DEMOCRACY CORPS
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GREENBERG RESEARCH

WOMEN'S VOICES WOMEN VOTE ACTION FUND

Date: December 11, 2018

To: Friends of Democracy Corps and Women's Voices. Women Vote Action Fund
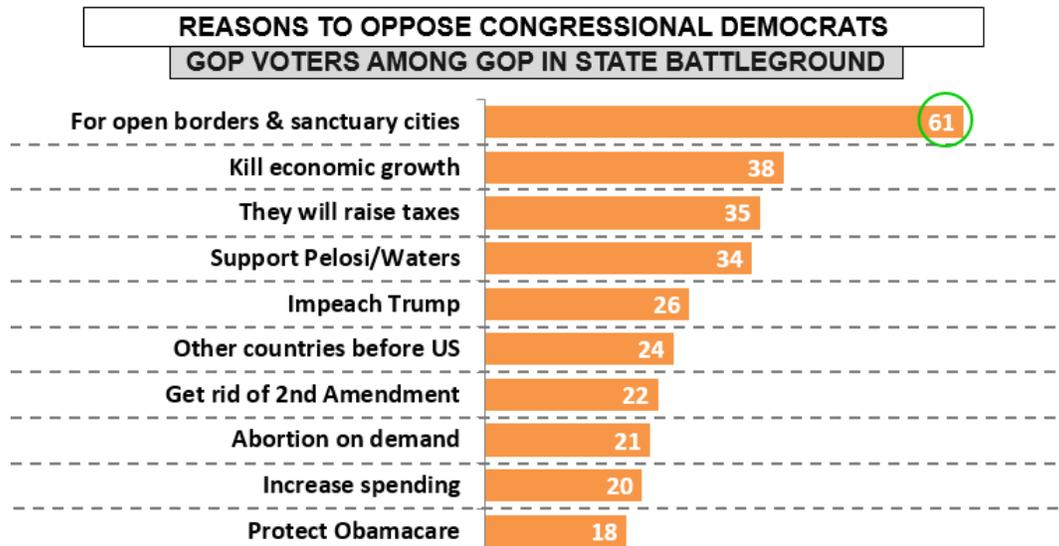
From: Stanley Greenberg, Greenberg Research and Democracy Corps

Trump's campaign united and polarized the GOP

President Trump made immigration the top reason to vote *against* Democrats among all off-year voters and succeeded in making the Democrats' support of "open borders and sanctuary cities" the top reason to oppose them in every faction of the GOP, including the Moderates. That ugly campaign successfully raised hostility to immigrants and foreignness and pushed up President Trump's "strong approval" with all types of Republicans.

But critically, the divisive ultra-nationalist campaign was a step too far for some in the GOP. The 2018 campaign pushed some Republicans not to vote or to vote for Democrats, leaving the Republican Party more fractured and polarized. We know this because of the *Democracy Corps* and *Women's Voices Action Fund* web-panel in 12 contested battleground states which interviewed the same Republican voters before and after the election, including those GOP who pushed back hard against the Tea Party that has dominated the party for a decade. [1]
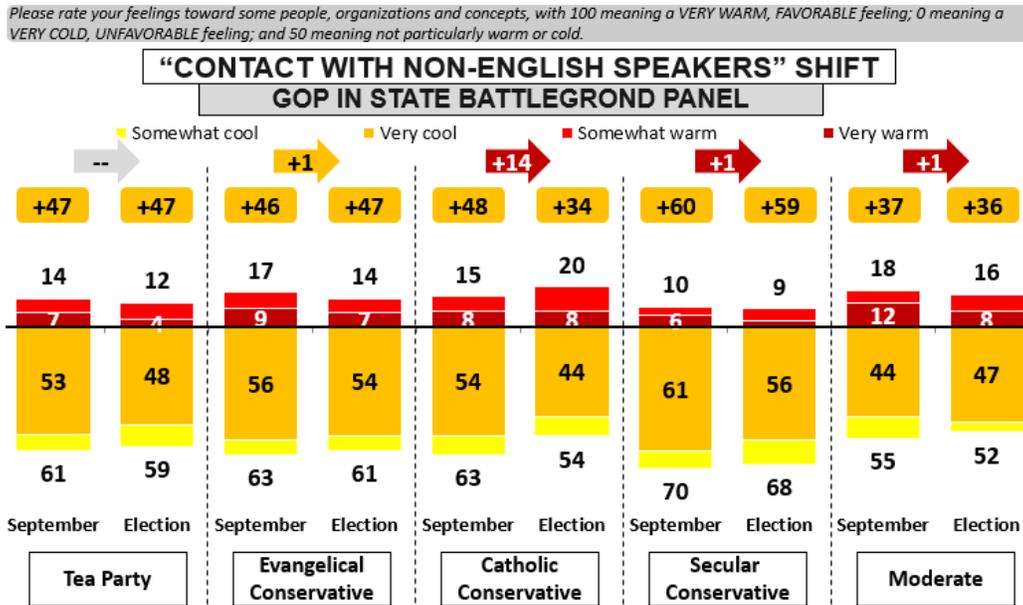
This is a list reasons to oppose Democrats for Congress. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you opposed the Democratic candidate for Congress in your district?
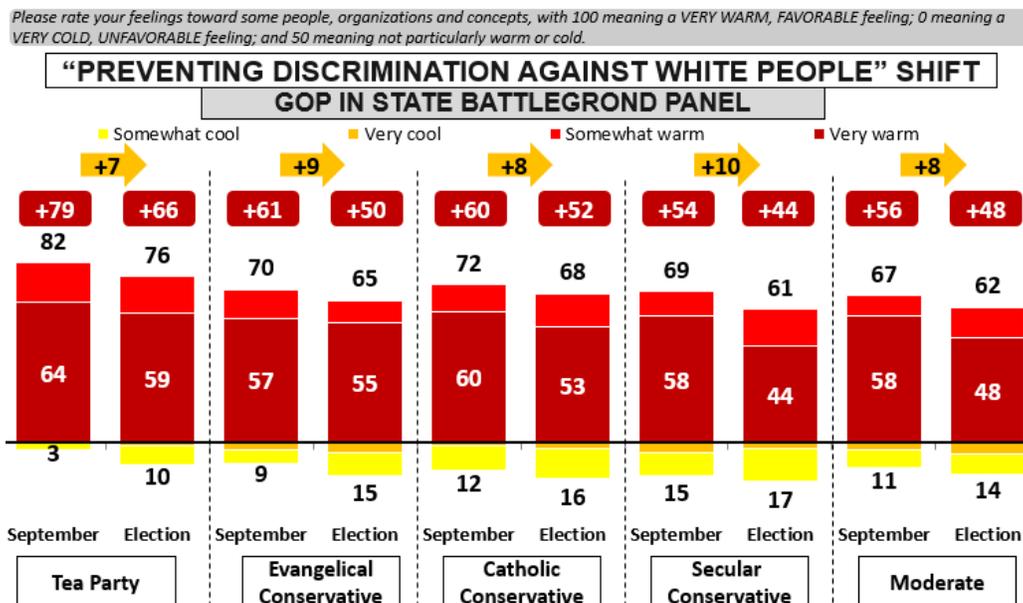
REASONS TO OPPOSE CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRATS
GOP VOTERS AMONG GOP IN STATE BATTLEGROUND

Reason	Value
For open borders & sanctuary cities	61
Kill economic growth	38
They will raise taxes	35
Support Pelosi/Waters	34
Impeach Trump	26
Other countries before US	24
Get rid of 2nd Amendment	22
Abortion on demand	21
Increase spending	20
Protect Obamacare	18

[1] *Democracy Corps* conducted the second in a series of two web-surveys among an on-going panel of 1,280 self-identified Republicans and Republican-leaning independents in 12 states with Governor races (10 Senate races): Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Wisconsin. This web-survey took place November 3-16, 2018.

President Trump no doubt feels satisfied that he pushed up intense hostility to "*immigrants to the US*" in every faction of the party — up 7 points to 43 percent with Moderates, 13 points to 59 percent with Secular Conservatives, 14 points to 61 percent with Conservative Catholics, up 14 points to 59 percent with Evangelicals, and up 16 points to 52 percent with the Tea Party GOP. Before the election, all segments of the GOP were very uncomfortable with "*coming into contact with people who speak little or no English.*" Half of every segment remained intensely negative after the election, except Conservative Catholics, some of whom became uncomfortable with the anti-foreign drumbeat.

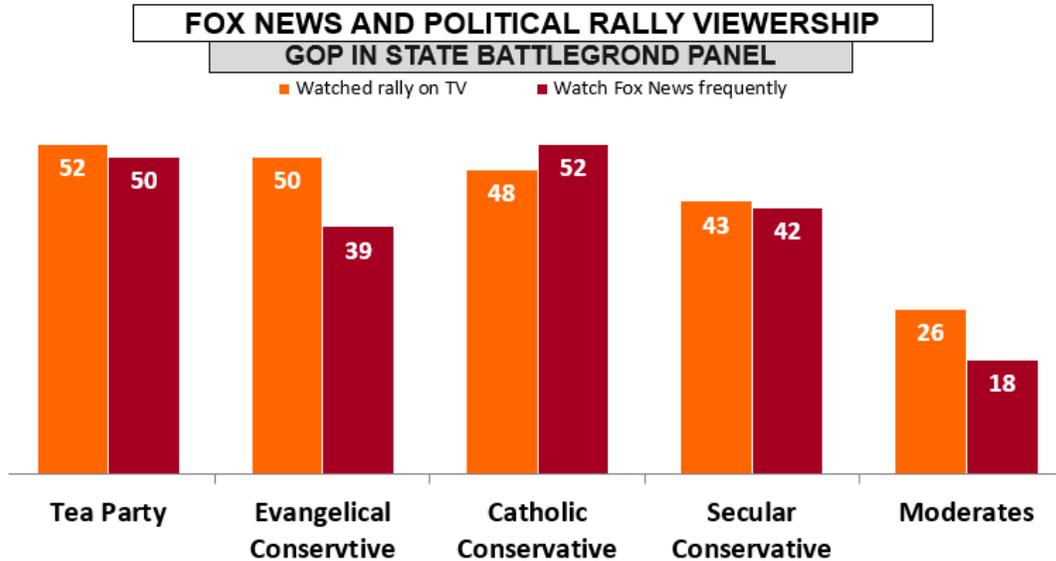But the Trump campaigns in 2018 went much further. That ended up encouraging a fervent Trump supporter and ultra-nationalist to send pipe bombs to Democratic politicians and to shoot up a synagogue in Pittsburgh. Stunningly, every segment of the GOP soured to the idea of "preventing discrimination against white people" in their second post-election interview. Trump's "white nationalism" lost steam within his own party.
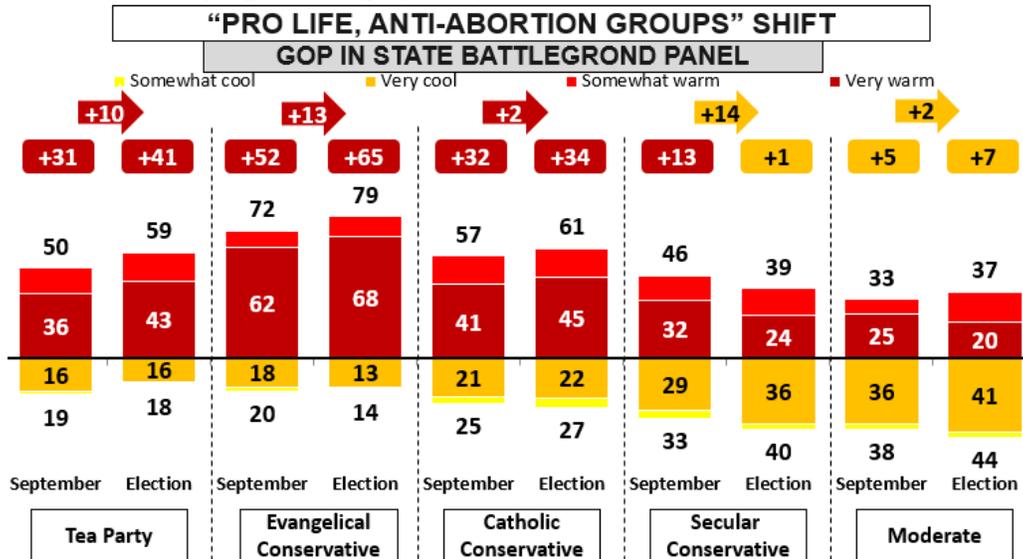
President Trump successfully used his campaign rallies and *Fox News* to mobilize his Evangelical, Tea Party and Catholic Conservative base, and they also reached Secular Conservatives who got more on board with Trump at the close. About half of those groups watched a rally on TV or watch *Fox News* frequently. By comparison, only 26 percent of Moderates watched a rally and only 18 percent watch *Fox News* frequently. A not inconsiderable 7 percent of Republicans attended a rally, but one-quarter posted on social media, 11 percent displayed a sign, and 9 percent wore a shirt or hat. Among Evangelicals, one-fifth discussed politics at church or bible study.

Below is a list of political activities poplar among different voters. Please select all of the activities in which you participated in the past year.
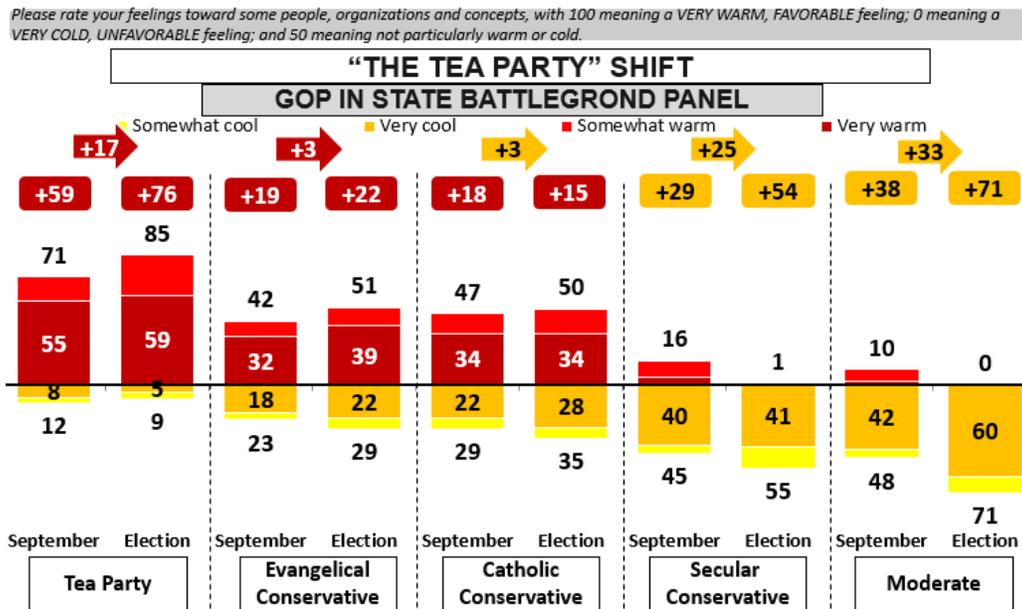
FOX NEWS AND POLITICAL RALLY VIEWERSHIP
GOP IN STATE BATTLEGROND PANEL
■ Watched rally on TV   ■ Watch Fox News frequently

	Tea Party	Evangelical Conservtive	Catholic Conservative	Secular Conservative	Moderates
Watched rally on TV	52	50	48	43	26
Watch Fox News frequently	50	39	52	42	18

President Trump and the Republicans' off-year campaign increased the polarization within the party on abortion and gay marriage. The Evangelical conservatives, Tea Party and Catholic Conservatives ended up much more favorable to pro-life, anti-abortion groups, while Moderates and Secular Conservatives became much more negative.

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations and concepts, with 100 meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

"PRO LIFE, ANTI-ABORTION GROUPS" SHIFT
GOP IN STATE BATTLEGROND PANEL
■ Somewhat cool   ■ Very cool   ■ Somewhat warm   ■ Very warm

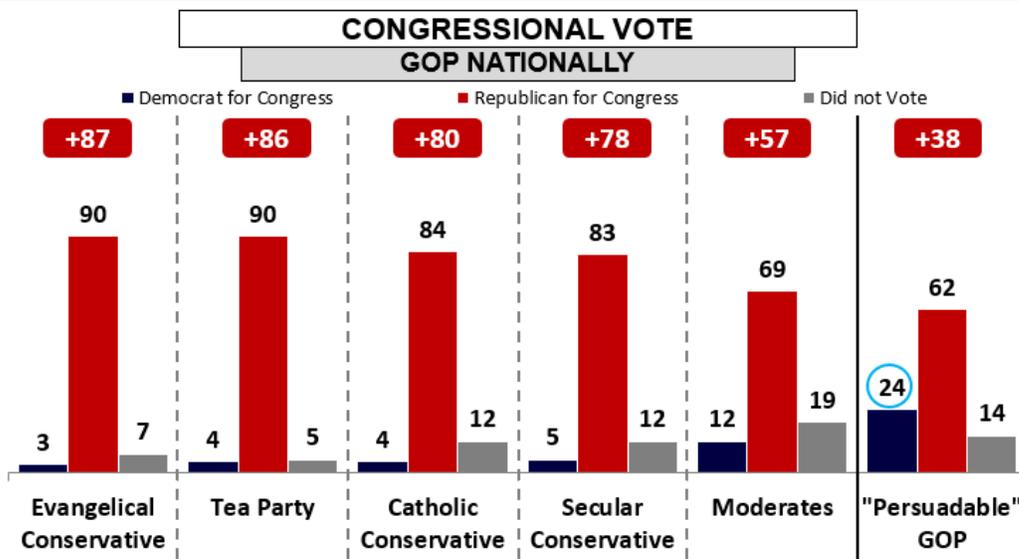|	Tea Party		Evangelical Conservative		Catholic Conservative		Secular Conservative		Moderate	
	September	Election	September	Election	September	Election	September	Election	September	Election
Shift	+10		+13		+2		+14		+2	
Warm total	+31	+41	+52	+65	+32	+34	+13	+1	+5	+7
Total	50	59	72	79	57	61	46	39	33	37
Very warm	36	43	62	68	41	45	32	24	25	20
Somewhat warm	16	16	18	13	21	22	29	36	36	41
Somewhat cool	19	18	20	14	25	27	33	40	38	44

The polarization around the Tea Party was even more dramatic and meaningful. The Tea Party symbolizes the take-no-prisoners, partisan campaign championed by President Trump. The proportion of Secular Conservatives viewing the Tea Party negatively jumped 10 points to 55 percent and negative views of the Tea Party jumped 23 points with Moderates. In this Election Week poll, over 70 percent viewed the Tea Party negatively. That gives you a view of the profound fractures in this Trump-led GOP.

Please rate your feelings toward some people, organizations and concepts, with 100 meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; 0 meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

"THE TEA PARTY" SHIFT
GOP IN STATE BATTLEGROND PANEL

Shit happened on Election Day. Nationally, a noticeable 12 percent of Conservative Catholics and Secular Conservatives did not vote. The Moderates are one-quarter of the GOP and just 69 percent voted Republican, 12 percent defected to the Democrats, and 19 percent stayed home. The "persuadable GOP" — a group of targetable Republicans developed by *Democracy Corps* — were 40 percent larger than the Moderates and may have played an even bigger role in this wave: one-quarter voted for Democrats and 14 percent stayed home.

Thinking about the election for U.S. Congress in your district, did you vote for -- (ROTATE DEM, REP CANDIDATE) the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE
GOP NATIONALLY

Those Republicans who considered voting for the Democrat said they were motivated "to make the economy work for everyone, not just the rich and corporations," (48 percent) to "send a message that we need decency and honesty in government," (48 percent) and to have a "check on Donald Trump" (38 percent). That sentiment has blended into the tough message to the GOP that emerged from this election.

This is a list reasons to support Democrats for Congress. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for the Democratic candidate for Congress in your district?

REASONS TO VOTE FOR CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRAT
VOTED/CONSIDERED DEM AMONG GOP IN STATE BATTLEGROUND

Reason	Percent
Decency in government	48
Economy for everyone	48
Check on Trump	38
To drain the swamp	33
Want US strong on world stage	32
Prevent gun violence	28
Support DREAMers, oppose family separation	21
Support women/#MeToo	20
Protect Mueller Russia investigation	17
Protect woman's right to choose & LGBTQ	15