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To: Interested Parties

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## **The Trump GOP's deepening fractures**

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President Donald Trump has a loyal base of support among the Evangelicals, Observant Catholics, and Tea Party who form 70 percent of the party, and only a few brave elected Republicans are likely to oppose him. But strong anti-Trump fractures run through the remaining blocs of McCain conservatives and moderates, both those who identify with the party and those who have left it, and even some Trump loyalists. So, it should not be surprising that 10 to 15 percent of Republicans in current polls support impeachment or vote for a 2020 Democratic candidate or a third party candidate.<sup>1</sup> And if that endures or grows, these trends represent a mortal threat to President Trump in 2020.

While Trump has pushed the proportion of McCain conservatives and social liberal moderates in the party down from 41 to 35 percent, the remaining GOP voters have become much more assertive about their doubts about the president. After three years of President Trump's tweets and perceived impulsiveness and divisiveness, Republican doubters are much more willing to raise and defend their criticism, even in a small room with fellow Trump voters. It is as if their doubts have been building through three years of watching President Trump and uncomfortable conversations in their families and at work - and suddenly, they say, "don't get me wrong," and blurt out their issue.

They also watched long segments of the president's rallies, press availabilities outside the White House, and the State of the Union only affirm what they already thought. He talks nobody back from their doubts, but instead, confirms that the polarization will only continue. Watching Trump leaves even his supporters worried, not excited, about the next stage of the Trump project.

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<sup>1</sup> Public polls on impeachment and vote. 538 tracks impeachment support by party. The Democracy Corps September 2019 national poll had Biden at 11 percent among Republicans, up from 7 percent in July 2019.

Events have left one or two in every group of eight participants waiting to hear more about the impeachment investigation. Some say it is reassuring to see a formal constitutional, “checks and balances” in play.

These results are based on focus groups Democracy Corps conducted in late October; including two groups in Phoenix, AZ, with secular conservative women and with independent men voting 3<sup>rd</sup> party in 2020; two groups in Southfield, MI, with moderate Republican women and with conservative Catholic women; two groups in Charlotte, NC, with moderate former Republican women and with Tea Party supporter men.

They provide new insights into the dynamics of the Republican Party and its factions under President Trump, and the growing worry about the divisiveness and even disagreement on immigration and Trump’s view of a multicultural and immigrant America, health care and the Affordable Care Act, deficits, gun violence, climate change, and obeying the law.

### **Trump’s Divided America**

Incumbent presidents can usually count on his own party to say he is moving the country in the right direction, but in each group, we asked people to finish the sentence on the state of the country. The dominant words were “uncertain,” “scared,” and “nervous.” One or two in each group also said they were “hopeful” or “cautiously optimistic.”

The biggest reason they gave for the negativity is the division and polarization; “People are so divided now... [he] has created a lot of division” that some think the president “enjoys.” And many say that people do not talk to each other anymore or are afraid to talk, and president Trump is tapping into this on all levels.

It's less bipartisanship than I ever remember. It's more division in the political world and more polarized, straight down the middle. (Tea Party man)

I've never felt, through the course of my life, like people want to be hiding. That you want to disagree with everyone. It's a weird time it feels like. (Moderate GOP woman)

If you're a conservative, you speak out, you get shut down. If you're liberal, you speak out, it's OK. That's how it does seem like it's going and he is tapping into that. And into those emotions of people. (Secular conservative woman)

You're embarrassed to even admit that you feel otherwise, because you don't want to be shamed for it or get into an argument with a friend or family member about it. (Moderate GOP woman)

Our greatest strength used to be the fact that we could communicate to each other, that was our greatest strength. (Independent man)

Nobody came out of these discussions with Trump voters more optimistic about the country. Many look forward to accomplishing more this term, but there was no hunger for four more years.

### **New push back against the Trump consensus**

Almost three years into the Trump presidency, the dissenters in every group were for the first time forceful and unafraid in pushing back against the Fox narrative. It is like they have been building up to this in their discussions with family members or work mates.

The pushback came early from a handful on anti-immigration rhetoric going too far, racists feeling free to say it, the NRA having too much power, climate change being real, excessive spending producing record deficits, and Trump's self-dealing and failure to act for the country.

Some of the pushback centered on Trump being unprofessional, childish, and using Twitter too much—things we have seen base voters dismiss or make excuses for in the past. What is new and important is that there was strong and unprompted pushback on substantive cultural and political issues.

During a word association discussion of cultural issues, one Tea Party man mentioned that he will vote for Trump, but likes Sanders and that “he’s a different idea,” to which another man replied, “how can you say you’re a Conservative?”

In every group one or two, just say, “he [Trump] is a racist” or “a voice for the racists” or has given latitude to “the racist person who didn't feel free to express their thoughts previously,” and that is perhaps “the only group that's more emboldened” (Secular conservative woman). “Our biggest weakness right now is that we have to realize the we have a country that has far more people than we thought were racist.” (Independent man)

When the NRA came up, the first participants shout out “freedom” and the “second amendment,” but others pushed back and called it “divisive” or said they “used to support it.”

I feel like I'm usually the voice of descent here [...] I've grown up around NRA, I've grown up around guns, I've grown up, you know, my dad's a hunter and I completely understand it, I've always been a supporter of the second amendment, but I feel like it breaks my heart every time I hear about a school shooting. And there's gotta be something we can do. (Secular conservative woman)

On climate change, many began with it being exaggerated or cyclical, one Tea Party man mentioned the “weather is getting crazy” and one of the independent men said that he talks to a lot of hunters who say they have observed impact of climate change in the animal populations. Climate change was particularly strong in the groups of Republican women in Michigan, who were deeply concerned about the quality of the water and the state’s natural resources overall.

Most the GOP base voters were supportive of Trump on hearing “tariffs on China” because they see Trump standing up to other countries who have pushed us around. However, there was critical pushback and some in the base acknowledged that it seems like “a personal agenda” for Trump or that the “cost is passed on to us.”

And I support a lot of what Trump does, don't get me wrong but this feels more than typical. I understand what he's doing and what he's doing is necessary, it needs to be done, but how he's doing it feels like it's more of a personal agenda he's doing against China and not in our best interest. (Tea Party man)

In an amazing unprompted discussion at the end of the Tea Party group, one of Trump’s biggest defenders said the discussion had been “excellent” and that “everybody should at least do one of these once in their life.” One man brought up that he was surprised they could discuss their disagreements and that “no one got violent.” Another man replied with, “we’re pretty much on the same side.” Then, they had this exchange:

It would be interesting to take this video and take it all around the country. And play it all as the news.

All of the public could really hear what the people are saying.

I would say on a good ending note. That even we don't all agree on a lot of the specifics of our different viewpoints, we're all still on the same side. That we will all still go to the poll and vote Trump, as of right now. And I think that's really cool. Even though we don't all agree on the same issues, exactly. I think that's cool.

Well, I think at the end of the day, the side that we're all on is America.

### **Trump’s war on immigrants gone too far, even for some Republicans**

President Trump has prioritized the escalating war on immigration, and his actions on immigration are cited by many in the base as one of the good things he is doing. He has made concern with immigration the entry to the Republican Party.

And many repeated Fox News rap, this is about “illegal immigration,” until Trump’s own rally rap, “America is full,” got their attention.

I was just saying he was fine until that last sentence of our country is full. That's kind of asinine. Our country is not full, go fly over the country. (Tea Party man)

I don't know that we're to do it. I don't know. I don't agree with him saying the country's full, I don't necessarily think that's true. And that's divisive, and that's sort of, because I don't agree, I think if people want to come here legally, they should be allowed to come here legally. (Secular conservative woman)

Yeah, but he could've said it a different way. I love Trump. You know that. When he said our country is full, that makes it sound like we're not going to take in people. (Catholic conservative woman)

In 2019, the proportion in the country responding warmly to the words, “immigrants to the U.S. grew from 50 percent in January to 67 percent in September. The proportion of Republicans welcoming immigrants grew from 34 to 53 percent in 2019.<sup>2</sup>

The acceptance of America as a multi-cultural country was even broader, reflected in their reactions to a Coca Cola ad from the 2017 Super Bowl, with a multi-cultural cast singing ‘America the Beautiful’ in many languages. Within the base groups, however, somewhere between a third and a half responded positively or were neutral.

The ad generated one of the strongest points of disagreement among the Tea Party men, as you can see below:

No, it says a lot. Just shows everybody coming together. That we all are or we all can be one. (Tea Party man)

I'm the opposite of that. I felt like that was disgraceful to America. Our language is English. (Tea Party man)

They're pandering, yes. It was a pandering – I didn't like it. (Tea Party man)

But was it pandering? America had its core, it's supposed to be for everybody. Just because society today has got it labeled as black, white, or Hispanic, America was built on people coming away from another country to live the way they feel they've got the right. They're Americans so that shows other people wanting to come to America, show respect to America, and be part of the culture. That song is iconic. So, if you have Chinese in America singing our music in their language, that's a respect thing, that's not a disrespect thing. That's the greatest honor a Chinese person. (Tea Party man)

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<sup>2</sup> Reflecting the increase in the percentage of voters who rate their feelings toward immigrants to the United States as warm, between January and September 2019, in Democracy Corps' national phone surveys of registered voters.

I feel the exact opposite. Even though they're Chinese culture. But why wouldn't the Chinese person respect us and sing it in our language? (Tea Party man)

Like he said, melting pot, America's a melting pot of many different cultures and identities. I'm first generation, both of my parents are born overseas. I was born in Indiana and I'm first generation so I can respect that. (Tea Party man)

The moderate former Republicans fully embraced the multi-lingual ad, which is starting to define the borders of identifying with the Republican Party.

### Trends in GOP in factions

**Observant Catholics.** Catholic conservatives, nearly all observant, are 19 percent of the base - and they are now unified behind President Trump. The Pope Francis Catholics are no place to be seen. They were troubled by Trump's actions on immigration, but immigration figures centrally for this key part of the GOP base. They sound like Fox News Catholics who applaud Trump for the "great economy; strong military; border security; pride in America; no nonsense; can't be bought; low unemployment" in their written comments at the beginning. Some wrote about "keeping illegals out," "want things done legally [immigration]", and "immigration control."

They view President Trump as a "patriot" who "takes pride in America", wants a "strong military," and "doesn't cower in the face of adversity." They know he is "renegotiating trade deals" and is "bringing troops home." They think the tariffs against China are "great" and think he's done a masterful job with ISIS, Korea, Turkey, and Russia.

They say that if Hillary Clinton had won, we would have had Venezuela, TPP [Trans-Pacific Partnership], higher taxes and "a war in our own country."

They want to go back to the basics in school, and they are not sure their children and grandchildren understand that they have to work hard. They worry whether jobs pay enough for them to make their way, and one noted, their son married someone Chinese.

They were incredibly proud of their vote for Trump in 2016, and their post cards to the president mention it. But people "get in a frenzy - like, if you have a Trump hat, you're going to get beat up." The country has "become so divided. There is so much hatred."

When they watched his rally speeches and talks about the "radical Democrats," one said, "it makes me think how I feel about voting for Trump, being worried about getting into a fight with my family or friends." One said it "scares me because I have grandkids, and can't control where they go to school at, but I pray I raised my kids right. But I want to go back to the basics: reading, writing, arithmetic." They know Trump means more very personal divisions.

Even more so, they think the government and the media has “conspired against him and has hindered his presidency.” CNN is “garbage” and the whistleblower is a “liar” and a “fink.” The news media is so slanted, creating the Russiagate. Critically, “draining the swamp” is not about ridding of special interests and lobbyists, but “getting new blood into the White House” and “getting rid of some of these entrenched bureaucrats.”

They stood firmly with the president, but sent surprisingly dissident notes on the NRA, gay marriage, Planned Parenthood, global warming and even the multi-lingual Coke ad sounding like “we don’t want anyone at all.”

On the issues that matter to them, “he’s a great president.”

**Tea Party** (men). For the Tea Party base, Trump is everything you could want — with the caution that some say are, “good intentions” and “he’s trying to keep his campaign promises” and notice when he overstates his boldest conservative commitments. He is a “patriot” who “stands up for his country” and has “given America a strong presence globally.” He is an “independent thinker”, business man, “not a politician.” He is bringing home the troops and jobs. “He speaks his mind.”

They like that he is bringing back the troops, though a minority comment on the abandonment of allies.

These Tea Party Republicans respond to a man against John McCain, who they describe as a “traitor” and a “RINO.” He represented a very different vision of the party.

His rally speeches on his accomplishments are greeted with, “wow” and “love it.” But his boasting and arrogance and rude, non-Christian style does get their attention, and some refuse to let those go. In this base group, three of the Tea Party men described him as “cocky.”

But you can’t give in too much to those doubts because they think the Democratic Party is growing, and conservatives are losing on the ground. “If the Democrats take over, win the presidency and maybe even take - they already have the House — they take the Senate too. And they’re talk of secession and stuff like that.”

President Trump has been under assault from the media, which gets “people riled up”. Trump’s supporters faced violence at the Minnesota rally. The media is with the Democratic Party, and “they have people hearing “scandal after scandal,” which is “proven to be total crap.”

They view the whistleblower as a “coward” with “ulterior motives.” It is all part of the Deep State taking down Trump. “When you’re talking about the swamp, you’re talking about the Deep State as well.”

**McCain-secular conservatives.** The secular conservatives are among the least enthusiastic Trump factions. They have powerful doubts about Trump's personality and about the political parties, and at the outset, a couple already said they would vote against Trump and another said she had "switched to independent" and one said she also "is about there."

Secular conservatives displayed the full range of fracture points that came up in the other groups. They had clear disagreements on guns and the NRA, climate change, and Planned Parenthood.

On the discussion of immigration, they agree that the racial divide is a problem, but they are split on whether Trump has encouraged racists to speak out and went into a serious discussion on this. About half the group thought Trump has brought more racism into the political conversation while the rest said it has always existed at current levels.

About half had concerns that political correctness has gone too far including what is being taught in schools. They also expressed concerns that conservative voices were being suppressed. In line with this, the reaction to the video of Trump saying radical Democrats are trying to indoctrinate American children, silence conservatives, and take away guns received some of the most enthusiastic agreement of any group.

They're indoctrinating your kids. They're a threat. They're coming for your guns. They're going to do this. They're going to silence you. (Secular conservative woman)

If you're a conservative, you speak out, you get shut down. If you're liberal, you speak out, it's OK. That's how it does seem like it's going and he is tapping into that. And into those emotions of people. (Secular conservative woman)

Others pushed back, citing the divisiveness of what he was saying:

It concerns me because it's very divisive. I don't know who he's talking about or to, just based off this clip. But it's very us against them. It's very divisive. It's very build up his base and tear down anyone else. (Secular conservative woman)

**Moderates.** Moderate Republicans still like that President Trump is "bold" and "out of the box" and wants "change." He "takes risks" that make progress in North Korea and in new trade policies that have produced a lot of jobs and the "best economy we've had in a long time." He supports a strong military and is "tough on terrorism." And "he is trying to get a handle on illegal immigration," "immigration policies," and "working to better our border control."

While a few warmed at the multi-lingual "America the Beautiful," most said things like, "I don't think they should push diversity any further"; "they should sing it in English"; "I found it heartwarming but worry about people coming in and changing the country."



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The problem for Trump is the moderates push back on a series of issues that they care deeply about and after watching clips of Trump, it leads them to become more doubtful about Trump and the Republicans.

- **Gun violence.** “Every day, there is another shooting. We don’t have to worry about someone foreign as much anymore. We are shooting each other.” And one pointed out, “they are doing active shooter drills in schools,” and “no one needs to have an automatic rifle.” So, for them, the NRA means “guns, politics, power.”
- **Climate change.** “I worry about problems like climate change.” “It seems like the problems are a lot scarier than they used to be.” A couple insisted “it was a serious problem” when someone said, “over-hyped.”
- **Jobs.** When Trump claimed credit on the economy, they talked about the “tiered” system of wages and mentioned “I think it is weird he’s talking about the economy when a thousand Ford workers are being laid off.” They see him “taking credit for things he didn’t do.”
- **Judges, abortion, and Roe v. Wade.** The video on Justice set them off. “Some of them are too conservative for me.” One said, “I’m not looking for Roe v. Wade to be overturned” and talked about the state laws that threatened their rights.
- **Gay marriage.** The word association revealed their underlying cultural liberalism: “Indeed”; “freedom”; “no problem”; “I have no issue”; “I have no issue at all”; “about time”; “progress is with us.”
- **Anti-immigrant rhetoric.** They agree with him on immigration and not paying for immigrants getting health care benefits, but at least two found the anti-immigrant rhetoric went too far.
- **Divisiveness and fear-mongering.** There is “so much partisan division” in the country, but his calling out the Radical Democrats was seen as “fear mongering.” After it, one said, “I’ve voted Republican all my life, but not in this election. It’s something I just can’t get behind.”

So, while they respect Trump and agree with his direction on immigration, they care strongly about other issues they may lead some to pull off.

**Former GOP moderates.** They seem to genuinely embrace more socially liberal values—they note positive changes and express a desire for the Republican party to adapt.

I think despite the fact that we're not getting along very much there are still some things that we are getting along better with. Like a lot of women's rights have obviously gotten a

lot better over the years, starting to reach overseas and stuff like that. (Moderate former GOP woman)

The MeToo movement seems to be one and the only outstanding light in the sky up there if you will. And it's not all abysmal. [...] It's not like she said, one of them said I'm hopeful but we must be serious about issues. (Moderate former GOP woman)

They view Trump as “honest to a fault” and seem liberated from him and the GOP. At the end, six of seven say they are considering voting Democratic. They are done with Trump on guns, unaffordable health care, conflicts of interest, his big mouth, being unfit and dishonest who got the middle class no tax cut and made the world hate us.

Most view the whistleblower as someone with “courage” who has put things “on the line” and think the impeachment is very real.

Their world view is captured in their comparison of Presidents Obama and Trump. When asked to compare president Trump to president Obama, they rapidly listed: “Polar opposites”; “Bold and mild”; “Brilliant and not brilliant”; “Likeable and not likable”; “Honest and you got to be kidding. Classy and you got to be kidding”; “Racist and not racist.”

They see Trump driving a pervasive division of the country:

I think it was, like, our personal middle-class-level war against each other. Like the race card, the religion card, the tax card. People just fight and it gets worse and worse and worse and worse. People are so divided now. He's created a lot of division. (Moderate former GOP woman)

But he's the first one to say that he enjoys the division. He's the first one to say he enjoys that leg against leg everybody. So maybe he likes that. (Moderate former GOP woman)

He's just trying to keep us divided. (Moderate former GOP woman)

These former Republicans listen to him on immigration, and it is like a whole new world, once these voters escape the walls of Donald Trump's GOP. When they see the Coke ad with a multi-lingual version of “America the Beautiful,” they fully embrace America's multiculturalism:

It shows true diversity in real time.

Remember when you said that we're a nation of immigrants? I think that's the understatement of that film. It reminds us that we're really made up of a lot of colors: brown, black, yellow, red, white, yellow, red, whatever. We're a lot of white, we're all mixed up and we remember the wrong part of the flag.

We were all immigrants at one point in time. I understand you'll be like, Oh, they're taking our jobs, but it's, like, mainly jobs that a lot of us don't want to do. So it – they need to get done by someone.

After Trump's rally warning on immigration:

This is why the world hates us. Because of the things he says like that. I would actually like to move to another country one day and I would hope that they would be welcoming just like anybody else should be. Welcome to our country, as long as they come here legally, who cares.

One thing about the detention, he said we have detention centers that are getting filled up immediately. That sounds so wrong. I just sitting here still thinking about, how can you say that with such – I don't know, it was disgusting to hear something like that.

The fractures around race and immigration we see in other groups come through here on the discussion of immigration. About half say Trump has encouraged racists to be more vocal, while the other half push back and talk about how opposing illegal immigration automatically gets them branded as racists.

## **Impeachment**

Dominant in these GOP groups is the strong belief that the impeachment inquiry is a hoax, driven by the media and Democrats with an agenda. Some see this as part of the continued effort by Democrats to sabotage the president, others think if there was something to find it would have been found by now, and that Democrats “really haven't gotten him on anything. That makes me doubt a lot.” And others think it is divisive and a waste of resources.

To me, it's not anything he did personally. It's when you look at the overall picture and all the conflict that went on with the Russiagate, with the stuff that was going on with the FBI, with the stuff that was going on with Brennan and Clapper and all these agencies. And maybe they didn't, but boy I'll tell you right now, all the information looks like they conspired against him. (Moderate GOP woman)

Still, in every group, a couple participants said the investigation was still “unfolding” and they were “neutral, not positive or negative” and “waiting to see” what comes to light. (Moderate GOP woman) Their reactions to the Trump Presidency leave some wanting to learn more.

Trump's done some crazy things. You don't know the two truths. You get two different sides of the story each time. Did Biden actually do what he said he was doing? [...] Do American people want to know that he gave millions of dollars to Ukraine illegally or is it I'm guarding my ground because Biden is my biggest competition and I don't want him

to win. What is the truth behind why he initiated that conversation? (Former Republican woman)

I'm just hoping he's not a liar and we're going to find out some big lie and he's been lying to us about some stuff. That is one of my concerns because I think it would crush a lot of people if something shady came out. (Moderate GOP woman)

I think it's worthy of investigation. I don't—it's hard for me to say. I don't know what goes on with other presidents that people don't complain about because they don't like Trump. To me, it seems worthy of investigation. (Catholic conservative woman)

There was also a contingent of those who questioned the validity of the allegations but were open to the impeachment inquiry on principle after they saw a video of Justin Amash talking about checks and balances. As one Tea Party man put it: "I don't think Trump committed an impeachable offense. But if the House thinks that, that's their purview. That's their job."

I thought he was making good points about the Executive Branch. As much as I think they have been trying to get rid of Trump since he was elected, it's very fascinating to me to see the checks and balances in play and to see—it makes me feel comfortable that we do have a system that wouldn't let a president get out of control. (Moderate GOP woman)

He's not wrong. He's not wrong, though. I think that there does need to be checks and balances. Now, I don't think Trump committed an impeachable offense. But if the house thinks that, that's their purview. That's their job. (Tea Party man)

Critically, moderates on the fence and some of the most steadfast Trump supporters make it clear that definitive proof of wrongdoing would be pivotal in their decision to support Trump for reelection. For the Tea Party men—it is virtually the only reason any of them would not vote for Trump. Credible proof of wrongdoing has the potential to move base men to a third-party candidate as a protest vote and to convince moderate and former Republican women to choose the Democratic nominee as the "lesser of two evils."

These are the voices of the 10 percent of Republicans in public polls who support the House impeachment inquiry.

### **The strongest criticism of Trump**

We presented participants with a series of criticisms of Trump (See Appendix B for full text), drawn mostly from real Republican organizations. The rising deficit ranked as the most concerning criticism of Trump overall and in nearly every group. Rising health care costs ranked second overall and breaking commitments to allies ranked third.

Tea Party Men found the deficit attack particularly concerning, but they also responded to the attack on the decline in U.S. manufacturing. The rising deficit was also the most concerning for the moderate Republican women.

Health care costs continue to come through as a major issue. The attack we presented was on rising healthcare costs and instability in the marketplace caused by the on-going attacks on the ACA. Only one group ranked this as the most concerning attack, but about 1-in-3 participants in every group chose this as one of the top attacks, so while it lacks the intensity of reactions when compared to some of the other attacks, it is however consistent.

The attack on Trump breaking our commitments to allies really stood out among women whom had repeatedly brought up their concerns with how we are perceived as a country. Both moderates and former Republicans rated it as single the strongest criticism of Trump.

### **Openness to voting for the Democrats and third party**

Half the GOP participants said they were open to voting for a Democratic presidential candidate or third party candidate. That came after watching a lot of President Trump, but also statements by Biden and Warren.

One of the Tea Party men warmed to the Libertarian Amash and his message on checks and balances, and accountability. None would vote for a Democrat.

Independent men were more optimistic about the role a third party candidate might play in the election, both in terms of potential to win and also as a valuable voice to help shape the conversation. They were very engaged with the idea.

The stakes are high for the moderate women who do not want to waste their vote, even if it is the lesser to two evils.

**APPENDIX A: Doubts About Donald Trump – Written Responses**

Use the space below to write down all your **doubts** about President Trump.

**Southfield, MI, Catholic conservative women**

**Doubts about Donald Trump**

Tweeting.

I do not have doubts. He is our president and I support him.

That the wall won't get built.

Doesn't think before he speaks/tweets sometimes; could word things differently.

Needs to sometimes choose his words better.

If he is a liar; if he is mean to his wife; will he be reelected

**Charlotte, NC, Tea Party men**

**Doubts about Donald Trump**

I don't have any true doubts

Nothing. He is a genius; all things that seem negative end up being part of his political strategy; always makes the right choice.

On the media too much; has his own agenda; acts like a pissed off toddler on the news.

Excessive spending; fully funding planned parenthood; deception "Mexico will pay for the wall" and "China tariffs won't affect us"; crude "grab them by the \_\_\_"; rude; un-Christian.

Not clear all the time; not a good moral example.

Speake when he shouldn't; contradicts himself; questionable moral background; hair; makes promises before being sure.

Runs his mouth too much; a little too arrogant.

Tearing the world apart by making troops go to war; government funding.

Don't like his boasting and his name calling. He lies or at least not up on facts.

**Phoenix, AZ, Secular conservative women**

**Doubts about Donald Trump**

Tries to suppress the media; making USA a global laughing stock; dishonest; breaking/backing out of global agreements (IE Iran, Paris); bad faith with allies; profiting from his political positions; uninformed and refuses to be briefed or follow advice from his advisors; stirring unrest, stirring hate, encourages violence; he is a bully.

Behaves sophomorically, name calling; rude at times; narcissistic; impulsive.

He's doing nothing to stop Geo-Engineering - GMOs contaminating our food supply; he's a bit into himself; He didn't hold true to his word about locking Clinton up.

None

He is a loose cannon and never know what he is going to say; he hasn't charged Hillary; His phone call with the Ukraine president - is there wrong doing with that?; gun control - will he bow pressure to ban more; I worry he will take the country down a road to blow up.

I don't think he has really addressed the homelessness issue or put much more help into mental illness.

**Southfield, MI, moderate GOP women**

**Doubts about Donald Trump**

Says inappropriate things; self-serving

Non-cooperative; egotistical; unintelligent; making sexual harassment, assault, name calling, and lying normal; dividing the country.

Corruption; self-interest and the rich getting richer; failures as a businessman; lack of transparency.

Buffoon; too focused on being the center of attention; stirring up folks into a frenzy and dividing the country (them vs. us).

I'm concerned about his administrative staff.

Doesn't always make the best decisions for the environment - particularly with him trying to take away protected land.

Should not be Tweeting and should stay off social media; needs to do something about gun control; fires anyone on his staff or they quit; healthcare needs to be affordable.

**Charlotte, NC, moderate former Republican women**

**Doubts about Donald Trump**

Gun laws to protect the ones who have lost loved ones, but also more mental health screenings before being allowed to own a gun; focus more on healthcare and education.

Twitter; conflicts of interest with the middle class.

Not experienced in politics; big mouth; too "famous"

He has no filter, which can get him into trouble; can be very childish; he seems ignorant and arrogant.

Unfit for the POTUS; lack of education and vision; spoiled and judgmental; rude and disrespectful; overly sensitive for himself or his own; subverts the truth and rewrites the narrative to suit him; dishonest; doesn't use his cabinet and department assets.

Hotheaded; doesn't think before he tweets; too much twitter; name calling; can't control himself; hypocrite.

Liar; never knows what he is talking about; Syria issue; limiting trade; Mexico border wall; almost everything he does makes the whole world hate us; raising taxes on the middle class - we don't get as many tax cuts.

**Phoenix, AZ, independent men voting third party in 2020**

**Doubts about Donald Trump**

Racist; inflammatory; Egotistical; does he care about people or just himself?; power; healthcare.

Megalomaniac sometimes; Says too much on Twitter; seems to be too concerned with his own interests and legacy at this point.

Lack of understanding of foreign policy; too much Twitter; too many snap decisions; revolving door of personnel.

His mental state at times; reelection in 2020; not wanting to show his tax returns; questionable business dealings; current impeachment.

Every interaction he has with another human being; his words; his plans; his staff.

Honesty; integrity; bad representation of U.S.

I doubt his intelligence; I question his intentions; I wonder how many crimes he will commit before there are consequences.



**APPENDIX B: Trump criticisms**

These are some reasons why some people are concerned about Donald Trump. Please read each one and **STAR** the **THREE** that you find most concerning.

	Secular conservative	Ind men	Moderate GOP	Catholic conservative	Former GOP	Tea Party	Total
President Trump helped pay for his signature 2018 tax cuts with a trillion dollar increase in the national deficit, and he promised the tax cut would increase economic growth to 5% per year. Two years later, the growth rate is back to 2%, exactly where it has been for the last 10 years.	3	3	4	2	1	7	<b>20</b>
We have now had ACA for nearly a decade and you simply cannot take millions of people off coverage without a backup plan ready to go. The president has pushed up health care cost by creating chaos in the marketplace every time he tries to dismantle parts of the ACA without a larger plan.	2	4	3	3	3	3	<b>18</b>
President Trump has repeatedly broken our word and withdrawn from commitments to our allies. The leaders of the world are watching this, not just our adversaries, but also our allies, and it undermines our strength as a nation.	1	3	4	2	6	0	<b>16</b>
President Trump said he would restore U.S. manufacturing, but U.S. manufacturing just shrank for the first time since 2009. Layoff announcements have surged this year, and states like Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Michigan all reported overall job losses this year.	2	3	3	2	1	3	<b>14</b>
President Trump promised to be a voice for the forgotten Americans and tackle corruption, but his tax cuts went almost totally to corporations and the top 1 percent who paid stock bonuses, not higher wages. Now he is using the U.S. government and taxpayer money to enrich himself and his family.	2	2	3	0	3	0	<b>10</b>
President Trump pledged to “drain the swamp” and be a voice for working class Americans, but his cabinet is full of million-dollar campaign donors, corporate lobbyists, and a record number of Wall Street bankers.	2	3	3	0	0	1	<b>9</b>
When President Trump pressured a foreign government to investigate an American citizen and political rival, he engaged in actual corruption and violated the constitution. Republicans in Congress need to stand up for the rule of law and rebuke the president.	1	1	1	2	2	2	<b>9</b>
America’s great strength is in our freedom, our market economy, and our democratic system. Our great prosperity has come from intelligent practices of free trade, but President Trump’s endless trade war runs counter to our free market values and endangers our prosperity in the long term.	0	1	0	1	5	1	<b>8</b>