

IS RACE THE CASE? HOW THE RACIAL
VIEWS OF THE TEA PARTY MOVEMENT
INFLUENCE MEMBERS' ATTITUDES
CONCERNING POLICIES THAT
BENEFIT IMMIGRANTS

by

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INTRODUCTION

After Barack Obama won the 2008 presidential election, a trifecta of disgruntled voters, powerful activists, and political pundits united to articulate their disapproval of the new president's policies through the formation of the Tea Party Movement. While participants strived to emulate the Revolutionary War Patriots who protested excessive British involvement in colonial affairs at the Boston Tea Party, the name of this new group does not refer to the aforementioned efforts of the Founders, but instead serves as a reminder of the need for fiscal responsibility. The "Tea" in this Tea Party stands for "Taxed Enough Already," a catchy slogan that conveys members' discontent with the then newly instated government programs enacted to ameliorate the effects of the 2008 recession. Libertarian rhetoric functioned as a dominant component of early Tea Party rallies, yet as the movement acquired additional conservative supporters, members allowed the group to occupy a place within the Republican Party and serve as a watchdog to monitor Republican members of Congress and encourage them to adhere to far-right ideological principles (Skocpol and Williamson 2012).

While voters comprising the Republican Party possess similar political characteristics to Tea Party supporters, an important characteristic, pessimism toward the future of the nation, serves as a unifying view of the Tea Party Movement and causes this faction of the Republican Party to occupy a position on the right of the political spectrum. Tea Partiers fear the increasing role of the government and perceive those who receive federal assistance as lazy. Tea Partiers do, however, support increased government involvement with respect to immigration, as they view immigrants as a threat toward future American prosperity (Skocpol and Williamson 2012). A contradiction exists

between the Tea Partiers' ideological principles and their preference for active government responses to increased immigration. While the Tea Party professes to favor stricter immigration policies as a means to promote economic prosperity, their hostility may have arisen as a byproduct of their racial views. This paper examines how Tea Partiers' racial views influence their attitudes toward programs that benefit immigrants.

This study utilizes a survey experiment to disentangle the ideological preferences of Tea Party members from prejudicial attitudes as a means of determining the extent to which racial aversion contributes to opposition regarding general social programs. After positioning this study within existing literature regarding this nascent faction of the Republican Party and American views on immigration, an examination of the experimental survey data will reveal whether or not Tea Partiers exhibit disparate attitudes toward federal assistance when exposed to survey questions concerning immigrants of different races. The results indicate that racial views drive Tea Party opposition to federal assistance programs directed toward immigrants.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Due to the brief time the Tea Party Movement has occupied a place in the political sphere, political scientists, journalists, and other commentators have yet to reach a consensus concerning the effects of members' attitudes and behavior on elections and the national agenda. Establishing a single set of characteristics that encompasses every member of the Tea Party Movement proves a difficult task, as heterogeneous groups who possess diverse social and political characteristics have gathered together under the Tea Party label to remonstrate the Obama Administration's political agenda. The absence of a central Tea Party organization that monitors the movement's activities and aggregates the

issue stances of all elites and grassroots members also contributes to the complexity of developing a simple means of categorizing Tea Party supporters aside from relying on self-identification (Skocpol and Williamson 2012). Assessing the descriptive characteristics, ideological views, and racial resentment associated with the Tea Party Movement benefits this study, as these components contribute to members' attitudes toward the government's approach to immigration.

Descriptive Characteristics of the Tea Party Movement

Although factions have arisen within the Tea Party Movement due to contentious debates concerning social issues, racial issues, and other non-economic controversies, Tea Party members exhibit similar demographic characteristics, those that shape the group's perception of fiscal issues and the proper role of government. After conducting a series of interviews with Tea Partiers in the Greater Boston area, Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson (2012) contend that white older males are more likely to identify with the concerns of this movement, as they comprise a majority of attendants at Tea Party rallies. Polls and survey research also have suggested these claims, as "the 18 percent of Americans who identify themselves as Tea Party supporters tend to be Republican voters, white, male, married, and older than 45" (Zernike and Thee-Breenan 2010). The older-than-average age of grassroots members contributes to their outlook on younger generations. Tea Partiers believe their age reflects wisdom and experience, and they express skepticism toward younger voters, as they question this population's work ethic and ability to discern the effects of a more activist government (Skocpol and Williamson 2012).

Along with similar descriptive characteristics, Tea Party members also possess a shared socioeconomic status, which also contributes to the group's core values regarding government spending and taxation. Grassroots members tend to earn a higher-than-average income "with 20% of its membership making over \$100,000 a year and over 50% of its membership making over \$50,000" (Elkins 2011, 8). Tea Partiers tend to be more educated than the average American as well (Zernike and Thee-Breenan 2010). While the 2008 recession may not have harmed the Tea Party members in the same manner it did lower income earners, its effects have inspired both long-term fears and short-term anger. Because the majority of Tea Partiers earn a comfortable living but do not fall in the highest echelon of income earners, they are more likely to perceive the recession as detrimental and more of a salient concern than their wealthier counterparts in the Republican Party. Members were not immune to initial effects of the recession, yet their apocalyptic rhetoric suggests that long-term effects of the recession would threaten not only economic growth but the economic structure celebrated by free-market capitalists.

Ideological Characteristics of the Tea Party Movement

While demographic homogeneity exists within the Tea Party, disagreements among members have arisen due to the ideological orientation of the movement. Because criticism of the government's approach to fiscal issues served as the most salient issue to members during the nascent stages of the movement, voters with the aforementioned descriptive qualities coalesced in protest, regardless of their position on the ideological spectrum. Libertarians and conservatives alike invoked the rhetoric of the Founders and professed the need for accountability and a populist awakening to monitor the

increasingly powerful government. These concerned voters implored for a more active electorate and more engaged citizenry (Delaune 2010). After Congress passed President Obama's Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act in March 2010, the group augmented its outcry, rebuked this new "socialistic" governmental provision, and vowed to halt its implementation in the 2010 midterm election (Abramowitz 2011; CQ Press 2010.) A closer examination of the ideological disparities within the movement serves as a necessary measure to construct an attitudinal hypothesis explaining members' opposition to programs that benefit immigrants.

Sippin' the Libertarian Tea

An explanation of the characteristics unique to the libertarian Tea Party members proves essential for this study, as this ideology dominated the movement at its founding. While the relationship between conservative ideology and Tea Party support is statistically significant in Elkins' (2011) analysis, she asserts that a divide continues to exist within the movement, as libertarians continue to participate. Because the Tea Party strives to reduce the size and scope of the government, these fiscally conservative, socially liberal members approve of the movement's message and admire its commitment to instating a responsible, minimal government. Elkins (2011) explains that libertarian members possess slightly different descriptive characteristics than socially conservative members, as they tend to hold higher degrees, thus facilitating their ability to earn an even higher-than-average income. Libertarians are also more likely to inhabit the northern and western regions of the United States, a fact that may influence their feelings toward the federal government's response to immigration (Elkins 2011).

Elkins (2011) explains that while libertarian Tea Partiers approve of conservative fiscal policies, the ways in which these members craft their issue stances establish a divide within the attitudes of the overall movement. When responding to the question of whether or not the government should allow higher levels of immigration, Tea Party “libertarians were statistically identical to Democrats/Independents...while Tea Party conservatives were less likely than their non-Tea Party counterparts to agree” (Elkins 2011, 23). However, both libertarians and social conservatives oppose federal social programs, as they claim that “government programs intended to help the poor inadvertently perpetuate poverty” (Elkins 2011). Though libertarians observe federal economic intervention in a pessimistic manner, their lack of concern for increased immigration levels in general suggests their opposition to the social programs in question centers on purely fiscal rationale.

Teavangelicals: The Stronger Brew

The Tea Party energized complacent, malcontent voters prior to the 2010 midterm election, yet when members endorsed socially conservative candidates, they alienated some of the movement’s original libertarian supporters. Some members then began to articulate their conservative views toward social issues, as they argued that the government should maintain an orderly, traditional society in order to allow laissez-faire economic policies to thrive. The influence of the Tea Partiers whose religious and cultural views did not comport with their conservative peers waned, as some left the movement after social issues arrived on the agenda. These libertarian members did not wish to address religious concerns or polarizing social issues, as these concepts diluted movement’s original message, one of fiscal responsibility (Skocpol and Williamson

2012). A thorough evaluation of this Tea Party faction's qualities will reveal clearly the disparities between it and the libertarian minority.

A new breed of Tea Partiers emerged as members incorporated social issues into their platforms, and socially conservative candidates endorsed and embraced the movement. Evangelical Christians who supported the Tea Party, colloquially known as "Teavangelicals," appreciated the movement's endorsement of "moral-uprightness" (Brody 2012). No longer did libertarian sentiment run rampant throughout local rallies and meetings. Jacobson (2011) analyzed Ansolabehere's 2010 Cooperative Congressional Election Study dataset, and he concluded that the Tea Party accounts for the far-right of the Republican Party due to its favorability toward both socially and fiscally conservative political views and policy proposals. Through comparison of means and comparison of proportions tests on survey data, Elkins (2011) explains that conservative ideology serves as the strongest predictor of Tea Party support. Abramowitz (2011) finds similar results employing logistic regression. While most Tea Partiers now identify as both fiscal and social conservatives, a majority of Tea Party groups continued to emphasize their libertarian orientation and to incorporate libertarian rhetoric into their rallies and congressional campaigns (Skocpol and Williamson 2012; Elkins 2011).

While some Tea Party-backed candidates in the South did not hesitate to highlight their social conservatism, others exposed the problems in the American political sphere from a purely fiscal perspective. While these Tea Party candidates belonged to this protest, "third party-esque" movement, that this purely fiscal conservative approach to contentious issues such as immigration and social programs will allow the movement to

establish a long-term position in the political sphere while pushing the Republican Party to the right in a pragmatic manner (Jacobson 2011).

The Racial Views of the Tea Party Movement

While previous literature has discussed the definitive characteristics of the Tea Party Movement and identified the ideological disparities of the members, this study centers on the racial views of this unique group. Comprehending Tea Partiers' racial attitudes serves as both an essential component of this study and a potential means of differentiating members of this group from members of the Republican Party. Elkins (2011) and Rae (2011) explain that the Tea Party not only attributes its pessimism concerning the future of the nation to President Obama's policies but also to President Bush's policies. Obama's election and proposed policies served as catalysts for the original establishment of the movement, yet these sources suggest that the Tea Party's unfavorable view toward President Bush and his inability to adhere firmly to conservative principles contribute to their skeptical views toward instating a hierarchical authority to monitor the individual rallies and meetings. Tea Partiers prefer to maintain their "watch-dog" image by refusing to elect one official representative who may succumb to the corruption inherent in holding a political office. Unlike mainstream Republican partisans, Tea Party voters view compromise as a failure, as they emphasize the need for supporters to act according in a principled, disciplined manner rather than a pragmatic one (Skocpol and Williamson 2012).

While Tea Party members attribute the dismal economic climate to elites from both major parties, their pessimism is not merely due to the aforementioned ideological purism and fiscal conservatism. Jacobson (2010) assesses the behavior of the Tea Party

prior to the midterm election, concluding that a “racial component of negative views of Obama [exists]...[yet] its magnitude is difficult to pin precisely.” Although Jacobson (2010) conducted his study relatively early in the movement’s existence, he incorporates ANES data from the 2008 presidential election, which suggests the racial attitudes dictated vote choice more significantly, as McCain won a majority of white votes and Obama clearly succeeded among minorities. While the Tea Party members do not only disapprove of Obama and the Democrats (Elkins 2011; Rae 2011), Jacobson’s analysis initiates scholarly efforts to evaluate Tea Party perceptions of politics as a function of their racial attitudes.

Tea Party members intensified their opposition to Obama prior to the 2010 midterm elections, as they increased the extent to which they incorporated hostile, false rhetoric into their rallies. The literature suggests that endorsements from Tea Party organizations did not contribute to Republican victory in the 2010 midterms, yet the presence of the movement in the political sphere energized voters and enforced the frame of this election as a referendum on Obama’s first two years in office (Bond, Fleisher, and Ilderton 2011; Jacobson 2011). Instead of disagreeing substantively with Obama’s policies, Tea Party members avidly communicate messages full of loaded words and false accusations such as the claim that President Obama was a “tyrant, Nazi, fascist, Communist, [and] socialist” simultaneously (Jacobson 2010). Fox News, the source from which Tea Partiers learn a majority of political information and a significant player in media portion of the Tea Party trifecta, perpetuates these concepts, as pundits continue to craft fallacies concerning the president and his policies (Berg 2011; Skocpol and Williamson 2012).

While observation alone reveals a racial element behind rhetoric and behavior of the Tea Party Movement, empirical studies also have substantiated this claim. Jacobson (2011) demonstrates, for instance, that racial views influenced support for the Tea Party in the 2010 midterm elections. Elkins (2011) further expands on this idea, arguing that both libertarian and conservative Tea Partiers view American economic mobility optimistically, thus influencing their belief that economic problems associated with African Americans enjoyed an unnecessary amount of coverage in 2010. Conservatives are more likely than their counterparts within the GOP to believe Obama's policies favor minorities (Elkins 2011). While ideological conservatism served as the strongest predictor of Tea Party support, racial resentment and dislike for Obama also served as statistically significant predictors (Abramowitz 2011). Maxwell and Parent (2012) explain that three racial attitudes—symbolic racism, racial stereotypes, and ethnocentrism—are present in the minds of Tea Partiers. Only ethnocentrism, the practice of casting out-groups as “others” and inferior, proved statistically significant. However, all three components influence the members' hostility toward Obama. Using an experimental manipulation of race, Arcenaux and Nicholson (2012) find that racial characteristics determine support for government. This study also concludes that Tea Partiers possess symbolic as opposed to traditional, racist tendencies.

Economic Opposition to Immigration

Because the Tea Partiers attribute their aversion to immigration and favorability toward increased border control to their economic rationale (Skocpol and Williamson 2012), an examination of these attitudes proves useful when determining whether or not this explanation validly characterizes the group's behavior. Hanson (2005) constructs a

formula that measures how immigration affects an individual economically, as he evaluates which societal groups favor restrictions on immigration and which oppose these policies. Immigration can strain an individual's total income if it exerts downward pressure on pre-tax income and government transfers and upward pressure on tax payments. Immigration can also threaten an individual's well-being, if it exerts downward pressure on each or every component.

A variety of factors determine an individual's total income and well-being, thus immigration affects societal groups differently. Hanson (2005) explains that an individual will be more opposed increased immigration if he or she earns a lower income and inhabits a state with both high levels of immigration and where "immigrants represent a larger fiscal burden" due to their access to public goods. The "labor market competition hypothesis" suggests that those who compete with immigrants for jobs are more likely to favor increased restrictions or restrictive policies in order to abate competition (O'Rourke and Sinnott 2006; Citrin, Green, Muste, and Wong 1997; Espenshade and Calhoun 1993; Harwood 1983). Kessler (2001) argues that individuals' position in the labor market does influence attitudes directly, as self-interest propels opposition to immigration when workers contest employment opportunities and wages with immigrants. Conversely, Hanson (2005) explains that favorability toward immigration restriction wanes when individuals do not possess each of these characteristics collectively. These theories involving economic opposition to increased levels of immigration imply that potential bitterness toward immigrants arises from financial stress alone, and they do not acknowledge personal characteristics such as an individual's political ideology and racial views.

Perceptions of the current economic climate influence an individual's attitudes toward immigration. While workers may oppose immigration if they fear its direct effect on wages and competition, they may favor restrictions regardless of their employment position and proximity to the immigrants themselves. Citrin et al.'s (1990) "pessimism hypothesis" explains that if a person remains skeptical of the nation's economic performance, he or she will view immigration as a comprehensive societal burden. Because conservatives measure the effectiveness of the economy according to different standards than their liberal counterparts, they may oppose immigration as a matter of principle if its effects threaten their ideological principles of fiscal discipline and free-market capitalism. While immigration may in fact contribute to conservatives' economic goals in a positive manner, they may also add costs in the form of taxes, public programs, and governmental assistance (Hanson 2005; Citrin et al. 1997).

Racial Opposition to Immigration

While Citrin et al.'s (1997) analysis discusses previous contentions surrounding economic opposition to immigration, the study concludes that only aggregate economic concerns (i.e. prospective tax burdens, perceptions of the economic climate, etc.) prove significant when predicting attitudes toward this issue. However, "affective orientations toward particular ethnic groups and persistent links to opinions about the level of immigration and the access of immigrants to government benefits" hint that individuals construe their opinions outside of the purely economic realm. The previous discussion in the literature examines the immigration issue, while holding outside factors that do not pertain to economic affairs constant. O'Rourke and Sinnott's (2006) comparative study concedes that the "labor market hypothesis" exists, yet nationalist attitudes among

citizens influence their perception of immigrants themselves, and thus they possess more holistic opinions regarding the issue of immigration.

If citizens possess nationalist attitudes, they may develop hostility toward immigrants as a function of the descriptive characteristics associated with the various immigrant groups or the groups' ability to adapt to a new culture and assimilate. Branton et al. (2011) explain that the issue salience of immigration increased following the attacks on September 11, 2001, as these tragic events invoked a strong nationalist sentiment in the minds of the body politic. Because some immigrant groups chose to adhere to their native cultural practices, some Americans developed a fear toward these groups. Branton et al. (2011) conclude that "acculturation fear, anti-Latino sentiment, and media exposure" serve as strong predictors of opposition to immigration. Because some Americans perceive Latinos as "lazy," they oppose increased immigration, as they assume Latinos comprise all immigrants and that this generalization directly threatens "traditional" American values such as hard work and independent initiative (Branton et al. 2011).

THEORY

The Intersection of Racial Resentment and Immigration Views for

Tea Party Activists

Although the Tea Party Movement strives to hold the Republican Party accountable to its message, members overwhelmingly support this major party, thus solidifying the movement's place within the GOP, instead of outside its realm. While these endorsed candidates intend to implement a Tea-stained agenda into their legislative efforts, they must first achieve electoral victory. The act of running a successful

campaign requires candidates to acknowledge public sentiment and respond accordingly. Thus, if their prospective constituencies did not perceive issues such as immigration or social programs as salient, Tea Party candidates could frame these issues in such a way that combines them with other more salient issues. These elites could engage in instrumental responsiveness to manipulate opinion and prompt concern for issues that otherwise would not have arrived on the campaign's agenda (Jacobs and Shapiro 2000).

The Resistance Axiom in Zaller's (1992) Receive-Accept-Sample (RAS) Model explains that individuals will only resist information that contradicts previously held beliefs, if they possess enough information to evaluate the relationship between the two messages. Elites exercise significant influence on this process, as they provide the information to individuals. Carmines and Stimson (1989) chronicle how race previously served as an "issue evolution" that prompted a partisan realignment. The Democratic Party dominated the southern political sphere following the Civil War, and it did not alter its position on racial issues until the latter portion of the 20th century. While northern and southern Democrats did not possess identical ideological dispositions, they were able to unite under a single party label. However, as integration and the Civil Rights Movement received support among the body politic, the Democratic Party began to alter its platform concerning racial segregation, as it strived to appeal to newly enfranchised African American voters in the South. Elites first primed the issue and motivated efficacious partisans to support racial integration. Then these activists inspired mass opinion reorientation, allowing elites to craft policies that addressed race in relation to previously salient issues. Southern segregationists then began to support the Republican Party. The Republican Party's conservative fiscal policies presented a convenient means for the

former Southern Democrats to frame their discontent with minorities in a more socially acceptable manner. They now argued that their opposition to federal programs that benefited previously segregated groups was not due to racial hostility but due to the programs' violation of traditional American principles of hard work and limited government involvement.

The Tea Party Movement may play a seminal role in the reorientation of opinion on race, as they frame this issue by utilizing principled conservatism and libertarian-esque rhetoric, when discussing their opposition toward social programs that benefit minorities, immigrants, and low-income earners. By framing this aversion as a purely economic one, Tea Party elites can incorporate the racial resentment that proved a significant factor in the 2008 election results (Kinder and Dale-Riddle 2008), yet by only citing economic opposition to the expansion of social programs, Tea Partiers can dispose of their racially-tinged image in a covert manner. If the Tea Party message of overt principled conservatism and concealed practice of racial hostility continues to move the Republican Party further to the right, then realignment may occur as a result of the race issue prompting a different response from individuals, as they may disassociate it from attitudes toward social programs and instead couple it with issues of which they perceive with heightened salience. This paper purports four hypotheses to explicate the racial characteristics associated with the Tea Party and how this element contributes to the group's collective identity and policy perspective.

The Racial Hostility Hypothesis: Tea Party members are more likely than non-Tea Party members to oppose the provision of social programs to immigrants belonging to a racial minority group i.e. Asians, Latinos, Blacks, etc.

This hypothesis strives to contribute to the discussion of how racial attitudes predict support for the Tea Party Movement, by arguing that negative attitudes toward minority races influence members' opposition to the administration of social programs to immigrants. Fear of the unknown serves as a formidable adversary to tolerance between groups of diverse races and ethnicities. If an individual is unfamiliar with characteristics inherent in "out-group" cultures, he or she may perceive this new culture or quality as inferior (Hetherington and Weiler 2009). Regardless of a person's breadth of interactions with those in "out-groups," he or she will not hesitate to categorize all members of these groups with a quality that may only be present in one single person or a select few. People may rely on heuristics when constructing opinions toward out-groups, as they use these shortcuts or stereotypes to generalize across the population (Schudson 1998). Because American citizens often perceive immigrants as members of the aforementioned "out-groups" due to the racial and religious characteristics, they also are likely to believe that individuals in these groups possess the negative characteristics associated with belonging to an out-group (Branton et al. 2001). Inferiority and fear may cloud the judgments of citizens as they assess the capabilities of these groups and their ability to function in society.

Stereotypes serve a leading role in the conception of opinions surrounding racial "out-groups," and existing literature argues that Tea Partiers possess distinctly negative views toward racial minorities (Abramowitz 2011; Jacobson 2011; Maxwell and Parent 2012). The Tea Party rhetoric surrounding immigration, that these groups are "lazy" and "unworthy of government assistance," suggests that this group perceives immigrants as an "out-group," an inferior group that threatens societal stability. Minority immigrant

groups do not exhibit similar racial, religious, and cultural characteristics to the Tea Party Movement, as their minority status does not comport with the homogeneous white, male, Protestant, middle-income earner, older Tea Party population (Skocpol and Williamson 2012). Tea Partiers will not admit openly that this disparity threatens their ability to view America's future in an optimistic manner, yet their decision to advocate for increased government intervention to prevent immigration directly contradicts their principled conservative rhetoric concerning the costs associated with fiscal irresponsibility.

While some individual Tea Partiers may not possess racial hostility toward immigrants, their economic argument does not prove effective in their quest to curb immigration. Tea Partiers do not compete directly with immigrants for jobs, nor does a critical mass of members inhabit areas with aggressive social welfare programs. Due to the Tea Party's collective demographic characteristics "labor market hypothesis" surrounding opposition to immigration does not prove salient for this movement (Hanson 2005). The literature suggests that racial hostility is inherent in the minds of a majority of Tea Partiers (Abramowitz, 2011); thus, the affective component drives their opposition to immigration in general and their aversion to federal assistance to immigrants.

Literature concerning authoritarianism and racial opinion formation indicates that members of an in-group do not react to each member of an out-group in the same manner (Hetherington and Weiler 2009; Gilens 1999). Tea Party members who possess racial stereotypes do not distribute their negativity evenly among members of minority races. Thus, this study suggests a second hypothesis:

The Racial Stereotype Hypothesis: Tea Party supporters are more likely to support the provision of social programs to Asian immigrants than Latino immigrants. Tea Party

supporters are also more likely to support the provision of social programs to Latino immigrants than African American immigrants.

Although Tea Partiers exhibit racial stereotypes (Abramowitz 2011; Jacobson 2011; Maxwell and Parent, 2012), the degree of negativity that corresponds with each stereotype applied to a different racial minority may vary in application. If Tea Partiers perceive Asians as a group to be hard-working, then this perceived out-group identity may comport with Tea Party in-group principles such as individualism and Protestant work ethic. Accordingly, if Tea Partiers view Latinos as hard working yet untrustworthy due to their lack of assimilation (Branton et al. 2011), they will be less likely to grant these immigrants access to social programs. The historical tension between whites and African Americans suggests that immigrants of this race may serve as the group about which the most negative stereotypes exist. These negative views will prompt Tea Partiers to adamantly oppose the provision of social programs to this group.

Tea Partiers view racial minorities as members of an “out-group,” a group whose characteristics do not abide by their perception of societal norms. However, the demographic homogeneity within the movement itself suggests that the white racial group serves as the “in-group,” the group to which Tea Partiers themselves belong. This deduction influences this study’s third hypothesis:

The In-Group Bias Hypothesis: Tea Party supporters are more likely to grant social programs to white immigrants than immigrants of minority descent.

As discussed in the literature review, Tea Party members’ similar demographic and socioeconomic characteristics influence their political behavior (Elkins 2011). Supporters pride their adherence to the principle of individualism, as they argue this ideal

contributes to American exceptionalism (Skocpol and Williamson 2012). Tea Party rhetoric suggests that members disapprove of social welfare because this concept directly contradicts their prized individualism. While Tea Party members validate their negative stereotypes of welfare recipients by citing lack of effort, they have not vocalized explicit disapproval of these programs for recipients who possess similar demographic characteristics. Tea Party members support social security and Medicare, as they view these programs as a necessary provision to those who have worked hard and contributed positively to society (Skocpol and Williamson 2012). This hypothesis asserts that Tea Partiers will support the provision of social welfare programs to white immigrants in the same positive manner, as they possess positive stereotypes concerning the work ethic and moral values of members of their racial “in-group.” Tea Partiers will provide these programs to white immigrants initially, as they view these immigrant groups as contributing members of society and future supporters of individualism and minimal government.

Although individualism functions as a salient component of Tea Party identity, this principle receives greater praise from the libertarian subset of the movement. As their name suggests, libertarians covet liberty and praise individual choice. Because they possess combination of fiscal conservatism and social liberalism, libertarians disapprove of government activity in general, and this paper presents a final hypothesis:

The “Principled Libertarianism” Hypothesis: Tea Party supporters who possess a libertarian ideology are more likely than their socially conservative counterparts to oppose the provision of social programs for all immigrants, irrespective of race.

This hypothesis argues that the “principled conservatism” opposition to social programs applies to those who only possess fiscally conservative views, not socially conservative approaches. Because Tea Partiers who possess libertarian ideologies approach economic policies from a less principled standpoint than their far-right counterparts, they may be more likely to oppose programs that benefit immigrants from a purely fiscal standpoint. Libertarian members are more likely to inhabit areas with elites who emphasize social welfare, and they are less likely to live in the South, an area with large numbers of Hispanic immigrants (Elkins 2011). Libertarians may indeed possess racial hostility like their socially conservative counterparts, yet they have not exhibited the same degree of opposition to immigration in general. Libertarians support immigration, but they do not support the government assuming an activist role to improve the lives of immigrants via social welfare. Their across-the-board opposition to these programs then exempts them from accusations concerning racial views, whereas socially conservative members may be more likely to display variation based on the aforementioned psychological biases.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

To test these hypotheses, this paper utilizes an experimental survey design. Students at Texas Christian University (TCU) served as the sample population, and all of the respondents completed the survey in a political science class. Thus, they may possess similar characteristics if they are political science majors. Although this distribution technique prevents the sample from achieving true “random status,” assessing the effects of the experiment does not require a random sample of respondents. While the sample population may pose a problem for this study’s external validity, the sample population is

quite ideal, as these students possess unique ideological characteristics that contribute to a more thorough review of Tea Party political behavior. Because a majority of TCU students possess conservative ideologies, this study will be able to identify a greater number of Tea Partiers among this oversample of conservatives. Students who completed this extensive survey perceive it as merely a public opinion questionnaire measuring their attitudes toward a myriad of political and social issues.

Ten versions of the survey instrument exist, eight of which manipulate the race of the immigrant who receives an array of social programs including general services, food stamps, government health insurance, job training programs, subsidized housing, and free English immersion classes. The remaining two versions serve as controls, as they do not specify the immigrant's race. Five versions identify the immigrant as middle-class, and five identify the immigrant as poor, in order to assess whether variation exists concerning support for providing social services based on social class. This study resembles a similar examination conducted by Feldman and Huddy (2005), in which they assessed whether conservatives object to race-conscious scholarship programs because of their ideological dispositions, or if their aversion is due to racial resentment. Manipulating the race of the immigrant who receives federal support will reveal if Tea Party supporters possess a universal opposition to the provision of these social programs to immigrants or if disparities exist among the race of the immigrant who receives these forms of assistance.

While this study directly incorporates questions concerning race, ideology, Tea Party support, and immigration, the survey instrument contains a vast array of questions pertaining to other concepts that may influence individual positions on issues relating to the dependent variable. The survey contains standard batteries of questions, each of

which measuring concepts such as equality, political efficacy, trust in government, general trust, authoritarianism, individualism, patriotism, political knowledge, humanitarianism, or religious behavior. Along with these questions that may provide vital information that explains attitudes toward the aforementioned social services, the survey includes both open-ended and close-ended questions that ask each respondent about his or her demographic characteristics. Together with the questions that do not measure explicitly the dependent variable, these fact-based questions distract the respondent from perceiving this survey as one pertaining to purely racial issues. Racial views constitute a contentious concept to measure, and this survey attempts to overcome this limitation by asking other questions not only to distract the respondent from the theme of this study but to ensure that neither a bias nor an agenda exists regarding the topic matter and selection of questions.

Although this study examines the relationship between Tea Party supporters' attitudes toward social programs that benefit immigrants and their racial views, this paper will also serve as a contributor to the literature concerning the identity and behavior of the Tea Party Movement in general. Because no consensus exists within the literature concerning the nuances of Tea Party characteristics, this survey contains alternative forms of questions that capture Tea Party support. Eight questions include the name "Tea Party Movement" when examining individual attitudes and the degree to which their identities comport with those of the movement. The first Tea Party-related question directly inquires about the degree to which respondents consider themselves supporters of the Tea Party Movement. Questions following the first examine if being a Tea Partier serves as a salient portion of the respondent's identity. These identity questions ask

respondents whether or not they identify with the Tea Party, whether or not they feel good when talking with Tea Partiers, whether or not they take personal offense when someone said a negative statement about the Tea Party, and whether or not being a Tea Party member serves as a matter of personal importance. The survey then asks respondents if they participate in the Tea Party. The last two questions with the Tea Party label ask respondents how they perceive the Tea Party's influence on the GOP and whether they would vote for a candidate endorsed by the Tea Party in the 2014 Congressional elections.

While the aforementioned questions that include the Tea Party label will measure Tea Party propensity among respondents, they may not yield as many supporters due to public perception of the movement itself and the younger-than-average sample population. The Tea Party enjoyed somewhat of a novel position in the 2010 midterms, as its principles of accountability and fiscal responsibility may have served as a breath of fresh air to dissatisfied Republican voters or those whose views did not comport with the traditional "establishment" Republicans. However, as the literature review discusses, once social conservatives supported the Tea Party, the movement abandoned its outsider status and adopted a position as a "watchdog" inside of the GOP. During this transition, candidates who received endorsements from Tea Party organizations such as Sharron Angle and Christine O'Donnell began to receive less than favorable press coverage due to their extreme views. While the Tea Party energized the Republican base in 2010, uniting the party around one presidential candidate in 2012 served as an arduous task, as Tea Party supporters favored principled conservatives and elites in the establishment focused their efforts on electability. Republicans lost the 2012 presidential race and

experienced Senatorial losses, resulting in an effort to unite the party to improve their electoral success. The media currently use the Tea Party label to describe Republicans who praise principle over compromise, a position that does not appeal to Republicans who want to increase their numbers in office. Because of this controversy surrounding the movement, some respondents who possess Tea Party beliefs may hesitate to identify with the movement itself. Thus, the survey includes three questions concerning compromise and preserving the Constitution that capture Tea Party identity without mentioning the Tea Party.

This analysis also thoroughly examines respondents' ideologies and partisanship through multiple questions. The survey first asks respondents to identify their partisan and ideological affiliations. In order to separate a respondent's political views toward fiscal issues with his or her political views regarding social issues, the survey includes a battery of questions that measure each concept respectively. Three questions concerning the size of government coupled with two questions specifically related to fiscal issues collectively measure an individual's fiscal ideology. Six questions ask respondents to profess their attitudes toward social issues such as abortion, same-sex marriage, etc. These questions pertaining to ideology will serve to separate libertarian Tea Partiers from socially conservative Tea Partiers in order to test the validity of the Principled Libertarianism Hypothesis. Comparing the views of Tea Party supporters to those conservatives outside of the movement will reveal if disparities exist between this group and mainstream ideologues.

In order to measure racial attitudes, the survey includes a variety of questions to capture views toward this potentially uncomfortable topic. The survey includes various

measures to probe attitudes in a multitude of ways, attempting to receive the most honest answers and accommodate for social desirability effects that may lead respondents to refrain from answering truthfully. Along with the experimental questions directly related to the provision of various social programs to immigrants, the survey includes other measures of racism. The survey measures the degree to which respondents possess racial stereotypes by asking respondents to identify where whites, Hispanics, Asians, and blacks fall on a seven-point scale ranging from lazy to hardworking. Next, respondents rate each of these races on two other seven-point scales ranging between unintelligent and intelligent and untrustworthy and trustworthy. A battery of social distance questions measure how closely respondents associate with a person from each of the aforementioned races by asking them to rate on a four point scale whether or not they would spend social time with, live next door to, be close friends with, and marry a person from each race. Respondents also rate their overall feelings toward members of each race on a feeling thermometer, with a range from 0-49 inclusively representing negative feelings, a range from 51-100 inclusively representing positive feelings, and a score of 50 representing neutral feelings.

RESULTS

After collecting 280 responses to the experimental survey, I entered the information from each survey into a dataset. I then constructed bivariate correlations to discern the relationship between variables of interest. Conducting an ANOVA allowed me to assess whether these relationships proved statistically significant, thus also indicating whether or not the experimental manipulation of the race across versions

resulted in varied responses. The following analysis presents the results for the aforementioned hypotheses.

The Racial Hostility Hypothesis

Testing this hypothesis serves as the fundamental contribution of the overall examination, as the results reveal that Tea Party members possess disparate attitudes regarding the provision of social programs to immigrants of diverse racial backgrounds. To examine my hypothesis that Tea Party members will be more likely to oppose granting federal social services to immigrants of minority races, I first created a variable that measured respondents' level of support for the Tea Party Movement. I operationalized this variable by using the responses to the second survey question that asks respondents "How strongly do you identify with the Tea Party?" Evaluating respondents' Tea Party identity corresponds adequately with their levels of support for the group, as those who strongly identify with the movement's concerns will be more likely to support the movement, and those who do not identify as Tea Partiers will not serve as strong supporters of the movement. The responses to this question also possessed the highest level of variance among other questions that examined political behavior and attitudes concerning the Tea Party Movement¹. Employing the responses to this question, I created the dichotomous variable "Tea Party Support." Respondents who selected that they identified with the Tea Party "extremely strongly," "very strongly," and "somewhat strongly" received a new score of 1, indicating that they constitute Tea Party supporters. Respondents who answered "not at all" to the question of how strongly they identify with

¹ While questions that measure group identity do not result in synonymous responses as questions that measure support for a group, this question proved the most effective means of measuring Tea Party support. The absence of variation among responses to other questions may be due to the sample population, as Tea Party supporters are primarily middle-aged or older as opposed to younger college-aged students.

the Tea Party Movement received a score of 0 to indicate that they do not support the Tea Party Movement.

While the aggregate dataset contains an extensive amount of information regarding respondents' attitudes toward various types of social programs, I only analyzed their levels of support for general social services for this research. I created the variable "Support for Social Programs" by utilizing responses to the following question "Please state the extent to which you approve of providing general social services for [either] white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified [either] immigrants, in the United States legally, who are unable to make ends meet." While I dichotomized the responses to craft a Tea Party support variable, this variable remains continuous. Respondents who answered they would "approve strongly" of providing general social services to immigrants of their respective racial manipulation received a score of 1 that indicated the highest level of support for the provision of social services to immigrants. Respondents who answered they would "approve somewhat" received a score of 2. Respondents who answered they would "neither approve nor disapprove" received a score of 3, which denotes a neutral attitude. Respondents who answered they would "disapprove somewhat" received a score of 4. Those who claimed they would "disapprove strongly" received a score of 5, which indicates the strongest level of opposition.

Because this hypothesis does not concern the social class of the immigrant, I used only the responses to this question, thus only utilizing the four racial manipulations. I then constructed a bivariate correlation between "Support for Social Programs" and "Tea Party Support," controlling for race across the survey versions. An ANOVA reveals that

the differences in means across the versions is statistically significant at the $p < .10$ level².

Table 1 displays the relationship between these variables.

[Table 1 here]

Previous studies have revealed that conservatives may exhibit uniform opposition to social programs as a result of their ideological preferences. Feldman and Huddy (2005) concluded that the “principled conservatism” hypothesis accurately reflected the results of their analysis regarding the provision of scholarships to racial minorities. Initially observing the aggregate total row in Table 1 may prove consistent with the “principled conservatism” literature, as the mean level of support for social programs among Tea Party supporters is 3.09, as opposed to the 2.40 mean level of support among respondents who do not support the Tea Party Movement. However, the categorical breakdown of support present in Table 1 reveals that the results of this study deviate from previous findings, as Tea Party supporters exhibit disparate levels of support across the four versions of the survey. Observing the results by row also indicates that Tea Party supporters possess higher levels of opposition compared to those who do not support the movement, yet focusing on the results under the Tea Party Supporters column proves necessary to examine this hypothesis.

Table 1 reveals that Tea Party supporters are more likely to oppose the provision of social services to Latino and Asian immigrants than white immigrants. Tea Partiers’ mean level of support for the provision of general social services to Latino immigrants is 3.48 compared to non Tea Party supporters whose mean level of support is 2.28. Tea Partiers’ mean level of support for the provision of these services to Asian immigrants is

² Combining the Latino and Asian control categories into a single “Minority” category would allow me to achieve a higher level of statistical significance. In this correlation, $p = .07$, but a planned comparison to create a “Minority” category would result in $p < .05$.

2.90 compared to non Tea Partiers' 2.60 average level of support. These results indicate that the "principled conservatism" hypothesis does not explain adequately the behavior of this group. While Tea Partiers profess to oppose federal programs due to their ideological views, this experiment exposes a flaw in the movement's message. While Tea Partiers do possess higher levels of overall opposition to these programs than those who do not support the movement, Tea Partiers' opposition fluctuates across the racial manipulations.

An examination of the "control" row suggests that an especially interesting relationship exists between levels of support for social programs that benefit immigrants and Tea Party support. While this hypothesis expressly concerns Tea Partiers' attitudes toward the provision of social programs to minority immigrants compared to white immigrants, a closer examination of their attitudes toward immigrants in general may offer speculative conclusions concerning their overall perception of social services. While Tea Partiers' level of support for the provision of general services is lower for minorities as opposed to white immigrants, their second highest level of opposition is for the control group that does not specify the race of the immigrant recipient. Tea Partiers' profess a 3.38 mean level of support for granting these services to immigrants compared to non Tea Partiers' 2.42 mean level of support. The results in this row may indicate that the term "immigrant" receives a negative connotation in the minds of respondents. It also may suggest that the respondent assumes the immigrant has traveled to the United States illegally. Further examination of this concept proves necessary to discern whether Tea Party supporters' negative views toward immigrants in general are due to ideological or racial attitudes.

While this table explains that a statistically significant difference exists among Tea Party supporters' average level of support for the provision of social services to immigrants of diverse racial groups, I examined these results further to evaluate how levels of support for these services vary between Republican Tea Party supporters and Republicans who do not support the Tea Party. The literature establishes a consensus that while Tea Partiers express concern with members of the "establishment" within the Republican Party, they overwhelmingly vote for Republicans and serve as a faction within the GOP instead of a true third party group. The increased presence of social conservatives who supported Tea Party principles and entered the movement prior to the 2010 mid-terms further muddled the distinction between the Tea Party and the Republican Party (Skocpol and Williamson, 2012; Abramowitz, 2011; Elkins, 2011). Thus, this study further examines the racial attitudes of Tea Party supporters compared to Republicans who do not identify with the movement's concerns.

To compare racial attitudes between Tea Party Republicans and Republicans who do not support the movement, I conducted an analysis similar to my examination of Tea Partiers compared to those who do not support the movement. To create a new dichotomous variable, "Tea Party Republican," I coupled the results of the aforementioned dichotomous "Tea Party Support" variable with responses to the survey question that asks respondents "Generally speaking do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?" If the respondent was both a Tea Party supporter (received a one in the above "Tea Party Support" dichotomy) and checked either the "Strong Republican," "Moderate Republican," or "Independent but Lean Republican" response to this question, then he or she received a score of one in the new

“Tea Party Republican” dichotomy. If the respondent received a zero in the “Tea Party Support” dichotomy and checked either the “Strong Republican,” “Moderate Republican,” or “Independent but Lean Republican,” then he or she received a score of zero in the new “Tea Party Republican” dichotomy.

After constructing this new variable, I constructed the same bivariate correlation as the previous analysis. I then constructed an ANOVA to discern whether the comparison of attitudes of Tea Party Republicans to those of Republicans who do not support the Tea Party are statistically significant. The ANOVA revealed that the differences in average support across the different versions are not statistically significant³. However, further research is necessary to discern the differences in political behavior between the two groups, as the means, while similar, are not identical between the two groups. Table 2 presents the results of this analysis.

[Table 2 here]

The patterns in this table suggest that stark differences do not exist in the opinions of Tea Party Republicans and Republicans who do not support the movement, which in turn may suggest that the political attitudes of members of the Tea Party Movement are no different than their Republican counterparts. Yet, a few distinctions between the two groups exist in Table 2, again suggesting that further research and more survey responses are necessary to offer solid conclusions. Tea Party Republicans still profess their highest level of opposition to Latino immigrants with a 3.52 mean level of support compared to non Tea Party Republicans’ 3.14 level of support. The difference in means between the two groups concerning the control group, 3.38 and 2.92 respectively, is also consistent

³ The lack of statistical significance may be attributed to the low number of responses in each category. 86 respondents supported both the Tea Party and the Republican Party, and 89 supported the GOP but not the Tea Party.

with the above, statistically significant, analysis, as it suggests the term immigrant may prove negative in the minds of Tea Party Republicans.

The In-Group Bias Hypothesis

This hypothesis suggests that Tea Partiers will be most supportive of the provision of social programs to white immigrants. The statistically significant results in Table 1 allow me to confirm that Tea Partiers do indeed favor their own racial in-group. Tea Partiers express the highest level of support for providing general social services to immigrants who belong to the white racial group, as they profess a 2.58 mean level of support. Only 11 out of the total 91 Tea Party Supporters do not identify as white; thus, these results suggest that an in-group bias exists. While Non Tea Party Supporters express a higher average level of support for the provision of these services to white immigrants than supporters of the Tea Party, their average support for this group, 2.29, does not constitute their highest level of support across versions. Non Tea Party supporters express a 2.28 average level of support for the provision of general social services to Latino immigrants, suggesting that an in-group bias may not be present among these respondents, the majority of whom also identify as white.

Although the results in Table 2 are not statistically significant, important differences exist between Tea Party and non Tea Party Republicans, which prove interesting. Tea Party Republicans also grant their highest level of support for white immigrants, as this group received a mean value of 2.52, compared to the other groups who received an average support level of 3 or above. The 2.91 average level of support for these services to white immigrants among non Tea Party Republicans also constitutes their highest average level of support. However, Republicans who do not support the Tea

Party express a 2.92 average level of support for immigrants in general, which may suggest that the term may not conjure as negative of an image in the minds of these respondents. The results in Table 2 reinforce the results present in Table 1, suggesting that Tea Partiers possess a strong in-group bias.

The Racial Stereotype Hypothesis

The previous discussion concerning how the results in Table 1 support the Racial Hostility Hypothesis also suggests that the extent to which Tea Partiers oppose the provision of general social services differs depending on the specific race of the immigrant recipient. While Tea Partiers are most likely to oppose the provision of general social services to Latino immigrants, as their average level of support is 3.48, they are not as opposed to granting these social services to Asian immigrants, as their average level of support is 2.90. These results suggest that Tea Partiers may rely on negative stereotypes when evaluating Latinos and may possess positive stereotypes about Asian immigrants. Although Latinos invoke the highest level of opposition among Tea Party supporters, Non Tea Party supporters express their highest level of support for providing general services to this group, as their average level of support is 2.28. While Asians receive a higher average level of support among Tea Party supporters, this group receives the highest level of opposition from respondents who do not support the Tea Party. Further research proves necessary in order to identify solid conclusions surrounding these results.

Tea Party Republicans express similar levels of opposition toward the provision of social services to Latino immigrants. Their average level of support for granting social services to immigrants of this racial group is 3.52, compared to the 3.14 average level of support among Republicans outside of the Tea Party. Non Tea Party Republicans, like

non Tea Party supporters, grant their lowest level of support for providing general social services to Asian immigrants, as their mean support value is 3.19. These results and those from Table 1 may suggest that these groups view Asians as an overall hard-working, self-sufficient racial group, one that does not need federal assistance. Further research is necessary to investigate the interaction between positive racial stereotypes and the individualism present in the minds of Tea Partiers and Non Tea Party Republicans.

The “Principled Libertarianism” Hypothesis

The above discussion concerning the Racial Hostility Hypothesis suggest that the results in the Feldman and Huddy (2005) study do not describe conservative political attitudes, as levels of support for social services to immigrants vary depending on the race of the immigrant serving as the recipient of these services. While the sample population proves ideal for observing Tea Party political behavior, adequate variation does not exist among the TCU Tea Party population. The results indicate that most Tea Party supporters at TCU possess both socially and fiscally conservative views; thus, separating Tea Party libertarians from Tea Party conservatives would prove challenging and lack statistical significance. Conducting this survey experiment on a larger, more representative sample of the United States population instead of a component of the TCU population would allow me to evaluate this hypothesis in full. A representative sample would also increase the regional variation, thus increasing the number of libertarians who possess fiscally conservative views without the socially conservative views prevalent in the South.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The above results confirm the first, second, and third hypotheses and are consistent with the literature that suggests a racial component exists in the Tea Party Movement (Abramowitz 2011). While Tea Party supporters do not exhibit the traditional form of racism present in the South prior to the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, they do view members of minority races as an “out-group.” They employ stereotypes to evaluate the characteristics, behavior, and societal impact of members of these groups. The results affirming the Racial Stereotype Hypothesis may suggest that both positive and negative stereotypes exist, as Tea Party supporters are more likely to support the provision of general social services to Asian immigrants than Latino immigrants. However, both the perception of out-group homogeneity and the use of stereotypes to evaluate an individual member of a minority group constitute a form of racism, one that is indeed more covert than that present in the pre-Civil Rights era, yet potentially more problematic.

This study attributes Tea Party opposition to federal social programs to members’ racial views, as members are more likely to support the provision of federal assistance to white immigrants, as these groups are members of the majority of Tea Partiers’ own racial in-group. While Tea Partiers are more likely to oppose these programs than respondents who do not support the movement, their levels of support fluctuate depending on the race of the immigrant recipient. However, the experimental nature of this study serves as the reason behind the affirmation of the aforementioned hypotheses, while also revealing the difficulty in obtaining substantive support for the racial component in Tea Party opposition. Only through manipulation was I able to confirm that

levels of support among Tea Partiers fluctuate, even though comparing the aggregate totals of Tea Partiers to non Tea Party supporters offers support for the “principled conservatism” hypothesis. Because Tea Partiers are able to conceal their racial views behind their ideology, they have contributed to the reorientation in opinion formation regarding social welfare. Voters evaluate these programs based on their views toward the proper role of the federal government as opposed to their views toward those who receive these programs. Those who possess hostile views toward minority races do not have to disclose these views, which are largely regarded as socially unacceptable. However, these voters who exhibit overtly racist attitudes are able to exert a larger political influence than previously, as they can cite ideological preferences as the reason behind their welfare opposition. These hostile voters may exert a rightward pressure on the Republican Party, while simultaneously shifting the median voter to the right and influencing the Democrats to respond to this issue by adopting a more moderate stance in order to appeal to the maximum number of voters.

I plan to continue this research further, as I intend to distribute the survey experiment to a broader, more diverse population. Examining the “Principled Libertarianism” Hypothesis further will allow me to discern whether or not differences exist between Tea Party supporters and Republicans, or if Tea Partiers merely serve as staunch, efficacious Republican partisans. While a more regionally diverse sample population would allow me to distinguish between libertarian and socially conservative Tea Partiers, it would also allow me to offer more definitive conclusions concerning my other hypotheses. Because Texas and California serve as the states from which a majority of the sample population originates, the findings from the Racial Hostility Hypothesis,

the Racial Stereotype Hypothesis, and the In-Group Bias Hypothesis may be more pronounced. Because a large number of immigrants inhabit these two states, the sample population may be more exposed to these groups and thus more comfortable with them. A more broad population may not interact with immigrants, which may prompt them to rely more heavily on stereotypes when evaluating individual recipients of social welfare. I also plan to evaluate the levels of support for diverse types of social services, as the survey contains information regarding responses to an array of social programs. I hypothesize that respondents' level of support will increase if the immigrant receives a social program designed to improve his or her ability to function as a productive member of society.

While further research opportunities exist and the data set contains responses to other questions concerning the political behavior of the Tea Party Movement, the results from this study contribute to existing literature concerning this movement and the behavior of extreme ideological factions. To ameliorate the effects of masking racial prejudice behind ideological preferences, voters should monitor elite rhetoric and how groups like the Tea Party interact with the majority parties.

METHODS APPENDIX

Table 1: Comparing Tea Party Supporters' Attitudes toward Social Programs Directed toward Immigrants to the Attitudes of Non Tea Party Supporters

Immigrant Race	Tea Party Supporters	Non Tea Party Supporters	Total
White	2.58 (0.93) N: 24	2.29 (1.11) N: 47	2.39 (1.02) N: 71
Latino	3.48 (1.27) N:23	2.28 (1.31) N: 47	2.67 (1.41) N: 70
Asian	2.90 (1.29) N: 20	2.60 (1.14) N: 50	2.69 (1.19) N: 70
Control	3.38 (1.35) N: 24	2.42 (1.10) N: 45	2.75 (1.26) N: 69
Total	3.09 (1.25) N: 91	2.40 (1.16) N: 189	2.63 (1.22) N: 280

F [(3, 272)] =2.38, p=.07*

Table 2: Comparing Tea Party Republicans' Attitudes toward Social Programs Directed toward Immigrants to the Attitudes of Non Tea Party Republicans

Immigrant Race	Tea Party Republicans	Non Tea Party Republicans	Total
White	2.52 (0.90) N: 23	2.91 (0.97) N: 22	2.71 (0.94) N: 45
Latino	3.52 (1.29) N:21	3.14 (1.42) N: 21	3.33 (1.36) N: 42
Asian	3 (1.28) N: 18	3.19 (1.17) N: 21	3.10 (1.21) N: 39
Control	3.38 (1.35) N: 24	2.92 (1.04) N: 25	3.14 (1.21) N: 49
Total	3.10 (1.26) N: 86	3.03 (1.16) N: 89	3.07 (1.20) N: 175

F [(3, 167)] =1.39, p=.25

Political and Social Attitudes Questionnaire
[An * indicates questions that vary across versions and explains the various manipulations]

■ A. *We'll start by asking you about your interest in politics. Remember - your answers are completely confidential so please be honest.*

1. What is your level of interest in politics?

- Very interested
 Somewhat interested
 Somewhat disinterested
 Very disinterested

2. How interested were you in the 2012 elections?

- Very interested
 Somewhat interested
 Somewhat disinterested
 Very disinterested

3. Knowing that many people cannot take the time to vote because they have busy schedules, were you able to vote in the presidential election this past fall?

- Yes
 No

4. In general, how likely is it that you would attend a political campaign rally?

- Very likely
 Somewhat likely
 Somewhat unlikely
 Very unlikely

5. In general, how likely is it that you would try to influence how others vote?

- Very likely
 Somewhat likely
 Somewhat unlikely
 Very unlikely

6. In general, how likely is it that you would contribute money to a political candidate?

- Very likely
 Somewhat likely
 Somewhat unlikely
 Very unlikely

■ **B.** *Now we would like to know a little more about your background and political dispositions.*

1. In what state were you raised?

2. In what county were you raised? Please give the zip code as well. (e.g. Tarrant County, 76104)

3. If you had to make an educated guess, what is the combined income of your parents?

- _____ \$0 – 9,999
 _____ \$10,000 – 19,999
 _____ \$20,000 – 29,999
 _____ \$30,000 – 39,999
 _____ \$40,000 – 49,999
 _____ \$50,000 – 59,999
 _____ \$60,000 – 69,999
 _____ \$70,000 – 79,999
 _____ \$80,000 – 89,999
 _____ \$90,000 – 99,999
 _____ \$100,000– 109,999
 _____ \$110,000 – 119,999
 _____ \$120,000 – 129,999
 _____ \$130,000– 139,999
 _____ \$140,000 – 149,999
 _____ \$150,000 – 159,999
 _____ \$160,000 – 169,999
 _____ \$170,000– 179,999
 _____ \$180,000 – 189,999
 _____ \$190,000 – 199,999
 _____ \$200,000– 209,999
 _____ \$210,000 – 219,999
 _____ \$220,000 – 229,999
 _____ \$230,000– 239,999
 _____ \$240,000 – 249,999
 _____ \$250,000 or more

4. With what race and/or ethnicity do you most identify? (Check all that apply)

- _____ Caucasian/White
 _____ African American/Black
 _____ Hispanic/Latino
 _____ Asian
 _____ Native American
 _____ Other (please specify) _____

5. Do you consider yourself to support the Tea Party Movement or oppose the Tea Party Movement? Either way, to what extent do you favor/oppose the movement?

- Support a great deal
- Support a moderate amount
- Neither support nor oppose
- Oppose a moderate amount
- Oppose a great deal

6. How strongly do you identify with the Tea Party?

- Extremely strongly
- Very strongly
- Somewhat strongly
- Not at all

7. How good does it make you feel when you talk with Tea Party members?

- Extremely good
- Very good
- Somewhat good
- Not very good

8. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "If someone said something bad about members of the Tea Party I feel almost as if they said something bad about me."

- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

9. How important is being a Tea Party member to you personally?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Not too important
- Not at all important

10. If you support the Tea Party Movement, do you consider yourself to be an active participant in the Tea Party Movement, or a supporter but not an active participant?

- Active participant
- Supporter but not an active participant
- Not applicable

11. Do you feel that the Tea Party Movement has been a good thing or bad thing for the Republican Party, or has it not made much difference either way?

- good thing
 bad thing
 not made much difference either way

12. Thinking about how you might vote for Congress in the 2014 elections, would you be more likely to vote for a candidate who was supported by the Tea Party Movement, less likely, or would it not make a difference?

- more likely to vote for a candidate supported by the Tea Party Movement
 less likely to vote for a candidate supported by the Tea Party Movement
 it would not make a difference

13. When you think about the issue of immigration as it relates to the economy, which do you believe is more credible?

- immigrants take jobs from Americans
 immigrants use social services like welfare
 neither is credible

14. When you think about the issue of immigration as it relates to your own personal financial situation, which do you believe is more credible?

- that an immigrant will take a job from you or someone you know
 that you'll pay more taxes to support social services, like welfare, for immigrants
 neither is credible

15. Please state the extent to which you approve of providing general social services for ***white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified*** immigrants, in the United States legally, who are unable to make ends meet?

- Approve strongly
 Approve somewhat
 Neither approve nor disapprove
 Disapprove somewhat
 Disapprove strongly

16. Now thinking about political leaders, all things considered, which do you admire most: political leaders who make compromises with people they disagree with, or political leaders who stick to their positions without compromising?"

- political leaders who make compromises with people they disagree with
 political leaders who stick to their positions without compromising

17. How important is it to fight to preserve the Constitution by holding true to the vision of the founding fathers?

- _____ Extremely important
 _____ Very important
 _____ Somewhat important
 _____ Not too important
 _____ Not at all important

18. How important is it to make sure that Congress **not** compromise on spending less on social services?

- _____ Extremely important
 _____ Very important
 _____ Somewhat important
 _____ Not too important
 _____ Not at all important

19. Generally speaking do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?

- _____ Strong Republican
 _____ Moderate Republican
 _____ Independent but lean toward Republican
 _____ Independent
 _____ Independent but lean toward Democrat
 _____ Moderate Democrat
 _____ Strong Democrat

20. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Which of the following best describes your own political views?

- _____ Extremely Liberal
 _____ Liberal
 _____ Slightly Liberal
 _____ Moderate; Middle of the Road
 _____ Slightly Conservative
 _____ Conservative
 _____ Extremely Conservative

■ C. Please look at the following seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. In the first statement a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "**hard-working**." A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "**lazy**." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.

Hard Working 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Lazy**

1. Where would you rate whites on the above scale? _____

2. Now we would like you to think about if whites tend to be "intelligent" or "unintelligent".

Unintelligent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Intelligent**

Where would you rate whites on the above scale? _____

3. And last we'd like to know your opinion on if whites tend to be "trustworthy" or "untrustworthy".

Untrustworthy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Trustworthy**

Where would you rate whites on this scale? _____

Now we would like you to ask you a few questions about different types of contact with certain groups. In each situation please state how willing you would be to engage in the following activity:

	I would definitely do this	I would probably do this	I would probably not do this	I would definitely not do this
4. Occasionally spend social time with a white person:	1	2	3	4
5. Live next-door to whites:	1	2	3	4
6. Be very close friends with a white person:	1	2	3	4
7. Marry a white person:	1	2	3	4

■ **D.** Now we would like to know a little more about your beliefs related to a few different social policies. Please be as honest as possible.

1. Please state the extent to which you approve of **providing general social services** for ***white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified* middle-class *or poor* immigrants**, in the United States legally, who are also unable to make ends meet?

_____ Approve strongly
 _____ Approve somewhat
 _____ Neither approve nor disapprove
 _____ Disapprove somewhat
 _____ Disapprove strongly

2. Please state the extent to which you approve of **providing food stamps** to ***white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified* middle-class *or poor* immigrants**, in the United States legally, who are also unable to make ends meet?

_____ Approve strongly
 _____ Approve somewhat
 _____ Neither approve nor disapprove
 _____ Disapprove somewhat
 _____ Disapprove strongly

3. Please state the extent to which you approve of **providing access to government health insurance, Medicaid, to *white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified* middle-class *or poor* immigrants**, in the United States legally, who are also unable to make ends meet?

- _____ Approve strongly
 _____ Approve somewhat
 _____ Neither approve nor disapprove
 _____ Disapprove somewhat
 _____ Disapprove strongly

4. Please state the extent to which you approve of **providing job training programs to *white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified* middle-class *or poor* immigrants**, in the United States legally, who are also unable to make ends meet?

- _____ Approve strongly
 _____ Approve somewhat
 _____ Neither approve nor disapprove
 _____ Disapprove somewhat
 _____ Disapprove strongly

5. Please state the extent to which you approve of **providing subsidized housing to *white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified* middle-class *or poor* immigrants**, in the United States legally, who are also unable to make ends meet?

- _____ Approve strongly
 _____ Approve somewhat
 _____ Neither approve nor disapprove
 _____ Disapprove somewhat
 _____ Disapprove strongly

6. Please state the extent to which you approve of **providing free English immersion classes to *white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified* middle-class *or poor* immigrants**, in the United States legally, who are also unable to make ends meet?

- _____ Approve strongly
 _____ Approve somewhat
 _____ Neither approve nor disapprove
 _____ Disapprove somewhat
 _____ Disapprove strongly

7. In general, how **deserving** would you consider ***white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified* middle-class *or poor* immigrants** of these various social services provided by government?

- _____ Extremely deserving
 _____ Very deserving
 _____ Somewhat deserving
 _____ Not too deserving
 _____ Not at all deserving

8. How **concerned** are you about the issue of providing social services to ***white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified* middle-class *or poor* immigrants?**

Not at all
Concerned 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely
Concerned

9. In thinking about the issue, how **conflicted or torn** are you about providing ***white, Latino, Asian, or unspecified* middle-class *or poor* immigrants** with these various services?

Not at all Torn 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely
Torn

☐ **E.** *Now we would like to ask you about your general political attitudes about immigration.*

1. Do you think that the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be:

_____ Increased a lot
_____ Increased a little
_____ Left the same as it is now
_____ Decreased a little
_____ Decreased a lot

2. Would you vote for a candidate who would be strict on immigration?

_____ Yes
_____ No

3. Should immigration from each of the following geographic locations be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

	Decreased	Decreased	Kept at	Increased	
Increased	A lot	A Little	Present Level	A Little	
A lot	1	2	3	4	
5					
Europe (Italy, Poland, Greece)	1	2	3	4	5
Turkey	1	2	3	4	5
Africa	1	2	3	4	5
Asia (Vietnam, China)	1	2	3	4	5
Middle East (Lebanon, Syria)	1	2	3	4	5
Central and South America (Guatemala, Bolivia, Peru)	1	2	3	4	5
North America (Canada)	1	2	3	4	5

4. Do you favor a law making English the official language of the United States, meaning government business would be conducted in English only, or do you oppose such a law?

- Strongly favor
- Favor
- Oppose
- Strongly oppose

5. Do you agree that immigrants should **only** be allowed to take jobs that cannot be filled by American workers?

- Strongly agree
- Agree somewhat
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

6. Do you agree that immigrants should be allowed to receive government benefits like Social Security and Medicaid?

- Strongly agree
- Agree somewhat
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

7. Do you agree that immigrants who do not have legal documents should be sent back to their countries?

- Strongly agree
- Agree somewhat
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

8. Do you agree that immigrants without legal documents who were brought here as children by their parents should be sent back to their countries?

- Strongly agree
- Agree somewhat
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

9. The rights of immigrants who live in America should be.

- Restricted
- Left as they are
- Extended

10. Do you believe that immigration has a positive economic impact on many Americans?

- Strongly believe
- Somewhat believe
- Somewhat disbelieve
- Strongly disbelieve

11. In your opinion, how likely is it that immigration has a negative impact upon your own personal security?

- _____ Extremely likely
 _____ Very likely
 _____ Somewhat likely
 _____ Not at all likely

12. How likely is it that immigration has a positive impact on the cultural identity/way of life of your community?

- _____ Extremely likely
 _____ Very likely
 _____ Somewhat likely
 _____ Not at all likely

13. Do you believe that immigration has a negative impact upon national security?

- _____ Strongly believe
 _____ Somewhat believe
 _____ Somewhat disbelieve
 _____ Strongly disbelieve

14. How likely is it that immigration has a positive financial impact on you and your family?

- _____ Extremely likely
 _____ Very likely
 _____ Somewhat likely
 _____ Not at all likely

15. Do you believe that immigration has a negative impact on the cultural identity and national way of life in American communities?

- _____ Strongly believe
 _____ Somewhat believe
 _____ Somewhat disbelieve
 _____ Strongly disbelieve

■ **F.** *We would like to ask you about your general beliefs regarding the role of government and more general public policies.*

1. Which of the following best represents your views?

- _____ the less government the better
 _____ there are more things the government should be doing

2. Please select the answer which best reflection your opinion.

- _____ we need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems
 _____ the free market can handle these problems without government being involved.

3. Which of the following best captures your beliefs?

the main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in things that people should do for themselves

government has become bigger because the problems we face today have become bigger

4. Many people have different ideological perspectives on fiscal issues and social issues. When it comes to fiscal issues such as taxes, government spending and business regulation, for instance, fiscal conservatives would like to see less government involvement while fiscal liberals would like to see greater government involvement. What about you? Are you fiscally conservative, moderate or liberal?

conservative

moderate

liberal

5. When it comes to social issues like abortion, public prayer, and Church-state topics, social conservatives would like to see greater government involvement while those who identify as socially liberal would like to see less government involvement in these issues. What about you? Would you consider yourself socially conservative, moderate or liberal?

conservative

moderate

liberal

How strongly do you agree with the following statements?

6. “This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.”

Agree very strongly

Agree strongly

Agree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

Disagree very strongly

7. “We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.”

Agree very strongly

Agree strongly

Agree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

Disagree very strongly

8. “The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.”

Agree very strongly

- Agree strongly
 Agree
 Disagree
 Disagree strongly
 Disagree very strongly

9. Would you be supportive or opposed to the federal government making same-sex marriage illegal?

- Extremely supportive
 Somewhat supportive
 Not supportive and not opposed
 Somewhat opposed
 Extremely opposed

10. What worries you more: public officials who don't pay enough attention to religion and religious leaders, or public officials who are too close to religion and religious leaders?

- public officials who don't pay enough attention to religion and religious leaders
 public officials who are too close to religion and religious leaders

11. Thinking about how you would decide your vote for president, how important is it that a candidate shares your religious beliefs?

- Extremely important
 Very important
 Somewhat important
 Not too important
 Not at all important

Which of the following best represents your view?

12. Unions:

- Have too much power.
 Protect the interests of working people.

13. Unskilled workers (such as janitors, dishwashers, and so on) usually receive wages that are:

- About right, considering the amount of skill required
 Much too low for the dirty work they do.

14. Getting ahead in the world is mostly a matter of:

- Ability and hard work.
 Getting lucky.

15. When businesses are allowed to make as much money as they can:

- Everyone profits in the long run.
 Workers and the poor are bound to get hurt.

16. Government regulation of business:
_____ Usually does more harm than good.
_____ Is necessary to keep industry from becoming too powerful and hurting people.

To what extent do you believe the following?

17. Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.

_____ Agree strongly
_____ Agree somewhat
_____ Neither agree nor disagree
_____ Disagree somewhat
_____ Disagree strongly

18. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.

_____ Agree strongly
_____ Agree somewhat
_____ Neither agree nor disagree
_____ Disagree somewhat
_____ Disagree strongly

19. One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.

_____ Agree strongly
_____ Agree somewhat
_____ Neither agree nor disagree
_____ Disagree somewhat
_____ Disagree strongly

20. This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.

_____ Agree strongly
_____ Agree somewhat
_____ Neither agree nor disagree
_____ Disagree somewhat
_____ Disagree strongly

21. It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.

_____ Agree strongly
_____ Agree somewhat
_____ Neither agree nor disagree
_____ Disagree somewhat
_____ Disagree strongly

22. Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really only have themselves to blame.

- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

23. Any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.

- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

24. People are poor because they don't work hard and not because of their circumstances.

- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

■ **G.** *We would like to ask you about your general beliefs and your attitudes toward other groups. Please remember that your responses are completely confidential. No one will learn your personal beliefs. Consequently, please be honest.*

We would like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. We would like you to rate the following groups of people using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person.

Extremely
Extremely
Cold Feelings 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Warm
Feelings

1. _____ Barack Obama
2. _____ John Boehner
3. _____ Whites
4. _____ Federal Government
5. _____ Immigrants
6. _____ Joe Biden
7. _____ State Government
8. _____ Nancy Pelosi
9. _____ Muslims
10. _____ Conservatives
11. _____ Rich People
12. _____ Liberals
13. _____ Illegal Immigrants
14. _____ State Government
15. _____ Christians
16. _____ Middle Class People
17. _____ Blacks/ African Americans
18. _____ People on Welfare
19. _____ Hispanics/Latinos
20. _____ John Kerry
21. _____ Ted Cruz
22. _____ Asians
23. _____ Working Class
24. _____ Unions

Please assess the characteristics of the people in a group on the traits described below.

Hard Working 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Lazy**

13. Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on the above scale? _____

14. Now we would like you to think about if Hispanic- Americans tend to be "intelligent" or "unintelligent".

Unintelligent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Intelligent**

Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on the above scale? _____

15. And last we'd like to know your opinion on if Hispanic- Americans tend to be "trustworthy" or "untrustworthy".

Untrustworthy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Trustworthy**

Where would you rate Hispanic-Americans on this scale? _____

Now we would like you to ask you a few questions about different types of contact with certain groups. In each situation please, state how willing you would be to engage in the activity:

	I would definitely do this	I would probably do this	I would probably not do this	I would definitely not do this
16. Occasionally spend social time with an Hispanic person:	1	2	3	4
17. Live next-door to Hispanics:	1	2	3	4
18. Be very close friends with an Hispanic person:	1	2	3	4
19. Marry an Hispanic person:	1	2	3	4

☐ H. *People have different ideas about the government in Washington. These ideas don't refer to Democrats or Republicans in particular, but just to the **government in general**. We want to see how you feel about these ideas.*

1. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

_____ Run by a few big interests looking out for themselves

_____ Run for the benefit of all the people

2. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?

_____ Just about always

_____ Most of the time

_____ Only some of the time

_____ Never

3. Do you think that the government wastes a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

- A lot
 Some of it
 Not very much

4. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked?

- Quite a few
 Not very many
 Hardly any of them

How much do you agree with the following statements?

5. 'Public officials don't care much about what people like me think.'

- Agree strongly
 Agree somewhat
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Disagree somewhat
 Disagree strongly

6. 'People like me don't have any say in what government does.'

- Agree strongly
 Agree somewhat
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Disagree somewhat
 Disagree strongly

7. Over the years, when it decides what to do, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what people think?

- A good deal
 Some
 Not much

8. How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think?

- A good deal
 Some
 Not much

9. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

- Most people can be trusted
 You can't be too careful in dealing with people

10. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?

_____ People try to take advantage of you

_____ People try to be fair

11. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are just looking out for themselves?

_____ People try to be helpful

_____ People look out for themselves

☐ **I.** *Although there are a number of qualities that people feel children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. What do you believe is more important for a child to be?*

1. Would you say that it is more important for a child to be **curious** or **good mannered**?

_____ Curious

_____ Good Mannered

2. Would you say that it is more important for a child to be **independent** or **respectful of their elders**?

_____ Independent

_____ Respectful

3. Would you say that it is more important for a child to be **obedient** or **self-reliant**?

_____ Obedient

_____ Self-reliant

☐ **J.** *Please read the following statements regarding the role of government and respond with the extent of your personal agreement.*

1. 'The Irish, the Italians, the Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.'

_____ Strongly Agree

_____ Agree

_____ Somewhat Agree

_____ Somewhat Disagree

_____ Disagree

_____ Strongly Disagree

2. 'Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.'

_____ Strongly Agree

_____ Agree

_____ Somewhat Agree

_____ Somewhat Disagree

_____ Disagree

_____ Strongly Disagree

3. 'Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.'

_____ Strongly Agree
 _____ Agree
 _____ Somewhat Agree
 _____ Somewhat Disagree
 _____ Disagree
 _____ Strongly Disagree

4. 'If blacks would only try harder, they could be just as well off as whites.'

_____ Strongly Agree
 _____ Agree
 _____ Somewhat Agree
 _____ Somewhat Disagree
 _____ Disagree
 _____ Strongly Disagree

▣ **K.** *Many people have different feelings about living in the United States and being an American citizen. We would like to know how you feel regarding being an American and living in the US.*

1. People who do not wholeheartedly support America should live elsewhere.

_____ Strongly Agree
 _____ Agree
 _____ Somewhat Agree
 _____ Somewhat Disagree
 _____ Disagree
 _____ Strongly Disagree

2. I am proud that I am American.

_____ Agree strongly
 _____ Agree somewhat
 _____ Neither agree nor disagree
 _____ Disagree somewhat
 _____ Disagree strongly

3. There are some things about America today that make me feel angry about America.

_____ Agree strongly
 _____ Agree somewhat
 _____ Neither agree nor disagree
 _____ Disagree somewhat
 _____ Disagree strongly

4. How strong is your love for the United States?

_____ Extremely strong

- Very strong
 Somewhat strong
 Not at all strong

5. How good does it make you feel when you see the American flag flying?

- Extremely good
 Very good
 Somewhat good
 Not very good

6. There are some things about America today that make me feel ashamed of America.

- Agree strongly
 Agree somewhat
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Disagree somewhat
 Disagree strongly

7. If someone said something bad about the American people I feel almost as if they said something bad about me.

- Agree strongly
 Agree somewhat
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Disagree somewhat
 Disagree strongly

8. How strongly do you identify with being American?

- Extremely strongly
 Very strongly
 Somewhat strongly
 Not at all

9. How important is being an American to you personally?

- Extremely important
 Very important
 Somewhat important
 Not too important
 Not at all important

■ **L.** *Now we would like to ask you about your knowledge of politics.*

1. What is the job title of John Roberts?

- United States Attorney General
 Chief Justice of the United States
 Secretary of Defense
 Secretary of Agriculture

2. What is the job title of Eric Holder?

Director of Department of Homeland Security

United States Attorney General

Chairman of the Federal Reserve

Secretary of Health and Human Services

3. What is the name of the current US Secretary of State?

Tony Blair

Ben Bernanke

Hillary Clinton

John Kerry

4. Which one of the parties is more conservative than the other at the national level, the Democrats or the Republicans?

Democrats

Republicans

They are conservative to the same extent

5. Which of these U.S. states does not offer civil unions for same-sex partners?

Vermont

New Jersey

Minnesota

New Hampshire

■ **M.** *We would like to obtain your views on a particular group in society again.*

Please assess the characteristics of the people in a group on the traits described below.

Hard Working 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Lazy**

13. Where would you rate Asian-Americans on the above scale? _____

14. Now we would like you to think about if Asian- Americans tend to be "intelligent" or "unintelligent".

Unintelligent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Intelligent**

Where would you rate Asian-Americans on the above scale? _____

15. And last we'd like to know your opinion on if Asian- Americans tend to be "trustworthy" or "untrustworthy".

Untrustworthy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Trustworthy**

Where would you rate Asian-Americans on this scale? _____

Now we would like you to ask you a few questions about different types of contact with certain groups. In each situation, please state how willing you would be to engage in the activity:

	I would definitely do this	I would probably do this	I would probably not do this	I would definitely not do this
16. Occasionally spend social time with an Asian person:	1	2	3	4
17. Live next-door to Asians:	1	2	3	4
18. Be very close friends with an Asian person:	1	2	3	4
19. Marry an Asian person:	1	2	3	4

■ N. *What are your feelings on the following questions?*

1. One should always find ways to help others less fortunate than oneself.

- Agree very strongly
 Agree strongly
 Agree
 Disagree
 Disagree strongly
 Disagree very strongly

2. It is better not to be too kind to people because kindness will only be abused.

- Agree very strongly
 Agree strongly
 Agree
 Disagree
 Disagree strongly
 Disagree very strongly

3. The dignity and welfare of people should be the most important concern in any society.

- Agree very strongly
 Agree strongly
 Agree
 Disagree
 Disagree strongly
 Disagree very strongly

4. One of the problems of today's society is that we are often too kind to people who don't deserve it.

- Agree very strongly
 Agree strongly
 Agree
 Disagree

_____ Disagree strongly
 _____ Disagree very strongly

5. A person should always be concerned about the well-being of others.

_____ Agree very strongly
 _____ Agree strongly
 _____ Agree
 _____ Disagree
 _____ Disagree strongly
 _____ Disagree very strongly

☐ **O.** Now we would like to ask you about your **Religious Social Activities and Beliefs.**

1. How often do you attend religious services?

_____ Never
 _____ Once or twice a year
 _____ Once or twice a month
 _____ Almost once a week
 _____ Once a week
 _____ More than once a week

2. How often do you attend meetings, other than religious services, at your church or involving your religious community?

_____ Once or twice a year
 _____ Once or twice a month
 _____ Almost once a week
 _____ Once a week
 _____ More than once a week

3. How often do you have private moments of prayer or religious meditation? Would you say...

_____ Several times a day
 _____ Once every day
 _____ More than once a week
 _____ Once a week
 _____ At least once a month
 _____ Several times a year
 _____ Less often
 _____ Never

4. Do you believe in God or a universal spirit?

_____ Yes
 _____ No

5. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion regarding the Bible?

_____ The Bible is the actual Word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word.

_____ The Bible is the Word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word.

_____ The Bible is a book written by men and is not the Word of God.

6. Do you believe that right and wrong should be based on God's laws?

_____ Yes

_____ No

7. In the matter of religion, what are you?

_____ Not Religious

_____ Christian

_____ Evangelical

_____ Jewish

_____ Protestant

_____ Roman Catholic

_____ Muslim

_____ Hindu

_____ Spiritual

_____ Agnostic

_____ Other, please specify _____

▣ **P.** Please comment on your feelings toward the following group.

Please assess the characteristics of the people in a group on the traits described below.

Hard Working 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Lazy**

1. Where would you rate African-Americans on the above scale? _____

2. Now we would like you to think about if African - Americans tend to be "intelligent" or "unintelligent".

Unintelligent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Intelligent**

Where would you rate African-Americans on the above scale? _____

3. And last we'd like to know your opinion on if African- Americans tend to be "trustworthy" or "untrustworthy".

Untrustworthy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **Trustworthy**

Where would you rate African-Americans on this scale? _____

Now we would like you to ask you a few questions about different types of contact with certain groups. In each situation, please state how willing you would be to engage in the activity:

	I would definitely do this	I would probably do this	I would probably not do this	I would definitely not do this
4. Occasionally spend social time with an African-American person:	1	2	3	4
5. Live next-door to African - Americans:	1	2	3	4
6. Be very close friends with an African - American person:	1	2	3	4
7. Marry an African-American person:	1	2	3	4

■ **Q.** *We would like to finish by asking you a few more questions about yourself.*

1. What is your age? _____

2. What is your sex?

_____ Male
_____ Female

3. Were you born in the United States?

_____ Yes
_____ No (If not, where were you born? _____)

4. In what countries were your parents born?

_____ Mom
_____ Dad

5. In what countries were your grandparents born?

_____ Mom's mother
_____ Mom's father
_____ Dad's mother
_____ Dad's father

6. What is your year in school?

_____ Freshman
_____ Sophomore
_____ Junior
_____ Senior

7. What do you think this survey is about? Please be as specific as possible.

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ABSTRACT

A contradiction exists between Tea Party members' ideological principles and their preference for active government responses to increased immigration. While the Tea Party professes to favor stricter immigration policies as a means to promote economic prosperity, their hostility may have arisen as a byproduct of their racial views. This paper examines how Tea Partiers' racial views influence their attitudes toward programs that benefit immigrants. This study utilizes a survey experiment to disentangle the ideological preferences of Tea Party members from prejudicial attitudes in order to determine which component contributes to their aversion toward these general social programs. After positioning this study within existing literature regarding this nascent faction of the Republican Party and American views on immigration, an examination of the experimental survey data will reveal whether or not Tea Partiers exhibit disparate attitudes toward federal assistance when exposed to survey questions concerning immigrants of different races. The results indicate that racial views drive Tea Party opposition to federal assistance programs directed toward immigrants.