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Tea Party's Image Turns More Negative

Ted Cruz's Popularity Soars among Tea Party Republicans

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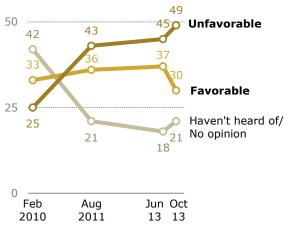
Tea Party's Image Turns More Negative

Ted Cruz's Popularity Soars among Tea Party Republicans

The Tea Party is less popular than ever, with even many Republicans now viewing the movement negatively. Overall, nearly half of the public (49%) has an unfavorable opinion of the Tea Party, while 30% have a favorable opinion.

The balance of opinion toward the Tea Party has turned more negative since June, when 37% viewed it favorably and 45% had an unfavorable opinion. And the Tea Party's image is much more negative today than it was three years ago, shortly after it emerged as a conservative protest movement against Barack Obama's policies on health care and the economy.

Unfavorable Views of Tea Party Have Nearly Doubled Since 2010



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q25.

In February 2010, when the Tea Party was less well known, the balance of opinion toward the movement was positive (33% favorable vs. 25% unfavorable). Unfavorable opinion spiked to 43% in 2011 after Republicans won a House majority and Tea Party members played a leading role in that summer's debt ceiling debate.

The Tea Party's favorability rating has fallen across most groups since June, but the decline has been particularly dramatic among moderate and liberal Republicans. In the current survey, just 27% of moderate and liberal Republicans have a favorable impression of the Tea Party, down from 46% in June.

The new national survey by the Pew Research Center, conducted Oct. 9-13 among 1,504 adults finds wide divisions between Tea Party Republicans and non-Tea Party Republicans in how they view major issues, some leading GOP figures and even the relationship between the Republican Party and the Tea Party itself. Tea Party Republicans are more likely than non-Tea Party Republicans to say that the Tea Party is part of the GOP, rather than a separate movement (41% vs. 27%).

Amid the continuing budget standoff between Republican leaders and the White House, opinions about House Speaker John Boehner and Senate Minority leader Mitch McConnell have slipped among all Republicans and Republican leaners – both those who agree with the Tea Party and those who do not.

By contrast, Sen. Ted Cruz's popularity has soared among Tea Party Republicans while declining among non-Tea Party Republicans. Since July, as Cruz's visibility has increased, his favorable rating among Tea Party Republicans has risen by 27 points – from 47% to 74%.

In July, Cruz's image was mixed among non-Tea Party Republicans (26% favorable, 16% unfavorable); most (58%) had no opinion of the Texas Republican.
Unfavorable opinions of Cruz among non-Tea Party Republicans have risen 15 points since then, while favorable views are unchanged.

Who Are 'Tea Party Republicans'?

The Tea Party movement has become an important factor in U.S. public opinion over the last four years, yet because the Tea Party is more of a grassroots identity than a formal affiliation, there is no official measure of membership.

The views of "Tea Party Republicans" and "Non-Tea Party Republicans" are reported here, and regularly in Pew Research Center surveys, based on people's response to the following question, typically asked in the demographic section at the end of each survey:

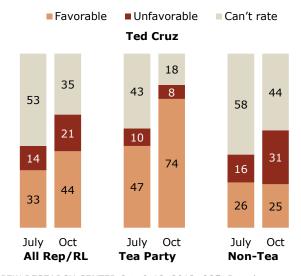
From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

Tea Party Republicans include Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with the movement, while **non-Tea Party Republicans** include all Republicans and Republican leaners who either disagree or have no opinion of the movement.

A more detailed discussion of the size and identity of Tea Party Republicans appears later in this report.

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Ted Cruz's Popularity Rises among Tea Party Reps, Falls among Others



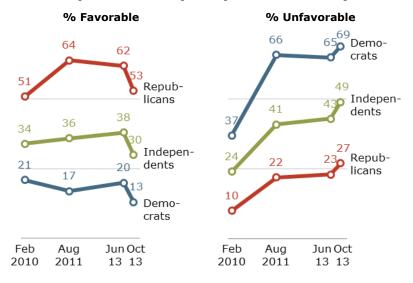
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q25. Based on Republicans and Republican leaners. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Changing Views of the Tea Party

The decline in favorable views of the Tea Party over the past four months crosses party lines – Republicans, independents and Democrats all offer more negative assessments today than in June.

For Republicans, the decline is steepest among those who describe themselves as moderate or liberal. Today, only about a quarter (27%) of moderate and liberal Republicans have a favorable opinion of the Tea Party movement, down 19 points from June. Yet the Tea Party's ratings have also declined among conservative Republicans, from 74% favorable in June to 65% now.

Tea Party Favorability Drops Across Party Lines



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q25e.

Moderate Republicans Less Positive toward Tea Party

Opinion of Tea Party movement ...

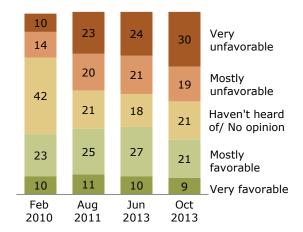
	June 2013			Oct 201			
	Fav	Unfav	Can't rate	Fav	Unfav	Can't rate	Change in fav
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	37	45	18=100	30	49	21=100	-7
Conserv Rep	74	16	10=100	65	21	14=100	-9
Mod/Lib Rep	46	35	19=100	27	42	31=100	-19
Independent	38	43	20=100	30	49	21=100	-8
Cons/Mod Dem	26	58	16=100	17	60	23=100	-9
Liberal Dem	10	80	10=100	6	84	10=100	-4

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q25e. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

And although the proportion of Democrats with an unfavorable opinion of the Tea Party has changed little since June, these opinions have grown stronger—about half (51%) of Democrats now say they have a *very* unfavorable opinion of the Tea Party; in June 40% said this.

Nationwide, 30% now say they have a very unfavorable opinion, up from 24% in June and just 10% in 2010. Meanwhile, the share expressing a very favorable opinion stands at 9% and is little changed over the past three years.

Very Unfavorable Views of Tea Party Have Tripled Since 2010



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q25e. Don't know responses not shown.

Demographic Shifts in Views of Tea Party

Over the past four months, public opinion of the Tea Party also has turned more negative across many demographic groups. The decline in positive ratings is particularly notable among whites and young people.

By a 50% to 31% margin, whites now have a more unfavorable than favorable view of the Tea Party; four months ago whites were about evenly divided in their opinions. Over the same period of time there has been little change in opinions of the Tea Party among blacks or Hispanics, who already held a negative opinion of the Tea Party in June.

And although favorable ratings of the Tea Party have declined across most age groups, there has been a 12-point drop among 18-29 year olds, just 25% of whom now have a positive view of the Tea Party movement.

Tea Party Favorability Declines among Whites

Opinion of Tea Party movement ...

	J	June 2013		Oct 201	Ch		
	Fav	Unfav	Can't rate	Fav	Unfav	Can't rate	Change in % Fav
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	37	45	18=100	30	49	21=100	-7
Men	39	45	16=100	33	49	19=100	-6
Women	35	45	20=100	27	49	23=100	-8
18-29	37	44	19=100	25	42	33=100	-12
30-49	33	44	23=100	31	53	16=100	-2
50-64	38	48	14=100	32	49	20=100	-6
65+	42	43	14=100	33	49	18=100	-9
White	42	43	15=100	31	50	20=100	-11
Black	29	55	16=100	25	55	20=100	-4
Hispanic	25	42	33=100	30	43	27=100	+5
College grad+	31	57	12=100	29	61	10=100	-2
Some college	38	43	18=100	33	43	24=100	-5
HS or less	39	38	22=100	29	45	26=100	-10
Among whites							
Men	46	41	13=100	33	48	19=100	-13
Women	38	45	18=100	28	51	21=100	-10
College grad+	37	53	11=100	31	60	9=100	-6
Men	44	48	9=100	33	61	7=100	-11
Women	30	57	13=100	29	60	11=100	-1
Non coll grad	44	39	17=100	31	45	24=100	-13
Men	48	38	14=100	33	43	24=100	-15
Women	41	39	20=100	28	48	25=100	-13
18-29	38	46	16=100	20	47	32=100	-18
30-49	39	38	23=100	32	52	16=100	-7
50-64	46	46	9=100	33	49	19=100	-13
65+	46	43	11=100	36	50	18=100	-10

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q25e. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Whites and blacks are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.

Republicans More Negative toward Boehner, McConnell

As negotiations over the debt ceiling and the government shutdown continue, the images of two GOP leaders central to these negotiations have suffered among the Republican base.

Among all Republicans and Republicanleaning independents, 43% view House Speaker John Boehner favorably, while 35% view him unfavorably. In July, the same percentage had a favorable impression of Boehner, while fewer (28%) had an unfavorable opinion.

Since then, unfavorable views of Boehner have risen slightly among Tea Party Republicans (by seven points) and non-Tea Party Republicans (six points). Favorable opinions of Boehner, among both groups, have changed little.

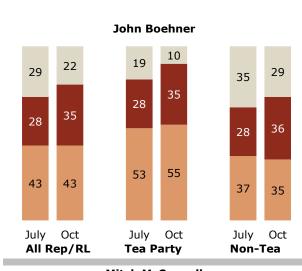
Mitch McConnell's ratings show a similar negative trajectory, though the Senate minority leader remains less well known. Overall, Republicans and Republican leaners are about evenly divided in views of McConnell (31% favorable, 32% unfavorable). In July, views of McConnell were, on balance, more positive (36% favorable, 24% unfavorable).

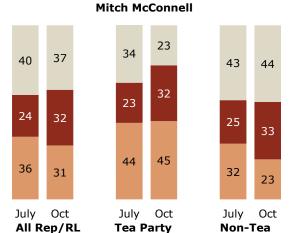
Tea Party Reps, Non-Tea Party Reps More Critical of Boehner, McConnell

Unfavorable

■ Can't rate

■ Favorable





PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q32b & Q32d. Based on Republicans and Republican leaners. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

A plurality of Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with the Tea Party continue to offer a favorable assessment of the Senate Minority Leader (45% favorable today), but the share who view McConnell unfavorably has risen from 23% to 32%.

Broadly Negative Views of Top Democrats

As might be expected, majorities of Republicans and Republican leaners view many leading Democrats unfavorably. Yet Tea Party Republicans stand out for the breadth of their unfavorable opinions, as well as the intensity of those views.

Fully 96% of Tea Party Republicans and 81% of non-Tea Party Republicans have an unfavorable opinion of Barack Obama. However, 77% of Tea Party Republicans view Obama *very* unfavorably, compared with about half (51%) of non-Tea Party Republicans.

Both House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi and Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid are far better known – and more widely disliked – by Tea Party Republicans than their non-Tea Party counterparts. Fully 84% of Tea Party Republicans view Pelosi very unfavorably, which is on par with highly negative views of Obama. Nearly two-thirds (65%) have very unfavorable impressions of Reid. Among non-Tea Party Republicans, just 35% view Pelosi very unfavorably while 22% view Reid very unfavorably.

Although Tea Party Republicans' ratings of Hillary Clinton also are overwhelmingly negative – 83% view her unfavorably – they are less extreme. Roughly half (49%) of Tea Party Republicans offer a very unfavorable

Tea Party Reps Intensely Critical of Leading Democrats

Views of	All Rep/RL	Tea Party	Non-Tea Party
Barack Obama	%	%	%
Favorable	10	2	16
Unfavorable	88	96	81
Very unfavorable	62	77	51
Don't know/Can't rate	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
Nancy Pelosi			
Favorable	13	3	22
Unfavorable	76	93	65
Very unfavorable	55	84	35
Don't know/Can't rate	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100
Harry Reid			
Favorable	11	9	13
Unfavorable	60	82	46
Very unfavorable	39	65	22
Don't know/Can't rate	<u>29</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>41</u>
	100	100	100
Joe Biden			
Favorable	16	6	23
Unfavorable	72	90	61
Very unfavorable	34	56	22
Don't know/Can't rate	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100
Hillary Clinton			
Favorable	30	16	42
Unfavorable	67	83	54
Very unfavorable	35	49	23
Don't know/Can't rate	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q32. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

rating of the former Secretary of State. Hillary Clinton is viewed favorably by 43% of non-Tea Party Republicans, which is substantially higher than the other leading Democrats tested.

Is the Tea Party Part of the GOP?

Overall, 47% of the public says they think of the Tea Party movement as separate and independent from the Republican Party, while somewhat fewer (38%) say it is a part of the Republican Party, and 14% do not offer an opinion. Attitudes on this question are little different from when it was asked in April of 2011 and November of 2010.

More Republicans view the Tea Party as a separate movement from the GOP (51%) than as part of the Republican Party (32%). Opinion is nearly identical among independents (51% separate, 36% part of GOP). By contrast, Democrats are about as likely to say the Tea Party is part of the Republican Party as to say it is separate (48%-41%).

Democrats More Likely to Say Tea Party is Part of GOP

Do you think of the Tea Party movement as...

	Part of the Republican Party	Separate and independent	DK
	%	%	%
Total	38	47	14=100
Republican	32	51	17=100
Democrat	48	41	11=100
Independent	36	51	13=100
Among Reps/ lean Rep			
Tea Party	41	52	7=100
Non-Tea Party	27	55	17=100

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The Republican base is somewhat divided over what the Tea Party represents. Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with the Tea Party see the movement as separate and independent from the GOP, by a 52% to 41% margin. Republicans and Republican leaners who do not agree with the Tea Party see the movement as separate from the Republican Party by a more one-sided 55%-27% margin, with 17% offering no opinion.

Since April 2011, Tea Party Republicans have become more likely to see the Tea Party movement as part of the GOP. In 2011, Republicans who agreed with the Tea Party said the movement was separate from the GOP by a 67%-29% margin (38-point gap); today, that margin has narrowed to 52%-41% (11-point gap).

A Pew Research survey conducted in early October found that over the past two years Tea

Growing Share of Tea Party Reps See Movement as Part of GOP

Think of Tea Party	Apr 2011	Oct 2013	Change
movement as*	%	%	
Separate, independent movement	67	52	-15
Part of Rep Party	29	41	+12
Depends/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	
	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q26. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. * Based on Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with the Tea Party.

Party Republicans also have become somewhat less likely to say Republican leaders in Congress are paying too little attention to the ideas of the Tea Party. For more, see: "Partisans Dug in on Budget, Health Care Impasse" released October 7, 2013.

Should Members of Congress Vote with District or National Interests?

When members of Congress face a choice between voting for what they think is best for the country and voting with the views of their constituents, the public's stance is that members should vote to represent their district. This view is particularly prevalent among Tea Party Republicans.

Overall, 55% of the public says that members of Congress should vote *against* a bill that they think is in the best interest of the country, if a majority of the people they represent is against it; 38% say members should vote *for* such a bill. This balance of opinion hasn't changed much since 1987, when CBS News and the New York Times first asked the question.

Tea Party Reps Want Members to Represent Their District First

If member thinks bill is in best interest of country, but a majority of constituents is opposed, should ...

	Vote for it	Vote against it	Depends/ DK
	%	%	%
Total	38	55	7=100
Republican	32	63	5=100
Democrat	47	47	6=100
Independent	35	57	8=100
Among Reps/ lean Rep			
Tea Party	22	76	2=100
Non-Tea Party	39	54	7=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q52. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Among Tea Party Republicans, fully 76% say members should vote against a bill their constituents oppose, even if he or she thinks it is in the best interest of the country. Just 22% say the lawmaker should prioritize the national interest above their constituents' views.

Democrats are more supportive of members using their own discretion, but even they are divided on this question: 47% say a member should vote for a bill they think is in the best interests of the country, even if majorities of the people they represent oppose the bill; an identical 47% say they should vote against the bill.

Boehner More Prominent as Party Leader

When asked who they think of as the leader of the Republican Party, more Republicans and Republican leaners volunteer John Boehner than any other name. About two-in-ten (21%) say Boehner is the leader of the Republican Party, while 9% say Ted Cruz; other names are mentioned by no more than 3% of Republicans and Republican leaners.

Boehner has become more prominent as the leader of the party over the last three months. Since July, Republicans have become 12 points more likely to say they think of Boehner as the party's leader; mentions of Ted Cruz have also risen (from 2% to 9%).

Still, most Republicans (54%) say either that they don't know who the leader of the party is (39%) or that no one leads the GOP (15%).

Nearly three-in-ten Tea Party Republicans (28%) say Boehner is the leader of the party; Cruz ranks second among this group at 18%.

Non-Tea Party Republicans are less likely to offer a response to the question (50% don't know who they think of as the party's leader). Among those who do offer a response, Boehner is cited as the leader by 17%, while just 3% cite Cruz.

More Republicans Now View Boehner as Leader of GOP

Based on Republicans and Republican leaners

July 2013	Oct 2013	Change
%	%	
9	21	+12
2	9	+7
3	3	0
3	3	0
3	2	-1
2	1	-1
3	1	-2
5	1	-4
1	1	0
	3	
22	15	
37	<u>39</u>	
	100	
	2013 % 9 2 3 3 3 5 1 22	2013 2013 % % 9 21 2 9 3 3 3 2 2 1 3 1 5 1 1 1 3 22 15 37 39

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Tea Party Views on Leader of GOP

Think of as	All Reps/ lean Rep	Tea Party	Non-Tea Party
leader of GOP	%	%	%
John Boehner	21	28	17
Ted Cruz	9	18	3
John McCain	3	1	4
Rand Paul	3	6	*
Mitt Romney	2	1	3
Chris Christie	1	*	2
Paul Ryan	1	2	1
Marco Rubio	1	1	1
Ron Paul	1	2	*
Other	3	3	3
Nobody	15	15	15
Don't know	<u>39</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>50</u>
	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Q6. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Open-ended question.

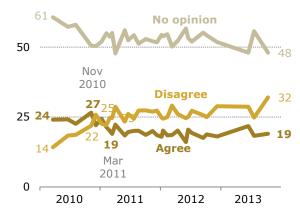
Who Identifies with the Tea Party?

Over the past three-and-a-half years, the Pew Research Center has tracked public affiliation with the Tea Party through a simple question: asking the respondent whether they agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement or don't have an opinion either way. In the early days of the Tea Party movement, agreement typically exceeded disagreement. In March 2010, 24% said they agreed and just 14% disagreed. Agreement with the Tea Party peaked in November 2010 at 27%, shortly after the midterm election.

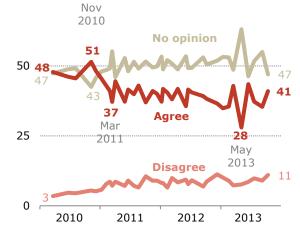
But the balance of opinion flipped in 2011, as many existing and newly elected Republicans in Congress formed a Tea Party Caucus and took a more active role in legislative debates. By March 2011, 25% disagreed and 19% agreed with the Tea Party, an eight-point decline in agreement from the 2010 peak. This balance of opinion held for most of the past three years. The current survey measured the highest level of disagreement over this timespan, with 32% saying they disagree with the Tea Party movement.

Agreement with the Tea Party

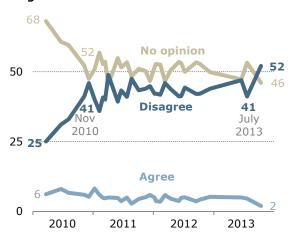
Among the general public



Among Republicans and Republican leaners



Among Democrats and Democratic leaners



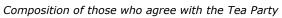
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Those who haven't heard of the Tea Party included with "no opinion."

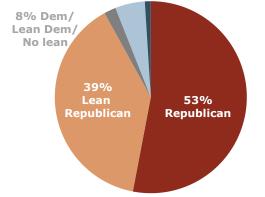
About four-in-ten (41%) Republicans and Republican leaners agree with the Tea Party movement, while 45% say they have no opinion either way and an additional 2% volunteer that they haven't heard of the movement. The percentage agreeing with the Tea Party has declined from its peak of 51% in November of 2010, and has fluctuated around 40% for much of the last year. Few Republicans disagree with the Tea Party (11%), though this percentage has edged up from the low single digits in early 2010.

Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, 52% disagree with the Tea Party while 46% say they have no opinion either way and just 2% agree. This marks the first time that Democratic disagreement has edged above 50% and represents a significant change in opinion since the spring of 2010 when far more Democrats had no opinion about the Tea Party (68%) than disagreed with it (25%).

Because of this, about nine-in-ten (92%) Americans who agree with the Tea Party either identify as Republicans (53%) or lean to the Republican Party (39%). Just 1% of all of those who express agreement with the Tea Party identify as Democrats, while 5% lean to the Democratic Party and 2% have no partisan leaning.

Tea Party Made Up of Republicans But also Republican Leaners





PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013.

Tea Party Republicans: Older, More Male, Higher Income

The roughly four-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with the Tea Party are more likely to be male (61%) than non-Tea Party Republicans (50%) and they tend to be older: 57% of Tea Party Republicans are age 50 or older, compared with 45% of non-Tea Party Republicans.

Both Tea Party (83%) and non-Tea Party Republicans (81%) are predominantly non-Hispanic whites, this compares with 68% of the public overall.

Tea Party Republicans have higher levels of income and education than Republicans and Republican leaners who do not agree with the Tea Party. For example, 34% of Tea Party Republicans have a college degree compared with 26% of non-Tea Party Republicans.

Profile of Tea Party Republicans

Among Reps/ Rep leaners

				leaners
Figures read down and show demographic composition of	Total	All Rep/ Rep lean	Tea Party	Non-Tea Party
column groups	%	%	%	%
Men	49	55	61	50
Women	51	45	39	50
18-29	21	18	9	24
30-49	33	31	32	30
50-64	27	30	34	28
65+	17	19	23	17
College grad+	28	29	34	26
Some college	32	32	36	31
HS or less	39	38	30	43
White	68	82	83	81
Black	11	3	0	4
Hispanic	12	9	8	10
Protestant	49	58	66	53
White evangelical	17	29	40	22
White mainline	16	20	16	25
Catholic	18	18	15	20
Unaffiliated	23	14	11	16
Family income				
\$75,000 or more	26	31	36	30
\$30,000-\$75,000	29	29	31	29
Less than \$30,000	32	28	21	30
Conservative	39	64	83	51
Moderate	35	27	15	37
Liberal	22	8	1	11
Registered voter	77	80	87	76
Always vote in primary elections	52	61	68	54

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Figures read down. Whites and black include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.

Tea Party Republicans on the Issues

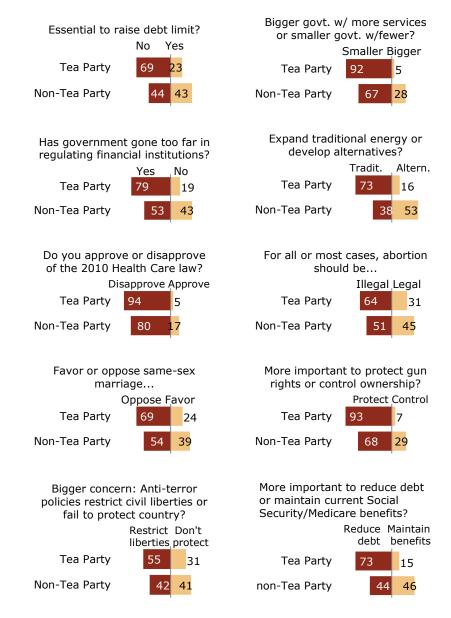
The distinct views of Tea Party Republicans can be seen across a range of issues.

A driving attitude of the Tea Party is a belief in smaller government: Fully 92% of Tea Party Republicans prefer a smaller government with fewer services, just 5% want a bigger government. Among non-Tea Party Republicans, a smaller government is preferred by a less one-sided 67%-28% margin.

Similarly, 93% of Tea Party Republicans say protecting gun rights is more important than controlling gun ownership, compared with 68% of non-Tea Party Republicans.

On energy, 73% of Tea Party Republicans prioritize expanding the production of traditional sources; just 16% say developing alternative sources should be the priority. On balance, Republicans who do not

Tea Party Republicans Overwhelmingly Favor Smaller Gov't, Gun Rights – and No Obamacare



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 9-13, 2013. Results from Pew Research Center surveys conducted in 2013.

agree with the Tea Party take the opposite view: 53% say developing alternative sources is the more important energy priority, 38% say expanding production of coal, oil and natural gas is more important.

Tea Party Republicans: GOP Should Take More Conservative Direction

Beyond their policy views, Tea Party Republicans are also distinct in how they look at the political situation in Washington: most notably, they tend to back a hard line when it

comes to compromise, and want to see the GOP move in a move conservative direction.

By a 68%-26% margin, Tea Party Republicans interviewed in July said Republican leaders should move in a more conservative, rather than more moderate, direction. And when it came to compromise, 50% said Republicans in Congress had compromised too much with Democrats, just 14% said they hadn't compromised enough.

These views were in stark contrast with those of non-Tea Party Republicans: 39% of Republicans who don't agree with the Tea Party said GOP leaders had not compromised enough, 35% said they handled things about right and just 21% said they had compromised with Democrats too much. In addition, about

Tea Party Republicans See Too Much Compromise from Leaders

	All Reps/	Tea	Non-Tea
In dealing w/ Dems in Congress, Reps	lean Rep %	Party %	Party %
Have compromised too much	32	50	21
Haven't compromised enough	29	14	39
Handled about right	33	30	35
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100
Rep leaders should move in direction?			
More conservative	54	68	45
More moderate	41	26	50
No change (Vol.)	2	2	1
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013.

as many non-Tea Party Republicans wanted the Republican party to move in a more moderate direction (50%) as in a more conservative direction (45%).

In the current debate over the debt limit, nearly seven-in-ten (69%) of Tea Party Republicans think that the country can go past the deadline for raising the debt limit without major economic problems, and fully 52% say the debt limit does not need to be raised at all. For more, see: "As Debt Limit Deadline Nears, Concern Ticks Up But Skepticism Persists," released October 15, 2013.

About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted October 9-13, 2013 among a national sample of 1,504 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (752 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 752 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 407 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by Abt SRBI. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see http://people-press.org/methodology/

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the 2011 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2012 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus
Total sample	1,504	2.9 percentage points
Republican	405	5.7 percentage points
Democrat	475	5.2 percentage points
Independent	550	4.9 percentage points
Republican/Rep lean	655	4.5 percentage points
Tea Party	304	6.5 percentage points
Non-Tea Party	334	6.2 percentage points
Democrat/Dem lean	726	4.2 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS OCTOBER 2013 POLITICAL SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE October 9-13, 2013 N=1,504

QUESTIONS 1-2, 5 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED NO QUESTIONS 3-4

ASK ALL:

Q.6 Thinking about the Republican Party, who do YOU think of as the leader of the Republican Party these days... [SINGLE RESPONSE, DO NOT READ OPTIONS. USE PRECODES AS APPROPRIATE; ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE; ACCEPT JOB TITLES. IF "DON'T KNOW" PROBE ONCE: Just anyone who comes to mind?] 1

			(NJ)			
Oct 9-13		Nov 4-7	Sep 9-12	Apr 21-26	Dec 9-13	Mar 9-12
<u>2013</u>		<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	2010	<u>2009</u>	2009
24	John Boehner	10	4	1	*	*
6	Ted Cruz					
2	John McCain	2	5	8	9	11
1	Rand Paul					
1	Mitt Romney	1	1	3	1	1
1	Mitch McConnell	2	1	1	1	1
1	Tea Party (general)					
1	Chris Christie					
1	Paul Ryan					
1	Marco Rubio					
1	Rush Limbaugh	1	1	2	3	5
1	Ron Paul					
4	Other (<1% each)					
16	Nobody is	14	15	18	22	15
40	Don't know/Refused	51	60	52	55	57

BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS [N=655]:

				(NJ)			
Oct 9-13		Jul 17-21	Nov 4-7	Sep 9-12	Apr 21-26	Dec 9-13	Mar 9-12
<u>2013</u>		<u>2013</u> 2	<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>
21	John Boehner	9	12	6	1	1	1
9	Ted Cruz	2					
3	John McCain	3	3	6	10	8	12
3	Rand Paul	3					
2	Mitt Romney	3	2	3	5	1	1
*	Mitch McConnell	2	2	1	1	2	1
*	Tea Party (general)						
1	Chris Christie	2					
1	Paul Ryan	3					
1	Marco Rubio	5					
0	Rush Limbaugh	1	*	1	1	1	4
1	Ron Paul	1					
3	Other						
15	Nobody is	22	13	16	20	26	20
39	Don't know/Refused	37	45	49	46	47	48

NO QUESTIONS 7-8, 17 QUESTIONS 9-11, 22-24 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED QUESTIONS 12-16, 18-21 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

Dashes in past polls indicate less than 1% (or none) of the general public.

In Jul 17-21, 2013, the question was asked only of Republicans and Republican leaning independents.

ASK ALL:

Next,

Q.25 Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a-b IN BLOCK; ITEMS e. ALWAYS LAST] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."] How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Just in general, is your overall opinion of [ITEM] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T

QUESTIONS 25a-b PREVIOUSLY RELEASED NO QUESTIONS 25c-d

RATE."]

		Favorable			Unfavorable			(VOL.) (VOL.) Never Can't rate/	
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	<u>Ref</u>
e.	The Tea Party movement								
	Oct 9-13, 2013	30	9	21	49	30	19	6	15
	Jun 12-16, 2013	37	10	<i>27</i>	45	24	21	7	11
	Aug 17-21, 2011	36	11	25	43	23	20	5	15
	Feb 3-9, 2010	33	10	23	25	10	14	19	23

ASK ALL:

Q.26 Do you think of the Tea Party movement as [INSERT; RANDOMIZE] OR as [NEXT]?

Oct 9-13 2013		Mar 30-Apr 3 2011	Nov 4-7 2010	Registered Voters who have heard of the Tea Party NBC/WSJ Aug 2010
<u>2015</u> 38	A part of the Republican Party	<u>2011</u> 36	38	45
	A separate and independent movement			-
47	from the Republican Party	50	47	45
2	Depends (VOL.)	1	1	1
12	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	13	15	8

QUESTIONS 27-28, 32a-hF2, 33, 35-37, 45-46 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED NO QUESTIONS 29-31, 34, 38-43, 44g-h, QUESTIONS 27-28, 32i, 44, 47-50, 51 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL

Q.52 If a member of Congress thinks a bill is in the best interest of the country, but a majority of the people he or she represents are against it, should the member of Congress vote for the bill or vote against it?

Oct 9-13		CBS/NYT
2013		May 1987
38	Vote for it	34
55	Vote against it	59
3	Depends (VOL.)	3
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4

NO QUESTIONS 53-55, 61, 63-68, 80 QUESTIONS 56-60, 62, 69-79 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?

ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

(VOL.) (VOL.) No Other (VOL.) Lean Lean Republican Democrat Independent preference party DK/Ref Rep Dem Oct 9-13, 2013 25 32 37 3 1 3 16 18 Sep 4-8, 2013 26 32 38 3 17 15 1 1 * 29 46 3 2 19 Jul 17-21, 2013 19 18 Jun 12-16, 2013 23 33 39 3 * 2 17 15 2 May 1-5, 2013 25 32 37 1 3 14 16 3 3 Mar 13-17, 2013 26 33 34 1 14 15 2 * 2 Feb 13-18, 2013 22 32 41 15 19 Jan 9-13, 2013 25 32 38 2 * 2 15 16 * Dec 17-19, 2012 21 32 38 4 4 15 14 3 2 Dec 5-9, 2012 23 33 38 1 14 19 3 3 Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 26 34 34 1 13 16 33 4 * 2 Oct 24-28, 2012 28 33 12 16 27 Oct 4-7, 2012 31 36 3 1 3 15 15 35 * 2 2 Sep 12-16, 2012 24 36 14 16 Yearly Totals 24.7 32.6 36.4 3.1 .5 2.7 2012 14.4 16.1 2011 24.3 32.3 37.4 3.1 .4 2.5 15.7 15.6 25.2 35.2 2010 32.7 3.6 .4 2.8 14.5 14.1 2009 23.9 34.4 35.1 3.4 13.1 15.7 .4 2.8 2008 25.7 36.0 3.6 .3 3.0 10.6 15.2 31.5 2007 25.3 32.9 34.1 4.3 .4 2.9 10.9 17.0 .3 2006 27.8 33.1 30.9 4.4 3.4 10.5 15.1 .3 2005 29.3 32.8 30.2 4.5 2.8 10.3 14.9 33.5 29.5 .4 2004 30.0 3.8 3.0 11.7 13.4 2003 30.3 30.5 4.8 .5 2.5 12.0 12.6 31.5 30.4 5.0 .7 2002 29.8 2.7 12.4 31.4 11.6 2001 29.0 29.5 5.2 .6 11.9 33.2 2.6 11.6 2001 Post-Sept 11 30.9 31.8 27.9 5.2 .6 3.6 11.7 9.4 2001 Pre-Sept 11 27.3 34.4 30.9 5.1 .6 1.7 12.1 13.5 2000 28.0 33.4 29.1 5.5 .5 3.6 11.6 11.7 1999 26.6 33.5 33.7 3.9 .5 1.9 13.0 14.5 1998 27.9 33.7 31.1 4.6 .4 2.3 11.6 13.1 1997 28.0 33.4 32.0 4.0 .4 2.3 12.2 14.1 1996 28.9 33.9 31.8 3.0 .4 2.0 12.1 14.9 1995 15.1 31.6 30.0 33.7 2.4 .6 1.3 13.5 1994 30.1 13.7 12.2 31.5 33.5 1.3 --3.6 1993 27.4 33.6 34.2 4.4 1.5 2.9 11.5 14.9 1992 27.6 33.7 34.7 1.5 0 2.5 12.6 16.5 1991 30.9 31.4 33.2 0 1.4 3.0 14.7 10.8 1990 30.9 33.2 29.3 1.2 1.9 3.4 12.4 11.3 1989 33 33 34 1987 39 26 35

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REG=1) [N=1,259]:

Q.81 And how often would you say you vote in PRIMARY elections – that is, the elections in which a party selects their nominee to run in a general election. Would you say you vote in PRIMARY elections [READ IN ORDER]?

Oct 9-13		Sep 4-8	July 17-21
<u>2013</u>		<u>2013</u>	<u>2013</u>
52	Always	50	46
18	Nearly always	24	23
16	Part of the time	13	13
11	Seldom	11	14
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	4

ASK ALL:

TEAPARTY2

From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

				(VOL.)		Not
			No opinion	Haven't	(VOL.)	
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	either way	<u>heard of</u>	<u>Refused</u>	<u>DK</u>
Oct 9-13, 2013	19	32	46	2	2	
Jul 17-21, 2013	18	25	52	4	1	
Jun 12-16, 2013	22	29	46	2	2	
May 23-26, 2013	17	20	56	3	4	
Feb 14-17, 2013	19	26	52	2	1	
Dec 5-9, 2012	18	29	50	2	1	
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 <i>(RVs)</i>	19	29	47	1	3	
Oct 4-7, 2012	19	25	52	2	2	
Sep 12-16, 2012	18	26	53	2	2	
Jul 16-26, 2012	16	27	54	2	1	
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	19	27	49	3	2	
Jun 7-17, 2012	21	25	52	2	1	
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	16	25	54	2	3	
Apr 4-15, 2012	20	26	50	3	2	
Mar 7-11, 2012	19	29	48	2	2	
Feb 8-12, 2012	18	25	53	2	2	
Jan 11-16, 2012	20	24	52	2	2	
Jan 4-8, 2012	18	25	52	2	3	
Dec 7-11, 2011	19	27	50	2	2	
Nov 9-14, 2011	20	27	51	1	1	
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	19	27	51	2	1	
Aug 17-21, 2011	20	27	50	1	1	
Jul 20-24, 2011	20	24	53	1	1	
Jun 15-19, 2011	20	26	50	3	2	
May 25-30, 2011	18	23	54	2	2	
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	22	29	47	1	1	
Mar 8-14, 2011	19	25	54	1	1	
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	20	25	52	2	2	
Feb 2-7, 2011 ³	22	22	53	2	2	
Jan 5-9, 2011	24	22	50	2	1	
Dec 1-5, 2010	22	26	49	2	2	
Nov 4-7, 2010	27	22	49	1	1	
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)	29	25	32		1	13
Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)	28	24	30		1	16
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	29	26	32		1	13
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	22	18	37		1	21
Jun 16-20, 2010	24	18	30		*	27

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In the February 2-7, 2011 survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..." In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May 2010 through October 2010, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March 2010 it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."

TEAPARTY2 CONTINUED...

				(VOL.)		Not
			No opinion	Haven't	(VOL.)	heard of/
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	either way	heard of	<u>Refused</u>	<u>DK</u>
May 20-23, 2010	25	18	31		1	25
Mar 11-21, 2010	24	14	29		1	31

Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline: (U) Pew Research Center/USA Today polls (WP) Pew Research Center/Washington Post polls (NJ) Pew Research Center/National Journal polls