



GREENBERG RESEARCH

The Trump GOP's Deepening Fractures

October 2019

CAMPAIGNS | CORPORATIONS | ADVOCACY | WORLDWIDE

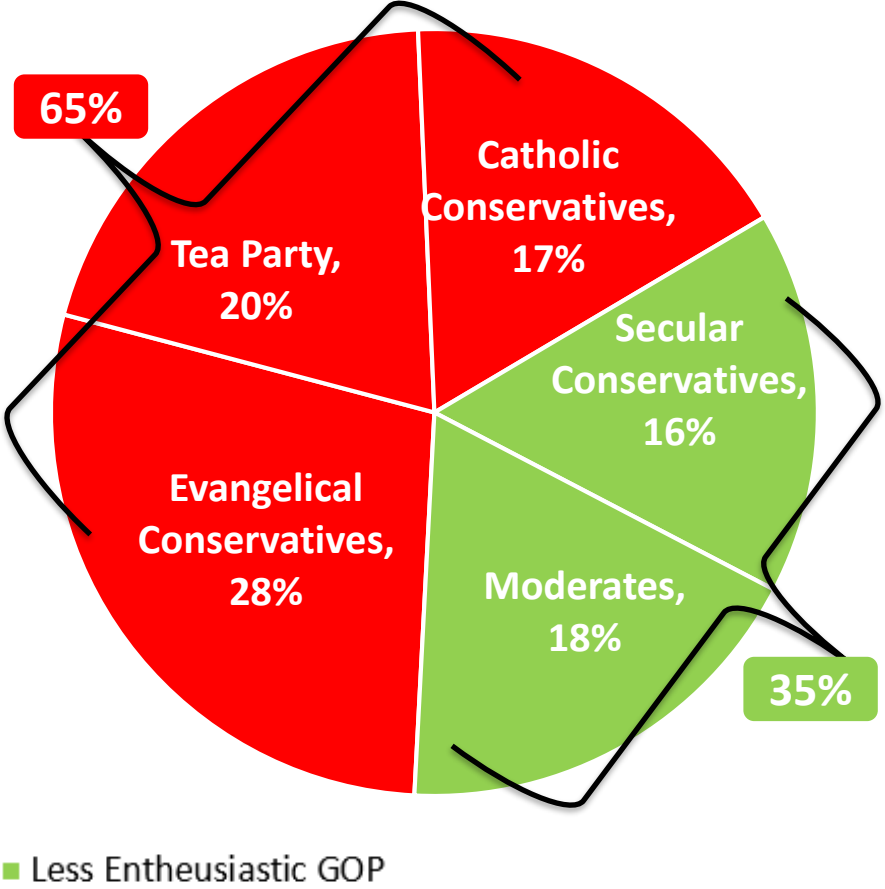
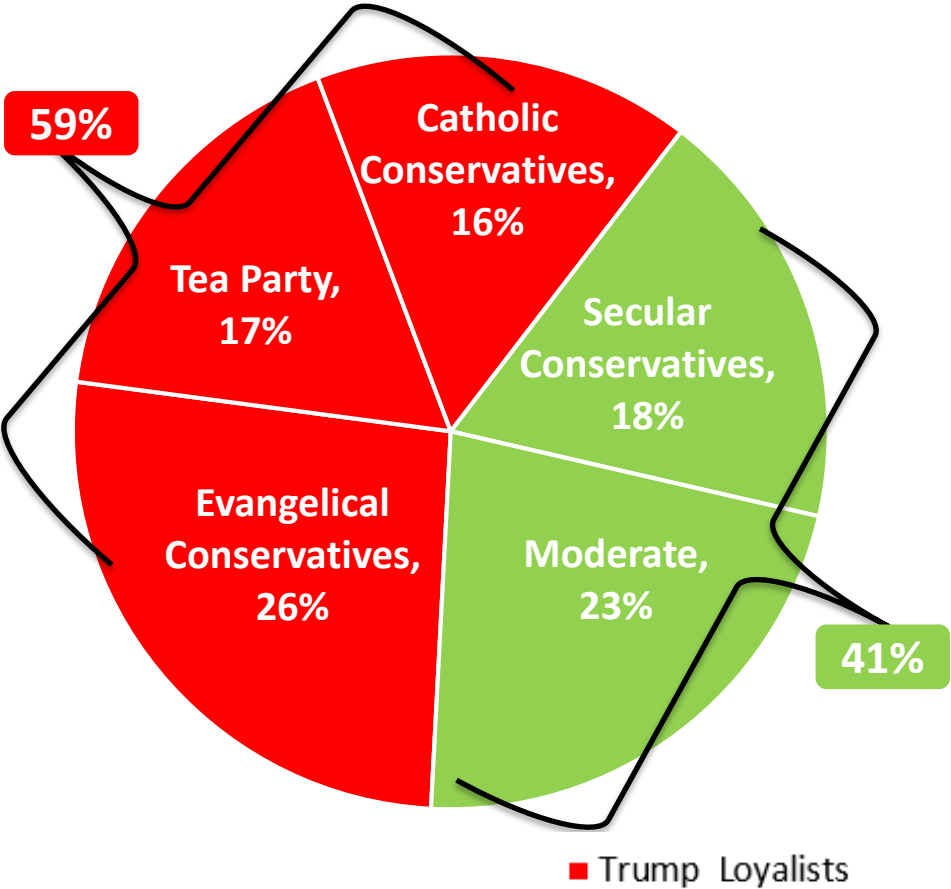
The Current GOP



GOP dominated by religious, with disappearance of secular and moderates

2018 COMPOSITION OF GOP BASE

2019 COMPOSITION OF GOP BASE



* 2018 percentages reflecting combined database of 1,818 Republicans and Republican-leaning Independent (3-1-3 Rep) from Democracy Corps phone surveys. 2019 percentages reflecting combined database of 1,192 3-1-3 Reps.

GOP Focus Group Findings



Focus group profiles

These 6 focus groups were conducted by Democracy Corps between October 28th and 30th, in Arizona, North Carolina, and Michigan.

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.

- **Phoenix, AZ**
 - Group 1: Secular conservative women
 - Group 2: Independent men voting 3rd party in 2020
- **Southfield, MI**
 - Group 1: Moderate Republican women
 - Group 2: Conservative Catholic women
- **Charlotte, NC**
 - Group 1: Moderate former Republican women
 - Group 2: Tea Party supporter men.



Deepening Fractures in GOP

Key Insights:

- 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. Evident on NRA, racist voices, tariffs, deficits and climate change.
- 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.
- 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.



Deepening Fractures in GOP (continued)

Key Insights:

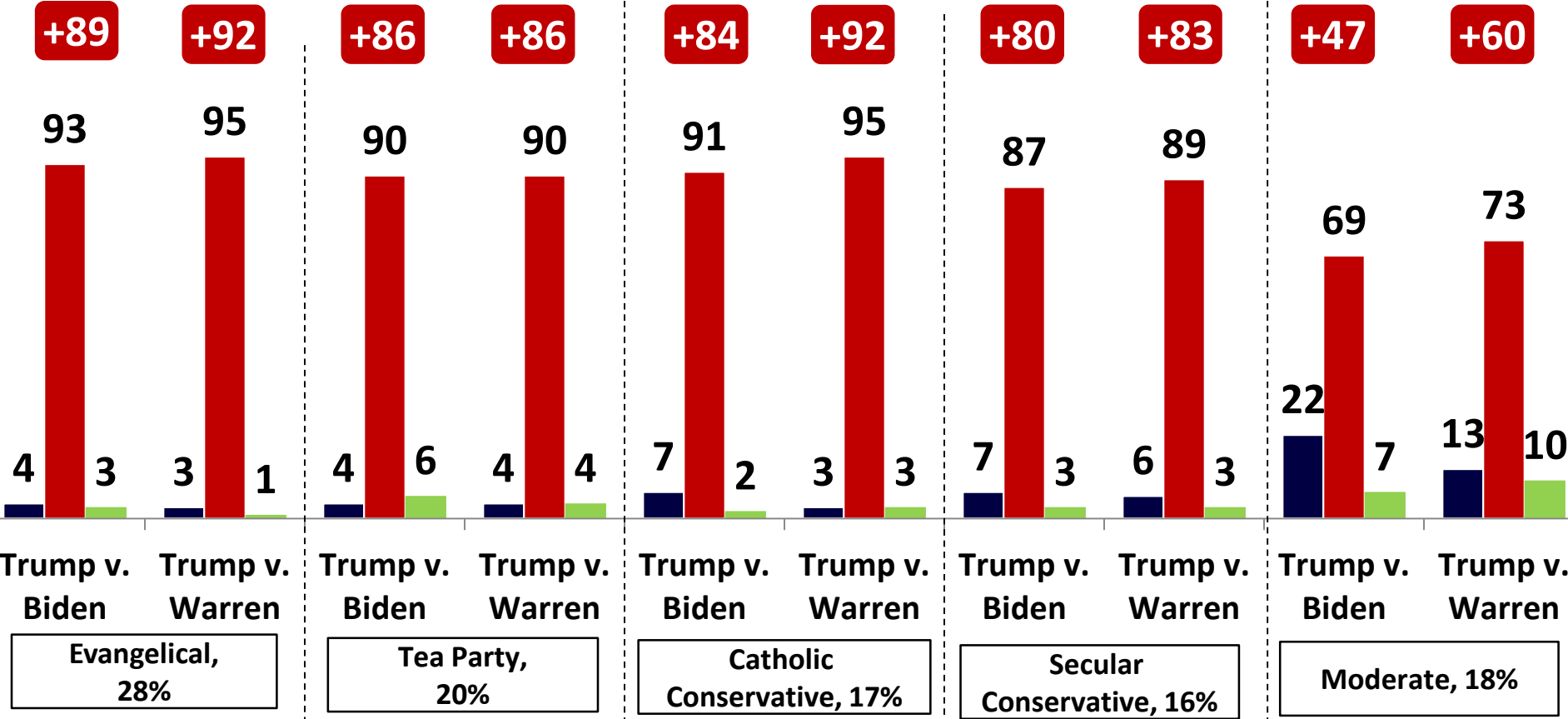
- While Trump's prioritizing immigration and one of most important reasons to be for Trump, it has gone too far. Some talk about encouraging racists, worry he is against legal immigration and a third to half don't worry about a multi-lingual America the Beautiful. The proportion of Republicans say "immigrants to the U.S." are positive has jumped from 34 percent in January to 53 percent in September.
- Earlier, the GOP conservative and observant Catholics were divided between Pope Francis and Fox News Catholics. They differed on immigration and Trump's style, but they are Fox News Catholics now. They are one of the most loyalist factions now.
- The moderate GOP (as well as the moderate former Republicans) are upset about gun violence, climate change, manufacturing not coming back, threats to Roe v. Wade, anti-immigrant rhetoric and divisiveness.
- Strongest attacks on Trump for rising deficits was the strongest overall. Rising health care costs and the attempt to repeal the ACA and abandoning allies ranked third.
- ½ remained open to voting for a Democratic or independent, even though they watched extensive videos of Trump but also videos of Biden and Warren.



Democrat potential gains with non-loyalists

2020 PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT GOP TYPOLOGY

■ Democrat Biden/Warren ■ Republican Donald Trump ■ Libertarian/Other



* percentages reflecting 2019 combined database of 1,192 Republicans and Republican-leaning Independent (3-1-3 Rep) from Democracy Corps phone surveys.

Participants, including the Trump base, were deeply negative about the direction of the country; the biggest reason is the division and polarization

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)**



New push back against the Trump consensus

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 got to be something we can do. **(Secular conservative woman)**

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)**

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. **(Tea Party man)**

Well, I think at the end of the day, the side that we're all on is America. **(Tea Party man)**



Trump's war on immigrants gone too far, even for some Republicans

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)**

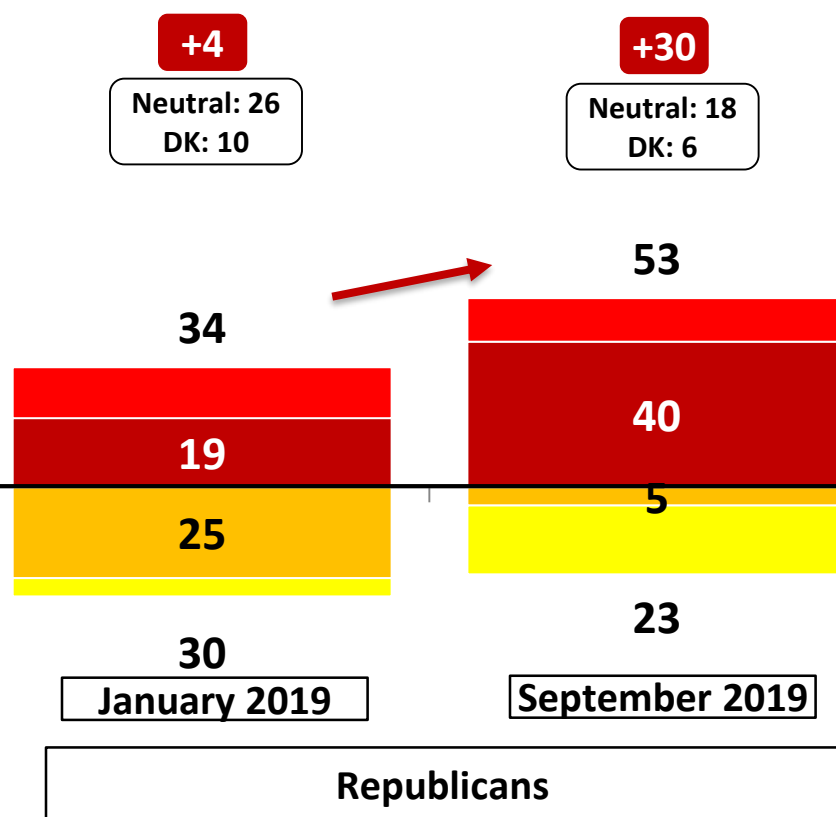
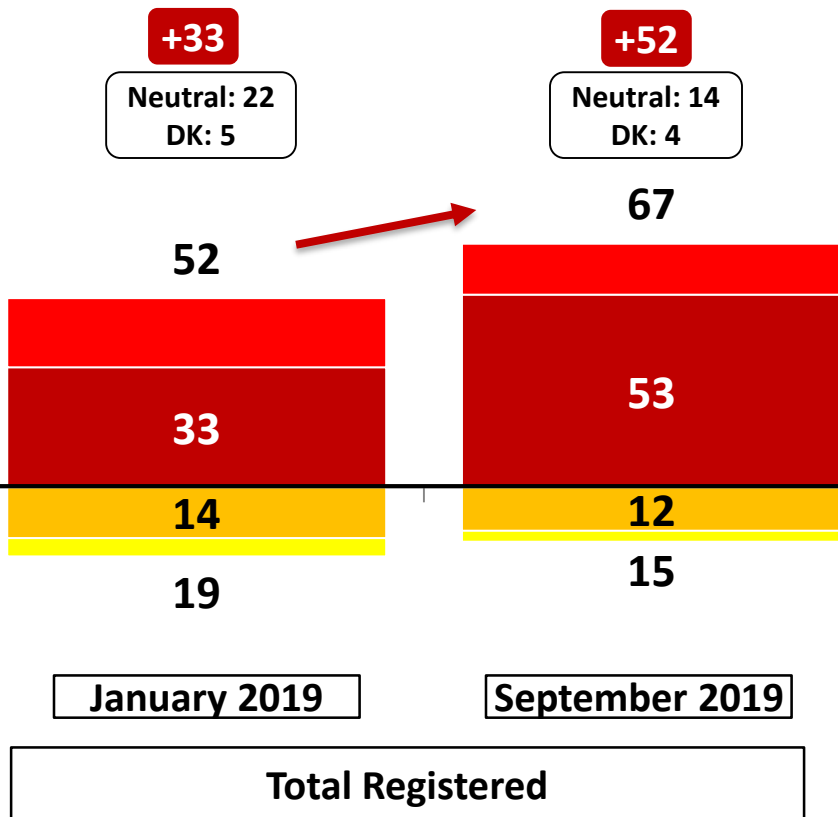


America rushes to embrace immigrants under assault from President Trump

Now, I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people, organizations, and ideas, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling.

Immigrants to the U.S.

■ Somewhat cool ■ Very cool ■ Somewhat warm ■ Very warm



Pushback continued – In response to a 2017 Coca Cola ad with a multi-cultural cast singing 'America the Beautiful' in many languages, Tea Party men had the following exchange:

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)**

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)**



Moderate Republicans push back on issues

- **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.”

