



DEMOCRACY CORPS  
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER**

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

# The New Republican Coalition

## The GOP Base + Trump Voters

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### What unites and divides and what's next

December 2016

CAMPAIGNS

CORPORATIONS

ADVOCACY

WORLDWIDE

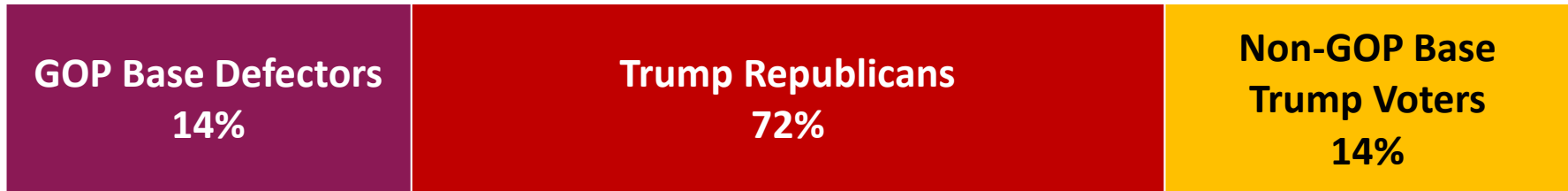
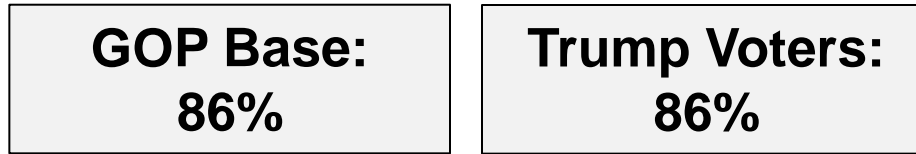
# Methodology

## **National Web-Survey of 800 2016 Trump Voters and GOP Base Voters.**

This web-survey took place December 2-5, 2016 among 800 2016 Data shown in this deck is among 2016 voters who voted for Trump or non-Trump voters who identify as Republicans or independents who lean Republican and vote in Republican primaries or caucuses.

Margin of error for the full sample is +/-3.47 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error will be higher among subgroups.

# The new Republican Coalition



**GOP Base Non-Trump Voters:**

- 48% GOP Moderates
- 26% Clinton in 2016
- 36% Johnson in 2016
- 36% Kasich in GOP Primary
- 39% college men
- 30% non-college women
- 74% white
- 40% millennial, 35% boomer
- 29% millennial women
- 24% boomer men
- 52% married

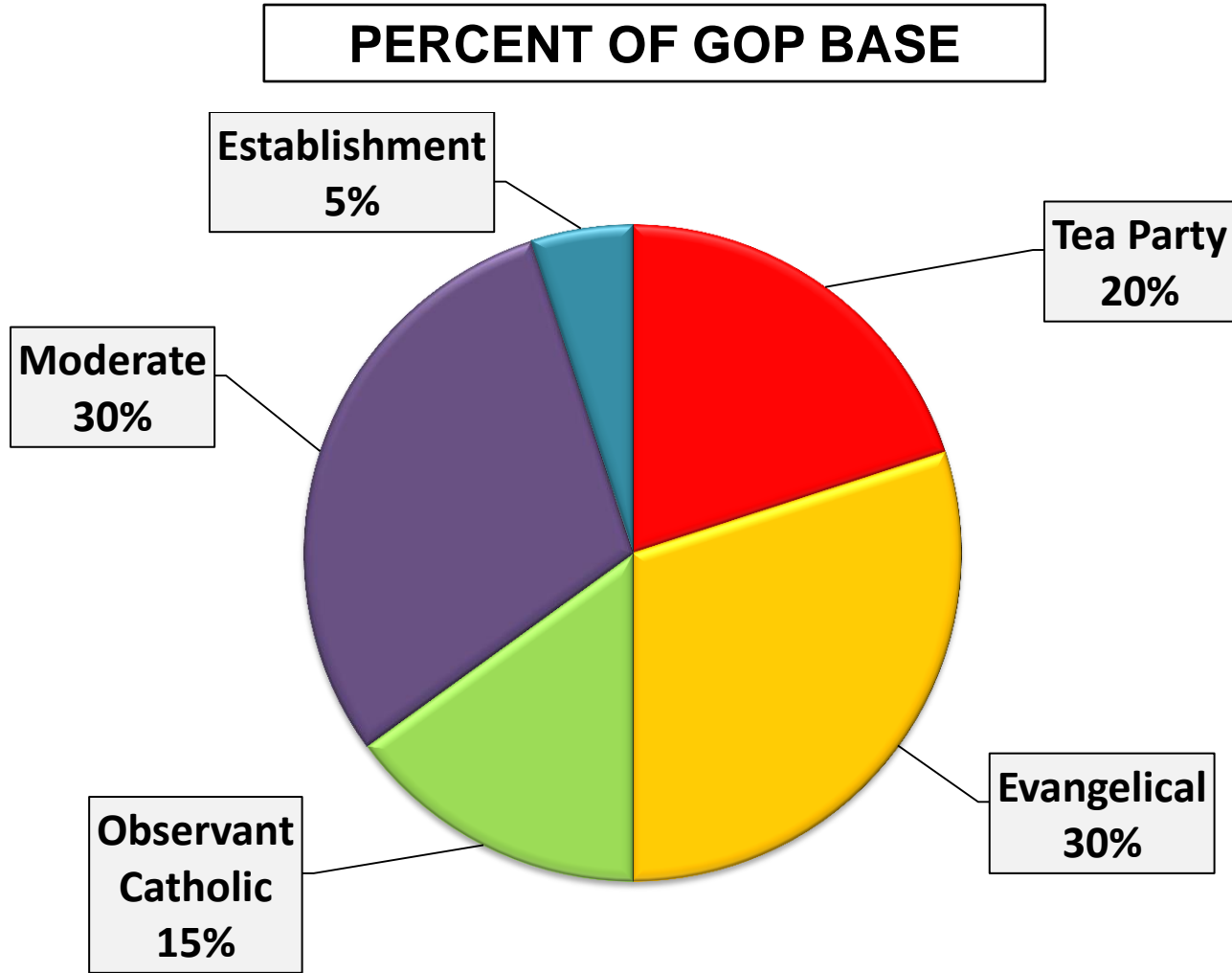
**GOP Base Trump Voters:**

- 31% Evangelical
- 27% Moderate
- 22% Tea Party
- 14% Observant Catholic
- 60% Trump in GOP Primary
- 31% non-college women
- 24% non-college men
- 87% white
- 61% over 50
- 68% married

**Non-GOP Base Trump Voters:**

- 64% Independent
- 36% Democrats
- 39% non-college women
- 31% college men
- 72% white
- 39% Boomer, 50% over 50
- 22% boomer women
- 57% married

# The GOP Base: 86 % of Republican Coalition



# THE TIES THAT BIND

# Share intense unfavorable views of Clinton personally

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.

## HILLARY CLINTON

Very warm (75-100)

Very cool (0-25)

Mean:  
8.6

Net: -90

Mean:  
7.8

Net: -91

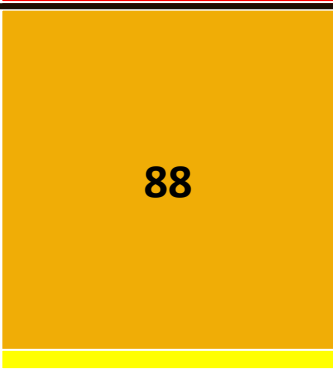
Mean:  
19.9

Net: -68

Mean:  
24.6

Net: -61

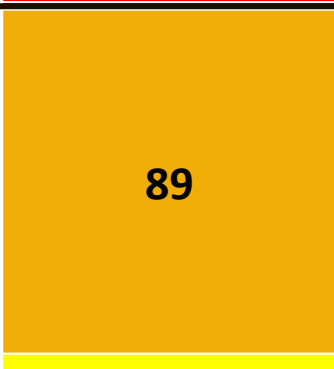
3



93

Trump Voters

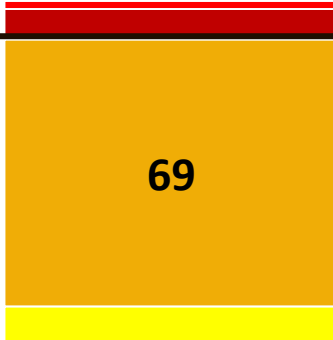
3



94

GOP Base Voters

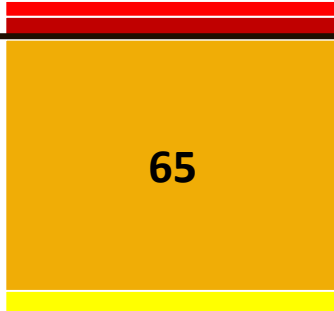
10



78

GOP Base Defectors

10



71

Non-GOP Trump Voters

# United by negative views toward Obamacare

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.

## OBAMACARE

Very warm (75-100)

Very cool (0-25)

Mean:  
12.6

Net: -80

Mean:  
12.1

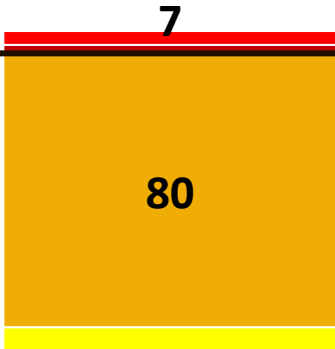
Net: -83

Mean:  
25.5

Net: -59

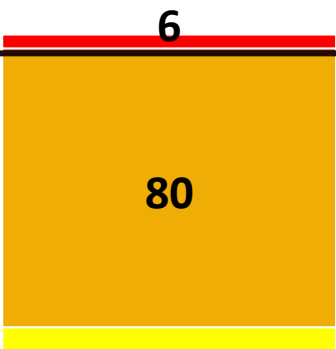
Mean:  
29.0

Net: -41



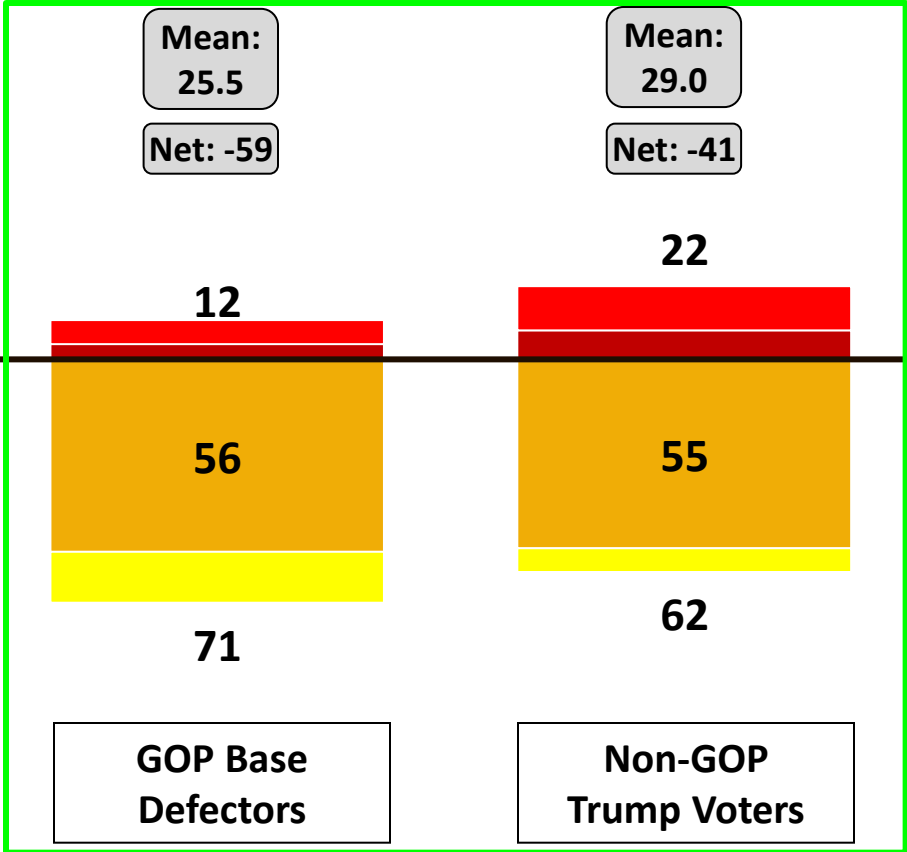
87

Trump Voters



87

GOP Base Voters



71

GOP Base Defectors

62

Non-GOP Trump Voters

# Deep hostility to trade now key to GOP-Trump voters, but not defectors

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.

## NAFTA

Very warm (75-100)

Very cool (0-25)

Mean:  
27.2

Net: -47

Mean:  
24.6

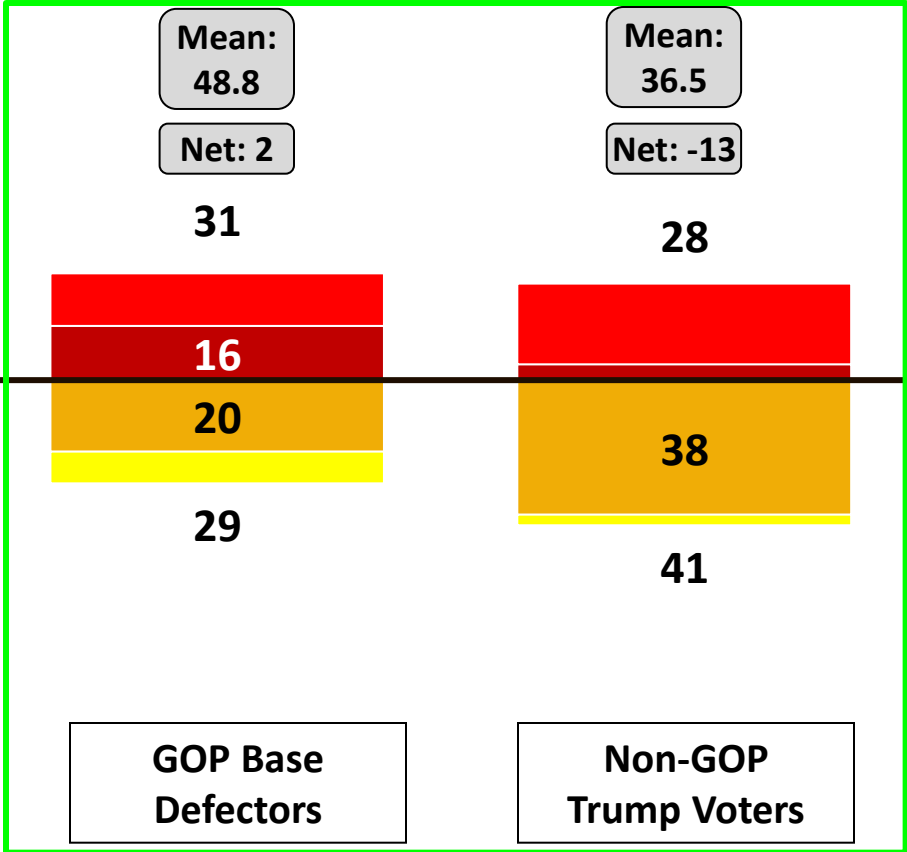
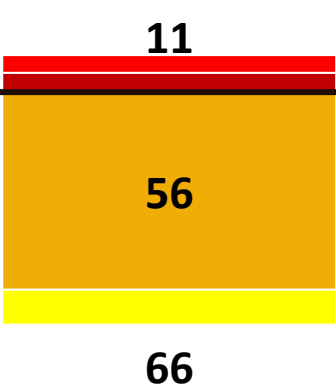
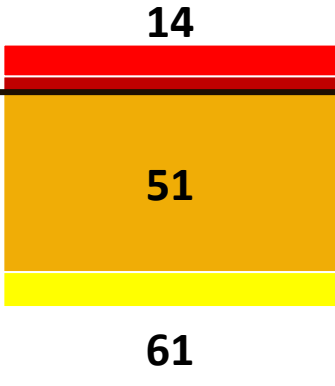
Net: -56

Mean:  
48.8

Net: 2

Mean:  
36.5

Net: -13



GOP Base Defectors

Non-GOP Trump Voters

Trump Voters

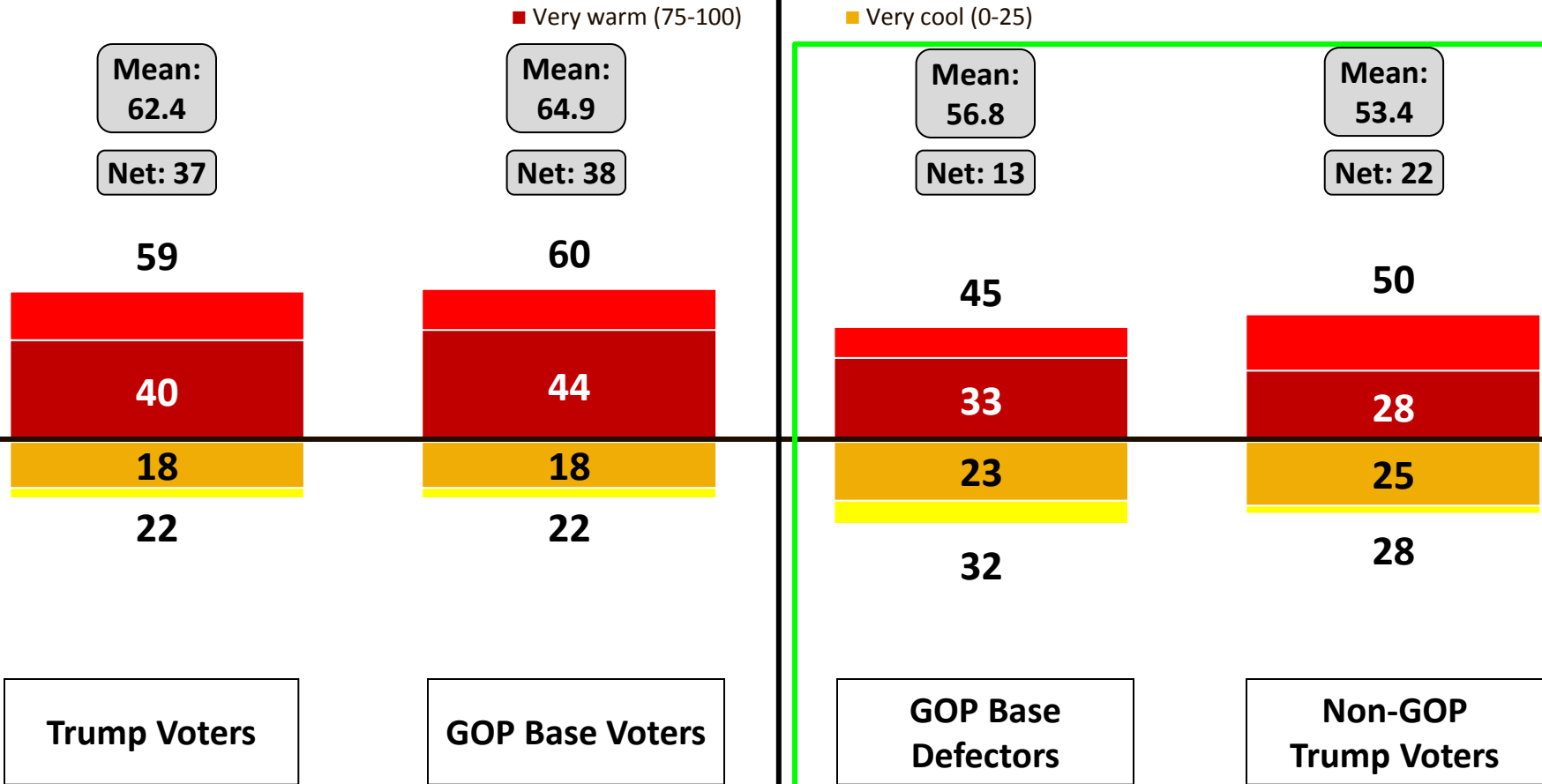
GOP Base Voters



# GOP-Trump party is intensely pro-life, others less so

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

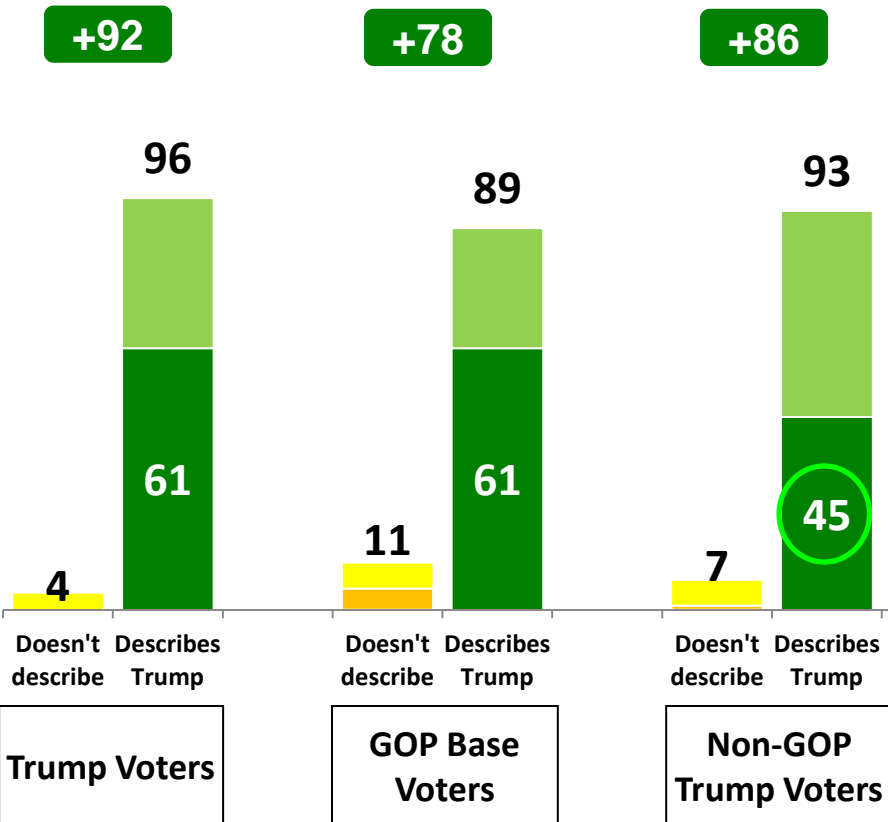


# All say Trump has good economic plans & right change

For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Donald Trump very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

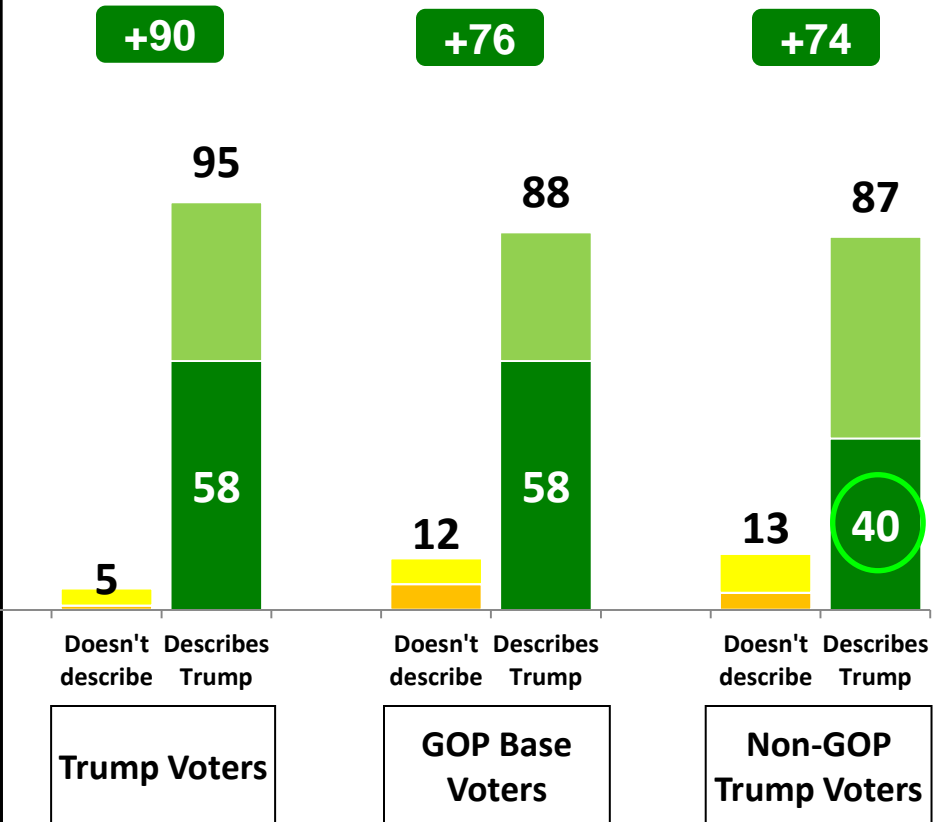
## Has good plans to grow the economy

■ Trump not well at all



## Bringing the right kind of change

■ Trump very well

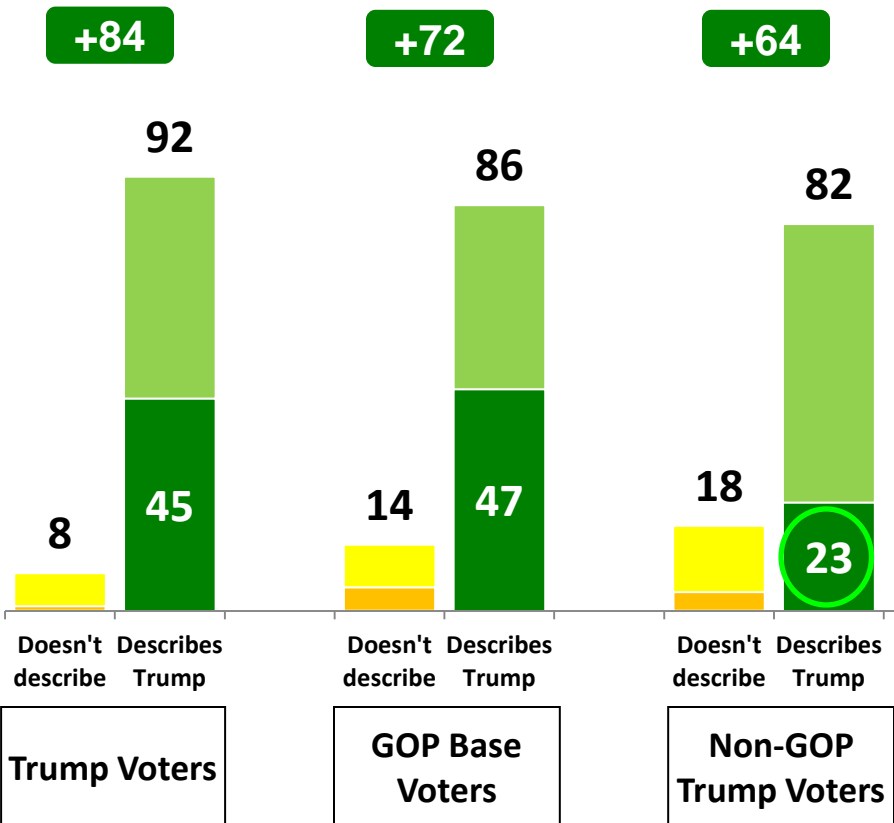


# Trump's on their side & for middle class, but non-GOP cautious

For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Donald Trump very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

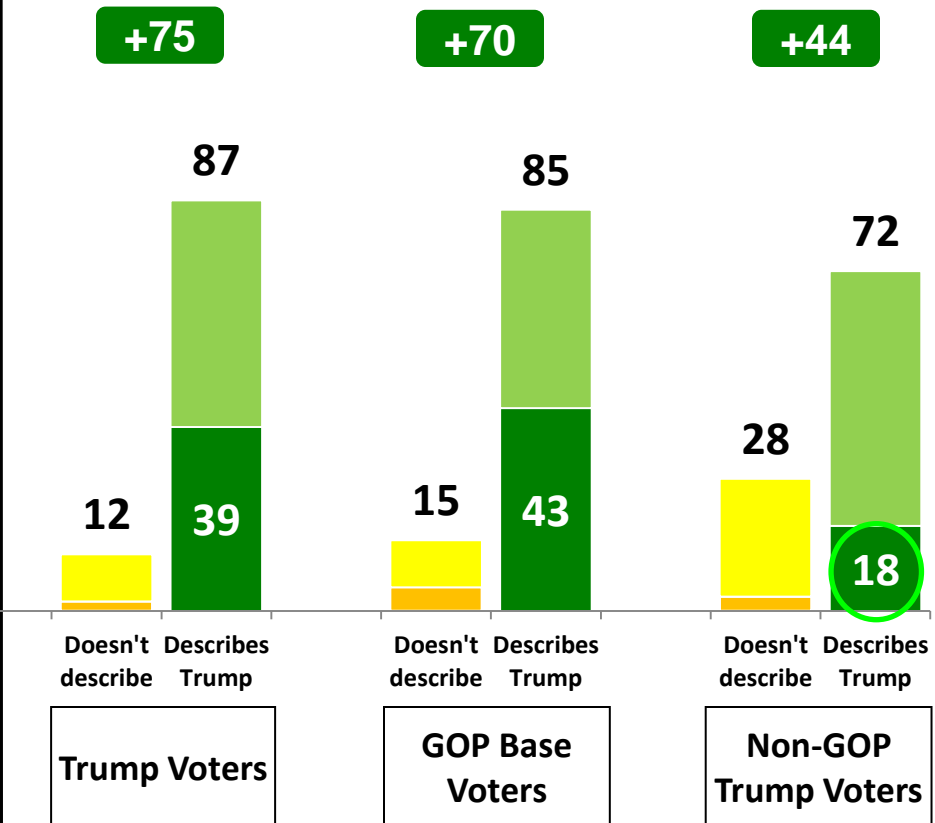
## On your side

■ Trump not well at all



## For the middle class

■ Trump very well



# THE NON REPUBLICAN TRUMP VOTER

# Non-GOP Trump voters identify as working class

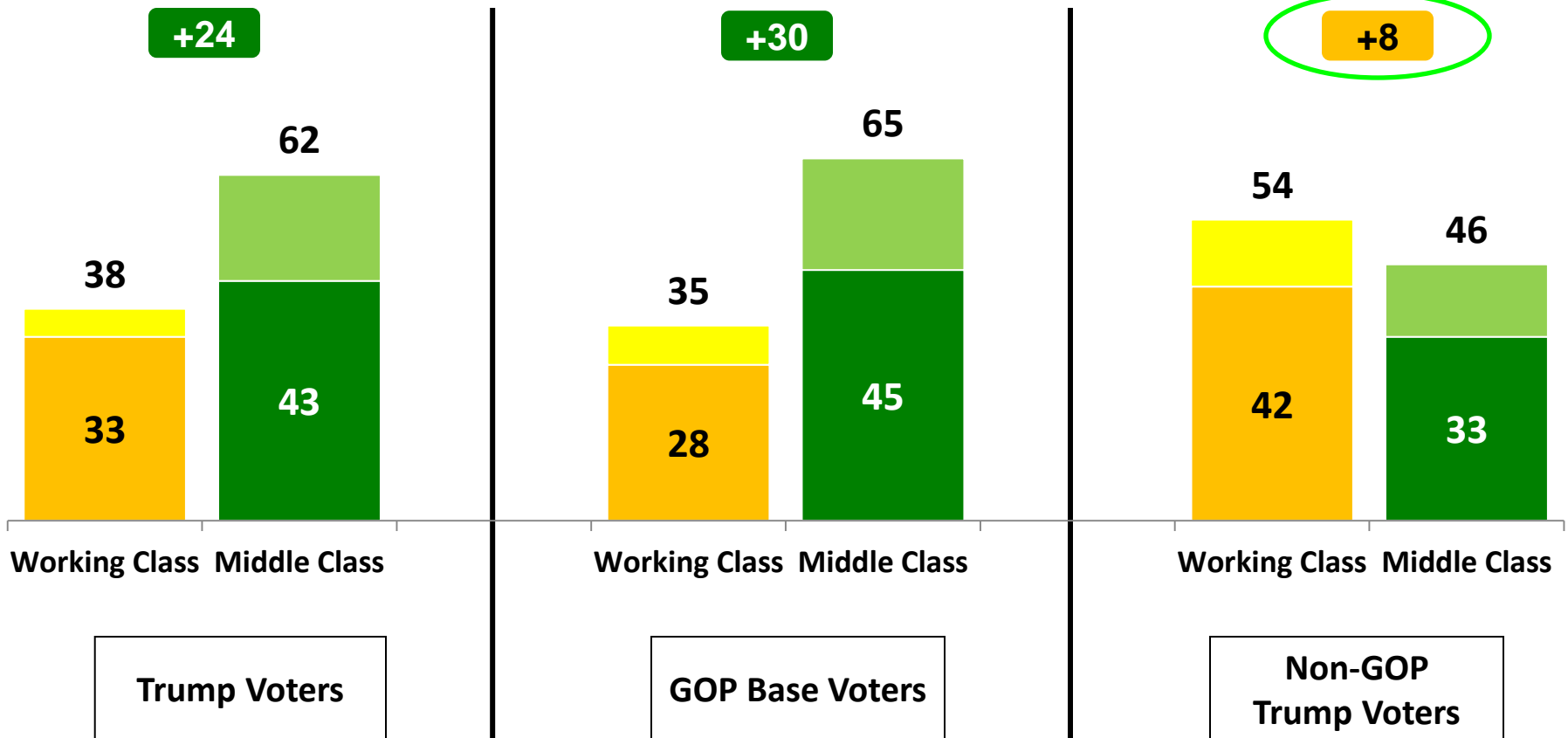
Which one of the following statements comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

I think of myself as working class.

I think of myself as middle class.

■ Working class strongly

■ Middle class strongly



# Are cash-strapped

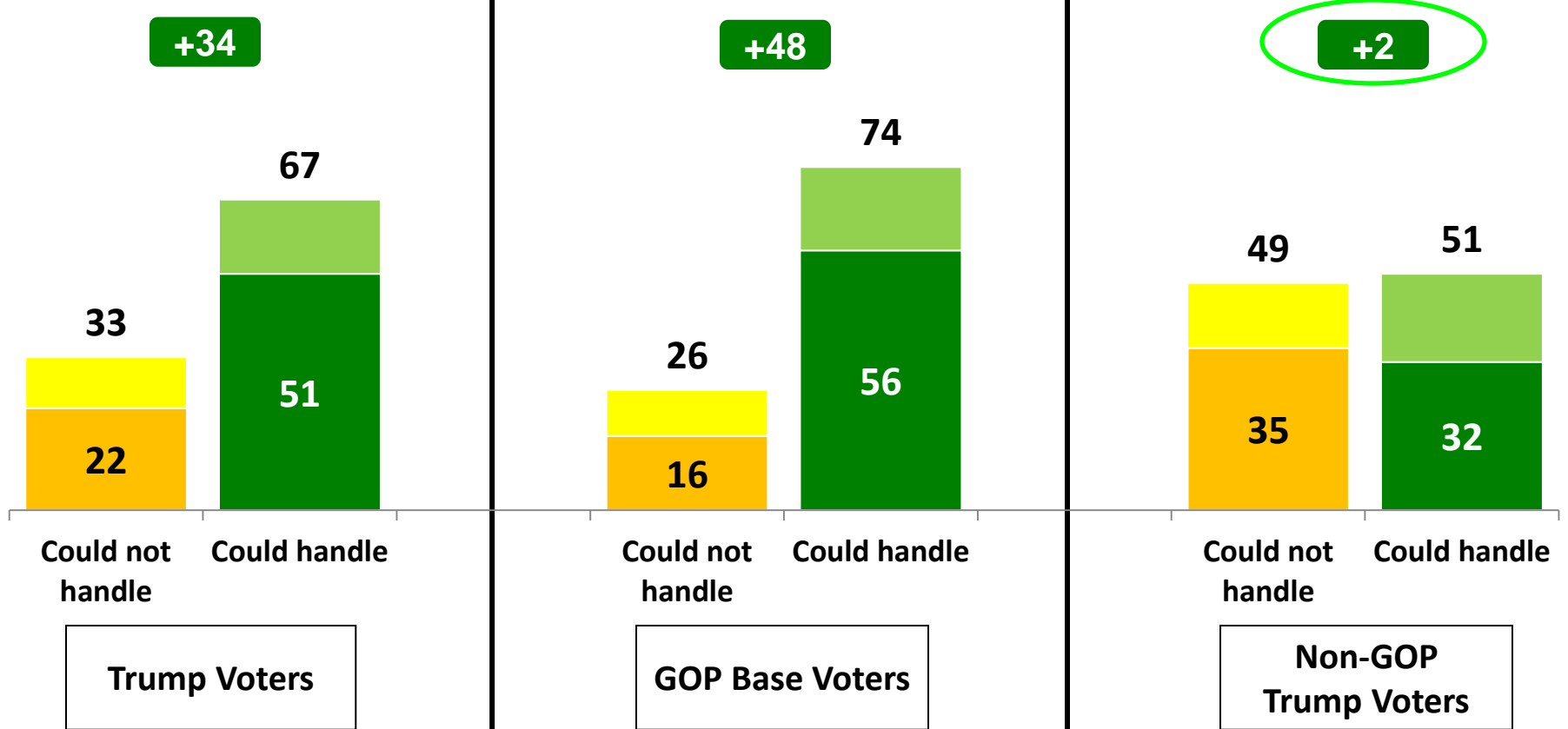
Which one of the following statements comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

I would not be able to handle a sudden, unexpected \$500 expense.

I would be able to handle a sudden, unexpected \$500 expense.

■ Couldn't handle sudden \$500 expense strongly

■ Could handle sudden \$500 expense strongly

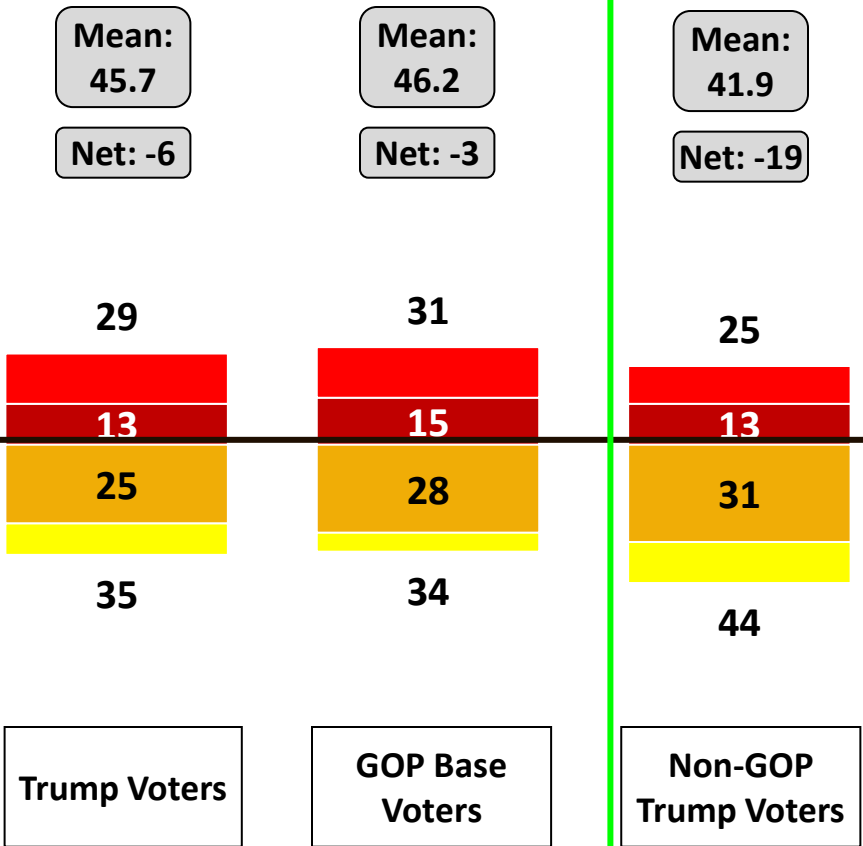


# And they are hostile to Wall Street and CEOs

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.

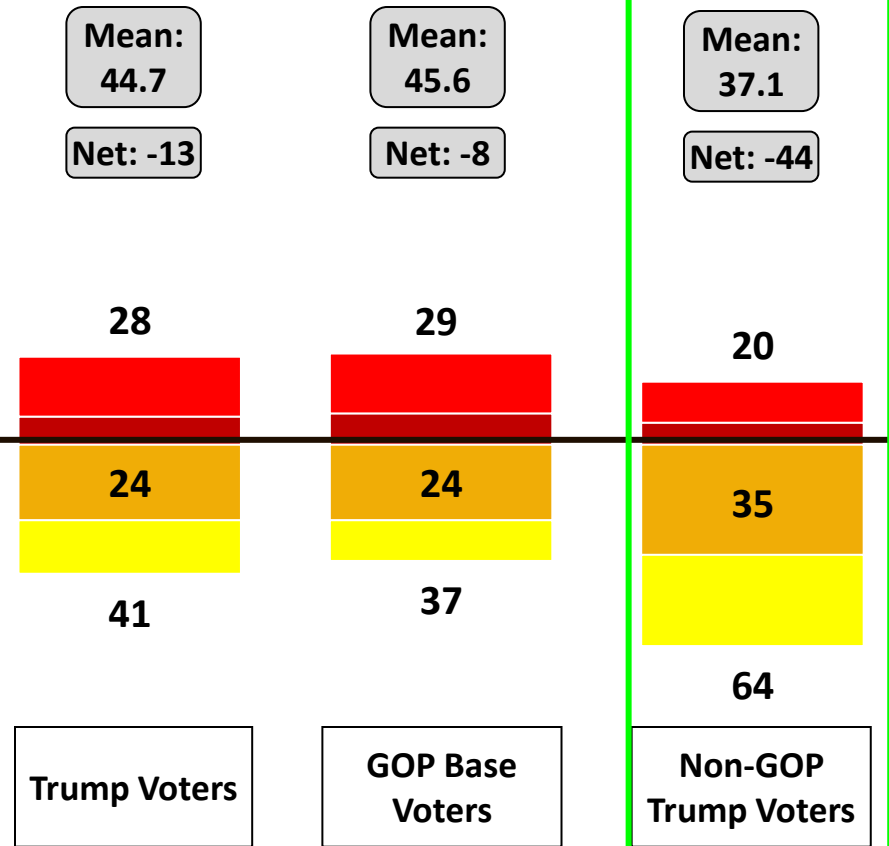
## WALL STREET

Very warm (75-100)



## CEO'S OF LARGE COMPANIES

Very cool (0-25)



# Are, get this, pro-union

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.

## LABOR UNIONS

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

Mean:  
33.7

Net: -38

Mean:  
29.1

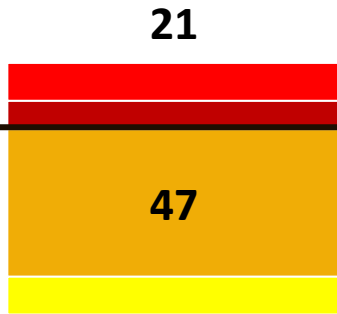
Net: -47

Mean:  
28.5

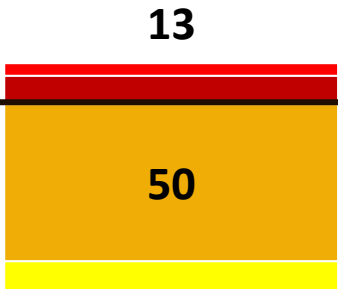
Net: -49

Mean:  
55.4

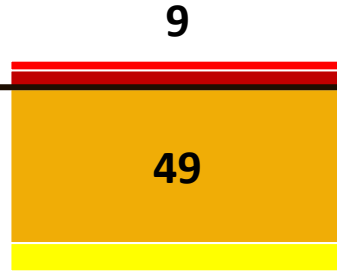
Net: 29



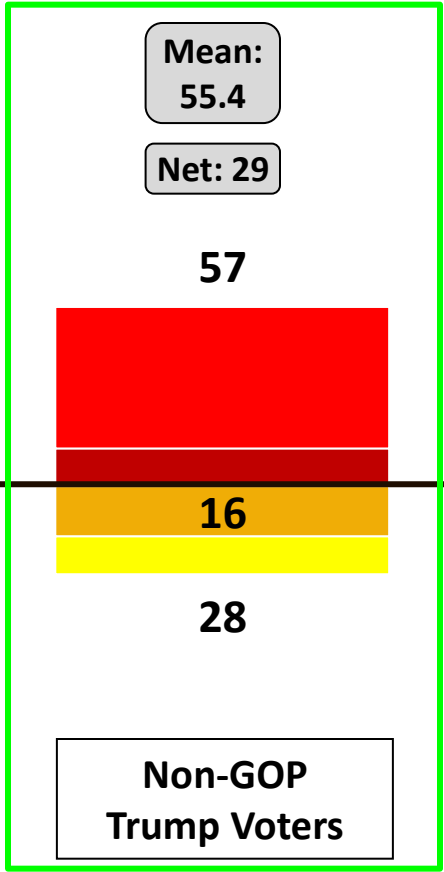
Trump Voters



GOP Base Voters



GOP Base Defectors



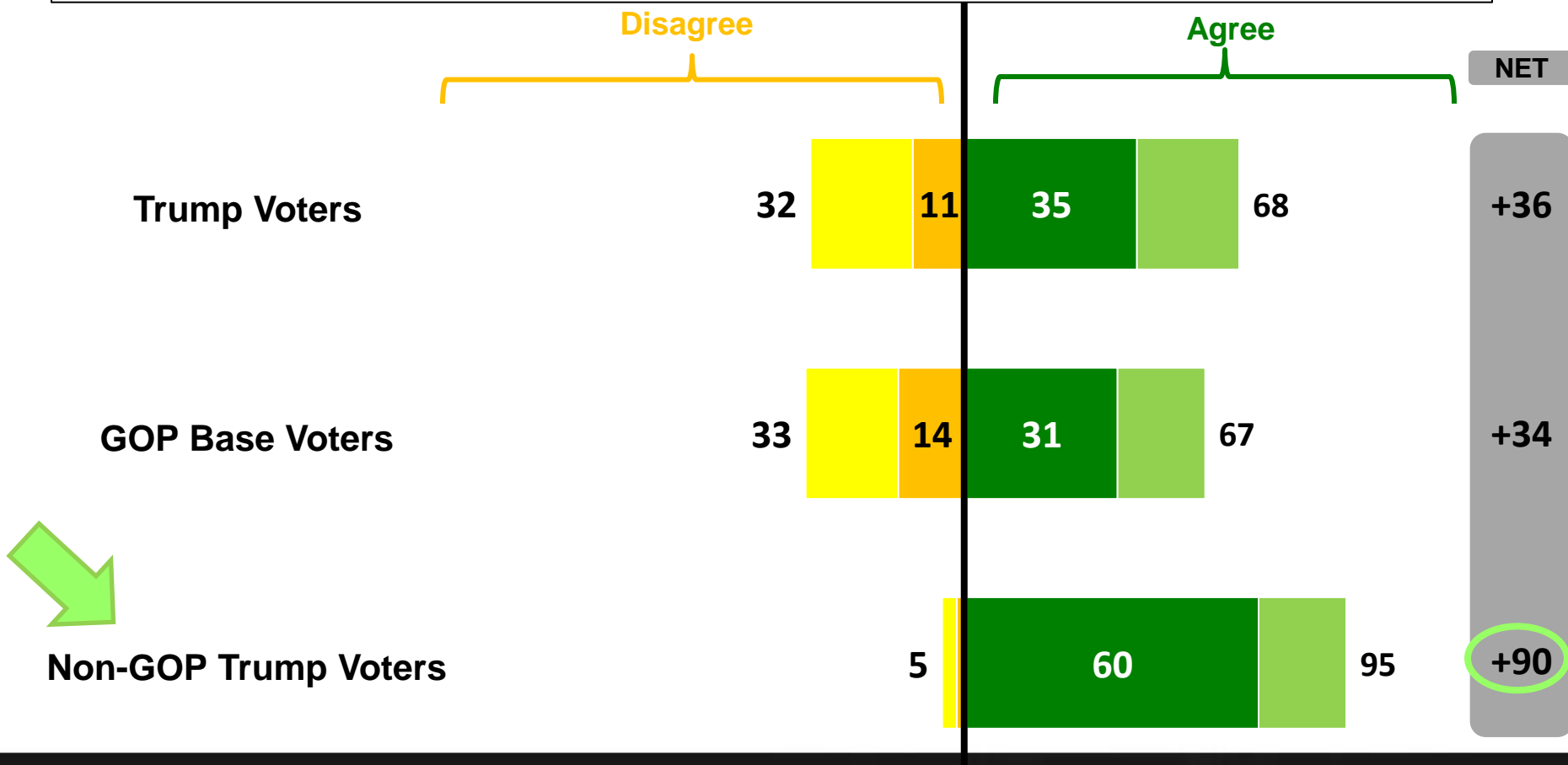
Non-GOP Trump Voters



# They strongly believe government must make health care affordable

Below are some statements. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.

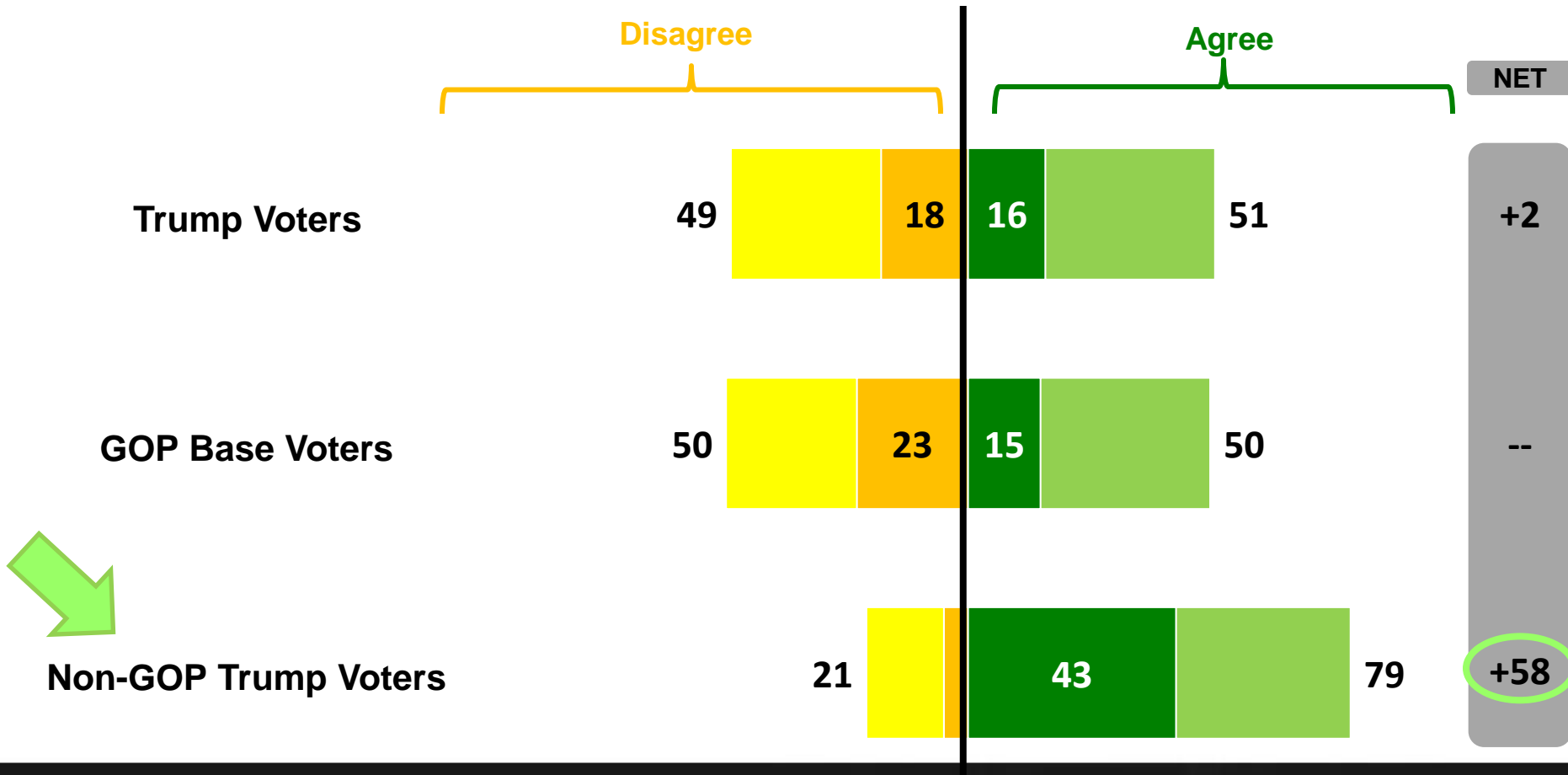
The government needs to do more to make health care affordable and accessible.



# The most adamant that the rich should pay more taxes

Below are some statements. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.

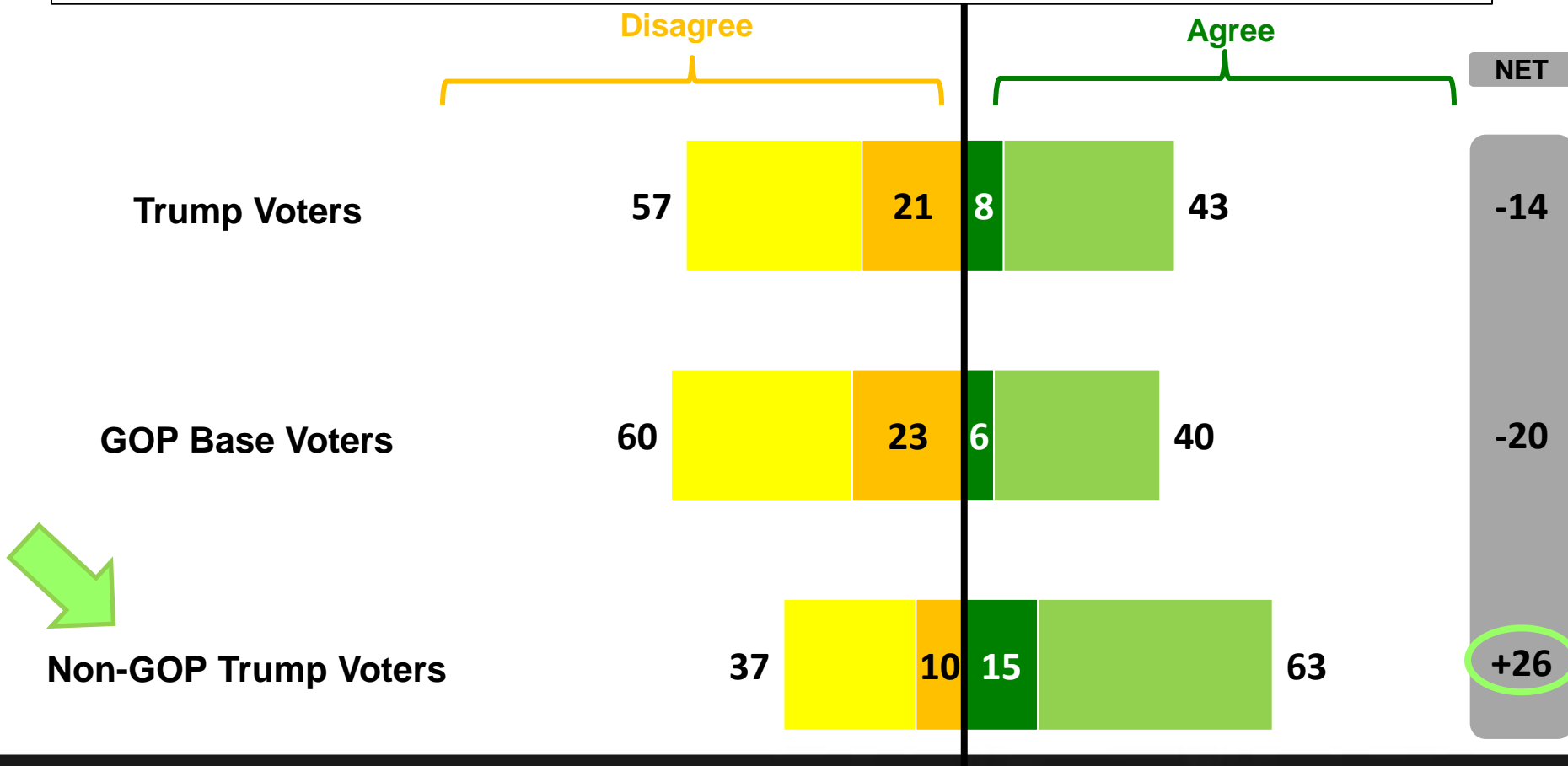
People making over 250,000 dollars a year should pay a lot more in taxes



# Different on free market needing government regulation

Below are some statements. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.

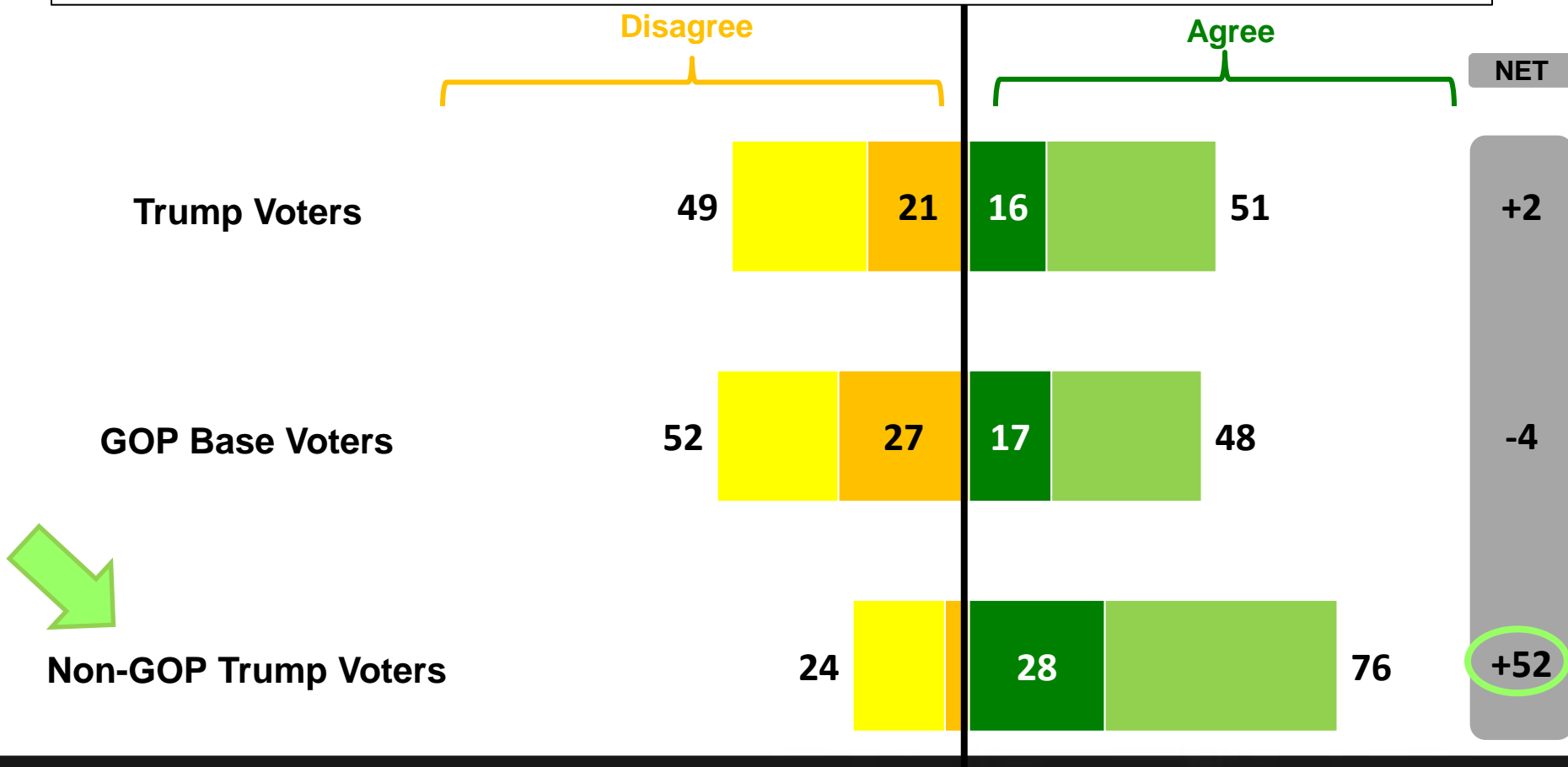
**A free market economy needs government regulation in order to best serve the public interest.**



# For example, on addressing global warming..

Below are some statements. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.

**Because the earth is getting warmer because of what humans are doing, we need to begin taking serious measures to address global warming**



# Diverge on government responsibility for caring for the poor

Below are some statements. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.

**It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves.**

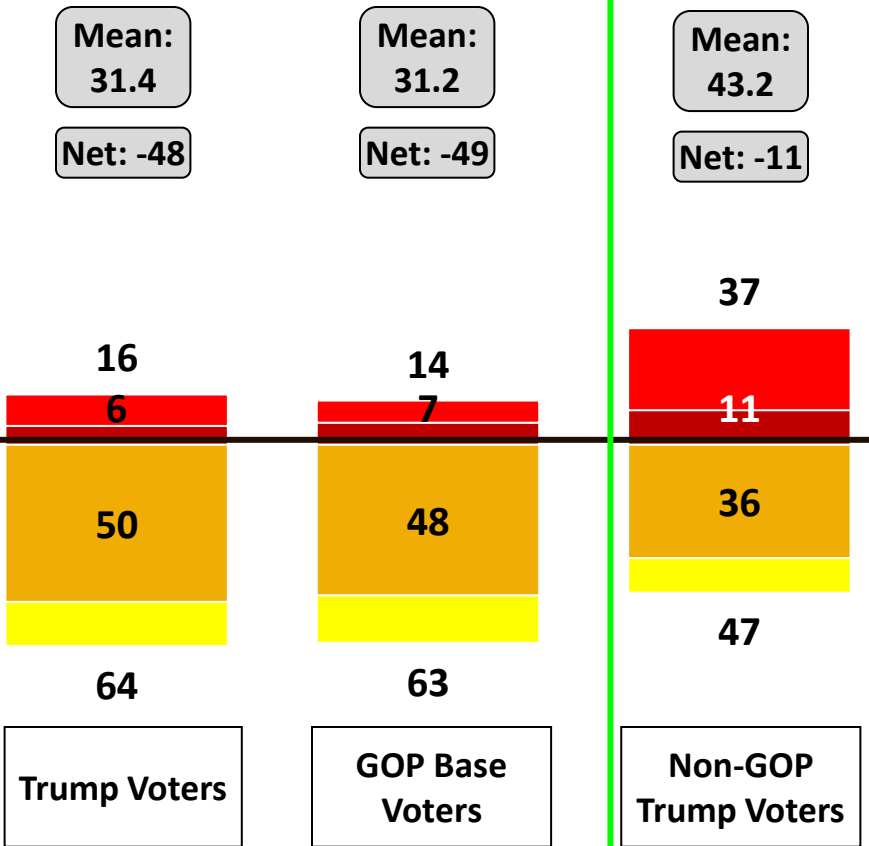


# Seen in divide on food stamps, unemployment benefits

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.

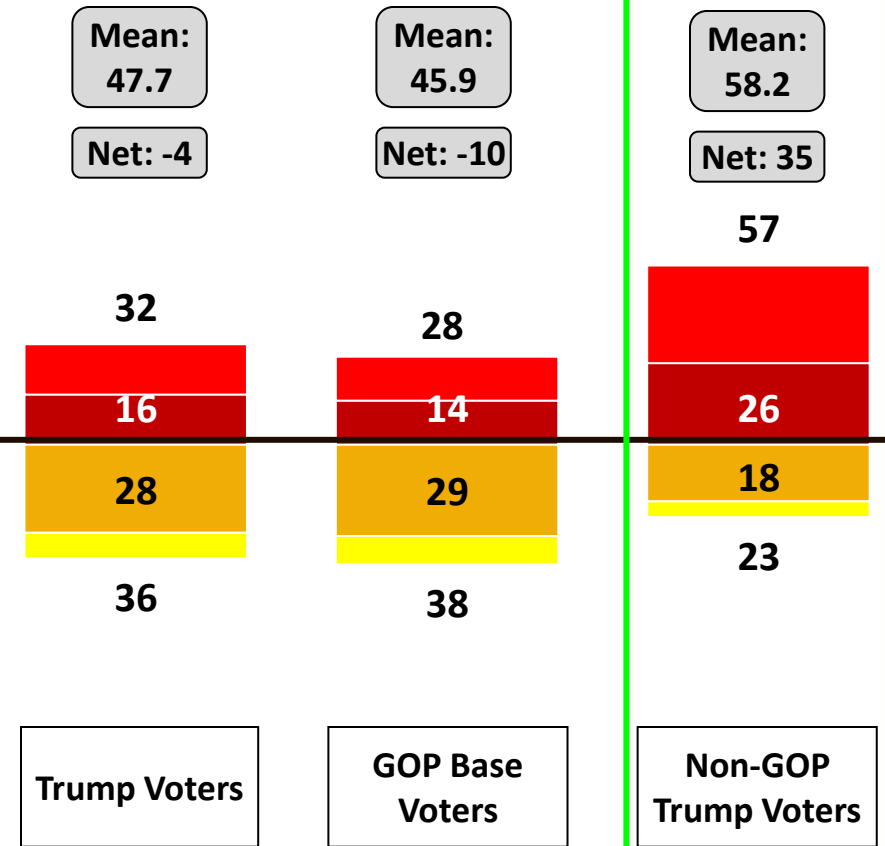
## FOOD STAMPS

■ Very warm (75-100)



## UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

■ Very cool (0-25)



# SCOTUS & ACA repeal unite Trump & GOP base, but non-GOP Trump-ers heard no entitlement cuts, low taxes and more jobs

Below is a list of commitments Donald Trump made during the campaign. Of course, he won't keep all of them, but which TWO are so important that if he didn't do it, you would stop supporting him.

## MOST IMPORTANT TRUMP PROMISES

### TRUMP VOTERS

Appointing conservative Supreme Court Justices who are pro-life and for traditional marriage

33

Fully repealing Obamacare and replacing it

31

Saving Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cutting benefits

26

### GOP BASE

Appointing conservative Supreme Court Justices who are pro-life and for traditional marriage

35

Fully repealing Obamacare and replacing it

29

Putting a temporary hold on foreign Muslims, including Syrian refugees, from entering the U.S.

26

### NON-GOP TRUMP VOTERS

Saving Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cutting benefits

45

Cutting taxes for ordinary Americans

30

Bringing manufacturing jobs back to the United States

30

# Non-GOP Trump voters hope for jobs & infrastructure, but rest unite over immigration, ACA repeal & SCOTUS

*Below are some reasons that people are hopeful about Donald Trump and his presidency. Select the THREE that are your greatest hopes for the Donald Trump presidency.*

## HOPES FOR TRUMP

### TRUMP VOTERS

He will repeal and replace Obamacare **44**

He will get immigration under control and deport those here illegally **42**

He will appoint conservative Supreme Court Justices **41**

### GOP BASE

He will appoint conservative Supreme Court Justices **48**

He will repeal and replace Obamacare **45**

He will get immigration under control and deport those here illegally **43**

### NON-GOP TRUMP VOTERS

He will get immigration under control and deport those here illegally **44**

He will stop companies from moving overseas and bring back good-paying manufacturing jobs. **38**

He will invest in rebuilding our infrastructure which will create new jobs **36**



# Breaking Medicare & Social Security promises top worry, particularly among non-GOP voters

Below are some doubts that people have about Donald Trump and his presidency. Select the THREE that are your greatest doubts

## DOUBTS ABOUT TRUMP

### TRUMP VOTERS

He will break his promise to not touch Medicare and Social Security and will privatize them instead

37

He will pass more trickledown tax breaks for the wealthy and corporations instead of helping the middle class

36

He will cut taxes and increase spending which will increase the national debt

36

He will be too liberal when it comes to abortion and gay marriage

36

### GOP BASE

He will be too liberal when it comes to abortion and gay marriage

36

He will cut taxes and increase spending which will increase the national debt

35

He will pass more trickledown tax breaks for the wealthy and corporations instead of helping the middle class

34

### NON-GOP TRUMP VOTERS

He will break his promise to not touch Medicare and Social Security and will privatize them instead

44

He will use government to benefit his family's businesses and engage in crony capitalism.

40

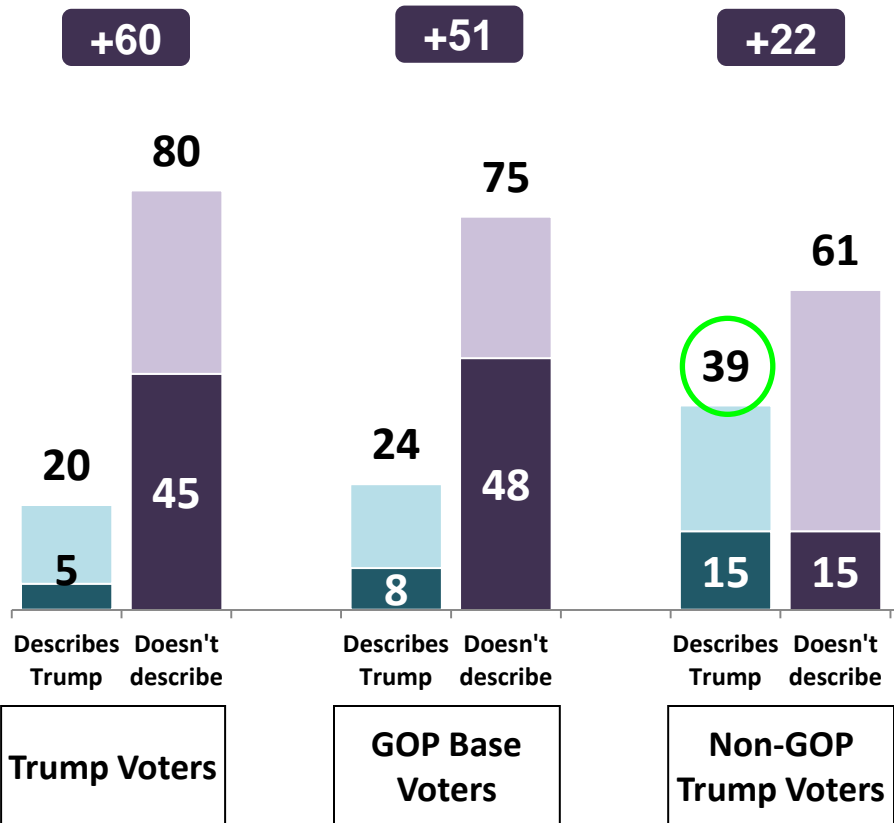
He will pass more trickledown tax breaks for the wealthy and corporations instead of helping the middle class

33

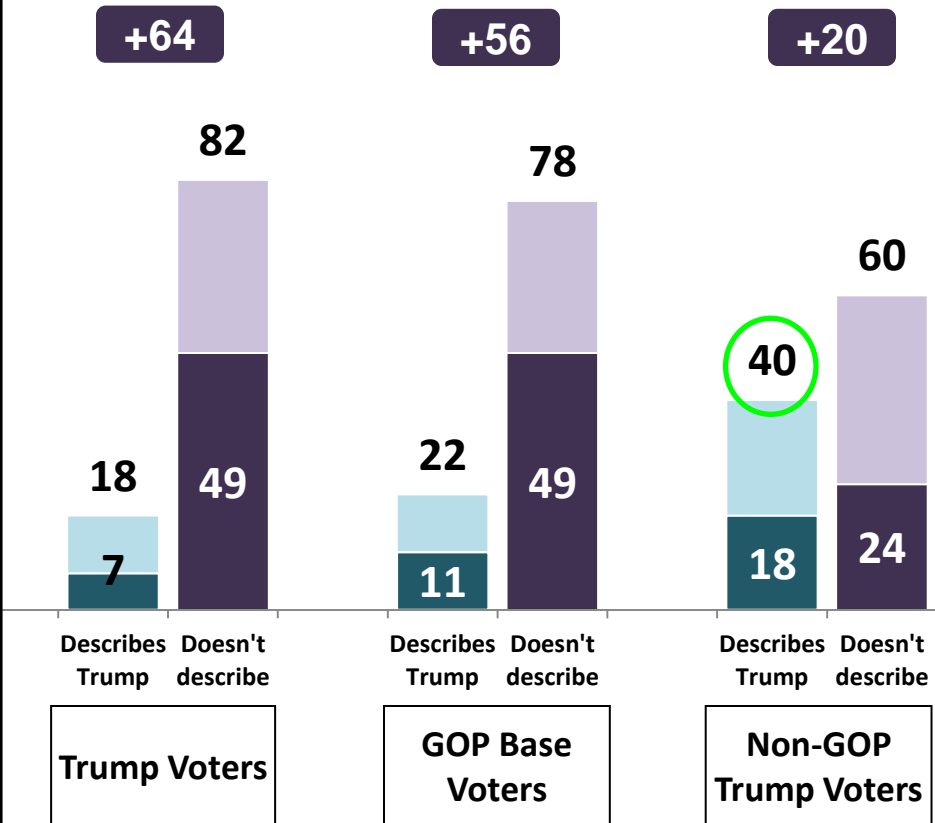
# 40% of non-GOP Trump voters already believe Trump is a self-dealer so getting what expected

For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Donald Trump very well, well, not too well, or not well at all.

## Self-dealing & looking out for himself



## Operates for his own personal interest, not in the national interest



# FAKE NEWS

# Large numbers believe real news stories are false

Below are some statements about the country, the recent election and the Trump transition. Please tell me if you think that it is true or false.

## REAL NEWS

■ Definitely false    ■ Probably false

**PERSONAL FAVORABILITY:** Donald Trump will be the least popular president to ever enter the White House.



**IMMIGRATION FROM MEXICO:** Net migration from Mexico has been zero or less since 2005 and the number of unauthorized Mexican immigrants in the U.S. has declined by more than 1 million since 2007.



**SEXUAL ASSAULT:** Donald Trump has sexually assaulted women in the past.



**APPOINTING ELITE CABINET:** Donald Trump has nominated more politicians, corporate lobbyists and Wall Street billionaires to his cabinet than any president-elect in history.



**BANNON & ALT-RIGHT PAST:** Steve Bannon, Trump's nominee for Chief White House Strategist, is a leader in the white nationalist movement known as the alt right.



**RICH CABINET PICKS:** Donald Trump is assembling the richest administration in modern American history. Many were born wealthy, attended elite schools and amassed larger fortunes as adults.



**GUN LAW RESULTS:** States that have passed laws closing loopholes at gun shows some people use to get around background checks have seen 40 percent fewer cases of fatal domestic violence incidence and 40 percent fewer police killed on duty.



**CLIMATE SCIENCE:** Scientists say that 2016 is on track to be the hottest year in historical record and 98 percent of climate scientists agree that human activity is a significant factor in climate change.



**CLINTON POPULAR VOTE:** Hillary Clinton won the popular vote by 2.5 million votes



**WOMEN DON'T EARN EQUAL PAY:** Women on average make 79 cents for every dollar a man makes.



# New GOP more inclined to believe fake news than real

Below are some statements about the country, the recent election and the Trump transition. For each, please tell me if you think that it is true or false.

## FAKE NEWS

■ Definitely true ■ Probably true

**MEDIA LIED ABOUT POLLS:** The media intentionally misled the public about Donald Trump's poll numbers to hurt his campaign.



**TRUMP LANDSLIDE:** Donald Trump won the Electoral College in an historic landslide.



**CLINTON RECOUNTS:** Hillary Clinton is paying for recounts in key states to undermine Donald Trump's claim to the White House.



**MILLION OF ILLEGAL VOTES:** Millions of undocumented immigrants illegally voted for Hillary Clinton in the recent election.




**NO RUSSIA INTERFERENCE:** Stories that Russia interfered in the U.S. election to help Donald Trump are conspiracy theories promoted by Hillary Clinton.

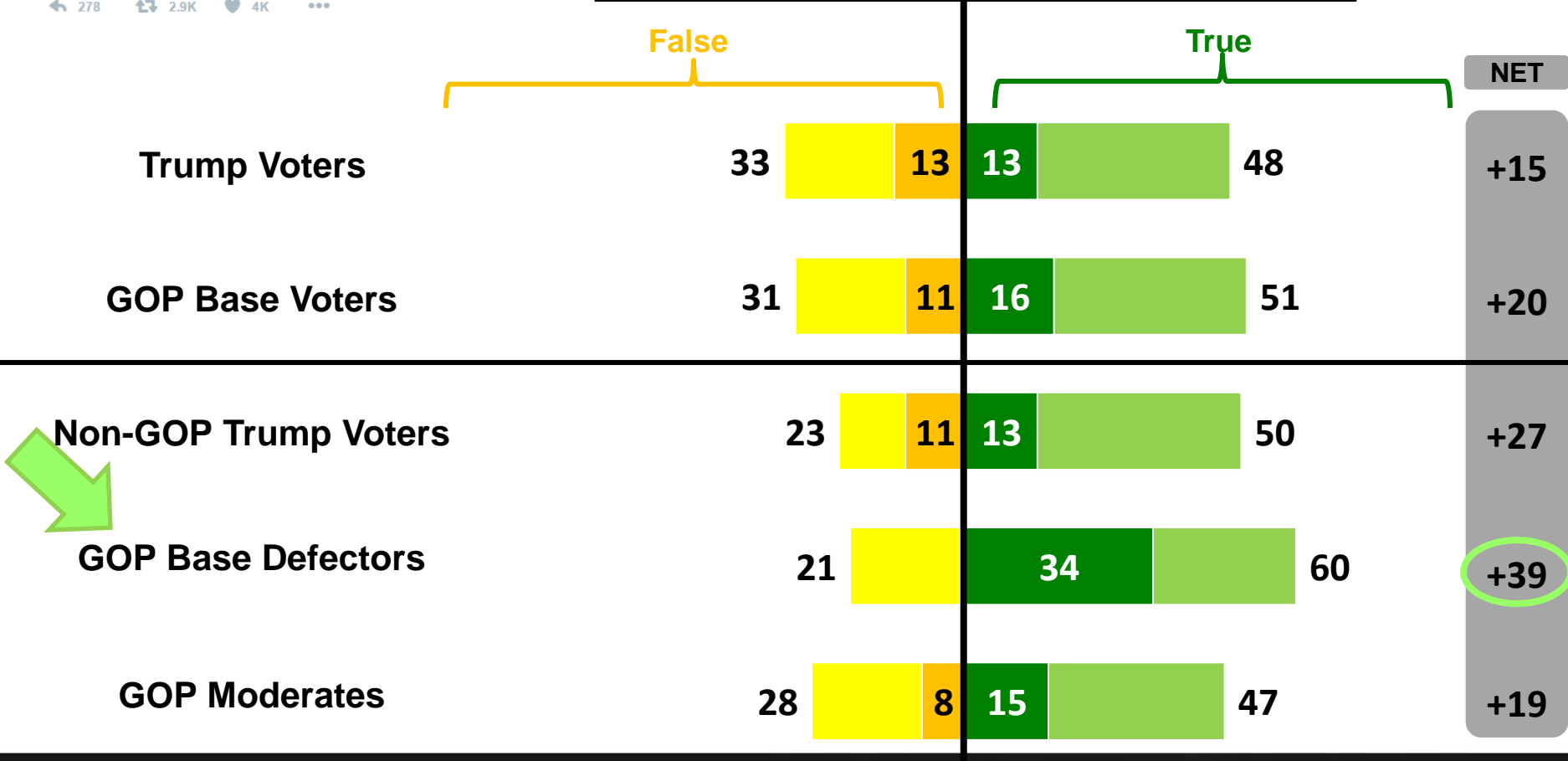


# Just half believe Clinton won popular vote

Below are some statements about the country, the recent election and the Trump transition. Please tell me if you think that it is true or false.

 Dave Wasserman @Redistrict · Nov 30  
 Hillary Clinton's national popular vote lead just surpassed 2.5 million (1.9%):  
[docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/...](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/...)

**Hillary Clinton won the popular vote by 2.5 million votes**



# All but GOP defectors say illegal votes for Clinton

Below are some statements about the country, the recent election and the Trump transition. Please tell me if you think that it is true or false.



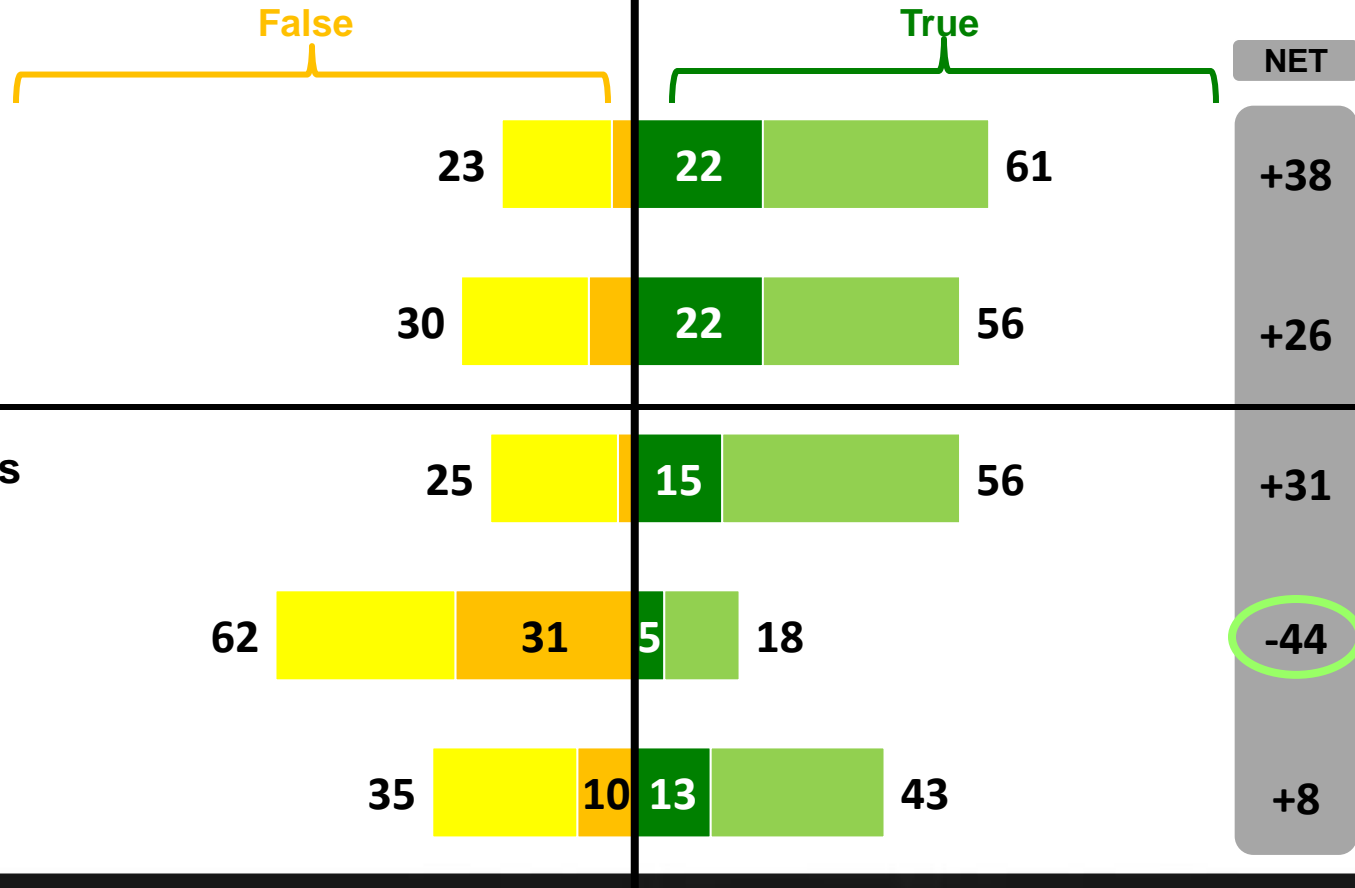
Follow

In addition to winning the Electoral College in a landslide, I won the popular vote if you deduct the millions of people who voted illegally

3:30 PM - 27 Nov 2016

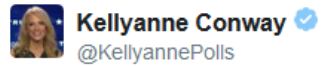
54,094 retweets 163,798 likes

Millions of undocumented immigrants illegally voted for Hillary Clinton in the recent election



# All Trump voters believe Electoral College landslide

Below are some statements about the country, the recent election and the Trump transition. Please tell me if you think that it is true or false.



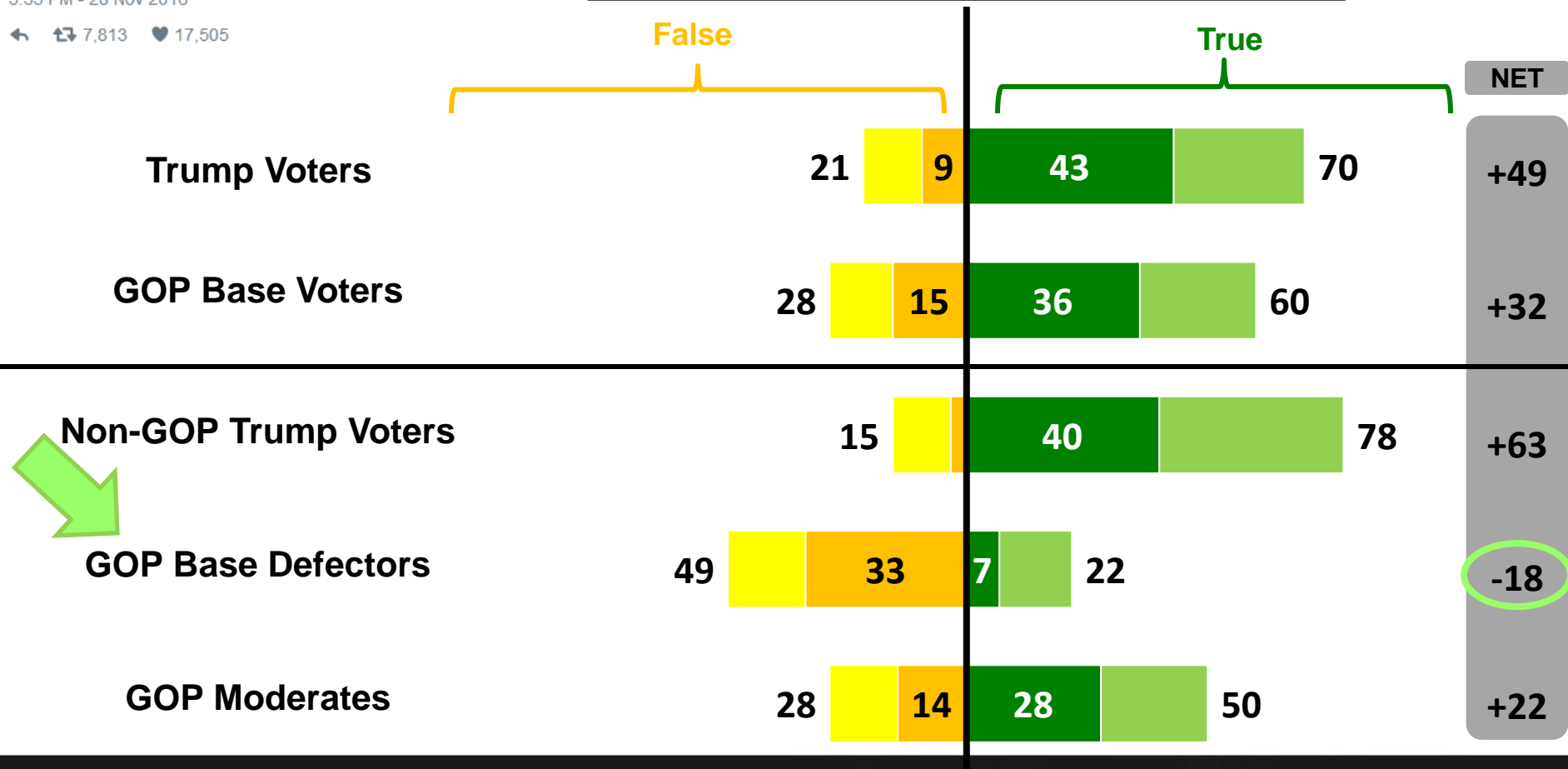
Follow

**Donald Trump won the Electoral College in an historic landslide**

306. Landslide. Blowout. Historic. [twitter.com/cnnpolitics/st...](https://twitter.com/cnnpolitics/status/804111111111111111)

3:35 PM - 28 Nov 2016

7,813 retweets, 17,505 likes

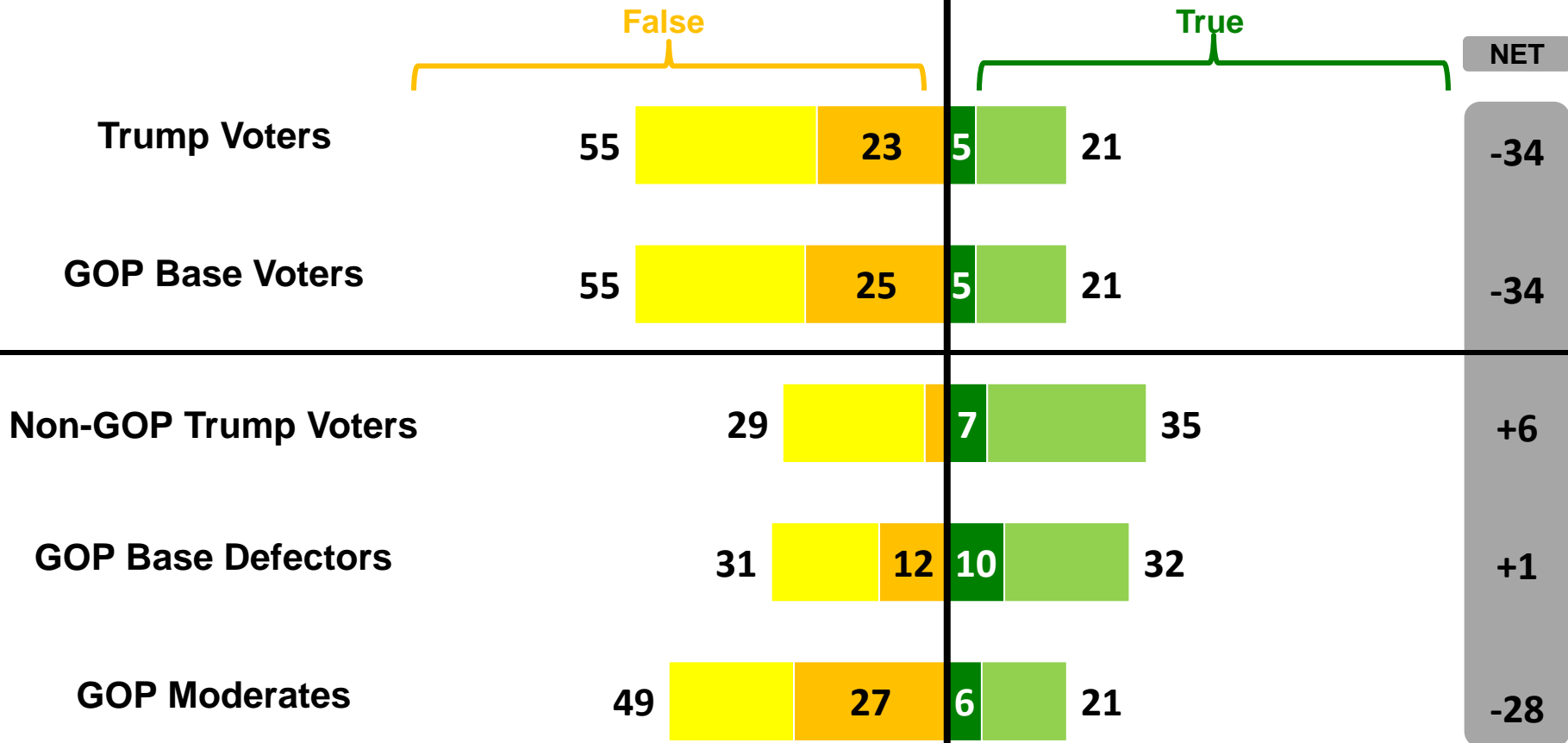




# Most doubt reports about nature of Trump cabinet

Below are some statements about the country, the recent election and the Trump transition. Please tell me if you think that it is true or false.

**Donald Trump has nominated more politicians, corporate lobbyists and Wall Street billionaires to his cabinet than any president-elect in history**



# FIRST ATTACKS

# Must look under the hood to understand power of attacks

*Below are some reasons people say they are worried about Donald Trump. For each one, please tell me whether it raises very serious doubts, somewhat serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your mind about Donald Trump.*

## ATTACKS ON TRUMP

**PROMISES ON TAXES:** Trump said he will cut middle class taxes, but under his huge tax cut plan, half the cuts go to the richest 1 percent alone. Donald Trump's family is expected to get a tax break of 4 billion dollars.

**NOT DRAINING THE SWAMP:** Donald Trump has broken his campaign promise to drain the swamp in DC. His transition team is led by a record number of lobbyists and his cabinet appointments include former politicians, Wall Street bankers, loyal CEOs and billionaire friends who donated to his campaign.

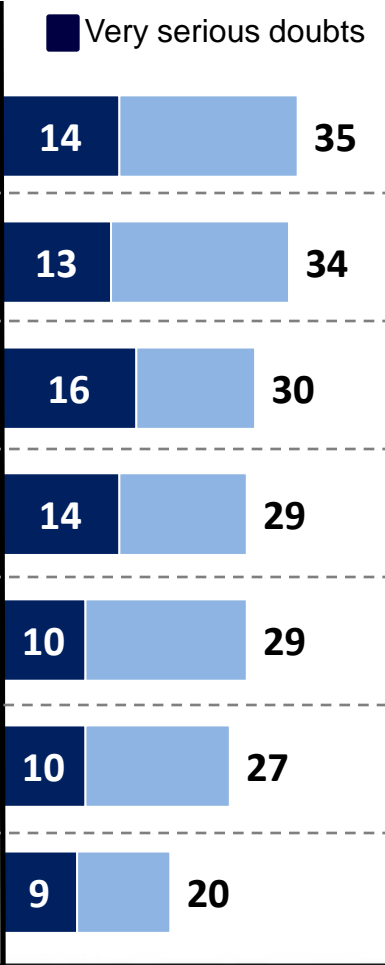
**FAVORS :** Donald Trump has personally talked to foreign leaders since his election and mentioned issues important to Trump's business in the Philippines, Japan and Scotland. Trump is allowing foreign countries to believe they can get better treatment from the US when they enrich Trump personally.

**CONFLICTS OF INTEREST:** Donald Trump has refused to release his income taxes, so we don't know which countries he owes money and which foreign leaders will have leverage over President Trump's foreign and domestic policy.

**MEDICARE & SOCIAL SECURITY:** Donald Trump promised that he would not touch Medicare and Social Security during his campaign, but his top cabinet appointments support Medicare providing future retirees with a voucher to buy private insurance in the market and privatizing Social Security.

**CRONY CARRIER DEAL:** It is good that Trump lobbied for Carrier Air-conditioning Company to stay in the US, but its parent company United Technology is a big defense contractor that is now in a position to demand special treatment and win big government contracts. That is crony capitalism.

**WALL STREET INSIDERS:** Donald Trump attacked Clinton because of her Wall Street ties, but so far, he has appointed a Goldman Sachs executive responsible for the 2007 financial crisis to run the Treasury and a billionaire investor to serve as Secretary of Commerce.

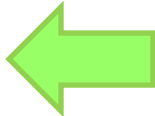
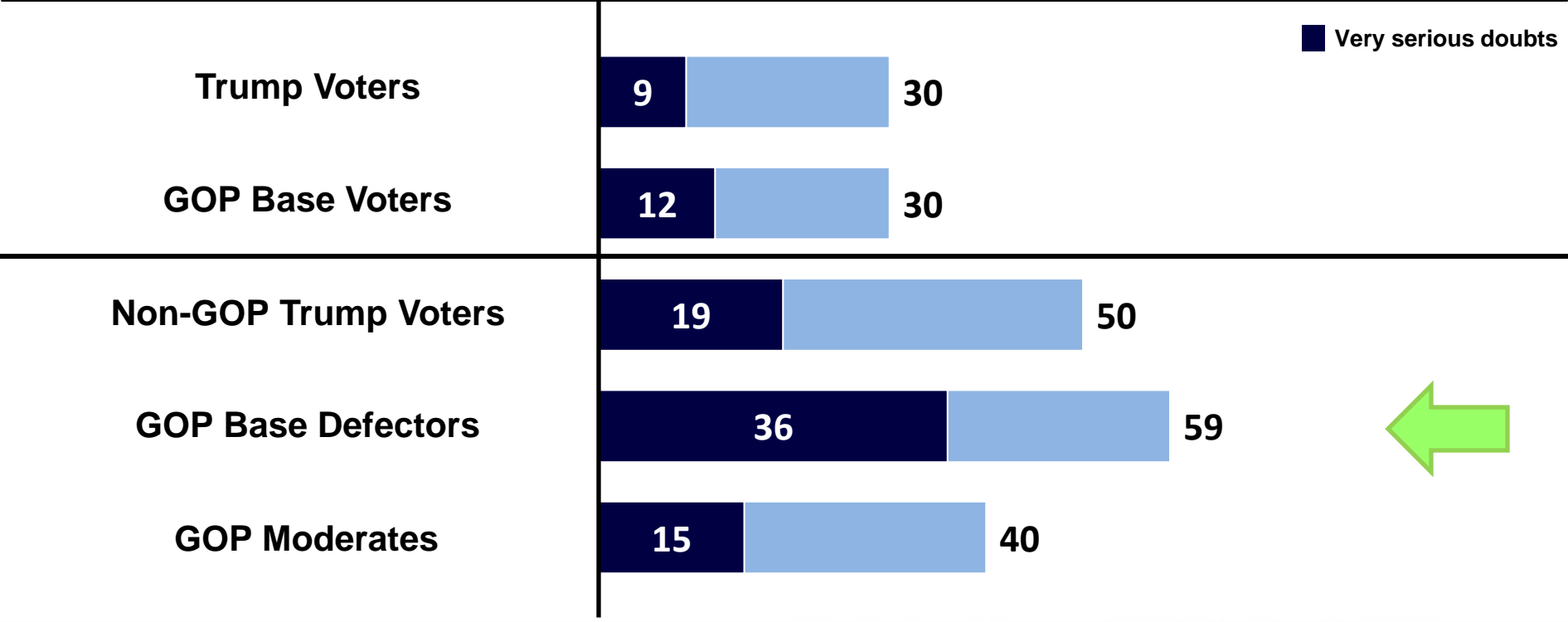


# Not draining swamp worrisome across coalition

Below are some reasons people say they are worried about Donald Trump. For each one, please tell me whether it raises very serious doubts, somewhat serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your mind about Donald Trump.

## ATTACK ON TRUMP

**NOT DRAINING THE SWAMP:** Donald Trump has broken his campaign promise to drain the swamp in DC. His transition team is led by a record number of lobbyists and his cabinet appointments include former politicians, Wall Street bankers, loyal CEOs and billionaire friends who donated to his campaign.



# But majority OK with appointments with Wall Street ties

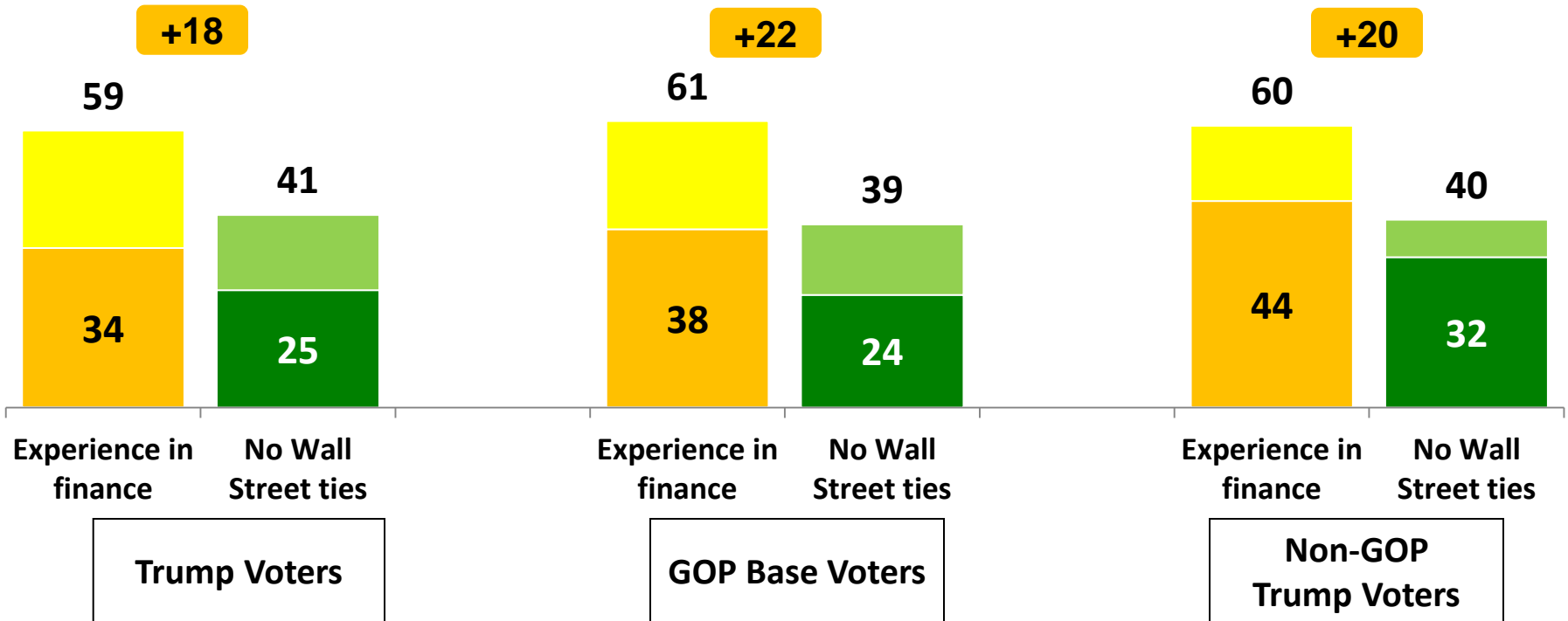
Which one of the following statements comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**It is more important that the next President's economic team have experience working at financial institutions they will regulate.**

**It is more important that the next President's economic team does not have ties to Wall Street and the financial institutions they will regulate**

■ Experience at institutions regulating strongly

■ No ties to institutions regulating strongly

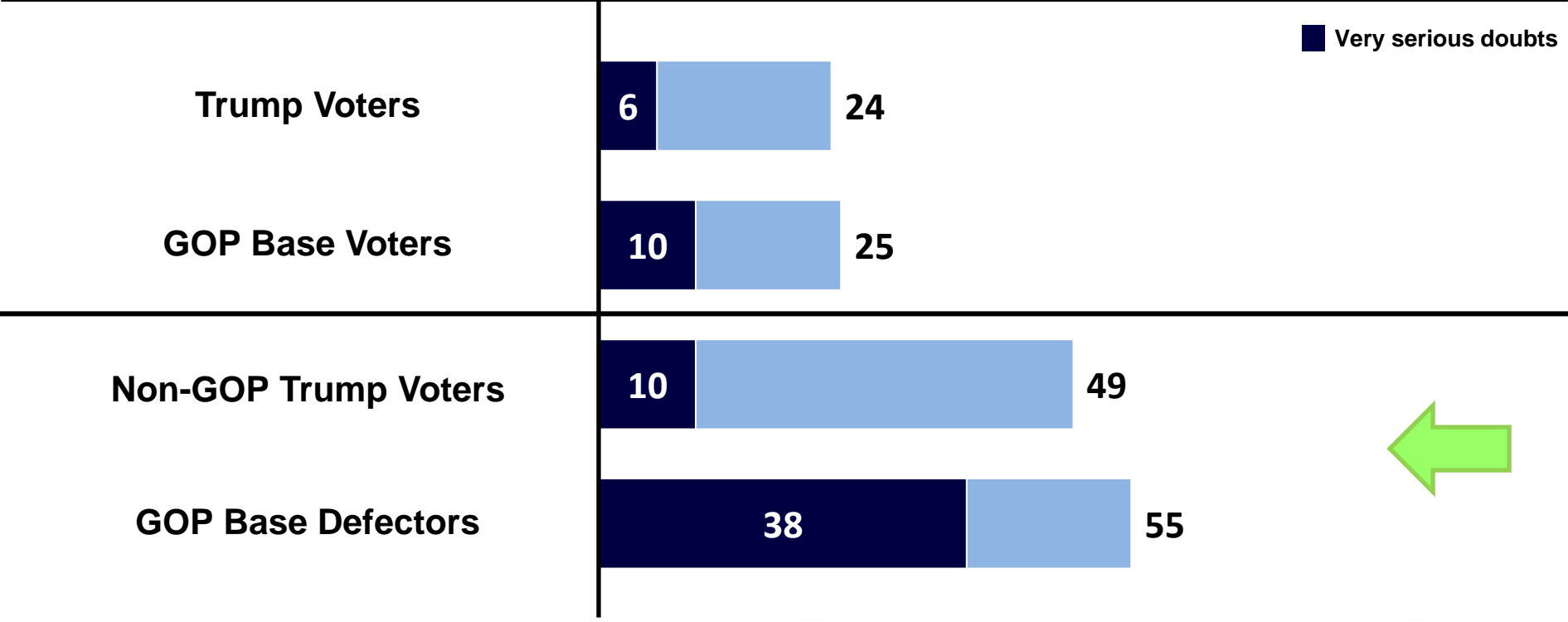


# Medicare/SS attack on Trump appointment is fracturing

Below are some reasons people say they are worried about Donald Trump. For each one, please tell me whether it raises very serious doubts, somewhat serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your mind about Donald Trump.

## ATTACK ON TRUMP

**MEDICARE & SOCIAL SECURITY:** Donald Trump promised that he would not touch Medicare and Social Security during his campaign, but his top cabinet appointments support Medicare providing future retirees with a voucher to buy private insurance in the market and privatizing Social Security

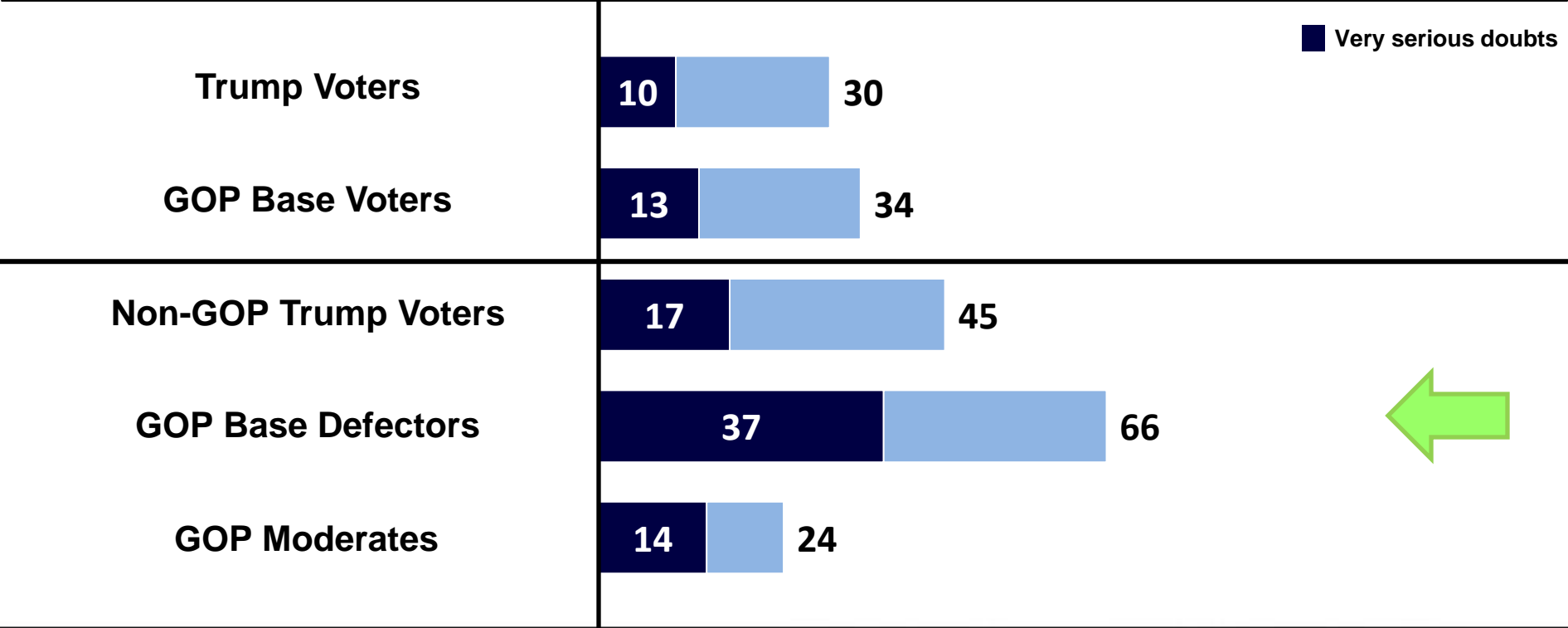


# Big tax cuts for 1 percent and Trump family biggest hit

*Below are some reasons people say they are worried about Donald Trump. For each one, please tell me whether it raises very serious doubts, somewhat serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your mind about Donald Trump.*

## ATTACK ON TRUMP

**TAX CUTS FOR ORDINARY AMERICANS:** Trump said he will cut middle class taxes, but under his huge tax cut plan, half the cuts go to the richest 1 percent alone. Donald Trump's family is expected to get a tax break of 4 billion dollars.



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