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THE TEA PARTY, THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT, AND THE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS
LANDSCAPE

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PARTICIPANTS:

Moderators:

E.J. DIONNE, JR.
Senior Fellow
The Brookings Institution

WILLIAM GALSTON
Ezra K. Zilkha Center and Senior Fellow
The Brookings Institution

Presentation:

ROBERT P. JONES
Chief Executive Officer and Founder
Public Religion Research Institute

Respondents:

KARLYN BOWMAN
Senior Fellow
American Enterprise Institute

SUSAN THISTLETHWAITE
Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress
Professor of Theology, Chicago Theological
Seminary

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ANDERSON COURT REPORTING
706 Duke Street, Suite 100
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone (703) 519-7180 Fax (703) 519-7190

P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. GALSTON: Let me do my best to call this meeting to order. I'm Bill Galston, a senior fellow in Governance Studies here at Brookings. On behalf of the Brookings Governance Study Project on Religion Policy and Politics, and also the Public Religion Research Institute, we're happy to welcome you to this event to discuss some very intriguing findings on the Tea Party, Christian Conservatives, the American Party System, and related questions.

Both of our organizations are deeply indebted to the Ford Foundation for making this event possible. It represents the next stage in a relationship between us that is steadily deepening to our mutual benefit. We gratefully acknowledge the presence of Ford's Sheila Devaney, whose commitment is doing so much to enhance both scholarship and public understanding at the crucial nexus of religion and public affairs. E.J. Dionne and I, the co-conspirators on the Brookings side, will be working closely with her to expand our portfolio of activities and events. Stay tuned for further announcements.

As I indicated, the centerpiece of this event is a new survey exploring the links between the Tea Party, Christian Conservatives, and political parties and attitudes. Presenting in very broad brushstrokes, the survey will be Robert P. Jones, the founding CEO of the Public Religion Research Institute. You already have his full bio in your packets so I'll content myself by saying, however inadequately, that he holds a Ph.D. in religion from Emory University and at a young age has already published two books with many more to come, I suspect.

Let me just take a minute to walk you through the mechanics of this

event which has a lot of moving parts. After Dr. Jones' presentation, E.J. Dionne will introduce and then moderate a panel of distinguished commentators as they reflect on the survey and its implications. After that portion of the event ends in about an hour, I will resume the podium and moderate a question and answer session involving as many of you as time permits and will wrap up around 11:30. So, Dr. Jones, over to you.

DR. JONES: Well, thanks so much. I'm delighted to be here and ingratiated to the Brookings Institution for co-hosting this event with us today and making this possible. I know we have some press on the phone in addition to the press that are here. And if you're on the phone we have hard copies here for available. On the phone, you can download the survey report from our website at publicreligion.org/research. If you're on the phone, that should be live and available now.

So just a couple of words of thanks of my own before launching into the findings. I do want to say my own thanks to the Religion, Policy, and Politics Project here at the Brookings Institution for hosting this fantastic event today. Special thanks go to the principals of that project, E.J. Dionne and Bill Galston, for offering some feedback as we were designing the survey and analyzing the findings. And I guess that disclaimer you always see in the acknowledgement section of books goes you thank you the people but don't blame them for any of the results. All right? So we'll leave them off the hook for any of the results. But have some gratitude for that.

I also need to thank PRRI's research director, Daniel Cox, who is also a co-principal researcher on the project. And as they've mentioned, this wouldn't be possible without the Ford Foundation and also I need to mention some additional support from the Nathan Cummings Foundation that also contributed to the survey and to past American Values Surveys.

So a bit about the survey before I launch into the findings. The American Values Survey is a large, nationally representative public opinion survey of American attitudes on religion, values, and politics. This is the third biennial American Values Survey that's been conducted by the PRRI research team every two years as the national election season is getting underway beginning in 2006. Results of the 2010 survey are based on telephone interviews, including 600 cell phone interviews conducted among a national random sample of over 3,000 adults age 18 or older. We were in the field between September 1st and September 14th of this year, 2010.

The survey is fairly broad but my remarks today are going to focus even so on religion and the Tea Party in the 2010 election and even there it'll be fairly broad brushstrokes. Each time we've conducted the American Values Survey we've had a special area of focus based on what seems to be relevant. In the election season in 2006, we focused on what people meant when voting their values. In 2008, we focused on religion and the youth vote. This year it's religion and the Tea Party.

So at the risk of, you know, stretching the metaphors that have already been stretched when talking about the Tea Party, I do think it may be helpful if we're thinking about a kind of beverage metaphor and we think about what you have on the cup. On the front of it we have some measurement of ounces. Right? How big is the cup you have? And on the back you have a list of ingredients typically when you pick something up from the grocery store. So one of the things we're going to try to do today is to give you some sense of how big we think the cup is and if you flip it over on the back, what the key ingredients are that make up the drink that we're talking about on the back. So kind of think about that metaphor there.

And we think, just to be a little provocative here at the beginning, if we

were talking about coffee we might have something like a latte here, the Tea Party movement. If we're talking about tea, maybe something like an Arnold Palmer. I don't know. We'll see.

So let me sort of jump in with a few findings here. So the survey confirmed several pieces of conventional wisdom about the Tea Party while really challenging other kinds of conventional wisdom assumptions. One of the things that we did confirm was that -- kind of three pieces here that you see. If you start -- I'll go right to left. More than 8 in 10 members of -- people who consider themselves part of the Tea Party movement. I should say upfront the way we asked the question was, "Do you consider yourself a part of the Tea Party movement?" That's the way we constructed a self-identity question here. We can talk some more about that.

But 8 in 10 of those people say the government is growing bigger because it's doing things that should be left to individuals, rather than the governments growing bigger because our problems have gotten bigger. So very much think that the government is getting involved in things that should be left to individuals. And the darker bar here is the general population number. You can say a majority of Americans agree with that statement but not nearly as high the numbers as those who consider themselves part of the Tea Party movement.

Not surprisingly, Sarah Palin fares very well among those who identify with the Tea Party movement. Eight in 10, that's twice as high as the favorability ratings are in the general population for Sarah Palin. And then finally, FOX News is seen as the most trusted source of news on current events and politics among members of the Tea Party. So, again, maybe not surprisingly that's, again, more than twice as high as it is in the general population.

So that gives you some sense of some things that we did, in fact, confirm about the profile of the Tea Party movement. This may be part of the conventional wisdom.

But I'm going to talk about several things that the survey challenged about some of the conventional wisdom. So back to the kind of drink metaphor here. If we're thinking about how big is the cup, and some of the conventional wisdom had been that the Tea Party movement represents a large portion of the U.S. population perhaps rivaling the size of previous movements like the Christian Right, we found that's not the case. We found that the Tea Party movement makes up about a significant number. One in 10 Americans say they consider themselves part of the Tea Party movement. So that's not insignificant. But it is half the size of those who say they consider themselves part of the Christian conservative movement or the Religious Right. So you can sort of see a relative size here.

If we think about -- and this is one of the key findings of the survey -- what's the relationship between these two groups that have been kind of part of energy at the -- on the conservative side of politics, we found significant overlap between these two groups. So if the conventional wisdom is the Tea Party movement is distinct from previous conservative movements like the Christian Right, we found that there is significant overlap, in fact, 47 percent of those who say they're considering themselves a part of the Tea Party movement also say they consider themselves a part of the Christian Right -- the conservative Christian movement or the religious right. So, a fairly significant overlap there.

And then if we ask, okay, now what's the relationship between these two groups to Republican partisanship, this third bubble here represents those who identify

with or lean toward the Republican Party. And that's 41 percent of the population. So if the conventional wisdom here is that the Tea Party movement is kind of independent political force whose members are not really beholden to either political party, one of the things that we actually found in the survey is that, again, there's sort of high overlap between the Tea Party and the Republican Party. Here, in fact, we have more than three-quarters of those in the Tea Party saying that they identify with or lean toward the Republican Party. And so the numbers again going from the Tea Party to Christian Conservatives is 47 percent of the Tea Party also consider themselves Christian conservatives, three-quarters of the Tea Party also identify with or lean toward the Republican Party.

Jus tone more take on the partisanship numbers here on the Tea Party. On the left you can see party identification -- those who identify with and lean toward the Republican Party. Again, it's three-quarters in the Tea Party. You compare it to the total population. It's about 4 in 10 in the general population. And if you look at vote, it's more than 8 in 10 say that they are going to vote for or lean toward voting toward the Republican candidate in their district. This is among registered voters. That's compared to 44 percent in the general population.

And we had another question where we asked those who were voting Republican whether they usually voted Republican, and more than three-fourths of the members of the Tea Party or those who identify with the Tea Party say not only are we voting for the Republican Party now, but we also typically vote for the Republican candidate in our district. So they're not doing something new this year. It's sort of something that they have typically done in the past.

One other piece of conventional wisdom that the survey challenged was

the idea that the Tea Party movement is largely a political libertarian group that believes in maximum freedom for individuals and that that would hold across social issues. All right. And so we found actually that among the Tea Party -- rather than being political libertarians, at least on the issues of abortion and same sex marriage, they're actually social conservatives. Right? So the numbers we have here is nearly two-thirds -- you can see the red. That's nearly two-thirds say that abortion should be illegal in all or most cases among those who identify with the Tea Party. And if you look at the numbers on same sex marriage, it's less than one in five support allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry on there. And that's about half the general population number. So it looks very much like social conservatives.

So I'm going to shift gears a little bit and give you a little bit of the profile. That's kind of challenging -- kind of confirming and challenging some of the conventional wisdom. But if we take a look at the religious affiliation of the Tea Party, one of the things you'll see right away, if you look at the blue slides, and that's these darker ones over here, these are white Christian groups that make up the Tea Party. And here you can see among those who identify with the Tea Party, 70 percent are white Christian groups of one kind or another. In the general population, that's 57 percent. So they're significantly above that. They're also less likely to be religiously unaffiliated than the general population, which I think is also an important sort of number to pay attention to. And then the big wedge we sort of pulled out here is also a very important subset. That's white Evangelical Christians. And you can see among the Tea Party more than a third are made up of white Evangelical Christians. The number for the general population is about one in five. So they're one in three versus one in five. Significantly outsized presence of white Evangelical Christians within the Tea Party movement.

I should say that this actually doesn't differ that much from the Republican Party's religious profile. It looks fairly similar to this with kind of white -- kind of dominance of white Christian groups much less representative for minority groups.

So in terms of religious beliefs, some kind of traditional measures, what do respondents think about the Bible? Have they approached the Bible? Interpreting the Bible? How often do they attend church? Whether religious -- this measure is whether religion is the most important thing in their life is this measure. So it's a pretty -- a fairly high bar to get over here. But one of the things that becomes apparent from this chart pretty quickly is, as I said, the religious affiliation profile looks fairly close to the Republican Party. Also, these views -- literal view of the Bible, attending church weekly, religion is the most important thing in their lives, looks pretty much identical to the Republican Party. But looks significantly different from the Christian conservative movement. And so the pattern you see here is among those who identify with the Tea Party, the religious profile looks pretty much like the Republican Party. It's above the general population but below -- these measure below the Christian conservative movement. So that's the general pattern on religion.

Now, despite that, that typical view -- those similarities, we do see some places, particularly in political profiles and in underlying political values that where the Tea Party does, in fact, stand out in addition to the ones I mentioned earlier with Palin and FOX News and issues of the government, here's a few other ones that are more about underlying values and have to do with the role of government in providing equal opportunity, the role of government in dealing with minorities, and also a view about immigrants and the role that immigrants play in society.

So if I start on the left here, nearly two-thirds of those who identify with

the Tea Party say it's not that big a problem if some have more chances in life than others versus we had a paired opposite statement here and the opposite statement was that it's one of the biggest problems in the country that people don't have equal life chances. So we have nearly two-thirds saying that. You can see as compared to the general population, less than a majority, only 4 in 10 of the general population agree with that statement. And the Tea Party is actually out a bit ahead of the Republican Party and out again -- if I benchmark against white evangelicals here, out significantly ahead of white evangelicals.

The question, the second one about minorities getting too much government attention, the question was over the last few decades blacks and minorities have received too much attention from the government. And here again the Tea Party members stick out, 6 in 10 agreeing with that statement. In the general population it's only 37 percent agreeing with that statement. And again, out ahead of those who identify as Republican and significantly different than those who identify with the Republican or this kind of benchmark group of white evangelicals.

And then finally, a little bit of a different pattern on immigrants. Whether the perceived -- immigrants are perceived to be a burden on the country because they take jobs, housing, and health care or whether immigrants make a contribution to the country because of their hard work and talents. That was the paired opposite question. On this question, two-thirds -- nearly two-thirds of the Tea Party say immigrants are a burden on the country, rather than make any contribution to the country. And on this question, Republicans and white evangelicals largely agree, although the country is evenly divided on this question. You see it's down at 48 percent here. So that gives you some idea of kind of underlying political values and places where the Tea Party actually

does stick out.

So I'm going to shift gears and close with a few more -- a few general findings from the survey. That's kind of the Tea Party, the Republican Party, and the conservative Christian movement. A few general findings. Vote. Now, our vote again -- this is among registered voters, not among likely voters. So there's not a likely voter model so you can't compare it to likely voter models. These are registered voters and it's early September is where these numbers come from. But here we have -- and the question is about whether people would vote for the local Democratic or Republican in their district. These are local voting numbers. We have Dems up about three points in early September -- 47 percent, 44 percent on the generic ballot among registered voters. You can see that the electorate by religion is fairly divided. This is a little bit dark so let me just get -- the basic picture is this. The Democrats are losing the white Christian vote pretty much across the board. So the white evangelicals, 7 in 10 voting Republican; white mainline, 55 percent voting Republican; white Catholics are 50, but the Democratic number is only 39. Right? So there's 11 points kind of hanging out there among white Catholics. The unaffiliated and on the other side Democrats have solid majorities among the unaffiliated, among Hispanic Catholics, and among African-American protestants. So there's a kind of clear, kind of affiliation and racial cleavage in the American electorate that runs along religious lines that you can see here.

We have -- one of the issues that's gotten a lot of play in this past year -- we have a Supreme Court case winding its way up is the issue of same sex marriage and there's been some movement on this issue lately that's important. This is also an issue that fairly -- that divides the American religious landscape here. And you can see the total over here on the left that a plurality of Americans, 37 percent, say that they support

same sex marriage, and an additional 27 percent said they would support civil unions but not marriage. And then 33 percent say they support no legal recognition of any kind for gay couples' relationships. And then you can see we've got them arranged left to right in descending order of support for same sex marriage.

You can see fairly strong support among the unaffiliated and among Latino Catholics, 46 percent support for marriage -- same sex marriage, and then it drops down from there. Forty-one percent white Catholics, white mainline may look about like the general population. But then there's this big divided right here. Right? The two places where there are a majority opposition are among African-American protestants and white evangelical protestants. Those two groups look significantly different. Every other place there's a plurality supporting same sex marriage, and in these two cases there's a majority supporting no legal recognition of any kind.

But there are some interesting things happening. And one of the things that our survey is pointing to is actually if we go back to '06 and the first time we conducted the survey, the kind of supposed values voters issues of same sex marriage and abortion, we actually are showing some drift between these two issues that -- we show less change on the issue of abortion. So the question was over the last five years have your views shifted on these issues? On abortion rights or on rights for gays and lesbians? And on abortion, we show 85 percent of the country saying no shift at all over the last 5 years. But among the 15 percent that have shifted, they've shifted in equally polarizing directions. Right? So 7 percent have gone left, and 7 percent have gone right.

On the issue of gay and lesbian rights, the issue -- it looks significantly different. We have just under three-quarters saying no change over the last five years, but among those who have changed, the number reporting their views have shifted in a

more supportive direction for gay and lesbian rights is three to one to the number saying their views have shifted in a more negative direction.

So it's a kind of interesting kind of phenomenon on social issues happening here. And one trend slide that I have here from our previous surveys, and just I should say in 2006 our survey was conducted by the PRRI research team, but funded and supported by People for the American Way Foundation. In 2008, it was supported by Faith and Public Life and was entitled Faith and American Politics Survey. So that's the source for these '06 and '08 numbers. But it's an interesting trend that we show here. We actually show an eight point jump in support for same sex marriage over the last two years. Pretty significant movement. And for the first time we have support for marriage actually surpassing or higher than the number of those opposing no legal recognition. And so we see this very interesting trend that tracks with the self-reported numbers that we saw earlier -- people saying that their views have shifted in this way.

And so finally, I've got two more slides and I'll wrap it up here. Just a couple of other issues in support for immigration reform with a pass to citizenship. Support for more environmental protection. And this one has a phrase -- even if it costs jobs and raises prices. And support for raising the minimum wage from its current level to \$10.00 an hour. You can see a very clear slope right here the way we've aligned this. And this is another place where you actually see the Tea Party does have a different profile than the Republican Party here. They're basically in line on a minimum wage increase, and there's less differences here among every group on minimum wage. There's strong support for raising minimum wage to \$10 an hour across groups. And that's the way you see the differences less.

But on environmental protection and immigration reform that specifically

includes the pass to citizenship for undocumented workers, you see many more differences. The Tea Party, only 32 percent support environmental protection and only 37 percent support immigration reform with a pass to citizenship. And the big pattern you see here is Democrats and independents in solid majority territory on all these issues. Republicans and the subset of the Tea Party on the conservative side more opposed to these issues. With the exception of Republicans, that slim majority of Republicans supporting minimum wage is the only outlier there.

And then finally just two things to throw out. There were general findings that I think are notable from the survey. We found a majority of voters saying they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who supported health care reform in the past year. So that's a kind of notable finding. And I mentioned immigration reform, but we found nearly 6 in 10 Americans favor a policy that provides a future pass to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who have been in the U.S. for several years and three-quarters of Americans say immigration reform policy should be decided at the national, rather than the state level. So two findings we can decide what we want to do with those later. And that's it.

So I will now hand the ball off to our next respondent. (Applause)

MR. DIONNE: That was great, Robbie. Thank you very much. And welcome to everyone. You know, we all like surveys that confirm our preconceptions, but we actually learn more from surveys that challenge some of our preconceptions. And so thank you for that. And we're going to have a great discussion here. I feel that given the nature of the discussion we should begin with a scriptural quote, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." And so that's what we're going to try to do with data today.

I just want to offer two quick observations. I'll probably have a couple of things to say. And before I do that I want to thank again Sheila Devaney of Ford who has been working with us all. We appreciate your work. And also, Corinne Davis, Emily Luken, and Christine Jacobs among others who have worked really hard to put this together. Thank you.

I just want to call everybody's attention to two particularly rich pages -- parts of this report. I want to point everyone to page five, a nice little demographic profile of these various groups. And one of the -- it's been fun to work with Robbie on this because we've had a lot of discussions about what the data mean. And I think it may surprise some people that if you look at the Christian Conservative all column, 14 percent of the folks who say they are part of the Christian conservative movement or the religious right or African-American, another 12 percent are Hispanic. When you look at those numbers, for example, on gay marriage, that shouldn't surprise you. There are a lot of African-Americans whose social views are quite conservative, yet it has no -- very little or no payoff at all in terms of their voting. They still vote Democratic or still strongly for President Obama. The same is true to a lesser degree among Hispanics, which is why I'm going to point you to a chart at the end of the report.

The other thing I want to underscore on this chart is how southern both of these movements are. And in many ways we talk a lot about either the Christian conservative movement or the cheap party movement, but we also are talking about a species of southern conservatism that goes back a very, very long way. And I think it's useful -- it might be useful to talk about that.

The other chart I want to point out to you is on pages 28 through 31 where Robbie gives a very helpful, I think, breakdown of a whole series of characteristics

where you can see enormous similarities, particularly among white Tea Party members and white Christian conservatives. I've found those charts very, very helpful. A couple of interesting differences. The white Tea Party folks are substantially more favorable on Sarah Palin, even though they all like her very much. And the white Christian conservatives are a little bit less individualistic. Government has gotten bigger because it's doing things that should be left for individuals. That's where you see the clearest Tea Party libertarian side, although again I think the most striking aspect of this survey is that it underscores that the Tea Party is not primarily libertarian; it is primarily social conservatives.

To discuss all these we have a wonderful panel -- all these findings. We have a wonderful panel. And first up will be Karlyn Bowman. She knows everything there is to know about polling. She is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. She analyzes public opinion data on a variety of subjects. She writes a weekly column for Forbes.com. And I'm proud to say she was one of the very first editors I ever had in my life when I was the token liberal in the first issue of a magazine whose passing I still mourn, Public Opinion, that was put out for many years by AEI.

Our second respondent is my colleague, Mike Gerson. He is an opinion writer for *The Washington Post*. As you all know, he served as a policy advisor and chief speech writer for President George W. Bush. He has -- we are rich with productive, thoughtful people here today. We have two -- on this panel represented people who have books that have come out this week. Mike's most recent book just released on October 1st is *City of Man, Religion, and Politics in a New Era*, coauthored with Pete Wayner. His first book was *Heroic Conservatism*, published in 2007.

And then we will hear from the Reverend Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite.

She is a senior fellow at the Center for American Progress. She is also a professor of Theology at Chicago Theological Seminary and its former president. She is an ordained minister of the United Church of Christ, the author and editor of numerous books. She, too, writes. We didn't do this on purpose because of my *Post* affiliation. She writes a weekly column for our On Faith section. And her new book, which is out today -- is that right? Today. A lovely title, *Dreaming of Eden: American Religion and Politics in a Wired World*. And, of course, it has a website with the lovely name wiredwisdom.net.

So, and so I will bring up Karlyn first, followed by Mike, followed by Susan. Karlyn, welcome.

MS. BOWMAN: Thank you very much, E.J. It's always a pleasure to come to Brookings.

First, I'd like to congratulate Robbie Jones and Daniel Cox on this third biennial American Values Survey. It's very useful to have a large-scale survey like this one, not only to understand the Tea Party movement but also the mood of the electorate as a whole. I'm especially grateful that they haven't followed the polling herd. And in fact, they've explored the public's views on a whole series of issues that most of the major pollsters have ignored.

Let me just take one example from the survey. I haven't seen a question about gay adoption in a survey in the public domain for a long time. It's a question that the Gallup organization first asked in 1977 when 14 percent of Americans said that they supported homosexuals adopting children. In the new poll released today, 53 percent favor allowing gay and lesbian couples to adopt. And I think that particular finding supports the other -- the slide that Robbie showed earlier in which many people say that they've changed their mind about the issue over the last five years.

Most Americans continue to draw the line at gay marriage when the question is posed as yea or nay, but as the authors report, younger Americans are more receptive than older ones. And for that reason acceptance will probably continue to grow.

The data confirm what other polls show about same sex marriage, that it just won't be a major election issue this year. That's hardly surprising when between 60 and 70 percent of Americans say that they know someone who has lost a job in the last six months and majorities tell the pollsters that the recession isn't over. And in this poll, in a finding that's a little more negative than some of the other contemporary polls, 48 percent say that the economy has gotten worse in the last 2 years.

Let me touch on a few other of the national issues that the surveyors highlighted. In this poll, as Robbie showed a slide of, 54 percent said that they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who supports health reform -- health care reform. If the pollsters had asked people whether they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who supported the legislation passed by Congress and signed by President Obama, I think the results would have been somewhat different. In three of four September polls on the health care bill -- the Pupil, the CBS Poll, and the AP Roper Poll -- opposition outweighed support. Only in the Kaiser Poll did support outweigh opposition in September.

On abortion in this poll, 29 percent of those surveyed said that they would be more likely to support a candidate who supports abortion rights, and 35 percent less likely. This confirms a general pattern in the exists polls in the past, although the question hasn't been asked in the last two elections where the pro-life side tends to vote the issue more often than the pro-choice side, at least nationally. Abortion, of course, like

same sex marriage, won't be an issue for most voters this fall, not only because of the economy but because of something that I think this poll illustrates so clearly, and that is that most Americans find themselves in the muddy middle on this issue, refusing to side with the pro-choice -- the pure pro-choice camp or the pure pro-life camp, 18 and 15 percent, respectively, in this survey. It's still impossible to find a pure pro-choice or pro-life majority in the polls today. Most people are stuck in the middle, and as Robbie pointed out, about two-thirds in this survey say that political leaders can stay true to their beliefs on abortion while working to find common ground.

Most Americans are deeply concerned about immigration and see it as a federal responsibility as Robbie suggested. They think that Arizona was right to act, however, in the absence of federal government action. The frustration with the lack of action I think explains why a plurality believe that immigrants are more of a burden than a benefit. Still, in virtually all the polls I've seen, Americans favor a path to citizenship for those who are already here.

I think it's particularly useful to have the kind of in-depth portrait of the Tea Party supporters that this poll provides. Eleven percent in this survey consider themselves part of the Tea Party movement. In four questions asked between March and August by the Quinnipiac Poll, around 12 percent describe themselves as part of the movement. So a remarkable similarity on those questions. I brought a handout that just gives you all of the questions that have been asked by the major pollsters about the Tea Party movement, at least in terms of membership in it or being a part of it or supporting it. And you can see that how a question is worded profoundly affects results, but most of them are absolutely consistent with Robbie's findings when they ask whether or not people consider themselves part of the movement. Again, that number is, as Robbie

said, not insignificant, around 12 -- 11 percent of the population in this poll overall.

I'm not sure that this new survey challenged conventional wisdom, or perhaps I'm just not as familiar with conventional wisdom about the Tea Party, as much as it deepened my understanding of it. In April, CBS News oversampled people who said that they Tea Party supporters and they found that 89 percent were white, 73 percent described themselves as conservatives. In the CBS Poll they were slightly more likely than Americans overall to call themselves middle class, to have higher incomes, and to be slightly older. In the CBS Poll, 54 percent identified themselves as Republicans. In this poll, 48 percent did. Up to this point they look a lot like the Perot voters from 1992.

But as Robbie said, in the CBS Poll, they were more likely than Americans overall to attend religious services weekly and to identify themselves as evangelicals. And they were more likely to be concentrated in the south. Those results are remarkably similar to the results from this new survey.

Because there is significant overlap with the GOP and Christian conservatives doesn't mean that the Tea Partyers are not unique. There is significant overlap between anti-war activists and members of the Democratic Party, between union members and members of the Democratic Party. But again, I think that we all agree that there are certain unique features of those particular groups.

I think what illustrates what makes the Tea Party unique force was actually brought to light for me at least by a report by your Brookings colleague, Jonathan Rauch in an article in the *National Journal* in September, in which he described a radically decentralized organization that is rewriting the rule book on political organization overall. And this is a quote from Jonathan's article. "From Washington's who's in charge perspective, the Tea Party model seems bizarre. Perplexed journalists keep looking for

the movement's leaders, which is like asking to meet the boss of the Internet. Baffled politicians and lobbyists can't find anyone to negotiate with." So I think that this is, in fact, something that is quite new and unique.

Jonathan concludes, and this is where I'll conclude, by saying that "Centerless swarms are bad at transactional politics, but they may be pretty good at cultural reform. In any case, the experiment begins." And I think thanks to Robbie and Daniel's survey we have a good basis to understand the movement at this particular point in time, and I'll look forward to more surveys that explore it more deeply. Thank you.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. (Applause)

MR. GERSON: My reaction -- I'm going to respond a little more broadly. I found the survey to be interesting and significant. I found the context, the political and religious context that the survey reveals to be interesting and depressing. The context here is that in 2008 we had the most systematic, comprehensive outreach by the Democratic Party and a Democratic presidential candidate in recent American history. Thousands of home meetings, meetings with leaders, and that outreach had a significant set of advantages. It had a president who was comfortable -- a presidential candidate who was comfortable with religious language, which was a contrast to Kerry and a contrast by the way to his opponent, to John McCain. Who was making sophisticated arguments, outreach arguments to religious voters? If you look at the "Call to Renewal" speech that he did, it was really a model of the type. And he also was expressing a kind of sincere set of personal religious beliefs that came in an adult conversion.

So those were advantages. And it was also within the religious community, particularly the evangelical community, a period of significant transition. There was a generational shift from leaders like Robertson and Falwell. There was a

broadening of issue interest to a number of issues like global health and human trafficking and other issues. And you had, I think, a real discontent with the tone of the religious right, a real desire to adopt a different model of social engagement.

The result of all this were some moderate but measurable gains in this last election among religious voters. Among all -- Barack Obama made gains among all categories of religious voters -- Protestant, Catholic, Jewish. And some marginal gains among evangelicals. And looking at the kind of context in which this polling is done, it's very difficult to detect any of that -- any cultural change in those matters at all. These are fairly typical divided results. Ideologically polarized results with religious conservatives in the position that they've been in really since the 1980s.

I think there are variety of reasons for that. It's easier to do outreach in a campaign. Once you're in office issues reassert themselves with sort of a practical vividness. It's much of the, I think, appeal of Obama to religious voters in America. It had to do with tone. A tone of healing and reconciliation. And there hasn't been, particularly coming up to this election, not much room for that kind of tone. It seems rather prickly and partisan.

And but I think one of the major reasons that we've seen for this kind of repolarization in many of these debates is an ideological debate on the role and size of government that's come to dominate American politics. So rather than getting beyond those debates in a way that say new Democrats might want to do, those debates have been engaged on both sides in our partisan context with increased vigor.

One way to view this is we used to have culture war debates on abortion and the nature of family. I think we're in the middle of a culture war debate just as vicious on the role and size of government. And I think that these results are kind of consistent

with that.

The religious conservatives, I think, are undergoing some changes. I argue that in the book that I've just written. But people forge that it arose in American life after a period of separatism in reaction to the perceived aggressions of modernity, whether it was regulation of Christian schools or abortion or other values issues, and those were associated with the federal government in either the courts or its legislative role. And so the context of religious engagement since the 1970s really has been a deep suspicion of federal action. And so I think bluntly put, in a confrontation between kind of bureaucratic centralization and the Tea Party revolt, many religious conservatives are likely to side with the latter given their history.

And you see in here -- I thought it was a pretty remarkable figure -- that one in four religious conservatives say they're part of the Tea Party movement. I thought that was an interesting result.

I think this is a false argument. I think that there are plenty of other political philosophic options than those two. Promising middle ground alternatives, even though they're not getting much of a voice right now. And I think that there is a danger for Christian political involvement itself. There is a tendency in American Christianity to absorb or adopt the ideological agendas of others. We've seen that on the religious right, the religious left. I fear it with the Tea Party. I find elements of the Tea Party ideology, particularly on a constitutionalism that amounts to an extreme libertarianism. Its attitudes on immigration, which I think are deeply problematic, a kind of extreme anti-government rhetoric. Sort of a -- that I think is not productive to dialogue. I think that it's likely to create tensions which you see a little bit of in here. There are -- there are tensions between Huckabee Republicans, Palin Republicans, and Army Republicans. And all

three of those in various moods are not very good Republicans anyway. (Laughter)

And so, you know, there are tensions there. But I do think that in a lot of ways what you have now is a highly polarized ideological environment that has put people in -- religious voters in very traditional roles and ruts. And that's not a particularly positive development. Thank you. (Applause)

MS. THISTLETHWAITE: Thank you. I was telling the colleagues that I went to a Tea Party rally, Daley Plaza in Chicago, and I spent hours there. And I talked to a lot of people. I told people that I wanted to write it up for The Washington Post, so some people just walked away. But a lot of people did talk to me. And this is not scientific as I told Robbie, but it did resonate with the data we have here. But I want to push down into the figures a little bit and pose some questions that I think would bear further investigation as we move through this tumultuous time.

It's a finding that 57 percent of the Tea Party adherence interviewed considered themselves part of the religious right or religious conservatives. That's 43 percent who are not so identifying. And who are those people? A unifying factor at the Tea Party rallies I think is the anti-tax, small government, anti-Obama, anti-health care messaging that was certainly evident in the signs. The most popular sign I can tell you was the "Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice" that people did not attribute to Cicero when I asked them but thought that it was original with Barry Goldwater. (Laughter) Who did in fact say it.

I think there is an abrasive libertarianism or a little less technically than that, a kind of extreme individualism. And I was very impressed with how many people were carrying copies of, you know, those little copies of the Constitution -- were carrying them. Totemically. There were no signs at all about traditional values issues, such as

abortion or homosexuality. So while there's a segment of the population that was interviewed that is both religiously conservative and Tea Party members, I think a deeper question to ask is, number one, who are the others? What do they think? What are they doing? But also which is the primary motivation for the person who as there? And I think some of these figures are very revealing of what this segment, even of religious conservatism, might find motivating within their political patterns.

And I think page 10 was a very revealing page. It was discussed in the presentation. I think the questions which I would say -- it's called political values. I would say this is fairness questions. The first one, it's not really that big a problem that some people have more of a chance in life than others. Tea Party, 64 percent agree; white evangelicals, 50 percent. It's a 14 percent difference. But even more interestingly, the government has paid too much attention to the problem of blacks and other minorities -- 58 percent Tea Party; 38 percent white evangelicals. That's a 20 percent difference. That's a significant difference.

And I think, you know, this spread is open to interpretation, certainly, but I'm going to generalize here and say -- because I was asked -- or I can generalize and say those attracted to the Tea Party are more comfortable with white privilege as a value and believe that leveling the playing field for minorities is not the business of government. I think this is a difference with a lot of white evangelicals I know, personally with whom I worked.

Michael, you mentioned the incredible work that the evangelicals do, not only domestically but abroad, with charity and indeed trying to level the playing field for a lot of people on a lot of issues: in education, in fighting disease, and in simple human dignity. White evangelicals give to charity. They run charitable organizations. I think it is

worth investigating where this difference comes from in terms of I think some very differently held values. Caring for the least of these is an evangelical value that seems less important to a Tea Party member, whether he or she identifies with conservatism or libertarianism.

I also want to talk about gender, anxieties about the economy, and one's threatened privileged economic status in these unpredictable economic times I think is clearly a motivating factor in the Tea Party. And the number of -- the majority of the Tea Party members are over 50 and male. And for this generation, being the breadwinner for a man is a core identity. And so economic anxiety I think plays into this gender difference -- how am I going to do this? And why did the rules suddenly change on me? More of a stretch I think in interpreting this data, but I think that one would bear scrutiny is the relationship of the Tea Party movement to the changing demographics of the American racial landscape. Everybody knows 2050 is projected to be the year when racial/ethnic minority Americans become the majority of the population, but MSNBC reported in March that 2010 may be the tipping point year where more racial/ethnic minority babies are born than those identified as white.

So there is a racial shift in this landscape and I think the fact that we have an 80 percent reporting of white as the racial category of the Tea Party, you cannot discount the role of race in interpreting this data. And I think one thing that I observed certainly and in talking to people was underlying a lot of expressed anxiety and expressed fear. And people said I am afraid -- I'm afraid of this. I'm afraid of that. I'm afraid of other things -- is that there is a shifting racial landscape that is going on. So while there's some, you know, change here in the Tea Party, there are other changes that I think we need to look at in interpreting the data.

And finally, along with the anxieties about the economy, the shifting racial landscape. You've seen these pictures on the news, all the pictures of President Obama with a Hitler mustache. You know, that's 20th century code for really, really bad and frightening. So when you read that vocabulary and you let these -- this data talk to you, one of the things it was saying to me -- and you know, certainly in some public figures like Glenn Beck, this appears to be obviously true -- this is an attempt to redefine whiteness as victimization and to see whiteness as the object of racial discrimination. And I think that was a poll. It was certainly a subtext in some of the people I talked to.

So I thought in the figures that were presented here there were some very intriguing differences in the statistics, most of which were on page 10, but I think also in the graph that E.J. pointed out. And I think looking at the significant differences on the issue of fairness and how that plays out in a time of great economic anxiety certainly, in terms of gender and in terms of race, are interesting questions to ask as we continue to follow this data through the election and post the election. (Applause)

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. Thank you so much to all our respondents. I should point out that if you look at the panel here in response, we've got -- including your moderator -- two on the more progressive side, two on the more conservative side. It's a tribute to Robbie and his poll that we all got so much out of it. We have tried in the real sense of the term to be fair and balanced in our discussion today.

I think that here's what I'd like to do. I want to raise a couple of issues quickly with the panel and give Robbie a chance to respond to any of that. Then I want to turn to the audience and I'd like to do it in the following order. I want to invite, if he'd like to, my colleague, Bill Galston, if he has a response to all of this briefly, although he's frowning at me. He wants me to go to the rest of the audience. You decide. I offer, you

decide.

Then I'd like to turn first to our colleagues from the press, not because I have a bias toward journalists, although I do, but because it'll get Robbie's survey to more people if all of you get engaged first. And then we're going to go to our great audience, and I know a lot of you, you are many of the smartest people on this subject. I know I wish I could acknowledge all the friends who are here.

A couple of quick points that I'd like Robbie to describe -- respond to and maybe have a little discussion in our group. First of all, I am grateful that Susan pointed to this sort of racial reaction element. We can call it what we want. You can use very loaded language. That makes people turn off or you can sort of use neutral language. I'll try to use neutral language here. I think that gap on "government paid too much attention to the problems of blacks and minorities" is really significant and it's quite consistent with findings on other surveys. Clearly that is a piece of what's going on here. It's not everything that's going on here. I think that's worth discussing.

Secondly, I do think this survey underscores that this is a movement of -- the Tea Party is a movement of Republicans who are involved in an intramural insurgency from the right. They're not the Perot movement. They're not generally alienated protest voters. These are conservative Republicans with a special edge, or they're conservative Republicans at in some sense the right end of conservatism. I'd love to see if there's any response to that thought.

And lastly, Mike raised a very provocative point about President Obama and religion. And here's what struck me, and I'm curious how Mike and Robbie would react to this, in Robbie's survey, 27 percent of white Christian conservatives had either a very or mostly favorable view of Barack Obama. That seemed quite high to me. That if I

remember right, Mike, you had this number in your column today and I forgot to bring it but I think he got about 26 percent or something like that of the white evangelical vote. So if you want to argue Obama hasn't brought around a lot of white evangelical conservatives, that's true, but I don't see the kind of collapse or deterioration there, at least from Robbie's numbers. So I toss that out to the panel and then I will turn to the audience. Robbie first to respond to all our wise respondents.

MR. JONES: Thanks. So there are a lot of things on the table. I'm not going to respond to all of them. I did want to sort of just bring up a couple of things though and just thank everyone for your very thoughtful responses. I do think the, you know, what E.J. described here as a racial reaction is worth just kind of keeping center for a little bit and maybe we can have a broader discussion about that. And I do think the questions about -- on page 10 that we've referred to about equal opportunity, about whether government -- and the important thing about these questions is they're cast in the context of government, too. That's really key here, that it's not that really -- not a problem that some have more chances in life but this is also cast as kind of a problem in the country. So it's kind of a societal question, not just a kind of theoretical question the way it was phrased. And the survey says about what kind of society do we want to have and how much does it matter as a society, not just kind of as an individual. And the one on minorities is about whether minorities, blacks -- over the last several decades do minorities -- blacks and minorities get too much government attention. That's specifically about government and the role of government there. And the one on immigrants is really just about immigrants. But it's the impact that they have on the country. Again, a kind of societal impact. So it's not just personal attitudes. So I think it's important just to flag that these things are about attitudes and social and governmental context. It might actually

kind of sharpen up the thing.

The other thing I did want to just point to again that I think would be interesting to get some more air time is, is this -- the fact that sort of the traditional social issues are nowhere on voters' priorities. Not surprisingly, every survey has shown that. It, in fact, showed that in '06 and '08, too. They tend to be low on salience lists. And as Karlyn mentioned, opposition voters tend to be more fired up by these issues than supporters do. But it is interesting to note I think this drift -- I want to kind of flag this again -- this drift where there's kind of increased polarization on abortion, but as Karlyn mentioned, we found two-thirds saying -- of Americans saying that they think that politicians can stay true to their principles and find some common ground on abortion. So that's a really interesting thing, even though there's this kind of polarization there.

And then just to kind of mention, the shifts we're seeing on adoption. You mentioned the higher numbers on adoption that are consistent with the higher adoption for gay and lesbian couples that are consistent with the numbers -- the increasing support for same sex marriage in the country and just sort of put this in another player with the Tea Player with Glenn Beck not embracing that issue specifically. Not taking that on as a flagship issue for his sort of involvement and sort of connection with the Tea Party members. I think that's really significant. Maybe he's rigging the polls. Right? That's not something that's going to kind of lead him where he wants to go. But that's worth flagging.

I think I'll just sort of stop there and I'll respond as we go.

MR. DIONNE: Could I invite you, Mike, on the Obama question just elaborate a bit? And Karlyn was nodding on something on that. If I could bring you guys in on that.

MR. GALSTON: Sure. I guess my broader point here was that after a fairly plastic moment you've had in the context of evangelicalism at least, kind of a large group of people, and I think the survey indicates it, that have been kind of driven to an ideological decision between an approach that is perceived as kind of a big government approach and an approach that is a kind of broad reaction to that. And, you know, I don't see much evidence either of some massive alienation, although you do find some numbers that are interesting that at this point in a recent poll and I'll have to dig it out -- I quoted it this morning -- at 45 percent, I think of evangelicals who have no idea what Obama's religious faith is. And, you know, that is a very high number at this point in the presidency. You know, there's a fairly small number that believe he's a Muslim and other things, but a very kind of broad confusion about his own beliefs.

And, you know, one of the things that strikes me from some of the data on the Tea Party, by the way, is you know, as you were pointing out on evangelicals that support Obama, that I think I saw in some of the data either related to this or another survey that seven percent of Tea Party people approve of Obama. And I have no idea who they are. (Laughter) I mean, why they're there. But, you know, so that's another kind of interesting element.

I just -- the broader point here though is I don't -- I think what's -- the argument that I would try to make is kind of a missed opportunity that relates to a kind of broader political philosophic debate.

MR. JONES: This really was, in many ways, a fairly plastic moment, not that long ago in American political history, where there looked like you could have some changing dynamics in these communities. And now there's just not much evidence of it.

MR. DIONNE: Susan, do you want to comment on that and then I'll go to

the audience? I was thinking that minority in the Tea Party maybe they drink only Darjeeling or something, you know.

MS. THISTLETHWAITE: Well, you know, I was thinking when you were talking, Mike, about Catholic moral theologies, there's a wonderful category called willful blindness. Now, if you've got a president who is continuously talking about being converted under the cross and you respond I don't -- I'm confused about his religion, I think there is some filtering going on.

And so, you know, I think -- you know, again, this is an interpretation of data, but I did want to actually, Robbie, ask for a clarification because in interpreting page 5, the question it's not really a big problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others, is not a government related question, correct. So the only government-related question --

SPEAKER: That's right, it's about the country. Yeah, yeah, right, sorry.

MS. THISTLETHWAITE: Yeah, okay. So, you know, I'm -- do think that some of this conversation is about the role of government. I think there are larger tectonic shifts underneath this having to do with certainly the economy, realignment of views on and on statistics on race, and age and gender.

MR. DIONNE: While we get a mic to the back first to our journalistic colleagues, I just have to report my favorite joke, or it's actually a true story on this decline of cultural politics at a time of an economic downturn. Some of my friends have heard me tell this story before.

It was during the Depression when we were still arguing about prohibition and the Democrats were split between wets and dries, you know, pro -- anti- and pro-Prohibition people. And a Democrat from Missouri wrote Jim Farley and said I don't

understand why wet Democrats are arguing with dry Democrats when neither of them can afford the price of a drink.

And I think that story still tells a lot to us about what's happened on some of these issues. Who in the back has -- could you -- yeah, to that lady in the back. I'm sorry if I can't identify you. Could you identify yourself?

MS. STAN: Yes, I'm Adele Stan and I covered the Tea Party Movement for Alternate.org. I -- my question goes to the political analysts on the panel, Michael Gerson and E.J.

I'm wondering -- I mean, Mr. Gerson identified tensions within the Tea Party Coalition through the personalities of Dick Armey and Sarah Palin and Mike Huckabee. And, you know, at the Values Voters Summit a couple weeks ago the gauntlet was really thrown down at the Libertarians feet: You either sign on with our social agenda or you're toast.

I'm -- one weekend I actually covered a blogger event at Freedom Works and then went to Ralph Reed's conference and the cultural difference between those two events was just astonishing.

You know, you have people smoking and drinking and yucking it up at one and absolutely no alcohol and a very sort of dour mood at the other. I'm wondering if you think that those tensions are at all exploitable by the opponents of the Tea Party Movement.

MR. DIONNE: Could I collect a couple of questions and we promise we'll answer that? Who else in the back among our journalist colleagues wants to comment? Or we have some journalists in the front too. This lady over here and then that lady -- oh, let's get -- right there.

MS. QUEK: Hi, I'm Tracy Quek from the *Singapore Straits Times*. I wanted to ask a broader question. We touched -- the panelists touched on this a little bit but there seems to be a split between the Tea Party and the GOP on a number of issues: immigration and all of that kind of stuff. And we've read -- and I've read in the, you know, online and in newspapers about this Civil War in -- within the GOP, a fight for the party.

So I wanted to ask, yeah, the political analysts, you know, what is the impact of the Tea Party on the GOP? Is it really causing a fissure, a rift, a division, and where is the GOP heading? Thank you.

MR. DIONNE: And then the lady farther down the row there, down at the end, and then we'll go to the front row. We'll take these three and then I'll go to you over there.

SPEAKER: (inaudible) Catholic News Service. If the Tea Party is 11 percent of the voting public. How much of the fact that you are even surveying on the Tea Party, specifically, let alone all of the attention that we've been giving to it in the media is because it's like the next newest thing? How much of it -- I'd like your opinions on if it's warranted that in a movement among 11 percent of the population is really significant or not?

The people who -- the Union Rally last weekend were complaining, probably rightfully, that they were ignored and they represent more people in the United States.

Were we as the media and the general public ignoring them because we're used to who the Union people are? We think we understand them. I'd like just some discussion about that please.

MR. DIONNE: It won't surprise anybody. I think that's an excellent

question. Who wants to -- Robbie, do you want to start and then we'll --

MR. JONES: Sure.

MR. DIONNE: And then we're going to go to the next round.

MR. JONES: Great, all right. So I'm going to work backwards a little bit here. So the next news things, is it warranted? I mean, I think it's a great question, you know, and start it with what's the size of the cup, right, that we're talking about here and we found 11 percent.

It's worth noting that we mentioned it before but maybe nailing this down that if you calibrate this, the results you get on this question, since it's a self-identification question, very much matter how you ask it. Right. So if you ask are you supportive of or do you sympathize with the Tea Party you can get upwards of a third of the public saying that yes, we support or sympathize with.

If you say are you a member of the Tea Party you get less than, you know, like 7 percent, something like 7 or 8 percent. Karlyn actually has a great handout of a bunch of polling that has kind of used different question wordings.

We think we've got ours calibrated about right. That, you know, do you consider yourself a member -- a part of, not a member of -- part of the Tea Party Movement.

But it is worth noting -- if you read -- so I gave the overlap from the Tea Party to Christian conservatives and from the Tea Party to the Republicans, but if you read the overlap the other way, it gives you a picture. And I think Mike pointed to this, that if you read -- so among Christian conservatives, you read the percentages back the other way, how many -- it's about a quarter of Christian conservatives consider themselves also a part of -- identify with the Tea Party Movement.

So that's not insignificant that that much of this group that has been a part of the Republican base for quite some time now also has this other identity, right, and other kind of -- other kind of way of understanding itself. And if you ask among Republicans, it's about -- it's a little bit lower, but among those who identify as Republicans, it's 22 percent.

So it's not an insignificant slice of the Republican Party or an insignificant slice of the Christian Conservative Movement. And I think that's one way of kind of thinking about its significance.

MR. DIONNE: Anyone else on any of those questions? Yeah, on the split in the Republicans.

MR. JONES: Yeah, I'll make a few points. One of them, I do think it's significant. I mean this is a, you know, intensity movement with great intensity going into a midterm election where intensity matters.

They, you know, I think that it's easy to over estimate this influence in a certain way but in Republican circles the smaller the electorate the larger the influence often of these groups.

So if you're, you know, Bob Bennett from Utah, you certainly felt the influence. And I -- or if you're in a Delaware electorate where, you have, you know, literally just a very small electorate, it has a disproportionate kind of influence when it comes to the intensity and kind of outcome. For Republicans, I think this is a, you know, generally, a good.

You know, who would have thought two years after the 2008 election that the, you know, the main grass roots political movement in America would be a conservative -- intensified Conservative Movement.

I mean, you know, it wouldn't have, you know, the coalition was dispirited at that point and that's, I think, an extraordinary political fact and almost, you know, is good for Republicans in many circumstances.

But this is a circumstance where Tea Party momentum is good for the Republican Party and Tea Party victories are generally not good for the Republican Party, precisely because there's a serious of ideological commitments that are deeply controversial on the part of the movement that when they elect candidates, when they take a broader role, I think it's discrediting and problematic.

So it -- it's -- that would, of course, confirm every Tea Party fear to hear me say that because they feel like they're being exploited in a certain way but I think Republicans do benefit from people in the Tea Party and then suffer when that influence becomes predominant. And that's probably true of a lot of political movements in American life.

The -- I believe on the divisions issues within the Republican Party that there's going to be more tension in victory than there is in opposition. That's pretty normal too.

You know, right now you've got many Republicans who are deep -- very much united, but debt deficit and spending issues, which they regard as increasingly as kind of existential issues, as moral issues. And I think that that speaks to a lot of people.

But I -- I'm not going to, you know, I wouldn't want to be Speaker Boehner when you have, you know, maybe 30, 40, 50 new members who feel to hold him to the Tea Party that may not vote for any appropriations bill, they may not vote for any debt limit, okay.

How in the world do you govern in these circumstances? Or poor Mitch

McConnell, when, you know, you're going to have a circumstance where Tom Coburn is now a moderate in your, you know, in your coalition. Or you're going to see several members that may be more conservative than Coburn in that, you know, in that caucus.

So I think they are going to be significant kind of governing problems, but right now I think that there's a lot of kind of momentum and enthusiasm that comes from a general concern about issues that relate to the size and role of government.

SPEAKER: I always like to imagine that --

SPEAKER: I would just --

SPEAKER: Oh.

SPEAKER: Also, I will just say from -- it -- it's not an artifact. I really do think there's some deep shifts going on in American religion, culture, and politics. And I think this is the beginning of something and it's a -- I see as a reactive movement.

And I wouldn't disagree with, you know, the conservative Republicans with a special edge, but I think its connection to, and difference from, both of those things, trends within white Christian evangelicalism is -- it's an important thing to track.

MR. DIONNE: Could I just say a couple of quick things? When -- I love thinking of how people will be distorted out of context, I was thinking of what Mike just said, Republicans can't govern or pass budget -- Bush's speechwriter says, you know. That would be totally, utterly unfair to Michael. He did not say that. The -- two quick answers on this. I sympathize with your question because I think what you're talking about is a rather small group that's had attention far beyond its numbers.

Now that's not the first time that's happened in politics. Lord knows -- in the '60s had some of that going on and they have been effective. I mean -- and they've tended to win in small states: O'Donnell, 30,000 votes; Joe Miller, I think 55,000; Rand

Paul, 200,000 out of 2.9 million registered voters in Kentucky.

And so -- and I think on the difference in the coverage, when you've got your own network 24 hours a day -- I'm referring to FOX -- that makes a big difference. I mean Palin, Sarah Palin is on there, Glenn Beck is on there and I think that the media, the mainstream media -- I've written this -- let FOX set the agenda a bit more than they should in my view as a Progressive.

On Adele's question, I don't see an enormous split here between the Tea Party and the Religious Right. I think, again, on my favorite numbers toward the end, I think it's fascinating. The guy who unites everybody is Mike Huckabee; where he's got 73 percent favorable Tea Party -- white Tea Party 74 percent favorable, white Christian conservative.

Palin, I was really struck. I thought her white Christian conservative number would be higher than that. It's still good, I mean at 64 percent. But the Tea Party really loves her and so I think that's an interesting sort of finding.

And I was also struck with how good Mitt Romney's numbers were among white Christian conservatives, whom I think were a problem for him, particularly in the Iowa caucuses. He's 60 favorable Tea -- white Tea Party, 62 white Christian conservative.

So they seemed to more or less like the same people so I don't see -- that's not the split. I think the question is do moderate and moderately conservative Republicans who've hemorrhaged out of the Republican Party over a number of years, do they continue to hemorrhage, especially if things get better.

I mean, you know, right now, in bad times, the Republicans have sort of won back some people. And I think it's going to be interesting to watch over a couple of

years what impact this has. We had some folks in the front here and then let's start with you two right here.

MS. KRIEGER: Thank you. Hilary Krieger with the *Jerusalem Post*. I'm wondering if you see the Tea Party Movement as more of an isolations movement when it comes to foreign policy or more of a hawkish movement wanting a robust American military posture and what kind of implications that has for some of the Middle East issues, the two wars, Iran, and the Arab Israeli conflict.

MR. DIONNE: And then this lady over here. Thank you.

MS. STAR: Hi, I'm Penny Starr with CNS News. I wanted to ask Susan Thistlethwaite -- did I say that right?

MS. THISTLETHWAITE: Close.

MS. STAR: Or really whoever wants to respond. There's been a lot of talk about whiteness and victimization and Glenn Beck, and I've been covering a lot of the Tea Party Movement and noticed a lot of African Americans were at the Glenn Beck event, were front and center speaking.

I attended an event at the Press Club where it was a majority of African Americans talking about their opposed opposition to Obama's policies. Do you think that the African Americans who are on the conservative side, Tea Party included, are being ignored, their outlook on this whole topic?

MR. DIONNE: Thank you for that question. And then over here, Peggy, this -- and then we'll do at least another round.

MS. ORCHOWSKI: Excuse me. Peggy Orchowski, I'm with *Hispanic Outlook* magazine. Segue to your last question, I know a lot of Hispanics are our Tea Partyers.

I'm wondering why you left out demographic data such as education level and income level because it seems to me in covering Hispanics, many of Hispanics who -- the phrase in California is anyone who earns over \$60,000 is usually a Republican and a conservative.

So I think rather than just looking at this as a racial thing, which, excuse me, seems a bit of a tired old liberal argument, and we are looking more at socioeconomic stuff. And can I comment about the immigration questions? I think you really --

MR. DIONNE: I knew you would.

MS. ORCHOWSKI: -- immigration and I think you really -- the questions when you don't distinguish between legal and illegal. It's clear that this kind of -- Americans supporting legalization but feeling immigrants are taking the jobs, that seems controversial. But if you phrase it in terms of do illegal immigrants -- do you feel illegal immigrants are taking the jobs?

I mean, obviously Americans like legal immigration; they don't like illegal immigration. Schumer says it all the time. Same with the word undocumented; it's very politically disingenuous. Most immigrants who -- documented have documents; they're fraudulent documents, which is a felony. So Schumer also asks, call them illegal immigrants. Let's distinguish between legal and illegal and I think you'll get a much clearer idea of where people stand and not politically anti-immigrant.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. Let's take those three, foreign policy -- and I think I'll let Robbie go first --

MR. JONES: Sure.

MR. DIONNE: -- foreign policy, African Americans in the Tea Party, and

the income. I think you did ask income on the survey.

MR. JONES: Right; on page 5 we've got a big table on demographics that have income, age, and other demographics there. Yeah; and we can get you education too. It's all -- we asked it all. So we have all of that information certainly available. I think it's -- on page 5 we have kind of comparisons between the Tea Party, the Christian Conservative Movement on income and age as well here.

Basically these numbers don't rise to the level of statistical significance and their difference. So they are different, but not statistically so. So one reason we didn't make a lot out of that is because the differences didn't rise to the level of statistical difference on there. The one that does is age -- I'm sorry, is gender composition that we have. The Tea Party is more likely to be male than those who identify with the Christian Conservative Movement; a little more likely to be female. That was one of the main ones that jumped up.

In terms of the immigration question, illegal versus legal, you know, we've done polling on -- also sponsored by the Ford Foundation earlier this year on that. We certainly used the -- we used illegal immigration on those pollings.

The substitution of that one word doesn't actually affect the polling results that much. When you -- the key thing is whether you define that we're talking about a path to citizenship. Like are we -- whether you just floated out there as something, you know, like if you don't define that we're really talking about a path to citizenship for immigrants who are here working.

That -- that's where you can get really big shifts in the numbers. The numbers we have here are trend numbers also from the National Election Study, so we got the wording from there. But like I said, in March, we polled and used the word "illegal

immigrants;" still had 6 in 10 -- more than 6 in 10 Americans supporting a comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship. So the numbers actually don't shift that much.

And on foreign policy, we unfortunately don't have a lot of foreign policy questions in the survey that I can point to right off the bat. The one place I will point to, and Karlyn it looks like you're -- up to go, is on conceptions of America, which is not exactly a foreign policy question but we -- one thing we did find that we didn't bring out but maybe it's worth throwing out here, is that members of the Tea Party are actually more likely than those who identify themselves with the Christian Conservative Movement to say that America is a Christian nation, right, to have that perception of America.

And so that's an interesting -- really interesting finding I think that sort of -
- it goes along with some of the other things -- tensions we've talked about here. But go ahead.

MR. DIONNE: I saw that answer and I thought maybe a lot of Christian conservatives don't think America lives up to the name or something like that.

MR. JONES: Yeah.

MR. DIONNE: Which is, I think a possible --

MR. JONES: All right.

MR. DIONNE: -- explanation, Karlyn.

MS. BOWMAN: I was just going to cite the question that -- that Robbie just cited. But there are hardly any questions about Tea Party views on foreign policy. I mean, I think I've read just about every poll on the Tea Party and I -- there's just nothing.

SPEAKER: We were talking about this yesterday at another discussion.

I think there is a possibility that some chunk of the Tea Party are more noninterventionists. And you're seeing some of that in terms of some of their supporters in the Congress but we don't have enough data yet.

I mean my hunch is you're going to see a debate inside the Republican Party over the next couple of years on where the noninterventionists -- if I -- some people say isolationists, I prefer noninterventionists, will probably have more voice now than they've had for the last 10 years. But as I said, I don't want to talk beyond the data. We have just on African Americans -- Robbie, what percentage of Tea Party folks were African American?

MR. JONES: Among all -- yeah, among all Tea Partiers, it was 4 percent --

SPEAKER: Right, so that --

MR. JONES: -- African American.

MR. DIONNE: Just my answer to -- yeah, to the -- to your question, is there maybe -- there -- you know, I'm sure there are individual African Americans who support the Tea Party. They simply are not, and this is consistent with every survey I've seen, a significant part of the movement. It's not surprising that they want to have them up front.

It's common for groups to do that but they are 4percent by our survey and as I say, I think that's consistent with other surveys. I want to go to David Saperstein, and then Jane Mayer, and then a couple over there.

MR. SAPERSTEIN: I want to pick up on Mike's interesting challenge about this question of the role of government that I think is quite fascinating here. In the 2008 election there were a number of surveys that did break downs amongst younger

segments of religious communities, Evangelicals and Catholics. There was a significant difference and over 20 points.

On the question of the government should play a larger role in solving our problems amongst under 35 as opposed to over 35 Evangelicals, I'm sure the data is in there. I don't know if you can pull it out, Robbie, but I'd be really curious to know even if it dropped. Did it drop, you know, with the gap between the younger and the older on this? Is that a dynamic in terms of looking to the future that in the religious communities -
- address Michael's question.

MR. DIONNE: And then Jane Mayer.

MS. MAYER: Jane Mayer with the *New Yorker* Magazine. My question is much in the same area as yours, which is are those numbers really something new that you're looking at when you're talking about this being a kind of a new phenomenon of Tea Party members opposing an activist government to sort of level the playing field or are you really just seeing that the Tea Party is giving voice to a strain that's been there, particularly since it's mostly a southern phenomenon, since you know, or is this reconstruction, is this anti civil rights, is this, you know, the ads of -- homes -- I see -- you see -- you needed that job.

You know, all -- that whole sort of strain of thinking that kind of, you know, Kevin Phillips' strategy. You know, is that -- is this new?

MR. DIONNE: Thank you.

MS. MAYER: I've got numbers looking back.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. And then that lady back there for a third question. I hope you don't mind mine being Trinitarian on these questions.

MS. POSNER: Sarah Posner with *Religion Dispatches*. My question is

for Robbie. Robbie, as you know, I'm grateful for this survey because I've been talking for a long time about how we don't know enough about the religion of the Tea Partiers.

And I was wondering to what extent the questions drilled down a little bit more about their beliefs, about the respondents' beliefs about government and the Bible. Because what I've seen in my reporting on the Tea Party is a lot of Tea Party support from people associated with the Constitution Party, for example, which I think a lot of people see as a Libertarian movement but actually it calls for the replacement of civil law with biblical law.

So I was wondering whether any of the questions sort of drill down a little bit more into the respondents' thinking on the role of biblical law in civil life.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. Robbie on all three.

MR. JONES: Okay.

MR. DIONNE: And then anyone else who wants to jump in.

MR. JONES: Great, so we'll start with the Bible. We have -- so because we have questions on the Bible and peoples' literal interpretation of the Bible, and that category tends to be -- when people -- when respondents say they have a literal view of the Bible, that tends to be the one most highly correlated with political views.

It tends to be more highly correlated on social issues than the economic issues. I don't think I've got in front of me the numbers to know whether the correlations are actually statistically significant on the issue of government. Where I know they're statistically significant is on gay and lesbian issues.

In fact, it's one of the most -- someone having a literal view of the Bible is one of the single most powerful predictors, holding all other demographic characteristics constant of someone's view -- support for same sex marriage for example.

So we know those views are there. I'd have to actually look at it to see if those correlations actually stand up on the views of government. The correlations are there. What I don't know is whether they stand up under control. So I'd have to kind of take a look at that.

The thing on is it new, and I think this goes back to a kind of split thing here, that it's -- I mean, I think it's new -- when you look at the numbers -- I was looking at places where it stands out. On the issue of government, right, where the government is doing too many things; I mean, the Tea Party is at 83 percent on this question, right, doing too many things that ought to be left up to individuals. That's significantly higher than the Republican Party on this point; there's 75 percent.

And it's considerably more than Christian conservatives which are at two thirds, at 66 percent. So where I think it's new is at a kind of level of intensity and it's at a level of intensity of an organized group; right.

So that wing may have always been there but I think it's got a cohesion now, and a label, and a kind of momentum, as Mike was saying, that really is -- I think that piece is certainly new.

And the age divides that Rabi Saperstein referred to are absolutely there. And one of the things about the Tea Party are it tends to be a little older than the general population, with 53 percent age 50 or over, and so one of the things to think about is how does it deal with -- because you're absolutely right.

On the issue of government, young people generally tend to be more support of a broader role for government in life and so one tension may be is, you know, maybe they find the segment of the younger vote that doesn't agree with that. But if they want to expand it broadly to young people that may be one sticking point.

MR. DIONNE: Anyone on any of those questions? Yeah. Mike.

MR. GERSON: Can I just make one point earlier? I think it's worth pointing out that there are various forms of victimhood, not just racial victimhood, when we approach these issues, particularly because there's a significant Evangelical element here.

If you look at the Beck rally, what you had is this kind of broad, civic, religion view that America used to be a better and more religious country and now -- and we wish we were back in those days, okay. Now I have no doubt that they're, you know, that that can be mixed with a lot of other motives.

But I think particularly when you're talking about kind of the religious right contingent here, that is an important part of religious right ideology that we've -- there's been a fall from a kind of ideal America that was more religious.

It's not, for most or even I think many, have a direct kind of racial connotation. And I don't think that's necessarily what Beck, at least as far as I could tell, was appealing to. I think that there are theological problems with that point of view and historical inadequacies to that point of view. But I think a lot of it is just a broad nostalgia that -- that's been there, I think particularly among Christian conservatives for a long time, so.

SPEAKER: I just want to give a one-sentence answer to Jane's question, which is, if you'll get their language, their references to the Constitution, their attitudes toward the peril of the country, faces as they see it, I think in so many ways the Tea Party is the old right with a cable network, a group of talk shows, social networking, some rather wealthy donors, Sarah Palin and Glenn Beck. And so that makes -- the back half makes it a little different. But anyone else on --

SPEAKER: I did want to respond and I do think the coalescing of the Christian nation, the biblical literalism, and the kind of totemic view of the Constitution bears watching because I think it will be very interesting to see whether dominionism increases in the Tea Party because I think the Libertarian folk that I talk to aren't going to go there and yet there is a strong anti-government, you know, strain.

Dominionism is not actually anti-government. So it's just a different kind. So you know, and I don't think these things have settled down anywhere. But it would be very interesting going forward to see where those things conflict and where they might move forward together.

SPEAKER: By the way, I think besides there are varieties of liberals and conservatives, there are also varieties of Libertarians.

SPEAKER: Right.

MR. DIONNE: And I think there are some Libertarians who are more socially conservative. Some people have used the term "Paleolibertarian" to refer to them, not necessarily critically, just as -- although, I guess some of them were critical.

But anyway, I think the Libertarians are more diverse than we sometimes think. We've got time for another round right over here and then if we can bring a mic up to the middle row to get those two and then that lady. I'll do four at the end just so we can get you all in.

DR. POPLIN: Hi, I'm Dr. Caroline Poplin. I'm an attorney and a physician. My question is since the -- there's a lot of anxiety in the Tea -- in Tea Party members, given the economy, did they have -- and they don't like the role of government. One of the roles of government -- in the Great Depression, for instance, and the Progressive Movement -- was to regulate big business, which is -- which arguably is

causing a lot of this trouble. Did you ask Tea Party members about the role of government vis-à-vis the corporate community?

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. This gentleman here and then right in front.

MR. GONZALEZ: My name is -- Gonzalez and I work for the newspaper *El Mundo* in Spain. One of the new things of the Tea Party, I think, and we talked about that is that they are quite leaderless; they are quite decentralized. So my question is do you think that they will be able to work like this in the future after victory? Is this -- sustainable?

And I'm thinking of the 2012 elections when, for example, in the Republican primaries there are going to be several candidates that they could endorse. To what extent they're going to be so influential as they have been until now in the 2012 election.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you; and then this gentleman and that lady right there, yes.

MR. BRIGHTENBOOKER: My name is Joseph Brightenbooker. My question is most likely for Mr. Jones. I've heard said many times that the educational level of Tea Party members or sympathizers is higher than the population in general. But my experience would be that especially in terms of political history, economic history, any kind of history, they're -- they tend to be low information people as -- in the sense that Sarah Palin is low information compared to President Obama.

And my question is -- is that true about their educational level and if so, is there any depth to which you went into regarding what their educations really are? Are they more technical educations or business educations versus social science educations?

MR. DIONNE: And one last question from the lady who's had her hand up for a while. Thank you.

MS. MARLOWE: My name is Laura Marlowe. I'm the *Irish Times* correspondent in Washington. I was fascinated by that 43 percent of Tea Partiers who said they were not religious conservatives.

And I wondered, it may be in the report and I just haven't spotted it yet but in the context of American religiosity, American religious belief, we know because all of the surveys show it that Americans are much more religious than Europeans, much more believing, much higher, you know, belief in God and creationism and so on. So -- and Michael Gerson mentioned Obama's Christian faith. I mean, can you compare the religiosity of Tea Partiers to the religiosity of Americans in general? Are they really significantly more religious than other Americans? Thanks.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. It's great to end with a great question and a lovely accent. Thank you so much. Let's -- why don't I start with Susan so that Robbie can clean up any issues he wants to clean up at the end?

MS. THISTLETHWAITE: Well, you know, I, too, am interested in what's the content of this religiosity. It does not seem to overlap but we don't have enough data on it in relationship to views on white Evangelicals and at least their practices of caring for the poor, the outsider, the least of these.

And that is a strain in American religiosity as well, and funds, both literally and metaphorically, American charitable and philanthropic efforts. So I think that the, you know, the outlier here is this role of government and I agree, everybody said this five or six times.

I think that should government be doing this, should this be done

privately through charity, and -- but who are these 43 percent? I'm interested in that and I think it's something that as this unfolds will become clearer over time.

SPEAKER: I'll just conclude with the more political question and it -- I think it relates to the earlier question, why does this matter. I think it's fair to say that the primary -- the early states, small state primaries and caucus process is very conducive to Tea Party influence and the Republican Party. And so it's likely to have a serious effect going into the season, the political season, which in many ways, begins right after the midterm election.

The -- I -- you have a number of candidates, people like Tim Pawlenty, who are mainstream Republicans who are trying to sound like Tea Party candidates. I mean, that's the calculation that's going on. And I think it's fair to say, you know, a lot of Republicans don't want to admit this but Sarah Palin, I think, would do very well in Iowa and very well in South Carolina and that makes her the frontrunner for the Republican nomination.

And that's a -- I mean, that's a reality and I don't know if she'll run or not, but that's I think a -- no other candidate right now I think can make that claim. And she has carried on a lot of Tea Party enthusiasm. I'll only say in her defense because I have been critical of her in print, that in some ways she's actually more of a mainstream Republican than some other elements of the Tea Party Movement in her ideology, in her views, given her background, running for President, and other things. But it's -- but I think it's, you know, that's where Republicans stand right now and this is likely to be a debate going into next year.

MR. DIONNE: Mike's prediction just warmed the hearts of every Democrat. It's not -- you're not accustomed to that, Mike, Karlyn.

MS. BOWMAN: I'd like to just say a quick word on the role of government questions because I have looked at these for a very long time and I would argue that the debate about the role of government generally takes place publically, though, not as Bill has shown so eloquently among the leads, it's a debate between the 20-yard lines or maybe even the 10-yard lines, but among the general public I think the debate about the role of government generally takes place probably within the 40-yard lines overall.

And if you look at all of the survey questions that have been asked, including some of the ones in this survey overall, but the national questions about the role of government, again, you do see a swing toward the view that government is problem causing, intrusive, wasteful, too expensive right now, and that's not surprising at all.

It started under George W. Bush and it's gotten a little bit bigger but those numbers haven't moved substantially. But I think there is something new and I don't disagree, Susan, with what you've said about the characteristics of the Tea Party Movement, though, I'm not sure I'd go as far as you have on those questions, but I'm seeing something in the data that I haven't seen before and I think it's animating Tea Party supporters and a lot of other people in this election as you're seeing a new -- a reaffirmation of self reliance.

And perhaps, surprisingly, it seems to be starting with young people and this gets to the earlier question. Young people tend to want action, which of course is why they supported Newt Gingrich and why they supported Barack Obama.

I mean they just always are more interested in the action oriented candidate or policy overall. But they're extraordinarily skeptical about the government, but not hostile to it. They're extraordinarily skeptical about big business, but not hostile to

big business.

But a third of them are the product of divorce so they're thinking about a lot of issues very differently and I think you're going to see a rebirth of self reliance, which is part of a lot of what Christian teaching, of course, and helping other people and the like is a very important part of it. So I think -- I'm not quite as negative on the role of government issues and the way that you see the issues overall; so.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. And Robbie.

MR. JONES: Great. So I'll try to clean up some of the -- hopefully I can get to all of the questions. We didn't have a more specific -- we've already talked about the role of government questions. We did not have a more specific question about connecting it to corporate America or anything like that. So we've kind of covered the ground, I think on the questions that we have on the role of government.

On the influence in the 2012 elections, I think that's already pretty much been covered. I would say Sarah Palin has high favorability numbers here among this group, really stand out at 80 percent favorable. Although, as E.J. pointed out, Mike Huckabee, 69 percent; Mitt Romney even 56 percent. You know, they're basically behind the kind of frontrunner Republican candidates at varying levels here. That's really, I think, significant.

And on the education level, basically what we see is that the education level of the Tea Partiers doesn't differ significantly from Republicans. It's basically what it looked like here. It's a little higher than Christian conservatives and some of that is because there's a higher concentration of minorities who identify with the Christian Conservative Movement then who identify with the Tea Party Movement. So that makes it differential and minority groups are less likely to have higher education levels. That's --

tends to be where that falls out.

And then finally on the question about religion and where they compare religion in general, yeah, this general pattern we see is basically the Tea Party, those who identify with the Tea Party Movement, have higher levels of religiosity on almost all of the measures that we can look at then the general population.

Higher -- biblical literalism, they attend church at higher rates than the general population does, they say -- they're more likely to say religion is the most important thing in their life than the general population, but they're lower on all of those measures than the Christian Conservative Movement.

Right, so they're kind of somewhere in between the general population, the Christian Conservative Movement. But basically, right on, again, with where Republicans are, -- Republicans are on religiosity measures.

And then I'll just close with two quick nods. One to Mike on the word nostalgia, and I think it's right. I think really that's a really important part of what's going on here, is that part of this is a kind of nostalgia for a kind of idealized America that has certain attributes.

And you can see it. I think part of what you see it is in that America is a Christian nation question, right, where the Tea Party is well out of -- in front of even Christian conservatives on that question. And one explanation for that, at least it's not -- we can't -- from the data. It might be that it's aspirational; right, a kind of nostalgia aspirational kind of answer that we get sometimes in surveys on these kinds of questions.

And then lastly, I'm going to close with this. I think E.J. is right I said it a couple of times, to not underestimate the centrality of Sarah Palin and FOX News. Here -
- that the data really suggest that these two things are playing kind of architectural roles.

With the Tea Party, I might push back a little bit about Karlyn saying it's a leaderless movement with no -- nobody pulling the strings.

The data suggests that at least -- as those who identify with the Tea Party are reporting back to us, very high -- like FOX News, remember 57 percent of the Tea Partiers say, that's nearly 6 in 10, say that's the most trusted news for politics and current events. That's well ahead of Republicans who are only at 48 percent, it's well ahead of Christian conservatives who are only at 39 percent.

So it's sort of -- that one -- and Palin's numbers are similar. They're well out ahead of Republicans and Christian conservatives on their approval of Sarah Palin as a candidate.

MR. DIONNE: I want to thank you, Robbie. A good audience always provides assignments for the panels, so -- and people who do research like second and third hits on their research, so as I see it, Robbie has two reports, more coming.

One on the demographic or full display of the demographic and the other if the numbers are big enough, report on the difference between Tea Partiers who are part of the religious Conservative Movement and those who -- so look out for that.

Secondly, we are not stopping with this. We are planning a panel survey where we are going to go back to these people -- folks we interviewed, after the election and so please stay tuned for that. I guess we will invite you back to our session on two cups of tea.

I want to thank Susan, Mike, and Karlyn. I want to thank Sheila, Corrine, and all of the folks at Brookings, and my colleague Bill Galston, and above all, thank you, Robbie Jones, for a great survey.

MR. JONES: Thanks.

(Applause)

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706 Duke Street, Suite 100
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone (703) 519-7180 Fax (703) 519-7190