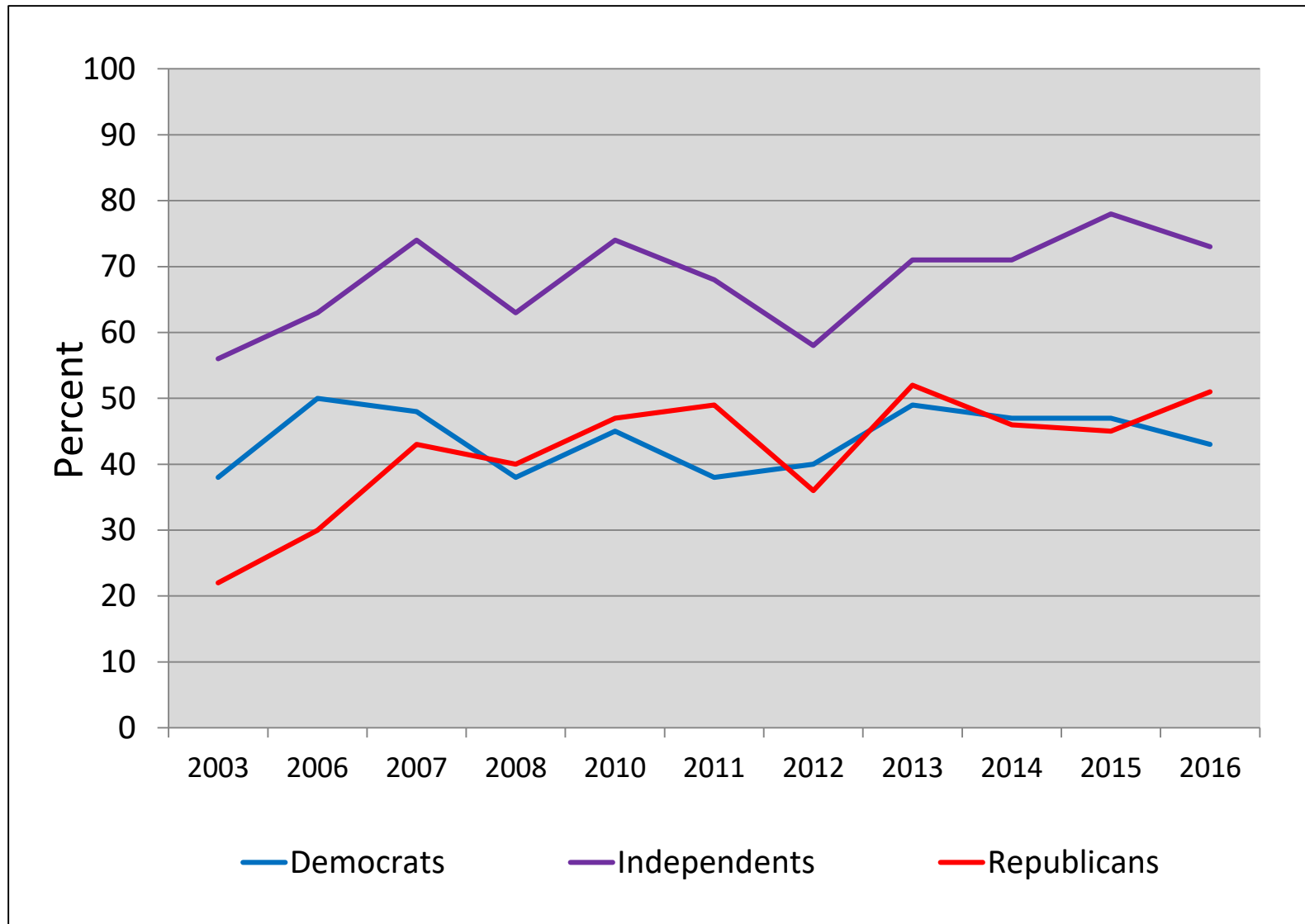
Most Advanced Democracies Have Multi-Party Coalition Governments

	# of Parties in Governmt	# of Parties With Seats
Australia	4	9
Austria	2	10
Belgium	4	12
Czech Republic	3	7
Finland	4	10
France	1	17
Germany	3	5
Ireland	2	10
Italy	2	10
Japan	5	12
Luxembourg	3	6
Netherlands	2	12
Sweden	2	8
United Kingdom	2	10

Do Any of the Parties Represent Your Views Reasonably Well? (YouGov, 2015)



Support for a Third Political Party



Issue Positions of White Trump Voters (2016 ANES)

Dreamers should be allowed to live and work in the U.S.	76%
Favor Building a wall on the border	61
Global warming is happening	71
Global warming has only natural causes	29
Gay marriage should be legal	35
Support transgender bathrooms	25
Federal gov't should make it more difficult to buy a gun	26

What Happened in The 2018 Elections?

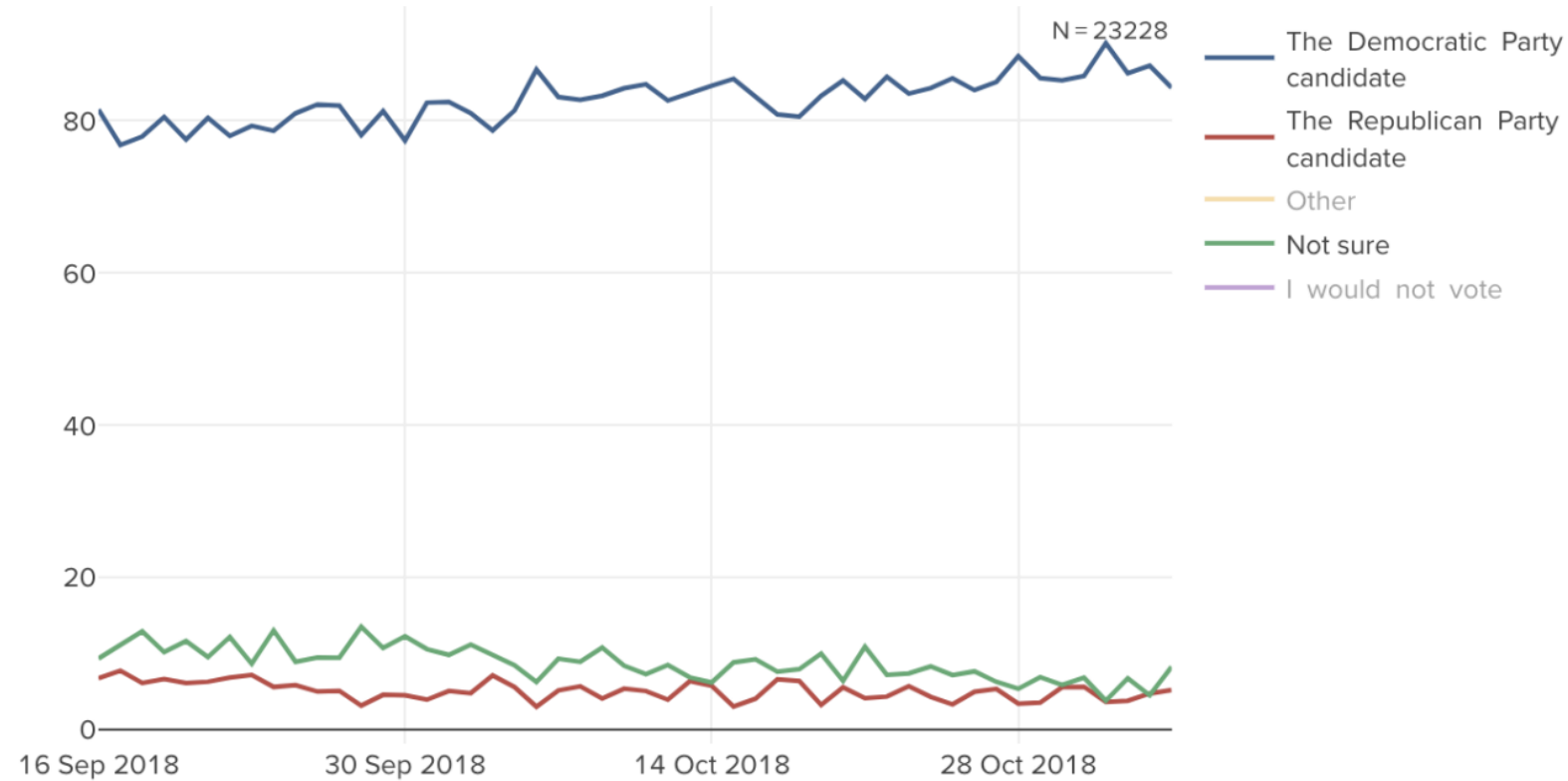
Here's Brady and Rivers!

House vote by Trump disapprovers

It was a referendum on Trump.

Generic Congressional vote

If an election for U.S. Congress were being held today, who would you vote for in the district where you live?

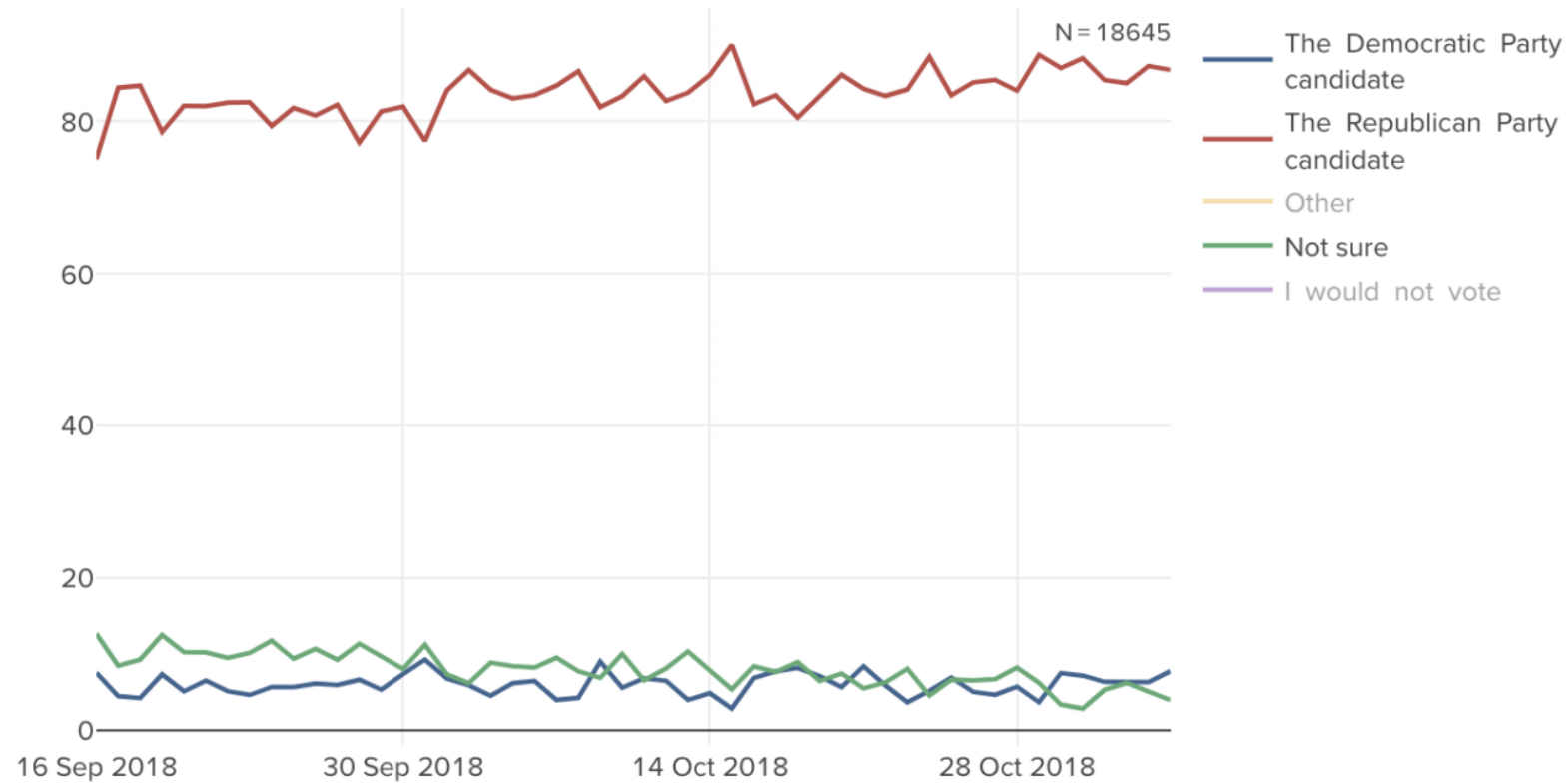


House vote by Trump approvers

Trump supporters voted for any Republican candidate that ran.

Generic Congressional vote

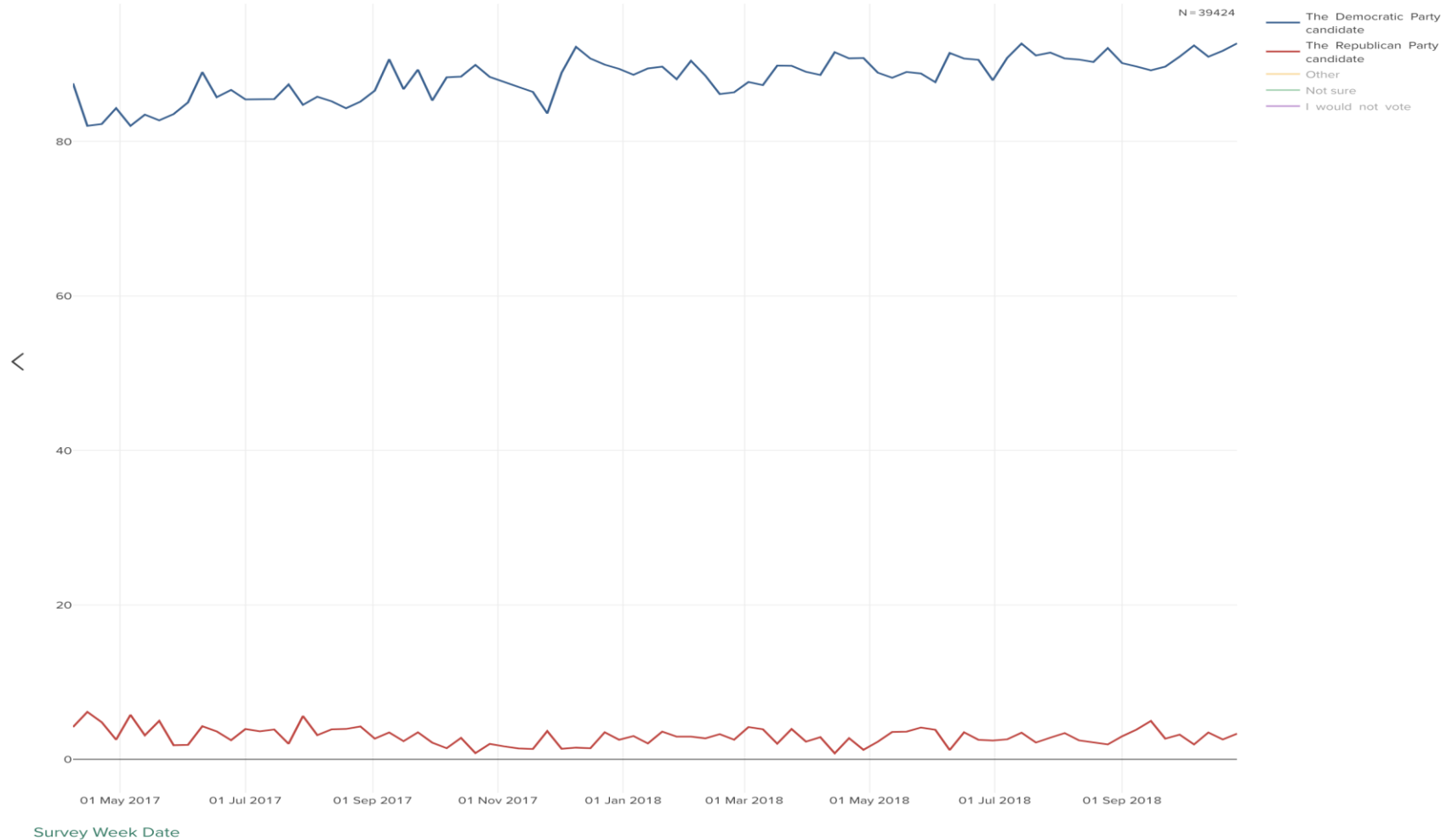
If an election for U.S. Congress were being held today, who would you vote for in the district where you live?



House Vote by Democratic Identifiers

Generic Congressional vote

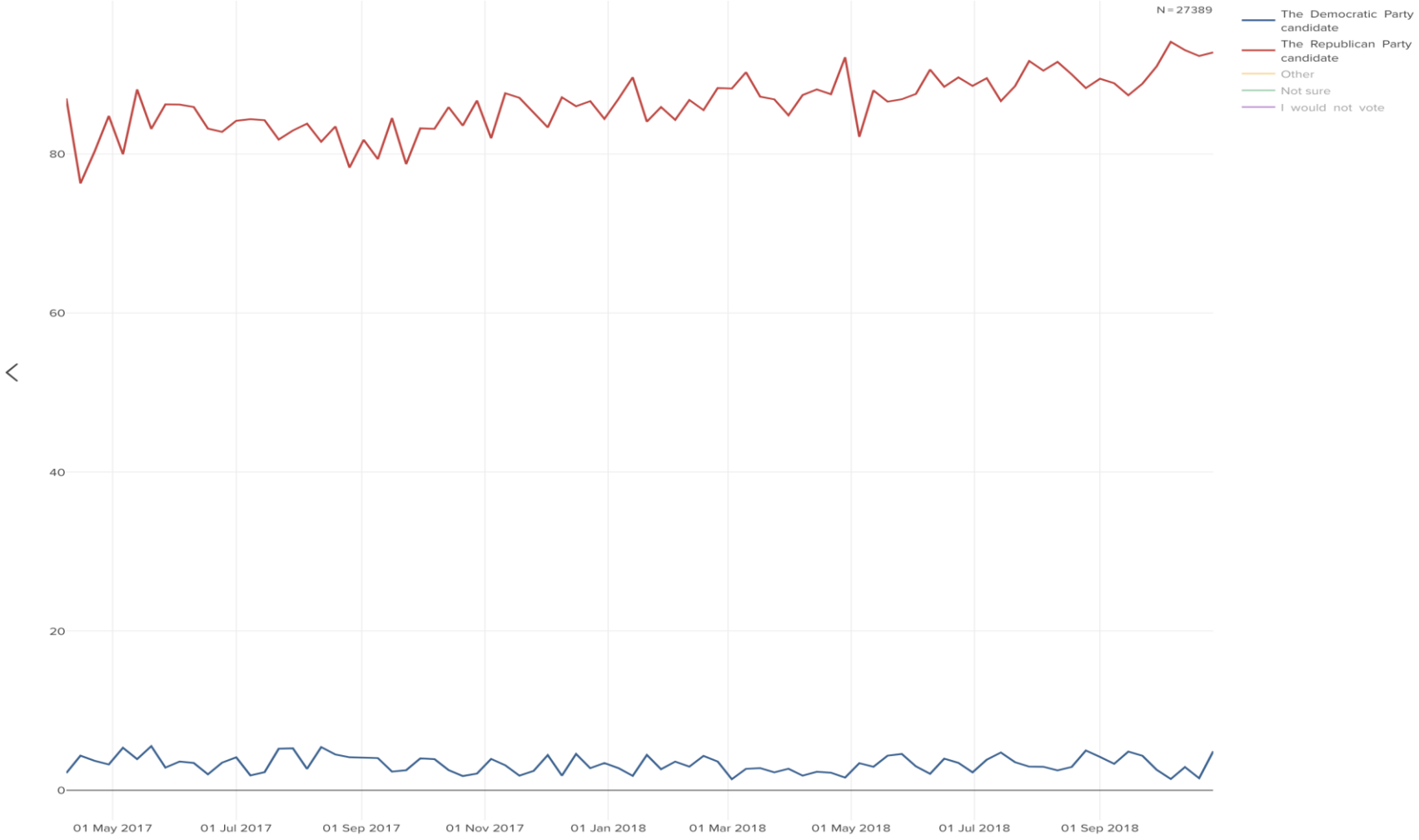
If an election for U.S. Congress were being held today, who would you vote for in the district where you live?



House Vote by Republican Identifiers

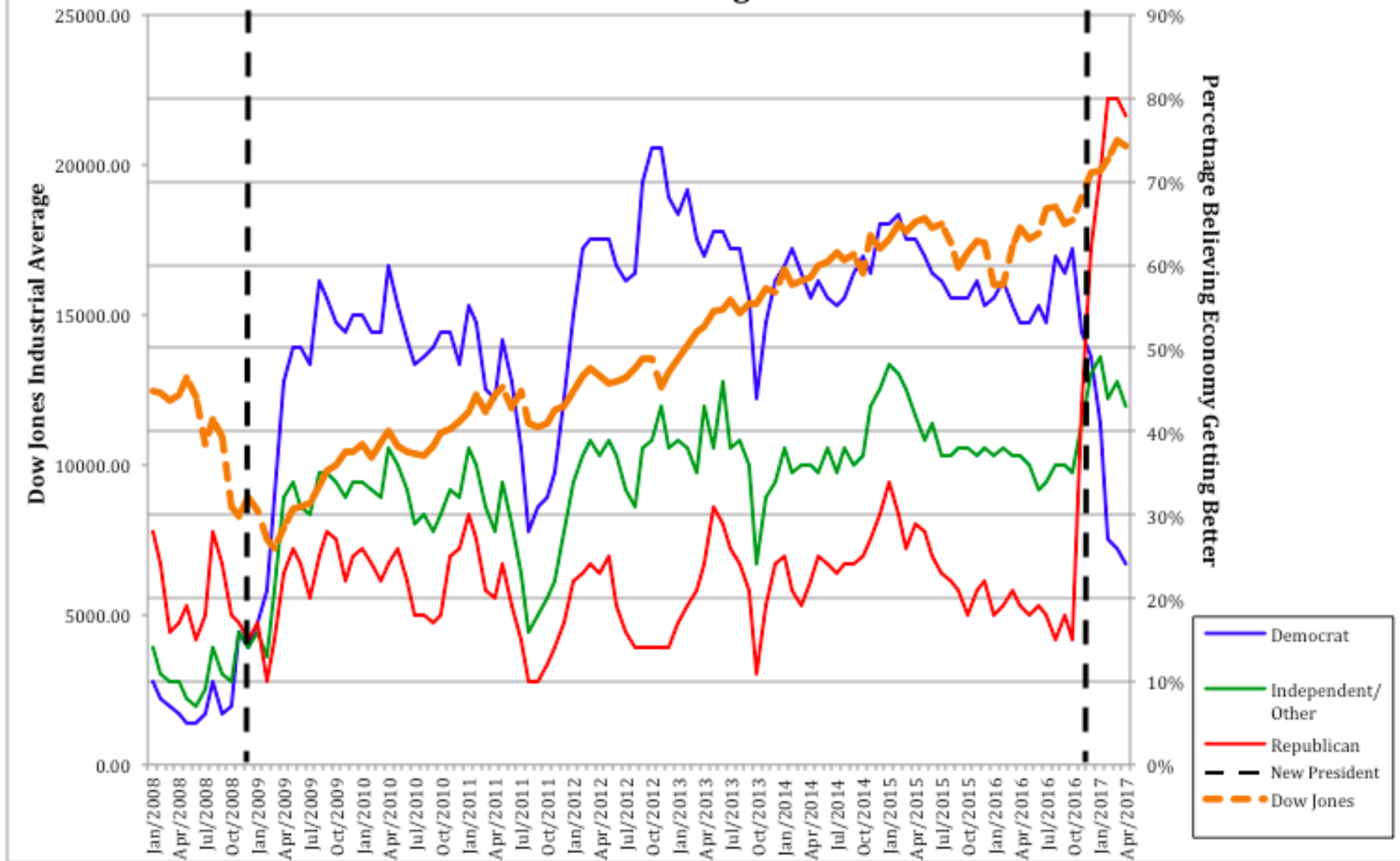
Generic Congressional vote

If an election for U.S. Congress were being held today, who would you vote for in the district where you live?



Survey Week Date

Percentage Believing Economy Getting Better and Dow Jones Industrial Average



The four gaps in American politics

Percentage voting Democratic

	<u>2018</u>	<u>2016</u>	<u>2014</u>		<u>2018</u>	<u>2016</u>	<u>2014</u>
Race				Education			
Non-white	76%	74%	75%	College	59%	52%	46%
White	44%	37%	38%	Non-college	49%	44%	46%
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	32%	37%	37%		10%	8%	0%
Gender				Age			
Female	59%	54%	51%	18-29	67%	55%	54%
Male	47%	41%	41%	30-44	56%	48%	50%
	<hr/>			45-64	50%	45%	45%
	12%	13%	10%	65+	48%	45%	41%
					<hr/>		
					19%	10%	13%

The gaps among whites

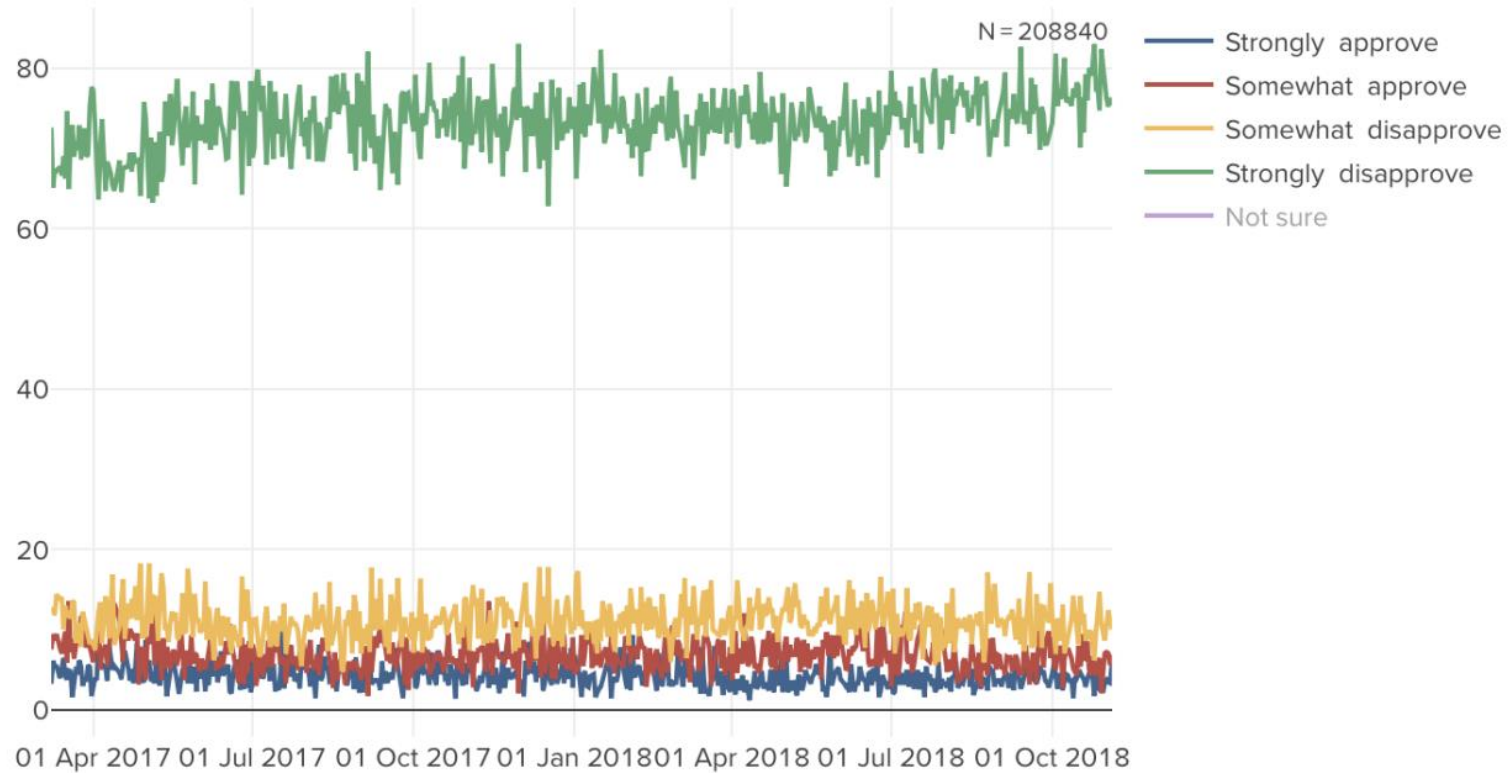
	2018	2016	2014
Gender			
Female	49%	43%	42%
Male	39%	31%	33%
	10%	12%	9%
Education			
College	53%	45%	41%
Non-college	37%	29%	34%
	16%	16%	7%
Age			
18-29	56%	43%	43%
30-44	48%	54%	40%
45-64	40%	34%	36%
65+	43%	39%	36%
	13%	4%	7%

Trump approval among Democrats

Democratic disapproval rose slightly during the campaign.

President Trump Job Approval

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as President?

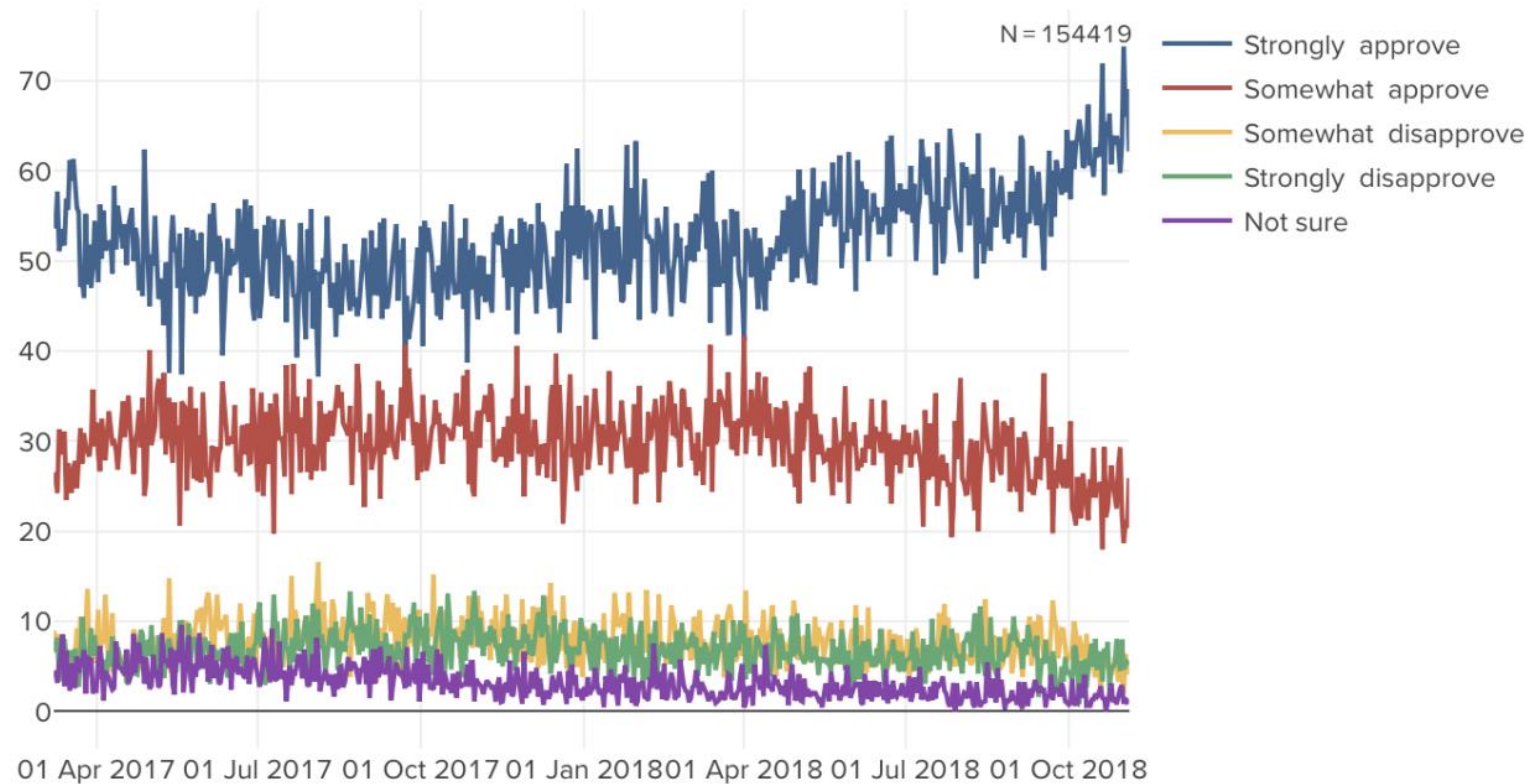


Trump approval among Republicans

Republican skeptics became Trump enthusiasts over past 6 months.

President Trump Job Approval

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as President?



2018 compared to 2016 Election Results: House, Senate and Governor in Very Competitive and Competitive states

	2016			2018		Change in percent of statewide vote-16 to 18
	Rep	Dem		Rep	Dem	
Very competitive states	Rep	Dem	28% of Trumps Electoral College Vote	Rep	Dem	Turnout way up over 2014- 25%
House	47	29		39	37	
Senate	4	6		4	6	
Governors	4	1		2	3	Statewide = 5.2 %
Competitive			34% of Trumps Electoral College Vote			Turnout up over 15%
House	24	59		29	54	
Senate	9	1		9	1	
Governors	5	0		5	0	Statewide= 4.4%

2018 compared to 2016 Election Results: House, Senate and Governor
in competitive states won by Clinton

	2016			2018		Ratio Change R to D 2017-2018
Competitive States Clinton won	Rep	Dem	51 Electoral College Votes competitive Clinton states	Rep	Dem	Turnout up over 20%
House	17	20		12	25	.85 – 1 to .48 to 1
Senate	3	11		2	12	.27- 1 to .167 to 1
Governors	5	2		2	5	2.5 to 1 to .4 to 1

Playing to the base

How serious a threat is the caravan?	Party Identification			All
	Democrat	Republican	Independent	
An immediate and serious threat	8%	54%	24%	25%
A somewhat serious threat	13%	23%	20%	17%
A minor threat	17%	16%	20%	17%
Not a threat	52%	5%	29%	28%
Not sure	10%	3%	8%	13%

Principles in Conflict during Kavanaugh Hearings

Party ID (3 category)

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...?

Principles in conflict

When these two principles come in conflict, which one is more important?

	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Believing a man is innocent until proven guilty	41.59	91.51	69.47
Believing a woman who says she is a victim of sexual assault	58.41	8.49	30.53
Unweighted N	516	347	423