

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

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July 19, 2010

# Special report on the Tea Party movement

A conservative Republican – not populist – movement



**DEMOCRACY CORPS**  
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

## Methodology

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**This presentation is based primarily on three national surveys conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for Citizen Opinion and Democracy Corps. The first survey was of 1,001 2008 voters and was conducted June 19-22, 2010. Margin of error: 3.1 percentage points.**

**The second survey was of 1,000 2008 voters, and was conducted May 15-18, 2010. Margin of error: 3.1 percentage points.**

**The third survey was of 1,000 2008 voters and was conducted April 17-20, 2010. Margin of error: 3.1 percentage points.**

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**All data shown reflects the combined results of the 2613 likely voters from these surveys, as well as of the 940 self-identified Tea Party supporters, and, more specifically, of the 652 self-identified strong Tea Party supporters from among this sample, unless stipulated otherwise.**

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**This presentation also reflects key findings from focus groups conducted among strong Tea Party supporters in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida and Phoenix, Arizona, which took place on June 7-8, 2010.**

## Percentage of likely voters who support the Tea Party

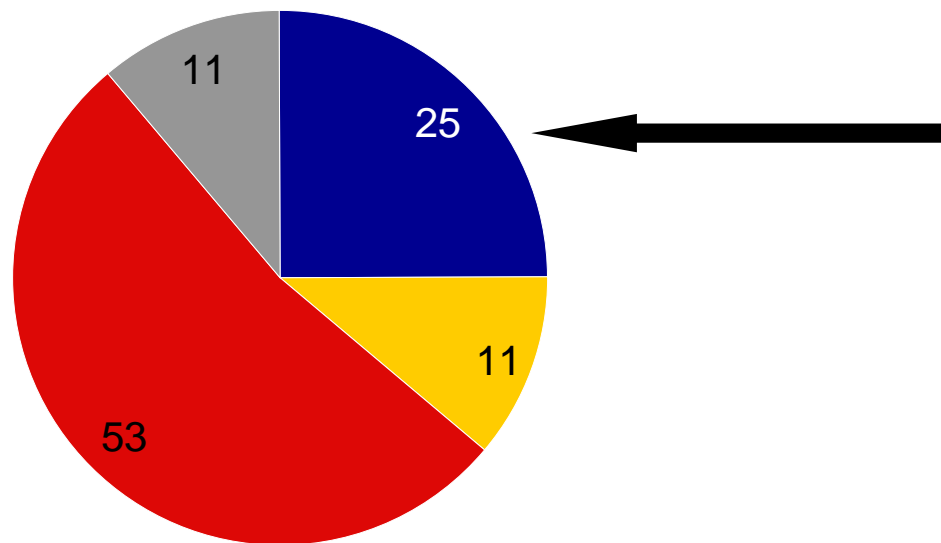
*Do you consider yourself to be a supporter of the Tea Party movement, or not?*

■ Strong Supporter

■ Weak Supporter

■ Not a Supporter

■ Dk/Ref

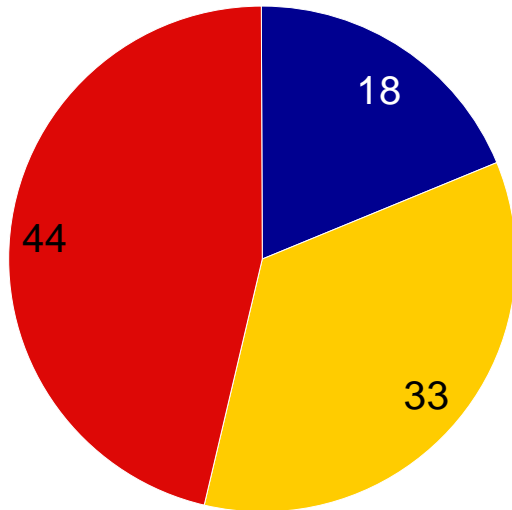


**Tea Party Support**

# Tea party far more conservative than overall electorate

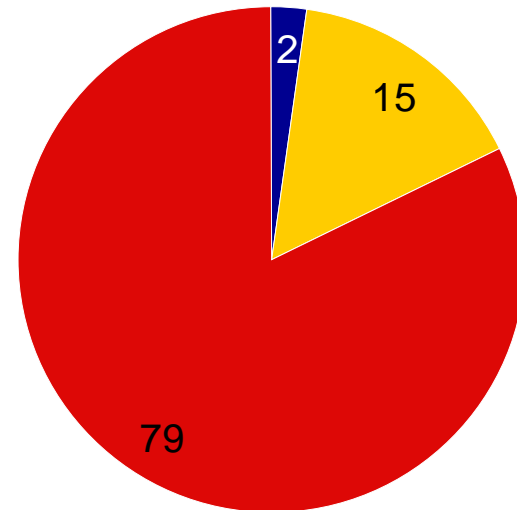
*Do you consider yourself to be a supporter of the Tea Party movement, or not? / Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are conservative, moderate, or liberal?*

- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative



**Likely Voters**

- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative



**Tea Party Supporters**

*\*Note: Except where explicitly differentiated or specified otherwise, "Tea Party supporters" will be used interchangeably with strong Tea Party supporters throughout this presentation. Based on research for Citizen Opinion.*

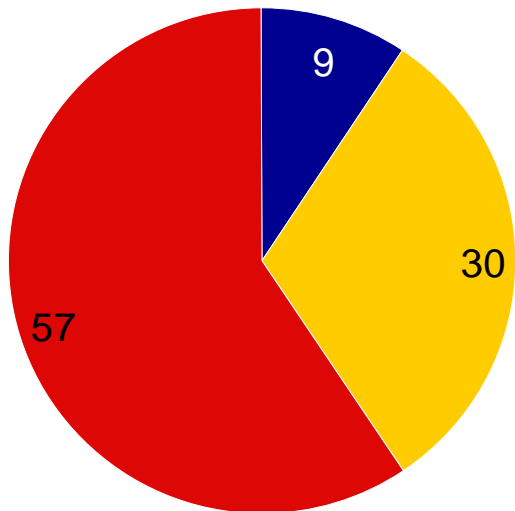
# Conservatism rises as involvement increases

Do you consider yourself to be a supporter of the Tea Party movement, or not?/Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are conservative, moderate, or liberal?

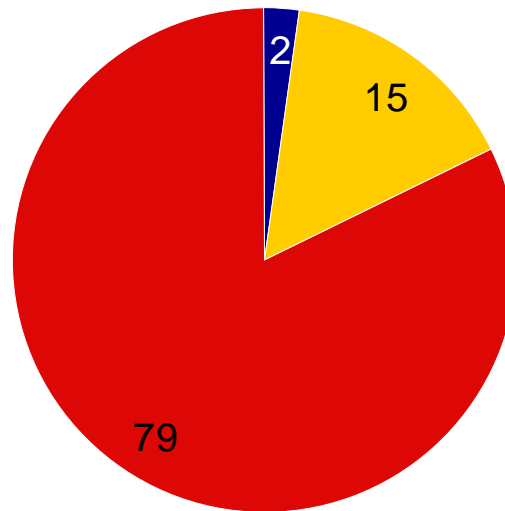
- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative

- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative

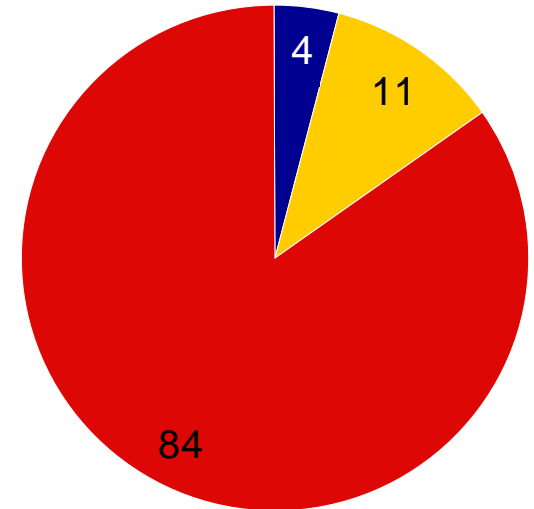
- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative



**Weak Tea Party Supporters**



**Strong Tea Party Supporters**



**Activists**

\*Note: Activists corresponds to those Tea Party supporters who have either donated money to the Tea Party, attended a rally, or both. Based on research for Citizen Opinion.

## Focus Groups: on beliefs/ideology

We educate, inform and motivate the American people to support a government that is fiscally responsible, has limited government and supports free markets. We are not some hysterical people.

– Non College Woman, Fort Lauderdale

[We're] frustrated Americans, people that are done with being sheep or ostriches with their head in the sand. People that value the good America has and stands for.

– College Man, Phoenix

They stand for the Constitution; they're pro-American and they're not ashamed of it -- not ashamed of America.

– College Man, Phoenix

[The Tea Party] is geared towards getting our country back to the roots of which America was founded. It strongly supports the Constitution and Bill of Rights and free enterprise, ingenuity and hard work, not geared for government handouts, rather towards each individual's abilities and opportunities to succeed. And it's for fair and limited taxation.

– College Man, Phoenix

It's a grassroots organization that wants to instill Constitutional values, limited government and capitalism. And they want elected officials who are willing and able to put those goals in place so that we can get rid of big government and bureaucracy.

– Non College Woman, Fort Lauderdale

A group of people who want to see positive results in our laws and all the things that have been promised to us. We want what has been promised. We don't want to be lied to. And we are protesting against that because we are being bull-shitted.

– College Woman, Phoenix

The other thing about the Tea Party though is, when I think about it, is educate, is expo-sure. If you look into a lot of the bills, we American people have no idea what is in some of those bills... if you follow the Tea Party and they're getting more and more organized in taking on issues and really diving into them and informing the public... I think this... motivation and stuff will really help get people, like you said, to band together and star pushing back.

– College Woman, Phoenix

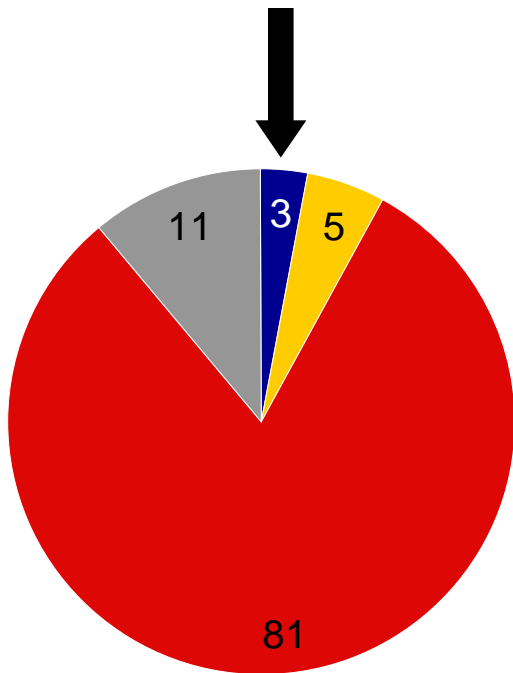
# Tea Party a Republican movement

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, or what? / Do you consider yourself to be a supporter of the Tea Party movement, or not?

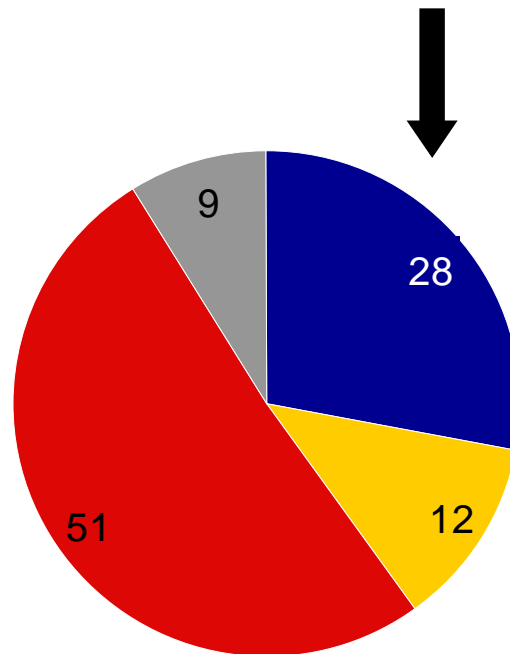
- Strong Supporter
- Weak Supporter
- Not a Supporter
- Dk/Ref

- Strong Supporter
- Weak Supporter
- Not a Supporter
- Dk/Ref

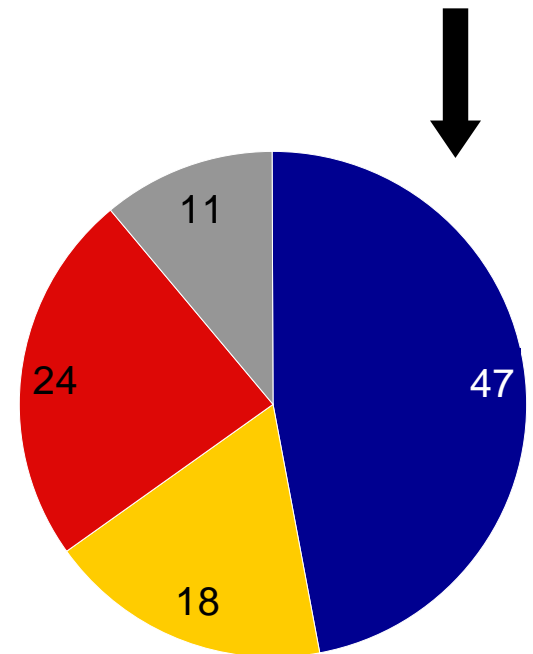
- Strong Supporter
- Weak Supporter
- Not a Supporter
- Dk/Ref



**Democrats**



**Independents**



**Republicans**

\*Note: Based on research for Citizen Opinion.

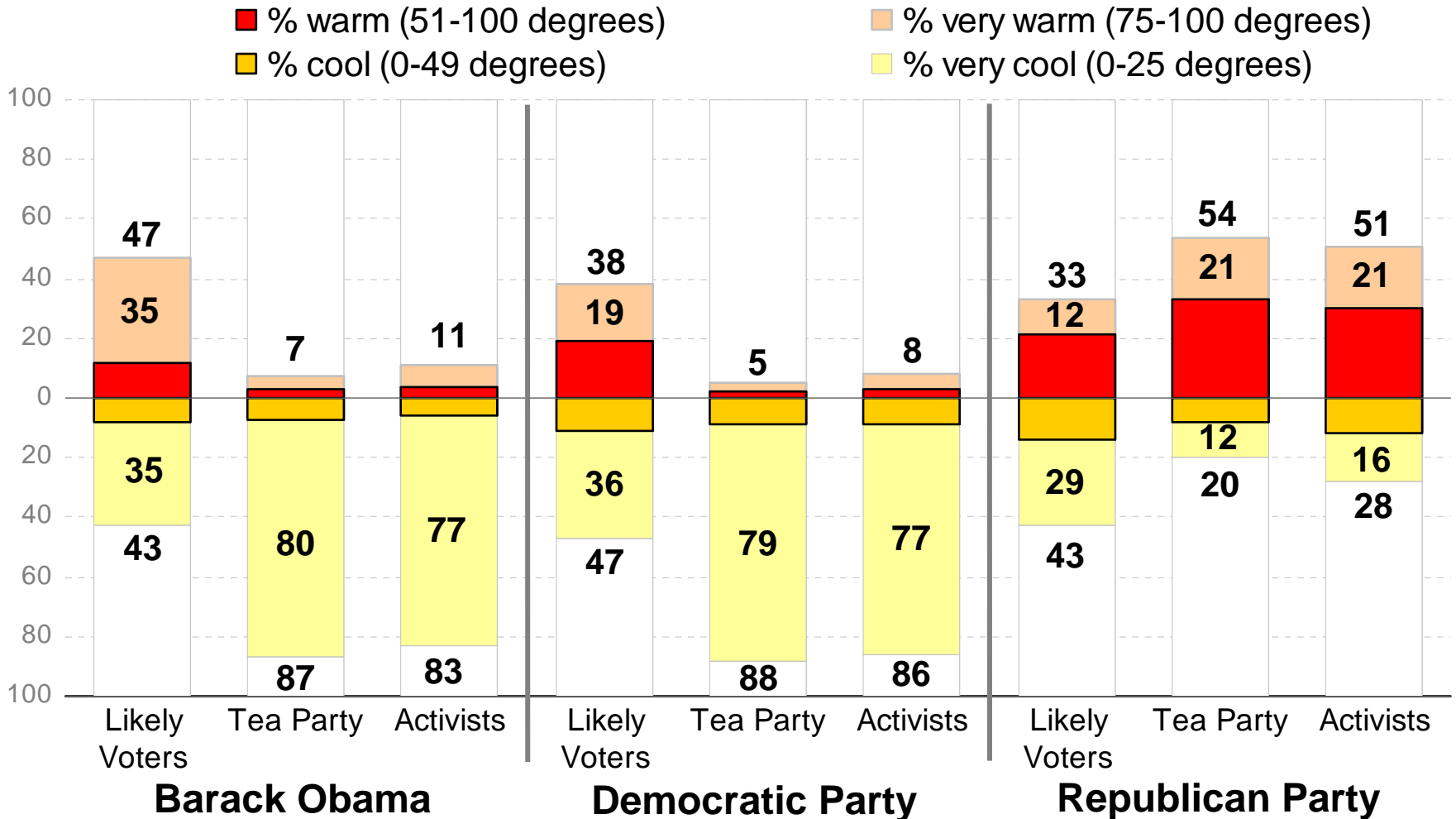
# President Obama

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# Thermometer rating: Barack Obama and the parties

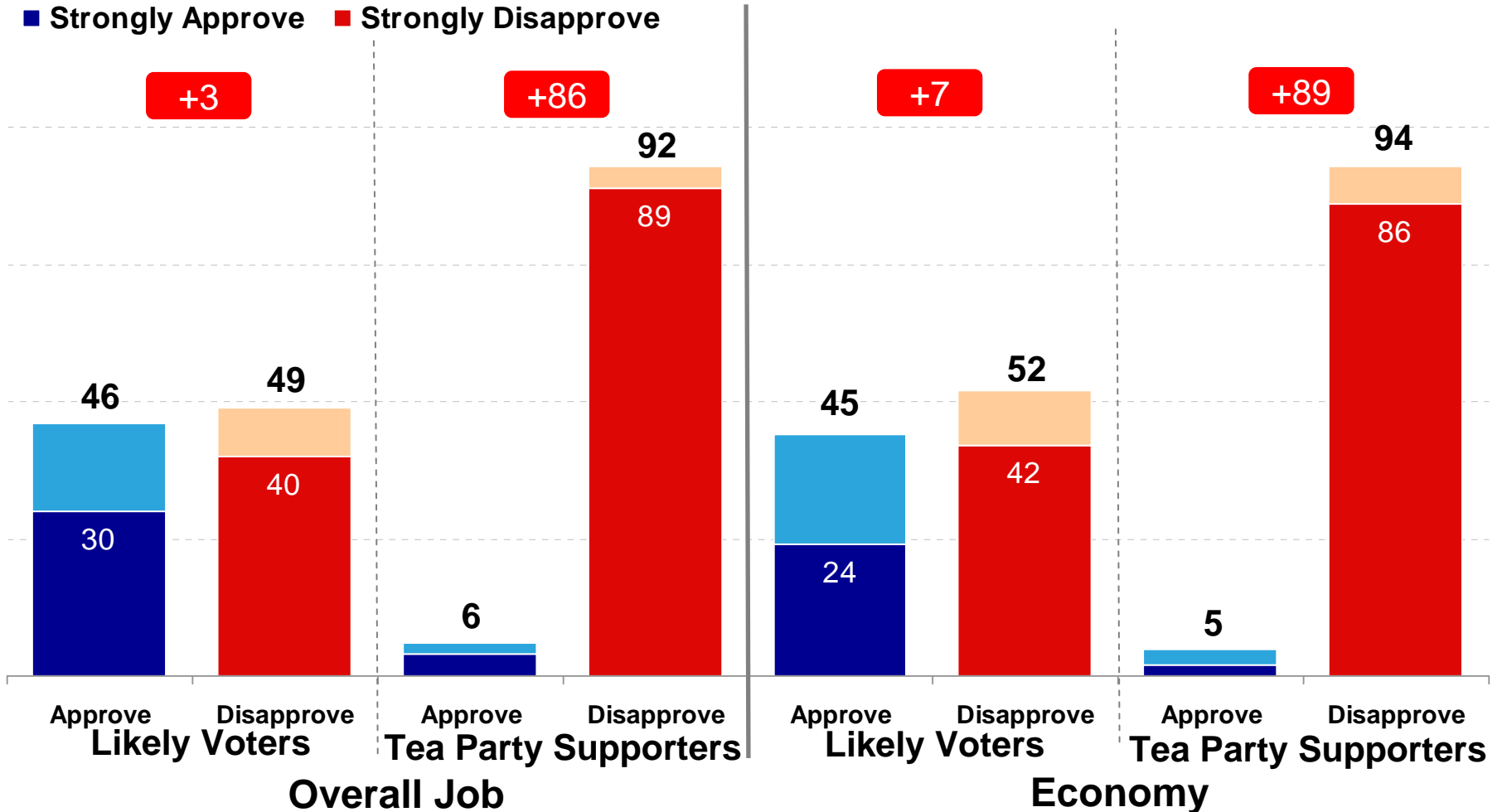
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



# Obama job approval

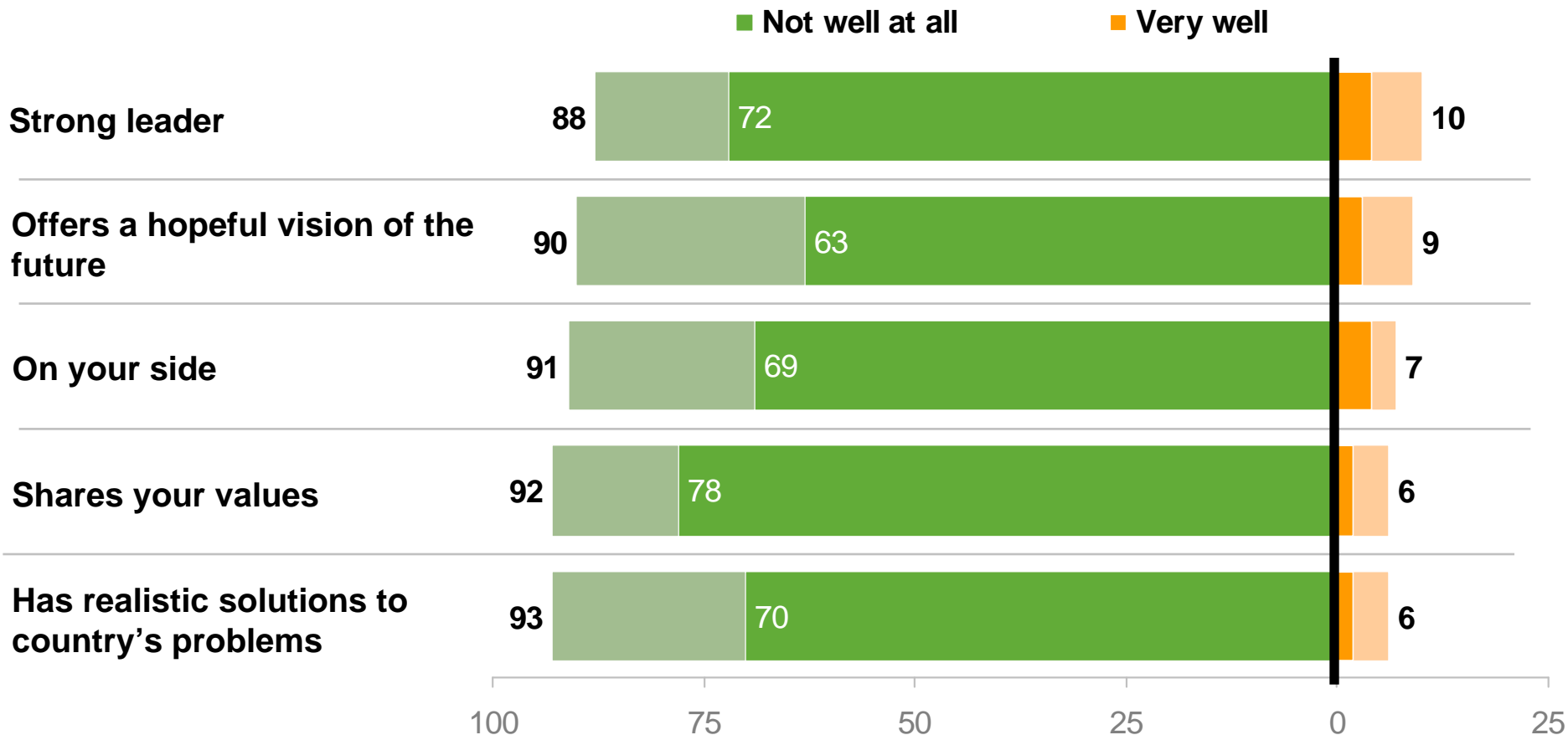
*Do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by Barack Obama as president/the way that Barack Obama is handling the economy?*

■ Strongly Approve ■ Strongly Disapprove



## 90 percent negative on all Obama attributes

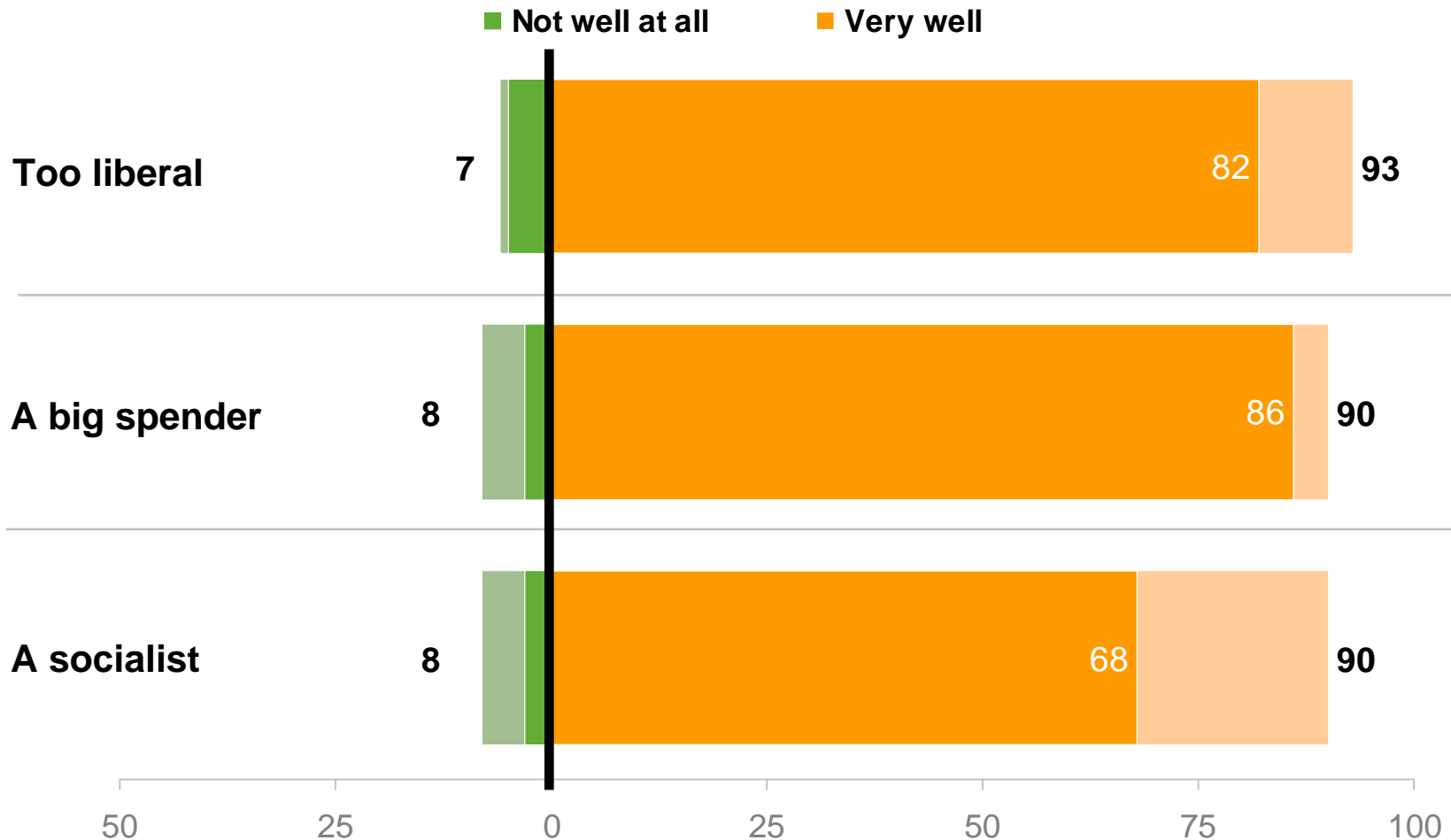
Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Barack Obama very well, well, not too well or not well at all



\*Note: These numbers are of Tea Party supporters, and are solely from the June 19-22 wave.

## Nine in ten say Obama a socialist, big spender

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



\*Note: These numbers are of Tea Party supporters, and are solely from the June 19-22 wave.

## Focus Groups: On negative image of Obama

**[He] has no clue nor cares to. He just has what his plan is, not actually to run the country, to run his plan.**

**– Non-College Woman, Fort Lauderdale**

**It's like he comes out of nowhere and he's very articulate and everyone loves him and he's the antichrist.**

**– College Man, Phoenix**

**They say you put a frog in water and slowly turn up the heat and he won't jump out. Obama cranked that heat up and people are jumping out.**

**– Non-College Man, Fort Lauderdale**

**I saw this guy coming a mile away and he didn't fool me for one second and nobody would listen to me then.**

**– College Woman, Phoenix**

**He's a disaster.**

**– College Man, Phoenix**

**[An] incompetent Marxist.**

**– College Man, Phoenix**

**That more than the race thing, I think the Muslim thing is scarier.**

**– College Woman, Phoenix**

**He's just a fraud. He conned the whole world that he was competent and experienced.**

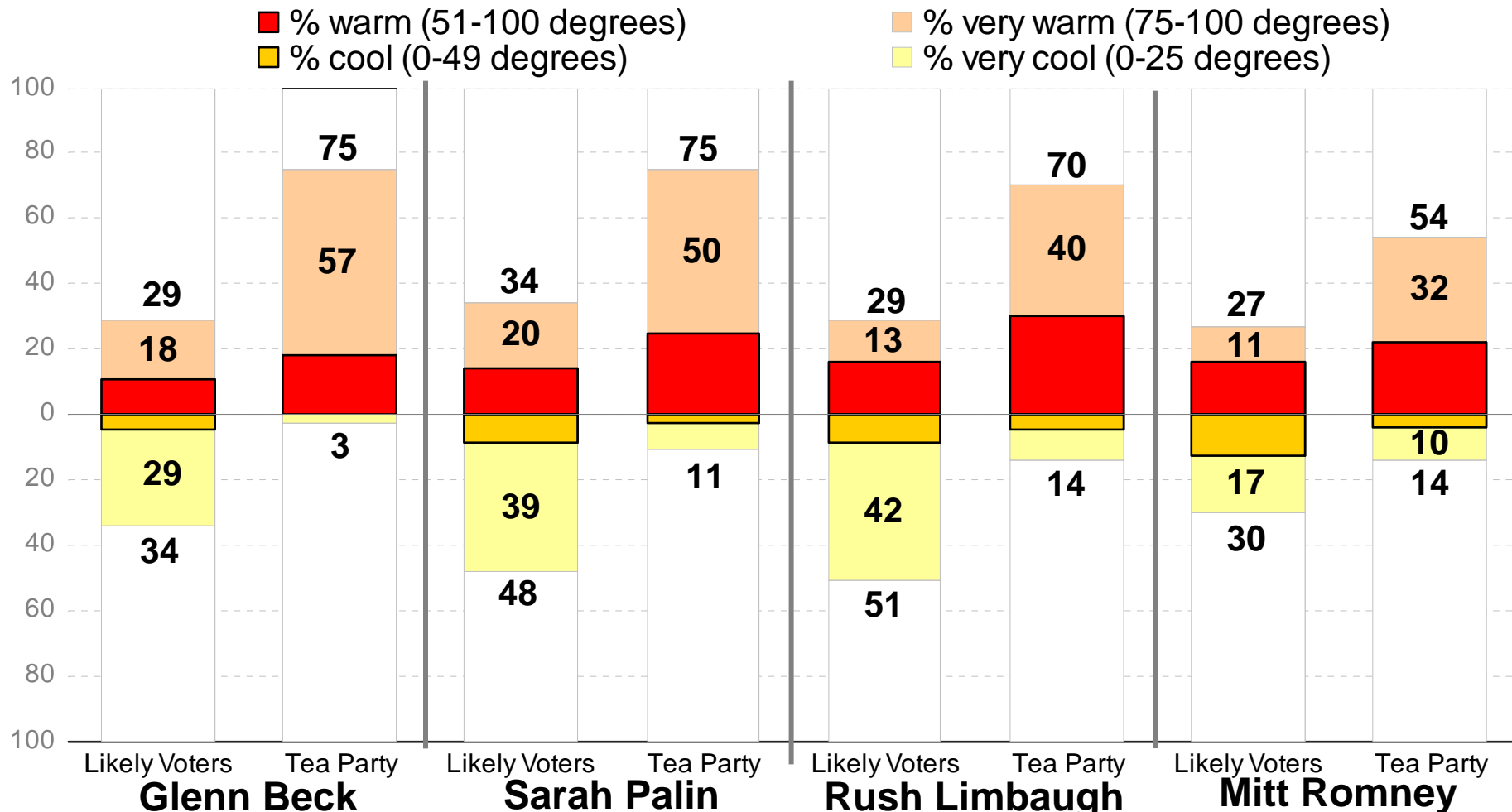
**– Non-College Woman, Fort Lauderdale**

# Views of the political world

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# Thermometer: conservative popular figures and GOP figures

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

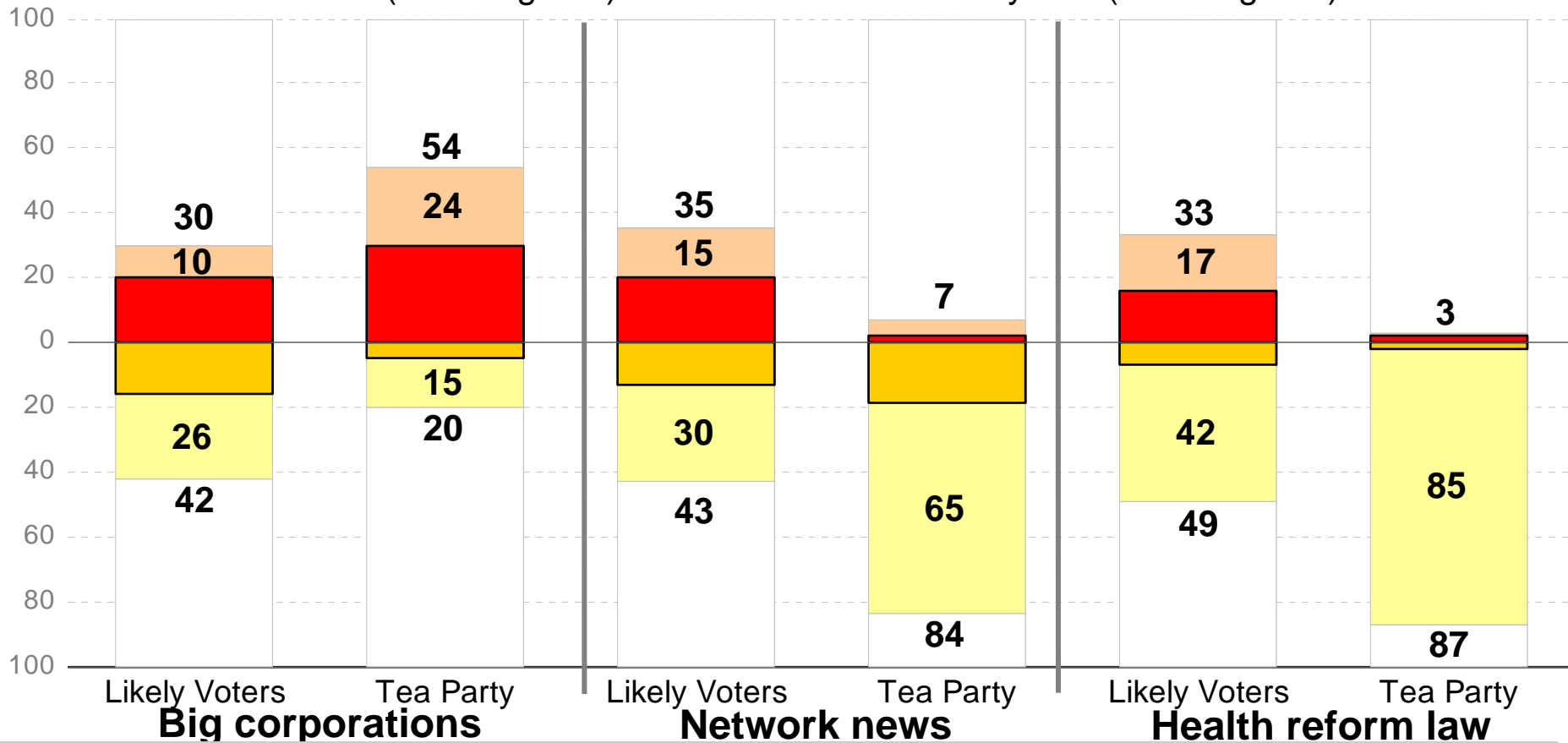


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# Thermometer: anti-media and health care but for big corporations

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

- % warm (51-100 degrees)
- % very warm (75-100 degrees)
- % cool (0-49 degrees)
- % very cool (0-25 degrees)



\*Note: These numbers are solely from the June 19-22 wave. Based on research for Citizen Opinion.



## Focus Groups: on the media

I think [Glenn Beck] is getting a little full of himself right now and he needs to tone it down a little bit, but I think he's definitely got the American public's interest in mind.  
– Non College Woman, Fort Lauderdale

I don't think [broadcast news] they're very biased. I think in their eyes for quite a while Barack Obama could do nothing wrong and they didn't report a lot of things that were happening until they were almost forced to because of FOX News, I believe. I am really pro-FOX.  
– Non College Woman, Fort Lauderdale

[Media] all have their bias, no matter what. I tend to like FOX better. I don't even have cable so I don't even look... CNN the only thing I can do is read it online, but when I do, it's unbelievable. – College Man, Phoenix

Well you know how FOX News says fair and balanced, I do agree with their premise that it is fair and balanced because I see they have two – they always have someone from the left on being interviewed and they get both sides. But I still find myself looking at other news sites just to see what the other side is saying because I just want to see what kind of slant they're putting on things.  
– College Man, Phoenix

CNN: Communist News Network.  
– College Man, Phoenix

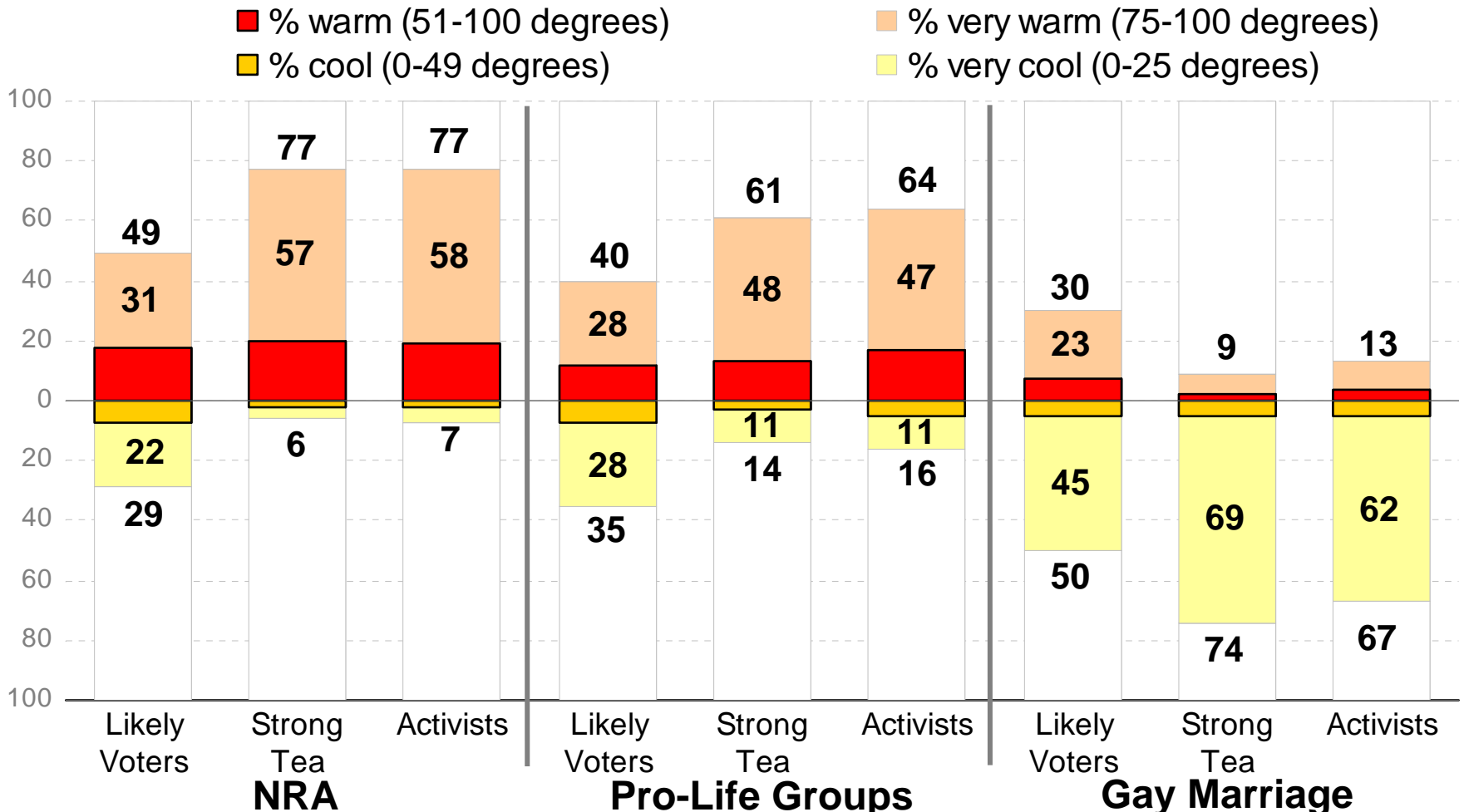
I just look at FOX News [for leadership]. I hate to say that, but they feel like they are kind of... they are trying to get the country going as a whole in the right direction. I don't know if they are the leader of the Republican Party because they are supposed to be unbiased, you know, but... their hosts are good leaders and spokespeople for the Republican Party.  
– College Woman, Phoenix

I end up getting stuck watching [CNN] in the doctor's office or an airport... I'm used to watching FOX all the time, then I go and I watch the CNN and it's like... it does seem just a lot different.. It really, truly to me seems slanted. -- College Woman, Phoenix

[Beck] actually shows the people saying the things. It's not like just sound bites. It's not chopped and really edited. And he is scary because every time I watch the show, which is pretty much every day, my heart.. .and I feel like I want to do something... And he says that it what everybody should be doing, including the government. -- College Woman, Phoenix

# Thermometer: embrace NRA and reject gay marriage

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



\*Note: Based on research for Citizen Opinion.

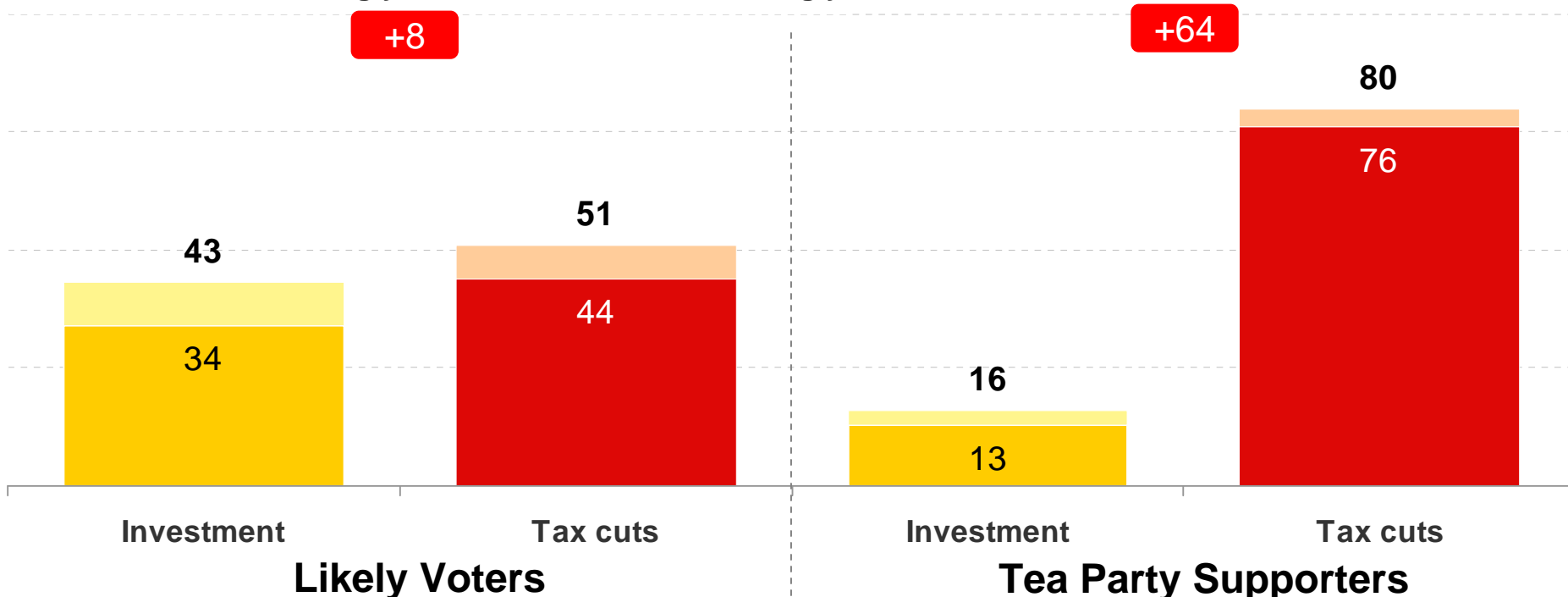
# Ideological embrace of small government and private sector

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First Statement:** The best way to improve our economy and create jobs is to invest more to put people to work, develop new industries, and help businesses grow in expanding, new areas.

**Second Statement:** The best way to improve our economy and create jobs is to cut government spending and cut taxes so businesses can prosper and the private sector can start creating jobs.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



\*Note: Based on research for Citizen Opinion.

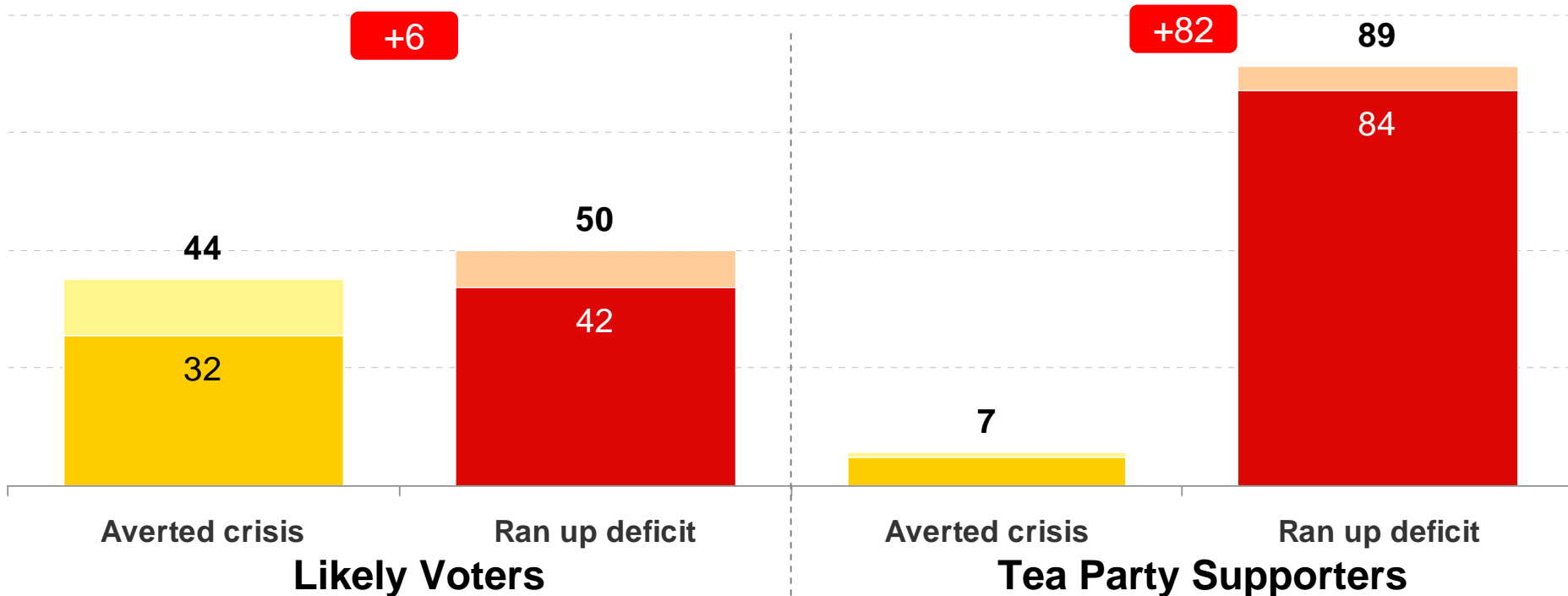
# Tea Party: Obama's economic policies bring only deficits

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First Statement:** President Obama's economic policies helped avert an even worse crisis, and are laying the foundation for our eventual economic recovery.

**Second Statement:** President Obama's economic policies have run up a record federal deficit while failing to end the recession or slow the record pace of job losses.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



Who are they?

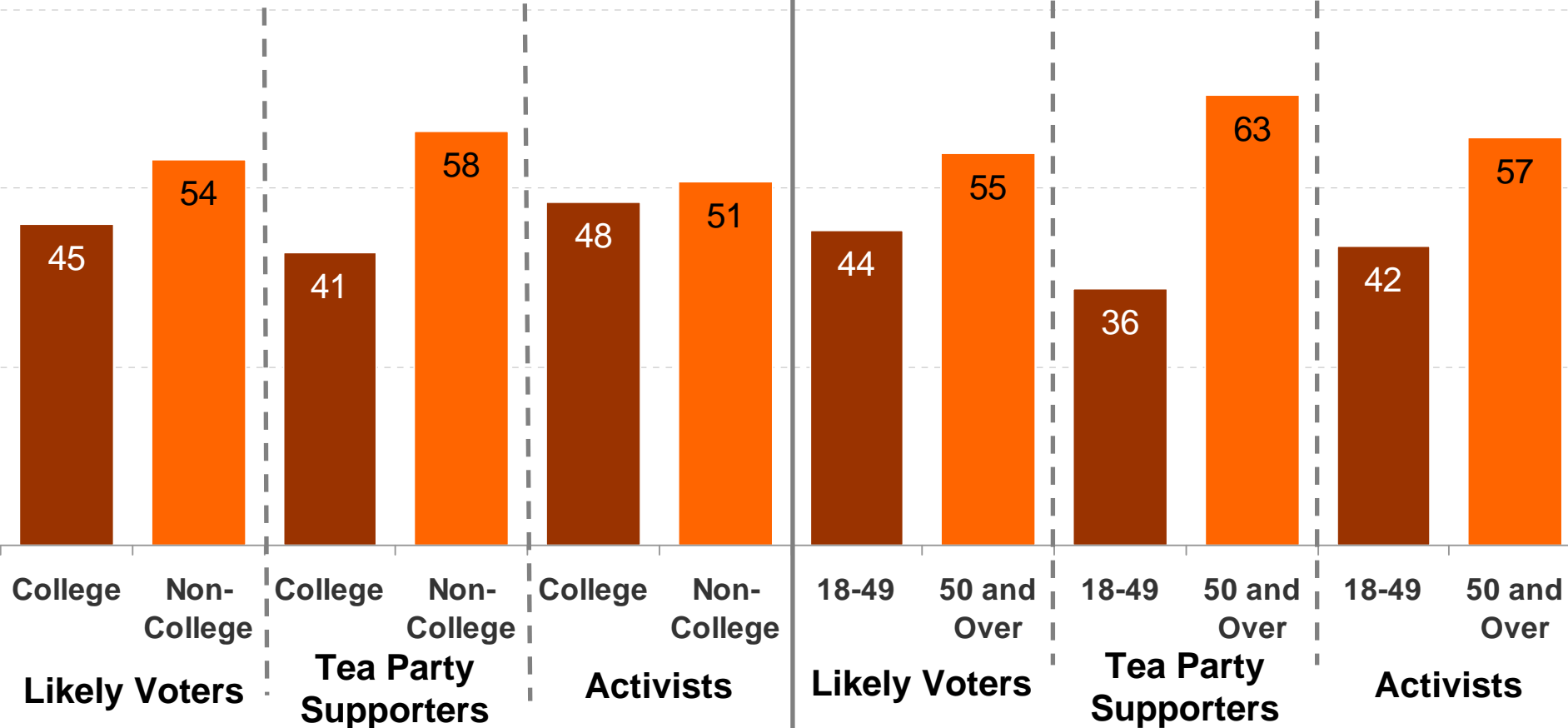
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# Tea Party: somewhat more educated and a lot older

What is the last year of schooling that you have completed/In what year were you born?

## Education

## Age



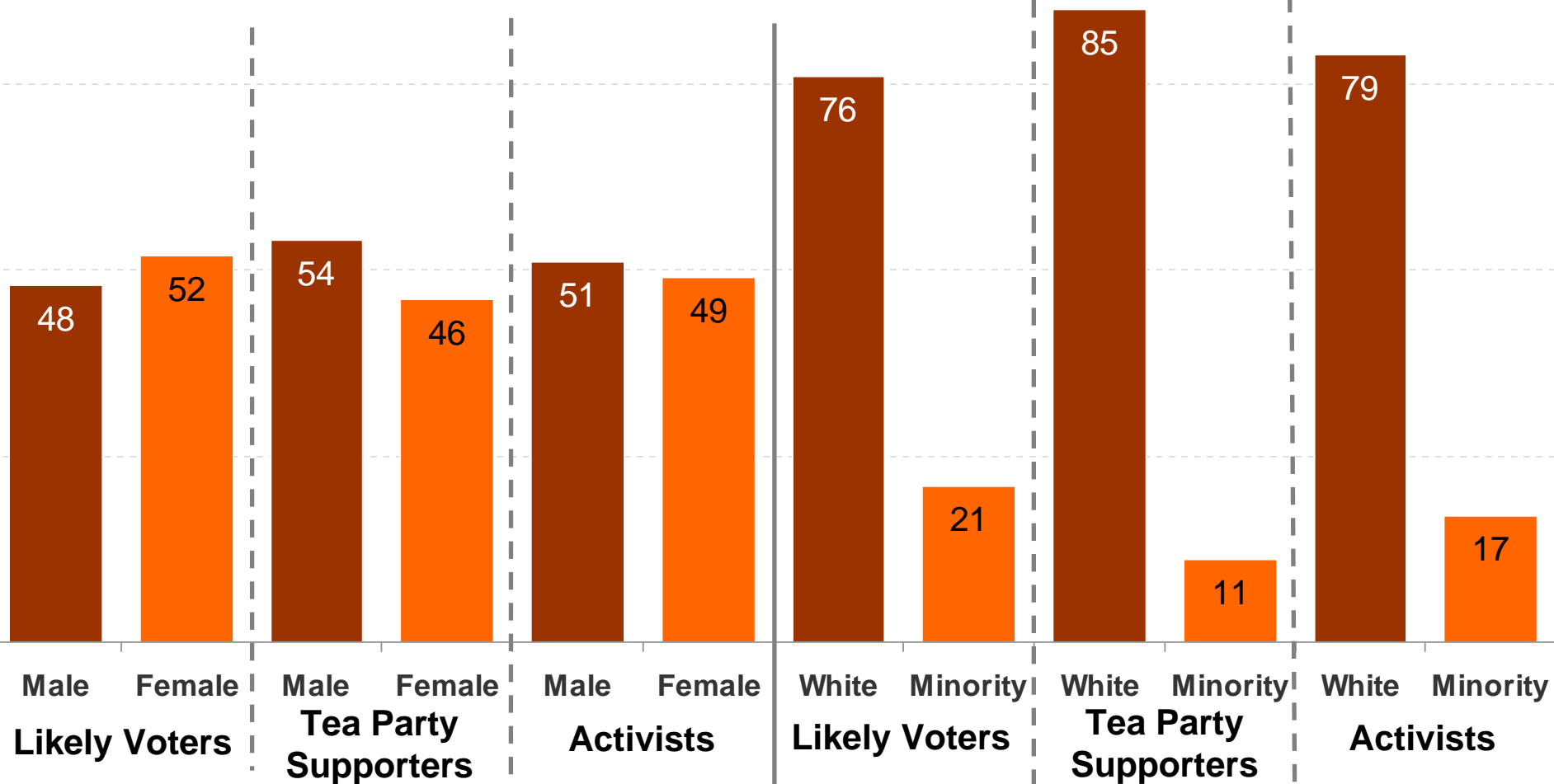
\*Note: Based on research for Citizen Opinion.

# Predominately white and more male

Respondents gender/What racial or ethnic group best describes you?

## Gender

## Race

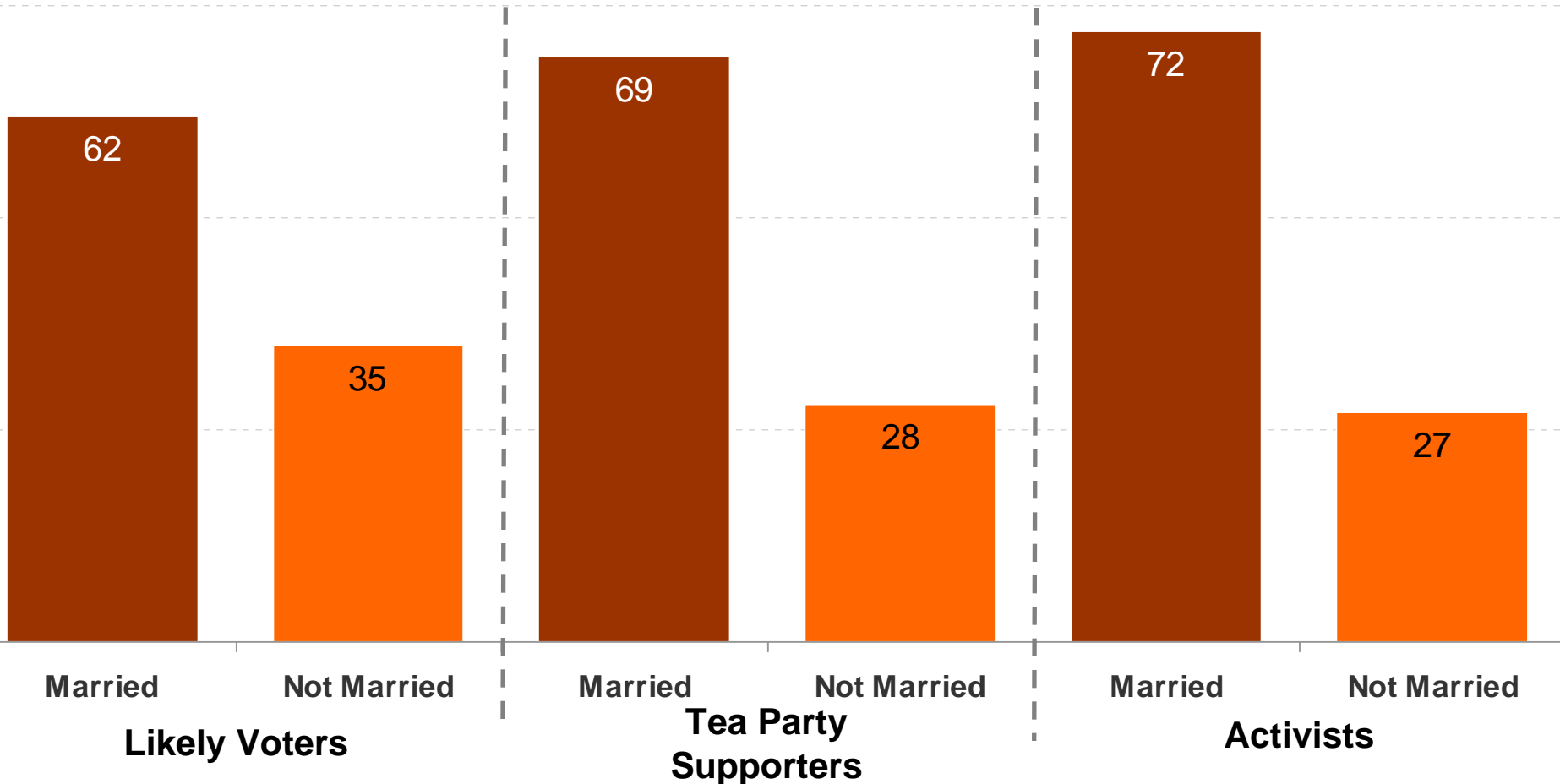


\*Note: Based on research for Citizen Opinion.

# Tea Party supporters: very married

Are you married, single, separated, divorced or widowed?

## Marital Status



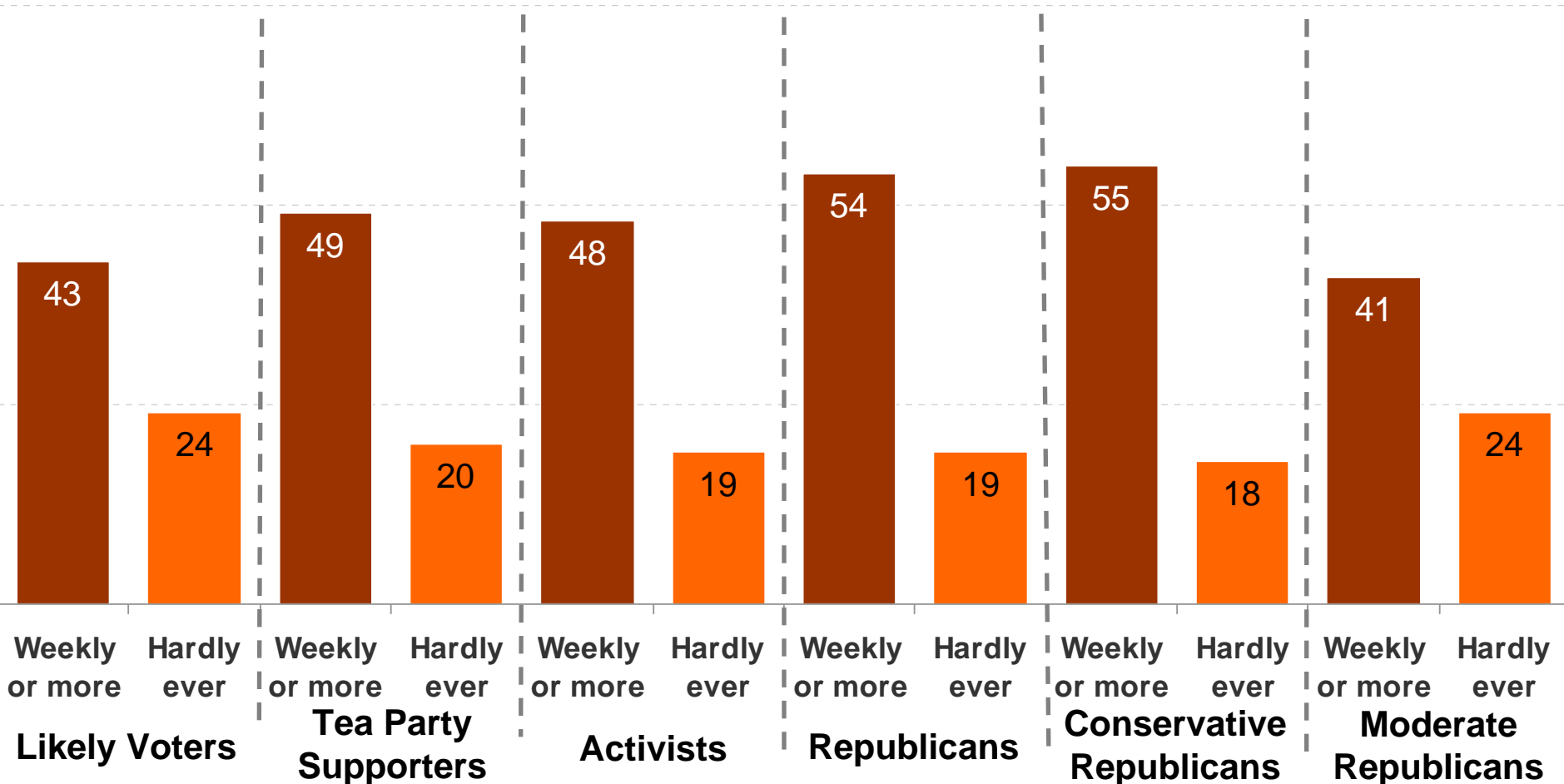
\*Note: Based on research for Citizen Opinion.



# Republicans slightly more devout than Tea Party supporters

*How often do you attend religious services – more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, several times a year, or hardly ever?*

## Religious Frequency



\*Note: Based on research for Citizen Opinion.

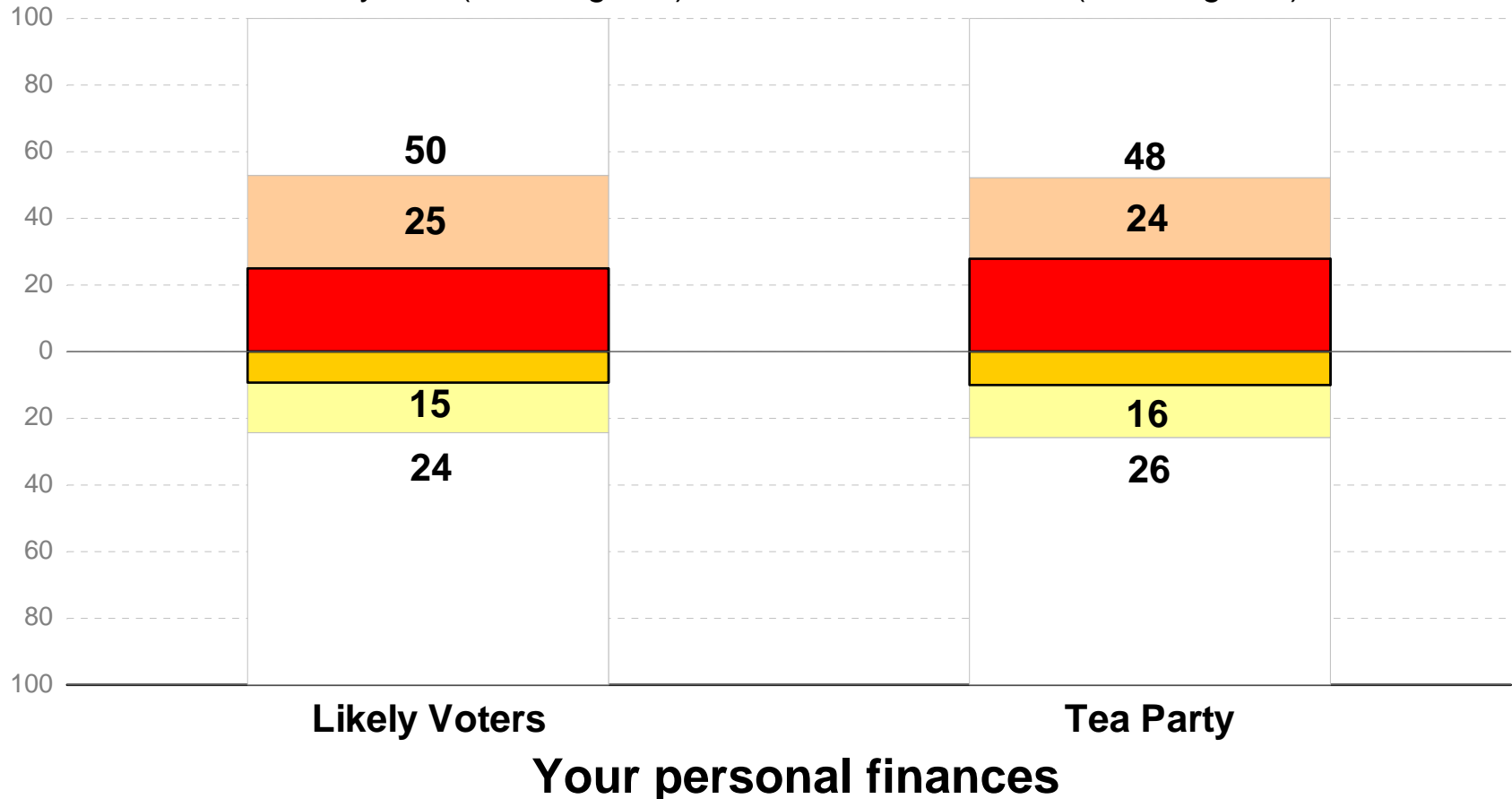
# Economic experience

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# Thermometer: supporters no more pressed financially

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

- % warm (51-100 degrees)
- % very warm (76-100 degrees)
- % very cool (0-49 degrees)
- % cool (0-25 degrees)



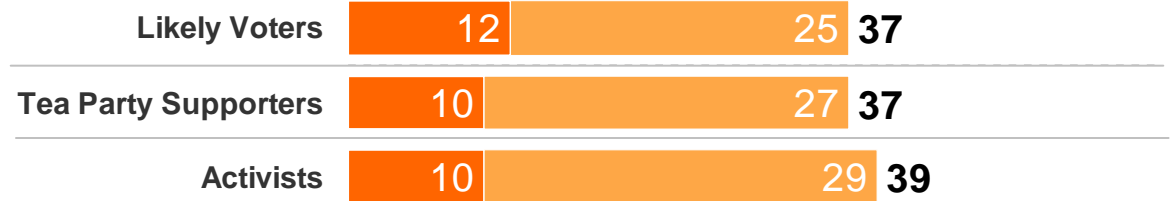
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# Supporters no harder hit by the economy

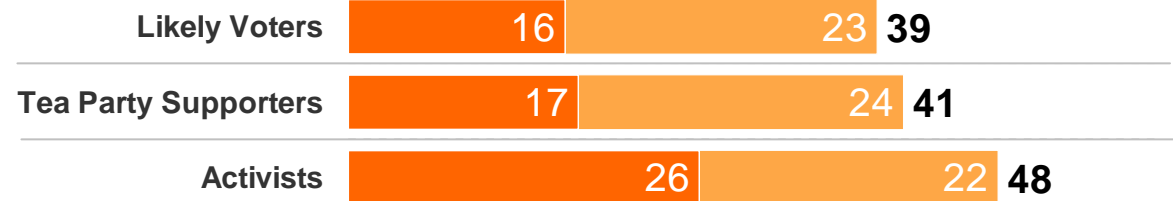
*I'm going to read you a list of economic experiences some people have recently had. For each one, please tell me if you have directly experienced this in the last year, if your family has directly experienced this in the last year, or if someone you know well, like a friend, neighbor or co-worker, has experienced this or if no one you know well has experienced it.*

■ Impacted you                      ■ Impacted family

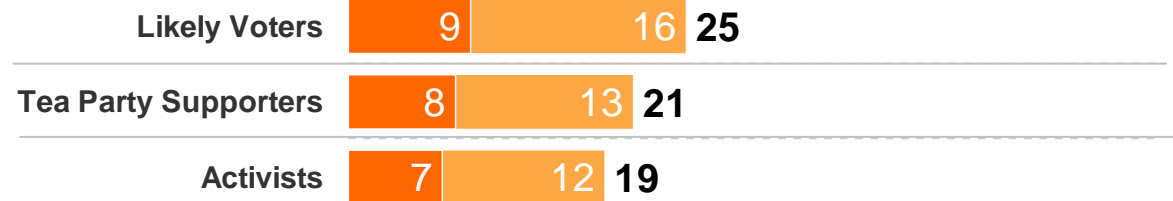
## Loss of a job



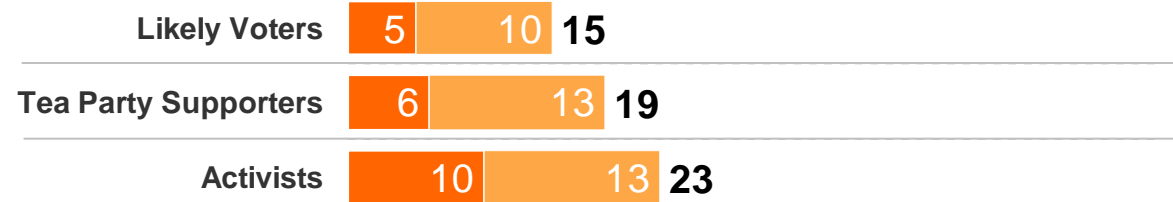
## Reduced wages or hours at work



## Lost health insurance coverage



## Fallen behind on mortgage payments or home was foreclosed on



0                      25                      50

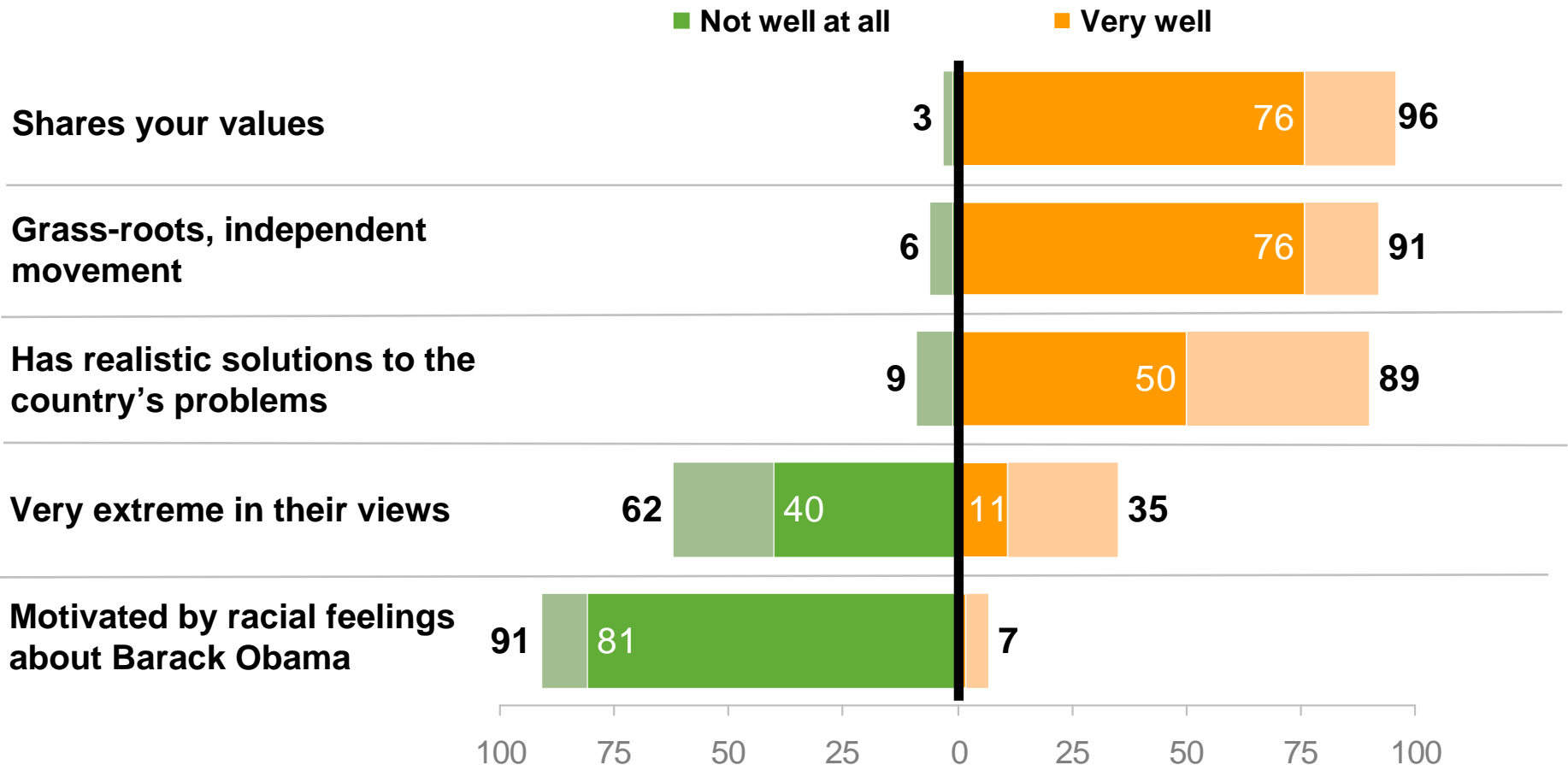
*\*Note: Based on research for Citizen Opinion.*

# Perceptions of the movement

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# Tea Party supporters very positive in their views of the movement

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



\*Note: These numbers are of strong Tea party Supporters and are solely from the June 19-22 wave. Based on research for Citizen Opinion

## Focus Groups: How Tea Party supporters perceive the movement

**A grass root movement of people and families that have a genuine concern of all that has slipped away on how this country was founded**

**– Non-College Man, Fort Lauderdale**

**I truly don't, I mean, yes, is it coincidental that Obama was in office and he was a black President and this movement happened? I'm not so sure that you can say that's why. I think there was a lot of rumbling before that and people getting, I know a lot, including myself, who voted for Bush twice in a row really got angry with him near the end of his administration and so some of that bubbling, I think, started earlier.**

**– Non College Woman, Fort Lauderdale**

**Concerned about the economy and spending; concerned about the borders and how we're being demonized now by the whole country that we're all racists because we're trying to stop illegals from coming in and we have a weak President, inexperienced and weak.**

**– College Man, Phoenix**

**Civil, spontaneous demonstrators for liberty; more varied in age, race and backgrounds than getting credit for and fed up.**

**– College Man, Phoenix**

**The Tea Party is kind of saying, white people, what happened when we grew up in the 50's and 60's? What happened when my mom could stay home and I could get an education? My dad just had to work and everybody could pay taxes and we could go on vacation. That's all gone.**

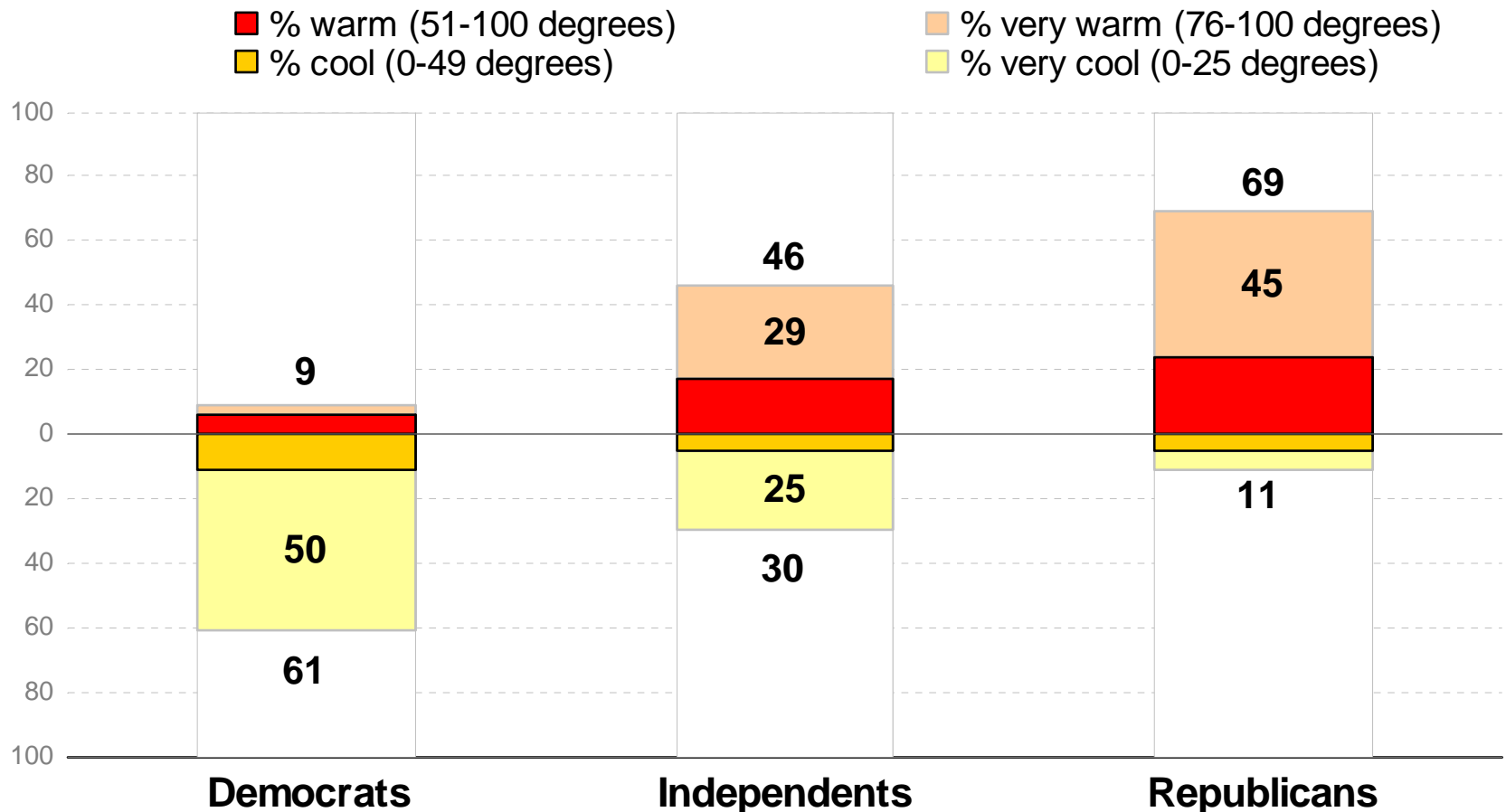
**– Non-College Man, Fort Lauderdale**

**The tea party movement is geared toward getting our country back to the roots of which America was founded on. It strongly supports the constitution and bill of rights. It supports free enterprise, ingenuity and hard work. It is not geared toward government handouts but rather each individual's ability and opportunity to succeed. Thus tea party is for fair and limited taxation.**

**– College Woman, Phoenix**

# Therm: Independents have favorable view of Tea Party

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



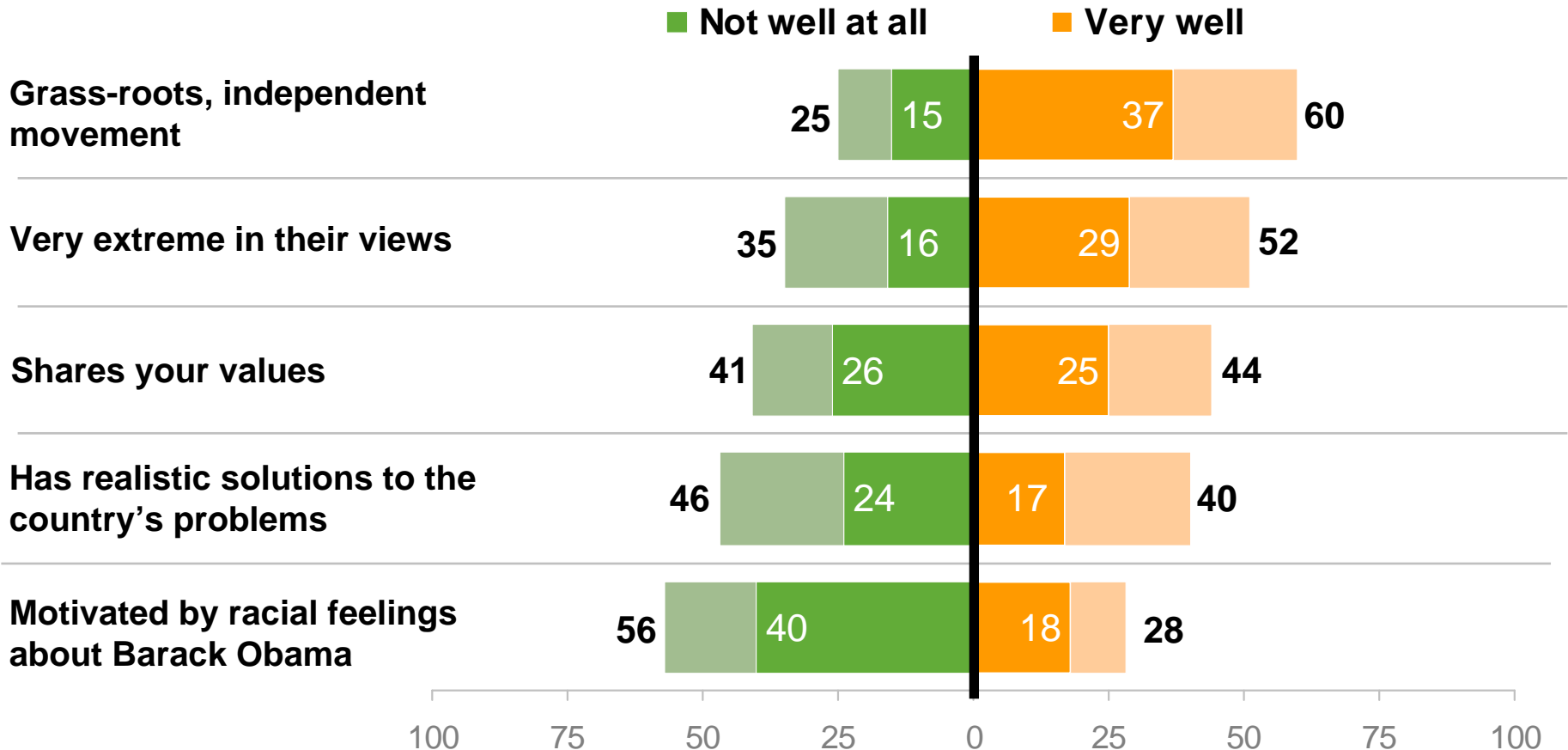
\*Note: These numbers are of all likely voters and are solely from the June 19-22 wave. Based on research for Citizen Opinion.

## The Tea Party movement



# Voters: Tea Party seen as grassroots but extreme and not realistic

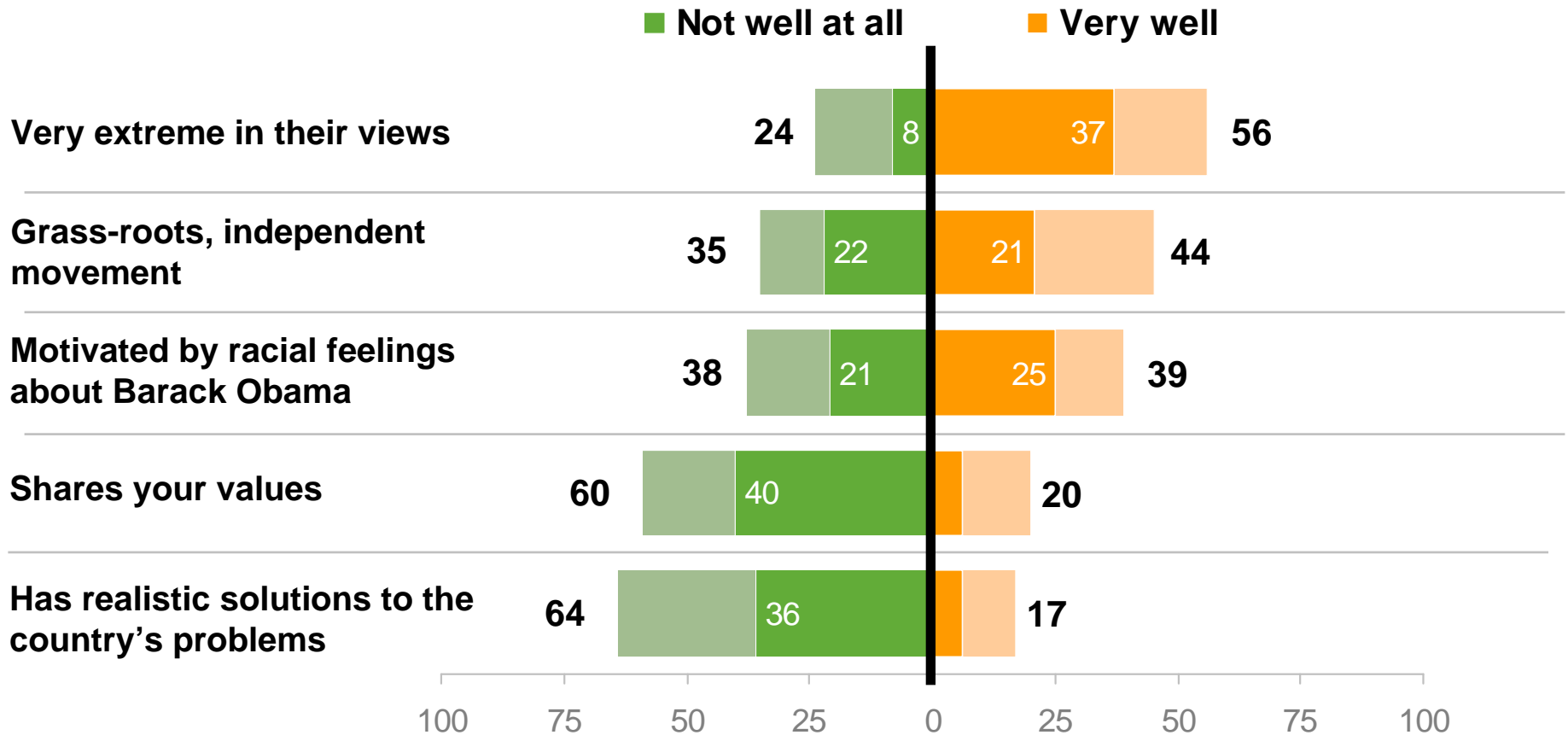
Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people may use to describe the Tea Party movement. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes the Tea Party Movement very well, well, not too well or not well at all



\*Note: These numbers are of all likely voters and are solely from the June 19-22 wave. Based on research for Citizen Opinion.

# Non-supporters: Tea Party extreme, with possible racial element

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



\*Note: These numbers are of non-Tea Party supporters and are solely from the June 19-22 wave. Based on research for Citizen Opinion.

# GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH



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