Putting the spotlight on the Republican Party

Results of the first national survey of the Republican Party Project

July 23, 2013
Methodology: cell and demographic change

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

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

• 607 Republicans
• 207 Independents who lean towards the Republican Party

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

New this year, we now reach 50 percent of our respondents by cell phone, in order to account for ever-changing demographics and trying to accurately sample the full American electorate.
President Obama and Democrats had a big win in 2012 but allowed the Republicans to get up and set the terms of debate.

The Republican Party is endangered as a national party but it has dug in. In the Civil War, General Meade did not pursue General Lee after Gettysburg, and let the Confederate Army escape -- extending the war two years.

They have successfully convinced pundits that they will pay no price – and can govern from the House and the states.

They have moved dramatically to the right – not the center – in the Congress and in each of the states.

This project will put the spotlight brutally on the Republican Party to force everyone to see the scale of dysfunction, divisions and public resistance to conventional wisdom.

We will help the White House, Democrats, and progressives get back on the offensive.
No illusions about the state of the Republican Party
Only 31 percent identify with Republican Party – well behind Democrats since spring after GOP takeover

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican or what?
Pollster shows Republicans with less than 25 percent and party decline since summer after takeover – and 11-point Democratic advantage

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

- **Barack Obama**
  - Mean: 50.1
  - Net: +5

- **John Boehner**
  - Mean: 42.2
  - Net: -14

- **Democratic Party**
  - Mean: 46.0
  - Net: -7

- **Republican Party**
  - Mean: 42.3
  - Net: -16

- **Democrats in Congress**
  - Mean: 44.4
  - Net: -11

- **Republican Congress**
  - Mean: 40.3
  - Net: -22

Colors represent:
- Very warm (75-100)
- Very cool (0-25)
Brand attributes – barely a national party or relevant

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive attributes</th>
<th>Describes the Rep. Party very well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong views on right and wrong</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shares your values</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open to different kinds of Americans</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has realistic solutions to the country's problems</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open to change</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Negative attributes

- **Always doing what corporate special interests want**
  - Describes the Rep. Party very well: 60
  - Total: 33

- **Out of touch**
  - Describes the Rep. Party very well: 57
  - Total: 32

- **Too extreme in their views**
  - Describes the Rep. Party very well: 56
  - Total: 32

- **Force their moral beliefs onto others**
  - Describes the Rep. Party very well: 53
  - Total: 34

- **Divide the country**
  - Describes the Rep. Party very well: 52
  - Total: 33
Strongest drivers of Republican favorability: realistic solutions, shares values, and out of touch

**Linear regression, r^2 = .48**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable: Republican Party thermometer</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Has realistic solutions to the country's problems</td>
<td>4.701463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Shares your values</td>
<td>4.557893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative: Out of touch</td>
<td>3.35006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative: Always doing what corporate special interests want</td>
<td>2.190378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative: Divide the country</td>
<td>2.079305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Open to change</td>
<td>1.867126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Open to different kinds of Americans</td>
<td>1.020592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama approval</td>
<td>0.8330279</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative: Too extreme in their views</td>
<td>-0.2145878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive: Strong views on right and wrong</td>
<td>-0.3777709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative: Force their moral beliefs on to others</td>
<td>-1.453396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party ID</td>
<td>-4.255018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How partisans view their own parties?
Republican Party problems start with their own party

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

**Republican Party**
- Among Republicans
  - Mean: 62.2
  - Net: +47
  - Very warm (75-100): 63
  - Very cool (0-25): 16
  - Among Democrats
  - Mean: 70.4
  - Net: +68
  - Very warm (75-100): 79
  - Very cool (0-25): 11

**Democratic Party**
- Among Republicans
  - Mean: 20
  - Net: +47
  - Very warm (75-100): 42
  - Very cool (0-25): 4
- Among Democrats
  - Mean: 7
  - Net: +68
  - Very warm (75-100): 16
  - Very cool (0-25): 11
Changing country and state of Republican Party
Republicans in trouble with millennials and baby boomers, but no generational base

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

- **Millennials**
  - Democrat: 40
  - Independent: 39
  - Republican: 21
  - Net: +19

- **Gen X**
  - Democrat: 36
  - Independent: 27
  - Republican: 37
  - Net: +1

- **Baby Boomers**
  - Democrat: 40
  - Independent: 28
  - Republican: 31
  - Net: +9

- **Silent/Greatest**
  - Democrat: 36
  - Independent: 28
  - Republican: 35
  - Net: +1
Republicans holding on in rural and small town world

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large metro</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>+33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburban</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>+16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small metro</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>+5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>+16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fringe</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>+25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26% of Democrats hold on in rural and small town world compared to 15% in suburban areas and 27% in small metro areas. Republicans are more prominent in rural and fringe areas, with 42% and 48% respectively, compared to 26% and 23% in suburban and large metro areas. Independents are consistently lower across all regions.
And holding onto the married electorate

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

- **Married**
  - Democrat: 57%
  - Independent: 27%
  - Republican: 20%
  - Change: +6

- **Unmarried**
  - Democrat: 42%
  - Independent: 34%
  - Republican: 20%
  - Change: +25

- **Married men**
  - Democrat: 28%
  - Independent: 33%
  - Republican: 38%
  - Change: +9

- **Unmarried men**
  - Democrat: 19%
  - Independent: 44%
  - Republican: 20%
  - Change: +15

- **Married women**
  - Democrat: 29%
  - Independent: 22%
  - Republican: 41%
  - Change: +5

- **Unmarried women**
  - Democrat: 53%
  - Independent: 26%
  - Republican: 20%
  - Change: +33
The main segments of the Republican Party
The “types” of voters who identify with the Republican Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Independents</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evangelicals</td>
<td>Independent-lean Republicans</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Christians</td>
<td>Self-identify as independent but lean towards the Republican Party</td>
<td>Self-identify as a Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The observant</td>
<td>Independents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Evangelical; attend church at least weekly; including observant Catholics</td>
<td>Self-identify as independent but do not lean towards either party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea Party</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identify as strong Tea Party supporters or very favorable to (75+ degrees).</td>
<td>Independent-lean Democrats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-identify as moderate, not conservative ideologically</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unallocated</td>
<td>Other – 6% of Republicans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Who are they? Composition of key groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Under 50</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Weekly+</th>
<th>Strong Rep</th>
<th>Voted</th>
<th>Mostly</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>mostly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observant</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>mostly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea Party</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>mostly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>mostly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>mostly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>mostly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>mostly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
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<td>Observant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tea Party</td>
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<td>Moderate</td>
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<td>Independent</td>
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<td>Independent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>mostly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The key segments:
- Evangelical
- Observant
- Tea Party
- Moderate
- Independent
- Independent
- Independent
- Democrat

30
17
22
25
10
11
9
38
Near 90 percent, Obama hatred defines leading Republican bloc that isolates party

Percent who strongly disapprove of President Obama

- Republicans: 85% (Evangelical 30%: 61, Observant 17%: 54, Tea Party 22%: 93)
- Democrats: 11% (Independent – lean Dem: 7)
For Tea Party and Evangelicals it is personal, and isolates and divides

**Percent strongly unfavorable to Barack Obama**

- **Republicans**
  - Evangelical: 30%
  - Observant: 17%
  - Tea Party: 22%
  - Moderate: 25%

- **Independents**
  - Independent – lean Rep: 44% (increase by 57)
  - Independent: 56% (increase by +57)

- **Democrats**
  - Independent – lean Dem: 32%
  - Democrat: 16% (increase by 45)
  - Observant: 17%
  - Tea Party: 22%
  - Moderate: 25%
  - Evangelical: 30%
Hatred of health care reform is what gives all segments purpose

Percent strongly unfavorable towards health care reform

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Evangelical 30%
Observant 17%
Tea Party 22%
Moderate 25%
Independent – lean Rep 78%
Independent 46%
Independent – lean Dem 15%
Democrat 7%
Gay marriage intensely opposed and most isolating and divisive

Percent strongly unfavorable towards gay marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Category</th>
<th>Percent Strongly Opposed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observant</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea Party</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent – lean Rep</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent – lean Dem</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Biggest gap on discouraging homosexuality

Percent agree “Homosexuality should be discouraged by society.”

- **Republicans**
  - Evangelical: 75%
  - Observant: 50%
  - Tea Party: 44%
  - Moderate: 31%

- **Independents**
  - Independent +51
  - Independent – lean Rep
  - Independent – lean Dem
  - Independent

- **Democrats**
  - Democrat: 16%
Opposition to abortion internally divisive and isolating

Percent strongly favorable towards pro-life groups

- **Republicans**
  - Evangelical: 30%
  - Observant: 17%
  - Tea Party: 22%
  - Moderate: 25%

- **Independents**
  - Independent: 31%
  - Independent – lean Rep: 24%
  - Independent – lean Dem: 17%

- **Democrats**
  - Democrat: 13%

Note: The numbers indicate the percentage of individuals who are strongly favorable towards pro-life groups within each group.
Dealing with global warming has become embedded in same structure

Percent strongly unfavorable towards measures to prevent global warming

- Republicans
  - Evangelical: 30%
  - Observant: 17%
  - Tea Party: 22%
  - Moderate: 25%
- Independents
  - Independent: 26%
  - Independent - lean Rep: +39
  - Independent - lean Dem: 10
- Democrats
  - Democrat: 8

Evangelical 30%
Observant 17%
Tea Party 22%
Moderate 25%
Independent 26%
Independent - lean Rep +39
Independent - lean Dem 10
Democrat 8
That humans cause global warming now part of ideological firmament

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

Republican:
- Evangelical 30%
- Observant 17%
- Tea Party 22%
- Moderate 25%

Independent:
- Independent – lean Rep +39
- Independent +50
- Independent – lean Dem 73

Democrat:
- Democrat 95
N.R.A. defining and divisive

Percent strongly favorable towards the N.R.A.

Republicans

- Evangelical: 30%
- Observant: 17%
- Tea Party: 22%
- Moderate: 25%

Ind有利

- Independent: 38%
- Independent – lean Rep: 34%

Democrats

- Independent – lean Dem: 10%
- Democrat: 15%
Smaller differences on regulation

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

- **Republicans**
  - Evangelical: 30%
  - Observant: 17%
  - Tea Party: 22%
  - Moderate: 25%

- **Independents**
  - Independent: 36%

- **Democrats**
  - Independent (lean Dem): 16%
  - Democrat: 16%

In the graph, the percentage of people who strongly agree that government regulation of business usually does more harm than good is shown for different political groups. The data is presented as a bar graph with the percentage of people who strongly agree highlighted for each category.
And on government being wasteful

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

- **Republicans**
  - Evangelical: 89%
  - Observant: 71%
  - Tea Party: 93%
  - Moderate: 73%

- **Independents**
  - Independent: 88%
  - Independent – lean Rep: +20%

- **Democrats**
  - Independent – lean Dem: 55%
  - Democrat: 44%
Republicans united in opposition to helping vulnerable – and big contrast with Democrats

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

- Republicans
  - Evangelical: 30%
  - Observant: 17%
  - Tea Party: 22%
  - Moderate: 25%
  - Independent – lean Rep: 40%

- Independents
  - Independent: 49%

- Democrats
  - Independent – lean Dem: 77%
  - Democrat: 76%
Labor unions not as central to party’s definition

Percent strongly unfavorable towards labor unions

- **Republicans**
  - Evangelical: 54%
  - Observant: 40%
  - Tea Party: 60%
  - Moderate: 33%

- **Independents**
  - Independent: 45%
  - Independent – lean Rep: 27%
  - Independent – lean Dem: 28%

- **Democrats**
  - Democrat: 8%
  - Independent: 6%

Evangelical 30%
Observant 17%
Tea Party 22%
Moderate 25%
Independent – lean Rep +27
Independent – lean Dem +32
Democrat

31
Republican base getting ready for Hillary Clinton – and very isolated

Percent strongly unfavorable towards Hillary Clinton

- Republicans:
  - Evangelical: 66%
  - Observant: 46%
  - Tea Party: 75%
  - Moderate: 34%

- Independents:
  - Independent – lean Rep: 34%
  - Independent: 62%
  - Independent – lean Dem: 22%

- Democrats:
  - Democrat: 10%
  - Independent: 5%
Starting point for Republican presidential candidates

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

- Republicans
  - Palin: 31%
  - Christie: 23%
  - Paul: 52%
  - Bush: 17%

- Independents
  - Independent – lean Rep: 20%
  - Independent – lean Dem: 6%

- Democrats
  - Democrat: 3%
Evangelicals and Tea Party dominate Republican-controlled states

- **GOP-controlled states**: 62%
  - Evangelicals: 33%
  - Observant: 17%
  - Tea Party: 22%
  - Moderate: 25%

- **Appalachia**: 22%
  - Evangelicals: 37%
  - Observant: 16%
  - Tea Party: 15%
  - Moderate: 23%

- **White Deep South**: 30%
  - Evangelicals: 35%
  - Observant: 11%
  - Tea Party: 22%
  - Moderate: 25%
But Republican-controlled states evenly divided in preference – a formula for overreach

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

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

- Democrat
- Independent
- Republican

- Mostly for Dems
- Mostly for Reps
- Split

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly for Dems</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly for Reps</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Split</td>
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The moderates
Significant number of moderates and leaners describe the GOP as “out of touch”

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

- Evangelical: 30%
- Observant: 34%
- Tea Party: 25%
- Moderate: 25%
- Independent – lean Rep: 40%
- Independent: 60%
- Independent – lean Dem: 75%
- Democrat: 76%
4 in 10 moderates see their own party as “too extreme”

Percent saying “too extreme” describes the Republican Party well

- Evangelical: 30%
- Observant: 17%
- Tea Party: 22%
- Moderate: 25%
- Independent – lean Rep: 29%

- Democrats: 84%
- Independent – lean Dem: 74%
- Independent: 52%
And dividing the country

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

- Evangelical: 30%
- Observant: 17%
- Tea Party: 22%
- Moderate: 25%
- Independent - lean Rep: 39%
- Independent: 53%
- Independent - lean Dem: 70%
- Democrat: 75%
Some consensus that the party has real solutions – but nobody else and matters

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

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<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>76%</td>
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<td>Independents</td>
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