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DUELING VISIONS FOR THE NATION

FINDINGS FROM THE TENTH ANNUAL AMERICAN VALUES SURVEY

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## P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. DIONNE JR: I want to welcome everybody here today. Thank you all for coming. By the way, I want to should out our colleague, Melissa Rogers, who has a new book that just came out three days ago called "Religion in American Public Life." Anyways, she's special; I did a special interruption here. I will not ask you to sing happy birthday, but this is the tenth anniversary meeting of the -- it's the tenth anniversary of the ABS American Values Survey and the tenth anniversary of the partnership between Brookings and PRRI, which is very exciting and as my colleague, Bill Galston, said, "If you look at all the progress America has made in the last ten years, imagine what we will be like at the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this event." I've got to say that it has been a real joy for my colleague, Bill Galston, and me here at Brookings to partner with Robbie and all the great people at PRRI. I just want to acknowledge right at the outset. I want to thank first Darrell West, the Vice President for Governance Studies here you have been a real supporter of this partnership all these years and for enormous amounts of work in putting this together here at Brookings and (inaudible) Clara Hendrickson and Leti Davalos. Thank you all very, very much and Robbie will acknowledge the legions at PRRI who put all of this together.

I also want to welcome our online audience and also, if anyone wants to tweet about this the hashtag you will see up there is #AVS2019. And then, unfortunately, a little happy anniversary thing does not pop up when you do that hashtag, but it ought to.

Two other things. One is I just want to acknowledge what a joy it is to work with my colleague, Bill Galston. I think we vibe with each other as to who likes data more and Bill will come up later, but I just want to say he holds the Ezra Zilkha chair in the Governance Studies program. He's the senior fellow. He was Saul Stern professor and acting dean at the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland. He's done so many things that I could through. He worked in the White House. His most recent book, which I highly recommend it, it's really a short great read. It is "Anti Pluralism: The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy." That is one of many books he has written and he is a winner of the American Political Science Association. Hubert H. Humphrey Award and a few of us in the room are old enough to remember the service Hubert H. Humphrey gave to our country.

I said to Robbie that the standard rises for his Power Point so I am a Power Point skeptic

myself and Robbie just wipes away all of your skepticism about Power Points because he actually uses them I think for what they were designed for, which is to take a complex set of data and make them interesting exciting. Robbie said I keep raising the standard for his Power Points every year, but he keeps upping his game every year. Robbie is the founder and CEO of PRRI. He is the leading commentator and scholar on religion, culture, and politics. He is the author of the “End of White Christian America” and had a new book coming out shortly, which is not on this bio, but you can pre-plug it if you want. He writes a column for the Atlantic. He has been on virtually every major television media, MSNBC, CNN, NPR. He has written for the New York Times, the Washington Post. Also, I should tell you he’s written for the Washington Post and the New York Times, I can be slightly biased. He serves as co-chair of the National Steering Committee for the Religion and Politics Section at the American Academy of Religion. He holds a Ph.D. in religion from Emory University. By the way, I had the joy of doing an event at Emory and Robbie is really well-off at his alma mater. He’s got a MDiv from Southwest Baptist Theological Seminary so he will pause for prayer in the middle of his Power Point. And, just so you know, these numbers are extremely well-crafted. He has a bachelor’s degree in computing science and mathematics from Mississippi College. He was selected by Emory’s Graduate Division of Religion as the Distinguished Alumnus of the Year in 2013 and by the Math Department at Mississippi College as the Alumnus of the Year in 2016. I challenge anybody in this room to have both of those honors. That’s why he does this so well.

Before he founded PRRI, he worked as a consultant and senior research fellow at several think tanks here in Washington and he also taught religious studies at Missouri State so no one can say Robbie Jones is unfamiliar with the parts of the country that happen not to be on the coasts of our great nation.

We are pretty much as divided as we think we are. This survey really underscores that dramatically. I am grateful that Robbie once again can explain this to ourselves and I ask you to welcome my friend and colleague and partner, Robbie Jones.

MR. JONES: Well, thank you E.J. I do just want to say, I know you’re all here for the data so we’ll get to that very quickly, but I do want to just say a grand thank you to both E.J. and Bill Galston for ten years of a partnership, which is really unusual. Things move fast and move around a lot

in D.C. so ten years of anything I think is unusual and I'm really honored to have this partnership. It is kind of our flagship survey, the American Value Survey. We released it here at Brookings. Every year that we've released it, it has been, like, one of the highlights of PRRI's existence really. So, I'm very happy to be here again to give you a sense of where we are.

So, you have reports so you've seen the title here "Fractured Nation. Widening Partisan Polarization." I have one little spot where I'm going to kind of highlight where less polarization is happening, but the rest of it is a lot of polarization so stay tuned.

So, first of all, just what are you looking at today. It is the tenth annual American Values Survey. It actually consists of two surveys. We did a kind of wave one and wave two. We did 2,500 American adults at a probability base panel run by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. That was conducted at the end of August and into the middle of September and then some stuff happened, right? So, then we went back into the field to make sure that the stuff we had kind of analyzed in mid-September was still holding or how things had shifted over the dramatic events that have happened since then.

So, the second wave, and I'll point you when we're there, was actually October 10 through the 13<sup>th</sup> of this year so after the impeachment announcement there and also want to say a heartfelt thank you to the Carnegie Corporation in New York, the Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock, and the New World Foundation who made the survey possible today.

All right. So, just how bad is it out there? We'll jump in. One really interesting thing, I'll start off with kind of a big picture thing about how the two parties have shifted. So, before I get into showing you where they are, one of the reasons that they have shifted is because we have been sorting ourselves along racial and religious and partisan lines and those vectors have started to line up so that we're getting increasing sorting. So, here's where we are today. This is actually dated from our American Values atlas, which is our big 50,000-person sample from 2018. But one measure of this that we've made a lot of at PRRI and paid attention to is all white Christians so this is evangelical, mainline, Catholic, non-denominational, all groups together and there are the partisan divides here and what you can see is this dramatic difference between the two political parties, right? About 7 in 10 Republicans identify as white and Christian compared to only about 3 in 10 Democrats. So, one of the driving factors about why

this divergence is that we see by party is because of this kind of cultural sorting that we've seen over time.

If we rewind the clock about ten years ago, this looks a little different. Republican are about 8 in 10 white and Christian ten years ago, but Democrats are half white and Christian ten years ago, right? So, the gap between the two parties has gotten to be quite a lot bigger and just for context, and I'll the percent of religiously unaffiliated Americans across here, and so, if you look at white Christians versus the unaffiliated, you can also see the very different partisan profile in terms of race and religion in the country today. So, just kind of keep that on the back shelf. That's where I'm kind of marching through.

One of the really interesting things to look at is whether people think the country is heading in the right direction. I'm just going to put two data points. 2016, right before the election the kind of the end of the Obama administration and today and I'll do it by party. It's fairly dramatic. There's Republicans about whether the country is heading in the right direction compared to the end of the Obama administration to today. Here are independents and here are Democrats, right? Now, this is pretty self-explanatory, but one of the things to pay attention to is look at the gap between 2016 and 2019 between the two political parties, right, the distance here. We're looking at really that 35 points in 2016 and we're now looking at 60 points, right, in 2019. So, even if you know these are people reading through partisan glasses, the divergence that we see and the increasing polarization is fairly dramatic even a fairly simple question like whether the country is heading in the right direction or not.

The other thing is one of the headlines of the survey really is that when we asked Americans what their most critical issues were, then we had 12 issues in the survey and we allowed them to rank them critical issue, important but not critical, and not an important issue and we looked at the critical issues in the country we found no overlap between the top three issues of Democrats and the top three issues of Republicans when you look at their top three issues. So, here are issues that Democrats rated at critical. You see the top three. Healthcare, climate change, foreign interference in U.S. elections, and it drops off from there. This is the top three here. Healthcare, climate change, foreign interference, and here are Republicans. So, fairly low. Even on healthcare, less than half, less than 1 in 5 on climate change and U.S. elections. Republicans top three, terrorism, immigration, crime, right? So,

think about that, right? Terrorism, immigration, crime on one side most important issues of the country versus healthcare, climate change, foreign interference in U.S. elections. So, just very different lenses on what's important, what's at stake, what are we worried about as we kind of head into this next election cycle.

We also had a little experiment that we did. We had a whole range of personal labels and these are not all of them and we may talk about these some more. Various kinds that people could identify with. We had a very similar experience with which labels Republican versus Democrats were attracted to. These were like personal labels that describe you somewhat or very well is how the question was phrased. So, here are Democrats. I'm sorry these are Republicans. You would have figured that out, right? Even if you didn't have the color, you would have known that I had these wrong. So, these are Republicans top three. Spiritual, traditional, and way out here super majority America first, 9 in 10 sort of claiming that label. And here are Democrats, right. Progressive, environmentalist, humanist, and spiritual. The only one that has significant overlap here is the spiritual one interestingly enough. So, we can kind of unpack that a little bit later.

But other than that, we are looking at very different again. Progressive, environmentalist, humanist, spiritual, traditional, and America first in another way of kind of thinking about the big ideological divides.

We also had a battery of questions and this is just a sample here about different social norms and demographic changes in the country. So, the first one, society as a whole has become too soft and feminine so changing gender roles. This is actually a question that's been asked on the General Social Survey for quite a while. This a question that PRRI wrote and been asking for a number of years so called reverse discrimination. Discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against blacks and other minorities.

A new one that we wrote this year, immigrants are invading our country and replacing our culture and ethnic background and then finally one on religion. It is necessary to believe in god, to be moral, and have good values. So, gender roles, racial discrimination, immigration, and then necessary to believe in god, to be moral, and have good values. So, here we go. So, here are Republicans who agree with all those. Were in majority territory kind of across the board here. And here are independents and

here are Democrats. So, far below majority. The biggest thing here is about a third still say it's necessary to believe in god and have moral values. But, again, gender roles, racial discrimination, immigration, and religion, right? Very different kind of priorities and opinions across a number of cultural issues. So, it's not just politics, right? It goes way, way down to kind of culture and perceptions about how things are shifting.

We also tried to get a sense -- every year for the last few years we've been trying to get a sense of what political scientists sometimes call negative polarization, right? That is that what the political science literature suggests is that overall the partisanship was seeing is less because partisans love their own party and more because they just hate the other party, right?

So, last year we had a question some of you may remember about we call the guess who's coming to dinner question that asked whether you'd be alarmed if your son or daughter married somebody of the opposite politic party. And just as a wind up for that, we had 35 percent of Republicans and 45 percent of Democrats saying they'd be somewhat or very worried if their son or daughter married someone from the opposite political party. That question got asked in 1960. The answer was 5 percent of each party. So, we got Republicans seven times as likely, Democrats nine times as likely to be alarmed by this.

So, we had a different way of getting at this this year. We had it paired off as a question and we asked about perceptions of the Republican party. We had two statements, which one closest to your view. The Republican party is trying to protect the American way of life against outside threats or the Republican party has been taken over by racists. All right. So, here is what Republicans think they're up to. Trying to protect the American way of life against outside threats, right? Nearly all. Independents, right down the middle. And there's Democrats, right? 8 in 10 think that the Republican party has been taken over by racists.

Now, we are equal opportunity at PRRI so we asked a similar question about Democrats, right? So, are Democrats trying to make capitalism work for the average American or the Democratic party has been taken over by socialists on the other hand. So, there's Republicans, 8 in 10 Democrat party has been taken over by socialists. Independents fairly divided again and Democrats 8 in 10 the other direction, right?

So, what we have is, you know, two parties. One, the Democrats think the Republican party has been taken over by racists and the Republican party think that the Democratic party has been taken over by socialists so that's where we're at in terms of kind of thinking about the other party. What's interesting, though, about capitalism and socialism is that there are very different conceptions by party about what people think those terms mean, right? So, we gave two different possibly definitions of capitalism here. A system where government stays out of the way and allows private businesses to succeed and make a profit or a system where the interests of businesses and company shareholders are placed above the interest of workers and the middle class. You can probably see where this is going. Two-thirds of Republicans take the first one, right? The government gets out of the way and allows private businesses to succeed. Independents, fairly divided and Democrats the other way. Not quite as much, but certainly 6 in the other way. So, a lot of kind of just this, you know, when this term comes up.

Similar thing, we wrote a question around socialism, which is two things that come to your mind when you think about socialism. A system where a government provides citizens with health insurance, retirement support, access to free higher education, or a system where the government controls key parts of the economy such as utilities, transportation, and communications industry, right? So, Republicans overwhelmingly 61 percent say the second one more soviet style kind of state ownership. Independents, right down the middle and Democrats the other way, right? Two-thirds thinking about it as kind of more of a social safety net kind of thing.

So, again, when we're talking about socialism, people don't define their terms really having two different conversations that are kind of just running in parallel to each other.

Instead of kind of going through a bunch of immigration questions, we grouped a number together because they basically all scaled the same way except with a couple of exceptions and will hold up in a minute. But we built a scale out of four questions. One is passing a law that places stricture limits on the number of legal immigrants coming to the U.S. Two, temporarily preventing people from some majority Muslim countries from entering the U.S. Three, building a wall along the U.S. border with Mexico and four, passing a law to prevent refugees from entering the U.S. So, refugees, wall, Muslim travel band, and stricture limits on legal immigration. So, all that's in this scale. We re-percentages it so we could measure it in one way. And who favors more of the restrictive immigrations policies is nearly 9 in



10 Republicans, right, that sort of favor across if you combine those questions into one measure all of these. Independents, slightly leaning in that direction as well, 54/45. But Democrats are 2 to 1 the opposite direction, right? More than two-thirds sort of opposing that collection of policies together.

Now, what's interesting about immigration is that we hear about it all the time from the Trump Administration and you would think that by now it may have just like all immigration questions run the same way along partisan lines. There's actually two that break this mold and they're fairly important so I want to kind of make sure I highlight them here is these two. Allowing immigrants living in the country illegally a way to become citizens provided they meet certain requirements. Now, this question we've been asking since 2012. So, we have seven years of data on this question. Remarkably, it has not budged. Through all so we got Obama, we got Trump, we got all the campaigns, we got legislation in and out, and Americans have stayed fairly steady on this question for seven years despite the political football that this has been and I'll show you where people are and on this question I flipped it just to get it going in the same direction. Opposing an immigration border policy that separates children from their parents and charges parents as criminals when they enter the country without permission so the family separation policy.

So, here's where we are on the first question allowing immigrants in the country a way to become citizens. Essentially, a path to citizenship question with 51 percent of Republicans majority supporting that policy. And this when we gave people actually three options so it wasn't just agree. It was actually three options they could pick from. The first one was this one. The second one was allowing them to become permanent legal residents, but not citizens and the third one was identify and deport them. So, even given three options we have a slim majority, but a majority nonetheless, among Republicans there. Two-thirds of independents and 8 in 10 Democrats and that Republican number has wiggled a little bit, but it's been right around half of Republicans for seven years. It really hasn't moved. So, that's fairly remarkable and then the second one is the family separation policy and here very similar patterns, but a little stronger majority. 54 percent of Republicans opposing that. A majority of white evangelicals oppose that as well and then three quarters and 9 in 10. So, these are two places where there's actually not the kind of partisan polarization, but they are a little bit of a rare window especially on an issue like immigration.

So, let's talk a little bit about the Democratic side and then we'll flip to the Republican side to kind of wrap it up and I know you are all waiting on the impeachment numbers so we'll get to that at the very end. So, it lets anyone kind of get up and leave. So, it's sort of like the commercials at the end of the show, right? You kind of hold it out late. So, where are we on the Democratic side? So, this is among all Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents here and this is favorability numbers and whether people knew enough to even have an opinion on the candidates. Basically, here are the top five. We asked about, like, 19 I think and a lot of the survey dedicated this. Here are the top five that we see. Basically, there are kind of three tiers. These are the lower tier here, Kamala Harris, Pete Buttigieg, and you will see high numbers of kind of don't know enough to say here out on the grey, but basically, in positive net territory on terms of favorability among all Democrats.

Elizabeth Warren sort of in a middle tier here still almost a quarter saying they don't know enough to say about Elizabeth Warren, but 67 teens of very high net favorable and then finally, Bernie Sanders and Joe Biden on favorability in singlet digits of people saying they don't know enough to say and again, high net favorability. So, everybody is in net favorability. The real difference is how many people say they know enough to even have an opinion so that's kind of where we are with the top five.

We asked on the survey, also, allowed people to give their first, second, and third choice and here's a fair number here. It's not everybody, but it's enough for you to get the sense. And here is a first-choice undecideds and the kind of bottom tier who are in single digits in first, second, or third choice. We had 19 percent who said they had no first-choice candidate right now so that's kind of where we are about a year out. And here are the kind of people in single digits first, second, and third choice cumulative and then we have kind of a next tier that's Kalama Harris and Pete Buttigieg. Again, and sort of moving into double digits, but still nowhere near the top three here, Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren, and Joe Biden.

So, a little bit different picture from favorability here was Biden comes out on top, right, for the first, second, and third choice with Warren and Sanders kind of right behind and fairly even on that front. I won't take time to talk about it now, but we do have some data that we'll talk about in the discussion about where do people go if their candidate drops out, right? So, where do the first-choice people go for their second choice. We'll talk about that in a bit.

So, we also had this interesting question where we asked people how they were thinking about their vote for 2020. It's still a year out and so, we had these three options. I will support Donald Trump no matter who the Democratic candidate is, I will support the Democratic candidate no matter who it is, or my vote will depend on who the Democratic candidate is. And here's what people told us. About 28 percent of Americans -- and I've got how this sorts if we just do all Americans, we filtered on registered voters, or we do likely voters and for us, likely voters are people who are registered to vote and tell us they're certain to vote in 2020. And that's about 7 in 10 of the sample is in the likely voter category with that definition.

So, here's where everybody says I'll support Trump no matter what. Here are Americans who say I will support the Democratic candidate no matter what, right? So, Democratic candidates have a little bit of an edge here. And here are the people who say my vote depends on who the Democratic candidate is, right? So, it's about a third of the country about the same a little bit less with registered voters. It drops off here among likely voters. Part of the reason is that that group -- and we'll also unpack this a bit more when we have the discussion, but essentially this group is younger, they're more Latino, and they are more independent and moderate, right, all groups that vote less, right, so that's why you see the drop off here. They're a very complex group though as you will see here.

So, when we ask about what are the top three critical issues, among these what we're calling self-described uncommitted Americans, it basically turns out it's healthcare, terrorism, and jobs and unemployment. Now, if you can remember back to that first slide earlier, you will notice there is something on this slide that was not on the other slide and that's jobs and the employment, right? That was not on the top three issues of Democrats or Republicans here, but it is the top three here and the other interesting thing here is it is a kind of mix and match. Healthcare was one of the top three Democratic issues and terrorism was one of the top three Republican issues. So, you can see how complex they are in terms of the kind of self-identified partisans here. And, by the way, when we asked them what was most important in their picking a candidate, they said the candidates issue positions, right? That's what they're really looking at to kind of make up their mind.

So, again, among this uncommitted -- so who are their candidate preferences? And this is again among that about a third of Americans who are uncommitted and we see that they do lean

Democrat, but they also lean conservative, but only 18 percent of them when we asked them to pick any Democratic candidate over Trump and it was a select all that apply question, only 18 percent of them said they wouldn't pick a Democratic candidate over Trump. And here's how it came out kind of a little bit single digits and below. These are the lower tier folks, but you will see a couple things. Kamala Harris and Pete Buttigieg dropped a little bit among this group compared to where they were among Democrats and leaners. The top three are Sanders, Biden, and Warren among this group, right? So, that's pretty interesting. Sanders and Biden the same and then Warren coming in a little bit behind them in second. So, again, fairly complex route here.

All right. So, what about President Trump's support? So, the first thing is that we have been tracking President Trump's favorability actually since 2015 so we had it before the election and before he was even the candidate going forward. Here is President Trump's favorability rating among Republicans. That 87 percent is basically right after the inauguration and so, it kind of goes before the nominee, then into the election, and then the inauguration and you can see it stayed fairly flat, right, in the 80's all the way through since the inauguration. So, not a lot of movement there at all.

These are independents here and that's been pretty consistent. The general population has been somewhere in the lower 40's, around 40 percent all along the way. And then here are Democrats, right? Also, not a little movement, right? Pretty much high single digits across if you kind of draw a trend line through that. But, again, you can see this gets bigger. If you like of look, it looks like this, right? It kind of opens up over time so you see the partisan gap getting bigger here.

Another way we asked this question, so that was favorability, this is job performance. So, how well do you think Trump is doing? Do you favor his job approval, do you disapprove of his job approval, and then we asked a follow-up question to get at strength of approval and we asked whether or not, among those who said they approved, whether there was anything Trump could do to lose their support. And among those who disapproved whether there was anything Trump could do to gain their support, right? So, we could get it on both ends.

So, here's how this turns out if we kind of combine those two questions here into four categories. So, here's Democrats, right? 76 percent not only disapprove, but say there is virtually nothing Trump could do to win their support, right? Pretty locked in. Another 11 percent say this

disapprove, but might be able to get their support and only about 1 in 10 approve in one way or the other.

Independents here are fairly divided, but more disapprove of job approval, but 4 in 10 even independents say there's virtually nothing Trump could do to gain their support at this point, but here are Republicans, right? So, this is 88 percent job approval, but 37 points of that 88 are people who say there's almost nothing Trump could do, right? So, nearly 4 in 10 just locked in so back to that statement that Trump said he could walk down 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue and shoot somebody in the middle of the afternoon and it would be fine. You have about 4 in 10 Republicans kind of saying, "Yeah, maybe so," on this question. So, that's kind of pretty locked in here. This is also post impeachment announcement data by the way so this is where we are even post impeachment.

We also asked Republicans whether they would take any other Republican candidate over Trump in 2020, right? So, if they could just have any other Republican candidate and this is mid September before the impeachment announcement and these are various Republican and Republican leaning Independent subgroups. So, these are Fox News viewers. These are people that tell us that they most trust Fox News to give them accurate information about current event and politics, right? That's 44 percent of Republicans who say that.

And then we have other groups, white evangelical, Protestants, non-college graduates, all Republican-leaners, women, men, non-evangelicals, and then the flip side, white college graduates, and Fox News viewers. So, among all these kinds of groups of Republicans and Republican leaners, before the impeachment announcement, they're all in majority territory saying, "Nope. We're with Trump. We really wouldn't prefer another Republican candidate." But this is the follow-up survey. No movement, right? It is right in there so it had no affect on whether people would abandon ship and say now yeah, we'd rather have someone other than Trump across here. So, it moved up a little bit. These typically generally aren't significant movements. They are basically the same across time. In terms of Republicans and Republican independents, pretty stable here.

Another window into this is about -- we had a number of questions here about Trump's speech and behavior so kind of go down here. The first one is just, like, whether people wish President Trump's speech and behavior were more consistent with other presidents. The second one is agree or disagree that Trump has damaged his dignity of the presidency, Trump has encouraged white

supremacist groups, Trump's conduct makes him less likely -- and this last one is a three-part question that's why I have this space here. Trump's conduct makes you less likely to support him, makes no difference in your support, or makes you more likely to support him. So, these are all Americans right here for all these things. I'm just going to put Republicans up so you can kind of see the contrast here. So, less than half of Republicans even wish Trump's behavior was different or more consistent with other presidents. Only about less than a quarter say that President Trump has damaged his dignity of the presidency and less than a fifth say President Trump has encouraged white supremacist groups.

And on this three-part question here, basically, a majority, 55 percent of Republicans say Trump's conduct makes no difference in their support for him and if you look at -- it's basically even. It's a little bit more say it makes them less likely, but 1 in 5 say that Trump's conduct and behavior actually makes them more likely to support them. So, that's kind of where we are on kind of Trump's in general speech and behavior by party.

And on this question about whether Trump is encouraging white supremacist, one of the other things other than paying attention to is the differences between white Christian groups on a question like this and like their fellow non-white Christians and religiously unaffiliated Americans as well. So, on this question, this is among kind of where I'm going in the below is all white groups. So, this is all white Americans. Basically, divided on the question. A little plurality say that Trump has encouraged white supremacist groups, but nearly as many say he has not had an impact. Here are white evangelical Protestants, right? One one-fifth, 21 percent, say he has encouraged white supremacist groups, 70 percent say no impact either way, but white (inaudible) and Protestants and Catholics look different, but are basically divided on this question. They look similar to each other and different than evangelicals, but still divided. But if we look at whites who are religiously unaffiliated, you see a remarkable difference here, right? 74 percent of whites who are religiously unaffiliated say that Trump has encouraged white supremacist groups and what's interesting about this, I think, is that it turns out that white unaffiliated Americans actually look more like Christians of color on this question, right?

So, let me look them up so you can see this, right? Hispanic Protestants, Hispanic Catholics, African American Protestants 7 in 10 almost 8 in 10 among African American Protestants who say President Trump has encouraged. So, there's sort of a Christian gap here between African American

and Latino Christians and white Christians is enormous on a question like this.

Okay. Here we are, impeachment. So, where are we? One of the interesting things about this survey is that we did have right before the announcement and then we went back into the field right after the announcement. So, we have very tight, within about a month of here and we also had been asking this question. We first asked this question actually right after the inauguration. So, we have a data point way back. So, you can see planning ahead. So, here are all Americans over time and here's that month difference. So, it went from 47 percent to 51 percent in the majority territory favoring impeachment and our question not only had impeachment, but our question specified impeaching and removing from office, right? So, it's both. It's not just the impeachment part. We mostly asked it that way because we knew people didn't really know the difference for the most part.

So, impeaching and removing from office so it's both we're at 51 percent. We were at 47 percent just a month ago, which is where we were a year ago, right? So, basically, there was no change between '18 and '19 until the last month and it was at 30 percent back right at the inauguration, but there's Republicans all the way through. It went from 6 to 7. That's no difference, right, in the last month. So, single digits among Republicans and here are Democrats. We had a 10-point jump among Democrats just in the last year so most of that movement is really Democrats and independents as no movement among Republicans at all and then this next to last slide I want to show you here is about -- these are white groups. All this is filtered on white. Here is mid-September, mid-October so all whites in mid-September were at 37 percent, again, the religiously unaffiliated were at 6 in 10, white college graduates that were less than half, and this Fox view or non-Fox viewer same definition those who say they most trust Fox News over any other media outlet to provide accurate information about current events and politics.

So, here's where we were among white subgroups in mid-September and then over a month's time these are the shifts that we see over a month's time. Religiously unaffiliated, that's a heavily Democratic group so it doesn't surprise you so much. They moved about like Democrats did about 10 points. College graduates up 7. We didn't have the comparable number for Fox News viewers there, but this middle one is significant. Ten points among women, right, white women. And, even when we look under the hood at non-college graduates, we have 6 points there, but that actually hides a gender gap as

well and I don't have it up on the slide, but non-college white women went from 29 to 40 in the last month, right, and that is an 11-point movement consistent with what we see here among women overall. So, we're seeing kind of a movement across the board among white women and the non-evangelical Protestants see a little bit of movement here, but most of the movement I think it really about gender here and Democrats and around gender. And I am going to, yeah, I'm going to leave it there so we will kind of bring everybody up and we will have a discussion. Thank you.

MR. DIONNE JR.: All right. Well, as you can see, E.J. did not exaggerate Robbie's Power Point skills. It was a classic performance and my job is to keep this train running on time, which I will do by introducing our two expert panelists in the order in which they will offer their remarks on what they read and what they've heard about this survey and we will then have a frank and free discussion for about half an hour among the people seated before you after which it will be your turn. So, let me introduce our two panelists. Those of you who received the program will note that one of the panelists was to be Joy Reid who unfortunately developed respiratory problems last night and as I understand it, was actually rushed to the emergency room and by unanimous vote, we up here all wish her well and I'm sure everybody in the audience does as well. We are told that it's not serious. I hope that sticks.

But PRRI is a team constructed a little bit like the Washington Nationals, you know, and that is -- it's very good. You know, it doesn't matter whether you're talking about the starting players or the bench. The bench is just as good and, you know, we are deeply grateful that Melissa Deckman, Professor Melissa Deckman I should say, you know, who among her many other sterling qualities chairs the Board of the Public Religion Research Institute, has agreed to step in on very short notice. Thank you, thank you, thank you.

Melissa is the Louis L. Goldstein Professor of Public Affairs and Chair of the Political Science Department at Washington College. I hope at least some of you remember Louis L. Goldstein who was quite a figure. I remember I moved to Maryland in 1984 and Louis Goldstein had already been comptroller of the State of Maryland for 25 years when I moved there I said, "Okay, we're going to have a new comptroller pretty soon", and it shows you what I knew. As I recall, Louis died in office after having been returned to the position of comptroller of Maryland for ten consecutive terms over a period of 40 years. He was the classic politician's politician. I think he was first elected to the state senate in 1938 or



something like that. Remarkable man.

Melissa studies religion gender in American politics. I believe there's a piece of paper you have that lists her many books on those subjects and her associated academic honors. In the interests of time, but only in the interests of time, I will not dwell on that list.

And then we have Jennifer Rubin who write what is known as a trade as reported opinion for the Washington Post and what that means is that you actually have some evidence to back up what you're talking about as distinguished from opinionated opinion where you're much freer. She covers politics and policy foreign and domestic and provides insight into the conservative movement and I'll let her whether she is still a member of that movement or not. Among some people opinions differ. She is an MSNBC contributor. She came to the Post after three years with Commentary Magazine. Woody Allen famously asked what you get when you merge or breed commentary in decent magazine and his answer was dysentery. I know that it's no longer politically correct to refer to Woody Allen, but there's some footnotes that simply must be dropped. She has a JD and practiced labor law for two decades in experience it in forms and enriches her work. So, first Melissa and then Jennifer and then we're off and running.

MS. DECKMAN: Thank you for welcoming me here today. I heard from Robbie last night in the afternoon about Joy's unfortunate missing of this event and so, Robbie had asked if I'd pitch in at the last minute so please bear that in mind when you hear my comments, but I'm really happy to do so. Bill, thank you for comparing me to the Washington Nationals. My 10-year-old will be thrilled that you did that. He just knows I'm on the computer typing and working with number, but, you know, the Nat's analogy is really going to make him happy.

I have to say congratulations to Robbie and to the whole PRRI team for another terrific report. I strongly recommend if you get a chance to take it with you and take a look at all of their really interesting juicy tidbits that are in here. There are some really innovative questions. I think that's why I really like working with PRRI because they really are able to capture the pulse of what's happening in American politics, but to do so in a way that looks at it in sort of a unique lens. I love the battery of labels that you had up there. I'm going to talk a little about that in my prepared remarks today. There's also a fantastic question about whether or not we should ban plastic straws. You should take a look at this.

Teaching on a college campus, this is a huge topic, right, and so I'm constantly being pressured to in change for carrying around a plastic straw.

You will be surprised that a slight majority of evangelicals in the survey actually oppose a plastic straw ban. My theological understanding is that Jesus only used paper straws so I could be wrong, but this needs further unpacking definitely.

So, I'm not going to talk much today about the election forecast. I do not study elections as a political scientist and, of course, in 2015, I famously told my students, "There's no way Donald Trump will be the nominee for the Republican party." And then, of course, told reporters, "There's no way Donald Trump after he won the nomination would win." So, I have learned never to talk about what's going to happen in 2020.

So, I'm going to stick to my knitting and maybe talk about three areas that I do know a little bit about that's religion gender and I want to talk a little bit about the generational findings that really weren't talked about much in Robbie's presentation.

So, I want to start first with religion. I think one of the most frequent questions I get from reporters who are interested in Donald Trump is why is it that evangelicals support Donald Trump? How someone who is so shall we say flawed from a moral perspective can garner such, I think, devotion from this group? My early career I wrote a lot about evangelicals and American politics. And, of course, you think back to the time that these leaders gave Bill Clinton, right, during the impeachment crisis for his shenanigans with an intern and all of that, but I think that the data here show that support among evangelicals is not just rock solid, it's growing if you look at several years of PRRI's data here. Although this wasn't broken down by religious tradition, I thought one of most compelling figures in the analysis was that 94 percent of Republicans believe that their party is trying to protect the American way of life from outside influence. And I think number tells you a lot of what you need to know. I think evangelicals continue to back Donald Trump because they view him as their champion. He has delivered on many policies that other Republican presidents haven't. Even George W. Bush, who was an evangelical himself, I think was not doing the work and the policy moving that I think Trump has done for them.

Nonetheless, it was a little bit surprising to me the extent to which that many white evangelicals have really adopted some of the policies and priorities of Trump that they didn't have before

his presidency and one of those areas concerns immigration. In 2013, I think it was 2013, an organization called the Evangelical Immigration Table put together an ad that got a lot of attention in the media and the ad brought together evangelicals of all ideological stripes. You had some like Jim Wallis in the ad who is the left-leaning Sojourners evangelical organization. You had I think Richard Land at the time who was still at the Southern Baptist Convention. But this ad essentially had all of these diverse group of evangelical voices talking about the need to pass comprehensive immigration reform and they were talking about passages from the Bible that invoked Jesus' broader directive to welcome the stranger. It's only been six years since that time and so, in 2019, we find that 85 percent of white evangelicals want more restrictive immigration policies, which is far larger than any other religious group.

Now, some people would say there's a difference between the leadership in evangelicals and the people sitting in the pew including my Janelle Wong who's a professor at the University of Maryland. She's also a public fellow at PRR and she's written an excellent book about this noting the difference white evangelicals and evangelical colors on this very issue. But, for me, this survey provides more evidence of a very sharp rightward shift on immigration policy among white evangelicals so I think that's really important to kind of keep in mind.

I'm also struck that 86 percent of white evangelical Protestants in the survey say that America first is a term that describes them, which is far more than any other religious group.

But moving from evangelicals, I wanted to talk a little bit about another religious group that isn't really mentioned by name in the study, but one that I think every election cycle comes up in the media and that is the religious left. And so, there is a narrative every election that goes something like this, "Are we seeing finally a counterbalance to the religious right in American politics?" Is there this multi-racial coalition of devote believers who endorse progressive policies for theological reasons? Are they finally coming to find their voice in American politics and to emerge again as the strong counterweight? And this election cycle you see the same narrative and it's been very strongly linked to Mayor Pete Buttigieg, right? So, Mayor Pete Buttigieg who you see, of course, what, 40 percent of Democrats and leaners have no real opinion about Pete Buttigieg so he's not going to be the nominee. He's gotten a lot of attention, of course, for being the openly gay candidate seeking a major party nomination, but he's gotten, I think, just as much attention, if not more, for his very eloquent and passionate views about how

his religious, right? He's a committed Episcopalian. That's not an oxymoron. I can make that joke because I'm an Episcopalian.

But anyway, so, but he's very committed and I think he's ties his policy right to scripture in ways that are quite compelling and in ways that are notably different from our current sitting president, for example. But, you know, I think waiting for the religious is like waiting for (inaudible). This survey really tells you why. A majority of white mainline Protestants, for example, still approve of Trump's performance in office. White Catholics are split on Trump, but there's a really strong group that also support Trump. Moreover, again, I found this very interesting and compelling. Three-quarters of both white mainline Protestants and white Catholics also believe that America first is a term that personally describes them. And I think what Trump has done during his presidency, when he talks about America first and among his very devote believers, those who are very religious and white, he's really stoking I think some strong Christian nationalist's viewpoints and I think that's what is going on here. So, again, I am very dubious on the religious left emerging in this election cycle.

I want to switch gears and just talk for a minute about gender roles. I write a lot about gender in my political science work and so, one of my favorite questions, and I was glad to see Robbie make a note of it here in his Power Point, is really this notion to what extent Americans believe that American society as a whole has become too soft and feminine. I think it's a really interesting question. They used it during the last election cycle in 2016 and I think that was an election in which obviously there were some very interesting gender dynamics happening with the first female presidential nominee Hillary Clinton and arguably a pretty misogynistic front (inaudible) candidate on the Republican side.

So, I did some further analysis with this data that PRRI had done in 2016 and I found, for example, 66 percent of Trump supporters agreed with the notion that America has become too soft and feminine compared to just 17 percent of Clinton supporters again getting at this notion that we have very stark divisions in world views among partisans. I've done some recent analysis with Aaron Casses who's a Professor at the University of Delaware and we found that, in fact, even controlling for a party in ideology if you look at voting studies, that notion, right, that is kind of what we call gendered nationalism still has a powerful independent effect on voting behavior. And so, for example, Robbie didn't have this, less than half of Americans say that a feminist is a term that describes and if you're looking at the labels

there.

So, I think there is still a lot of institutional sexism in the electorate. I think that it's something that needs to be examined further. I would say, too, I was maybe a little saddened to see after three years, after the women's march and the Me Too Movement and a historic year in which women ran at record numbers as candidates and a historic number of women were elected to Congress and to state legislatures, there has been no budge on that at all and in fact, it's still the same as it was three years ago. So, I would just encourage PRRI to keep that question on there. It will be interesting to see if Elizabeth Warren is the nominee whether that has some sort of impact on people's attitudes or not.

And last, but not least, I wanted to talk a little bit about generational change. I'm starting a new project on Gen Z and women in politics and Robbie's book, "The End of White Christian America", I'm sure many of you are familiar with that, argued that as America becomes more secular, the GOP will really be at a great disadvantage in part because younger Americans are far more secular than older Americans. That prediction did not materialize in 2016 I think because as Robbie and others have noted, religious people vote at higher rates than those who are non-religious. But throughout this survey I kept finding little pieces of data that really tells me that the GOP's future looks pretty grim. So, for example, younger Americans in their survey are far more likely than older Americans to be skeptical of big business. They embrace a bigger role for government to play in solving our problems. Younger Americans care much more about discrimination in society. They want more comprehensive immigration reform and they care deeply about climate change compared to older Americans in part because, again, as PRRI survey shows in this study, they realize that the effects of climate change are going to matter for their generation than they will for older Americans.

I would also encourage them in future iterations of the survey to take a look at with young people about the influence of mass shootings. My own research has found that younger Americans care -- this has kind of risen to the top as one of the biggest issues that they care about. And we're also noticing, and PRRI has done some of this analysis, that younger women especially are caring more and waking up about reproductive rights. Abortion attitudes have been stable for most of American public opinion history, but there are definitely some interesting developments happening I think with young women when it comes to attitudes on reproductive rights.

Of course, I want to close out here, to what extent these issues bring younger people to the poles is still an open question. Political scientists have long known that younger voters just don't show up as much. So, for example, in 2016, census data shows that 71 percent of Americans age 65 and older reported turning out to vote. It was just 46 percent of those 18 to 29-year-olds. And there was a big jump among the younger voters in 2018, but it went from 20 percent, an anemic 20 percent in 2014 to 36 percent in 2018. Comparatively, among older Americans in 2018, the last mid-term election, it was 66 percent so there are still big gaps in terms of turn outs.

And we see here, Robbie did not talk about it in his Power Point, but older Americans are far more likely than younger Americans to say that they intend to vote next year in the next election cycle as well. But I do think the current policy platform of the GOP and with Donald Trump as president will not draw any younger voters to that party any time soon. So, I'm going to end my comments there. Thank you.

MS. RUBIN: Thank you very much. Thank you, Robbie. This is my favorite time of year, which makes me a data nerd to when I get this and I dive into all the numbers. I want to raise three separate issues, which are mildly connected, but let me start with the issue of younger voters. One of the things that Robbie has sensitized me to is that evangelicals are losing their younger people and that when you look at younger evangelicals, it's not simply that they are now turning to Catholicism or to mainline Christian groups, they are becoming none of the above, which as we know from virtually all polling are the most progressive people in the electorate. Whether that continues I think is going to be one of the key factors for Republicans going forward. This does not appear to be a loss that they are replacing with. In fact, the total percentage of evangelicals in the country is going downward.

Now, they turn out, as we just discussed, in much greater numbers so that you got in 2016 with, Robbie's going to catch me if I get this wrong, 15 percent of the population being evangelicals and 26 percent of the electorate. Now, if you combine that with the loss of younger and younger voters and you look at the millennial generation, which is more diverse, more secular, you see that the Republicans are headed for a crash at some point and one would not understand how vital it is that the battle going on right now on voter access and voter suppression is so critical to the Republicans. Quite simply, they do not have enough white people to go around and this problem is going to become more

acute with time.

Related to that but broader moving out from the younger generation, I think it's very easy for us to get the notion simply by the words we use divided to think that we are a 50/50 country. We're really not and I think Robbie so vividly portrayed this, that if you take the Democratic position on virtually any of these issues, whether it's impeachment, whether it's the environment, all of these issues, there is -- when you combine them with independents, a real governing majority there. So, we're talking about Democrats plus those independents. This has been the Democrats' dilemma, which is how to excite their base, how to turn out their base in large numbers, but not lose the opportunity to get a governing majority that exists from those independents. A few of the figures that struck my interest and really support the notion that persuasion is still important in presidential elections. 51 percent of Republicans say that they could change their mind on Trump. That's a very large numbers. Those are the so-called soft Republicans and I have some colleagues who are doing a lot of work with those. Many of those are women because you will notice that although we haven't reached a perhaps intellectual breakthrough, if you're watching one segment, it's not just because I'm writing a book on this, it would be women.

Donald Trump famously carried white women in 2016. You've seen in 2018 a very strong defection of suburban women/college educated women and now you're seeing an erosion of support among non-college educated white women. So, that's one of those factors to keep in mind.

We also saw a very large number of the people who are up for grabs. When you look at that segment, a third of them say it depends upon who the Democrats nominate. Now, as someone who thinks it would be very good to end after one term, that makes me very nervous because the Democrats can blow it and I think the notion that all they need is to excite their base doesn't really mesh with the numbers that I'm seeing here. They have to do both essentially and when you think back to the successful Democratic candidates, whether it was Barack Obama, whether it was Bill Clinton, they were able to do both and finding someone who can combine that turn out among their core base plus be reassuring enough to get those independent voters who Robbie describes as somewhat younger, moderate, more Hispanic, I don't see someone in the Democratic field who exactly meets that profile and that's problematic. They need to start appealing to that group of people.

The last topic I want to address is maybe a 30,000 feet or a 60,000 feet view and that is it

is not simply that this group of white evangelical Christians are at Trump's base. There is almost a mine meld between Trump position and those to the extent that you kind of wonder if they're figuring backwards. They get the question and they figure what would Trump do and then they jump on to that position because there's such a coincidence of viewpoint.

But when you really look at the country from on high, it is not that they are simply Trump supporters, they are an alienated minority of the population. We have, depending on how you count and who you count, some are 35-40 percent of the population that doesn't think like Americans on a lot of stuff. They don't like Americans on climate change, they are much less willing to embrace immigrants. You just go through the issue list and the viewpoint and the world viewpoint and you see that they don't have a lot of ideological allies outside of that white evangelical group.

Now, on immigration there's a little bit more help, if you will, they're getting from mainline Protestant white voters, but on most other issues it's them against the universe. First, you can say, well this sure confirms their fear that their country is not looking and thinking like them. They're right. It's not. They are a minority and over time that that's going to get worse. So, on one hand you can say, "Well, gosh, they're right to feel alienated because they're over here and the rest of the country more or less has some consensus on some very big otherwise controversial issues."

And the second part of that is that they risk in the very near-term future being badly outvoted repeatedly. It's not simply on one issue. If the Democrats, going back to my first point, can figure out the base excitement issue and the persuasion issue, there is the potential for a long-term majority governing position that is very empathetical to their views and the speed with which that comes has to do with voting turn out, it has to do with ballot access, hence Democrats very sharp focus on making it easier to vote, but it's coming. The question is whether it comes in 2020, but it's coming and Trump, as you know, has become quite expert at exploiting this sense of persecution. It's the issue "are whites more discriminated against," but it's really everything. They have found in Donald Trump their cultural, their racial champion, their religious champion and that's why (inaudible) ethics doesn't figure in. He is their ideological racial warrior and hence, I'd be surprised if his support goes down below the low 30's, mid 30's because those people are not going to leave him ever. So, on that happy note, I'll send it back to Robbie.



MR. GALSTON: Well, thank so much. Yeah, the two commentators have given us much to think about as has Robbie. In my role as time cop, I need to point out that we are running way behind and this will call for a lot of discipline from the panel in order to divide the time remaining in favor of the audience and not us. So, the panel discussion is supposed to last for a half an hour. It's going to last for 15 minutes and then I will switch over to questions from the audience and E.J., you've got the first question.

MR. DIONNE JR.: Thank you, Bill. Thanks for a great presentation. I want to thank all Joy Reid fans for not walking out when they discovered Joy wasn't here. By the way, from what I know, she's doing well. I love Joy but it shows the power of the panelists. Melissa, thank you for coming and Jen, yeah. And Jen and Robbie are awesome. Also, particularly thank you for Jen because she gives me an excuse to plug my own book called "Code Red." How progressives and moderates can unite to save the country, which comes out the day after the Iowa Caucuses and it's on my mind because I spent the weekend making sure it took into account the events of the last four weeks so thank you for that, Jen.

I'm just going to combine what I wanted to ask Robbie and the panel into one question that has two (inaudible) parts. As they say, turn to Chapter 4, Verse 6, I would suggest the audience look at Page 28 of the report. I loved this question about asking people whether they belong to particular groups and it's very interesting. If you look at what's in the 70's and 60's versus the 40's and the 30's and all the way down to the teens, you get a really interesting sense where the country is. I wanted to just highlight a couple of things to ask Robbie about. It's striking that 43 percent all themselves capitalists and 32 percent call themselves socialists. That's actually pretty close. I don't think we'd have a 4 to 3 margin in 1985 or 1999. Somethings going on there that's very interesting.

Similarly, and Robbie you and I have talked about this, there is a 46 percent Christian right or religious right, 31 percent of religious progressive, but when we looked at the data, there were a lot of different kinds of people who actually call themselves religious whom many who think of themselves as religious progressives who would be surprised about it. Surprising, for example, how many white evangelical conservatives think of themselves as progressive. I thought that might be something you would comment on.

Thirdly, in terms of polarization at the opposite ends of the spectrum, it struck me that 19

percent were tea partiers and 18 percent were anti-religious. Now, those aren't perfect opposites, but they tell us something about where the country -- so, there were many other fascinating things and I just want to call attention to the audience that 14 percent of Americans do call themselves deplorable and I don't Robbie did a whole lot of analysis on that one, but it's got to be put in there.

The second question I want to ask is on that second choice on the presidential race because when I looked at it, what struck me is how relatively strong Warren appears at this moment on the second choice when you look at each constituency and then about half the Biden constituency does not go to a moderate candidate on the second choice, which suggests -- I'm curious if we know anything about which Biden supporters move elsewhere. And there's so much in this survey, it's so rich I've got to ask a lot of questions, but I want to be responsive to Bill. So, if Robbie and everybody else could talk about those two questions, please do. Thank you.

MR. JONES: All right. I'll jump in on the second-choice thing. Before I do, I do want to say I was remised in not thinking the entire PRRI team here. If you look at that first page on the inside cover, it was indeed -- there is, like, 18 people who worked to create that report that's in your hands and I get the joy of kind of stepping up here and, you know, flipping the slides around, but it was really a huge team effort so I want to thank the full PRRI team for that.

On Biden, so, what's interesting we asked people's second choices so people WHO picked Biden first, but who were there second people, right? So, here's where we ended up. The second in the lead by far is Warren, 31 percent, then Sanders, 19 percent, then it drops into single digits. Buttigieg 5, O'Rourke 5, Harris 4, and downward from there. But the two big ones are Biden's second choice are Warren and Sanders, first and second. If you look at Warren, it goes -- so Warren's second choices are Sanders, Buttigieg, then Biden, but 33 percent Sanders, 22 percent Buttigieg, 18 percent Biden and if you go Sanders the other way, Sanders second choices are 26 percent Warren, 20 percent Biden, and then it drops to single digits after that. So, it's kind of complex not I think kind of real clear, you know, pattern.

I think complicating this is two things, like, it is right that it's not straight ideological one way, right, but I think complicating it to some extent is that we're still a year out and name recognition is still an issue for a lot of candidates on the list and so, I think that's part of what's happening here where

we don't really see what seems to be a strongly logical pattern or at least the assumptions of where the ideological divides are seem a little more complex when you look at these second choices.

MS. RUBIN: Just to echo that, you know, when you looked not only Democrats but those people who are considering voting for a Democrat, there is a very large segment that hasn't heard of candidate whose biography you probably know pretty well and I think we make this mistake every single election in assuming that this is not just name ID. I think there is a huge amount of name ID and simply who's in the news so that even if they don't necessarily know all the details of what she stands for, they know Elizabeth Warren and they know her name. They could probably identify her by a picture. There is a substantial difference when you get down to people who we think everybody must know. Everyone must know Buttigieg. 40 percent don't. It shows you what we know about voters.

I think two things on this. One, at some point, those people are going to make up their minds and how they sort themselves out will happen at a different space in the time continuum. So, maybe not affected by issues now, but issues down the road.

And secondly, we do not have national primaries and I cannot stress enough what we should really be doing is all decamping to Iowa about three weeks before the caucuses and talking to everybody we can find because that's who is going to make a very significant choice in terms of the sorting function and I all your attention today to the USA Today (inaudible) poll, which has Biden and Warren very closely -- they may be tied or within a couple of points of each other and then in third place is Pete Buttigieg.

SPEAKER: Is this in Iowa?

MS. RUBIN: In Iowa, correct. And there's lots of explanations for that. He's been there on this bus tour for forever and there is something perhaps about his persona this if not Iowa nice, it's at least Iowa polite and Iowa calm and Iowa articulate that has I think affected people so I would just caution on these numbers on these polls. I have to remind myself constantly because we're looking at something that we're never going to see, which is a national primary at this point in time so it's both time and the pool of really the people who are going to decide who's president.

MR. DIONNE JR.: Could I just quickly say I think that's 100 percent right and I found fascinating what this survey seems to confirm as suspicion that there is a Warren Buttigieg overlap

probably particularly among college educated voters. They're both strong in that camp and I think some people might be surprised by that 22 percent second choice Warren to Buttigieg.

MS. DECKMAN: Can I say something about the labels on Page 28? This was one of my favorite parts of the survey as well. Well, two things. One, thank you for still including the tea party. I wrote a book about women in the tea party and as soon as it came out, I thought this is a movement that no longer exists, but apparently because it's morphed into what I would call the Trump party. But apparently, it still resonates with some voters so I think that's kind of an interesting finding.

But on the capitalist socialist measures, I think those were also that E.J. had mentioned. I've been doing some survey work of Gen Z and I find that many more younger people are embracing the term socialist these days. I think there is a big generational divide that needs to be unpacked though because I think that older Americans equate socialism with the cold war and so, socialism is also linked to communism and also linked to limitations and individual freedoms and liberties.

Younger people come at this having been raised in a very different environment and I think for younger people, you know, they're growing up in a system where what their parents have is increasingly unavailable to them. They're leaving college with loads of debt. They may not ever be able to buy a house. The job market is definitely scary. And so, I think that it's a very different perception. So, 32 percent actually seems a little low to me, but my guess is if you broke that down by generational numbers, you'd see something different.

It's not to say though that younger Americans don't think that capitalism isn't necessarily a good idea in some respects, I just think they feel and apparently, less than a majority of American feel that capitalism is working for them right now, right, and so, those are -- I was struck in the data that you presented, Robbie, of independents were the only group that talked about jobs and the economy as being important to them. But I think there's definitely something going on here that needs some more unpacking.

MR. JONES: Can I jump in real quick on the religious progressive and religious right. I was also interested in this as well. So, you see in that table, right, more say religious right or Christian right then say religious progressive, but what's interesting is when you look at groups that you think would fit those labels. So, you get a really interesting and maybe odd responses that religious right seems to

have the valiance that you think it should have when you look at groups that identify with it. Religious progressive not so much. So, for example, 85 percent of white evangelicals identify as Christian right or religious right. Now, that's about what you'd expect, right? A kind of high, high number. But 42 percent of them identify as religious progressive, right? So, at the same time.

White mainline Protestants, right? The National Council of Churches. This is the place where you would expect religious progressive to really reign. More White mainline Protestants identify as religious right than religious progressive, right? So, 42 percent of white mainline Protestants identify as Christian right or religious right versus only 30 percent who identify as religious progressive. So, the term religious progressive, yeah, I think it's not capturing a lot in term -- or it's capturing a lot of different things maybe is another way of putting it. When you look at the groups, it just doesn't sort the way you would think it should sort.

MR. GALSTON: Okay. Now, for my question with a brief preface. I was really struck by the finding about not only the number of Americans who call themselves spiritual, but the fact that this was one of the few areas of designator overlap between the members of the two political parties and suddenly, I have silver (inaudible) explanation for this. If you're spiritual, you get all of the advantages of religion with none of the disadvantages. But here are two political questions that I'm just going to lob out there very quickly.

First of all, there is some data in this report to add support to the view that 2020 is going to be a very high turnout election. As many of you know, turn out in the 2018 mid-term was the highest for a mid-term since 1914 and if you project that forward to 2020, we're going to be talking about lines at the polling booths such as we have never seen our lifetime. So, one question, you know, is how does this play out? You know, how does a high turnout election affect the broad groupings of American politics?

Here's my second question and as you know, Robbie especially, this is one of particular interest to me and it builds on something actually that Jennifer Rubin mentioned. Even if you use a very tight screen of people who are likely to vote in 2020, about a quarter of likely voters say that their vote will depend on who the Democratic nominee is. So, how seriously should we take this figure? What does it mean? What does it mean if it's only half true? So, those are my two questions and dive in.

MS. RUBIN: I'll take the first one and a little bit of the second one. I think on the first one

at least for the present, what Democrats I think have traditionally done is to divide the country in ways in which the country actually is not divided itself. So, when you hear someone like a supported of Joe Biden saying we really have to win the upper Midwest. In their conception, the Midwest is filled with white old crusty guys and therefore, you need to get a white old guy to combat them. So, they archetype that we have around states and around who is electable I think is completely off. More than half of the electorate in every single state is a woman. If you want to go electable, there's an argument to be made to put two women on the ticket to really maximize that vote.

And as Bill was talking, one of the things that, you know, sort of triggered my gag reflex is lines and this is the issue of voter access. This is the issue of limiting polling places in poorer areas, in minority areas. This is the assumption that everyone can take unlimited time out of their day to go vote. We know all those things are not true. And so, I think we have to really look at some of these ballot access issues and particularly, in states which have had issues with them, but are now consider swing states. Arizona is becoming a swing state. Georgia has two senate races up. The presidential race and we saw a very competitive (inaudible) race obviously last time. So, how that high turn out manifests itself is very different. It used to be axiom addict that Republicans wanted low turnout because that way only the white people would vote. Well, I don't think that's true anymore. We saw eye popping turn out among many groups in 2016 and Republicans want. So, I think access to voting, who the Democrats pick are all sort of central issues.

On the second issue, which is really kind of boils down to, what are the Democrats doing here? What are they looking for? And I would say that this game of trying to figure out who is electable is really wrong because people say, "Well, I would vote for him, but I bet she wouldn't vote for him." It is this sort of mind transfer of trying to figure out who is electable and I'll let you in a secret. People think their persona is more electable than anybody else. So, this kind of fetish that we have with Democrats looking for the magic person to get a group of people I think is inherently flawed and I'll come back to something that is never in the numbers, but I think is axiom addict among anybody who watches politics and that is candidate matter a whole lot. You cannot just have a generic candidate. If Democrats ever got really the generic candidate, they would win all elections, but they have real people and the quality of your person matters tremendously regardless of ideology.

What you and I see are starkly different characters. Elizabeth Warren and Joe Biden, some Democrats all that much difference. They see them as pretty close compared to Bernie Sanders. You can quibble with that, but that's their ideological perception of what's going on. So, I would caution about all of these electability issues and remind everybody as they're looking well in advance of Iowa to look at candidate quality, ability to communicate, emotional connection with voters, enthusiasm on the ground and those you're not going to necessarily find in here, but I would say 80 percent of the time good candidates beat bad candidates so candidate quality matters an awful lot.

MS. DECKMAN: I just want to build on Jennifer's points here. One, I do have a slight disagreement when it comes to women candidates. There's a lot of political science literature that really demonstrates the gender of the candidate doesn't matter. It's the party, right? So, I think that's to suggest that if the Democrats nominate even two women on a ticket, which for many reasons I'd be really jazzed about, but in terms of electability, you know, you're not suddenly going to get Republicans coming over to vote -- Republican women, for example, coming over to vote for that candidate. And I think a good example of this is when John McCain put Sarah Palin on the ticket in 2008. People thought of course this means that, you know, you'll have those independent women flocking to McCain's candidacy and that didn't really work well. I know it didn't work well. But I think that there's a sense that somehow the gender of the candidate matters.

Now, it does matter to Democratic primary voters. Many of them would actually like to see a woman younger. I find that younger Americans -- dude as you put it so (inaudible) on the ticket.

But the other thing to think about when I look at these national turn out voters, we still have to deal with the electoral college. Hillary Clinton got 3 million more votes than Donald Trump and so, I think that is the equation of how Democrats deal with that sort of issue. My sense is that whoever the Democrats nominate, again, I don't want to go down the road of predicting, but there will be a coalescing among many Democrats and I think voter turn out will be high among Democrats because they saw what happened in 2016 when they didn't come out, right? Voter turnout in many demographics was lower in 2016. I do expect there's going to be record voter turnout, but, again, it comes down to the electoral college and just how angry, you know, the different sides are.

MS. RUBIN: Let me just do a rebuttal on the gender issue. If you look at the wonderful

statistics that are very easily accessible from records from the Center for Women in Politics, you will see that at least at the congressional level, statistically, there is no difference between Democrats and men and that's why I think you saw a lot of women win in 2018. No, across the board in terms of general election outcomes. You control for other factors. There is not a difference in congressional elections. The question is what happens at the presidential level and we have a sample size of one and part of I think the sense that women aren't electable is people have identified gender specifically as the reason why Hillary Clinton didn't win. And I think there may be something to that, but there may be something to that that she just wasn't a very good candidate or she didn't go to Wisconsin or James Comey put his foot in the middle of the election 11 days before.

So, I think the ah hah moment for me was in the early debates when you see all of those women come out, they're not dressed alike, they don't talk the same, they're not ideologically the same that by having a discreet number or actually critical mass of women, gender at least in the primary becomes less of an issue because it's 20 people and some of them are women and some of them are men and a lot of the gender discussion kind of goes out the window. So, I would still urge, particularly with the changing electorate, the degree to which Democratic women, rather Republican women, have abandoned the party is still I think a powerful issue for Democrats.

MR. JONES: I want to make one quick point and then I want to get to you all. So, just in our survey, we have about 7 in 10 who are registered to vote and say they are absolutely certain to vote in 2016. So, we'll probably see quite that many, but that's what they're telling us right now, about 7 in 10. And one of the challenges with, like, this group of uncommitted, this kind of the third of the country that's telling us they're, is one of the easiest ways to predict voter turn out in the future is if you have a record of their vote in the past and the challenge for that uncommitted group is that 4 in 10 of them tell us they either did not vote in the last election or they were ineligible to vote because they were too young in the last election so that means 4 in 10 of this group we have no idea, right? You can't model it, right, because there's not past voting record to really model on so I think that's going to be one of the real challenges and I'm very, very happy that PRRI is not a kind of modeling predicting voting machine coming into the election because the modelers who really have to do this are going to have a lot of human assumptions they got to throw into the mix because this big group of younger voters coming on line they



don't have a big record, rising numbers of Latino that don't have a long voting record, and this group, you know, of independents that may turn out in a high turnout election.

And one last thing on the voter suppression issue, we did surveys after 2016 and after the mid-terms in 2018 and we have measurable numbers of about 1 in 10 voters of color, that is African American and Latino voters of color, reported some kind of problems at the polls. Either they had to wait in too many lines, they were told their registration wasn't valid when it was, and that's about three times the number of white voters who supported the same problems.

MR. GALSTON: Okay. Your turn. I'm going to start with the woman in the back and then move forward. Yes, please. I'm going to group some questions, E.J., trust me.

SPEAKER: Okay. So, do we know how many people who voted for Trump were kind of first time or hadn't voted in a long time, but when Trump was available to kind of a demagogue figure came out to vote?

MR. GALSTON: Thank you. I'm going to take three questions in groups. There's a gentleman on the aisle right here with his hand raised.

SPEAKER: I want to ask a question that the panel hinted at and that's the electoral waited results of these surveys. You know, we had 3 million more voting for Clinton than for Trump, but it all (inaudible) swing states with strong electoral votes. How does this survey reflect the practicality of that situation?

MR. GALSTON: Then there's a young man in the front row here. Microphone please. Here it comes.

SPEAKER: I just want to ask, can we talk a little bit more about African Americans? We didn't seem to talk much about that today and much of the Democratic party base is dependent upon African Americans coming out. Latinos we know are very divided and have a variety of political partisan views and so, that's a little bit less predictable. But much of the things we predicted about Democrats and high voter turnout and all that really depends on African Americans, particularly African American women, particularly African American young people who did not show out for in the last election (inaudible) their participation in the Obama election so I would love to hear us talk a little bit more about the influence that African Americans have in this upcoming election.

MR. GALSTON: Thanks so much. Panel, your turn.

MR. JONES: All right. I could take the last couple. I don't think I've got the Trump first time voter number right off the top of my head, but the African American turn out number. So, in this survey, we have 70 percent of African Americans saying they're absolutely certain to vote in 2020 so that's a high number. So, the numbers across racial groups, and this is absolutely certain to vote, 77 percent of white, 70 percent of African Americans, 59 percent Latinos, and 64 percent of those were other or mixed race in the country.

SPEAKER: What is the age group?

MR. JONES: I have to look. I don't think I got that right in front of me.

SPEAKER: (Inaudible) to divide between older and younger African Americans  
(inaudible) curious.

MR. JONES: Yeah, I mean, particularly across the board we see older Americans voting at higher rates than younger Americans do and that's actually one of the things that -- I wrote a piece not too long ago at the Atlantic called the "Republican Time Machine that Might Elect Trump." And part of the deal is that the electorate -- if we map the demographics of the electorate on to the timeline of the country, it takes us back about a decade in terms of demographic change, right? So, it's kind of rewinds the clock. So, that's why 2020 is going to look -- the demographics, unless something wildly changes in turn out rates, if we kind of keep moving the way we've been moving, 2020 could look like the country looked in 2012 demographically speaking, right, because to tend to -- so, if you just kind of plot it out, it will be 2024 before the demographics take over and that wave that's already moving crashes on the shore of the electorate is going to be 2024. So, this election I wouldn't put my money on demographics as destiny argument in this election.

And to kind of combine with the state thing, right? Say it was 77,000 and a handful of votes in three states, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, that swayed the electoral college vote, in Michigan it was 10,000 votes in a state like Michigan, right? 0.1 percent of the vote. Yeah, that's right. So, that's the razor thin margin we're really talking about. So, in other words, if you hand me 78,000 vote and I could put them anywhere I wanted in the board in 2016, we would have President Hillary Clinton. Like, that's how tight it was.

So, this survey is a national survey. The best we could do on this survey, we could do Midwest, we could do region, we can't get down to state levels on this.

MR. DIONNE JR.: Just real quick on the new Trump voters, I have seen a number, but I couldn't find it on Google. Somebody can correct me that he pulled out about 2 million people who hadn't voted four years earlier. There is some work by Rita Sherer, Rob Griffin, and John Halpin over at the Center for American Progress, that they suggest that the new Trump entrance into the electorate often these were people who voted in the past, but did not vote in 2012 that they tipped -- I mean, obviously those states are so close that you can argue almost anything tipped them, but they were a tipping factor in some of the Midwestern states and that that was potentially some of the problem with the state polls is that as Robbie said models for turn out are very much based on the past. Now, in 2018, I have a hunch that Democratic margins were underestimated because you had a higher than normal turn out among young people so this is a challenge for pollsters. But I don't think there's any doubt that there were some voters who did not want to vote in the Romney Obama race who did come out to vote for Trump and they may have made a difference in the Midwest states. Robbie and Bill and I have been talking about doing some focus on the Midwest because obviously, as long as we have an electoral college, that's going to matter a lot.

MS. RUBIN: We haven't talked too much about rural suburban urban, but I would pay particular attention to suburban voters. One of the reasons that Texas is maybe lighter red if not purple yet, it has, give the exact number, 4 of 5 of their cities are in the top ten of cities and have huge suburban areas. So, if you look for suburban areas adjacent to major metropolitan cities, that's where a lot of this vote and representative flipping happened. That's where you saw people, my home district, go from a Republican woman, Barbara Comstock, to a Democratic woman, Jennifer Wexton. That's where you saw a lot of these so-called moderate women many of whom have a national security background, for example. Those people were winning in the suburbs. So, it used to be that the Republicans were territory exclusively for Republicans. That you had the country club Republicans, you had the soccer moms who voted for George Bush, and you see even in some of the issue preference concerned about crime, even though crime is all time low, concerned about terrorism, these are safety security issues and look to the suburbs and the growth of the suburbs even within a state that has previously been red, the

quintessential example being Virginia which used to be quite red and we've had this explosion of the population in Northern Virginia/the suburbs of Washington D.C. and they just swamp the voting every place else in the state.

MR. GALSTON: Okay, panel. We're going to have time for one more round of three questions. Short questions, disciplined answers. So, the woman in the front here.

SPEAKER: Thank you very much. I wanted to direct your attention to Figure 6, which I assume is screening of Democrats, and the fact that Joe Biden has the highest level of unfavorable at 25 percent and actually, I find that pretty surprising because of how well-known he is. So, I wonder if there's anything you can use to draw that out.

MR. GALSTON: Then there's a question over here right in the middle.

SPEAKER: Given the House is moving forward with impeachment and will probably be focused on Ukraine and some substantiation of the foreign aid withholding, going to Senate, what do you think it would take to get sufficient Republican support to impeach Trump?

SPEAKER: An act of God.

SPEAKER: There is something. What is coming forward being sufficient in your mind or if not, what do you think it would take?

MR. GALSTON: And there's a gentleman over here who's been quite eager from the beginning so he gets the last word. Short question please.

SPEAKER: If the Democrats get what they want and either Trump resigns or is impeached, Mike Pence will be president, what happens if he selects Nikki Haley as his running mate? How do the Democrats respond to that team?

MR. GALSTON: Thank you. Okay, panel, you get the real last word.

MR. DIONNE JR.: Why don't I go real quick. I'm struck by the opposite on Joe Biden. If you look at the chart, the ratio, Biden and Bernie have a really good ratio compared to the rest and my hunch is that negative is younger than the rest, but he's got a pretty good ratio.

Secondly, on the Republicans, it is really striking in this poll that 51 percent of Republicans, am I getting that right, said they could shift their approval of Trump, 46 percent wish he behaved differently.

Now, I agree it will take an act of God. I think that that's broadly correct, but the Trump base is smaller than we say it is. That the real hard-core Trump is 25 to 30 when you put all these numbers together, not the whole Republican party and in the interest of discipline, I'll leave it at that.

MS. DECKMAN: I would just say two quick things on impeachment. I think that Mitch McConnell would have to lose the Senate majority. I mean, if he saw or saw that Amy McGrath, for example, on Kentucky was really coming up close to his heels, I think you'd see a change. On Nikki Haley, I would just say my previous example of 2008 with John McCain and with Sarah Palin, political scientists have found that the VP candidate barely registers when it comes to who you're choosing.

So, I suspect if that were the case for Republicans, they'd lose because I don't think that Mike Pence is necessarily is beloved as Donald Trump who has I think far more at least among white evangelicals, I don't know. I don't think that Mike Pence is as strong a candidate as Donald Trump in a lot of ways, I think.

MR. DIONNE JR.: Thank you for reminding me. I think Mike Pence's best option if that happens is to say I'm going to serve out the term. I won't run again. And his approval rating would soar. And that's probably the best he could do for his party as well, but I guess I'm not in business of giving him advice like that, but that's my sense.

MS. RUBIN: And just to finish off. The problem or the feature of the Senate is every one of those states gets two votes and so, even though it's only 25 or 30 or 35 percent, the Republicans have a majority and when you need a super majority to remove, that's the difficulty, that's the hump you have to get over. I would say, however, that I personally think, as I'm counting noses and looking at a whole variety of factors, there will potentially be more Republicans than we currently think who would vote for removal. I'm not talking about 15 or 20 people, I'm talking about 5 to 10, but I think it's possible that you might see a handful or more depending upon what we learn in the next few weeks deciding that it's better to shove him overboard or look like you're shoving him overboard than not.

MR. JONES: I'll make one last comment on the Pence thing. It's worth remembering what happened to Ted Cruz. Now, Ted Cruz, right, was the logical choice for white evangelical Protestants down in the primaries in the race. He himself was an evangelical, his father was a Baptist minister, he was from Texas, there's all kinds of things, and Trump mopped the floor with him from

Michigan to Mississippi on super Tuesday, right?

I think that was the moment where I think saw okay, something different and a little odd is happening, you know, here in the Republican primary piece and I think it really for Trump, right? It really is more that he was -- we had a number of questions. He's the strong man willing to kind of turn back the clock. You know, Ted Cruz was arguing about religious exemptions and Trump was saying, "No, no, no. We're just going to, like, restore power to the Christian churches, we're going to restore factory workers in Indiana, we're going to just do it." Right?

It wasn't about kind of frittering about the edges and I think that that's worth remembering that's Trump support among common core groups of white evangelicals that's actually I think stronger and he didn't really need Pence to cement that relationship. He already had it. Pence at best was an insurance policy, but it was certainly the direct connection between Trump and evangelicals is I think the most important thing and should Trump be removed from the equation, that I think would shake things up quite a bit.

MR. GALSTON: Well, it falls to me to pronounce the benediction and in place of spirituality, I will invoke a couple of numbers and just leave you with a question. 65 percent of the American people say that they believe that President Trump has damaged the honor and dignity of the oval office. 72 percent of independent say that.

I think a lot will depend on whether that vague sense that something sacred has been profaned whether that turns out to be a voting issue and if it does, I think the president will be in trouble and if not, then we will have a very close election. And, with that, please join me in thanking this wonderful panel.

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