

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

Putting the spotlight on the Republican Party

Results of the first national survey of the Republican Party Project

July 23, 2013



DEMOCRACY CORPS
C A R V I L L E ♦ G R E E N B E R G

Methodology: cell and demographic change

This presentation is based on our latest national survey conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for Democracy Corps as part of the Republican Party Project, a long-term research project aimed at exposing, monitoring and confronting the Republican Party.

The survey of 950 2012 voters (1300 unweighted) and 841 likely 2014 voters nationwide was conducted from July 10-15, 2013. We oversampled an extra 350 Republicans to allow for more detailed subgroup analysis, interviewing:

- 607 Republicans**
- 207 Independents who lean towards the Republican Party**

Unless otherwise noted, overall margin of error = +/-2.72 percentage points at 95% confidence. The margin of error for Republicans = +/-4.12 percentage points at 95% confidence.

New this year, we now reach 50 percent of our respondents by cell phone, in order to account for ever-changing demographics and trying to accurately sample the full American electorate.

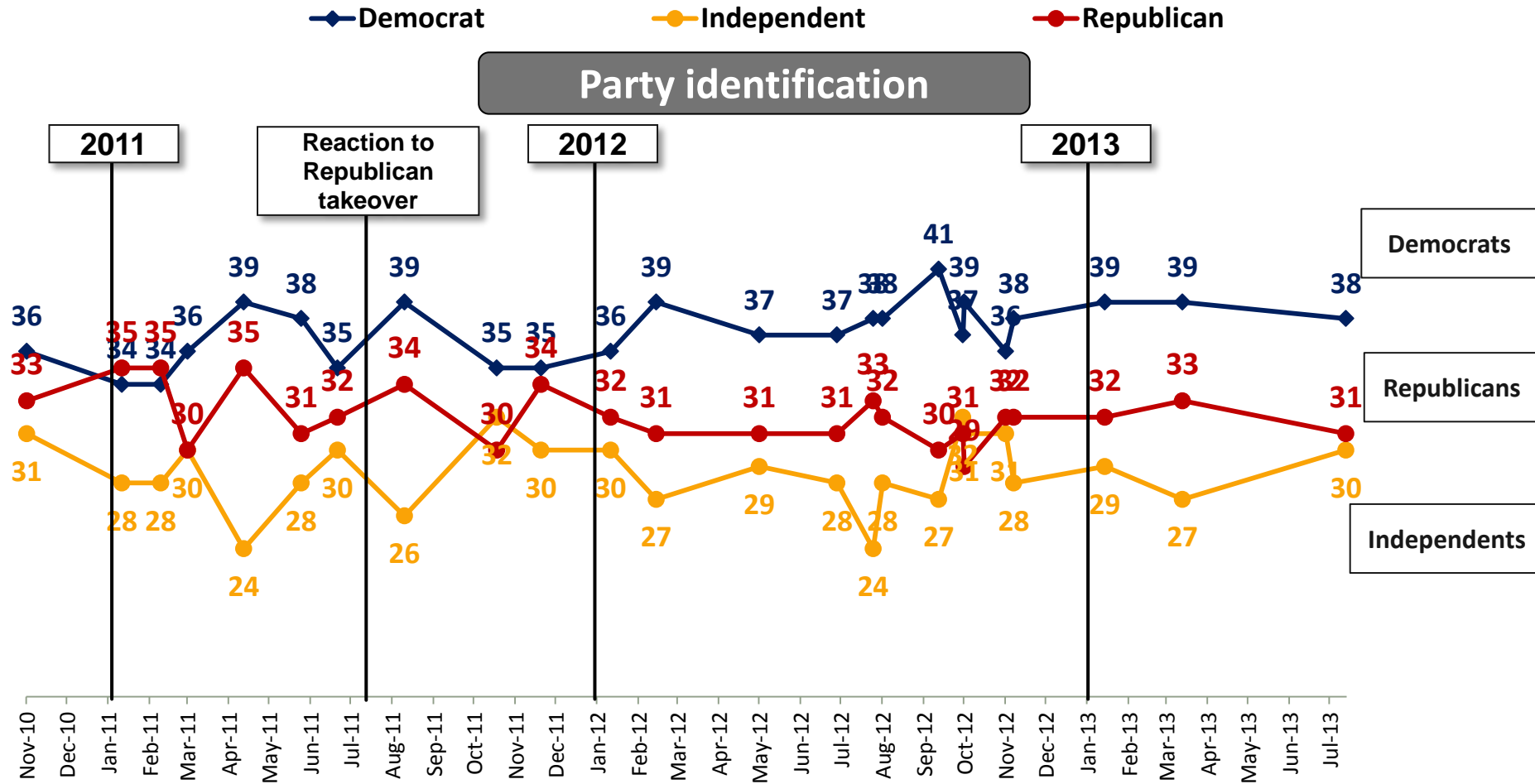
Project purpose

- **President Obama and Democrats had a big win in 2012 but allowed the Republicans to get up and set the terms of debate.**
- **The Republican Party is endangered as a national party but it has dug in. In the Civil War, General Meade did not pursue General Lee after Gettysburg, and let the Confederate Army escape -- extending the war two years.**
- **They have successfully convinced pundits that they will pay no price – and can govern from the House and the states.**
- **They have moved dramatically to the right – not the center – in the Congress and in each of the states.**
- **This project will put the spotlight brutally on the Republican Party to force everyone to see the scale of dysfunction, divisions and public resistance to conventional wisdom.**
- **We will help the White House, Democrats, and progressives get back on the offensive.**

No illusions about the state of the Republican Party

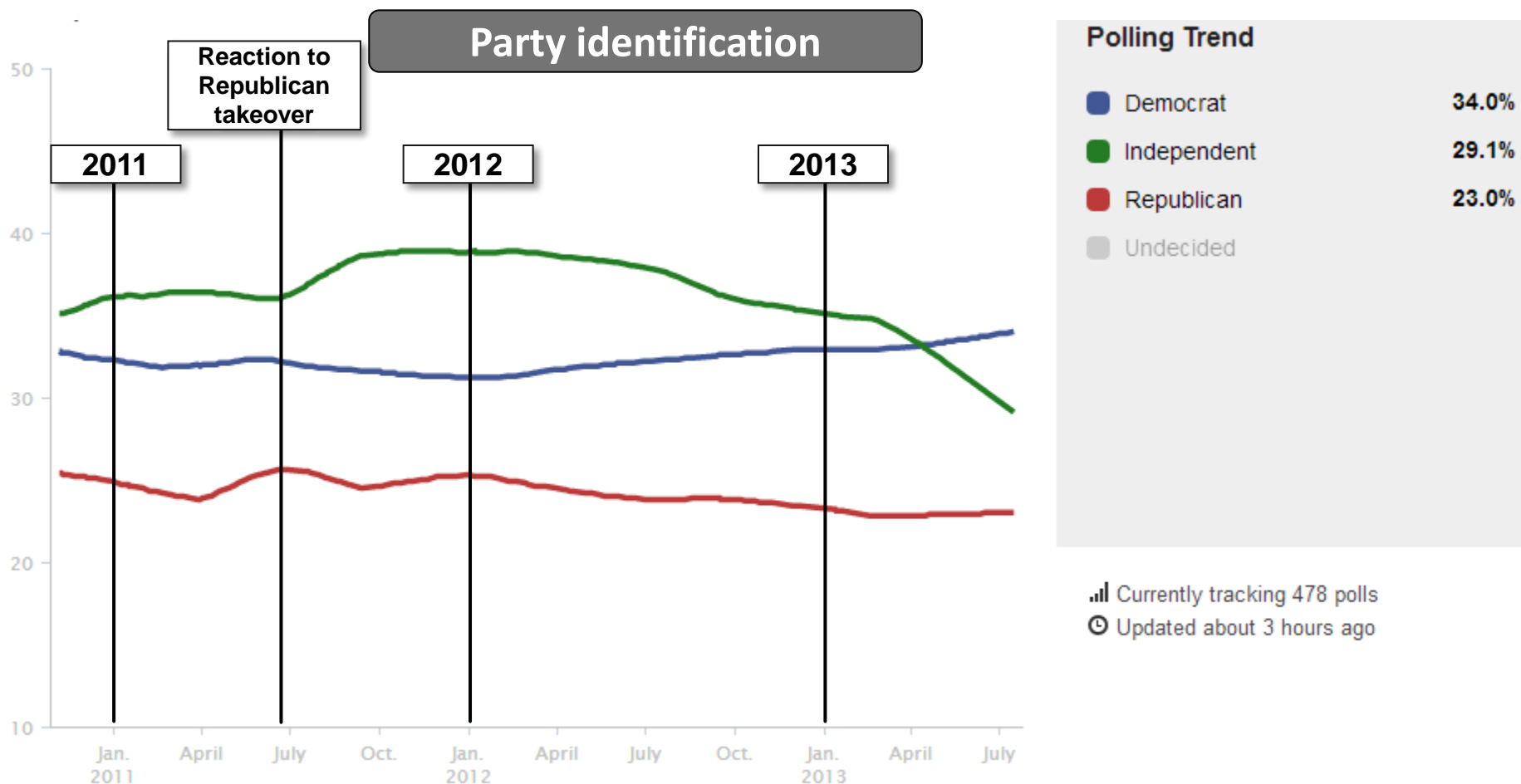
Only 31 percent identify with Republican Party – well behind Democrats since spring after GOP takeover

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican or what?



Pollster shows Republicans with less than 25 percent and party decline since summer after takeover – and 11-point Democratic advantage

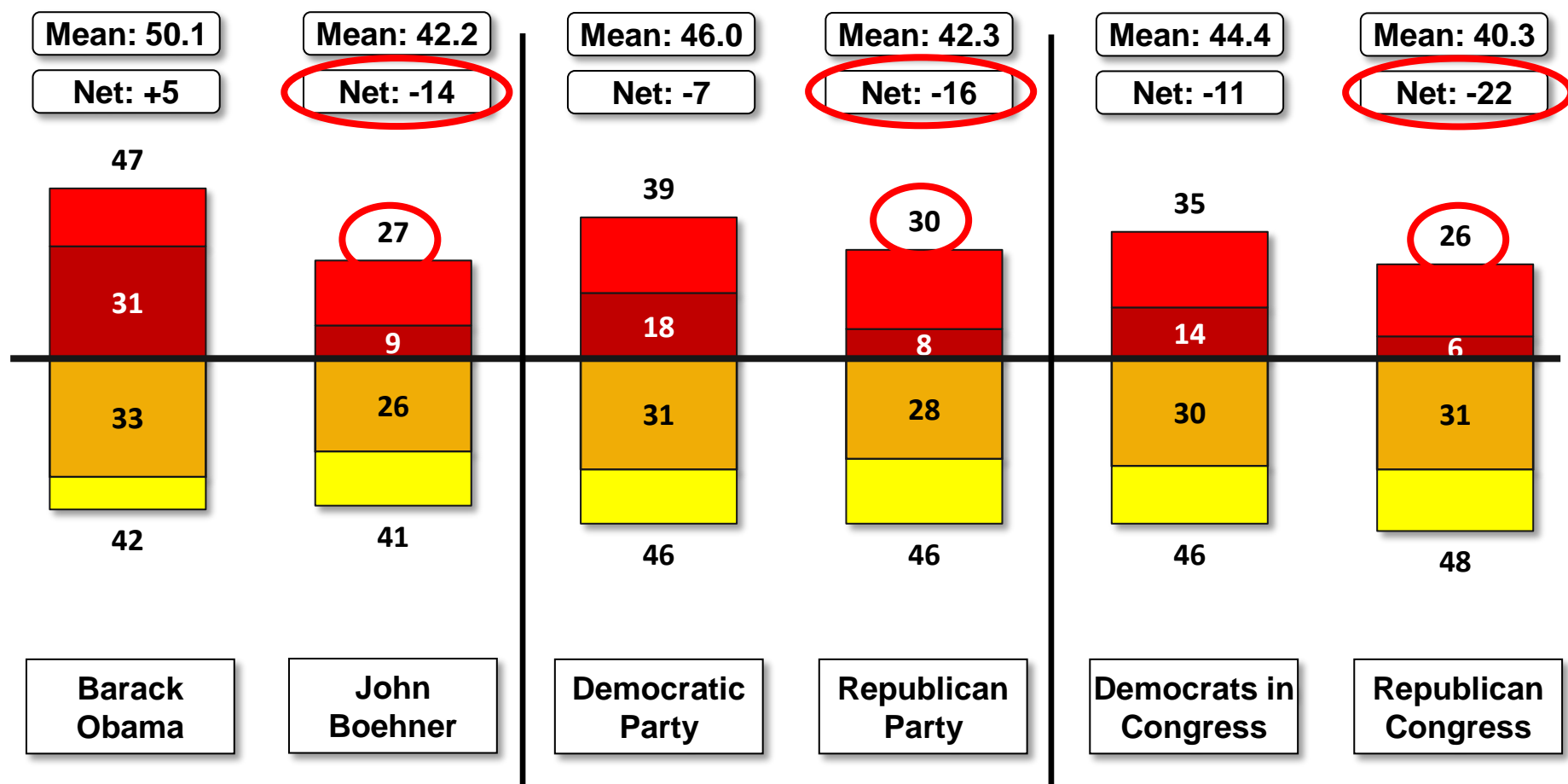
Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican or what?



Republican Party brand

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

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

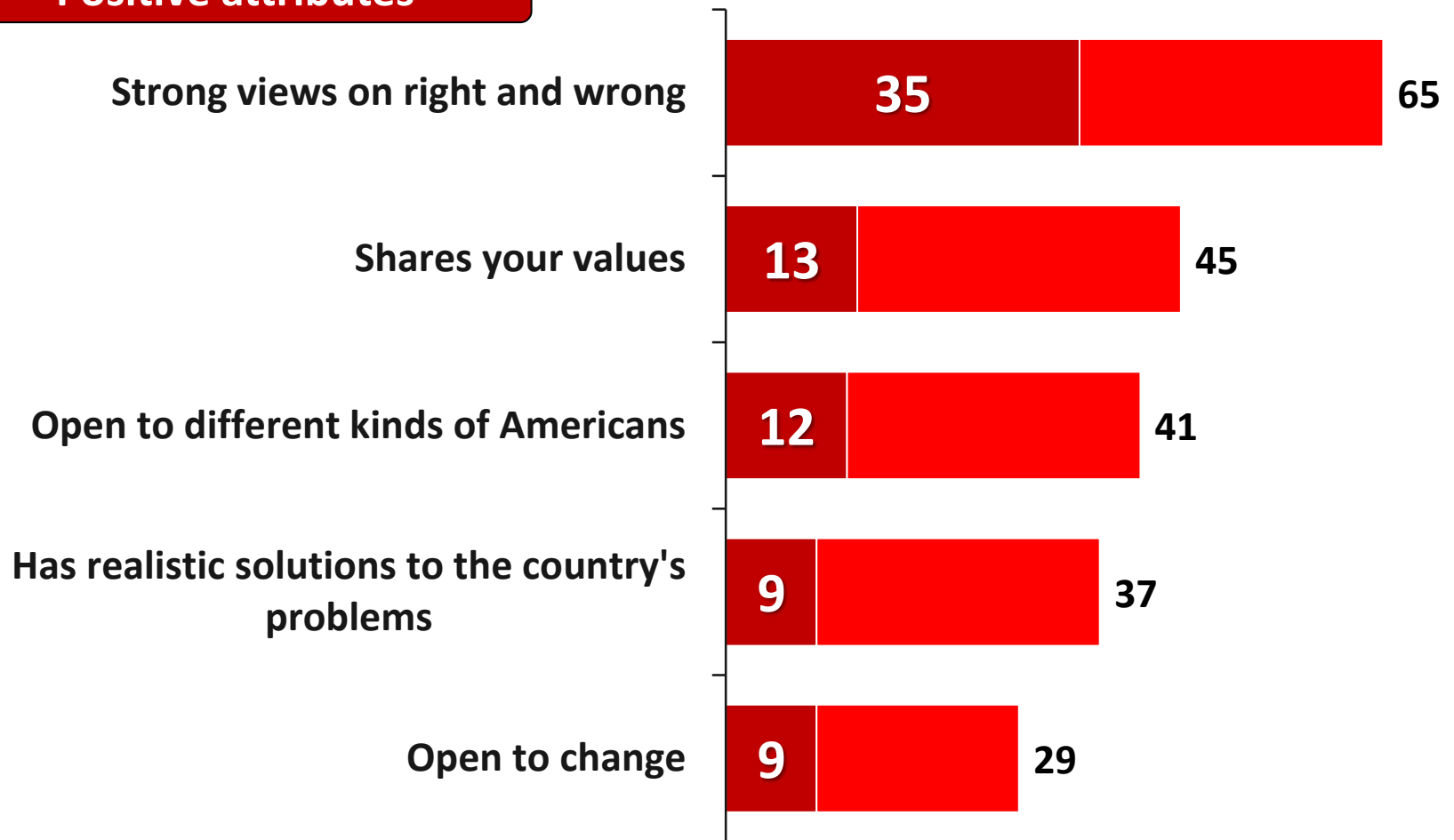


Brand attributes – barely a national party or relevant

Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the **Republican Party** very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

Positive attributes

■ Describes the Rep. Party very well



Negative brand attributes: out of touch and too extreme

Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political parties. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the **Republican Party** very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

Negative attributes

Always doing what corporate special interests want

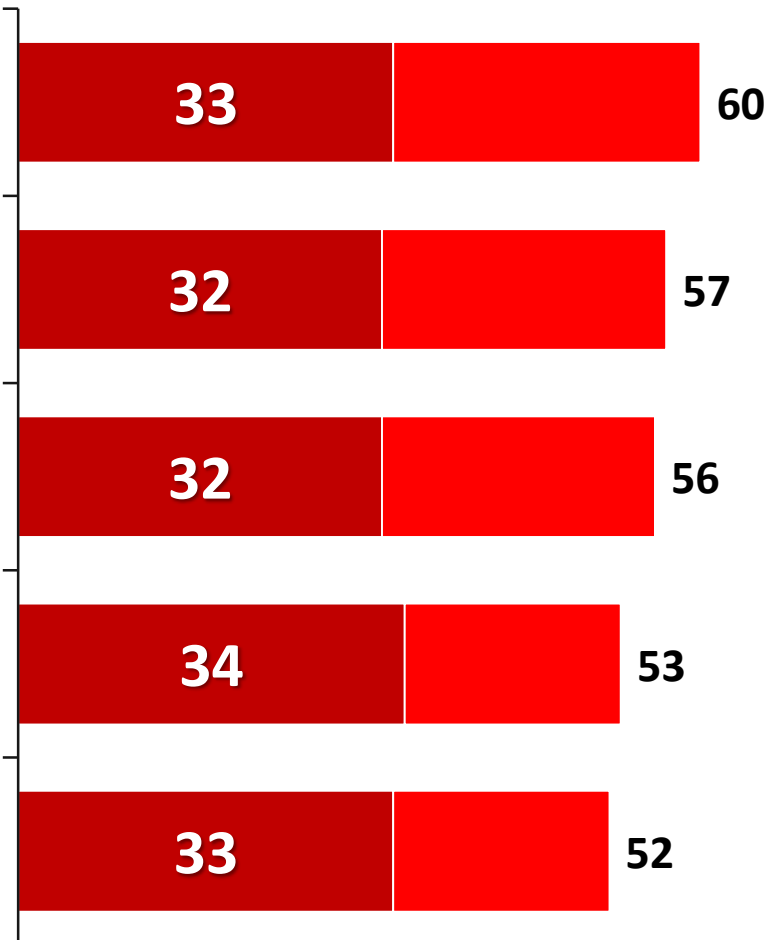
Out of touch

Too extreme in their views

Force their moral beliefs onto others




Divide the country

■ Describes the Rep. Party very well



Strongest drivers of Republican favorability: realistic solutions, shares values, and out of touch

Linear regression, $r^2=.48$

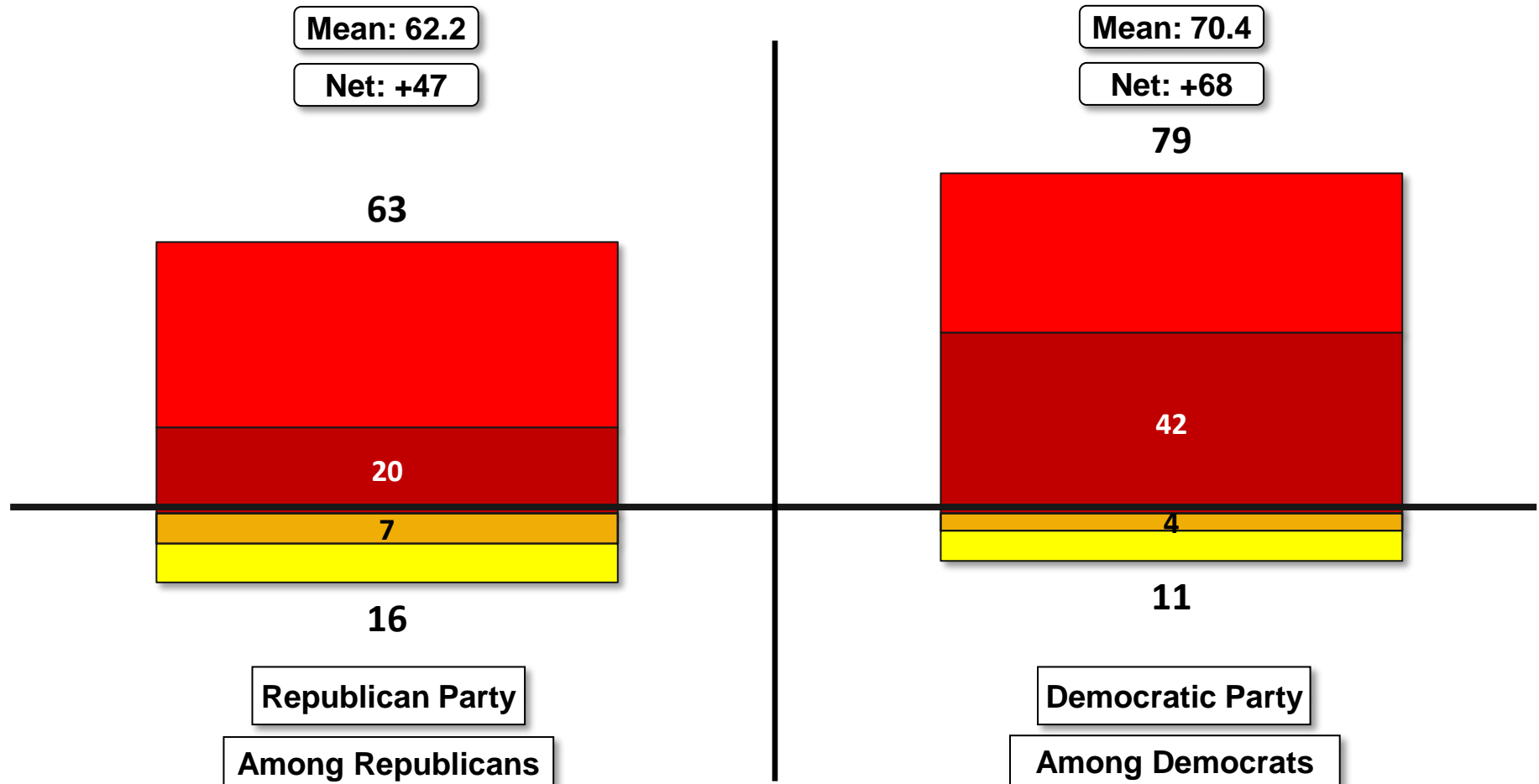
Dependent variable: Republican Party thermometer	Coefficient
 Positive: Has realistic solutions to the country's problems	4.701463
 Positive: Shares your values	4.557893
 Negative: Out of touch	3.35006
Negative: Always doing what corporate special interests want	2.190378
Negative: Divide the country	2.079305
Positive: Open to change	1.867126
Positive: Open to different kinds of Americans	1.020592
Obama approval	0.8330279
Negative: Too extreme in their views	-0.2145878
Positive: Strong views on right and wrong	-0.3777709
Negative: Force their moral beliefs on to others	-1.453396
Party ID	-4.255018

How partisans view their own parties?

Republican Party problems start with their own party

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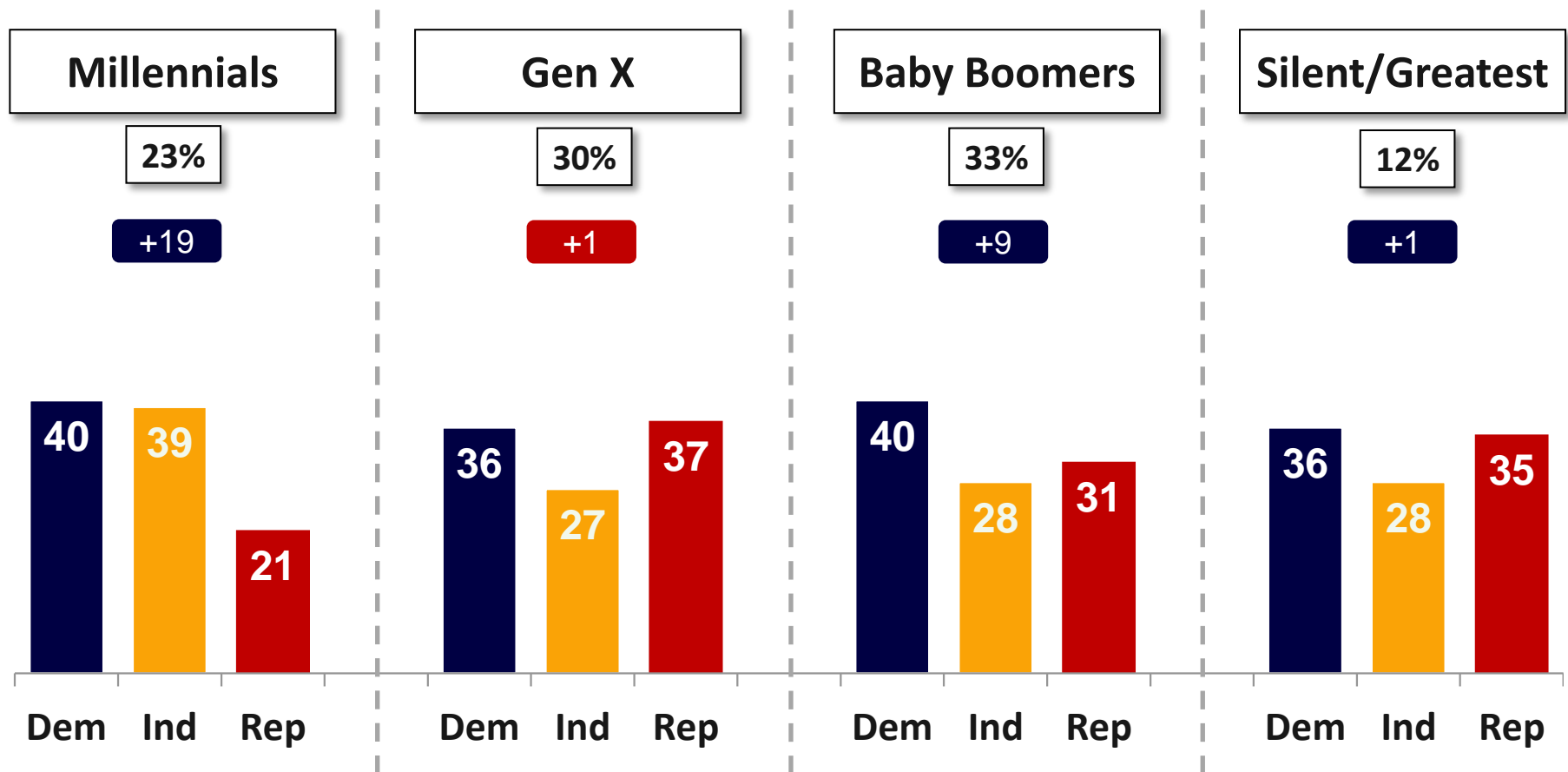


Changing country and state of Republican Party

Republicans in trouble with millennials and baby boomers, but no generational base

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican or what?

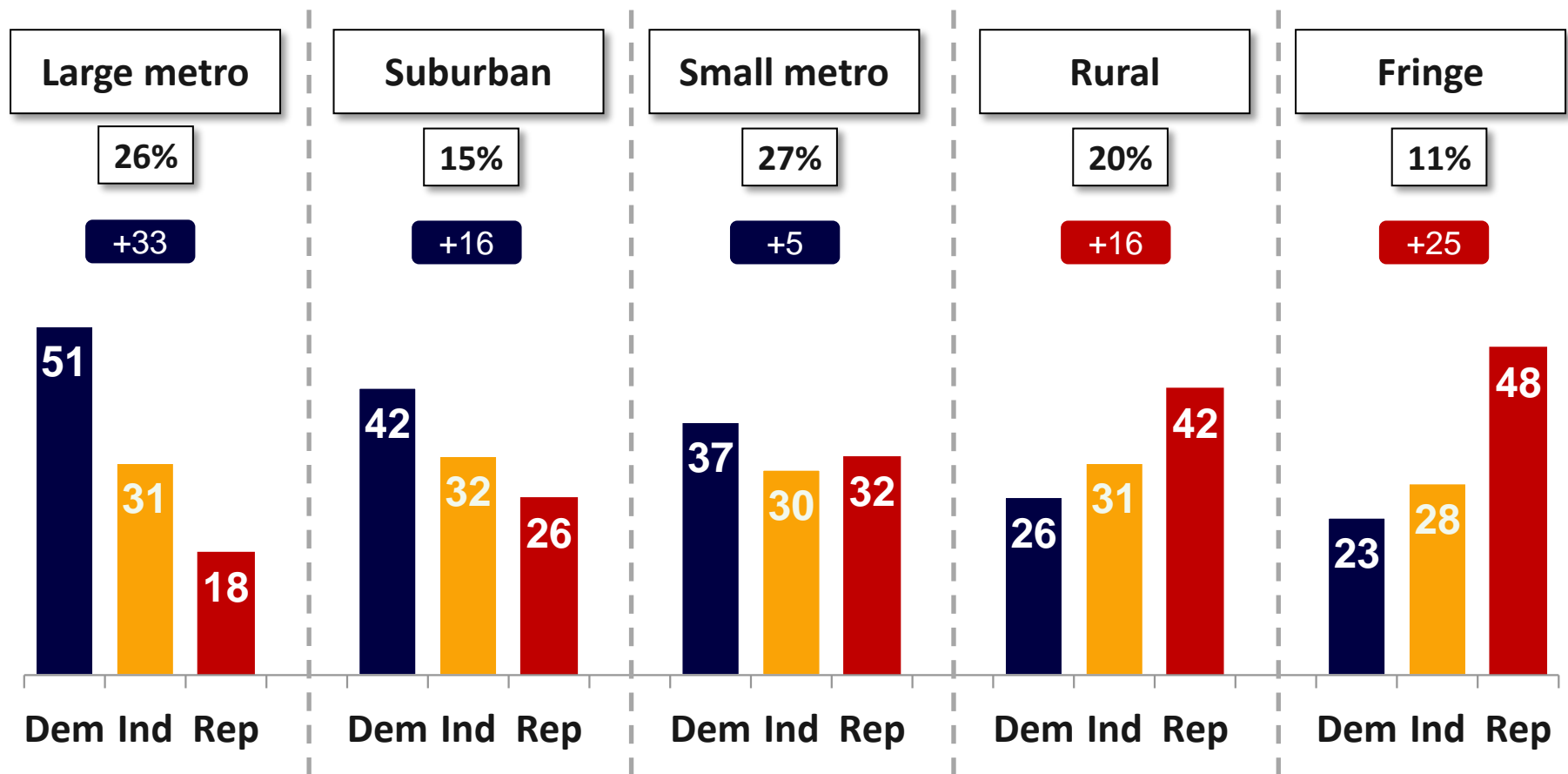
■ Democrat ■ Independent ■ Republican



Republicans holding on in rural and small town world

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican or what?

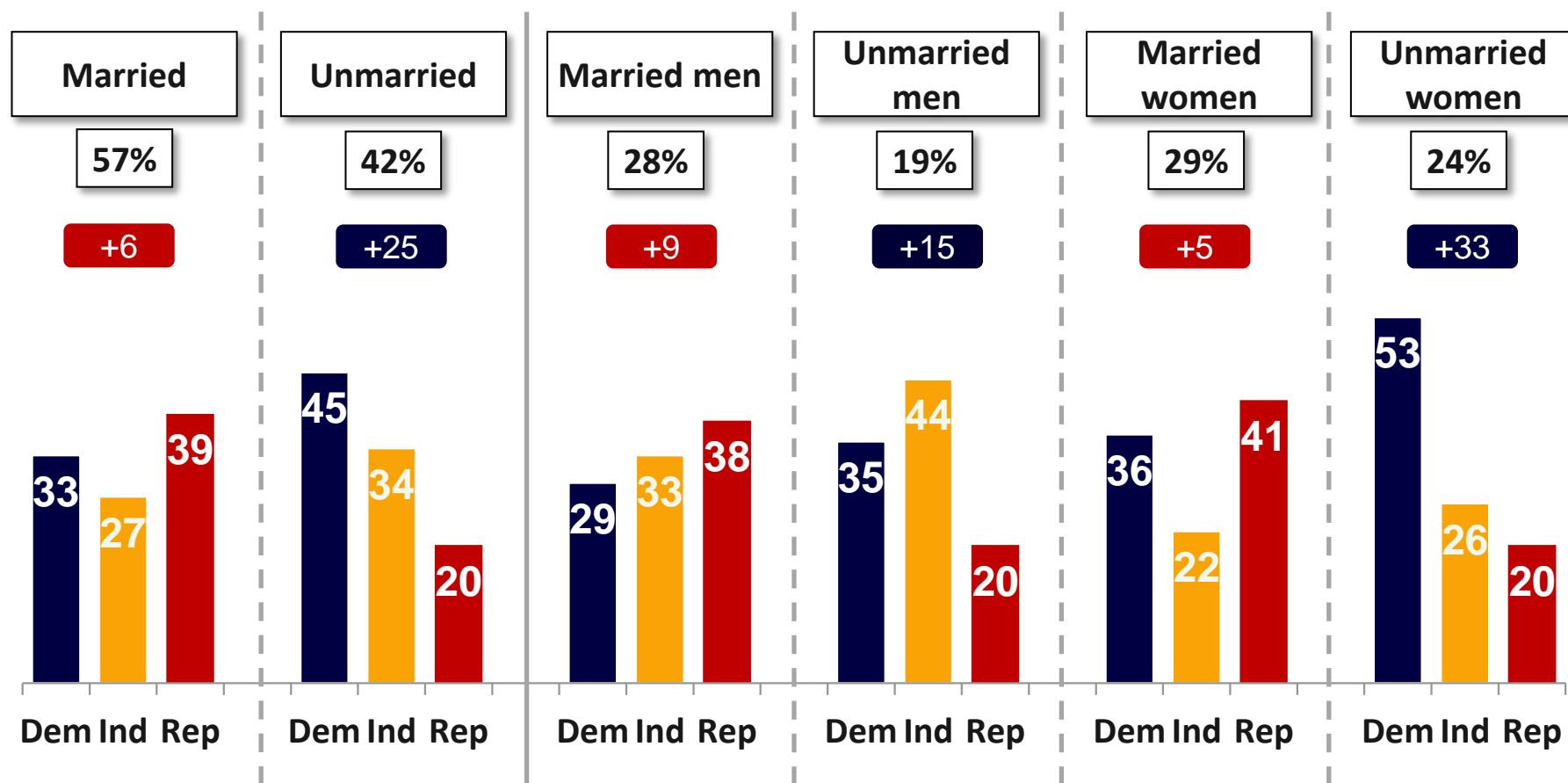
■ Democrat ■ Independent ■ Republican



And holding onto the married electorate

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican or what?

■ Democrat ■ Independent ■ Republican



The main segments of the Republican Party

The “types” of voters who identify with the Republican Party

Republicans

Evangelicals

Evangelical Christians

The observant

Non-Evangelical; attend church at least weekly; including observant Catholics

Tea Party

Self-identify as strong Tea Party supporters or very favorable to (75+ degrees).

Moderate

Self-identify as moderate, not conservative ideologically

Unallocated

Other – 6% of Republicans

Independents

Independent-lean

Republicans

Self-identify as independent but lean towards the Republican Party

Independents

Self-identify as independent but do not lean towards either party

Independent-lean Democrats

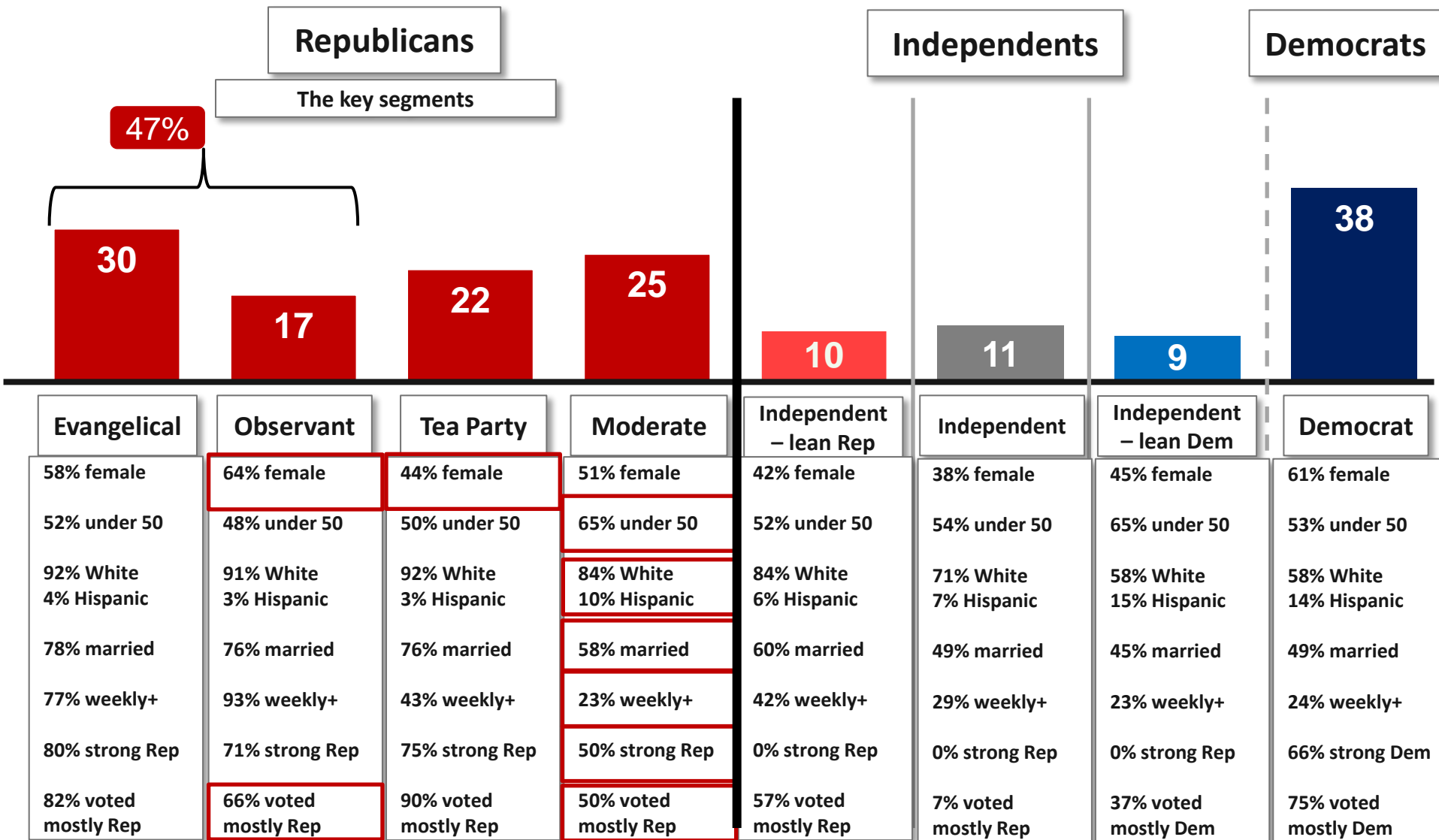
Self-identify as independent but lean towards the Democratic Party

Democrats

Democrats

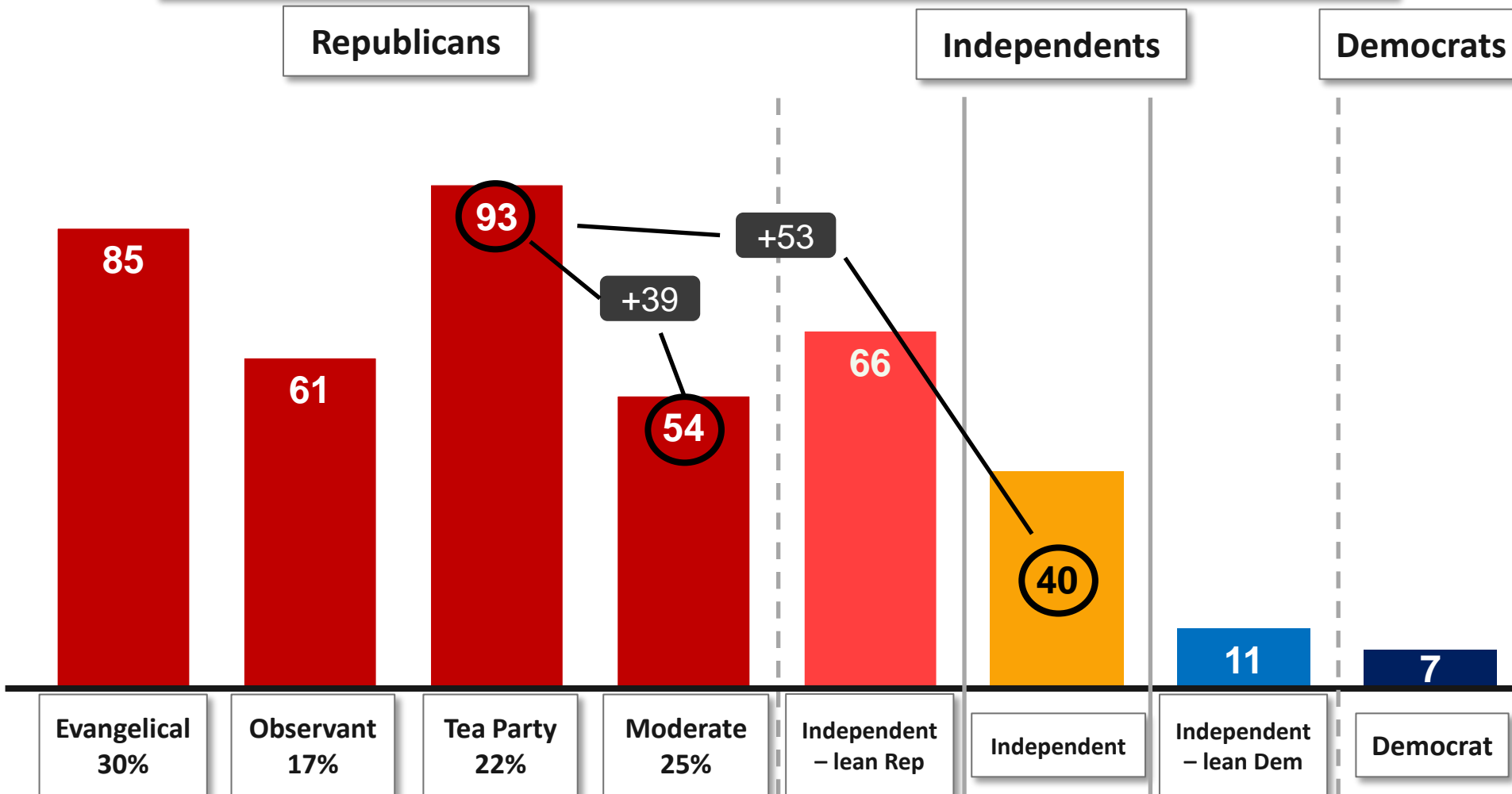
Self-identify as a Democrat

Who are they? Composition of key groups

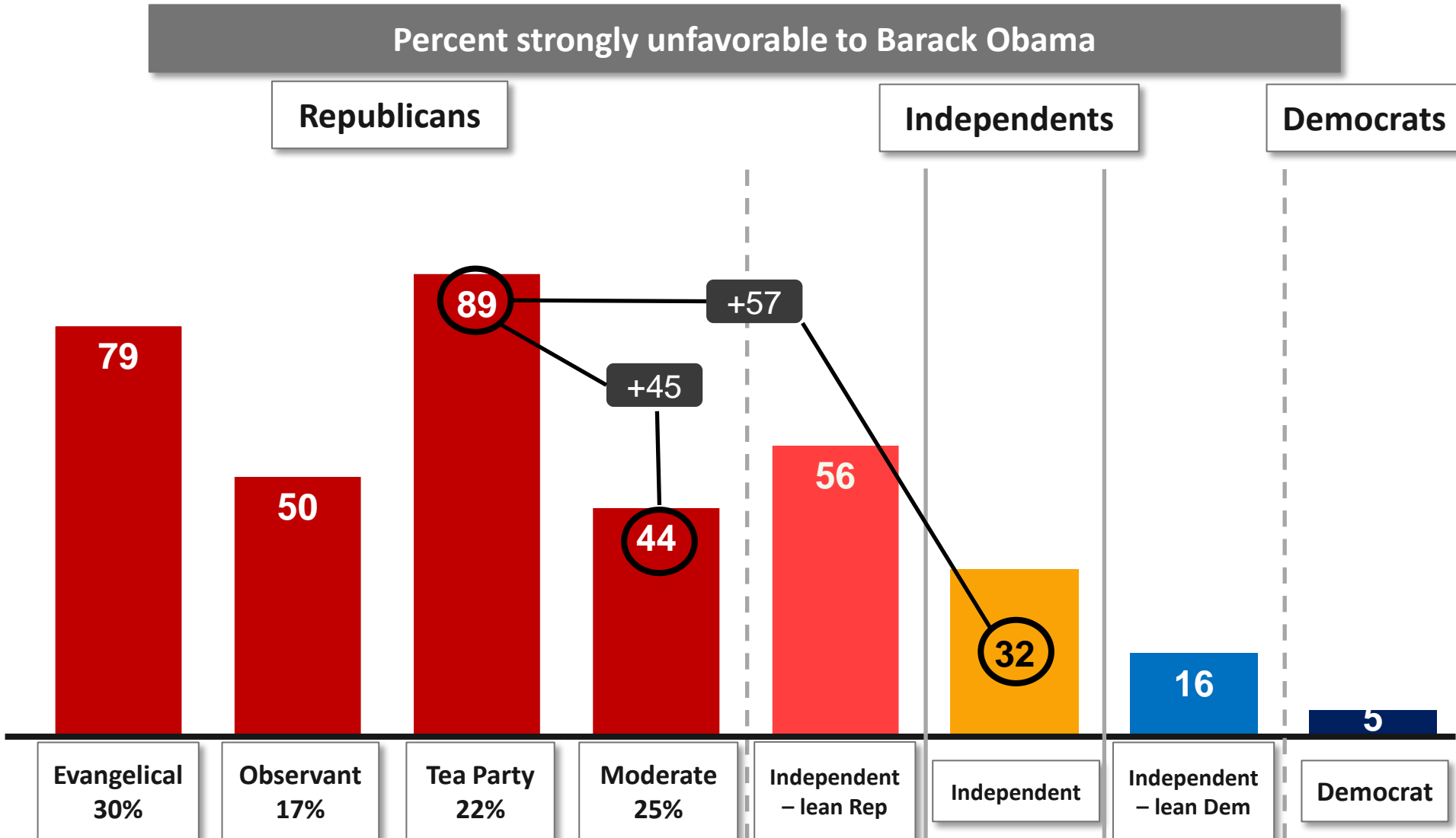


Near 90 percent, Obama hatred defines leading Republican bloc that isolates party

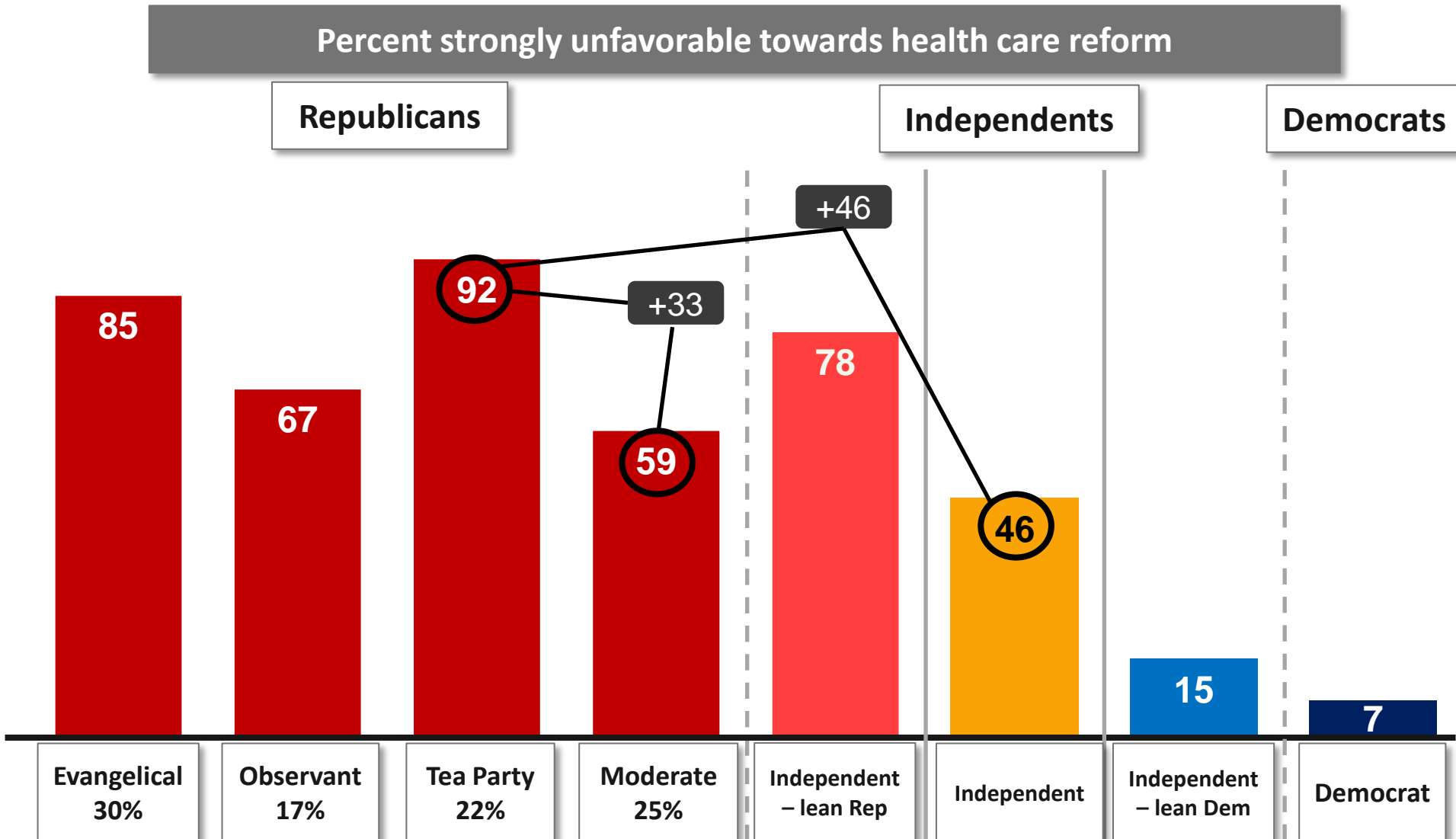
Percent who strongly disapprove of President Obama



For Tea Party and Evangelicals it is personal, and isolates and divides

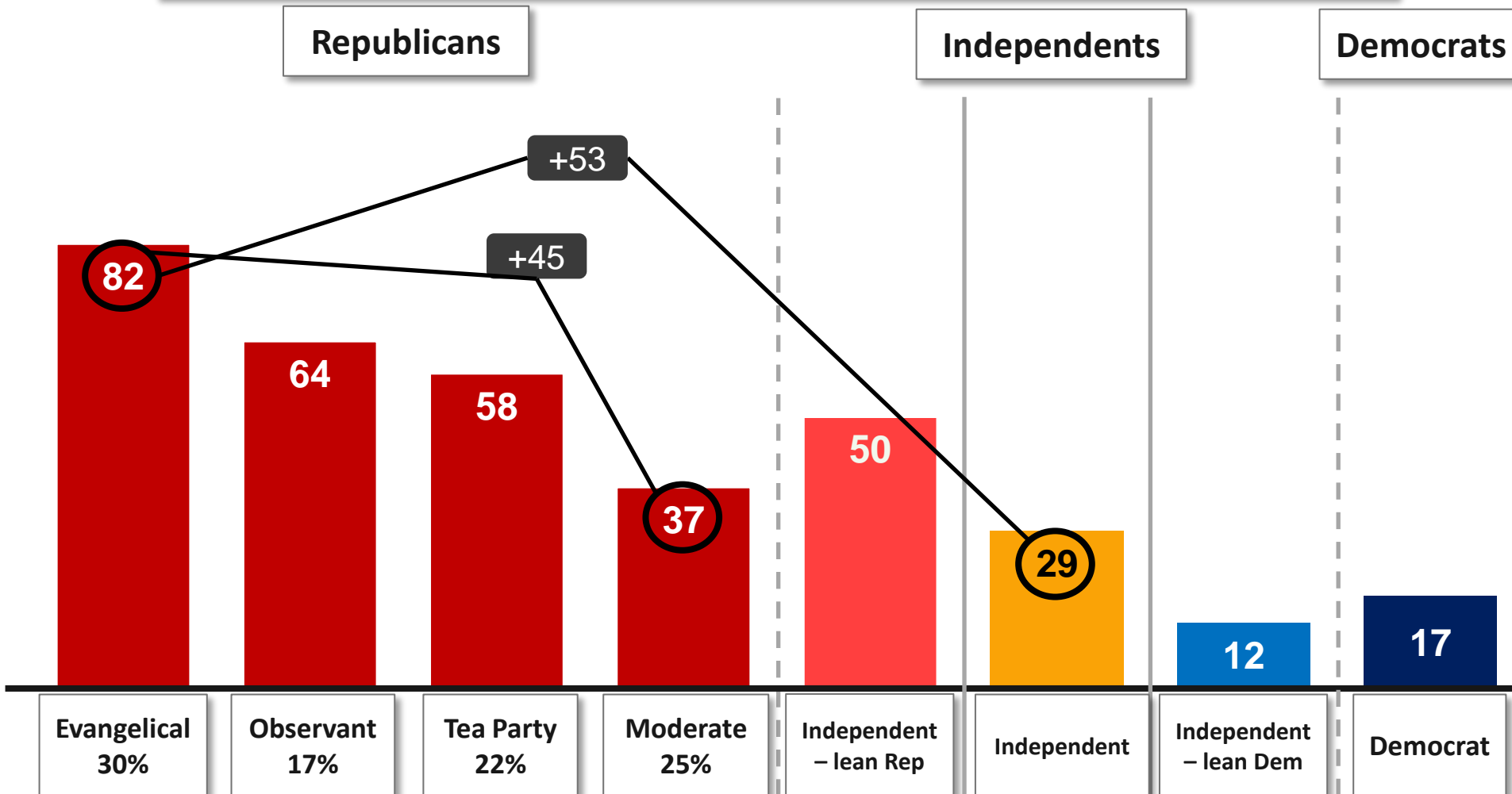


Hatred of health care reform is what gives all segments purpose



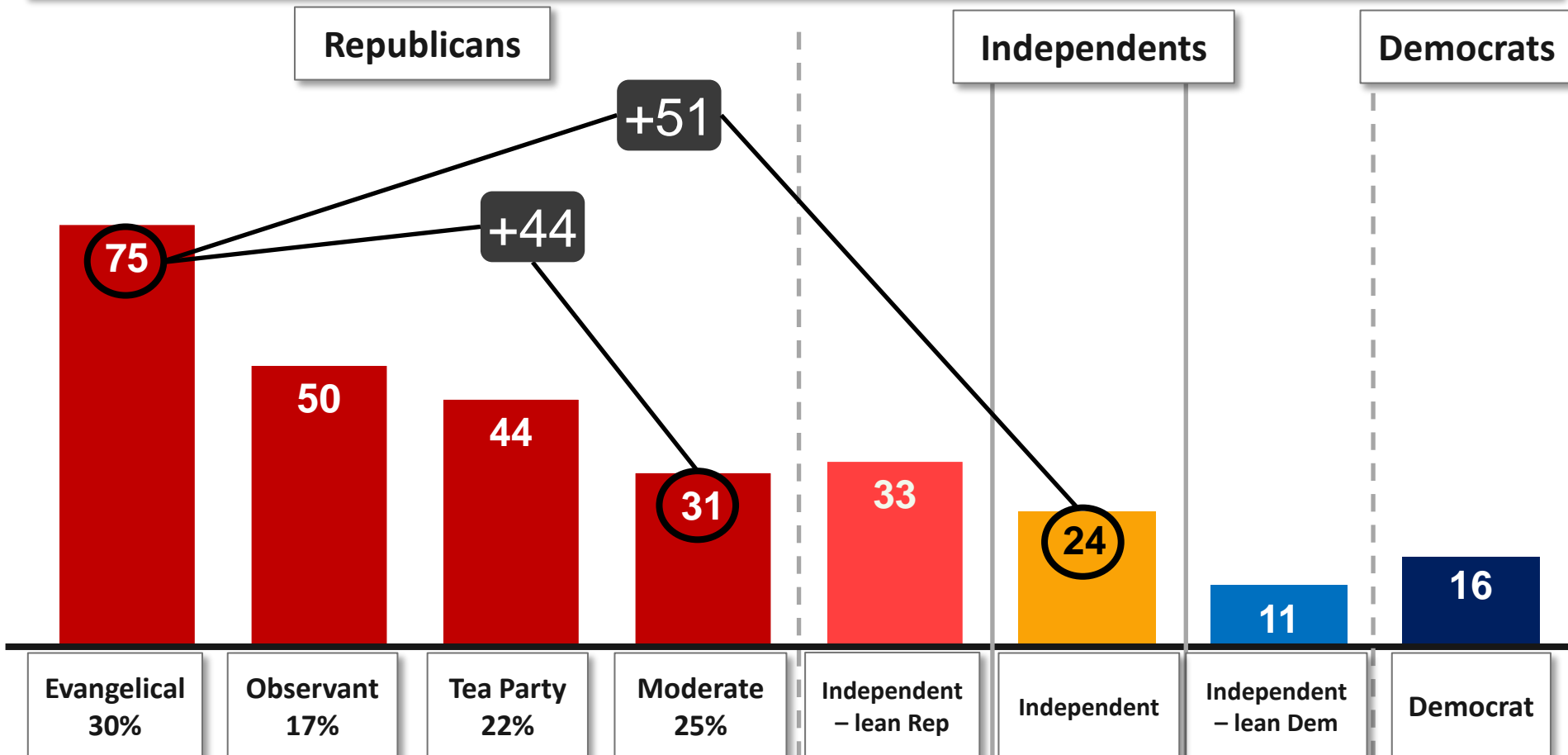
Gay marriage intensely opposed and most isolating and divisive

Percent strongly unfavorable towards gay marriage

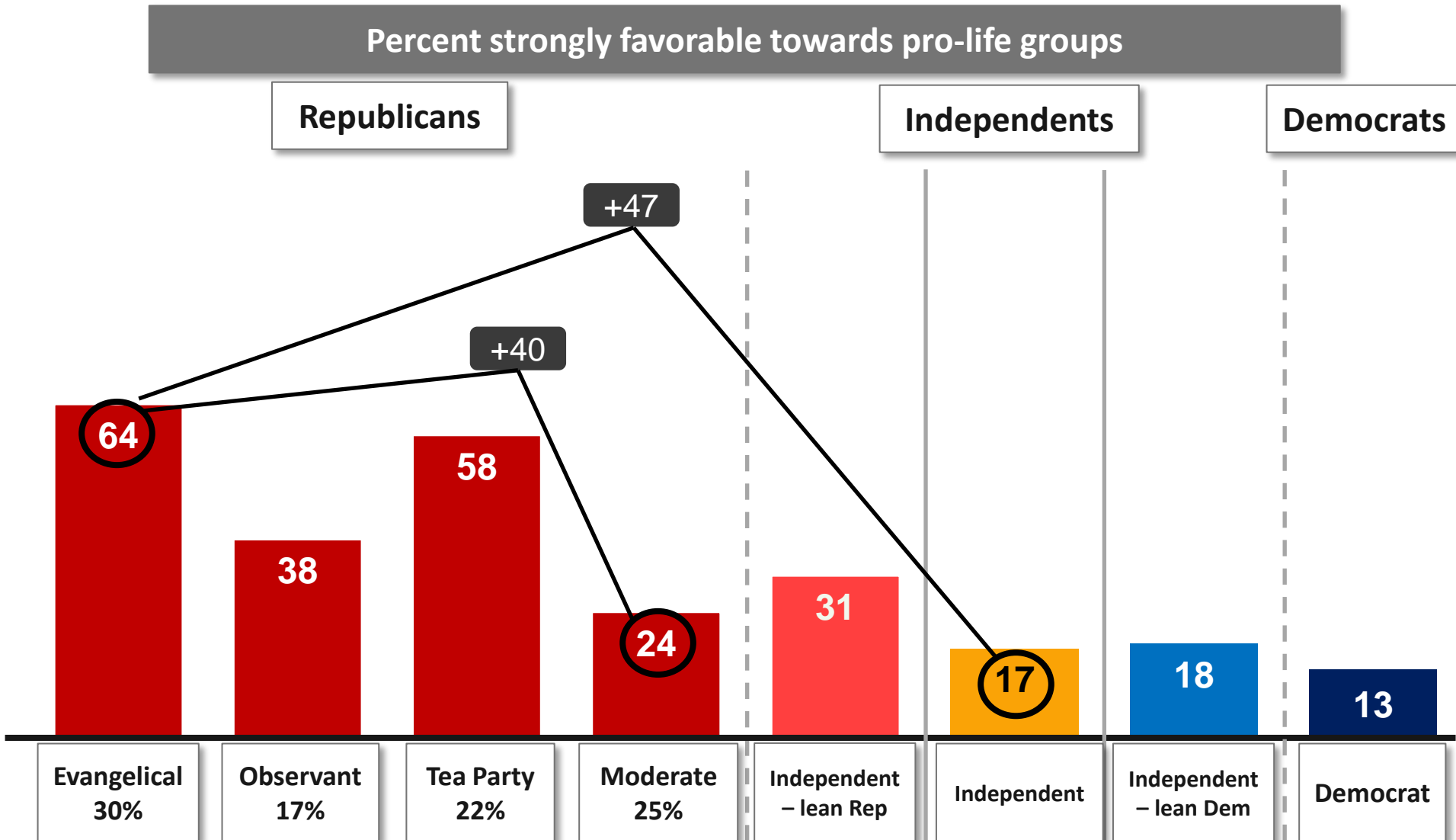


Biggest gap on discouraging homosexuality

Percent agree "Homosexuality should be discouraged by society."

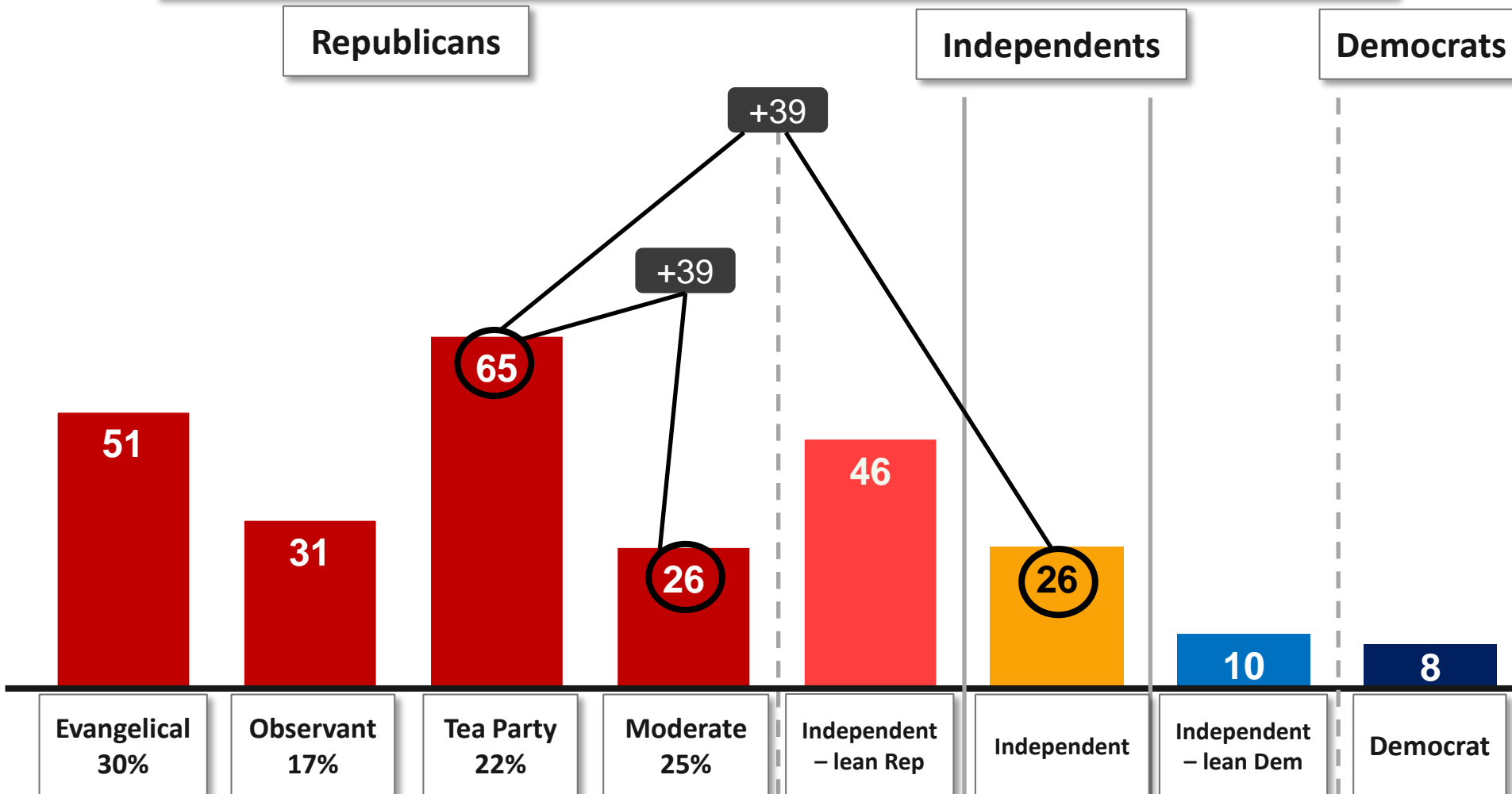


Opposition to abortion internally divisive and isolating



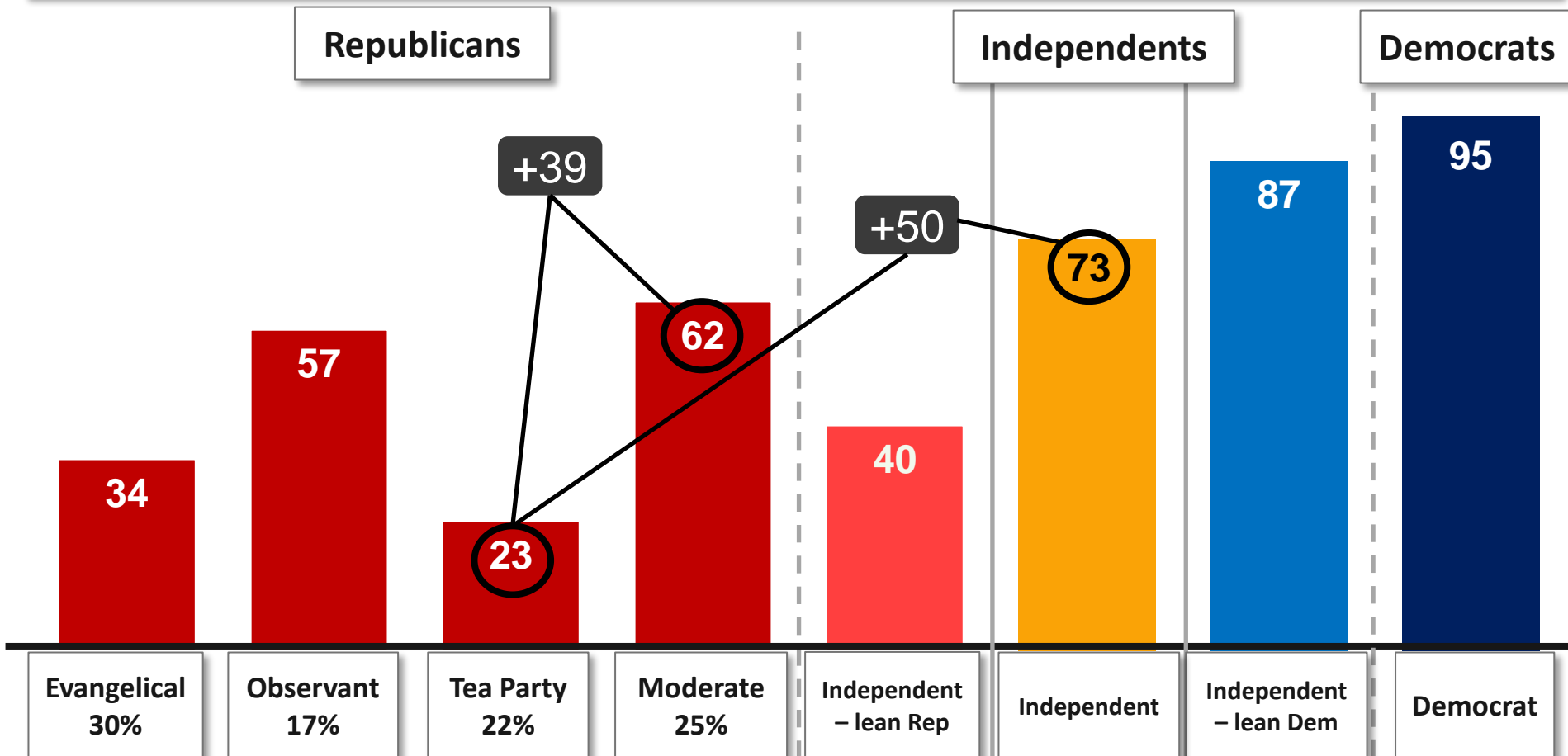
Dealing with global warming has become embedded in same structure

Percent strongly unfavorable towards measures to prevent global warming



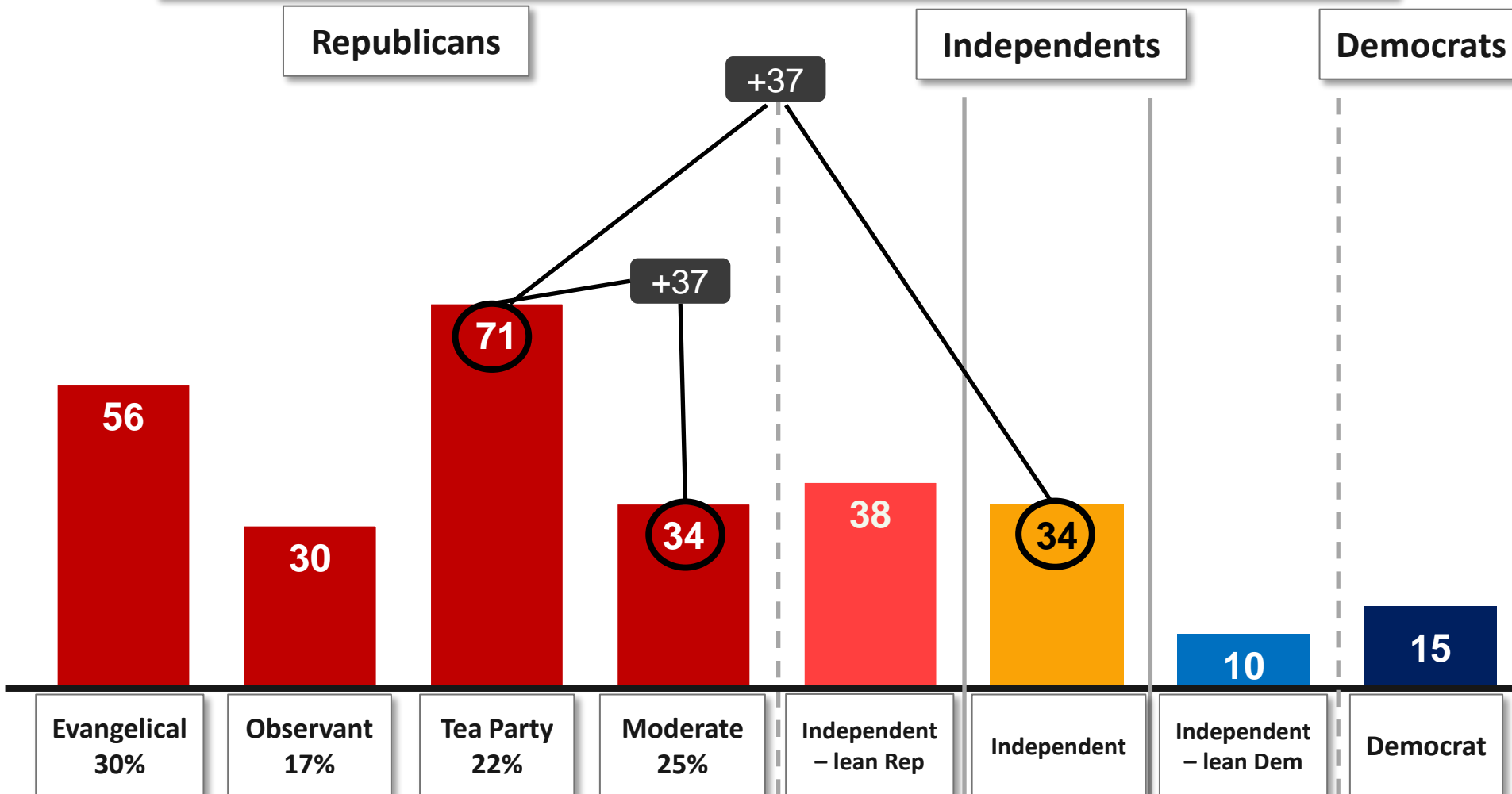
That humans cause global warming now part of ideological firmament

Percent agree “Because the earth is getting warmer because of what humans are doing, we need to begin taking serious measures to address global warming.”



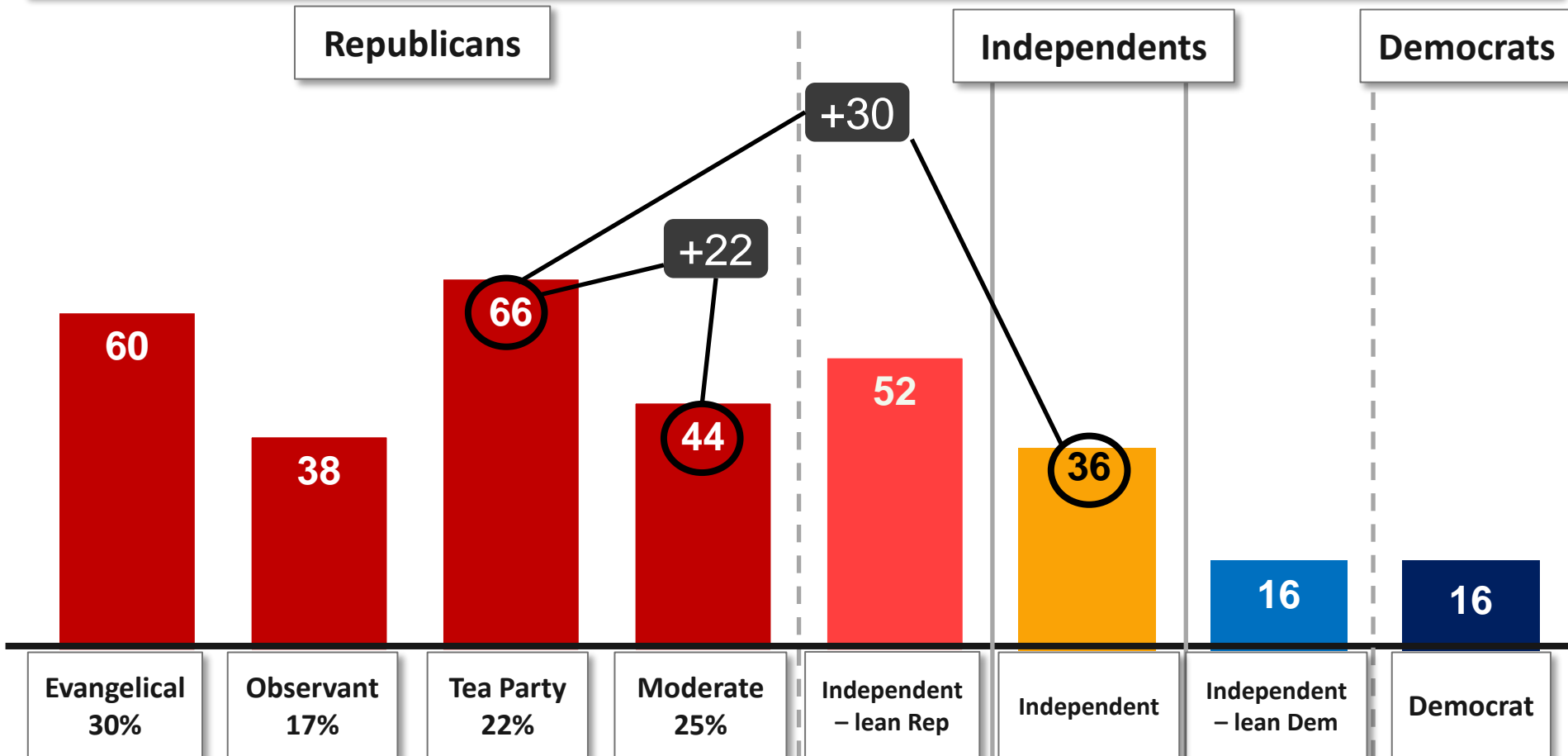
N.R.A. defining and divisive

Percent strongly favorable towards the N.R.A.



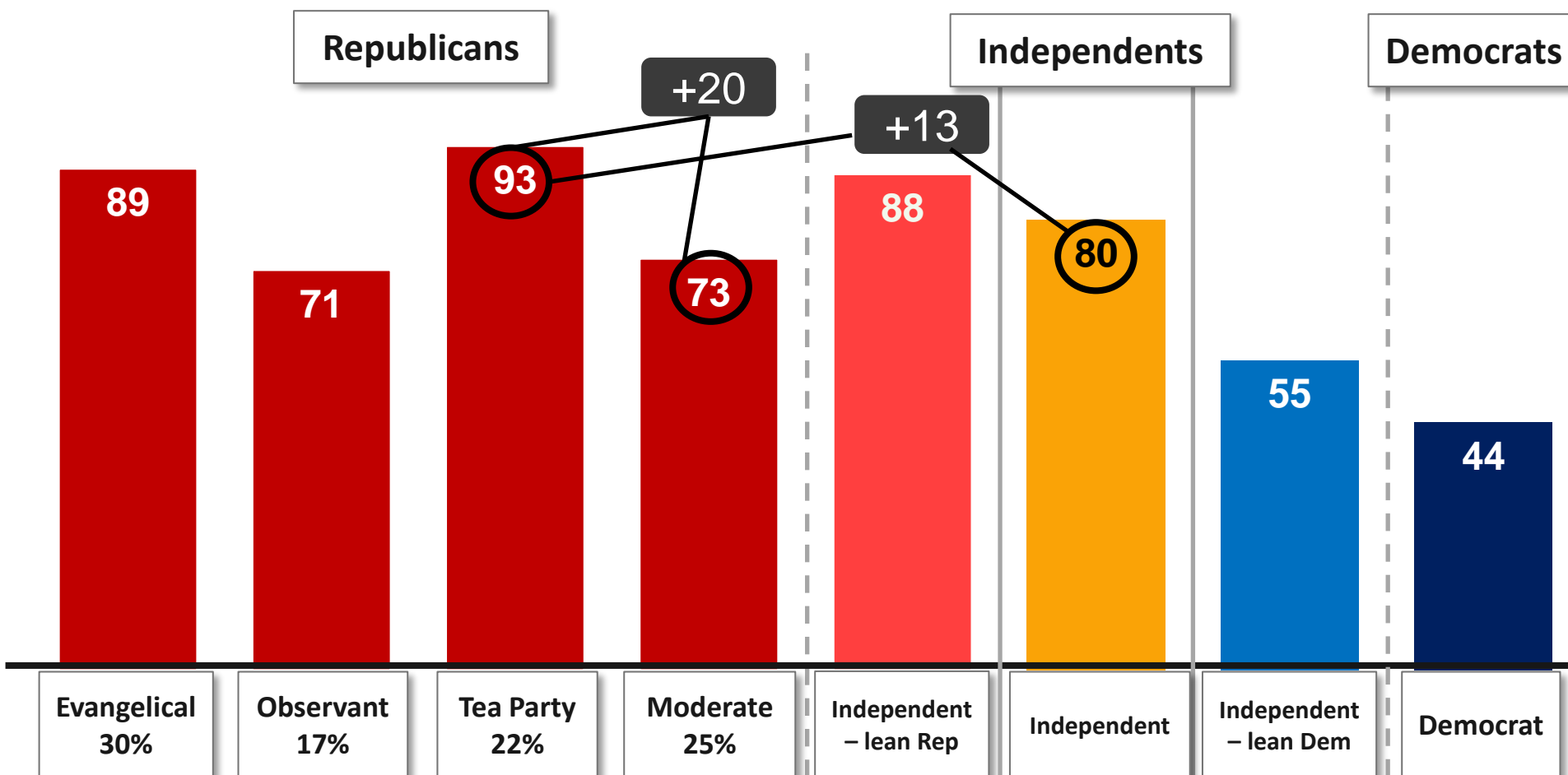
Smaller differences on regulation

Percent strongly agree "Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good."



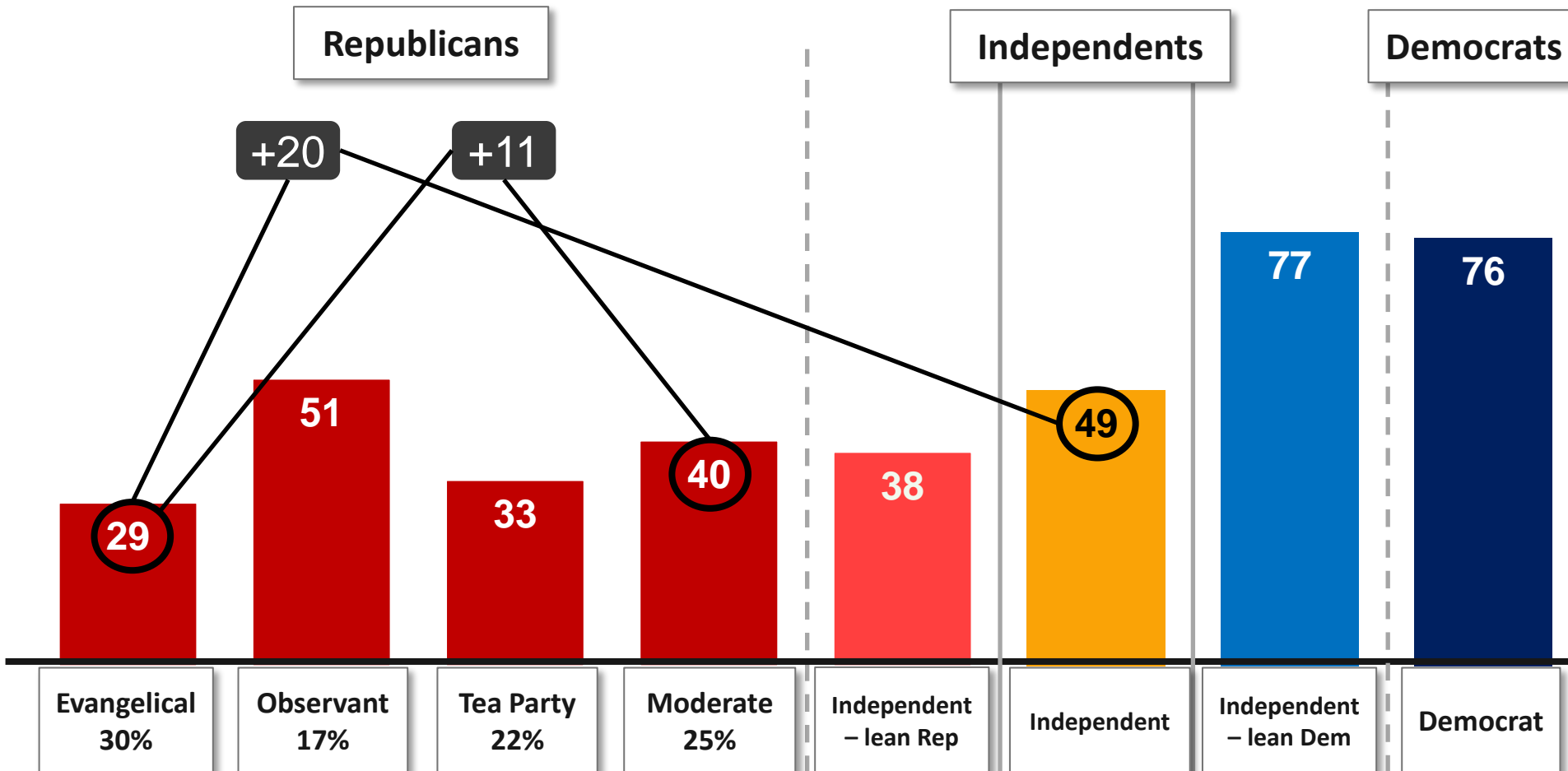
And on government being wasteful

Percent agree “When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful.”

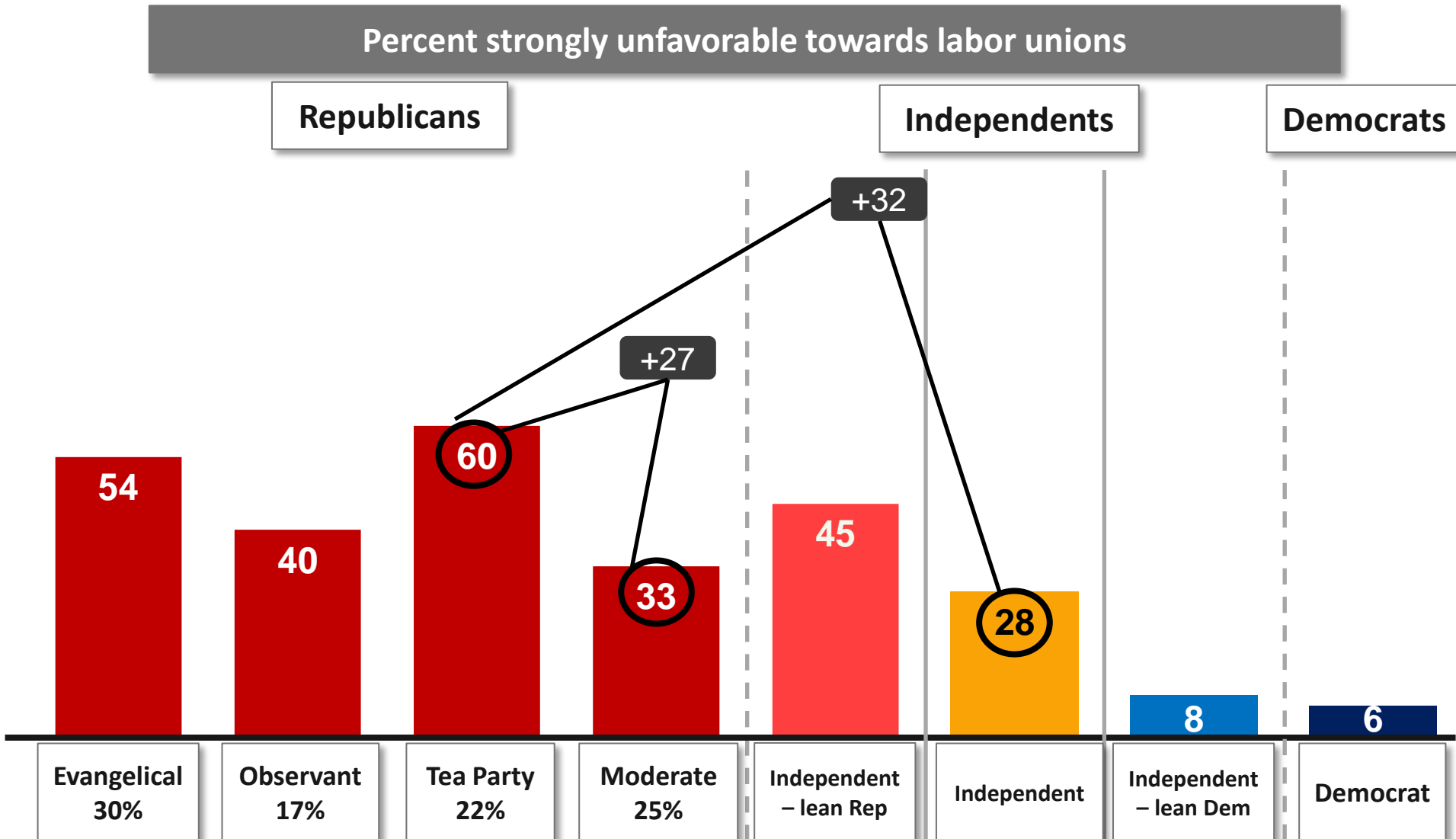


Republicans united in opposition to helping vulnerable – and big contrast with Democrats

Percent agree “It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can’t take care of themselves.”

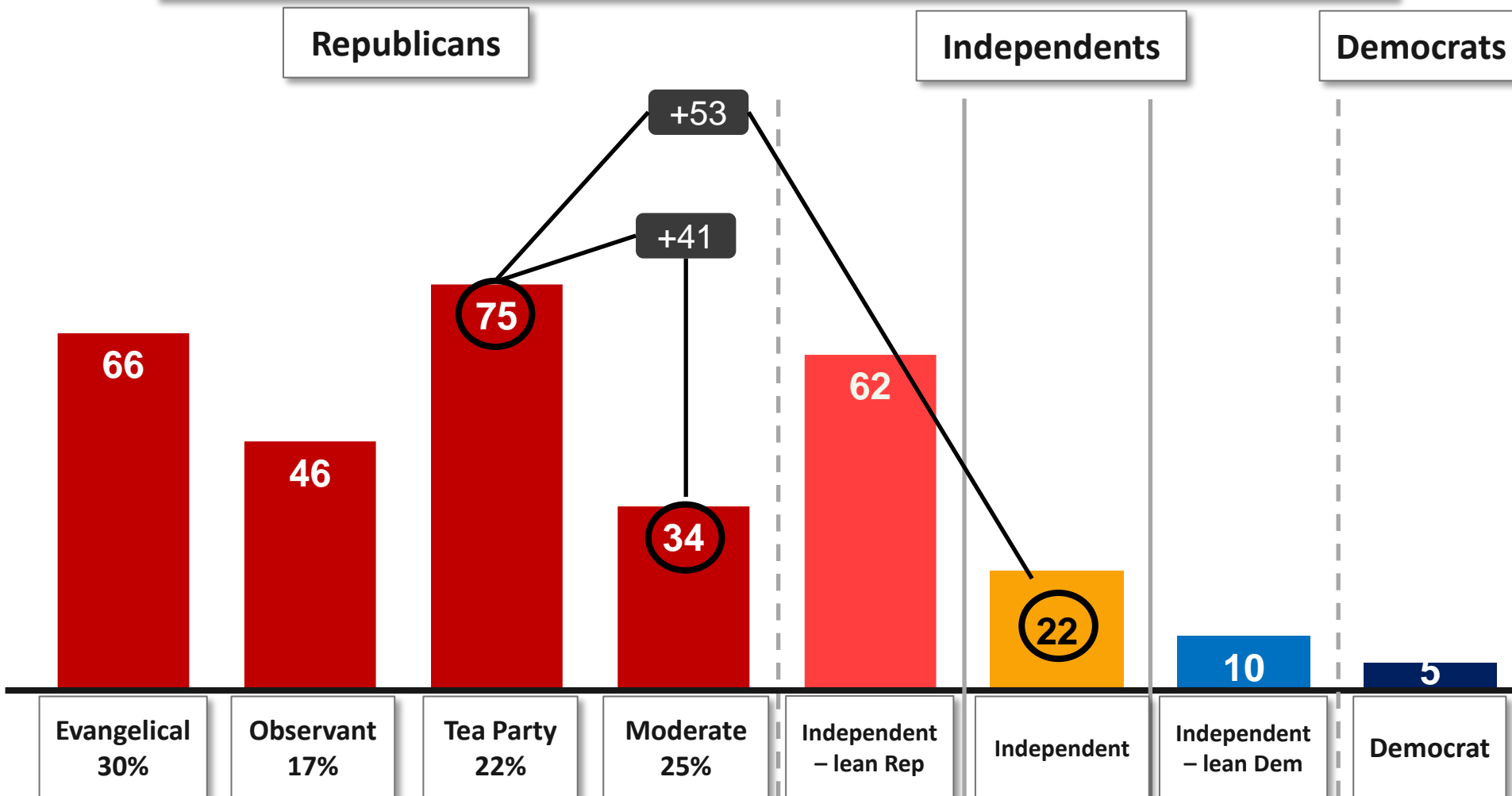


Labor unions not as central to party's definition



Republican base getting ready for Hillary Clinton – and very isolated

Percent strongly unfavorable towards Hillary Clinton



Starting point for Republican presidential candidates

Percent strongly favorable towards Sarah Palin/Chris Christie/Jeb Bush/Rand Paul

Republicans

Independents

Democrats

Palin

Christie

Paul

Bush

31

23

52

17

20

6

3

3

Evangelical
30%

Observant
17%

Tea Party
22%

Moderate
25%

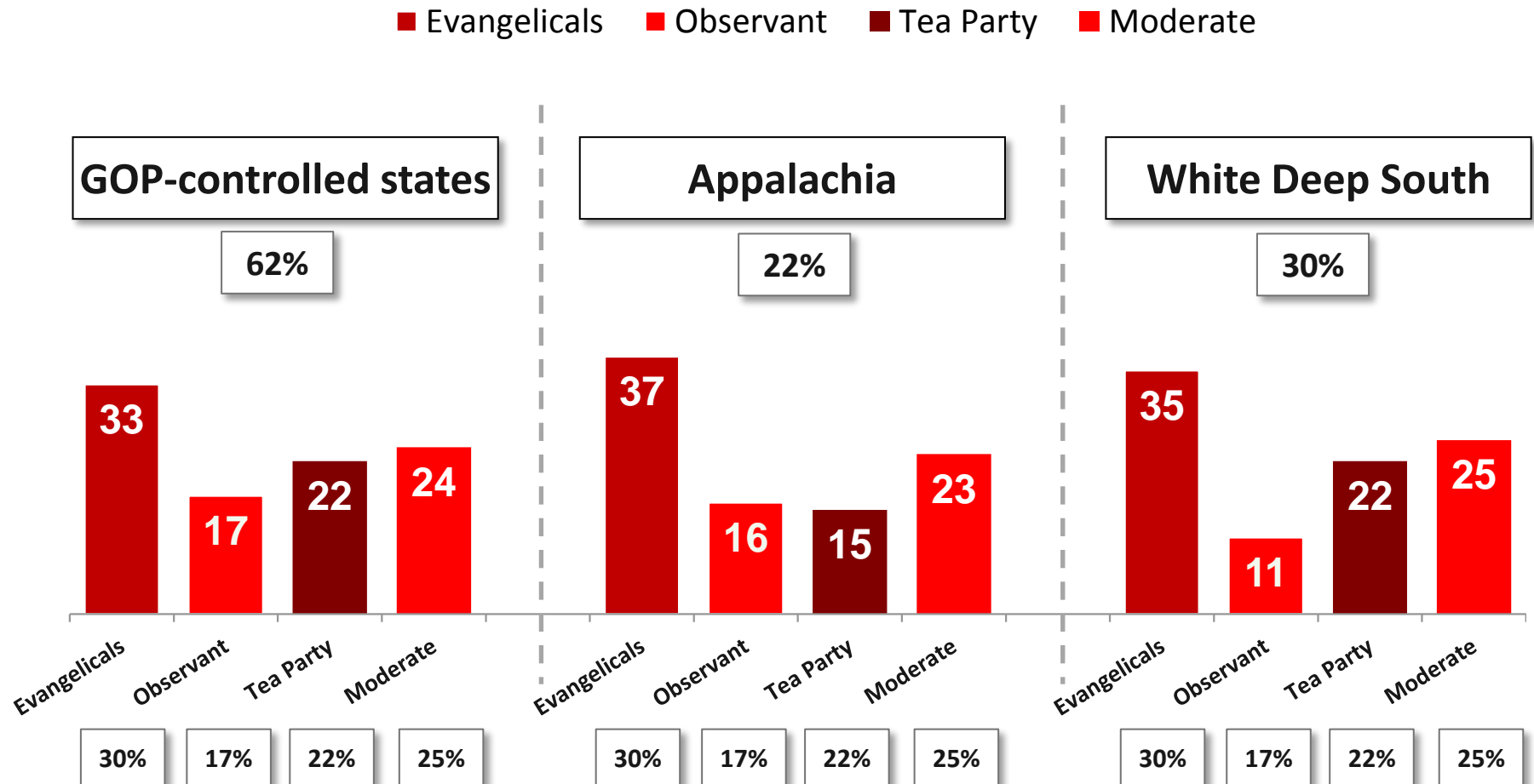
Independent
– lean Rep

Independent

Independent
– lean Dem

Democrat

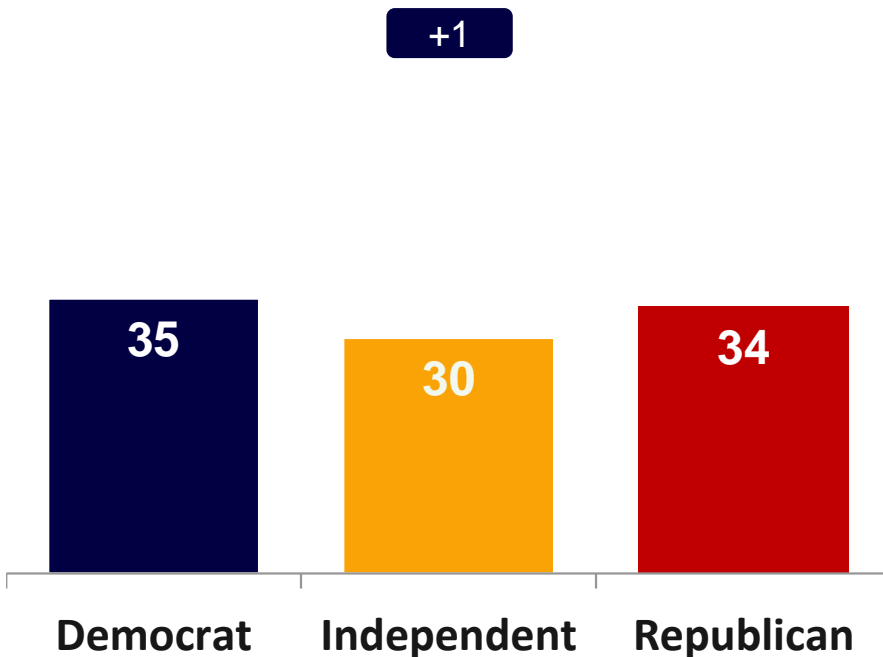
Evangelicals and Tea Party dominate Republican-controlled states



But Republican-controlled states evenly divided in preference – a formula for overreach

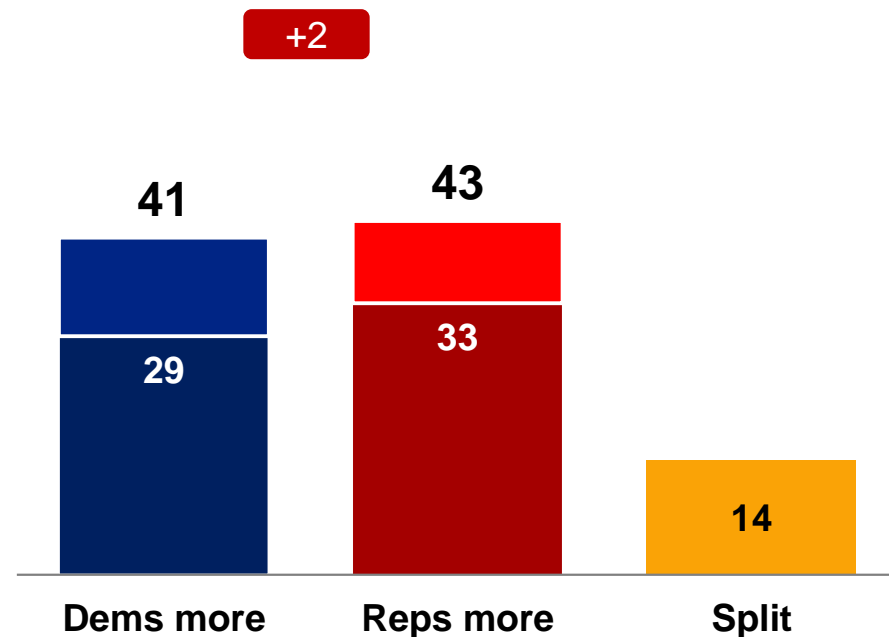
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■ Democrat ■ Independent ■ Republican



Thinking about how you voted in major state and federal elections over the past few years, have you voted...

■ Mostly for Dems ■ Mostly for Reps ■ Split



The moderates

Significant number of moderates and leaners describe the GOP as “out of touch”

Percent saying “out of touch” describes the Republican Party well

Republicans

Independents

Democrats

30

34

25

40

46

60

75

76

Evangelical
30%

Observant
17%

Tea Party
22%

Moderate
25%

Independent
– lean Rep

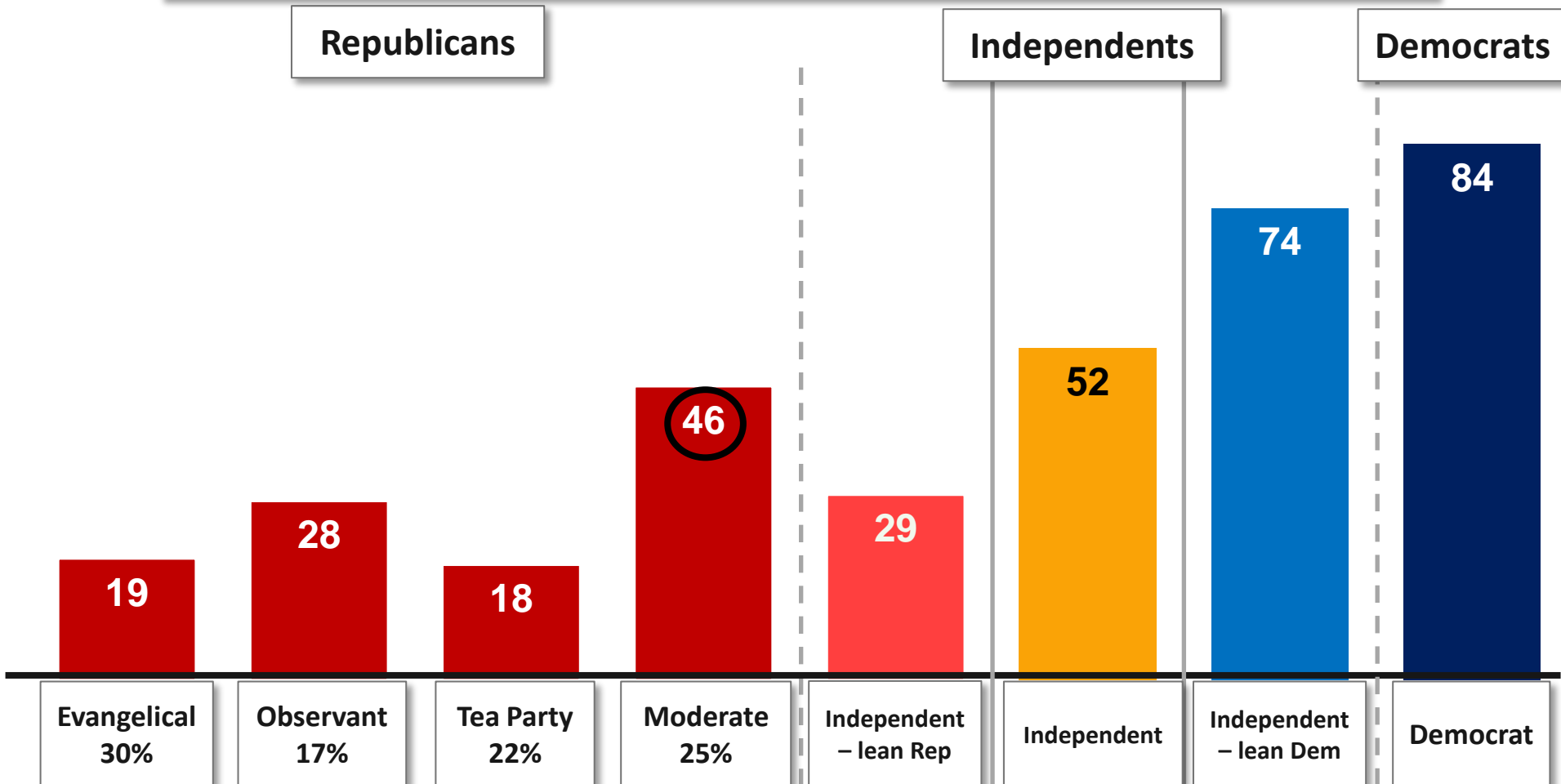
Independent

Independent
– lean Dem

Democrat

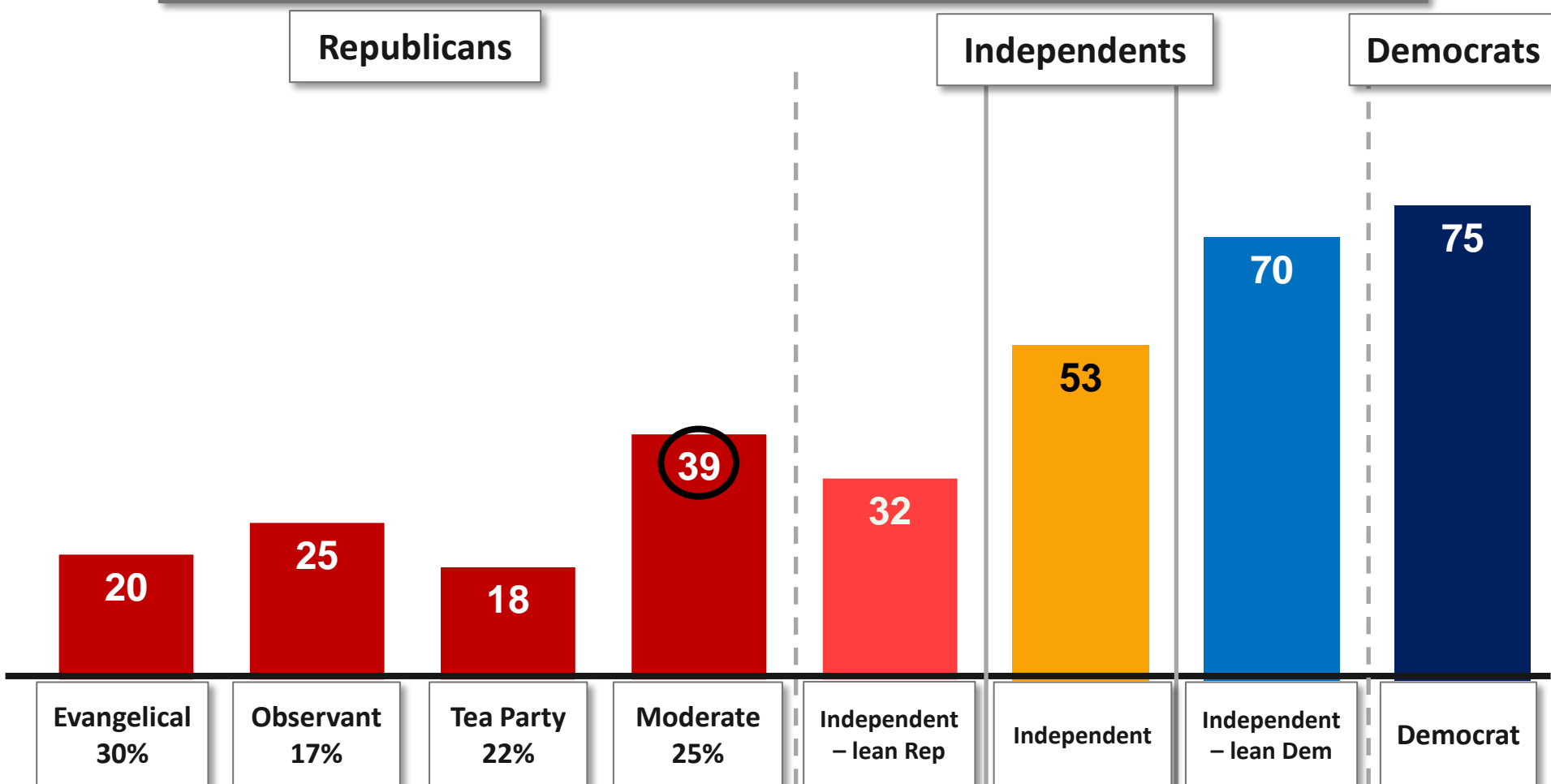
4 in 10 moderates see their own party as “too extreme”

Percent saying “too extreme” describes the Republican Party well



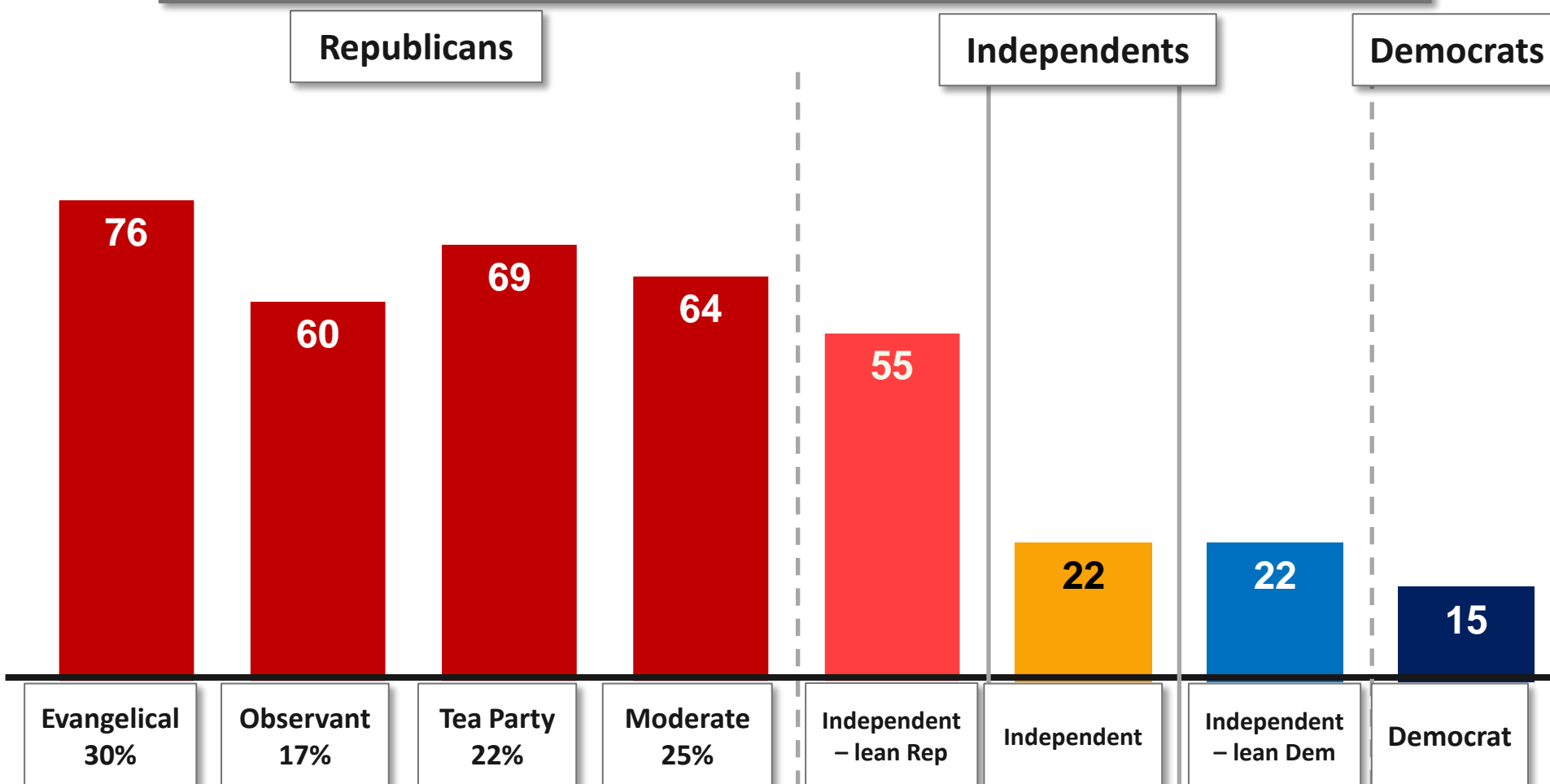
And dividing the country

Percent saying “divide the country” describes the Republican Party well



Some consensus that the party has real solutions – but nobody else and matters

Percent saying “has realistic solutions to the country’s problems” describes the Republican Party well



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