



# America's Eight Political Tribes

Political Representativeness  
Survey Conducted with Baron  
Public Affairs

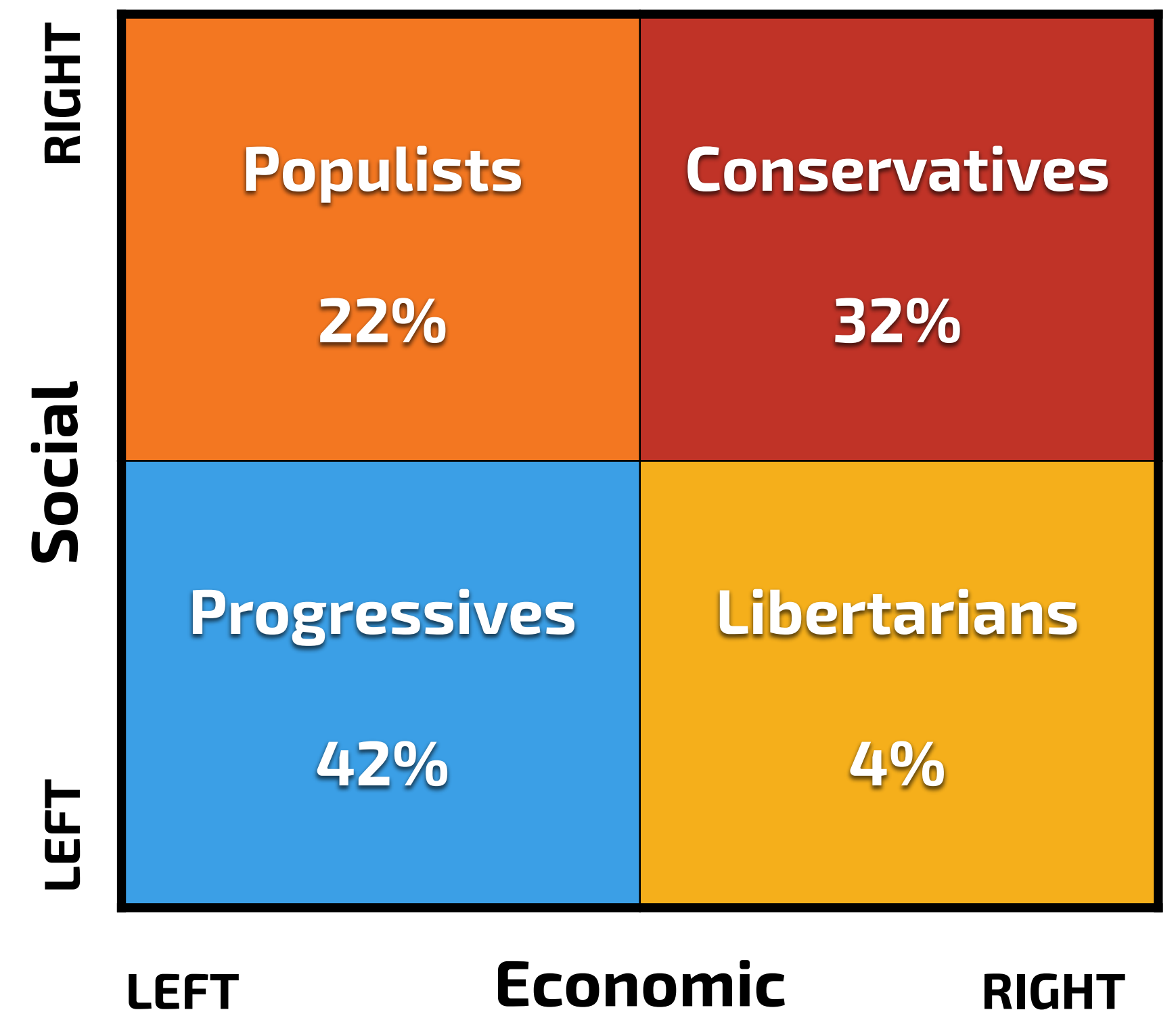
N=1,500 likely voters nationally with oversample to  
achieve N=1,200 likely Republican voters

May 7 - 13, 2024



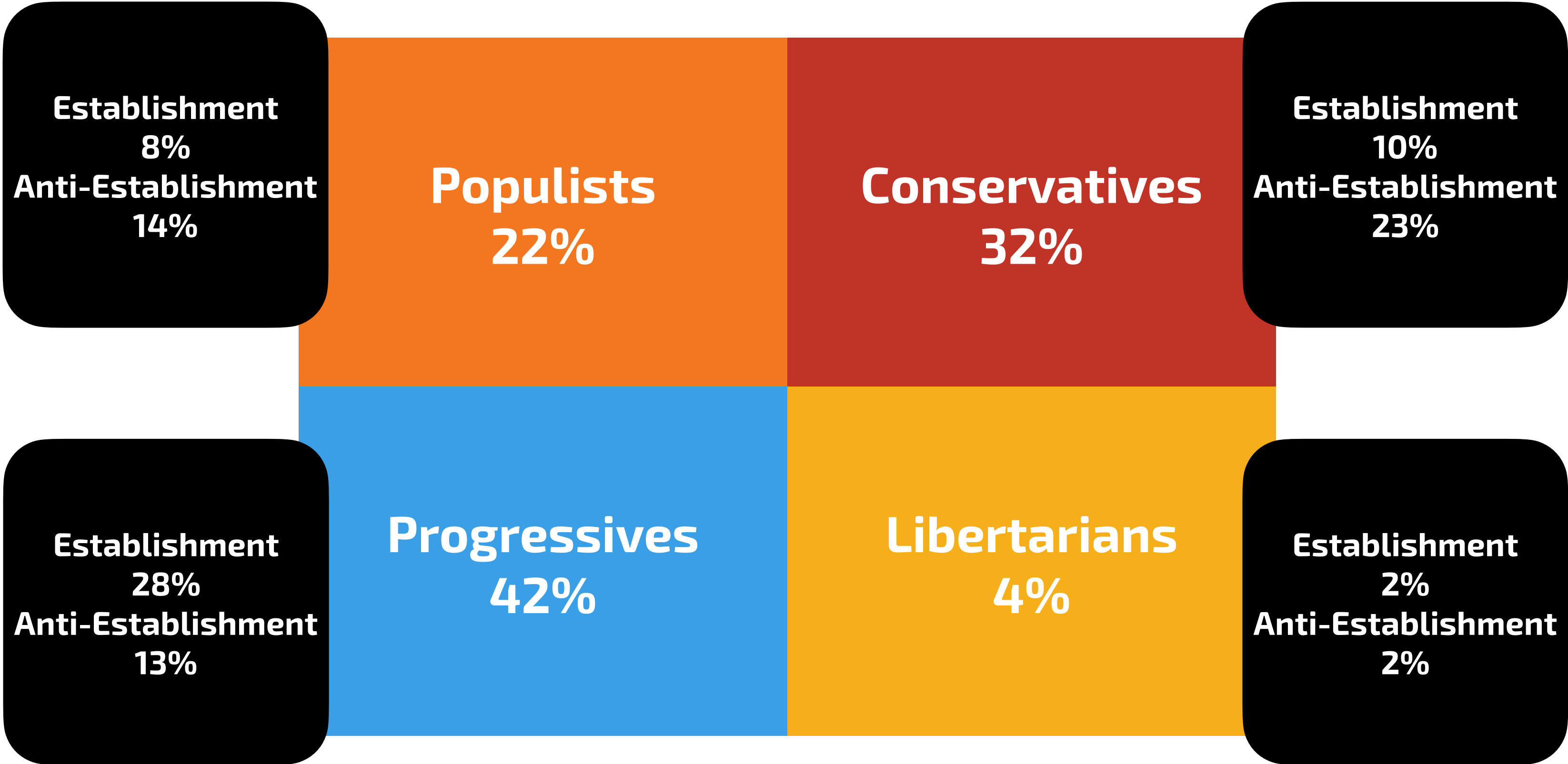
# Grouping Voters in Three Dimensions

- Political ideology can be visualized through quadrants — with economic issues on one axis and social/cultural issues on another.
- But there's an increasingly important third dimension: **trust in institutions**.
- **This new pro- vs. anti-establishment dimension** creates meaningful divides in both political parties.



# Electorate evenly split pro- and anti-establishment, with conservative voters the most strongly anti-establishment

Voters were then further grouped into eight based on how they answered the 10 cultural, 10 economic, and 6 establishment questions in the survey.



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# The Social Axis: Right wins 6 of 10 debates

Voters were asked if they agreed more with the more progressive or more conservative stance on a variety of social issues.

Progressive/Libertarian	Voters		Voters	Conservative/Populist
America is not the greatest country in the world	30%	↔	65%	America is the greatest country in the world
We need to reallocate funding from police departments to social services	31%	↔	62%	We need to fully fund the budget for police departments
The wellbeing and fair treatment of migrants, asylum-seekers, and refugees is more important than strictly enforcing immigration and border control policies	32%	↔	62%	Border security and immigration laws must be enforced before we allow in any refugees from other countries
Racism is built into our society, including into its policies and institutions	39%	↔	55%	Racism comes from individuals who hold racist views, not from our society and institutions
Societal acceptance of and legal rights for LGBT people haven't gone far enough	43%	↔	47%	Societal acceptance of and legal rights for LGBT people have gone too far
We should provide a pathway to citizenship for illegal immigrants and make legal immigration easier	46%	↔	49%	The government should seek to reduce both legal and illegal immigration
Adults should be able to legally change their gender to match their self-identification	46%	↔	44%	Adults should not be able to legally change their gender to match their self-identification
It is more important to control gun ownership	51%	↔	45%	It is more important to protect the right of Americans to own guns
Abortion should be legal in all or most circumstances	60%	↔	36%	Abortion should be illegal in all or most circumstances
There are still significant obstacles that make it harder for women to get ahead than men	60%	↔	35%	The obstacles that once made it harder for women than men to get ahead are now gone

Q. For each of the following please indicate whether you agree more with Option 1 or Option 2.

Note: Not showing "Unsure."

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# The Economic Axis: Left wins 9 of 10 debates

Voters were asked if they agreed more with the more progressive or more conservative stance on a variety of economic issues.

Progressive/Populist	Voters		Voters	Conservative/Libertarian
Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people	43%	↔	54%	Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard
I would rather have a bigger govt. providing more services	47%	↔	41%	I would rather have a smaller govt. providing fewer services
Govt. regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest	50%	↔	40%	Govt. regulation of business usually does more harm than good
The federal minimum wage should be increased to \$20 an hour	53%	↔	42%	The federal minimum wage should not be increased to \$20 an hour
Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost	52%	↔	40%	Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy
Strikes are a vital tool for workers to negotiate fair wages and benefits, ultimately leading to a more equitable economy	58%	↔	35%	Strikes disrupt the economic stability, which can lead to higher consumer prices and layoffs, negatively affecting the economy
It is the responsibility of the federal govt. to see to it that everyone has health care coverage	60%	↔	35%	It is not the responsibility of the federal govt. to see to it that everyone has health care coverage
The level of inequality in the U.S. is mostly the result of an economy rigged in favor of the wealthy	59%	↔	34%	The level of inequality in the U.S. is mostly the result of some people getting ahead based on hard work and talent
We should raise taxes on people making more than \$450,000 a year	69%	↔	23%	We should not raise taxes on people making more than \$450,000 a year
No matter what, cuts to Social Security and Medicare should not be considered when balancing the federal budget	77%	↔	18%	When balancing the federal budget, cuts to any and all programs should be considered

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# The Establishment Axis: Voters evenly split

Voters were asked if they agreed more with the more pro or anti establishment stance on a variety of issues.

Anti-Establishment	Voters		Voters	Pro-Establishment
I put my faith in the wisdom of ordinary people rather than experts and intellectuals	35%	↔	56%	I trust experts and research to guide my opinion on things
Free trade agreements have generally hurt the United States	26%	↔	48%	Free trade agreements have generally helped the United States
NATO is a relic of the Cold War. European countries should pay for their own defense rather than relying on American taxpayers	38%	↔	50%	NATO is vital to America's national security interests and helps contain a hostile and aggressive Russia
America has gotten too involved in the business of other countries. We should focus more on taking care of our own country before we worry about the rest of the world	51%	↔	44%	America should stay engaged with the rest of the world. We benefit from trade with other countries and an active foreign policy
The government should not require individuals to get vaccinated for pandemic diseases	54%	↔	40%	The government should require individuals to get vaccinated for pandemic diseases
Most politicians are corrupt or just looking out for their own interests	64%	↔	31%	Most politicians are honorable public servants trying to do the right thing for the country.

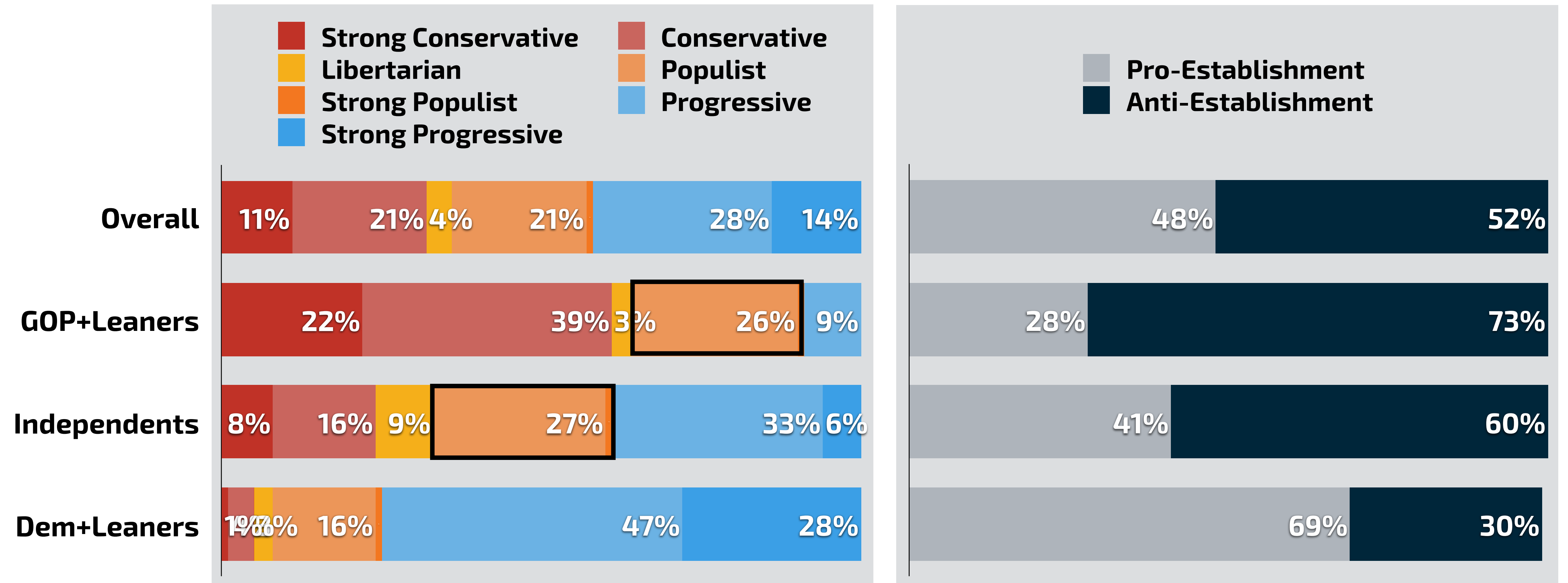
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# Majorities of voters lean anti-establishment; over a quarter of GOP+Leaners and Independents are populists



# Clustering Voters into Political Tribes

# What We Did

- Analyzing voters based on two or even three dimensions doesn't fully capture the distinctive ideological worldviews we see in the electorate.
- Using the 26 questions along the social, economic, and establishment axes, we ran a cluster analysis to see which attitudes are held in tandem, with each cluster representing a distinctive belief system.
- From this analysis emerged **eight distinct political factions, each with its own belief system.**



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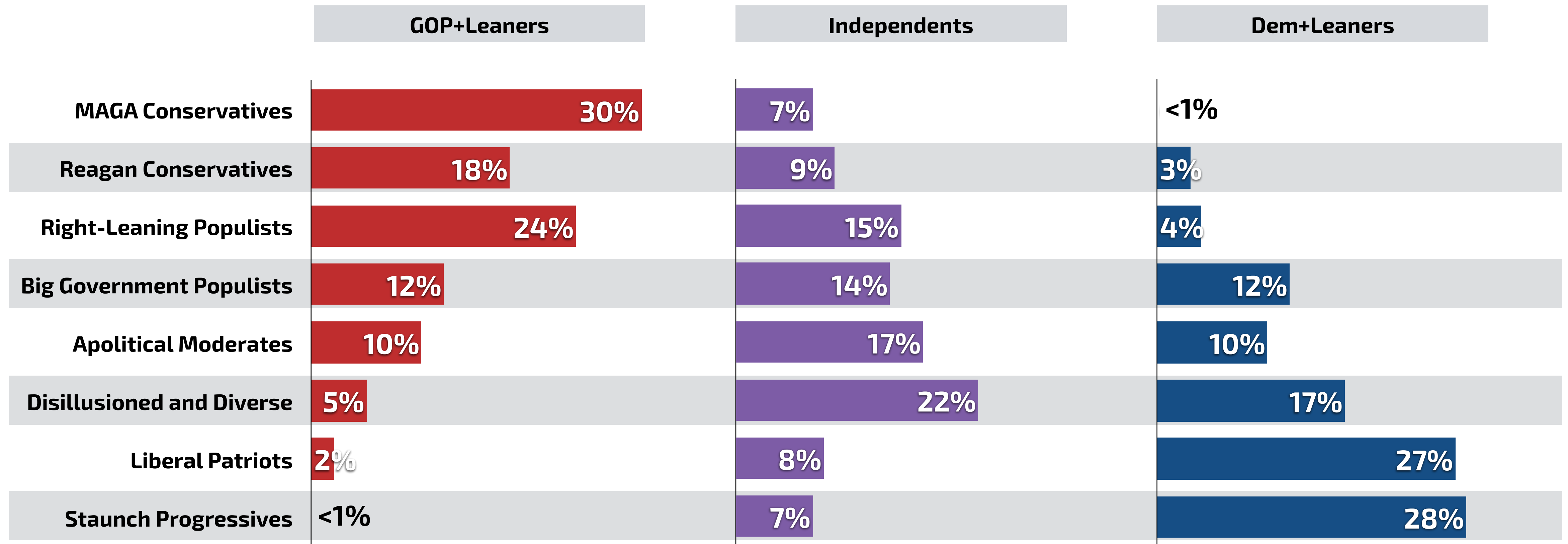
# Voter Clusters and Descriptions

14%	<b>MAGA Conservatives</b>	Staunch conservatives across the social and economic spectrum who also take consistently anti-establishment positions
10%	<b>Reagan Conservatives</b>	Social and economic conservatives who trust institutions, favor an interventionist foreign policy, and are open to entitlement program cuts
14%	<b>Right-Leaning Populists</b>	Disaffected culturally conservative voters who think the economy is rigged in favor of the wealthy, are pro-gun, and see a role for the government in the economy.
12%	<b>Big Government Populists</b>	Supports strong government action on all fronts—from controlling immigration to economic regulation to vaccine mandates.
10%	<b>Apolitical Moderates</b>	Relatively disengaged, express more uncertainty across issues
12%	<b>Disillusioned and Diverse</b>	A younger left-leaning group that expresses strong skepticism towards institutions
14%	<b>Liberal Patriots</b>	Older liberals who believe America is the best country in the world, don't believe America is racist, oppose defunding the police, and support an active foreign policy
13%	<b>Staunch Progressives</b>	The most consistently left-leaning on social and economic issues, critical of what they perceive to be the failures of American democracy and society.



Note: Percents reflect the portion of the overall electorate.  
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# MAGA+Populists far outnumber Reagan Conservatives among Republicans, Democrats evenly split between Staunch Progressives and Liberal Patriots



Note: Percents reflect the pure independents separate from the two major parties and those independents who lean one way or another.

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# Demographics, By Cluster

	Overall	MAGA Conservatives	Reagan Conservatives	Right-Leaning Populists	Big Government Populists
<b>Gender</b>	46% male <b>53% female</b>	<b>59% male</b> 41% female	<b>64% male</b> 36% female	41% male <b>59% female</b>	46% male <b>54% female</b>
<b>Age</b>	44% under 50 <b>56% 50+</b>	20% under 50 <b>80% 50+</b>	33% under 50 <b>66% 50+</b>	47% under 50 <b>53% 50+</b>	41% under 50 <b>59% 50+</b>
<b>Race</b>	<b>77% White</b> 12% Black 11% Hispanic/Latino	<b>89% White</b> 2% Black 8% Hispanic/Latino	<b>83% White</b> 6% Black 5% Hispanic/Latino	<b>87% White</b> 8% Black 9% Hispanic/Latino	<b>71% White</b> 15% Black 13% Hispanic/Latino
<b>Income</b>	38% <\$50k/yr <b>61% &gt;\$50k/yr</b>	30% <\$50k/yr <b>70% &gt;\$50k/yr</b>	35% <\$50k/yr <b>64% &gt;\$50k/yr</b>	47% <\$50k/yr <b>50% &gt;\$50k/yr</b>	47% <\$50k/yr <b>52% &gt;\$50k/yr</b>
<b>Urbanicity</b>	25% City <b>48% Suburb</b> 27% Small town/rural	11% City <b>49% Suburb</b> 39% Small town/rural	20% City <b>49% Suburb</b> 32% Small town/rural	20% City <b>41% Suburb</b> 39% Small town/rural	28% City <b>50% Suburb</b> 22% Small town/rural
<b>Education</b>	<b>60% Non-College</b> 40% College	<b>59% Non-College</b> 42% College	<b>54% Non-College</b> 46% College	<b>75% Non-College</b> 25% College	<b>68% Non-College</b> 33% College
<b>Party ID</b>	<b>38% Republican</b> 39% Democrat 24% Ind/Other/Unsure	<b>79% Republican</b> <1% Democrat 21% Ind/Other/Unsure	<b>70% Republican</b> 11% Democrat 19% Ind/Other/Unsure	<b>65% Republican</b> 10% Democrat 25% Ind/Other/Unsure	40% Republican <b>42% Democrat</b> 19% Ind/Other/Unsure



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# Demographics, By Cluster

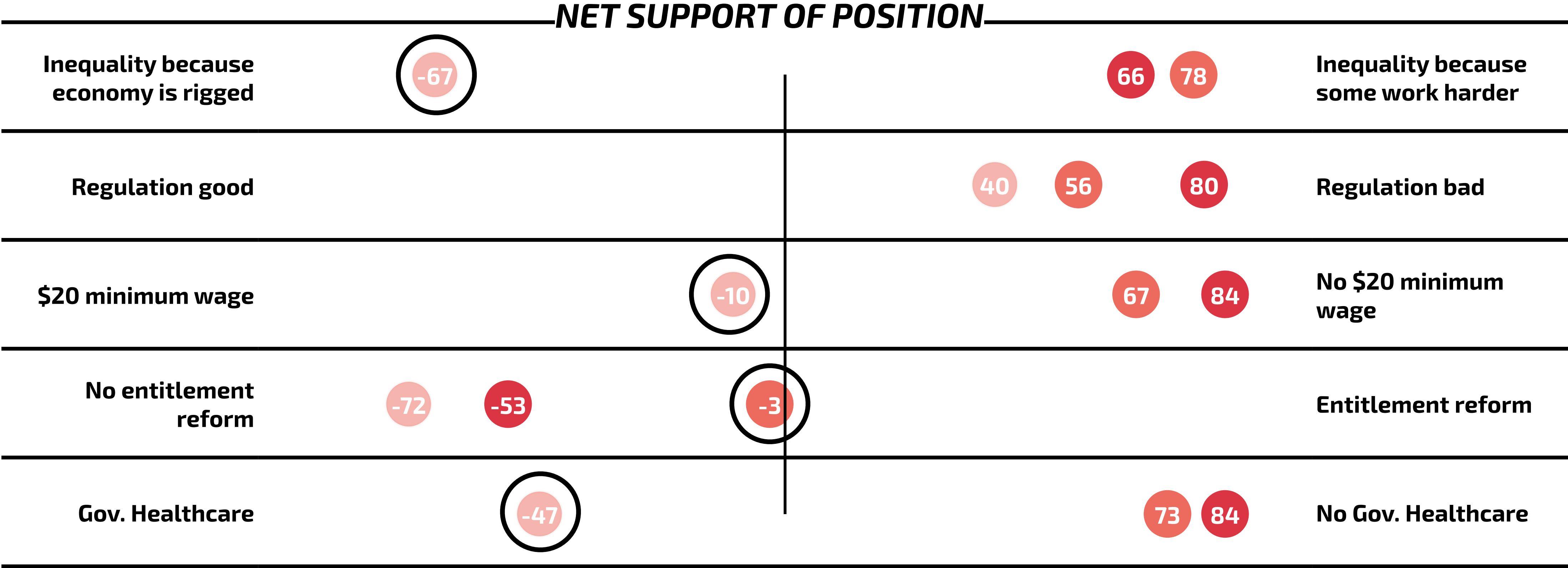
	Overall	Apolitical Moderates	Disillusioned and Diverse	Liberal Patriots	Staunch Progressives
<b>Gender</b>	46% male <b>53% female</b>	49% male <b>51% female</b>	37% male <b>63% female</b>	41% male <b>59% female</b>	39% male <b>59% female</b>
<b>Age</b>	44% under 50 <b>56% 50+</b>	<b>58% under 50</b> 42% 50+	<b>77% under 50</b> 23% 50+	28% under 50 <b>71% 50+</b>	54% under 50 <b>46% 50+</b>
<b>Race</b>	<b>77% White</b> 12% Black 11% Hispanic/Latino	<b>69% White</b> 17% Black 16% Hispanic/Latino	<b>54% White</b> 30% Black 19% Hispanic/Latino	<b>79% White</b> 11% Black 9% Hispanic/Latino	<b>79% White</b> 10% Black 9% Hispanic/Latino
<b>Income</b>	38% <\$50k/yr <b>61% &gt;\$50k/yr</b>	44% <\$50k/yr <b>56% &gt;\$50k/yr</b>	40% <\$50k/yr <b>59% &gt;\$50k/yr</b>	30% <\$50k/yr <b>69% &gt;\$50k/yr</b>	33% <\$50k/yr <b>66% &gt;\$50k/yr</b>
<b>Urbanicity</b>	25% City <b>48% Suburb</b> 27% Small town/rural	32% City <b>40% Suburb</b> 28% Small town/rural	40% City <b>45% Suburb</b> 15% Small town/rural	30% City <b>48% Suburb</b> 22% Small town/rural	26% City <b>57% Suburb</b> 17% Small town/rural
<b>Education</b>	<b>60% Non-College</b> 40% College	<b>64% Non-College</b> 36% College	<b>69% Non-College</b> 30% College	47% Non-College <b>53% College</b>	46% Non-College <b>54% College</b>
<b>Party ID</b>	<b>38% Republican</b> 39% Democrat 24% Ind/Other/Unsure	<b>34% Republican</b> <b>34% Democrat</b> 31% Ind/Other/Unsure	14% Republican <b>56% Democrat</b> 30% Ind/Other/Unsure	7% Republican <b>72% Democrat</b> 21% Ind/Other/Unsure	1% Republican <b>79% Democrat</b> 20% Ind/Other/Unsure



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# What Divides the Right

# Right-Leaning Populists sharply divided from MAGA & Reagan Conservatives by their embrace of liberal economic positions

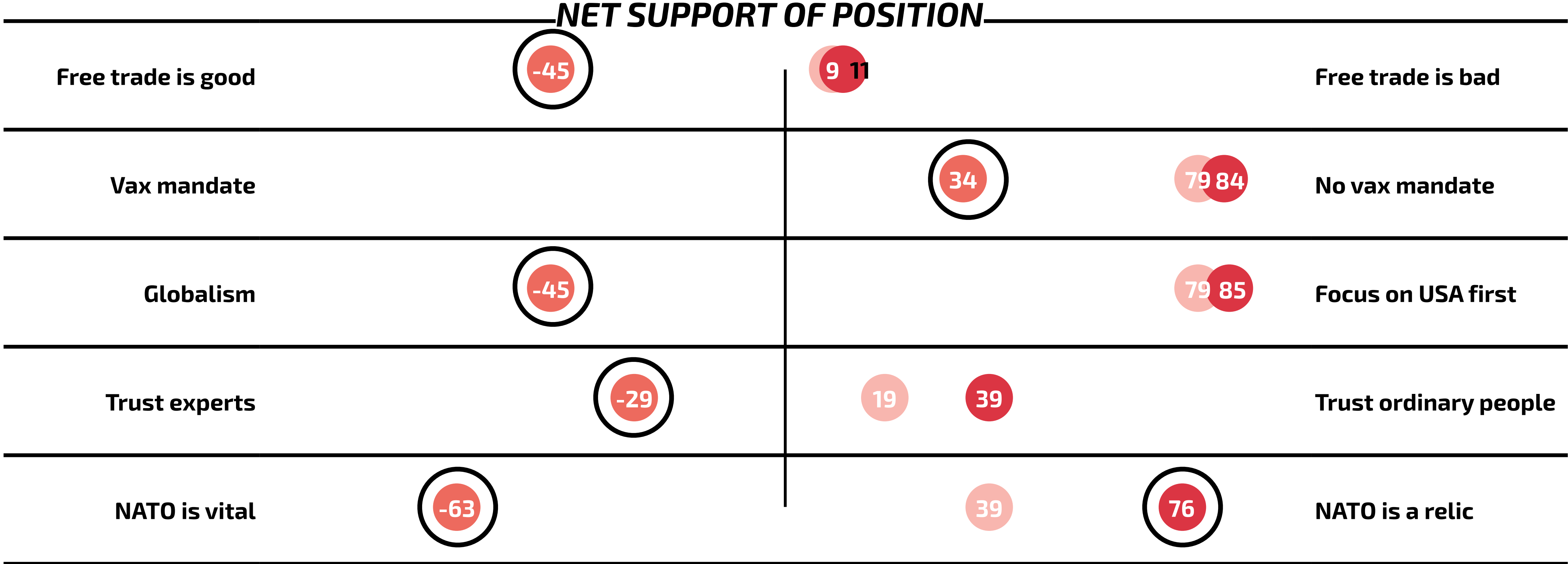


● **MAGA Conservatives** ● **Reagan Conservatives** ● **Right-Leaning Populists**



Q. For each of the following please indicate whether you agree more with Option 1 or Option 2.  
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# Reagan Conservatives defined by their pro-establishment views, including free trade, globalization, trust in experts

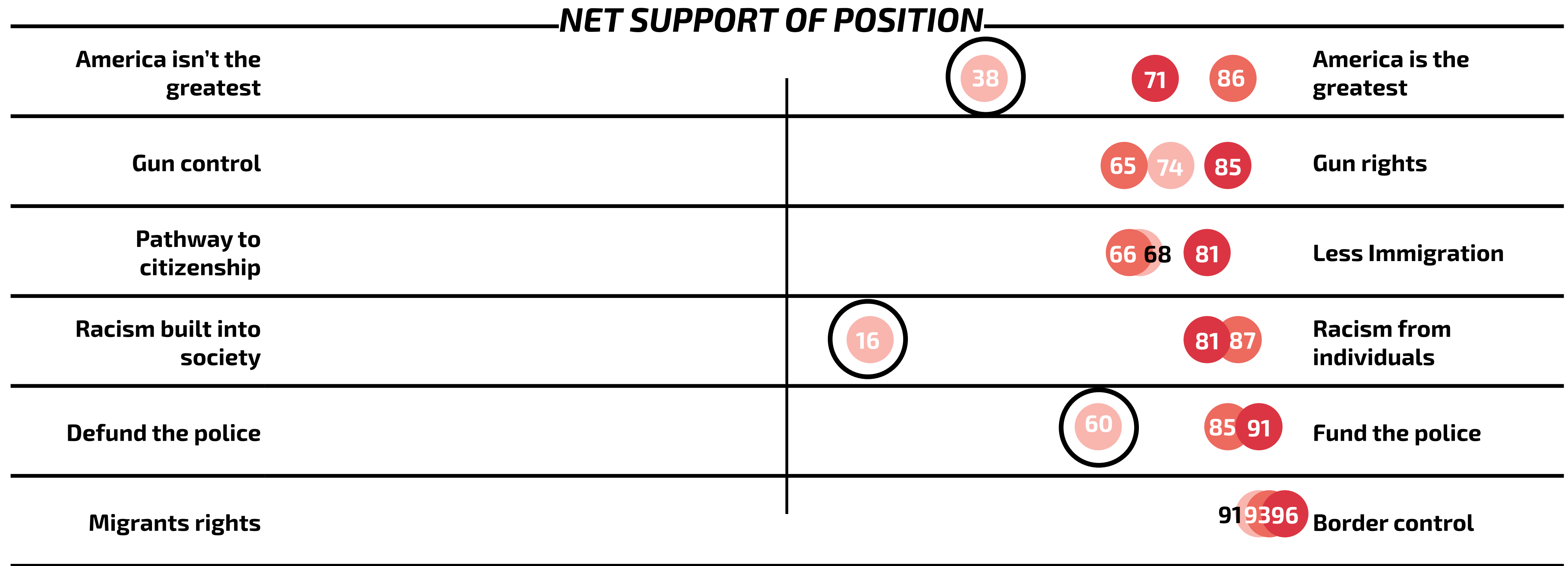


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# GOP-leaning groups not nearly as divided on social issues, with Right-leaning populists slightly more skeptical of American greatness



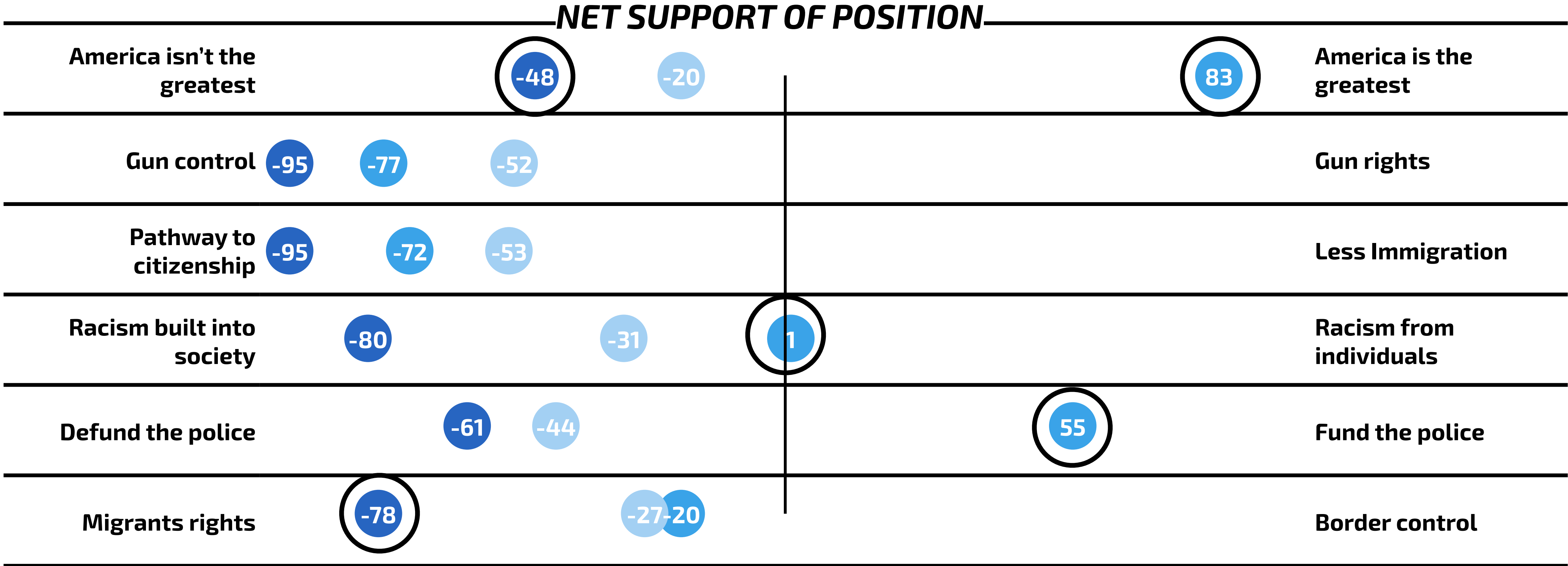
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# What Divides the Left

# Liberal Patriots depart from others on the left in their support for America's greatness, the police, and the belief that America is not racist

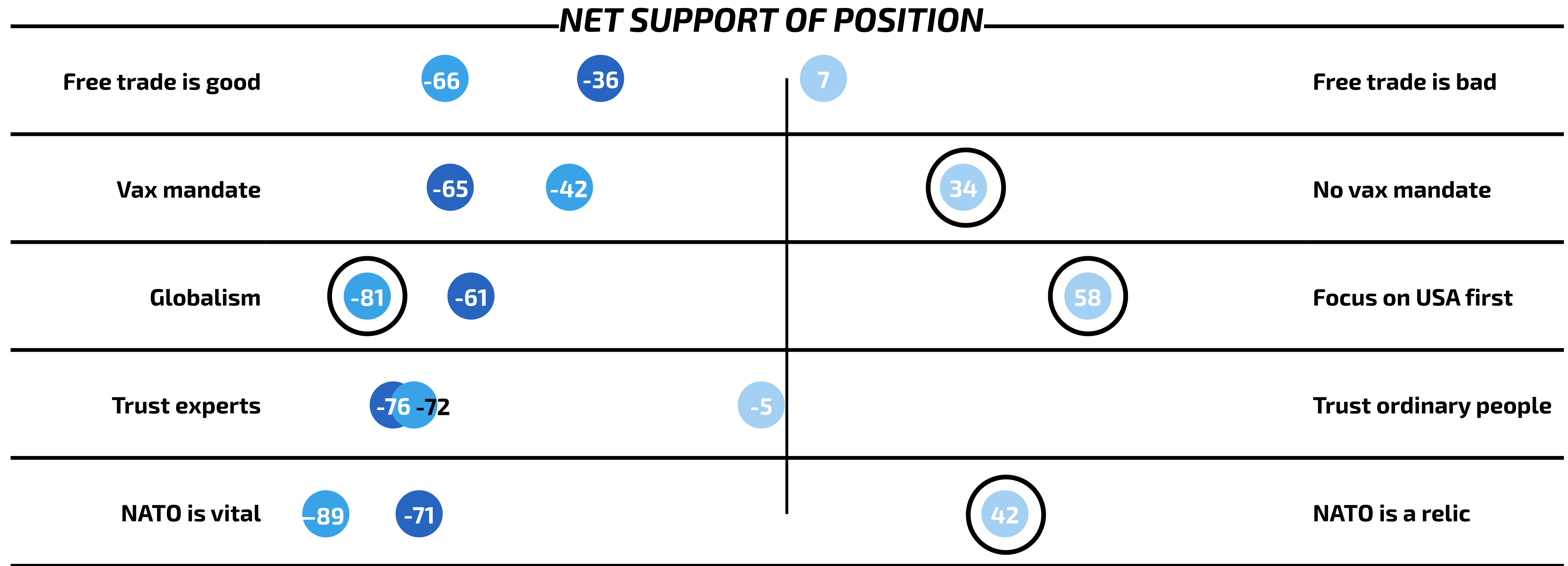


● **Disillusioned and Diverse**   ● **Liberal Patriots**   ● **Staunch Progressives**



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# Disillusioned and Diverse are far more anti-establishment



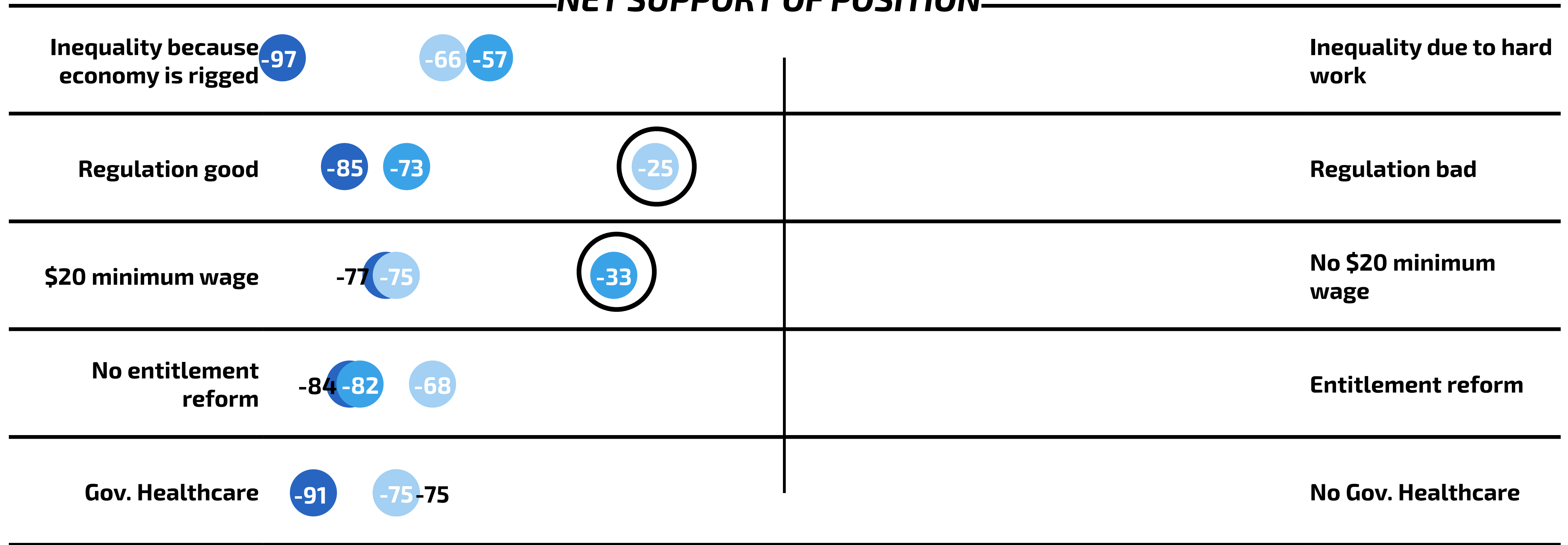
● **Disillusioned and Diverse**   ● **Liberal Patriots**   ● **Staunch Progressives**



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# Disillusioned and Diverse more regulation-skeptical, while Liberal Patriots less supportive of a big minimum wage hike

## NET SUPPORT OF POSITION



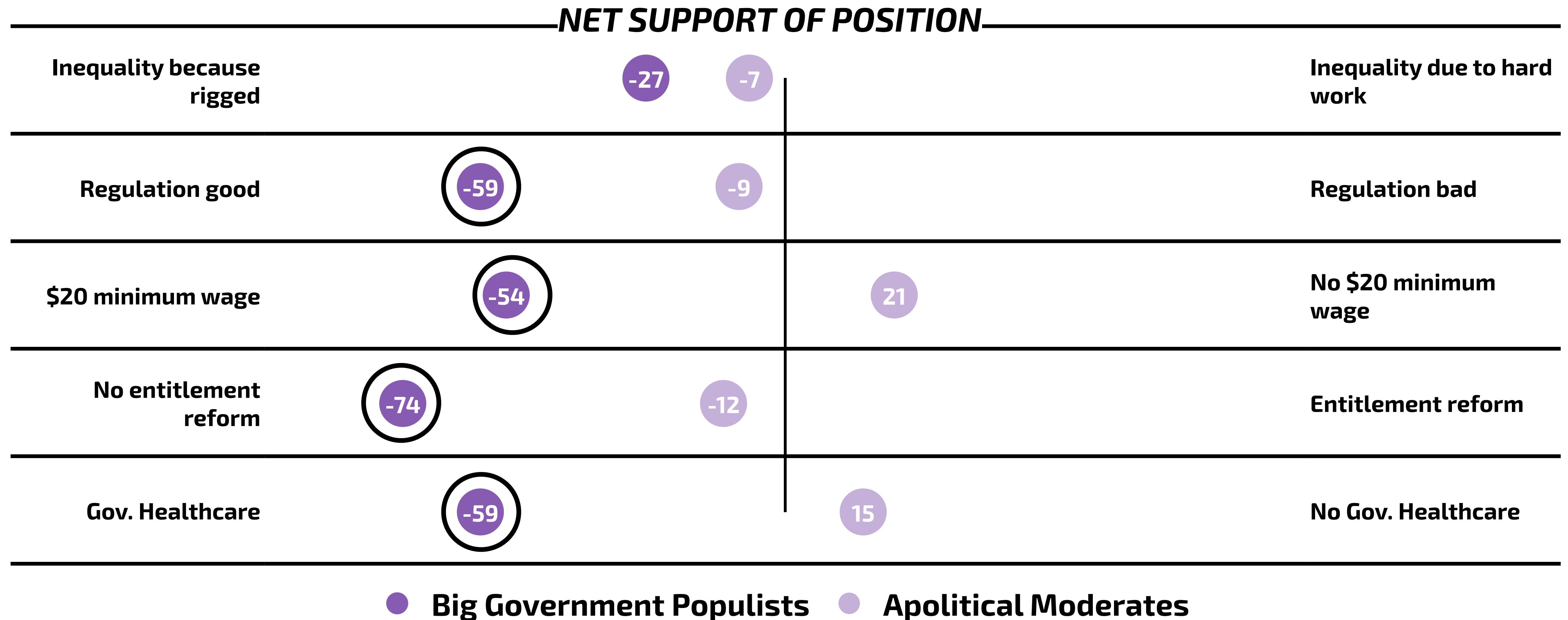
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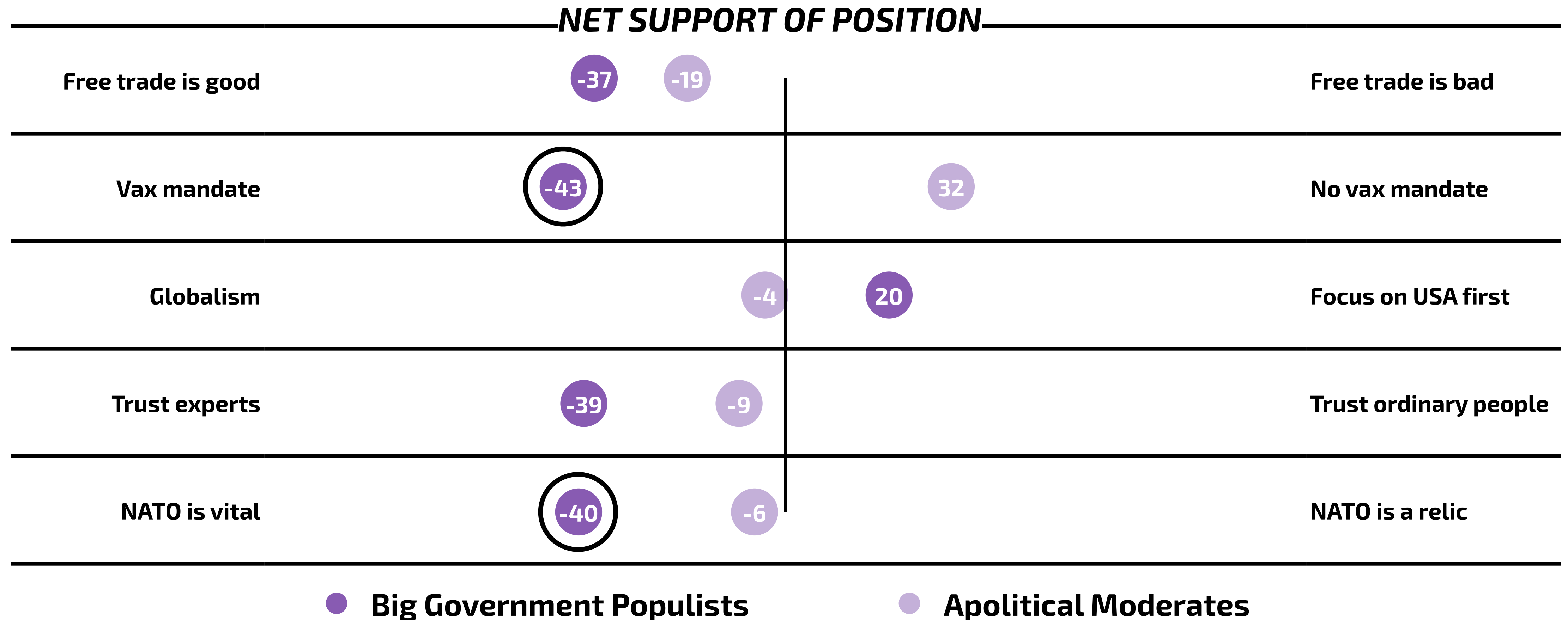
# Where People in the Middle Land

# Big Government Populists staunchly support government intervention in the economy, Apolitical Moderates are less sure



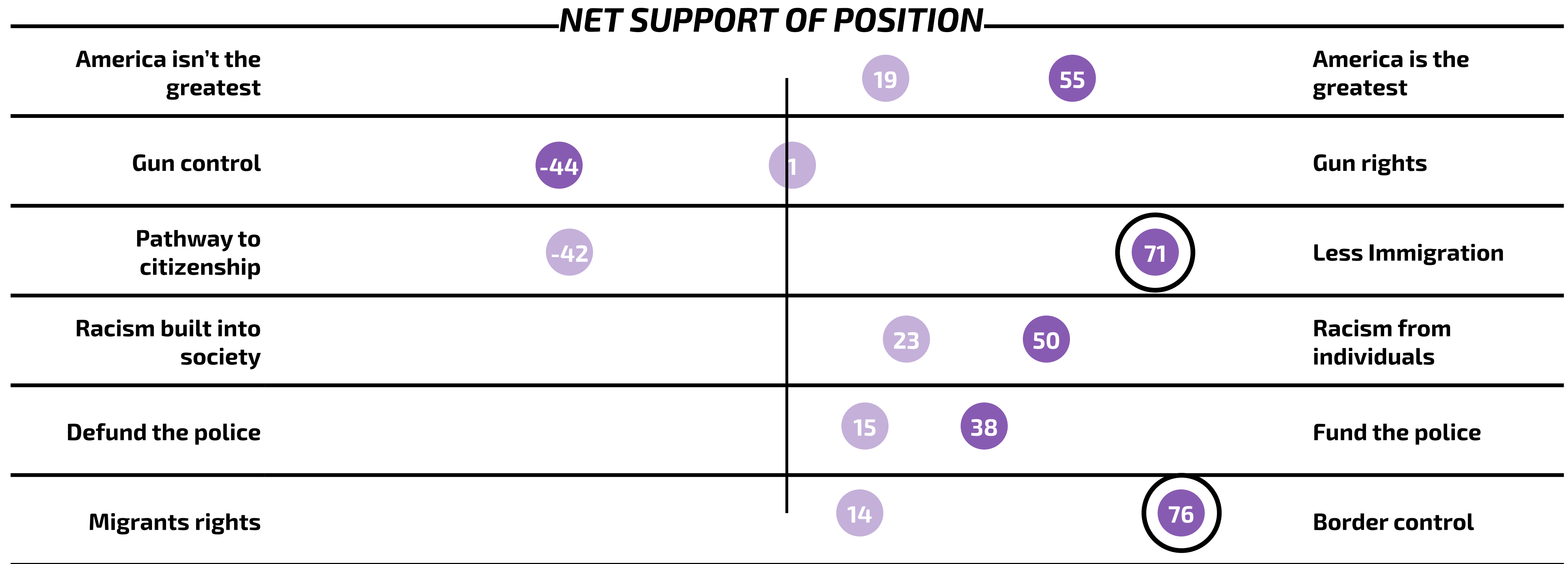
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# Big Government Populists also support vaccine mandates, trust more in experts, and back NATO...



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# ...and also favor curbing immigration and securing the border



● **Big Government Populists**

● **Apolitical Moderates**



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# Primary vs. Non-Primary Voters

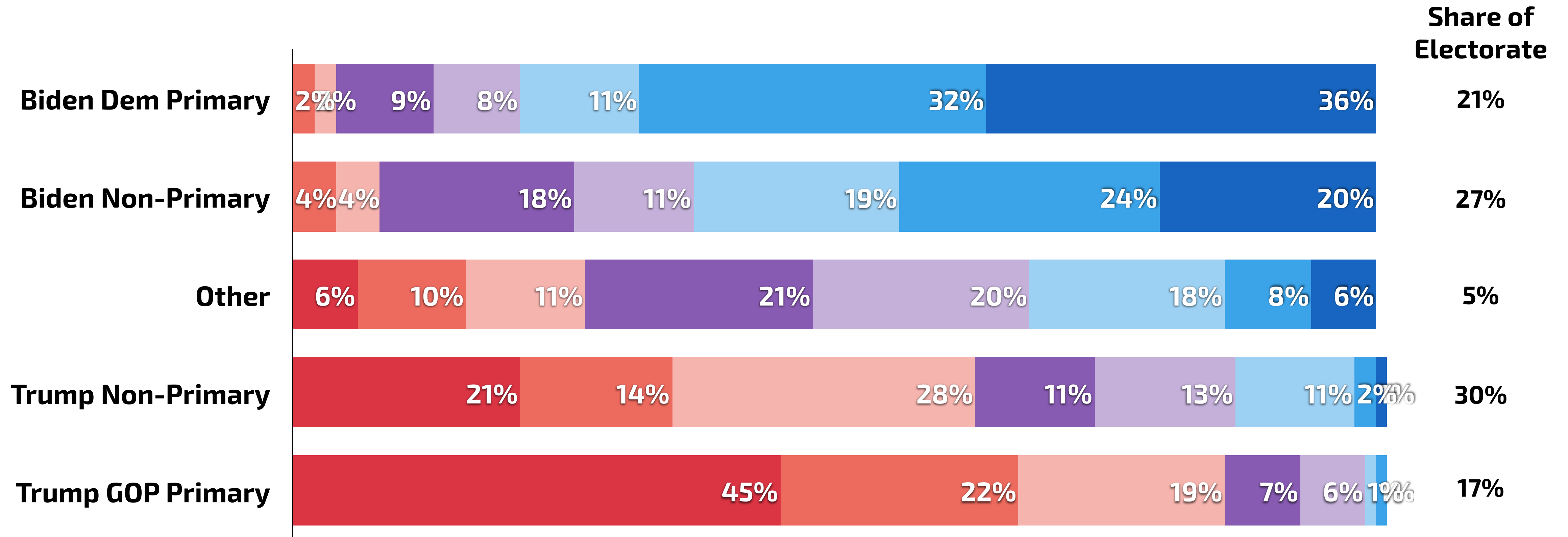
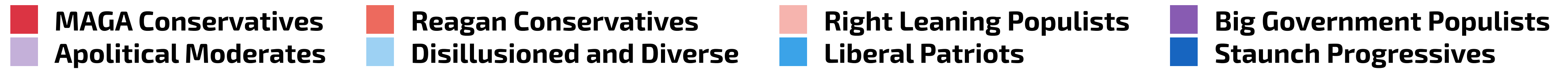
# Key Findings: Political Tribes & Primary Electorates

- To understand how voting reform might lead to a more ideologically diverse electorate, we matched respondents with these clusters to their voting history, looking at whether or not they had voted in Republican or Democratic primaries.
- **We confirmed that primary voters look very different from non-primary voters.**
- For instance, while **MAGA Conservatives are 45% of primary-voting Trump voters, they are only 21% of non-primary voting Trump voters.**
  - Meanwhile, **Right-Leaning Populists are underrepresented in the GOP primary electorate:** they are 28% of non-primary voters and 19% of primary voters.
- **Staunch Progressives and Liberal Patriots dominate the Biden-voting primary electorate, they are less than half of non-primary Biden voters.**
  - **Disillusioned and Diverse voters are 19% of Biden non-primary voters and just 9% of primary voters.**
  - Note: this survey was taken prior to President Biden's exit from the race.



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# Primary voters differ widely from non-primary voters in both parties; nearly half of the GOP primary electorate is MAGA



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