



DEMOCRACY CORPS
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

Inside Trump's GOP: Not what you think

*July National Phone Survey &
Factor Analysis from April Battleground Phone Survey*

July 2018

GREENBERG RESEARCH

Methodology:

July national phone survey.

Democracy Corps and Greenberg Research conducted a national survey of 1,003 registered voters via live telephone interviews between July 19-26, 2018. Margin of error is +/- 3.1 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level. Margin of error is higher among subgroups.

Factor analysis of April battleground phone survey.

On behalf of Democracy Corps, Catalist has conducted a factor analysis on Republican and independent leaning Republican registered voters in a 12 state battleground (AZ, CO, FL, GA, MN, MI, NV, NM, OH, PA, TN, WI) conducted in April 2018 on behalf of WVWVAF, focusing on a battery of feeling thermometers.

Key findings: conventional wisdom is wrong about the GOP base

Trump's base strategy is building anti-Trump energy among Democrats but is also maxed out among the GOP base, which is deeply fractured.

Trump's red meat policy priorities and confrontational campaign rallies only energize the 1/2 of the GOP base formed by Evangelical conservatives and Tea Party supporters who are Trump loyalists.

The other half of the GOP – the Catholic conservative, secular conservatives, and moderate Republicans – are physically bothered by what they see and less determined to vote in 2018.

Trump has created an opportunity to peel off these less enthusiastic Republicans.

Moderates and secular conservatives, particularly the women and millennials, are a huge target for progressive messages in the next 90 days.



Key findings: opportunity to demoralize & peel off parts of GOP

The GOP is united on issues like immigration, foreignness, military strength & respect for the American flag.

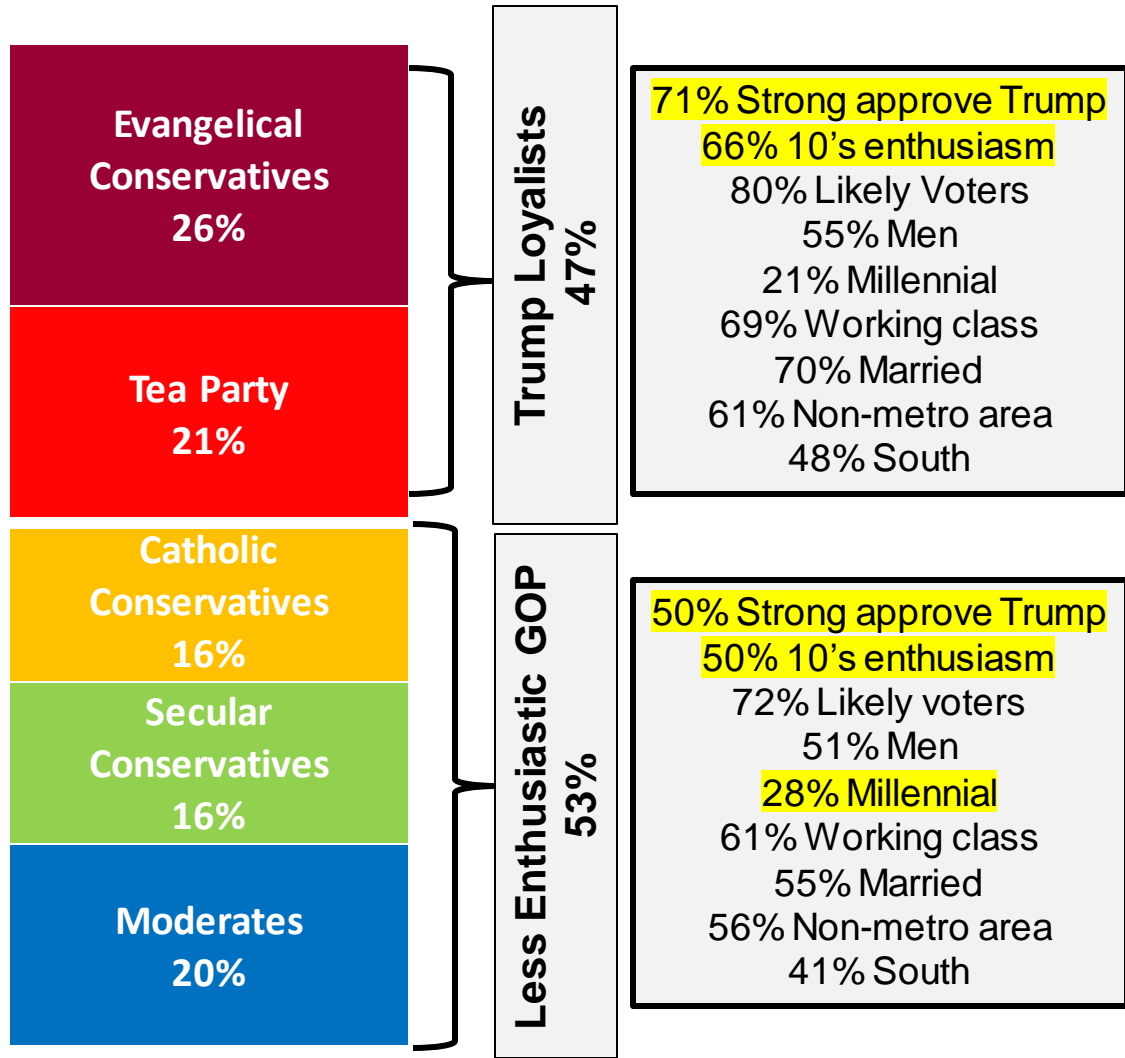
But they are deeply divided on abortion, the environment and climate change, tax cuts, and the state Medicaid expansion for working people.

The less enthusiastic Republicans, particularly the women, are also fractured from the Trump loyalists on issues like whether the government should play a bigger role in ensuring everyone quality healthcare, ensuring affordable child care, and ensuring the rich pay their fair share of taxes.

The Mueller investigation is also an opportunity for further demoralization: a significant number of Republicans say that if Trump's team lied about conspiring with Russians or if Trump obstructed justice, "there must be accountability."

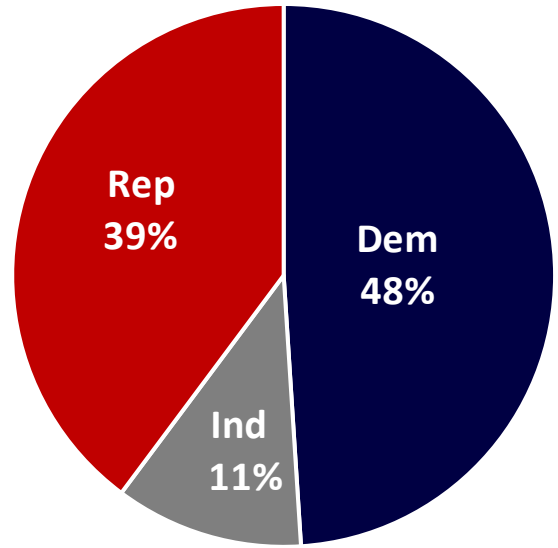


Composition of the GOP base



71% Strong approve Trump
66% 10's enthusiasm
 80% Likely Voters
 55% Men
 21% Millennial
 69% Working class
 70% Married
 61% Non-metro area
 48% South

50% Strong approve Trump
50% 10's enthusiasm
 72% Likely voters
 51% Men
28% Millennial
 61% Working class
 55% Married
 56% Non-metro area
 41% South



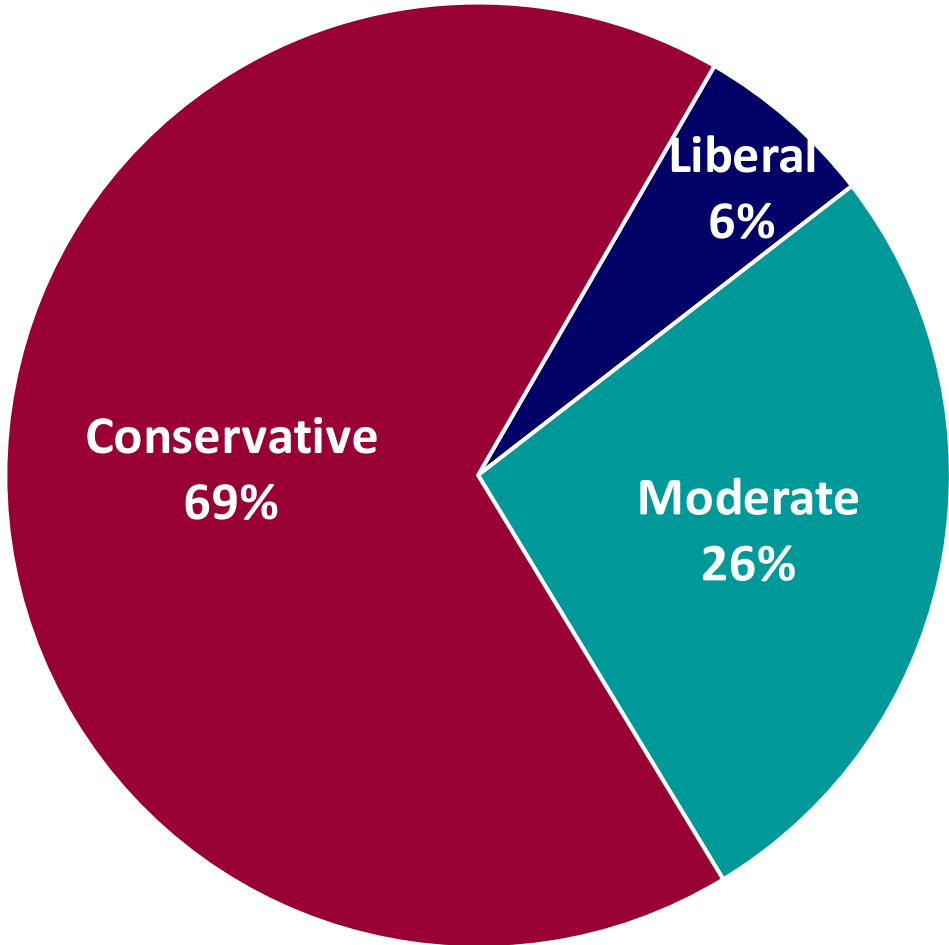
Democrats

80% Strong disapprove Trump
 59% 10's enthusiasm
 67% Likely voters
 60% Women
 39% Millennial
 58% working class
 54% Unmarried
 60% Metro area



The moderates & liberals in the GOP base

Republicans



Moderate & Liberal Republicans

- 63% Strong approve Trump
- 46% 10's enthusiasm
- 75% Trump in 2016
- 69% Likely Voters
- 51% Men
- 29% Millennial
- 56% Working class
- 61% Married
- 54% Non-metro area
- 43% South



THE TIES THAT BIND



Immigration stance unites, not divides GOP

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

Immigrants to the U.S.

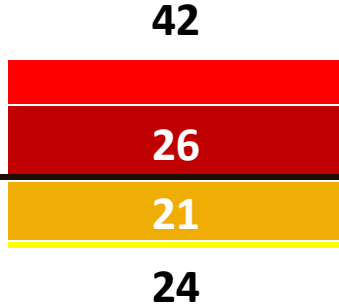
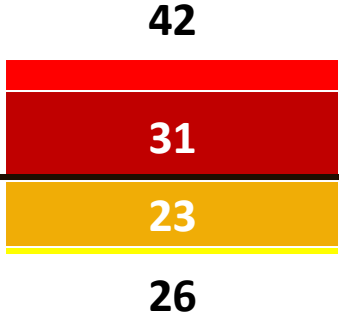
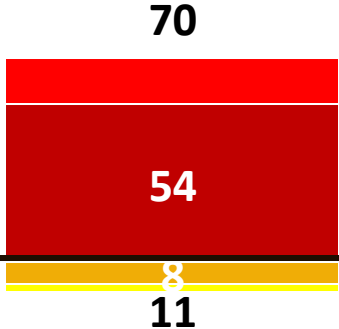
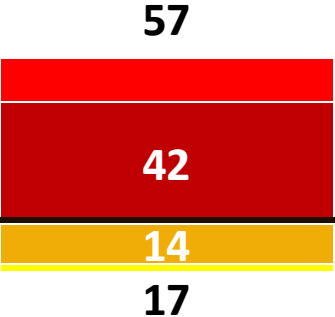
■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)

Mean: 66.4
Net: +40

Mean: 74.7
Net: +59

Mean: 55.0
Net: +16

Mean: 55.5
Net: +18



Total

Democrats

Trump Loyalists

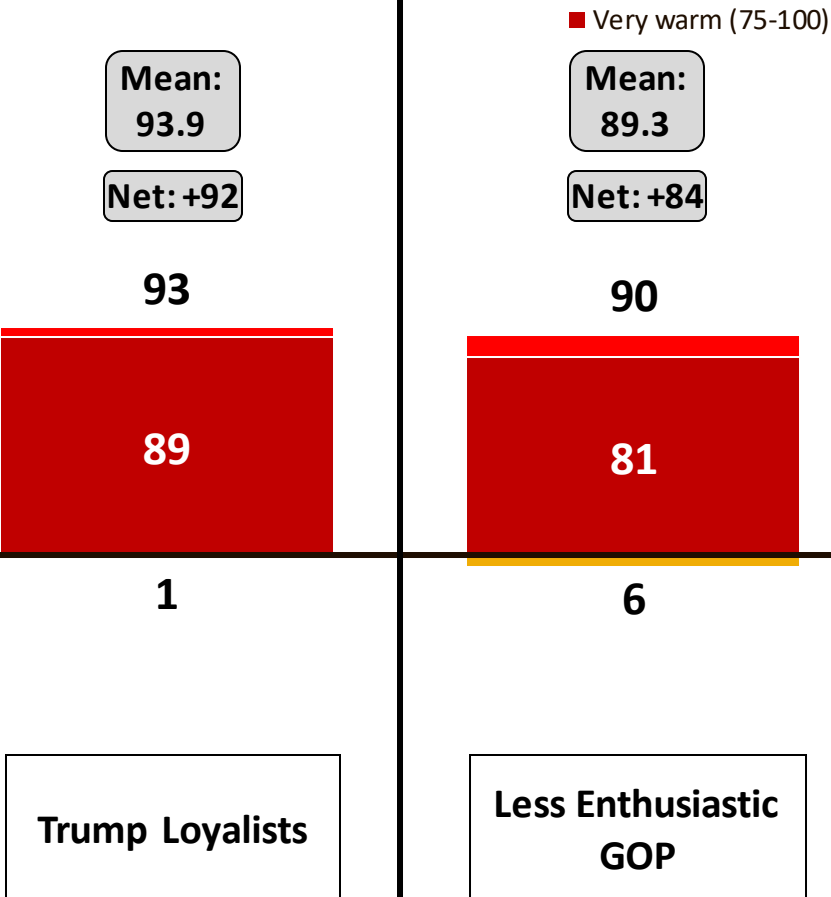
Less Enthusiastic GOP



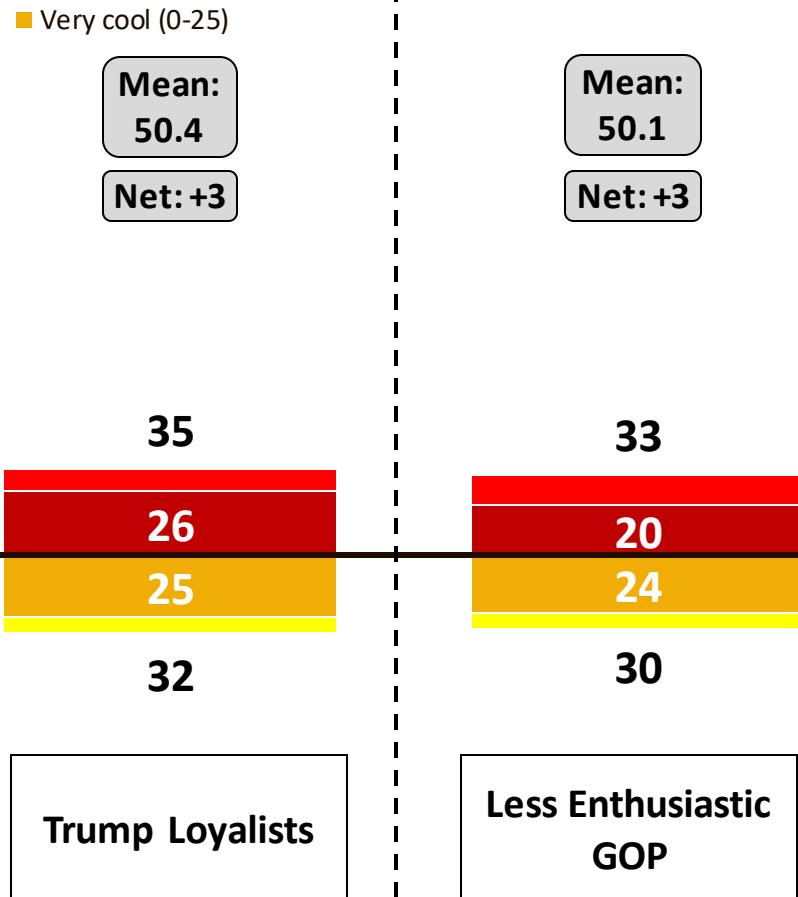
All GOP agree on English and foreignness

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

English as the official American language



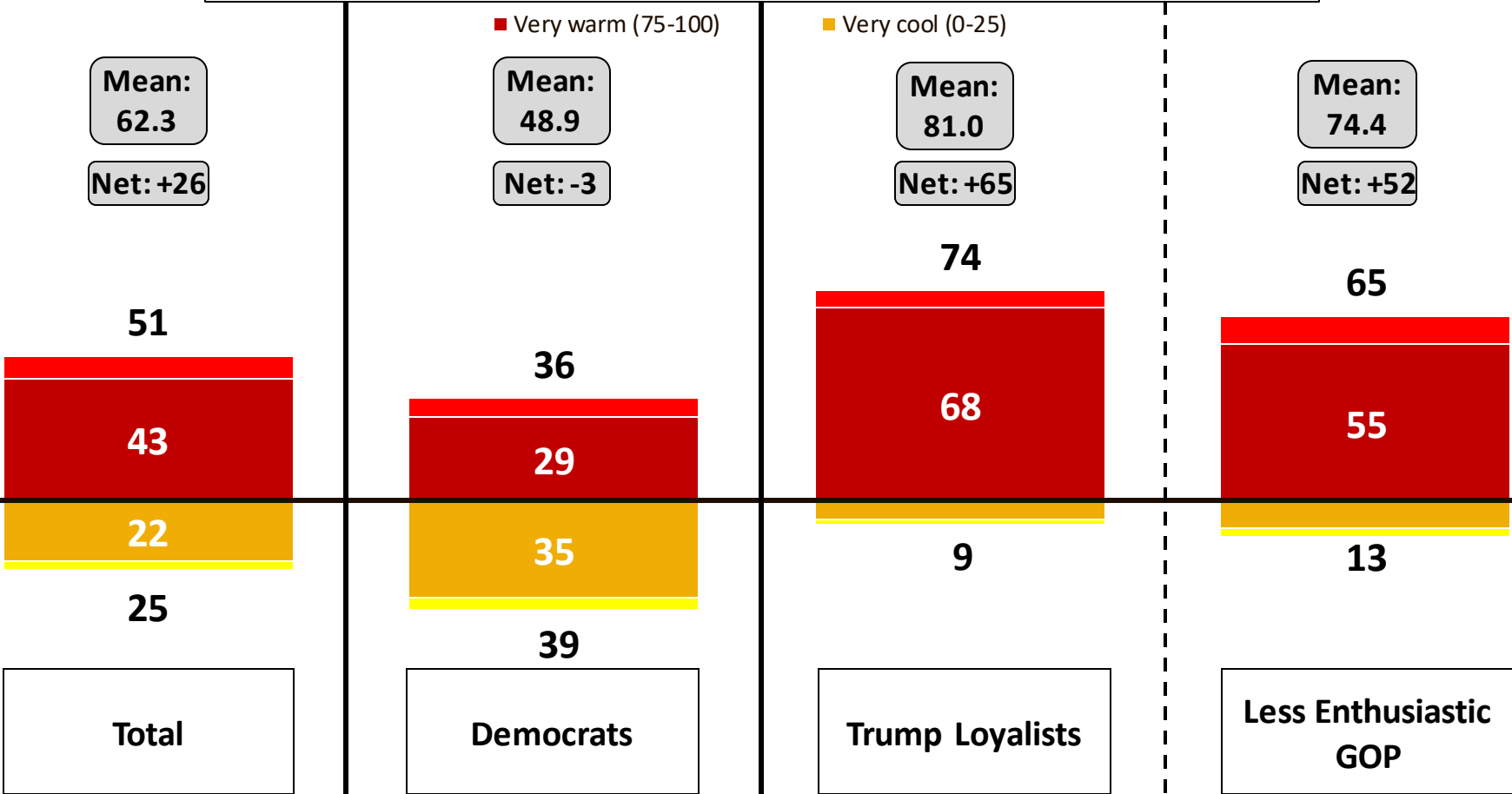
Coming in contract with those speaking little English



White identity important for all today's GOP

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

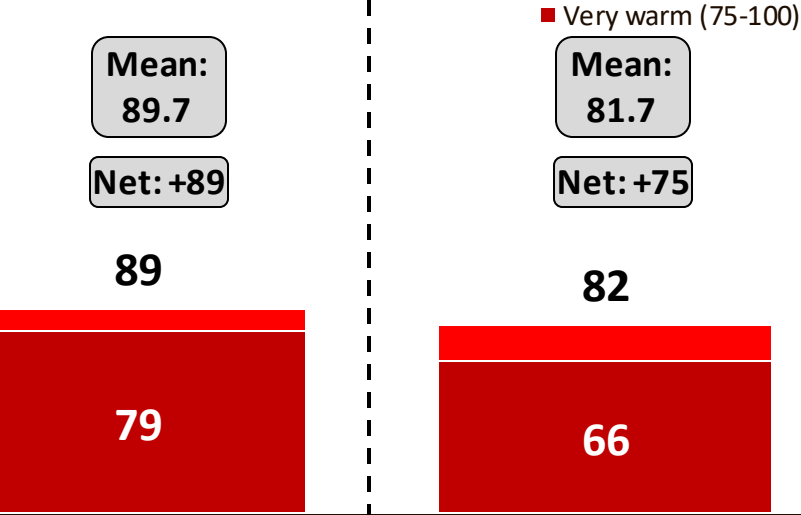
Preventing discrimination against white people



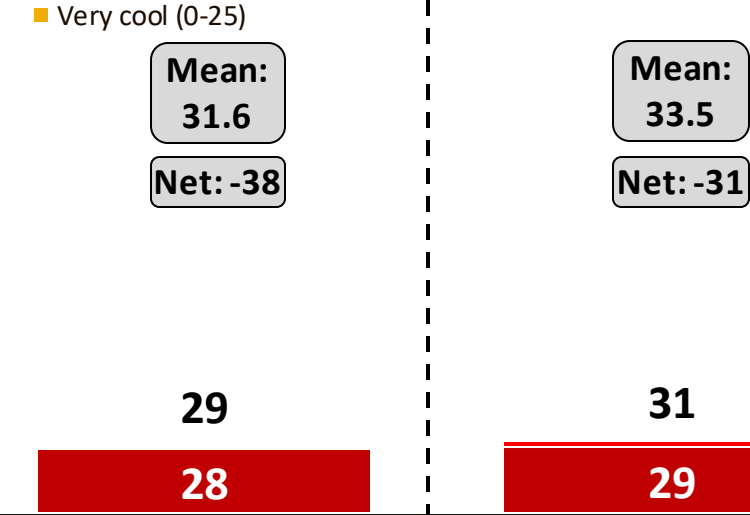
Military strength and patriotism important for all GOP

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

Ensuring peace through military strength



Disrespecting the American flag



Trump Loyalists

Less Enthusiastic GOP

Trump Loyalists

Less Enthusiastic GOP



GOP united against Obamacare

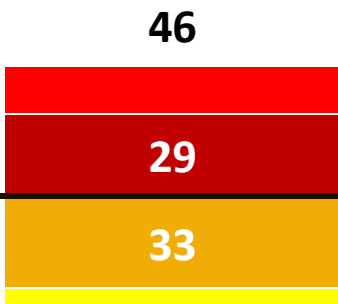
Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

ACA or Obamacare

■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)

Mean:
49.7

Net: +6



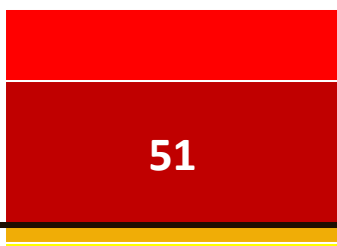
40

Total

Mean:
73.7

Net: +65

76



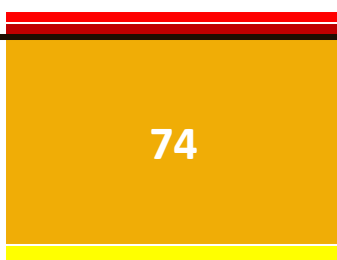
11

Democrats

Mean:
17.7

Net: -73

9



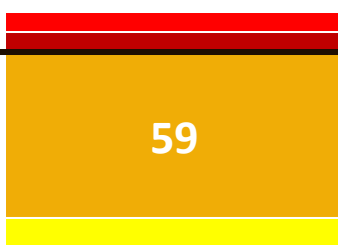
82

Trump Loyalists

Mean:
24.7

Net: -58

14



72

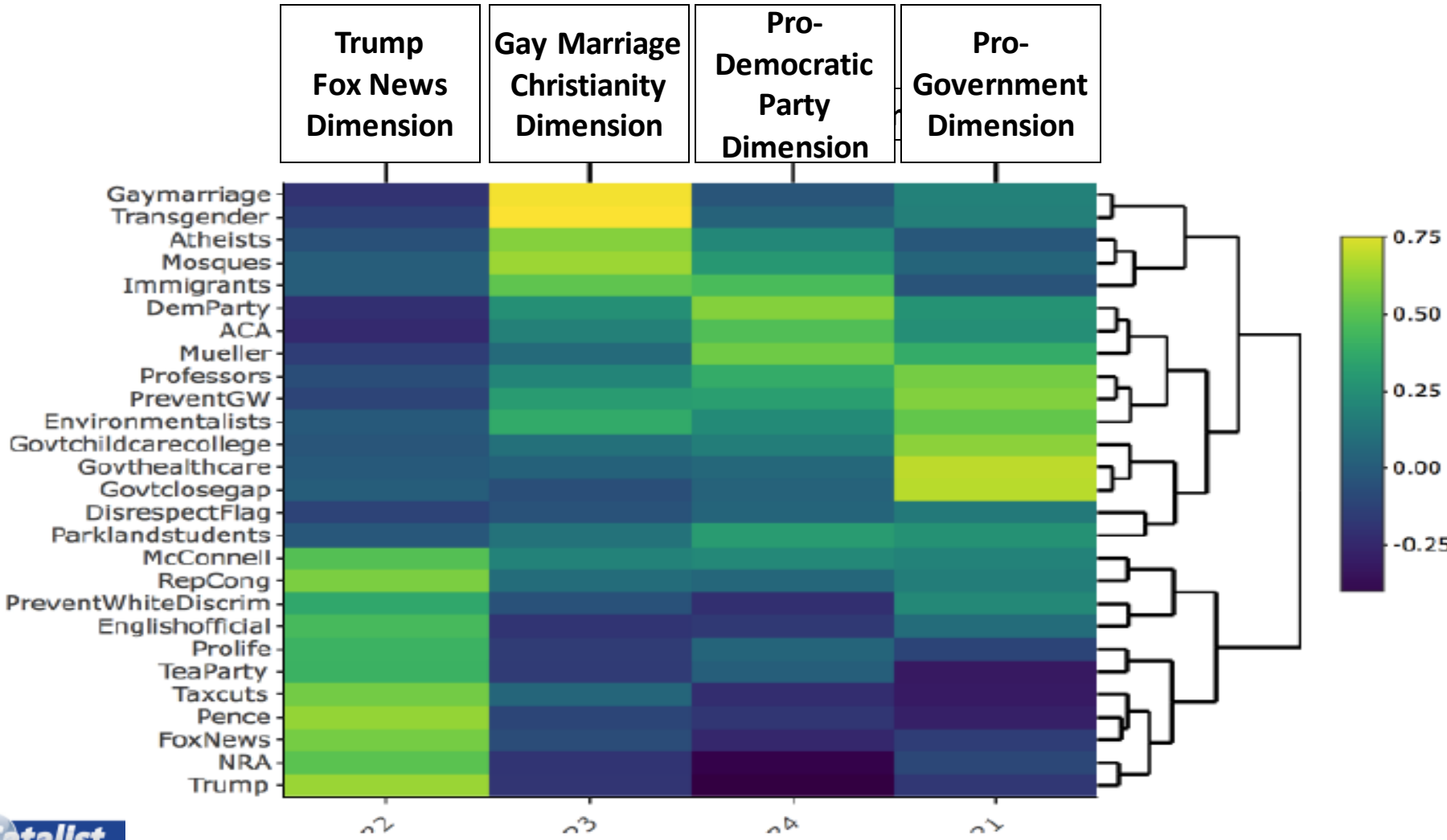
Less Enthusiastic GOP



POINTS OF DIVISION



Dimensions of GOP thinking: Catalist factor analysis



Darker yellow bars denote shared pattern of variation across question responses for each dimension.

Fox News key to Trump-Fox GOP, but 1/2 not enthusiastic

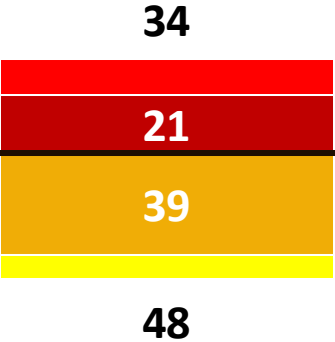
Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

FOX News

■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)

Mean:
42.0

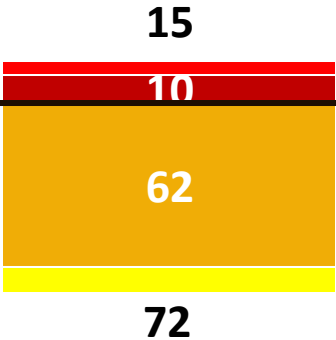
Net: -14



Total

Mean:
24.3

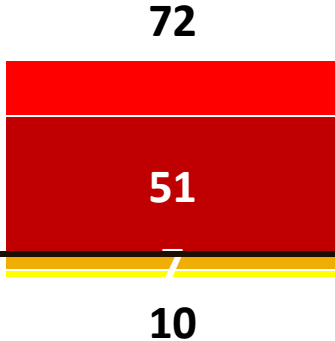
Net: -57



Democrats

Mean:
73.8

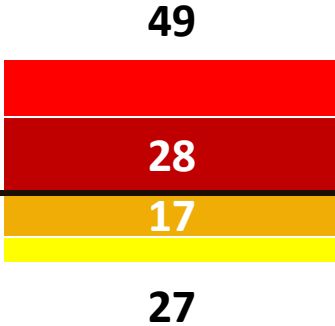
Net: +62



Trump Loyalists

Mean:
58.0

Net: +22



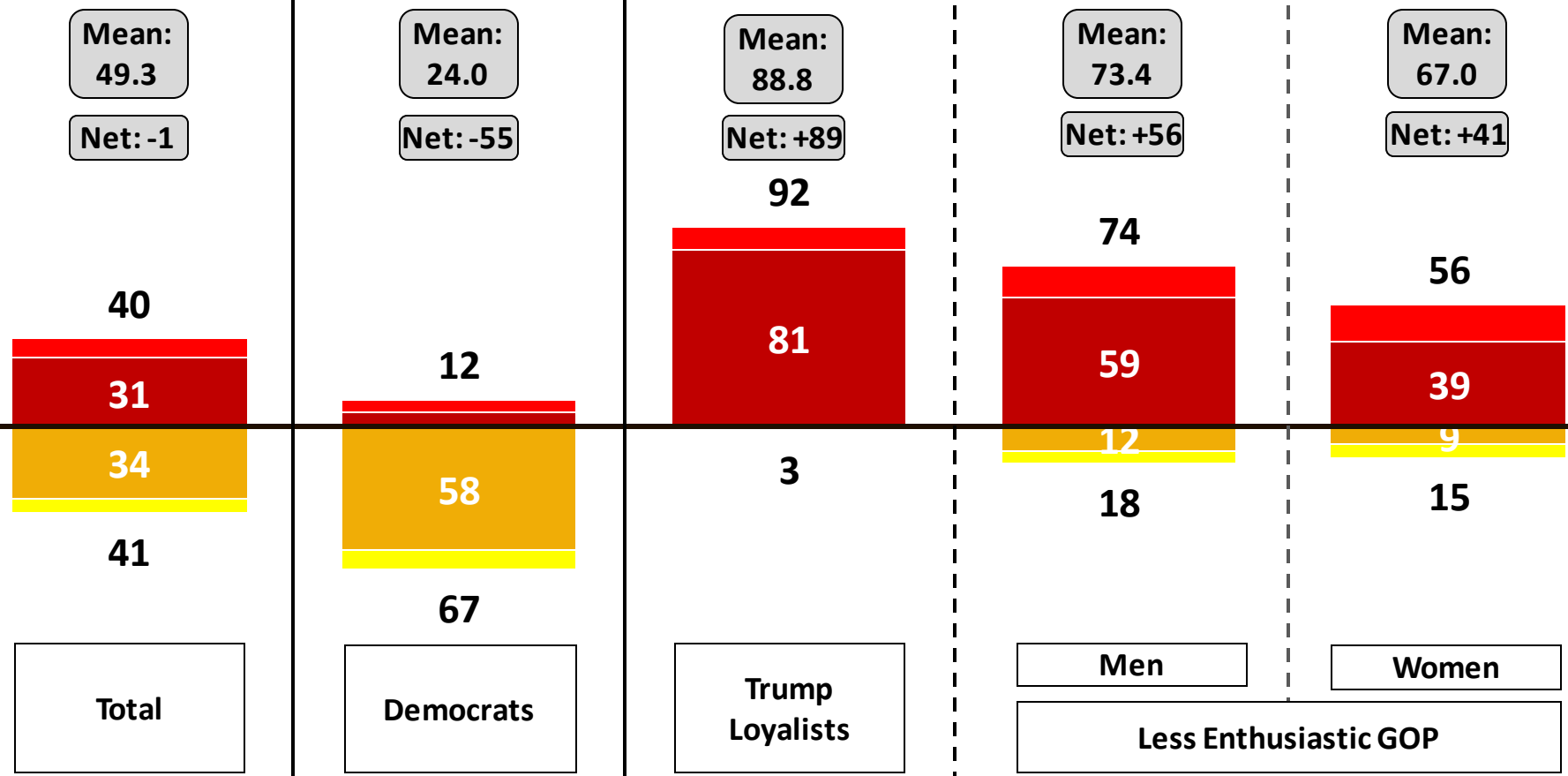
Less Enthusiastic
GOP

NRA key to Tea Party base, but lose the less enthusiastic women

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

N.R.A.

■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)



Trump's GOP split wide open by abortion

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

Abortion being legal in most cases

Planned Parenthood

Very cool (0-25)

Very warm (75-100)

Mean: 24.4
Net: -53

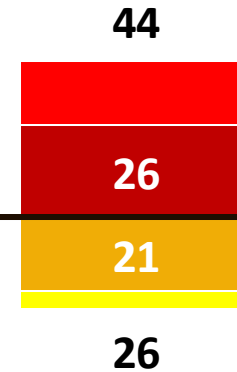
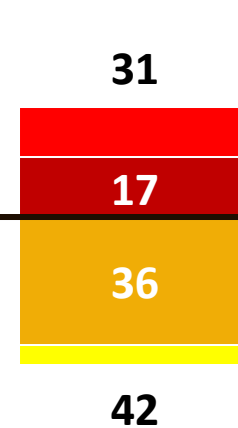
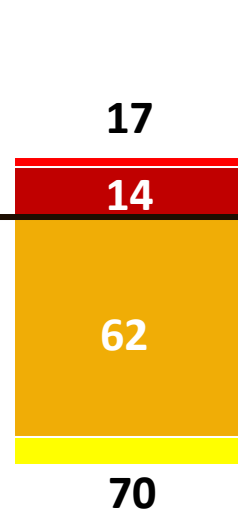
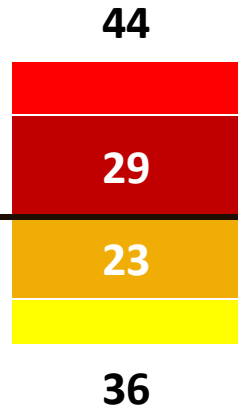
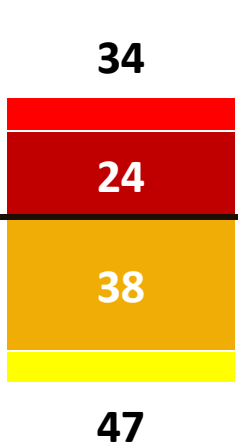
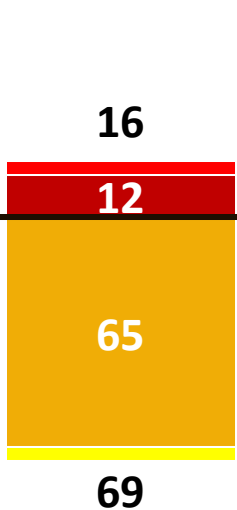
Mean: 44.1
Net: -13

Mean: 54.6
Net: +8

Mean: 25.1
Net: -53

Mean: 42.9
Net: -11

Mean: 56.5
Net: +18



Trump Loyalists

Less Enthusiastic GOP

Moderates

Trump Loyalists

Less Enthusiastic GOP

Moderates

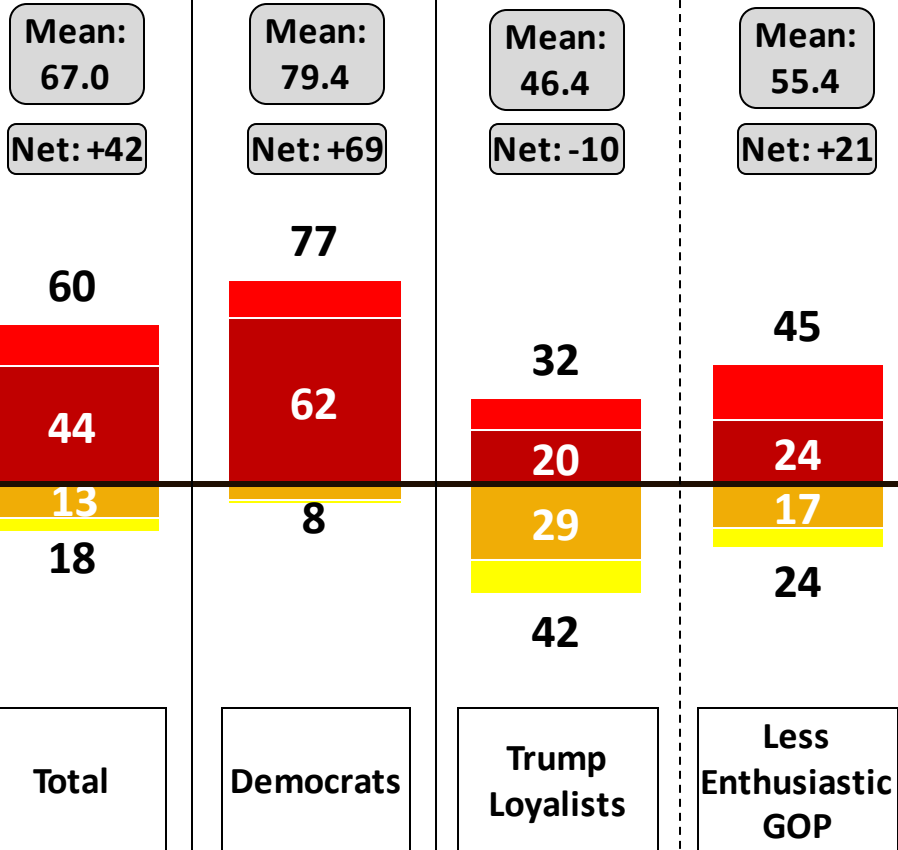
* Moderates are just 8% of the respondents in this survey.

Environment and climate seriously divide the GOP

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

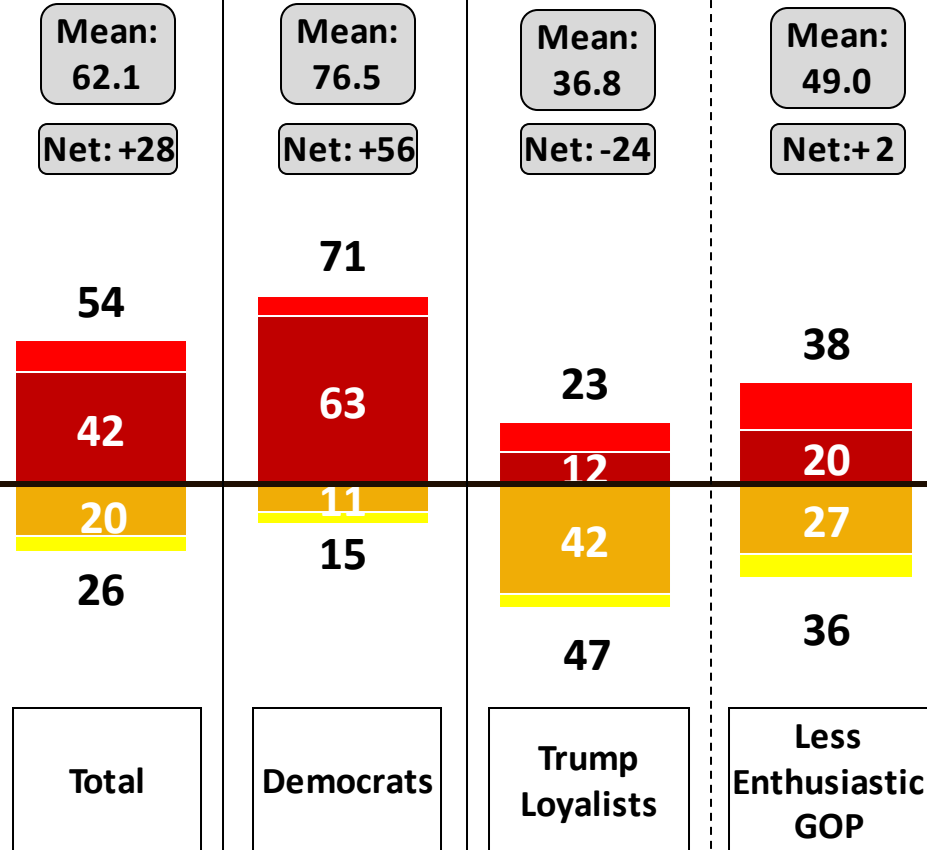
Environmentalists

■ Very warm (75-100)



Measures to prevent global warming

■ Very cool (0-25)



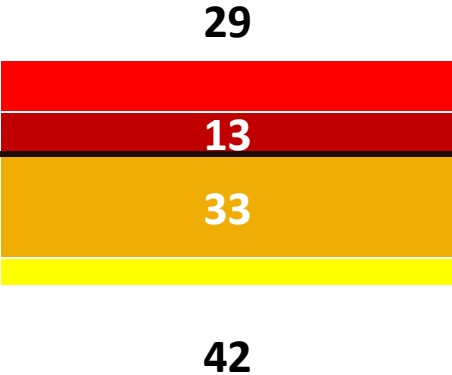
Some in GOP want more government help with childcare and more

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

Government assistance with childcare & the cost of college

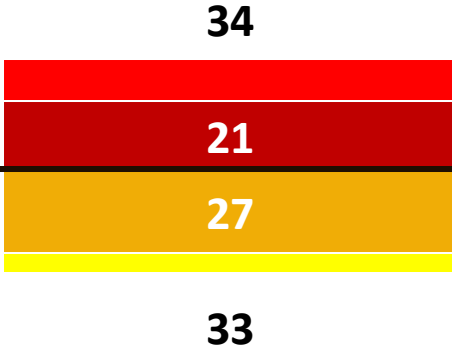
■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)

Mean: 42.1
Net: -13



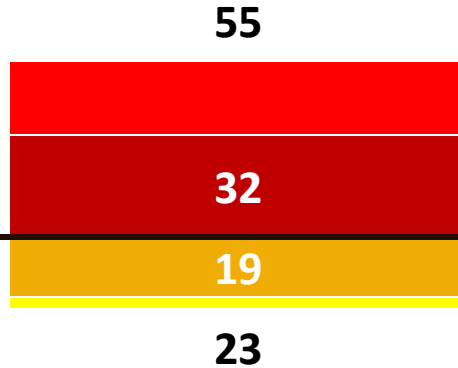
Trump Loyalists

Mean: 49.6
Net: +1



Men

Mean: 60.9
Net: +32



Women

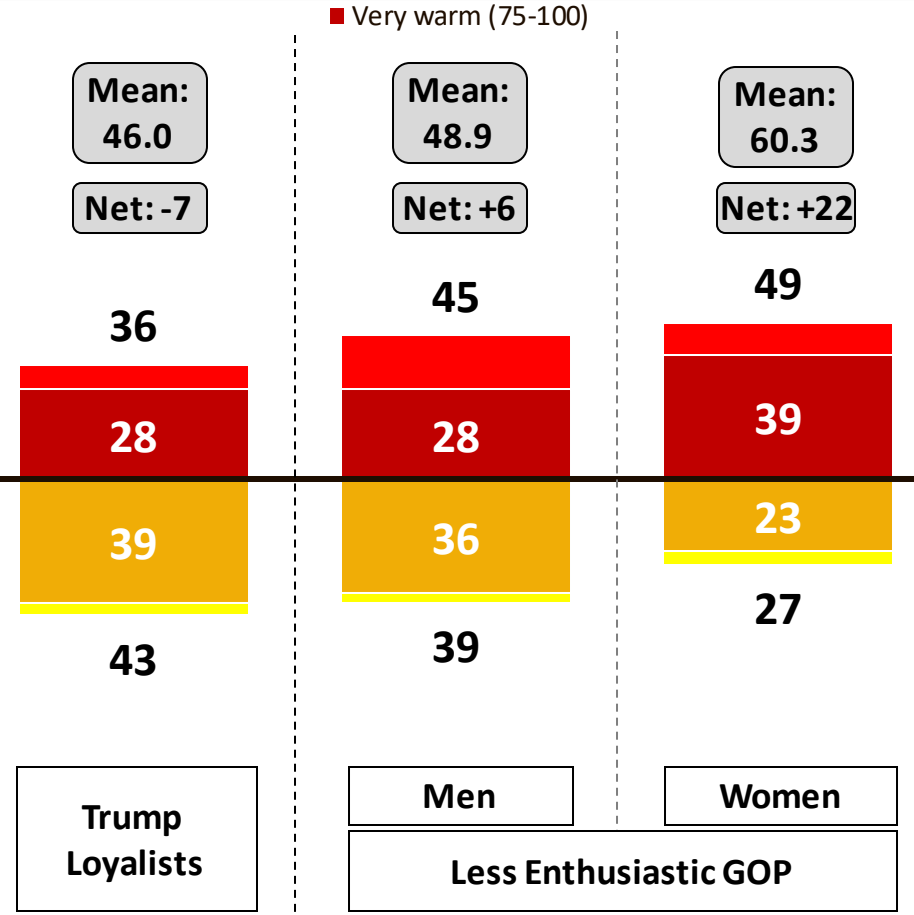
Less Enthusiastic GOP



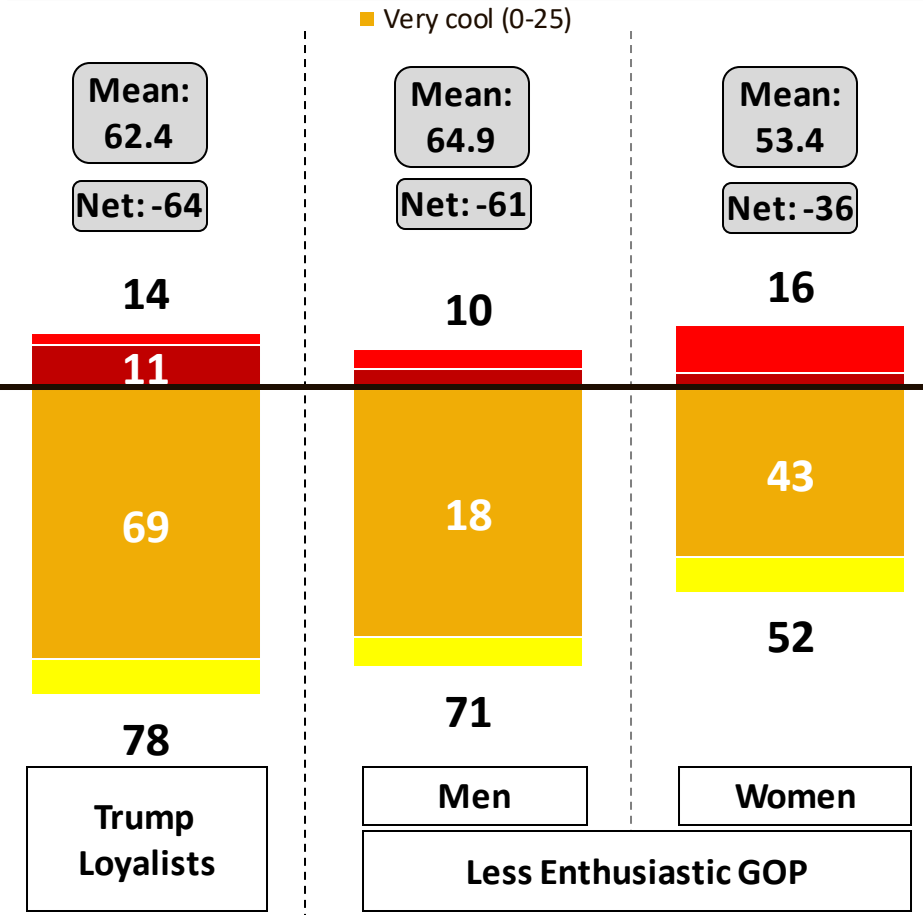
Trump base anti-government, but others strongly want to tax the rich

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and concepts, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

Raising taxes on those making over \$250,000 a year so they pay their fair share



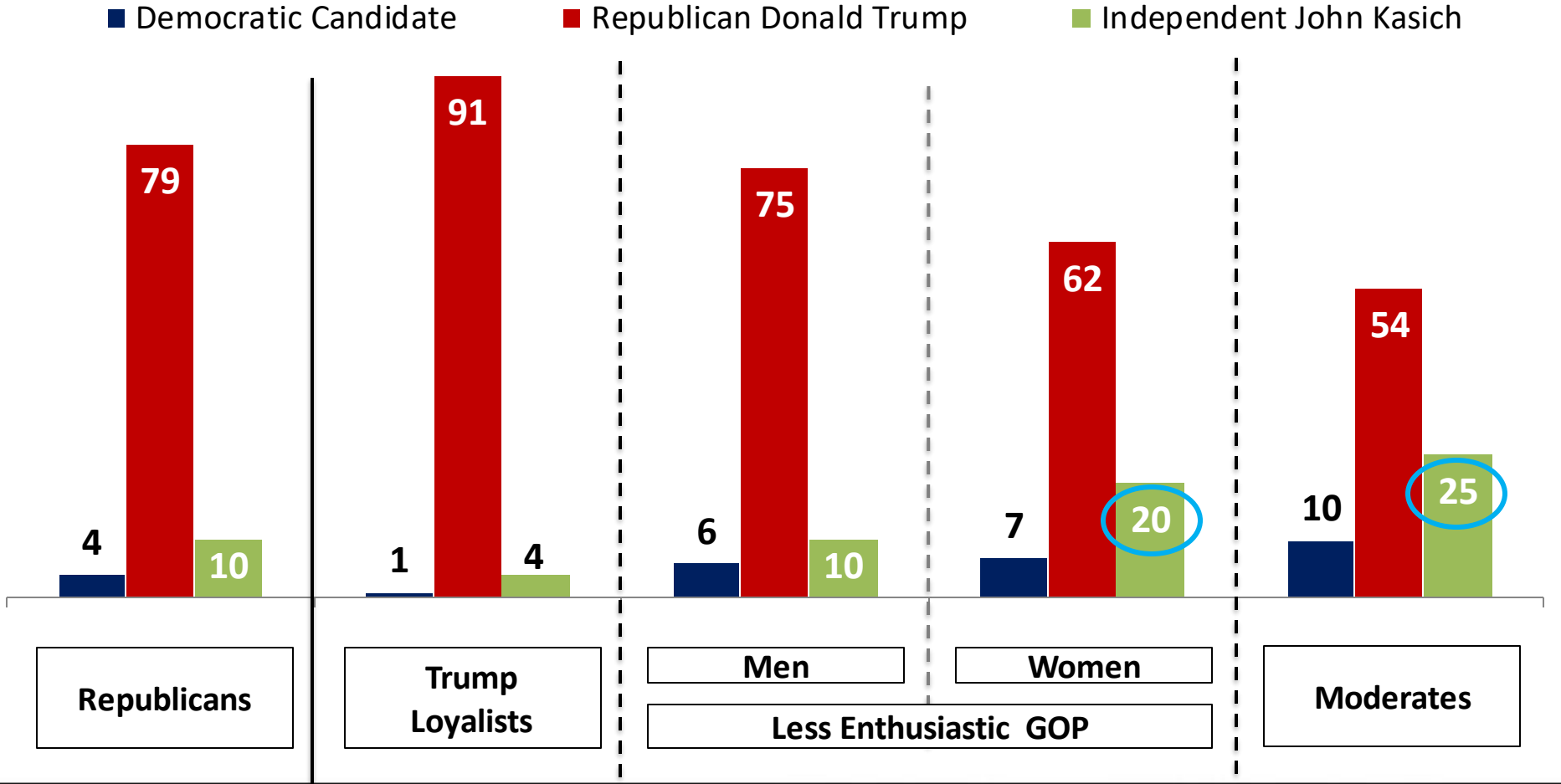
More government regulation of business



How divided? 1 in 10 GOP would vote third party in 2020 today

Thinking about the election for President in 2020, would you vote for Republican Donald Trump, the Democratic candidate, or Third Party Independent candidate John Kasich?

3-WAY 2020 BALLOT



* Moderates are just 8% of the respondents in this survey.

Russia indictment could push many across GOP base demand accountability

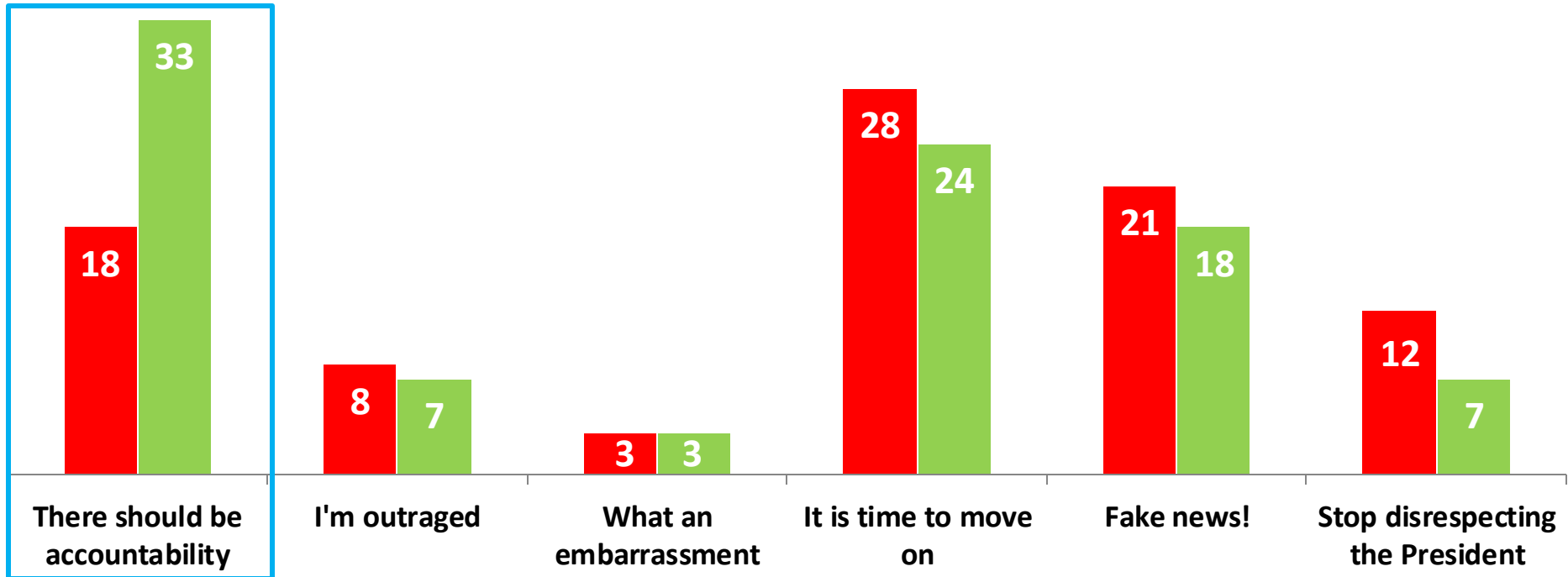
Now I am going to read something that could happen, and I want you to tell me how you would respond.

Last week, the Special Counsel Robert Mueller indicted 12 Russian military intelligence officers for criminally hacking into the computer systems of the Democratic Party and Clinton campaign. Imagine next month the Special Counsel indicts core leaders of the Trump campaign, including its former campaign chairman Paul Manafort and Donald Trump, Jr., for criminally cooperating with the Russians. Imagine Counsel Mueller also issues a final report to Congress that concludes that President Trump obstructed justice by firing the FBI Director, attacking federal investigators and pushing House allies to end all investigations into Russian interference.

■ Trump Loyalists

■ Less Enthusiastic GOP

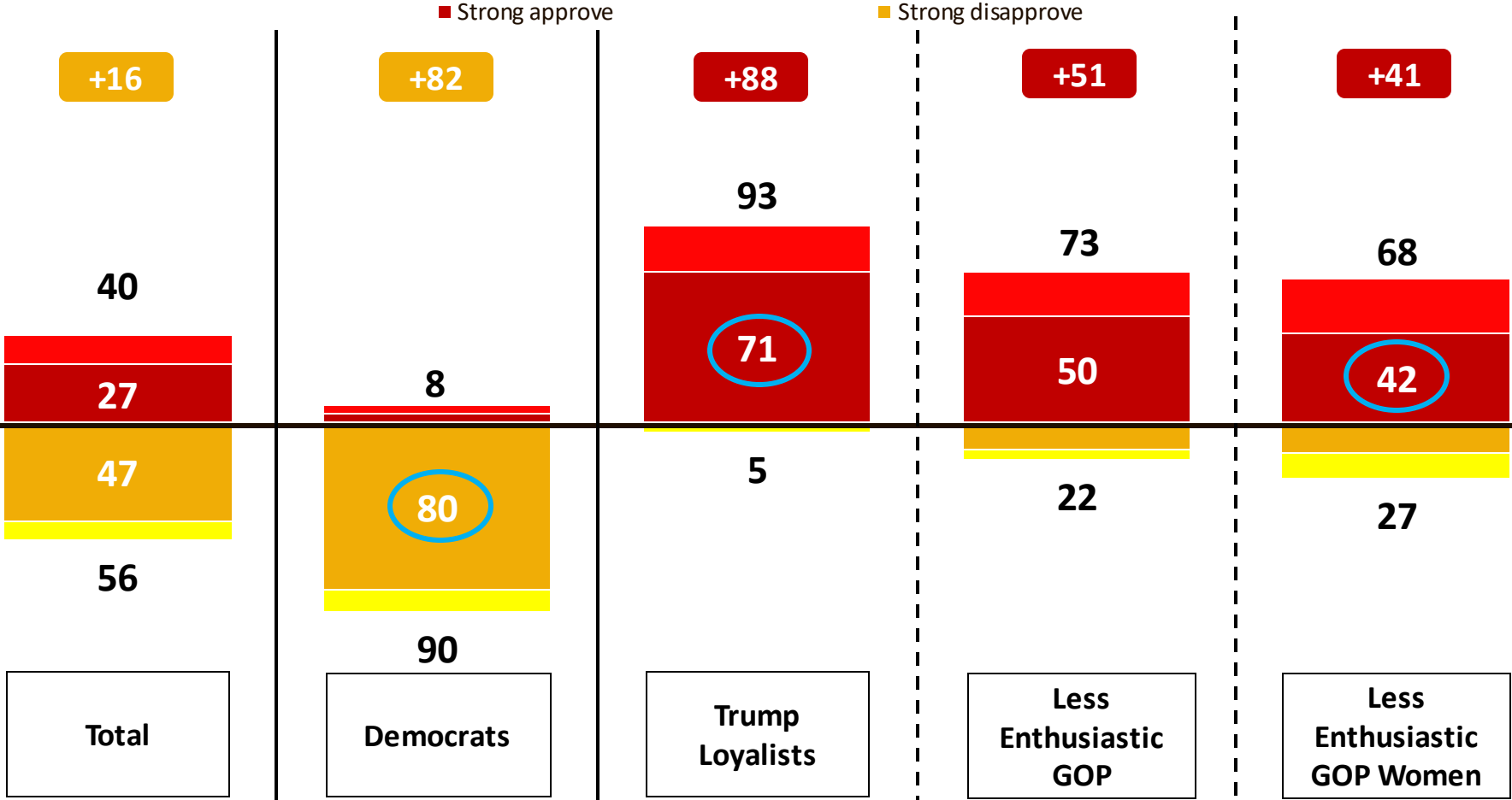
37% of Republicans



Trump: anti-Trump reaction with Dems and modest outside base

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

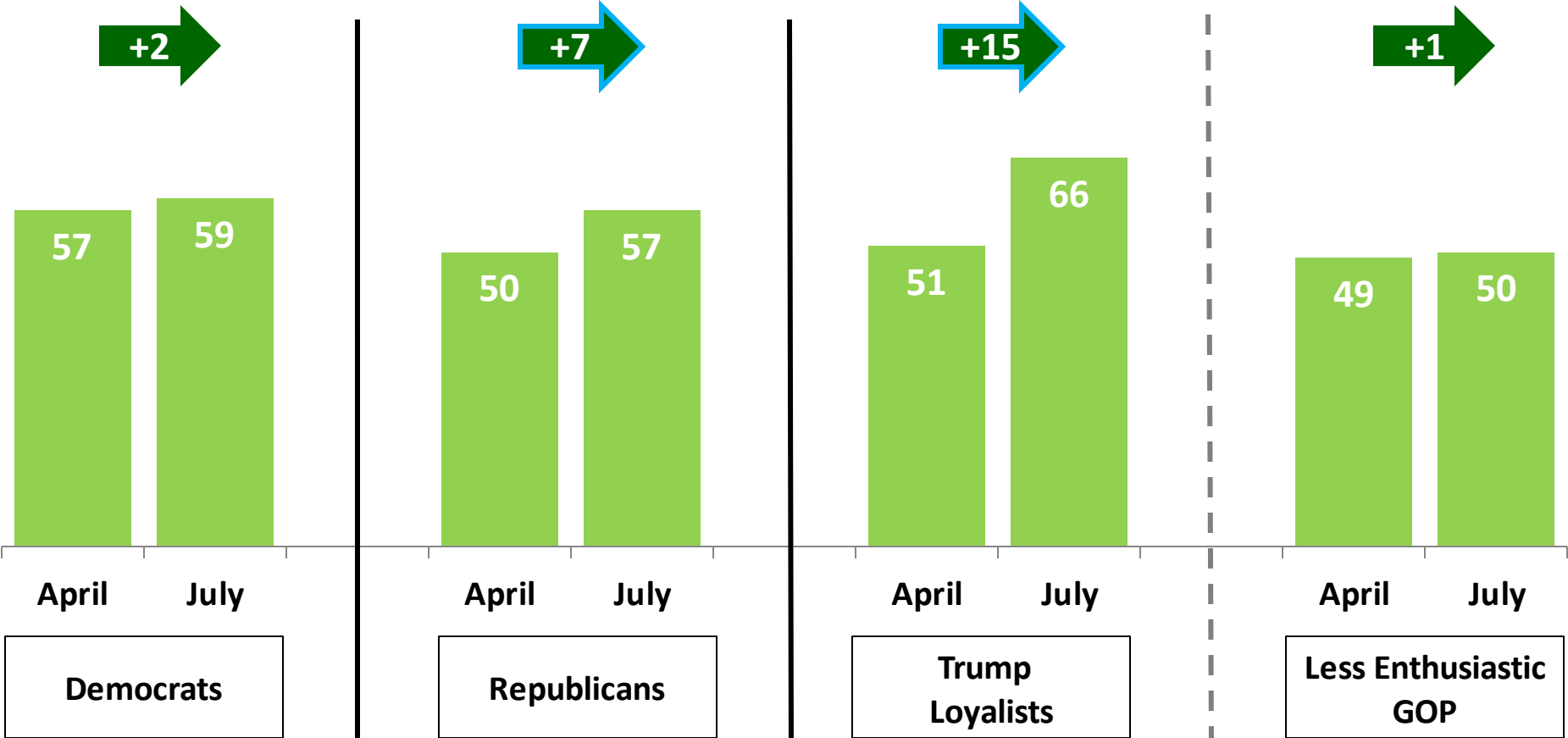
TRUMP APPROVAL



Trump base strategy works with his loyalists, but no impact on rest

How interested are you in the elections in November? Please rate your interest from 1 to 10, with 1 meaning that you have no interest in this election and 10 meaning that you are extremely interested.

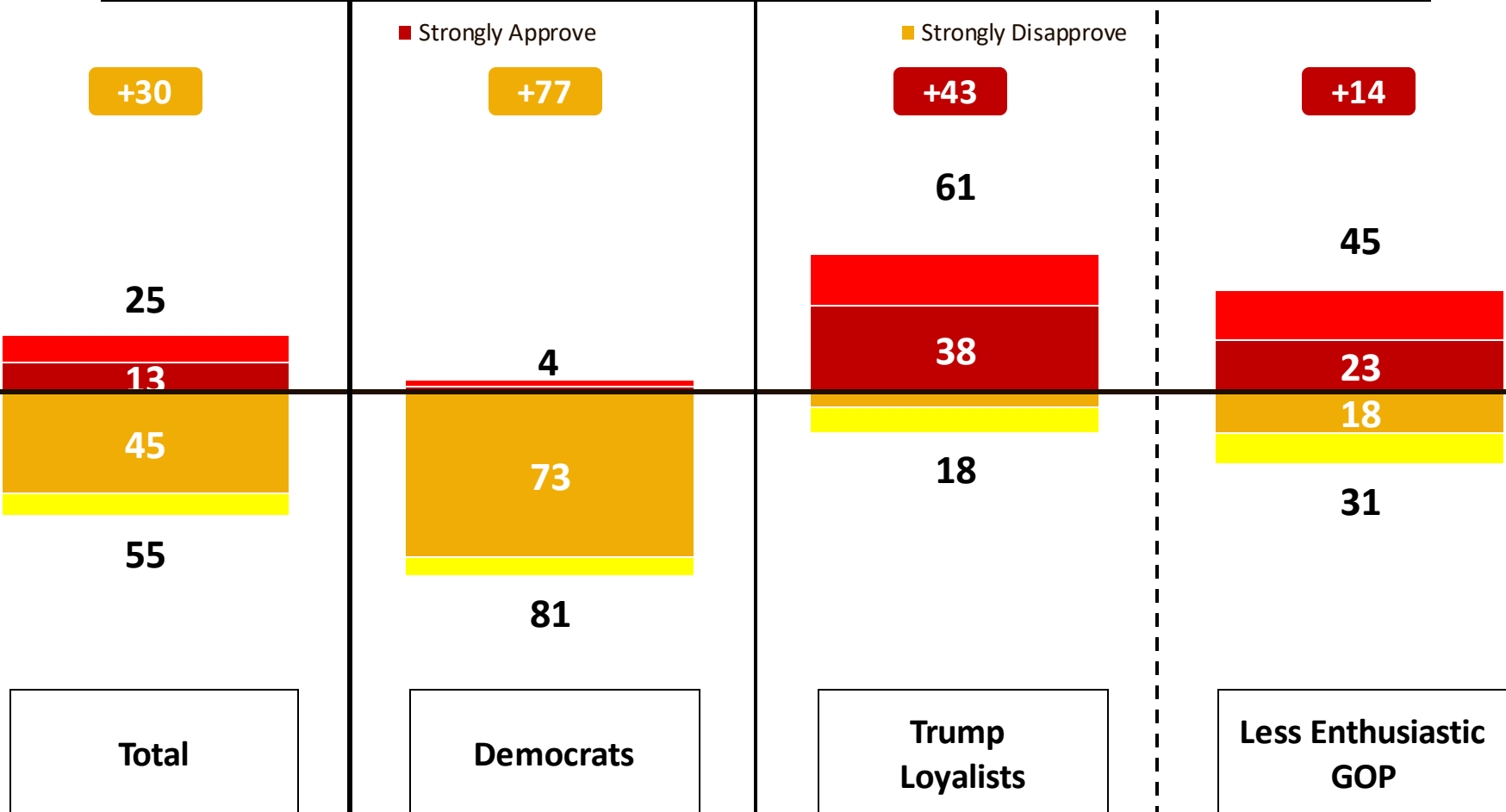
CHANGE IN %10 INTEREST IN ELECTION



Helsinki hurt Trump; only majority approve among loyalists

Trump and President Putin of Russia held a meeting and joint press conference last week in Helsinki. Do you approve or disapprove of what of what President Trump said in the press conference after the meeting?

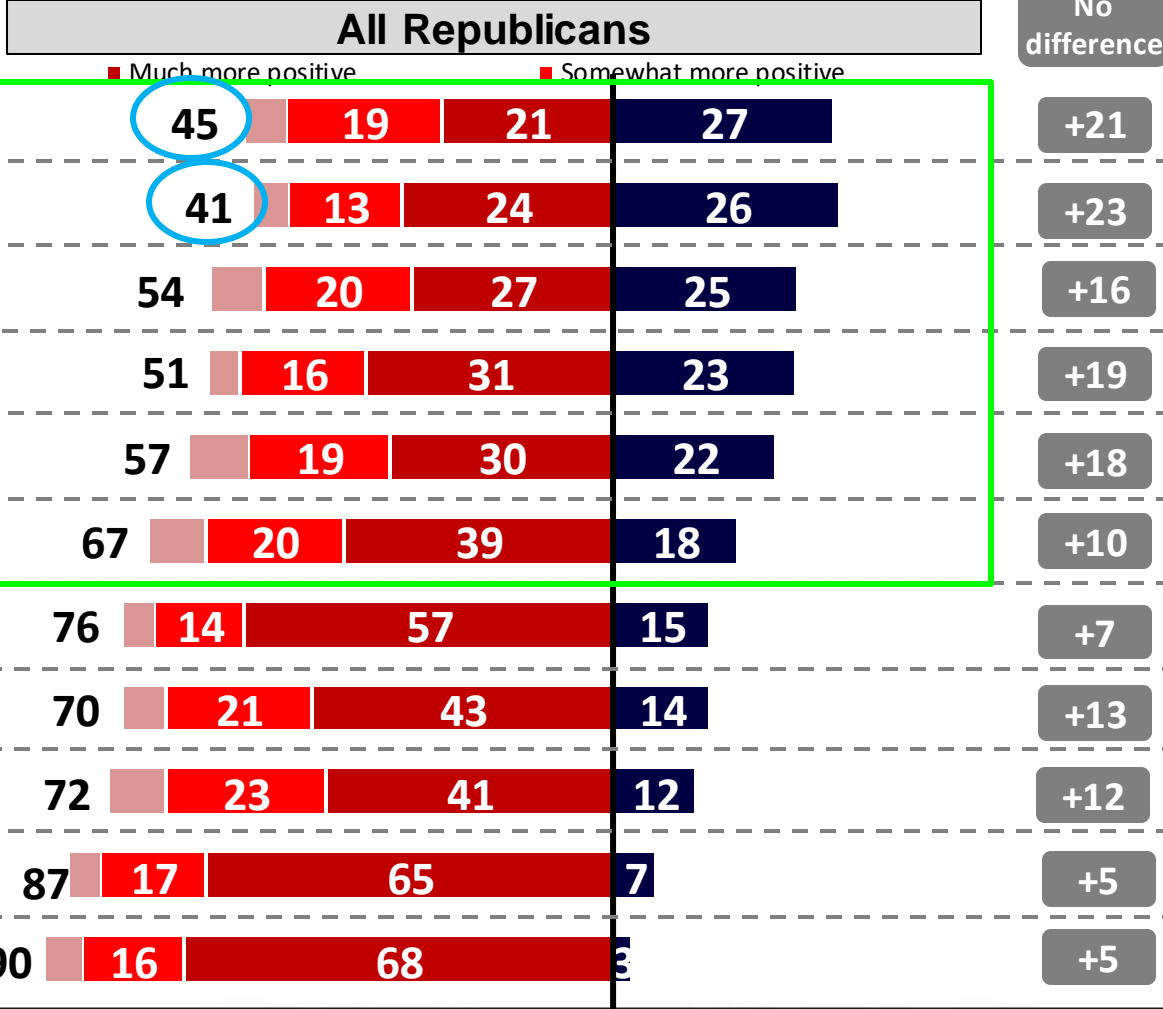
TRUMP APPROVAL: HELSINKI PRESS CONFERENCE



Major base policies get barely 40 percent support

(ASKED OF GOP ONLY) Now I am going to read you some things being proposed by President Trump and the REPUBLICANS as part of their plan to make America better. After each item, please tell me whether that policy makes you feel more positive, less positive or if it makes no difference to how you feel about their plan.

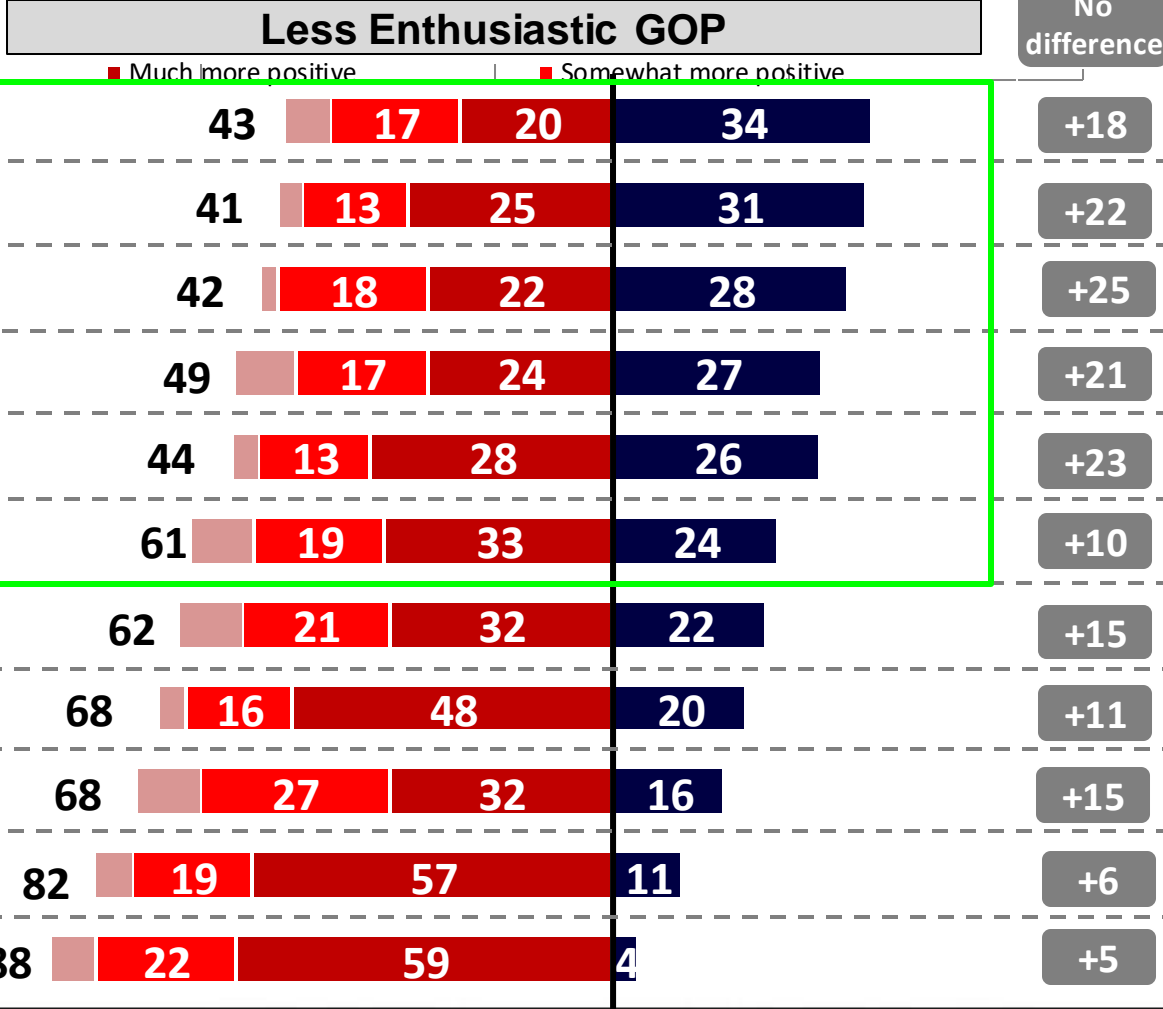
GOP POLICY PRIORITIES



1/3 turn against GOP corporate tax cuts & abortion

(ASKED OF GOP ONLY) Now I am going to read you some things being proposed by President Trump and the REPUBLICANS as part of their plan to make America better. After each item, please tell me whether that policy makes you feel more positive, less positive or if it makes no difference to how you feel about their plan.

GOP POLICY PRIORITIES



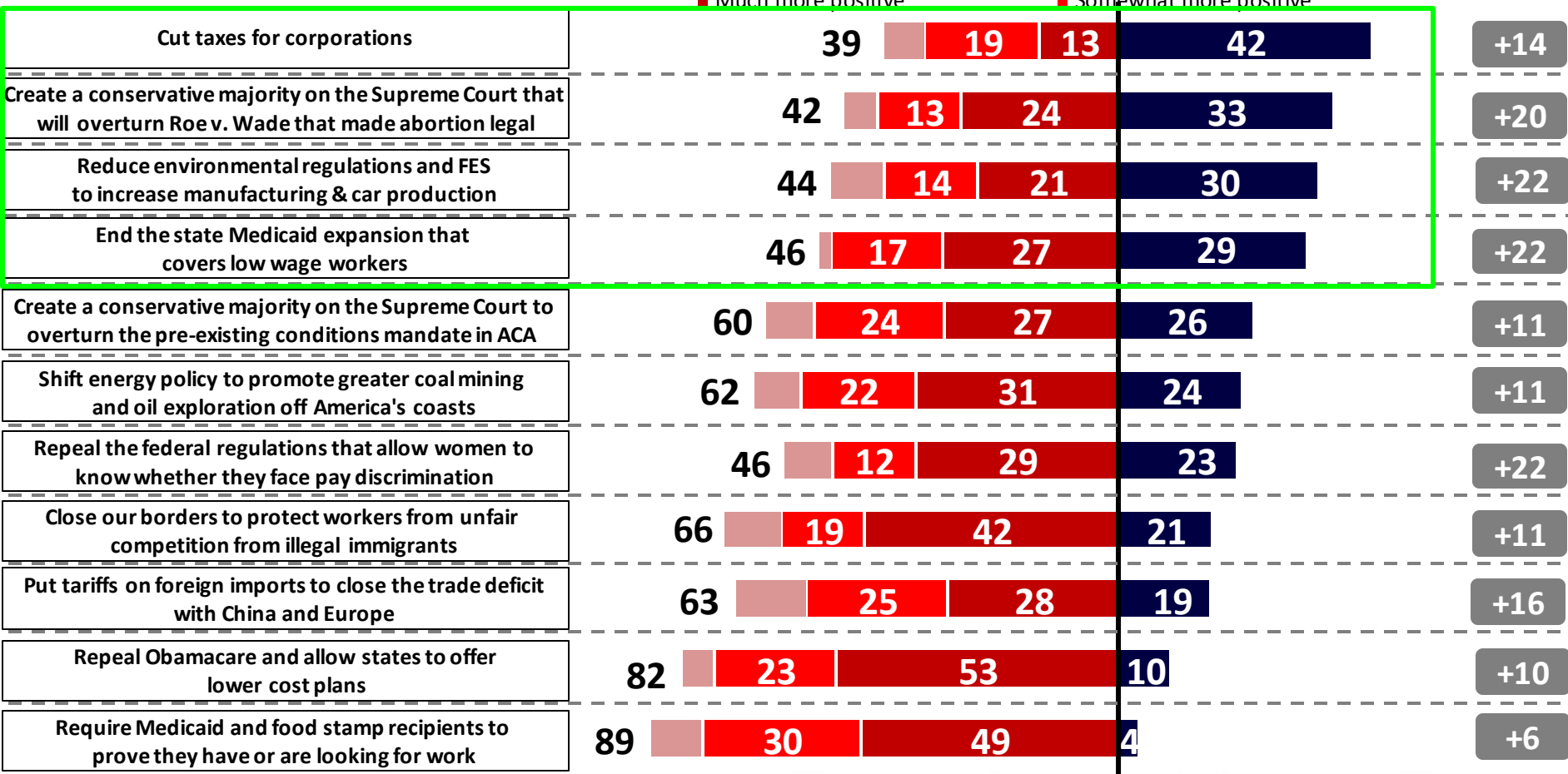
4-in-10 less enthusiastic women against GOP corporate cuts +

(ASKED OF GOP ONLY) Now I am going to read you some things being proposed by President Trump and the REPUBLICANS as part of their plan to make America better. After each item, please tell me whether that policy makes you feel more positive, less positive or if it makes no difference to how you feel about their plan.

GOP POLICY PRIORITIES

Less Enthusiastic GOP Women

No difference

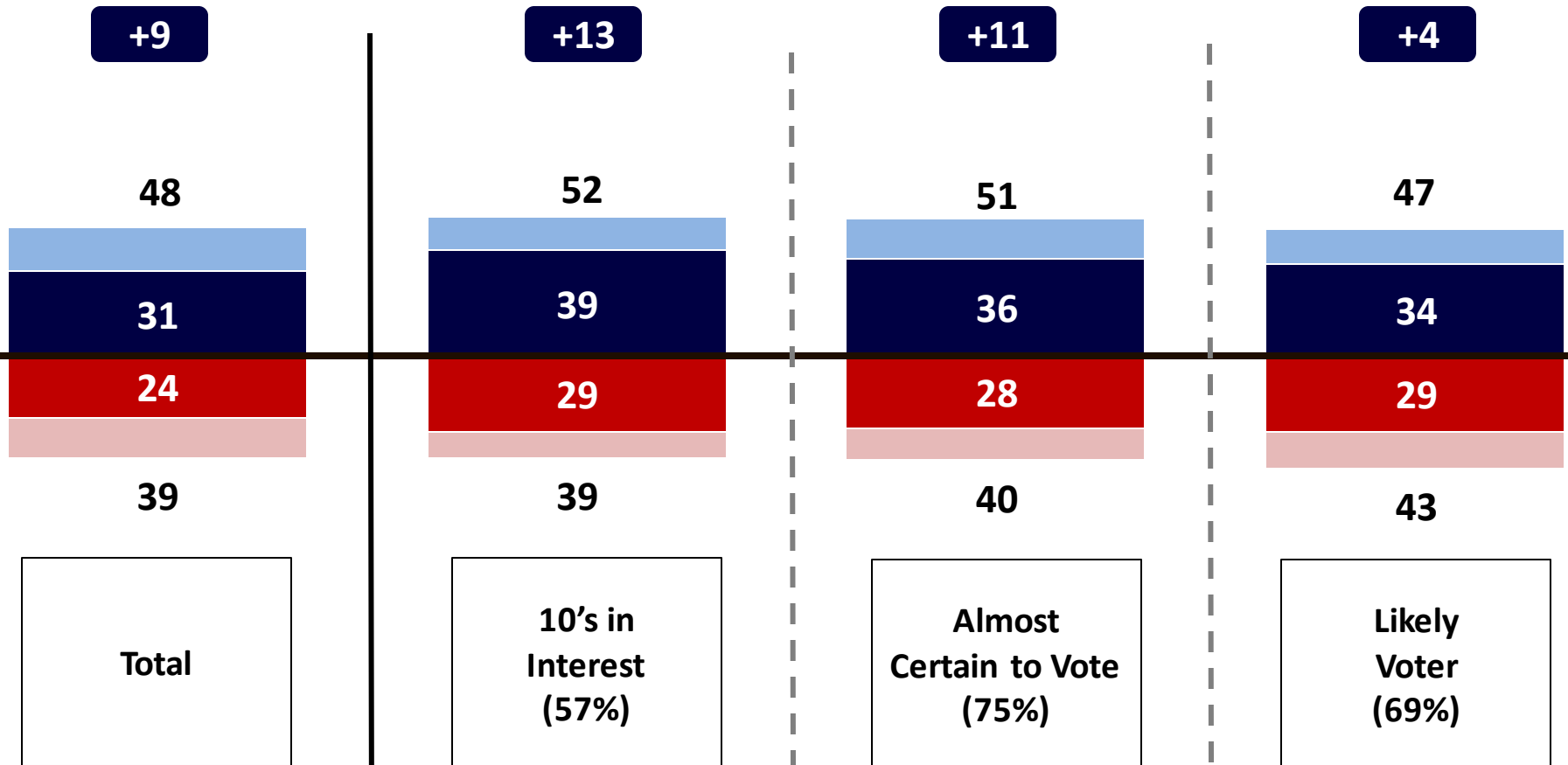


Democrats' blue wave still depends on enthusiasm gap

Thinking about the election for Congress in your district in November 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate? How certain are you that you would vote for the (CANDIDATE) -- are you very certain, somewhat certain or not certain at all?

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

Weak Rep Strong Rep Weak Dem Strong Dem

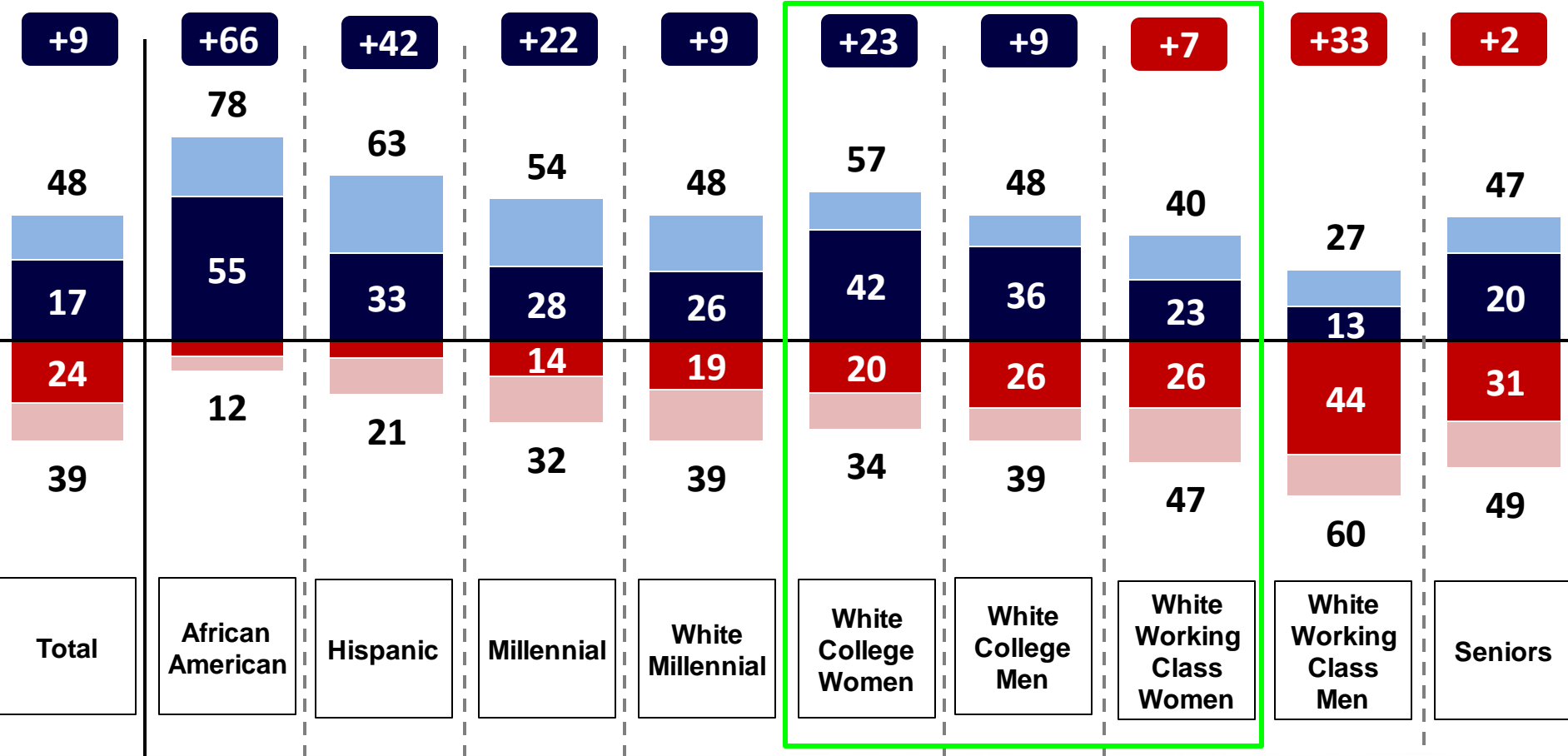


GOP underperforming with white college men & women + working class women

Thinking about the election for Congress in your district in November 2018, will you vote for -- the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate? How certain are you that you would vote for the (CANDIDATE) -- are you very certain, somewhat certain or not certain at all?

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE

■ Strong Republican
 ■ Weak Republican
 ■ Strong Democrat
 ■ Weak Democrat



CONTACT US



DEMOCRACY CORPS

1875 Connecticut Ave. NW
Floor 10
Washington, DC 20009

Phone: +1 202 499 6901

www.democracycorps.com

GREENBERG RESEARCH

1101 15th Street NW
Suite 900
Washington, DC 20004

Phone: +1 202 478 8300

www.greenbergresearch.com

