



DEMOCRACY CORPS

CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

GREENBERG RESEARCH

Trump mobilizes his Tea Party- observant base, but at high cost

December 2019

CAMPAIGNS

CORPORATIONS

ADVOCACY

WORLDWIDE

Key Findings

- **Trump's actions and impeachment has energized Trump's base with Evangelicals, Tea Party and Barr Catholics who form 65 % of GOP, but losing ground with moderates and creating a daunting anti-Trump Democratic voting bloc.**
- **Democrats are not being hurt because the impeachment attack is dramatically weaker and motivating with Republicans, than attacks on the Green New Deal and immigration.**
- **Republican base believes impeachment is all about the deep state and fake news, with a quarter worried about divisiveness and lost peace of mind; 16% wanting to wait and see the evidence.**
- **Only 11 % believe the Russians were the main actors in 2016, as Trump's fictional world view takes hold; more believe Ukraine helped Hillary Clinton.**
- **13 % support impeachment, which rises to 17 percent after ads, to a third of moderates, led by the women**



Key Findings - continued

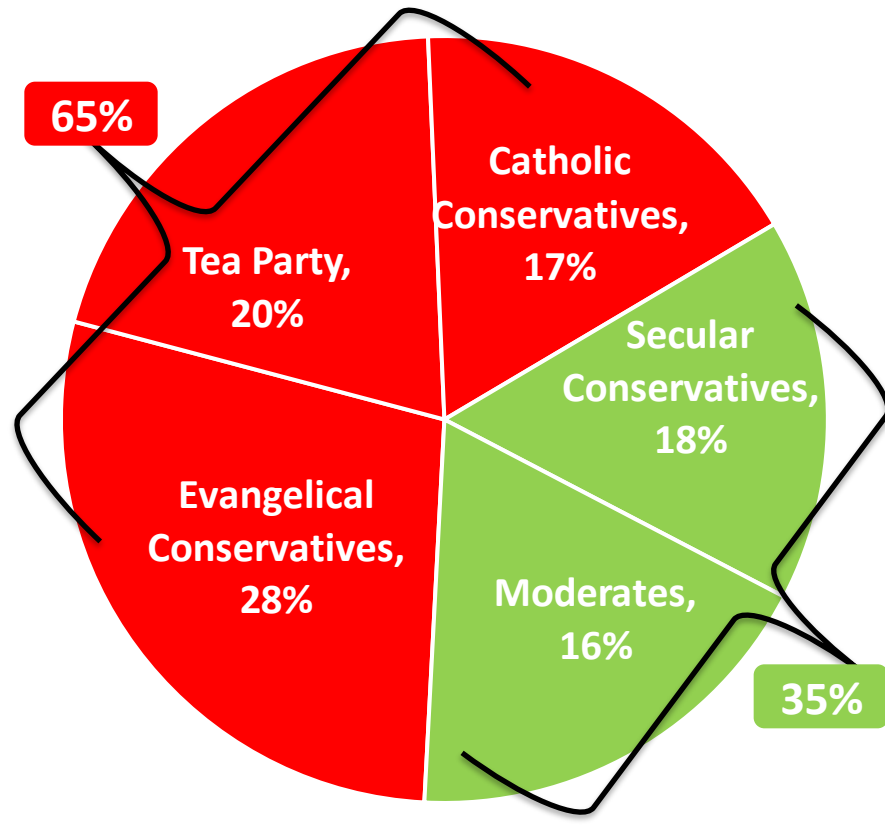
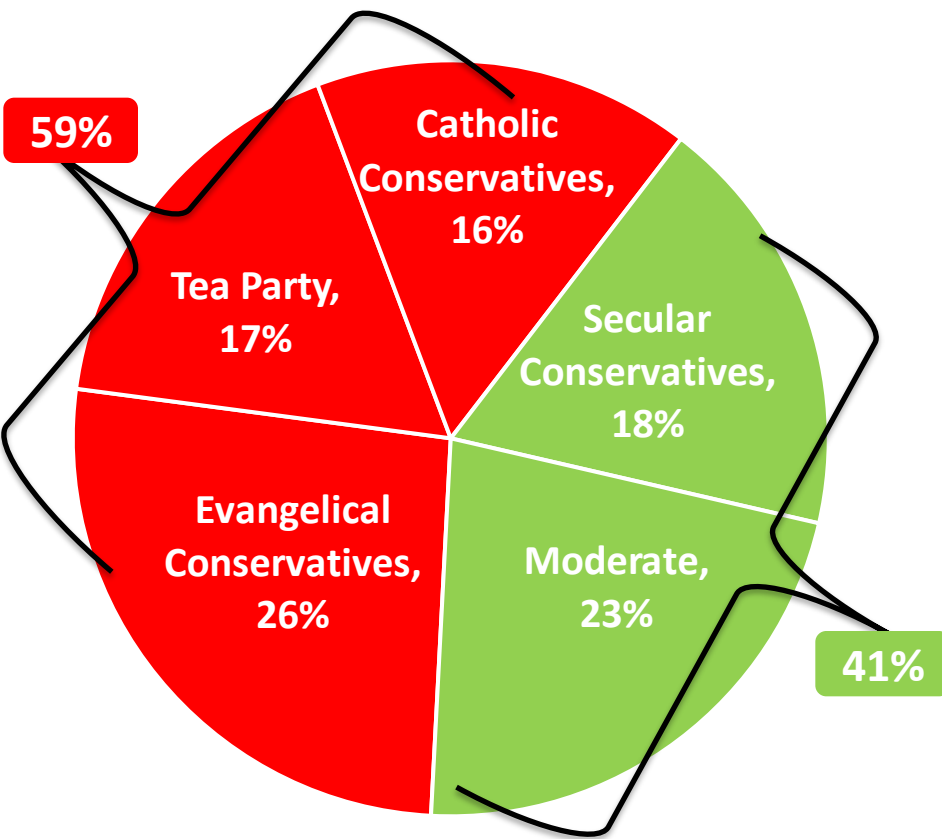
- **Trump's waging an escalating war on immigrants, but the country is rebelling, and he's losing a third of Republicans. That his disrespect of women and immigrants is fostering racism and hurting women raises very serious doubts for over 20 percent.**
- **The GOP as an anti-abortion party loses moderates on gay marriage too.**
- **The GOP as an anti-government, pro-business party, loses moderates and some McCain conservatives, particularly on regulation and the environment; CEO excess and business profits brings out populist currents.**
- **The biggest divide is over the Tea Party style of politics, championed by President Trump.**
- **Amash's message on the constitution and Buttigieg's message on changing Washington and unity gets the broadest hearing among Republicans.**
- **Bottom line, Trump has not consolidated his own party that gives him only 85 % of the vote**



Tea Party and devout now dominate GOP, but moderates now in diminished role

2018 COMPOSITION OF GOP BASE

2019 COMPOSITION OF GOP BASE



■ Trump Loyalists ■ Not Trump Loyalists



* 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.

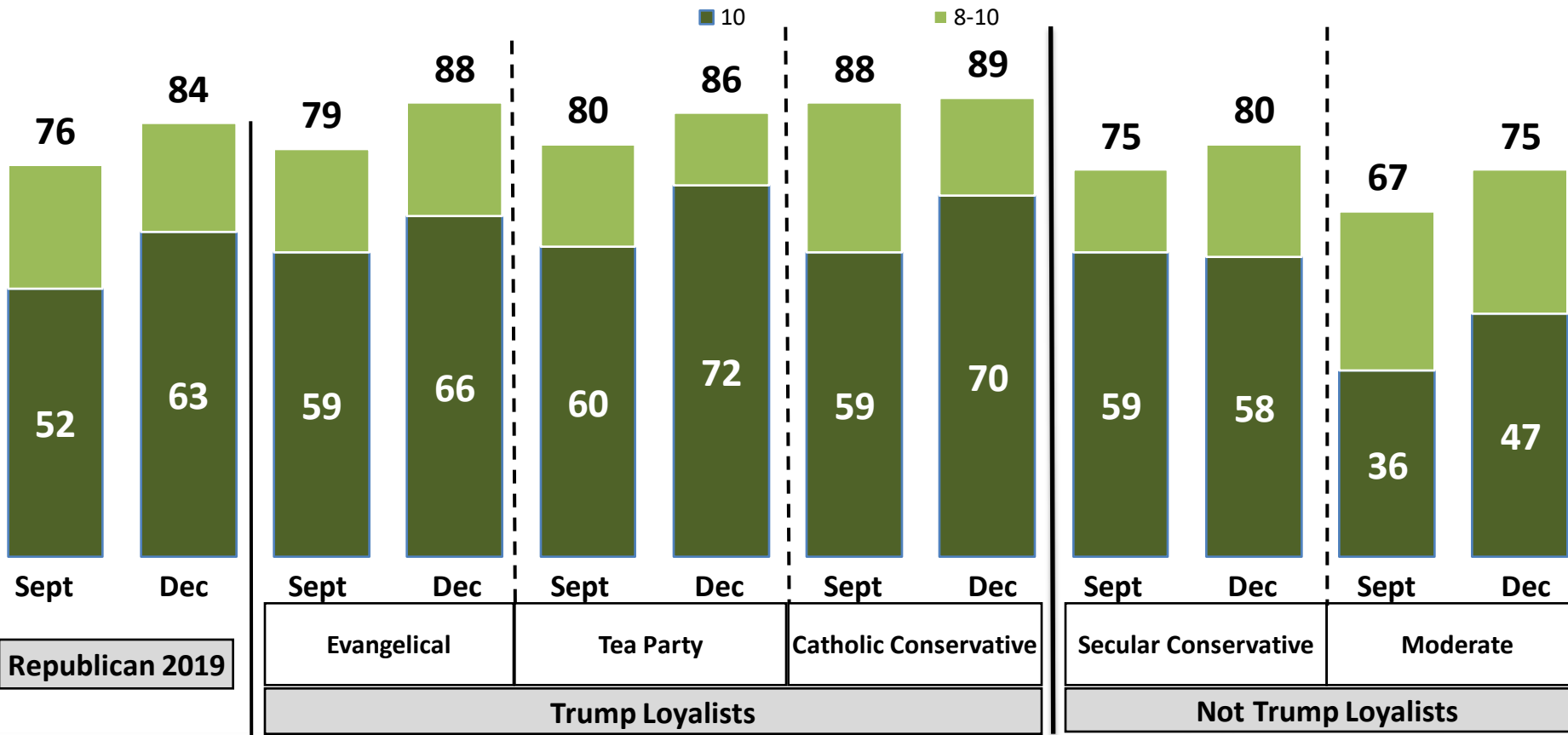
Impeachment effect



Tea Party, Evangelicals & Catholics have rallied to defend Trump

How interested are you in the elections in November 2020 for President, U.S. Congress and other state and local offices? 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. You can choose any number between 1 and 10.

Interest to Vote- 2020



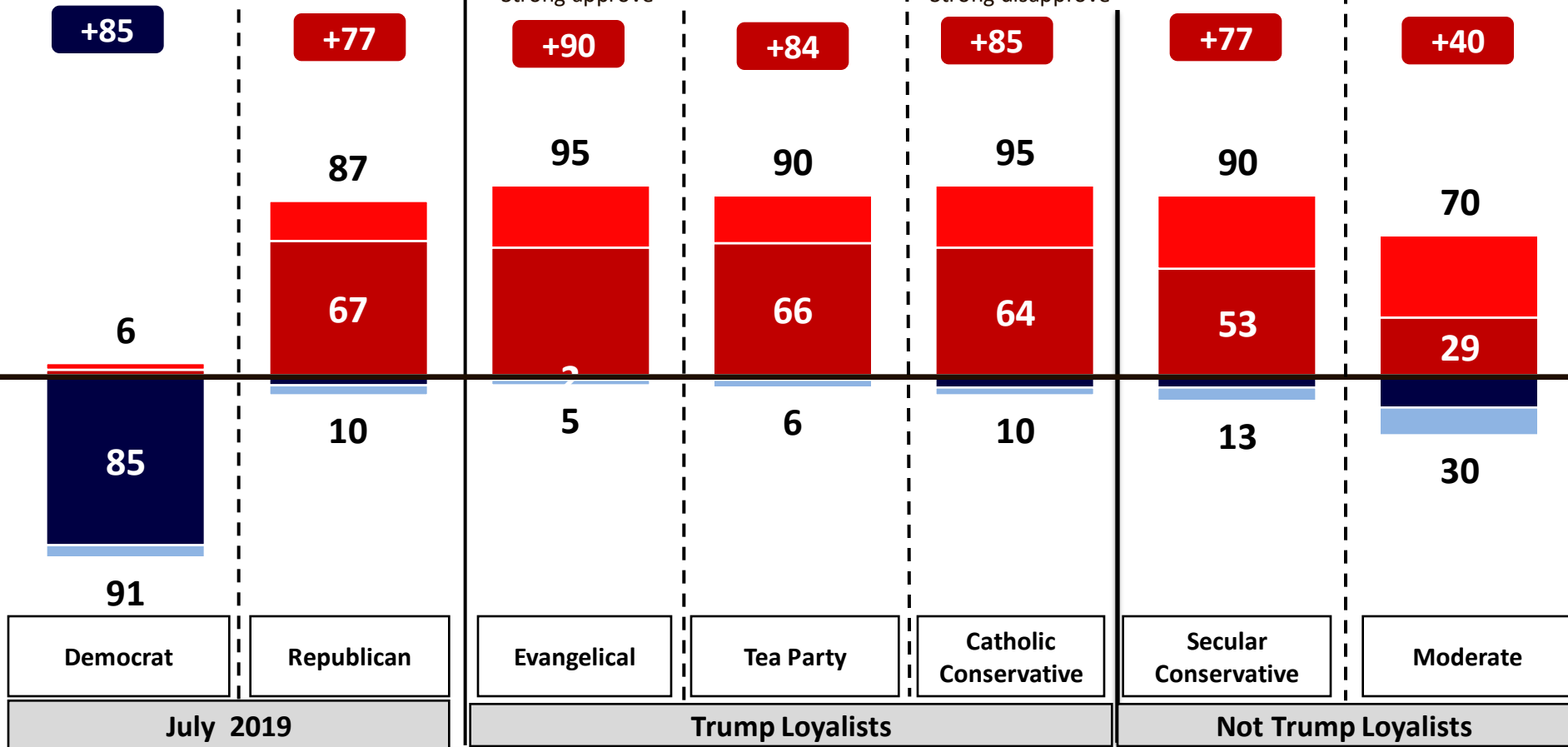
Trump builds pro-Trump base with Evangelicals, Tea Party and Catholics, but pushes away moderates and enrages Democrats

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

TRUMP APPROVAL

■ Strong approve

■ Strong disapprove

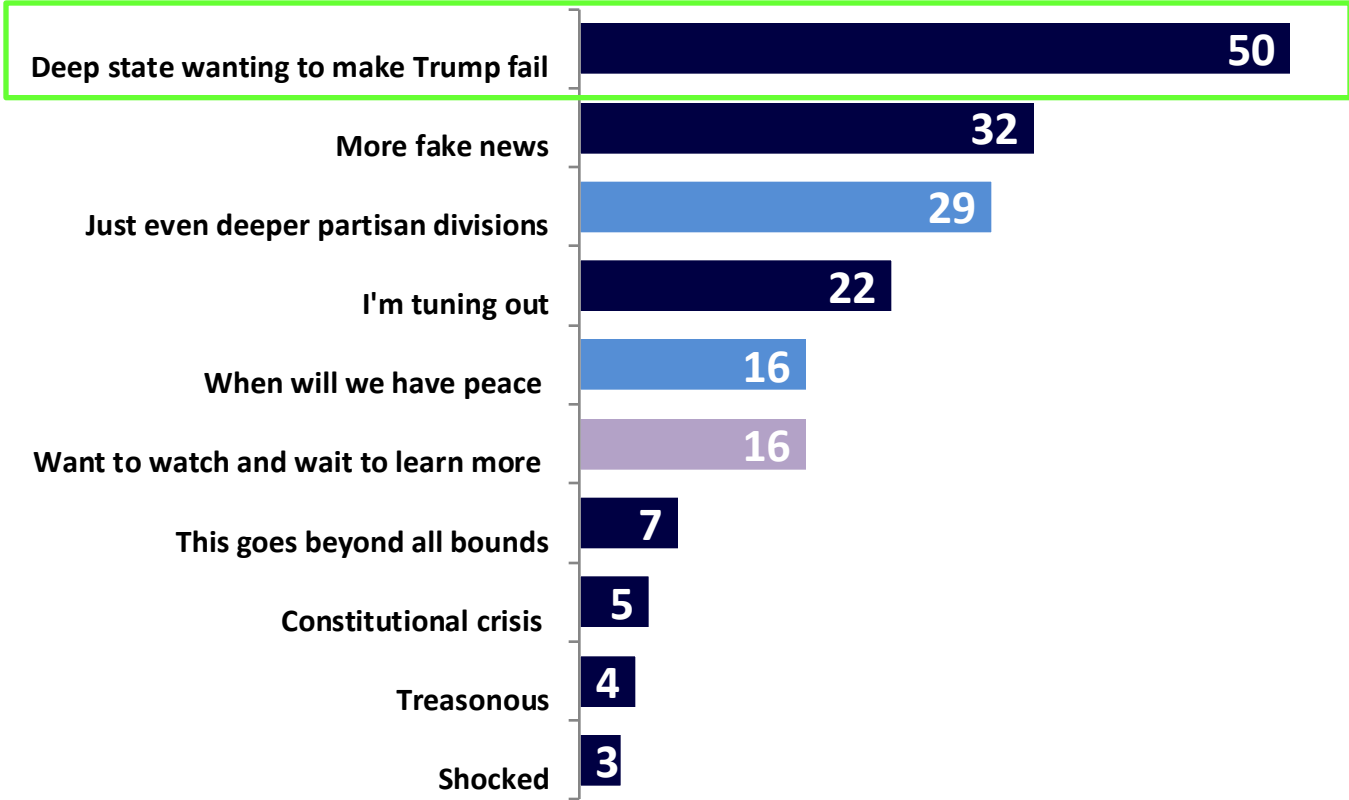


July 2019 Trump Loyalists Not Trump Loyalists



Base says all about deep state, but also weary of divisiveness

I'm sure you heard that after a whistleblower complaint, the White House released a transcript of President Trump's conversation with the Ukrainian president when President Trump asks for a favor and to investigate whether Joe Biden's son was guilty of corruption. Which TWO of the following captures your own feelings?



In focus groups, 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)**



And just 11 % believe Russia intervened in 2016, as Trump's fictional world takes hold: twice as many say Ukraine

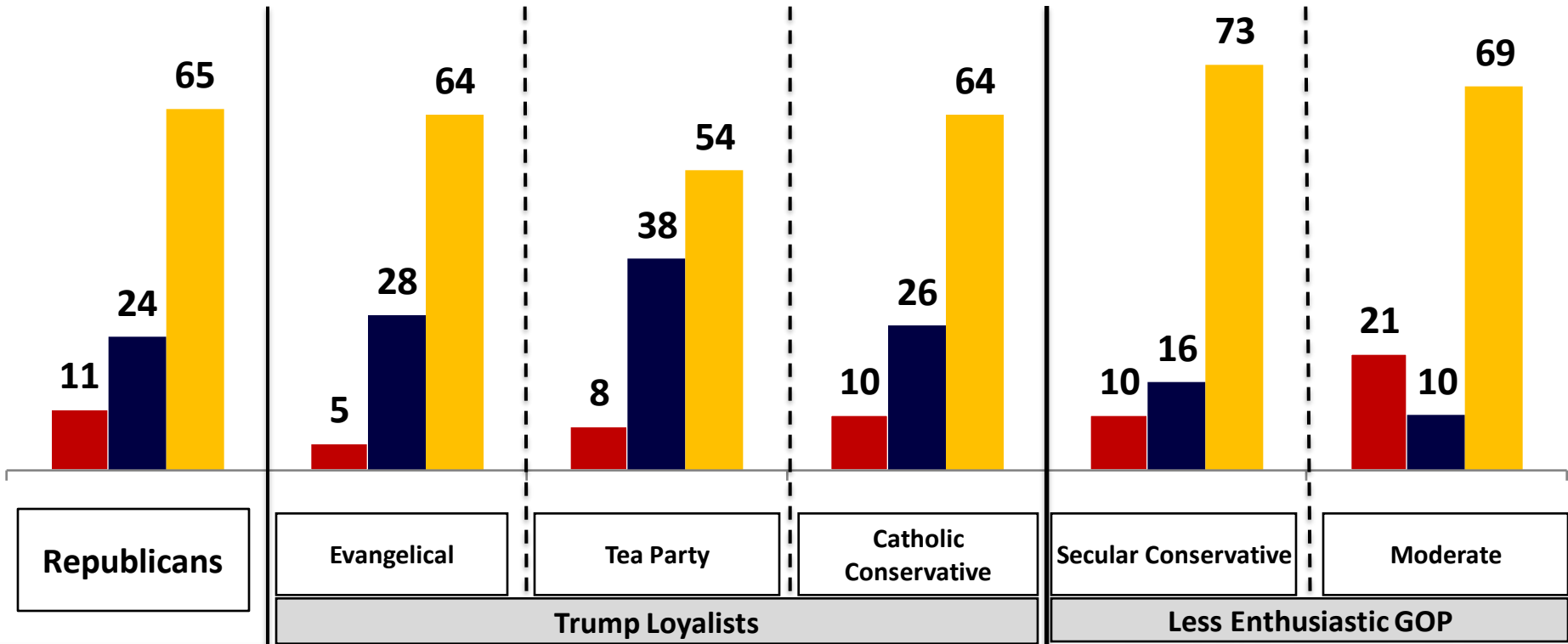
And regardless of whether or not you support the impeachment inquiry, which of the following statements comes closest to your view on the earlier investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 Presidential election?

Russia vs Ukrainian Interference

Russia intervened in the 2016 election to help the Trump campaign.

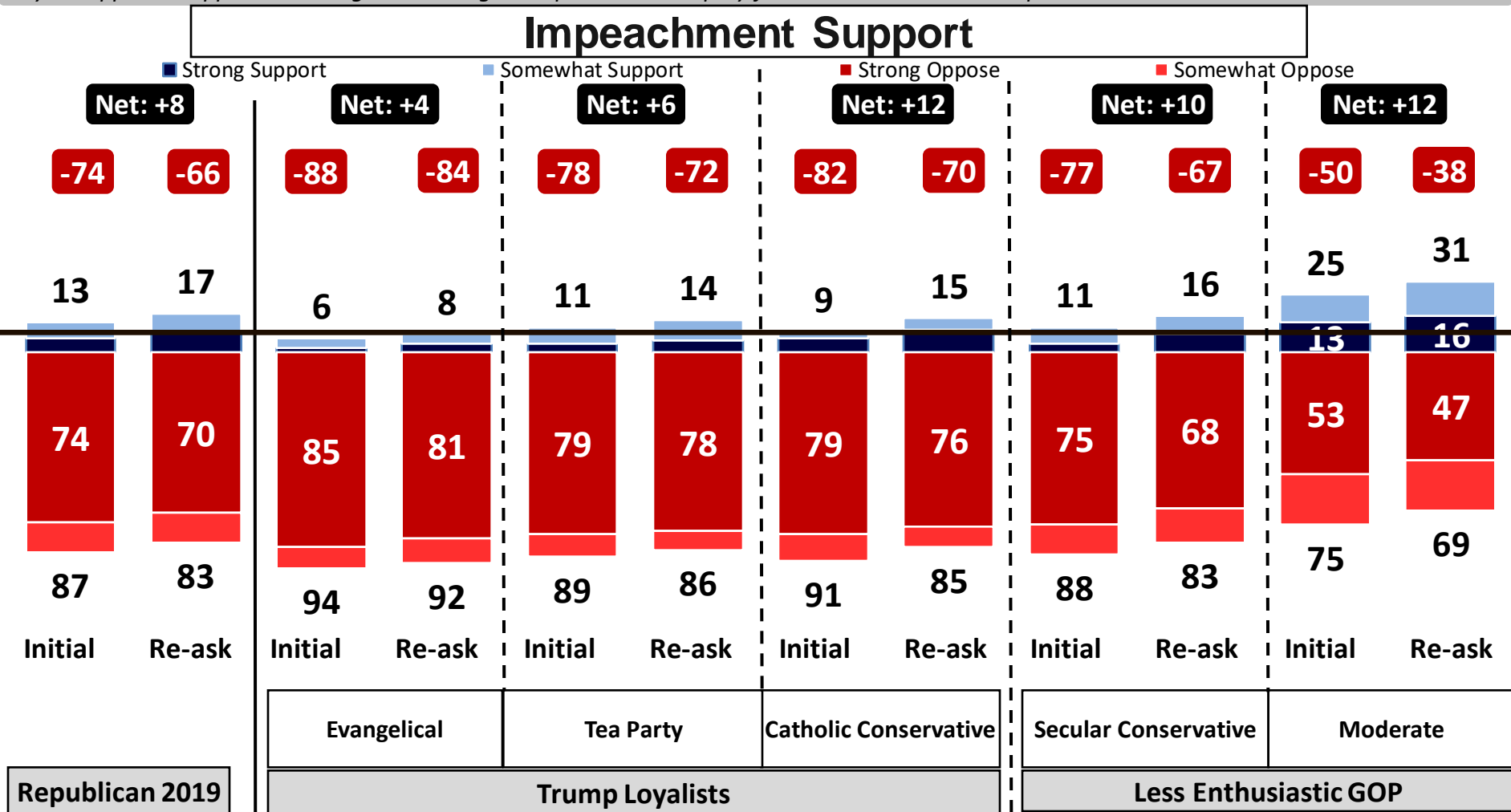
Ukraine intervened in the 2016 election to help the Clinton campaign

We really don't know who is mainly responsible for intervening in the 2016 election



Impeachment supported by 13 %, but ads push up with key segments, moderates to 31 %

Do you support or oppose the Congress starting an impeachment inquiry for President Donald Trump?



After rule of law impeachment ads and Trump response, 9 point rise in support for impeach with non-loyalist women

Do you support or oppose the Congress starting an impeachment inquiry for President Donald Trump?

Initial to final support for impeachment inquiry	Net Shifts				
	Consistent support	Consistent oppose	Shift toward support	Shift toward oppose	Net shift (twrd supp- twrd opp)
Total	11	81	6	2	5
Evangelical conservatives	4	90	4	2	2
Tea Party	9	84	5	2	3
Catholic conservatives	9	84	6	1	5
Secular conservatives	9	81	7	2	6
Moderates	22	66	9	3	6
Trump loyalist GOP	7	86	5	1	4
Less enthusiastic GOP	16	73	8	2	6
Loyalist men	6	89	4	1	3
Loyalist women	8	83	7	1	5
Less enthusiastic men	22	70	7	2	5
Less enthusiastic women	12	75	9	3	6



Attacks on impeachment and Bidens, weakest and least motivating

These are some things that Donald Trump and Republicans in Congress are saying about the Democratic candidates running for president. After each statement, please say whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about Democrats running for president.

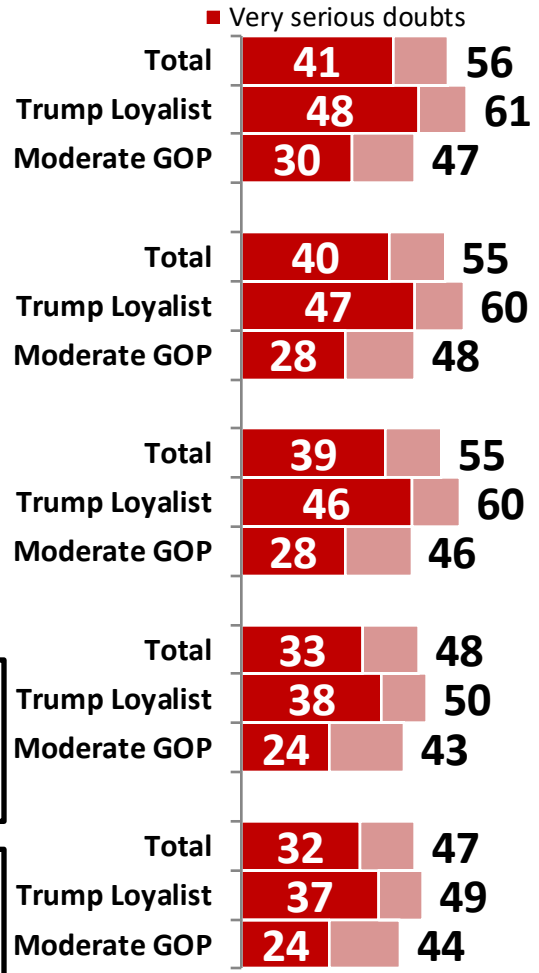
(GREEN NEW DEAL) The Democrats' Green New Deal is a ridiculous proposal with no way to pay for it and it will kill millions of jobs. I will not stand for it. We will defend the environment, but we will also defend American sovereignty, American prosperity, and we will defend American jobs. Next they will call to eliminate all Planes, Cars, Cows, Oil, and the Military that would turn the United States into a hermit nation

(OPEN BORDERS) No betrayal of American workers has been worse than the Democratic Party's pursuit of open borders. Democrats won't do anything about border security, and people are coming in by the thousands which means job losses, violent crime, drugs, and human trafficking. Our border patrol, our law enforcement and our detention facilities are overwhelmed. As fast as we build them, they fill up, and our hospitals, schools and public resources are overburdened. It is time to get serious about border security

(HEALTHCARE) Obamacare has been a disaster and the Democrats have blocked the Trump administration's efforts to fix it at every turn. The Democrats running for president want to end private insurance and bring socialism to our country with their Medicare for All plan, but the Trump administration has been hard at work with a new plan for putting the people back in charge with more choice for better care at a far lower cost and we won't be taxing you into oblivion

(IMPEACHMENT) Joe Biden promised Ukraine \$1 billion if they fired the prosecutor investigating his son's company. And now that President Trump has asked Ukraine to investigate corruption, the Democrats are trying to impeach him by slinging false allegations, while their media lap dogs all follow along. The Democrats lost the last election, and now they are trying to steal this on

(UKRAINE) Joe Biden's son got rich serving on the board of Ukraine's largest private gas company, even though it was under investigation by Ukrainian prosecutors. At the same time, Joe Biden used his role as Vice President to withhold millions in U.S. aid from Ukraine until they fired the prosecutor investigating his son's company. This is clear corruption, and it is time for transparency from Joe Biden



Pushback on immigration and women

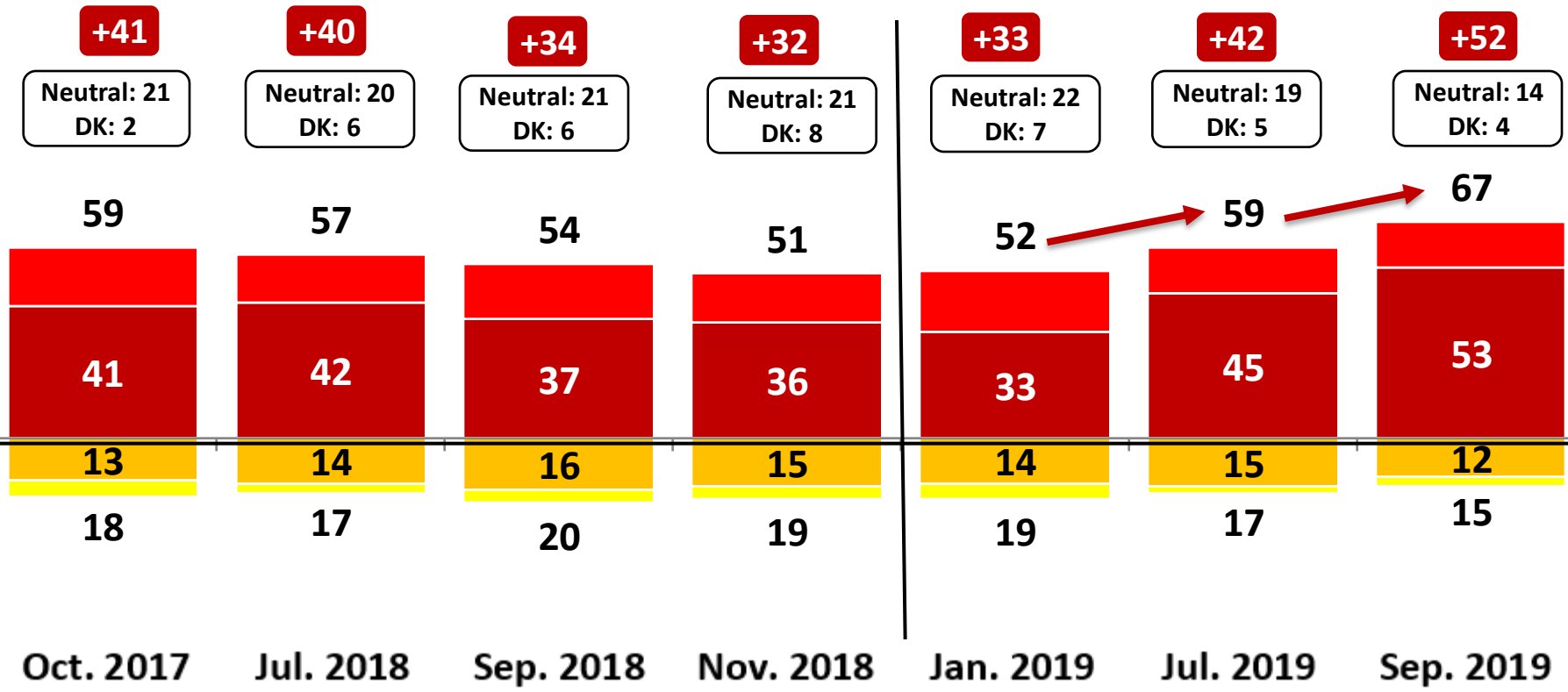


America rushes to embrace immigrants under assault from President Trump

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

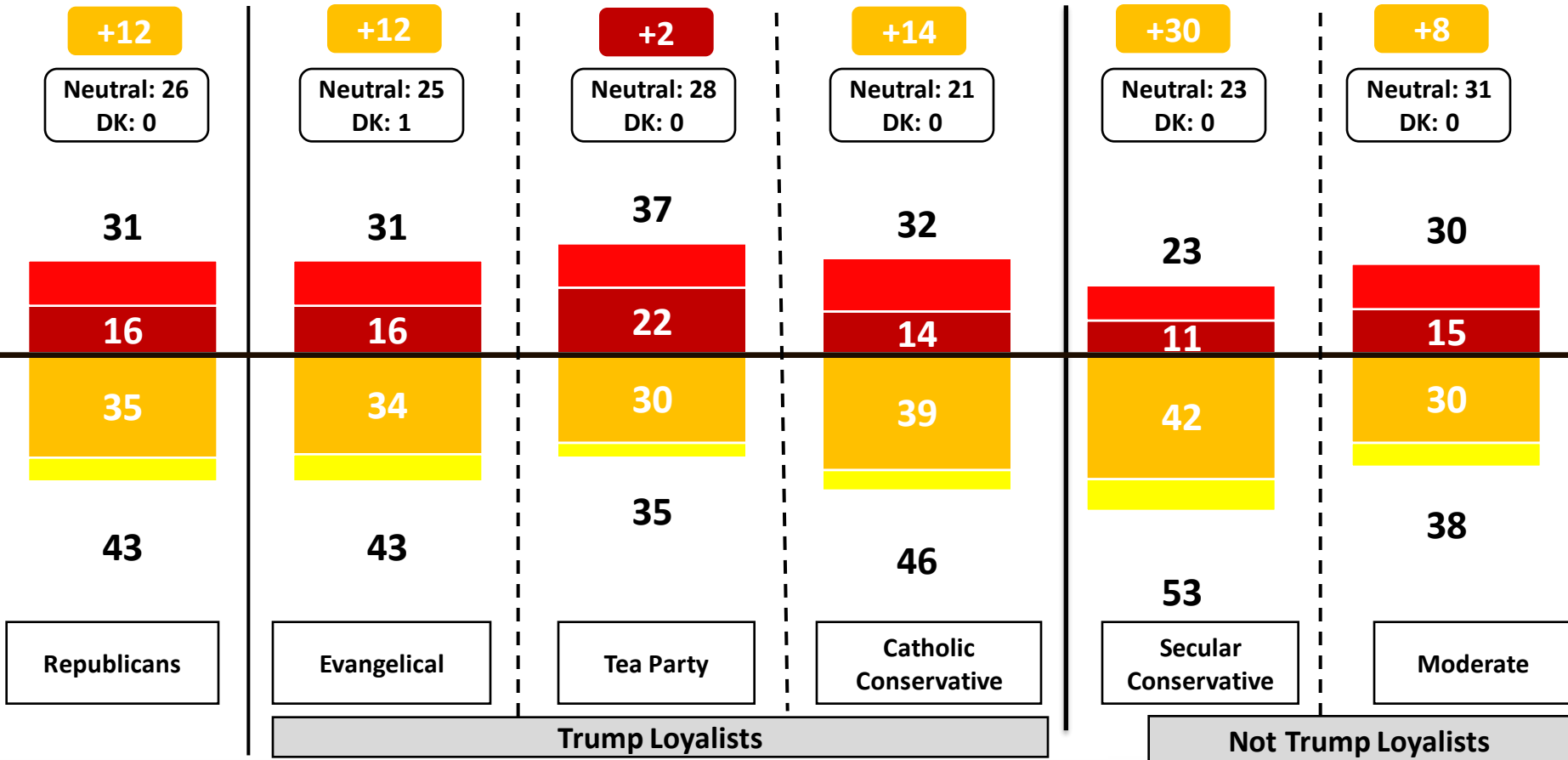


All factions of GOP more negative about immigrants, but a third “warm”

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 (76-100) ■ Warm (51-74) ■ Very Cool (0-25) ■ Cool (0-24)

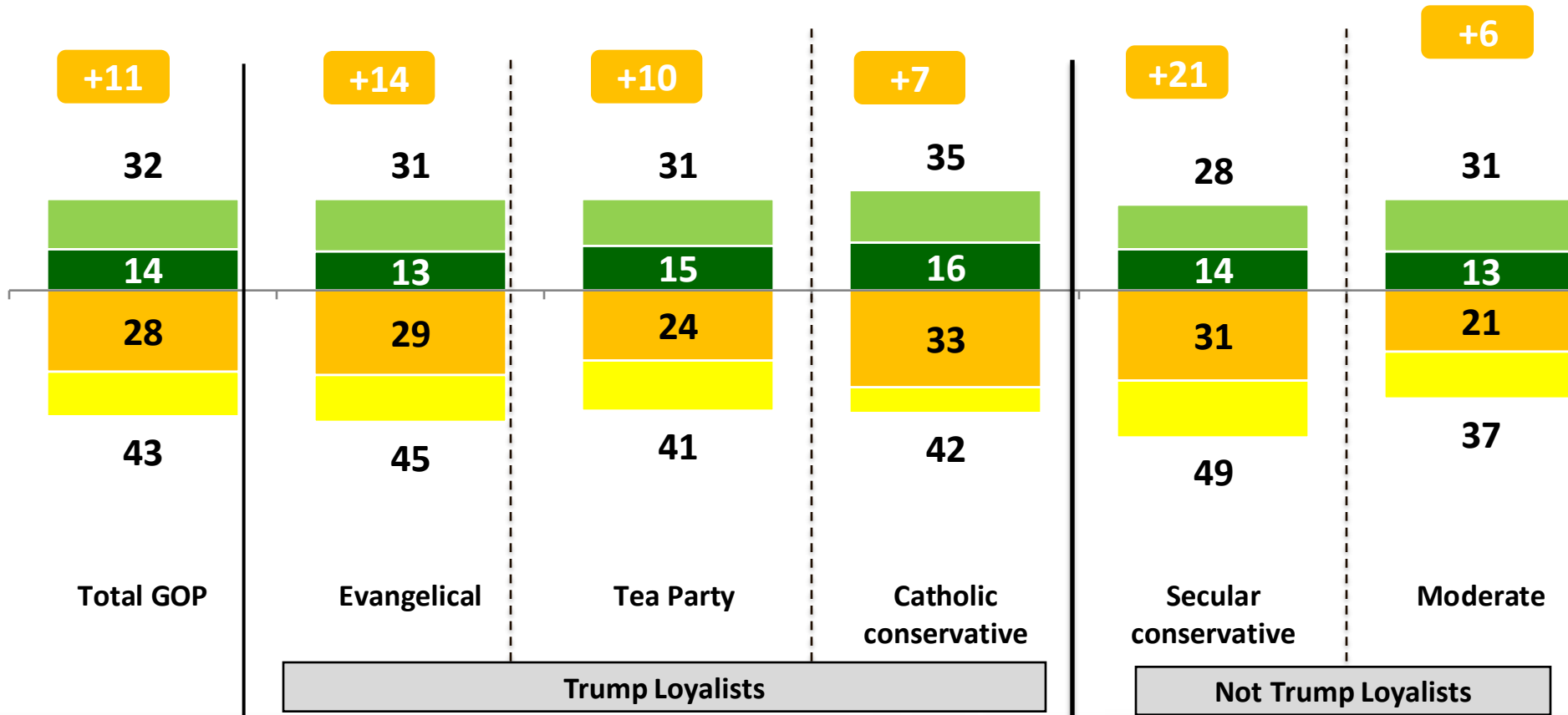


Plurality of every faction believe immigrants are a burden, but a third say, “strengthen our country.”

Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view, even if neither is exactly right?

Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents.

Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care.



Trump's war on immigrants gone too far 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)**



Strongest attack with GOP is disrespect of women and immigrants

Now you will read a few statements that some Republicans are saying about President Trump. After each statement, please say whether it raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about President Trump.

(DISRESPECT) President Trump's disrespect for women and bullying and hatred toward immigrants gives people permission to be rude and say racist things. Him being president is a set back for women.



(MANUFACTURING) 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. He's a big let down for working people



(ALLIES) 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



(CORRUPTION) 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. Working people thought a President Trump would put them first.



(TAX CUTS) 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.



(OBAMACARE) We have now had Obamacare for nearly a decade and you simply cannot take millions of people off coverage without a backup plan ready to go. You shouldn't keep low wage workers from getting on Medicaid. The president is creating chaos in the market which has pushed up health care cost and it's time for Republicans to make it work right.



(TRADE WAR) 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.



Cracks on social liberalism



GOP a pro-life party, fall off with McCain conservatives; moderates oppose pro-life groups

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.

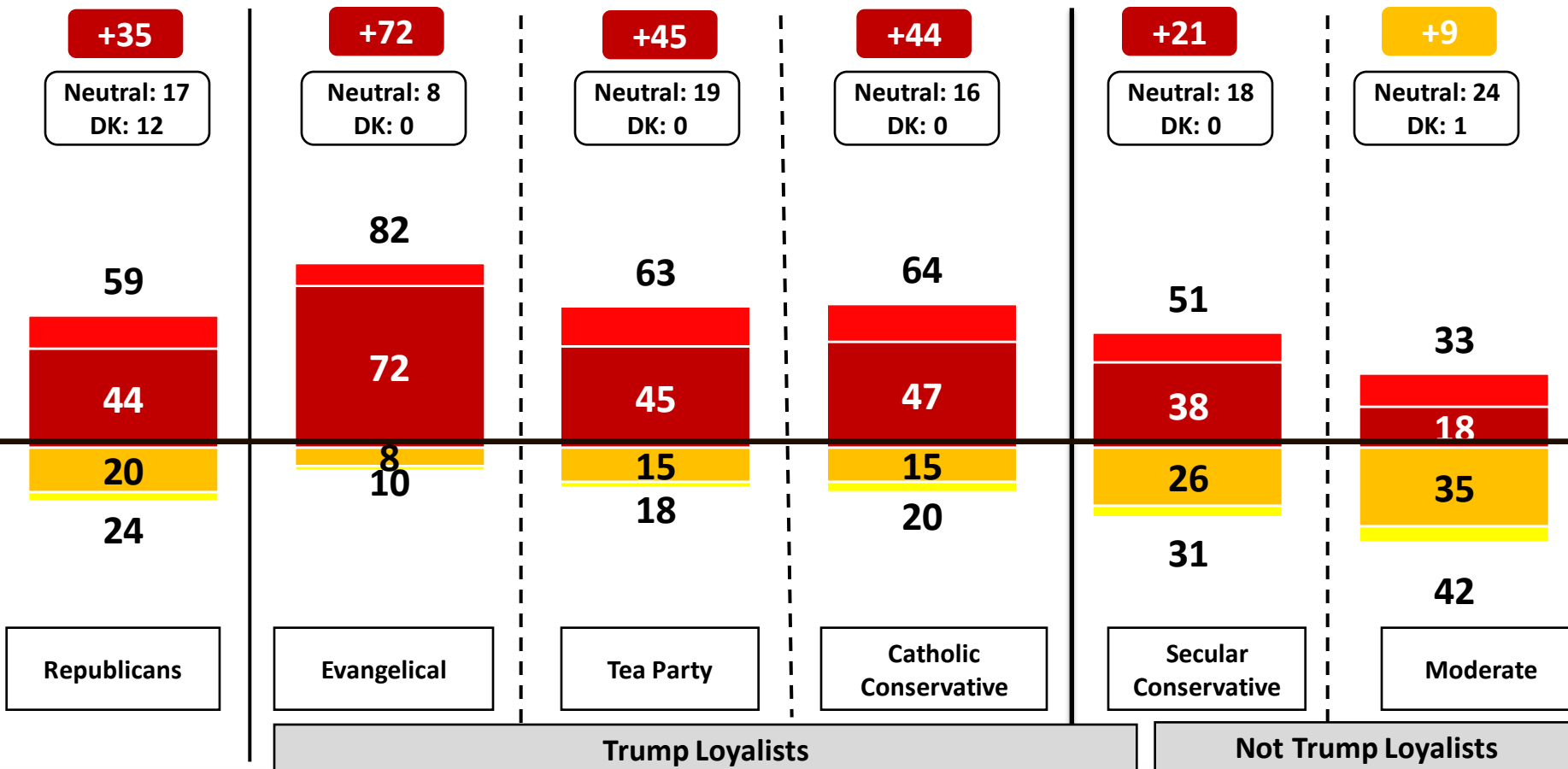
Pro-Life Anti-Abortion Groups

Very Warm (76-100)

Warm (51-74)

Very Cool (0-25)

Cool (0-24)



Trump Loyalists

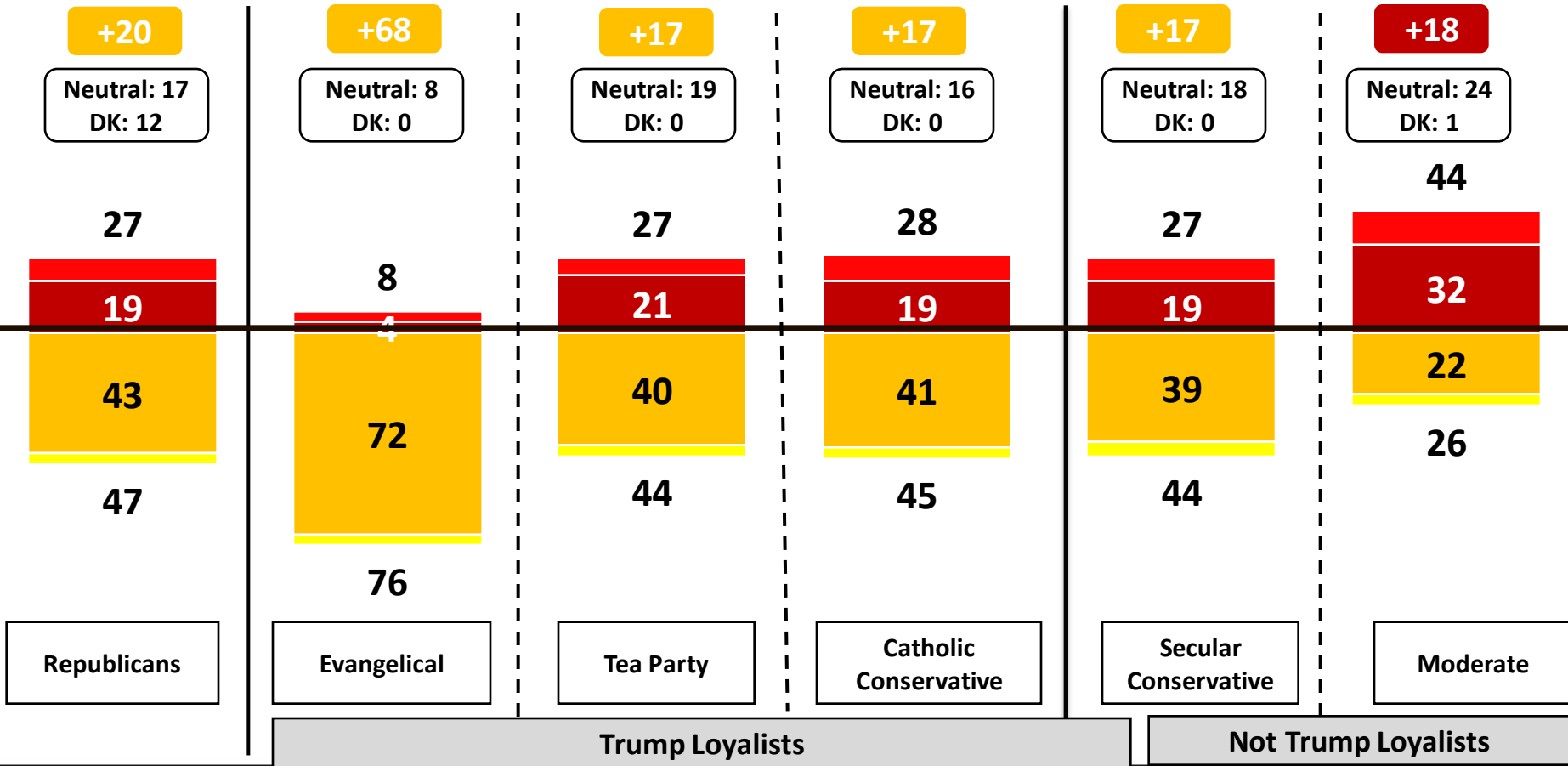
Not Trump Loyalists

Evangelicals lead fight against gay marriage, with strong support from Tea Party and Catholics, but moderates embrace it and with intensity

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.

Gay Marriage

■ Very Warm (76-100) ■ Warm (51-74) ■ Very Cool (0-25) ■ Cool (0-24)



Trump Loyalists

Not Trump Loyalists



Cracks on business, regulation and the environment



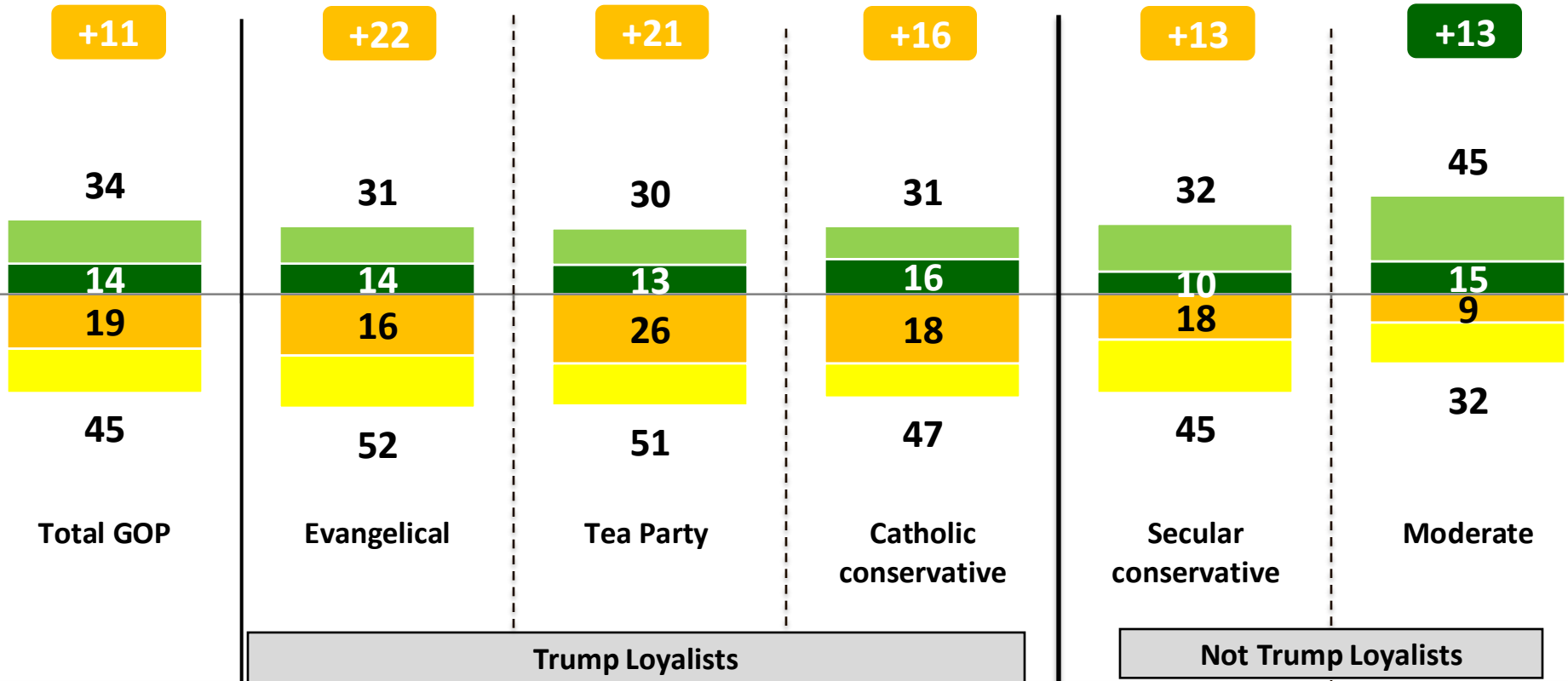
Moderates open to regulation of business for public interest; Tea party opposed with most intensity...

Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view, even if neither is exactly right?

Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest.

Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good

■ Agree much more
 ■ Agree somewhat more
 ■ Agree much more
 ■ Somewhat More



Trump Loyalists

Not Trump Loyalists



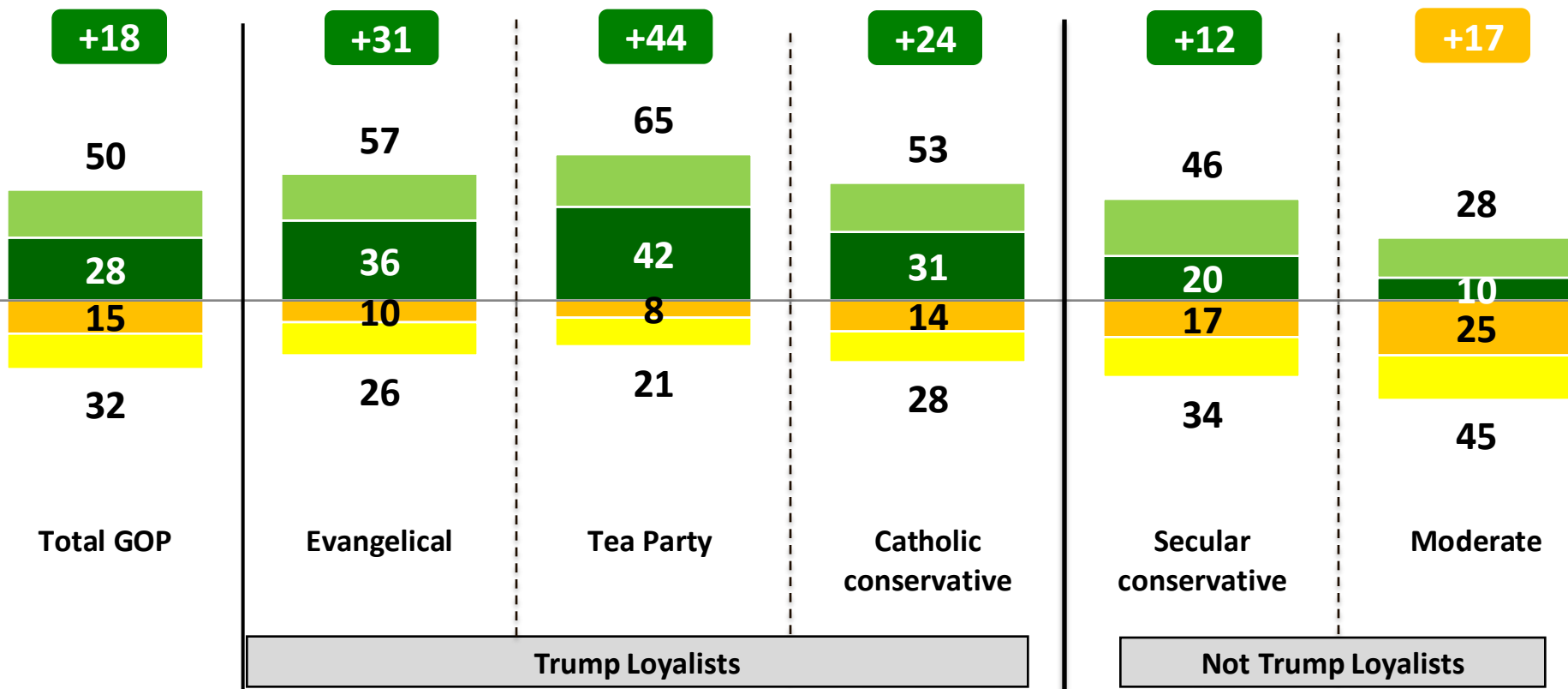
Moderates view environmental regulations as worth cost and with intensity; seculars open; Catholics open but less; Tea Party strongly opposed

Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view, even if neither is exactly right?

Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.

Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost.

■ Agree much more
 ■ Agree somewhat more
 ■ Agree much more
 ■ Agree somewhat more



Anti-corporate sentiment has real strength across GOP factions, intensity among non-loyalist GOP and particularly moderates

Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view, even if neither is exactly right?

Business corporations make too much profit.

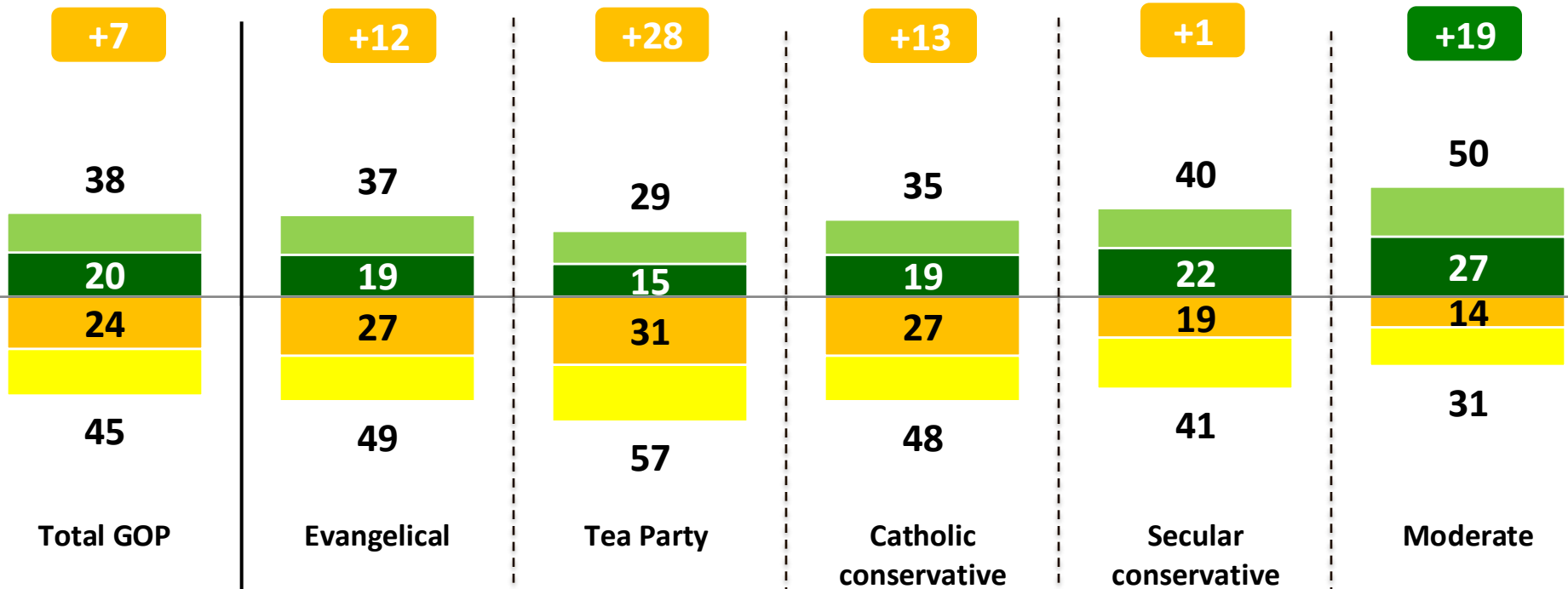
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit.

■ Agree much more

■ Agree somewhat more

■ Agree much more

■ Agree somewhat more

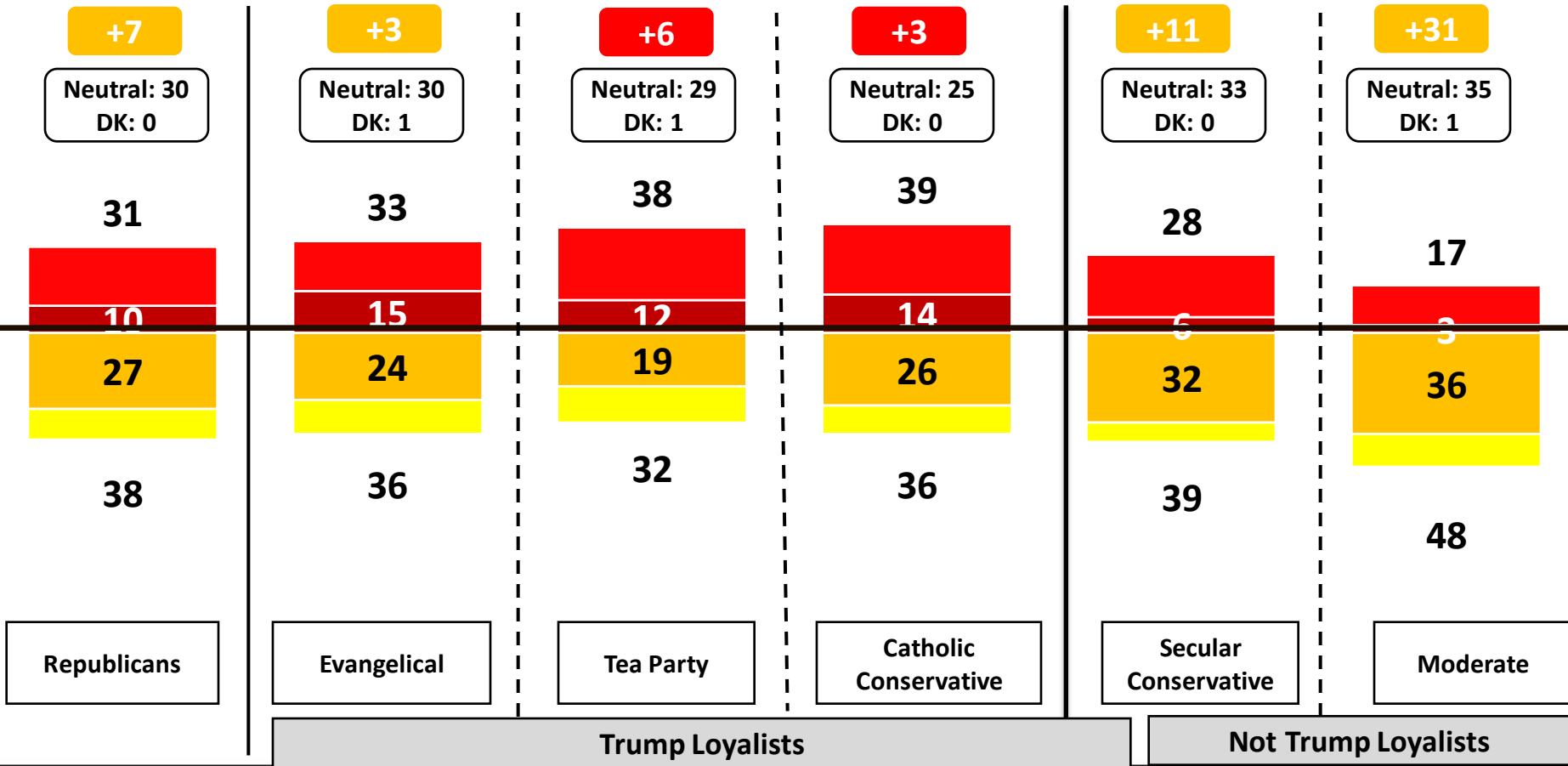


Moderates hostile to CEOs of large businesses

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.

CEOs of large businesses

■ Very Warm (76-100) ■ Warm (51-74) ■ Very Cool (0-25) ■ Cool (0-24)

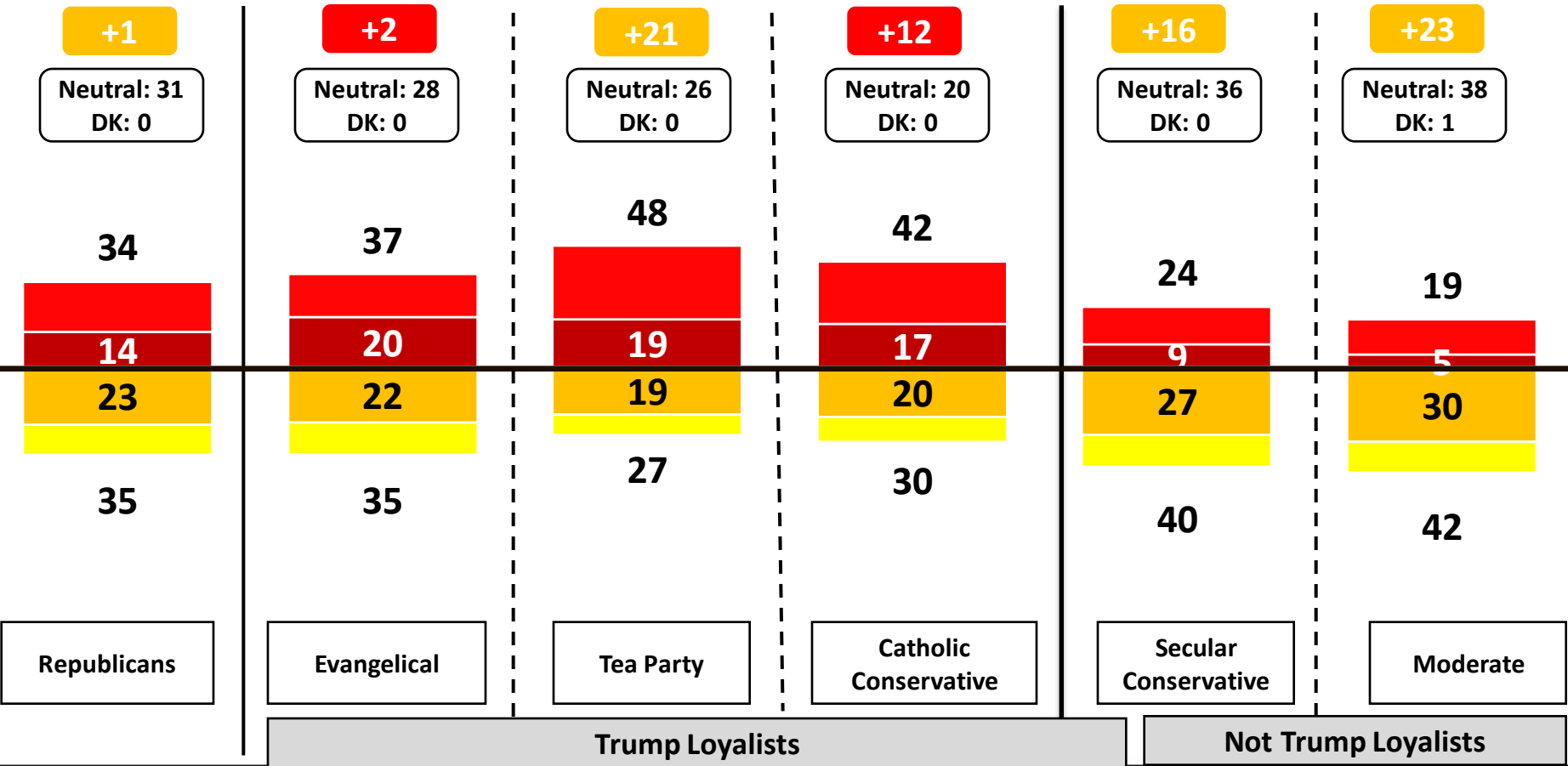


Populist cracks grows wider with oil companies

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.

Oil Companies

■ Very Warm (76-100) ■ Warm (51-74) ■ Very Cool (0-25) ■ Cool (0-24)



Trump Loyalists

Not Trump Loyalists



The Tea Party-McCain split

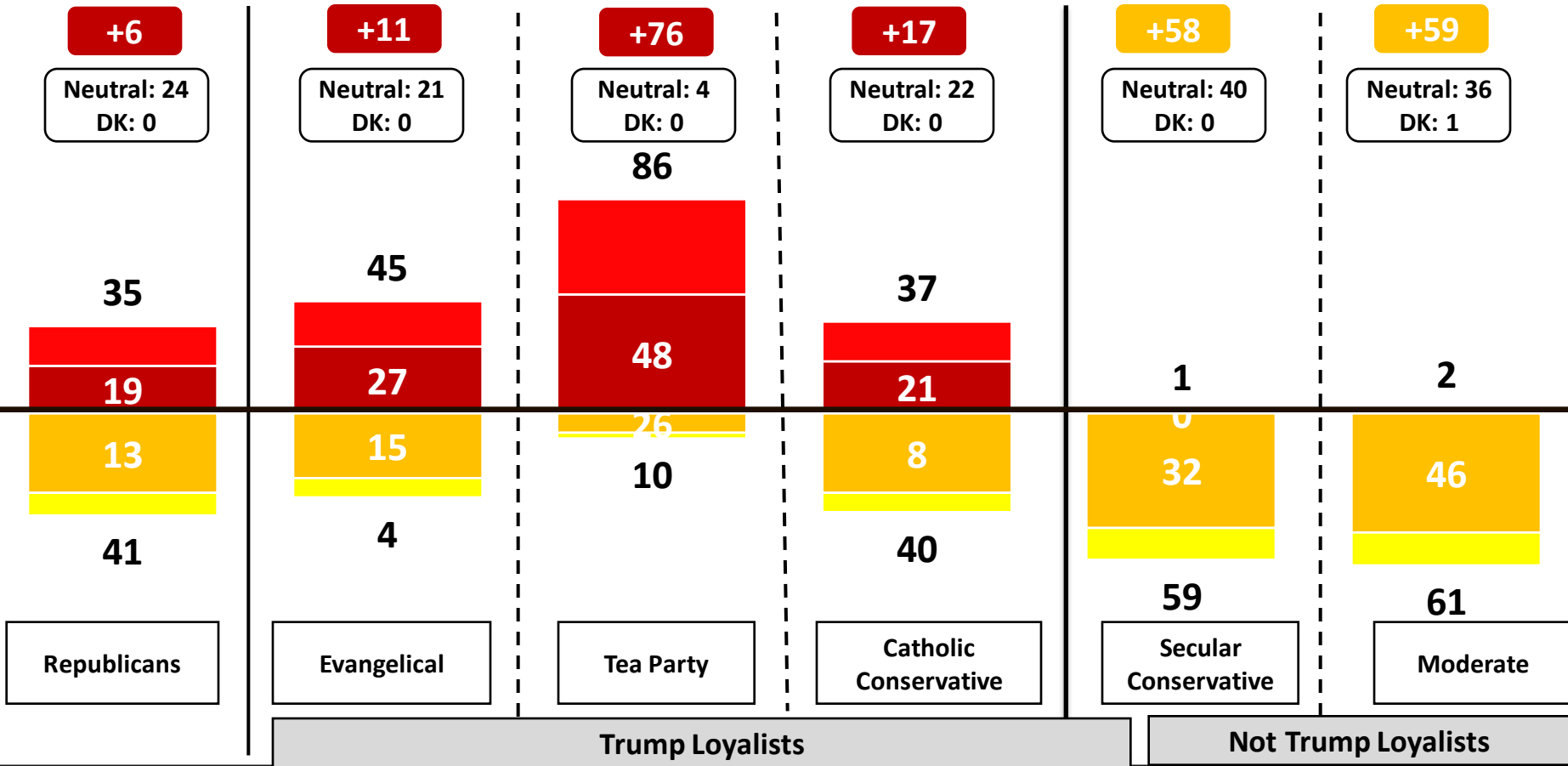


Tea Party style of politics divides the GOP

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.

Tea Party

■ Very Warm (76-100) ■ Warm (51-74) ■ Very Cool (0-25) ■ Cool (0-24)



2020 General Election

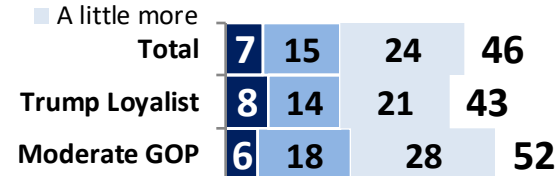


Amash constitution message gets broadest audience, as does Buttigieg's new politics

Below are some words and phrases which people use to describe leaders in our country. For each word or phrase, please indicate whether it describes Donald Trump very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

■ Much more positive ■ Somewhat more positive ■ A little more

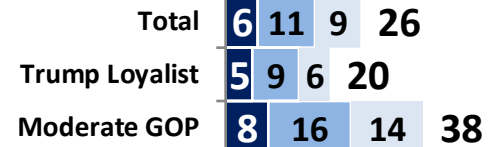
Justin Amash says he takes seriously his oath to support and defend the Constitution. He has been a principled and consistent defender of limited government, economic freedom, and individual liberty. He says we need leaders who are committed to the Rule of Law and the protection of our civil liberties and who will work to create a balanced budget to combat the greatest threat to our national security: the federal government's overspending and debt. Together, we can empower people, not government..



Pete Buttigieg says we are facing urgent national crises and the answers won't come from Washington, but rather to Washington. As a mayor, he knows good politics is based in helping people, not in advancing an ideological agenda. As a veteran, he understands when we bring Americans together we can do anything. And as president, Pete will bring a new kind of politics to Washington -- one that will rally Americans together behind bold ideas so we can finally solve our greatest problems.



Joe Biden says this country was not built by Wall Street bankers, C.E.O.'s and Hedge Fund Managers. It was built by the great American Middle Class. But the Middle Class is hurting in America today and powerful forces are trying to tear America apart instead of lifting it up. Our political system is broken and Donald Trump is the only president who has decided not to represent the whole country. This president has his base, but we need a president who works for all Americans.



Elizabeth Warren says we must fight for an America that works for everyone, not just the wealthy and the well-connected. The rules of the economy are rigged to benefit the wealthy who use their money to rig our politics. That is corruption, and we need to attack it. That means big change to level the playing field for the middle class. It means we start taxing wealth so we can make big investments that support American jobs and help families and fund universal childcare and health care. She says this will make our economy work for everyone



Bernie Sanders Bernie Sanders says we need a new vision for America. At a time when we have three people in this country owning more wealth than the bottom half of America, while 500,000 people are sleeping out on the streets today, it is time for real change. Sanders say health care is a human right and we need to pass a Medicare-for-all, single-payer health care system. He also says education is our future, and we must make public colleges and universities tuition-free and eliminate student debt. He argues we do that by placing a tax on Wall Street



Trump has only consolidated 85 percent in presidential race

2020 PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT

■ Democratic Candidate ■ Republican Donald Trump ■ Libertarian/Other

