## PewResearchCenter

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Is Debt Ceiling Fix Essential? 47% Yes, 39% No

## Partisans Dug in on Budget, Health Care Impasse

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## Is Debt Ceiling Fix Essential? 47% Yes, 39% No Partisans Dug in on Budget, Health Care Impasse

Nearly a week into the first government shutdown in more than 17 years, most Americans express frustration and concern about the situation. Yet on the core issue dividing Republicans and Democrats in Washington – whether cuts or delays to the 2010 health care law should be part of any budget deal – there is little support for compromise among members of either party.

The national survey by the Pew Research Center, conducted Oct. 3-6 among 1,000 adults, finds 44% say Republican leaders should give ground on their demand that any budget deal include cuts or delays to the 2010 health care law. Nearly as many (42%) say it is Obama who should give ground, by agreeing to changes in the health care law.

Even when asked if the *only* way to end the shutdown soon is for their side to give ground on the health care issue, most are unwilling to back down. A majority of Democrats (58%) say it would be unacceptable for Obama to agree to cuts or

# Who Should Give Ground in Budget Disagreement?

					Among Rep lea	
In shutdown	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	Tea Party	Not Tea
disagreement	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Obama</b> should agree to deal that includes changes in health care law	42	77	18	40	88	63
If only way to end shutdown is for Reps to drop health care changes, would this be						
Acceptable	14	20	11	13	13	21
Unacceptable	26	54	7	25	72	39
Don't know	2	3	*	2	3	3
<b>Republicans</b> should agree to deal w/ no health care changes	44	14	75	43	7	24
If only way to end shutdown is for Obama to agree to health care changes, would this be						
Acceptable	13	9	15	16	5	15
Unacceptable	29	4	58	24	2	8
Don't know	2	*	2	3	0	*
Don't know	<u>14</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100	<u>7</u> 100	<u>17</u> 100	<u>5</u> 100	<u>13</u> 100
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct 3-6 20	13 Figur	es may	v not add	1 to 10	1% hecau	se of

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 3-6, 2013. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

delays in the Affordable Care Act, even if this is the only way to resolve the shutdown soon. Roughly the same share of Republicans (54%) say it would be unacceptable for GOP leaders to agree to any deal that does not include cuts or delays to Obamacare.

Notably, Tea Party Republicans overwhelmingly oppose Republican leaders making concessions to resolve the impasse. Nearly nine-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with the Tea Party (88%) say Obama should agree to cuts or delays in the health care law and 72% think it would be unacceptable for GOP leaders to agree to a deal that does not include those changes, even if it is the only way to quickly end the shutdown. Among non-Tea Party Republicans, 63% say Obama should agree to changes in the health care law, but only 39% feel it would be unacceptable for GOP leaders to drop their demand for health care changes.

As other recent polls have shown, there is broad public support for a compromise on the government shutdown when explicit tradeoffs and concessions are not mentioned. Fully 61% say lawmakers who share their views about the government shutdown should be willing to make compromises, even if it results in a deal they disagree with; just 29% say lawmakers who share their views should stand by their principles, even if that means the shutdown lasts longer. Yet finding the middle ground on the issue of cuts or delays to the health care law is clearly more difficult.

The survey also finds that Republicans are taking more blame for the shutdown than the Obama administration, but only by a slim margin. By 38% to 30%, more say that Republicans are to blame for the government shutdown than the Obama administration; 19% volunteer that both sides are equally to blame. <u>Two weeks ago</u>, about as many said they *would* blame Republicans (39%) as the Obama administration (36%) *if* the federal government shut down.

## More Blame Republicans than Obama for Shutdown

More to blame for	Sept 19-22	Oct 3-6	Change
shutdown*	%	%	
Obama administration	36	30	-6
Republicans	39	38	-1
Both	17	19	+2
Neither/DK	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>	+5
	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 3-6, 2013. \* Sept. 19-22, 2013 survey asked about who would be more to blame.

Polling in the early days of the 1995 government shutdown was much more lopsided: For example, a Nov. 1995 Gallup/CNN/USA TODAY survey found more blaming Republicans in Congress than Bill Clinton by a 22-point margin (47% vs. 25%).

More disapprove than approve of the way that all sides – Barack Obama, Democratic leaders and Republican leaders – are handling the negotiations over the shutdown. However, the percentage disapproving of Republican leaders' handling of the situation (69% disapprove) is higher than for Democratic leaders (58%) or Obama (50%).

## Four-in-Ten Say Nation Can Go Past Debt Limit Deadline

With the nation rapidly approaching its borrowing limit – possibly as soon as Oct. 17, according to Treasury Secretary Jacob Lew -47% say it is "absolutely essential that the federal debt limit be raised to avoid an economic crisis." Yet roughly four-in-ten (39%) are skeptical saying "the country can go past the deadline for raising the debt limit without major economic problems."

Opinion about raising the debt limit was more evenly divided in July 2011, a few weeks before the last major showdown over the issue. At that time, 40% viewed a debt limit increase as absolutely essential in order to avoid a crisis, while nearly as many (39%) said it would not pose major problems.

## By 47%-39%, More See Debt Limit Hike as Essential

	Raising debt limit by deadline				
	Absolutely essential to avoid crisis	Can go past deadline w/out major problems	DK		
	%	%	%		
Total	47	39	15=100		
College grad+	52	32	16=100		
Some college	47	41	12=100		
HS or less	43	41	16=100		
Republican	36	54	11=100		
Democrat	62	28	10=100		
Independent	45	38	17=100		
Among Reps/ Rep-leaners					
Tea Party	23	64	13=100		
Non-Tea Party	40	47	14=100		
PEW RESEARCH	CENTER Oct. 3-6	, 2013.			

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Partisan differences over raising the debt limit

are similar to two years ago: 62% of Democrats think it is absolutely essential to increase the debt limit, compared with 45% of independents and 36% of Republicans. Republicans and GOP leaners who do not agree with the Tea Party (40%) are much more likely than Tea Party Republicans (23%) to view a debt limit hike as absolutely essential.

## Views of Impact of Government Shutdown

Most Americans say they are very (48%) or somewhat (29%) concerned about the effect of the government shutdown on the economy. Only about a quarter (22%) say they are not too concerned or not concerned at all about the economic impact of the shutdown.

Majorities of Democrats, people with lower family incomes (less than \$30,000), women and older Americans (65 and older) say they are very concerned about the economic effects of the shutdown. Far fewer Republicans, people with higher incomes, men and young people (under 30) express a great deal of concern.

Among Tea Party Republicans, a plurality (45%) expresses little or no concern about the economic effects of a government shutdown. A plurality of non-Tea Party Republicans say they are very concerned about the shutdown's economic impact.

## Wide Partisan Gap in Concern over Shutdown's Economic Impact

<i>Concerned about shutdown's econ</i>	Very	Some- what	Not too/ at all	DK
impact	%	%	%	%
Total	48	29	22	1=100
Men	41	28	30	1=100
Women	55	29	15	*=100
18-29	38	37	24	1=100
30-49	48	29	23	*=100
50-64	52	25	22	1=100
65+	55	23	23	0=100
Family income				
\$75,000 or more	47	29	23	1=100
\$30,000-\$75,000	43	31	26	*=100
Less than \$30,000	60	26	14	1=100
Republican	39	31	30	0=100
Democrat	59	31	10	0=100
Independent	45	28	26	*=100
Among Reps/ Rep-leaners				
Tea Party	25	30	45	0=100
Non-Tea Party	45	29	26	0=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 3-6, 2013. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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While there are sizable partisan and demographic gaps in concern over the economic effects of the shutdown, there are smaller differences in the percentages saying they have been *personally* inconvenienced by the federal government shutdown. Overall, 28% say they or a member of their family have been inconvenienced, which is far higher than the percentage saying this during the last shutdown of the federal government, in January 1996 (16%).

# Personally Inconvenienced by the Government Shutdown?

	Jan 1996	Oct 2013	Change
	%	%	
NET Inconvenienced	16	28	+12
Major	7	15	+8
Minor/DK	9	13	+4
Not inconvenienced	84	71	-13
Don't know	*	<u>1</u>	
	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 3-6, 2013. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Today, more people across most partisan and demographic categories say they have been personally inconvenienced by the shutdown of the federal government. About as many Republicans (32%) as Democrats or independents (28% each) say they or a family member have been personally inconvenienced by the shutdown.

## Shutdown's Personal Impact

Personally inconvenienced	Oct 2013
by shutdown	%
Total	28
18-29	27
30-49	33
50-64	30
65+	17
Republican	32
Democrat	28
Independent	28
Among Rep/ Rep leaners	
Tea Party	28
Non-Tea Party	28
PEW RESEARCH CENTER C 2013.	)ct. 3-6,

## **One-in-Ten Have Contacted Officials or Signed a Petition**

About one-in-ten Americans (13%) say they have contacted a public official or signed a petition to express their opinion about the shutdown, while 87% say they have not.

Public officials are hearing from those with many points of view about the government shutdown. About as many Republicans (15%) as Democrats (13%) or independents (14%) say they have expressed their opinion to a government official or signed a petition. But among Tea Party Republicans, 24% have done so, double the percentage among non-Tea Party Republicans (11%)

Those who are very concerned about the effect of the shutdown on the U.S. economy are twice as likely as those who are less concerned to say they have contacted a public official or have signed a petition to express their views; 18% of those who are very concerned have done so, compared with 9% of those who are less concerned.

Similarly, those who say they or a family member have been personally inconvenienced by the shutdown are more likely than those who have not been inconvenienced to say they have contacted a public official or signed a petition (19% vs. 11%).

## Nearly a Quarter of Tea Party Reps Have Voiced Shutdown Views

	Contacted official or signed a petition to express opinion of shutdown?			
	Yes	No	DK	
	%	%	%	
All adults	13	87	0=100	
Republican (22%)	15	85	0=100	
Democrat (29%)	13	87	0=100	
Independent (42%)	14	86	0=100	
Among Reps/Rep leaners				
Tea Party (35%)	24	76	0=100	
Non-Tea Party (62%)	11	89	0=100	
What should lawmakers who share your views do?				
Stand by principles, even if shutdown continues (29%)	18	82	0=100	
Compromise, even on budget you disagree with (61%)	12	88	0=100	
Concern about shutdown's effect on U.S. economy				
Very concerned (48%)	18	82	0=100	
Less concerned (51%)	9	91	0=100	
Have you or a family member been personally inconvenienced by the shutdown?				
Yes (28%)	19	81	0=100	
No (71%)	11	89	0=100	
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 3-6, 2013. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.				

Yet, public officials are also hearing from those who do not want lawmakers who share their views to compromise; 18% of those who want lawmakers to stand by their principles even if it means the government shutdown continues say they have contacted a public official or have signed a petition, compared with 12% of those who want lawmakers to compromise.

## Few Republicans Say GOP Leaders Give Tea Party Too Much Attention

Overall, 35% of the public thinks that Republican leaders in Congress are paying too much attention to the ideas and the positions of the Tea Party compared with somewhat fewer (26%) who say they are paying too little attention; 19% say Republican leaders are paying the right amount of attention to the Tea Party and another 19% do not offer an opinion. This is a modest shift from August of 2011 – following that year's standoff over the debt ceiling – when as many said Republican leaders were paying too little attention to the Tea Party (31%) as too much (30%).

By more than two-to-one, more Democrats say Republican leaders are paying too much attention to the Tea Party than too little (58%-25%). The percentage of Democrats saying the GOP is paying too much attention to the Tea Party is up 11 points since 2011.

By contrast, just 18% of Republicans believe their leaders are paying too much attention to the Tea Party; that is up slightly from 13% two years ago. Instead, most Republicans feel the party's leaders are either paying the right amount (40%) or too little (24%) attention to the positions of the Tea Party.

## Are GOP Leaders Paying Too Much Attention to the Tea Party?

Attention Rep leaders paying	Aug 2011	Oct 2013	Change
to Tea Party	%	%	
Too much	30	35	+5
Too little	31	26	-5
Right amount	20	19	-1
Don't know	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>	-1
	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Oct. 3-6, 2013. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## Few Republicans Say Tea Party Gets Too Much Attention

Attention Rep leaders paying	Too much	Too little	Right amount	DK
to Tea Party	%	%	%	%
Total	35	26	19	19=100
Republican	18	24	40	18=100
Democrat	58	25	7	9=100
Independent	32	28	18	22=100
Among Rep/ Rep leaners				
Tea Party	6	40	41	13=100
Non-Tea Party	22	21	34	22=100
PEW RESEARCH CEN	TER Oct. 3	8-6, 2013		

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

To be sure, the share of Republicans who think the Tea Party gets too little attention has fallen: in 2011 37% thought the Tea Party did not receive enough attention from party leaders while just 24% say that today. Even among Tea Party Republicans this sentiment has waned: in 2011 55% of Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with the Tea Party said their movement got too little attention, compared with 40% today.

Yet concern within the GOP that the Tea Party has too much influence remains limited: even among Republicans and Republican leaners who do not agree with the Tea Party movement, more than half say either that the GOP is paying the right amount of attention (34%) to the ideas of the Tea Party or too little (21%). Just 22% of non-Tea Party Republicans say the movement receives too much attention from the Republican Party.

## About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted October 3-6, 2013, among a national sample of 1,000 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (500 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 500 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 250 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. 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. 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: <a href="http://people-press.org/methodology/">http://people-press.org/methodology/</a>.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin 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, 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	1,000	3.7 percentage points
Republicans	227	7.8 percentage points
Democrats	299	6.8 percentage points
Independents	418	5.8 percentage points
Among Rep/Rep Lean		
Tea Party	165	9.2 percentage points
Non-Tea Party	224	7.9 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 October 3-6, 2013 OMNIBUS FINAL TOPLINE N=1,000

#### ASK ALL:

PEW.1 As I read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past week, please tell me if you happened to follow each news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. First, **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] [IF NECESSARY** "Did you follow **[ITEM]** very closely, fairly closely, not too closely or not at all closely?"]

-	The chutdown of the federal covernment	Very <u>closely</u>	Fairly <u>closely</u>	Not too <u>closely</u>	Not at all <u>closely</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> DK/Ref
a.	The shutdown of the federal government October 3-6, 2013 September 25-29, 2013: <i>Congress working</i> <i>on a budget agreement to avoid a</i> <i>government shutdown at the end of</i>	43	30	15	11	*
	September	36	25	16	23	*
	September 19-22, 2013	25	24	21	30	1
	<b>TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:</b> March 14-17, 2013: Discussions in Washington about how to address the					
	federal budget deficit and national debt March 7-10, 2013: Automatic spending	24	26	20	29	1
	cuts that began on March 1st February 21-24, 2013: News about automatic cuts to federal spending that will take effect next week, unless the president	31	26	18	25	1
	and Congress act January 24-27, 2013: Discussions in Washington about how to address the	25	26	19	29	1
	federal budget deficit and national debt December 13-16, 2012: The debate in Washington over automatic spending cuts and tax increases that would take effect in January unless the President and Congress	23	28	19	29	1
	act	37	28	16	18	1
	December 6-9, 2012	37	26	17	20	1
	November 29-December 2, 2012	40	26	14	20	1
	November 15-18, 2012	33	24	16	25	1
	November 8-11, 2012	38	20	20	20	*
	July 19-22, 2012 November 3-6, 2011: <i>Discussions in</i> <i>Washington about how to address the</i>	23	21	22	33	1
	federal budget deficit and national debt	24	31	21	24	1
	October 27-30, 2011 October 13-16, 2011: <i>The debate in</i>	25	28	21	25	1
	Washington over jobs and the deficit September 29-October 2, 2011: Congress working on a budget extension to avoid a	29	32	15	24	1
	<i>government shutdown</i> September 22-25, 2011: <i>The debate in</i>	31	26	20	22	*
	Washington over jobs and the deficit September 15-18, 2011: The debate in Washington over President Obama's jobs	35	26	19	19	1
	legislation September 8-11, 2011: Barack Obama's speech about jobs to a joint session of	31	28	19	21	2
	Congress	28	18	17	36	1

V.1 CONTINUED					
	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	(VOL.)
	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
July 28-31, 2011: Discussions in					
Washington about how to address the	4.1	27	1 5	17	*
federal budget deficit and national debt	41	27	15	17	*
July 21-24, 2011	38	28	17	17	*
July 14-17, 2011	34	29	18	19	4
June 16-19, 2011: Debate in Washington	24	26	22	20	*
over whether to raise the federal debt limit	24	26	22	28	*
June 2-5, 2011	23	24	22	31	4
May 26-29, 2011: Discussions in					
Washington about how to address the	25	26	20	20	*
federal budget deficit	25	26	20	29	
May 12-15, 2011	21	26	24	28	1
May 5-8, 2011: Discussions in Washington					
about how to address the federal budget	20	20	22	20	1
deficit and national debt	29	28	22	20	1 *
April 21-25, 2011	30	31	18	21	
April 14-17, 2011	36	27	18	19	1
April 7-10, 2011: The threat of a					
government shutdown because of budget	47	26	15	12	*
disagreements in Washington	47	20	15	12	·
March 31-April 3, 2011: <i>Discussions in</i> Washington about how to address the					
-	20	77	21	22	*
federal budget deficit	30 24	27 25	21 24	22 26	1
March 17-20, 2011	24 26	25	24 19	26	1
March 3-6, 2011 February 17-20, 2011	20	30	19	25	1
	35	25	21	17	2
December 2-5, 2010 December 2-5, 2010: <i>The debate in</i>	33	25	21	17	Z
Washington over the federal income tax					
cuts passed when George W. Bush was president	39	26	17	17	1
November 11-14, 2010: Proposals made by	29	20	17	17	T
leaders of the federal budget deficit					
commission	15	21	21	41	1
September 16-19, 2010: The debate in	15	21	21	41	T
Washington over competing Democratic					
and Republican tax plans	21	24	21	34	*
September 9-12, 2010	16	19	22	42	1
May 8-11, 2009: The debate in Washington	10	17	22	72	1
over the federal budget	22	28	19	31	*
March 27-30, 2009: Debate over Barack	22	20	19	51	
Obama's budget proposal	28	34	18	19	1
March 6-9, 2009: Obama proposing a \$630	20	51	10	19	-
billion fund for overhauling health care	41	32	13	14	*
February 27-March 2, 2009: Barack	11	52	15	11	
Obama's budget proposal for next year that					
raises taxes on wealthy Americans and					
increases spending on health care,					
education and other programs	47	34	9	10	*
February 27-March 2, 2009: The Obama	17	51	2	10	
administration's plan to help homeowners					
facing foreclosure which could cost as					
much as \$275 billion	31	36	19	13	1
February 20-23, 2009: The \$780 billion	51	50	19	15	-
economic stimulus legislation approved by					
Congress and signed into law by President					
Obama	41	37	14	8	*
February 13-16, 2009: Congress passing			± ·	č	
Barack Obama's economic stimulus plan	50	32	13	5	*
	- •			-	

V.1 CONTINUED					
	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	(VOL.)
February 6-9, 2009: The debate in	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Congress over Barack Obama's economic					
stimulus plan	41	33	15	11	*
January 30-February 2, 2009	36	29	22	13	*
January 16-19, 2009: Debate in					
Washington over what the government					
should do about the nation's economic					
problems	35	33	17	15	*
January 9-12, 2009: Projections of a record					
high federal budget deficit this year	35	30	19	16	*
December 19-22, 2008: The Bush					
administration's plan to provide billions in		~~			
emergency loans to U.S. automakers	37	33	16	13	1
December 12-15, 2008: The debate over a					
government bailout for the U.S. auto		~~			
industry	40	33	18	9	*
December 5-8, 2008: The debate in					
Congress over a government bailout for the			. –		
U.S. auto industry	34	38	17	11	*
November 21-24, 2008	41	26	17	15	1
October 3-6, 2008: The debate in					
Washington over a plan to use government			_	_	
funds to stabilize financial markets	62	26	7	5	*
September 26-29, 2008	60	22	10	8	*
September 12-15, 2008: The federal					
government taking control of the mortgage	20	25	10		
companies Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac	28	35	19	17	1
March 20-24, 2008: The buyout of Wall	21	26	21	22	*
Street investment bank Bear Stearns	21	26	21	32	*
February 8-11, 2008: President Bush and					
Congress agreeing on an economic	22	22	22	21	4
Stimulus plan	22 24	33	23	21	1 *
January 25-28, 2008	24	36	19	21	
February, 2003: George W. Bush's tax cut and economic stimulus plan	26	33	23	16	2
February, 2003	26	33	23	16	2
January, 2003	28	33	23	15	2
February, 2002: The debate in Congress	20	54	21	15	2
over George W. Bush's budget and tax cut					
plan	17	31	28	23	1
April, 2001	24	38	20	18	*
February, 2001: George W. Bush's tax cut	27	50	20	10	
plan	31	35	19	14	1
August, 1997: The debate in Washington	01	55	19		-
about the federal budget	14	34	25	26	1
May, 1997	16	38	23	22	1
February, 1997	19	28	22	29	2
March, 1996	24	35	23	18	*
January, 1996	32	42	17	9	*
September, 1995	20	35	27	18	*
August, 1995: The debate in Congress over					
the federal budget	18	34	27	20	1
February, 1995: The debate in Congress					
over the Balanced Budget Amendment	12	31	28	28	1
August, 1993: The debate in Congress over					
Bill Clinton's budget bill	30	36	21	13	*
June, 1993	12	38	31	18	1
February, 1993: Bill Clinton's economic					
plan	49	36	10	5	*

PEW.1 CONTINUED	Von	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	
	Very <u>closely</u>	Fairly <u>closely</u>	Not too <u>closely</u>	Not at all <u>closely</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
September, 1992 ( <i>RV</i> ): <i>George Bush's plan</i> to improve the economy by cutting					
<i>government spending and cutting taxes</i> November, 1990: <i>Congressional and</i> <i>administration efforts to reach a budget</i>	28	44	18	9	1
deficit agreement October, 1990: Attempts by Congress and	34	33	20	11	2
the administration to find ways to reduce the budget deficit August, 1989: Passage of a bill to bailout	34	37	17	12	*
ailing savings and loan institutions	26	30	20	23	1
<ul> <li>News about health insurance exchanges opening around the country as part of the 2010 health care law October 3-6, 2013</li> </ul>	33	24	22	20	1
August 29-September 1, 2013: News about parts of the health care law that are about	55	24	22	20	Ţ
to take effect July 18-21, 2013	23 25	25 25	21 19	30 30	*
June 28-July 1, 2012: The Supreme Court decision on the 2010 health care law March 29-April 1, 2012: Supreme Court hearings about the 2010 health care reform	45	21	14	19	*
law November 17-20, 2011: The U.S. Supreme	29	27	17	27	*
Court agreeing to hear legal challenges to last year's health care reform law February 3-6, 2011: A federal judge ruling	18	24	24	33	1
that part of the new health care law is unconstitutional January 20-23, 2011: News about	25	28	19	28	1
<i>Republican efforts to repeal last year's health care law</i> December 16-19, 2010: <i>A federal judge</i>	29	29	20	21	1
<i>ruling that parts of the new health care law are unconstitutional</i> September 23-26, 2010: <i>News about</i>	28	24	17	30	1
portions of this year's health care reform law beginning to take effect	37	31	17	14	1
April 16-19, 2010: <i>News about the new health care reform law</i>	40	30	16	14	*
April 9-12, 2010	46	27	15	12	*
April 1-5, 2010 March 26-29, 2010: <i>Debate over health</i>	42	27	14	16	*
care reform	49	29	12	10	*
March 19-22, 2010	51	24	11	14	*
March 12-15, 2010	40	31	16	13	*
March 5-8, 2010	42	27	17	15	*
February 26-March 1, 2010	29	29	19	22	*
February 19-22, 2010	33	28	19	19	*
January 29-February 1, 2010	39	27	16	17	*
January 22-25, 2010	41	32	15	11	*
January 15-18, 2010	37	27	19	18	*
January 8-11, 2010	39	26	20	15	*
December 18-21, 2009	42	27	16	14	*
December 11-14, 2009	42	30	15	14	*
December 4-7, 2009	42	28	15	14	1 *
November 20-23, 2009	42	29	14	15	Ť

c.

EW.1 CONTINUED					
	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	(VOL.)
	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
November 13-16, 2009	38	26	17	17	1
November 6-9, 2009	35	28	15	22	1
October 30-November 2, 2009	32	26	19	23	*
October 23-26, 2009	40	27	16	17	1
October 16-19, 2009	36	28	15	21	*
October 9-12, 2009	37	29	14	19	1
October 2-5, 2009	39	29	16	16	*
September 25-28, 2009	45	31	12	12	0
September 18-21, 2009	44	26	19	11	*
September 11-14, 2009	44	27	14	15	*
September 3-6, 2009	40	26	16	17	0
August 28-31, 2009	40	28	17	14	1
August 21-24, 2009	49	24	12	15	1
August 14-17, 2009	39	31	15	15	1
August 7-10, 2009: Debate in Washington		~ -	. –	. –	
over health care reform	40	27	17	15	1
July 31-August 3, 2009	47	26	14	13	1
July 24-27, 2009	44	28	15	13	*
July 17-20, 2009	33	31	13	21	2
July 10-13, 2009	24	29	20	27	*
June 26-29, 2009	29	26	20	25	1
June 19-22, 2009	28	28	20	23	*
June 12-15, 2009	29	26	18	26	*
May 15-18, 2009: Debate over Barack					
Obama's health care plans	25	30	20	24	*
March 6-9, 2009: Obama proposing a \$630					
billion fund for overhauling health care	41	32	13	14	*
TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:					
September, 1994: The Clinton					
administration's health care reform					
proposals	32	41	18	9	*
June, 1994	34	40	19	7	*
May, 1994	37	37	16	9	1
January, 1994	38	38	15	9	*
Early January, 1994	40	40	14	6	*
December, 1993	45	35	12	7	1
October, 1993	44	32	17	6	1
September, 1993	49	34	11	6	*
August, 1993: Reports about the White					
House task force on health care reform					
headed by Hillary Clinton	27	32	25	15	1
June, 1993	28	38	19	15	*
May, 1993	30	30	25	14	1
Reports about the condition of the U.S.					
economy		~ ~			
October 3-6, 2013	34	30	19	16	1
September 25-29, 2013	35	30	16	18	*
September 19-22, 2013	28	33	20	19	1
September 12-15, 2013	28	34	17	20	*
August 1-4, 2013	28	35	19	17	1
July 18-21, 2013	28	29	20	23	1
June 20-23, 2013	28	30	19	22	1
June 13-16, 2013	30	32	15	22	*
June 6-9, 2013	33	31	15	21	*
May 16-19, 2013	30	31	20	19	*
May 9-12, 2013	28	30	21	20	1
March 28-31, 2013	30	30	17	22	1
March 7-10, 2013	35	30	16	19	*

	Very	Fairly	Not too	Not at all	
1	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	<u>closely</u>	closely	DK
January 31-February 3, 2013	33	33	16	16	
January 17-20, 2013	36	32	15	16	
January 3-6, 2013	34	32	18	16	
December 6-9, 2012	38	30	16	14	
November 8-11, 2012	41	31	15	12	
November 1-4, 2012	38	30	16	14	
October 25-28, 2012	44	30	14	11	
October 18-21, 2012	39	36	12	12	
October 12-14, 2012	42	28	14	15	
October 4-7, 2012	40	29	13	17	:
September 27-30, 2012	34	37	13	15	
September 20-23, 2012	36	32	17	15	:
September 13-16, 2012	38	32	17	12	
September 7-9, 2012	36	31	17	15	
August 31-September 3, 2012	33	31	20	16	
August 23-26, 2012	38	30	15	16	
August 16-19, 2012	33	32	16	19	:
August 9-12, 2012	30	31	20	18	
August 2-5, 2012	33	29	20	17	
July 26-29, 2012	32	30	20	19	:
July 19-22, 2012	39	29	16	16	:
July 12-15, 2012	32	33	18	17	
July 5-8, 2012	34	28	18	19	
June 28-July 1, 2012	38	28	15	19	
	33	32	17	17	:
June 21-24, 2012					:
June 14-17, 2012	39	28	15	17	:
June 7-10, 2012	35	32	15	18	
May 31-June 3, 2012	37	34	13	14	
May 24-27, 2012	33	31	19	16	
May 17-20, 2012	35	30	16	19	:
May 10-13, 2012	40	26	16	17	:
May 3-6, 2012	38	29	13	20	:
April 26-29, 2012	34	32	17	16	
April 19-22, 2012	35	35	13	14	:
April 12-15, 2012	39	28	16	17	
April 5-8, 2012	37	31	16	16	
March 29-April 1, 2012	34	33	15	18	
March 22-25, 2012	36	29	16	18	
March 15-18, 2012	40	35	11	14	
March 8-11, 2012	37	32	14	17	:
March 1-4, 2012	41	27	15	17	
February 23-26, 2012	37	33	14	15	
February 16-20, 2012	33	32	16	17	
February 9-12, 2012	42	30	14	13	
February 2-5, 2012	38	32	16	13	
January 26-29, 2012	35	31	16	19	:
January 19-22, 2012	35	30	16	19	
January 12-15, 2012	33	32	10	20	
January 5-8, 2012	39	31	14	15	:
				II-Economy-	

**NO QUESTION PEW.2** 

PEW.3 Who do you think is more to blame for the federal government shutdown -- [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] or [ITEM]?

Oct 3-6 <u>2013</u>		Sep 19-22 <u>2013</u> 1
38	Republicans	39
30	The Obama administration	36
19	Both equally (VOL.)	17
2	Neither (VOL.)	2
11	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6

#### **TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:**

Monday night, the federal government was partially shut down when President Clinton and the Republican leaders in Congress could not agree on a resolution to keep the government running while they debated the federal budget. Who do you blame more for the partial government shutdown -- the Republicans in Congress or Bill Clinton?

CBS News	
Nov 19	
<u>1995</u>	
51	Republicans in Congress
28	Clinton
15	Both equally (VOL.)
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

*Overall, who do you blame more for the recent shutdown of the federal government – President Clinton or the Republican leaders in Congress?* 

#### Gallup/CNN/USA Today

	/
Nov 17-18	
<u>1995</u>	
25	Clinton
47	Republican leaders
21	Both equally (VOL.)
1	Neither (VOL.)
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

#### **NO QUESTION PEW.4**

#### ASK ALL:

PEW.5 Do you approve or disapprove of the way **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** is handling negotiations over the government shutdown?

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
а.	Barack Obama Oct 3-6, 2013	38	50	12
b.	Republican leaders in Congress Oct 3-6, 2013	19	69	12
с.	Democratic leaders in Congress Oct 3-6, 2013	29	58	13

#### **NO QUESTIONS PEW.6-PEW.7**

1

In September the question was worded "If the federal government shuts down because Republicans and the Obama administration can't agree on a budget, who do you think would be more to blame?" It was asked on the same survey as the National Journal's Congressional Connection poll, also released Sept. 23, 2013.

PEW.8 In the current debate over the government shutdown, what would you like lawmakers who share your views to do? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

				Gall	ир
Oct 3-6			Mar 30-Apr 3	Feb	Aug
<u>2013</u>		<u>2013</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>2011</u> <sup>3</sup>	<u>2011</u> 4	<u>1995</u> <sup>5</sup>
	Should they stand by their principles, even if				
29	that means the government shutdown continues	s 33	36	32	35
	[OR]				
	Should they be more willing to compromise, ever	า			
61	if that means they reach a deal you disagree wi	th 57	55	60	60
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	10	8	5

#### **TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

How much, if anything, have you heard about the possibility that the federal government might go into default if Republicans and the Obama administration can't agree on a plan to raise the federal debt limit by August second?

What would you like lawmakers who share your views on this issue to do? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]** 

Jul 20-24 <u>2011</u>	
23	Should they stand by their principles, even if that means the government goes into default [OR]
68 8	Should they be more willing to compromise, even if that means they strike a deal you disagree with Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

#### ASK ALL:

PEW.9 How concerned, if at all, are you about the government shutdown's effect on the U.S. economy? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned?

Oct 3-6

<u>2013</u>

- 48 Very concerned
- 29 Somewhat concerned
- 14 Not too concerned
- 9 Not at all concerned
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

#### **NO QUESTIONS PEW.10-PEW.11**

2

3

In Sept. 2013 the question was worded "If there is not a budget agreement by the end of September the federal government will have to shut down many of its operations until a budget is passed. What would you like lawmakers who share your views on this issue to do? Should they stand by their principles, even if that means the government shuts down, or should they be more willing to compromise, even if that means they pass a budget you disagree with?" In April 2011, the question was worded: "If there is not a budget agreement by the end of next week the federal government will have to shut down nonessential services until a budget is passed. What would you like lawmakers who

share your views on this issue to do? Should they stand by their principles, even if that means the government shuts down, or should they be more willing to compromise, even if that means they pass a budget you disagree with?" In February 2011, the question was worded: "If the Republicans in Congress and President Obama do not agree on

In February 2011, the question was worded: "If the Republicans in Congress and President Obama do not agree on federal spending goals by March 4, the federal government will have to shut down all of its nonessential services until a budget is passed. What would you like the people in government who represent your views on the budget to do in this situation? Should they hold out for the basic budget plan they want, even if that means the government shuts down, or should they agree to a compromise budget plan, even if that means they pass a budget you disagree with?"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In August 1995 the question was worded: "If the Republicans in Congress and President Clinton do not agree on federal spending goals this fall, the federal government will have to shut down all of its nonessential services until a budget is passed. How would you like the people in government who represent your point of view toward the budget to act in this situation — should they stand by their principles throughout the debate, even if that means the government shuts down, or should they be more willing to compromise in the debate, even if that means they pass a budget you disagree with?"

PEW.12 Have you or a member of your family been personally inconvenienced by the shutdown of the federal government? **[ASK IF "YES":** "Was it a major inconvenience or a minor inconvenience?"]

Oct 3-6 <u>2013</u>		Jan <u>1996</u>
28	NET Inconvenienced	16
15	Yes, major	7
13	Yes, minor/DK	9
71	No, not inconvenienced	84
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*

#### ASK ALL:

PEW.13 Have you contacted a public official or signed a petition to express your opinion about the shutdown, or not?

Oct 3-6 2013

- 13 Yes
- 87 No

0 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

#### **NO QUESTION PEW.14**

#### ASK ALL:

PEW.15 As you may know, the main point of disagreement in the government shutdown is over whether changes to the 2010 health care law should be included in a budget deal. **[RANDOMIZE:** Obama has said any budget deal must NOT include cuts or delays to the health care law because they are separate issues. / Republican leaders have said that any budget deal must include cuts or delays to the health care law because the law is bad for the country.] Who do you think should give ground in this disagreement? **[RANDOMIZE IN SAME ORDER]** 

#### IF OBAMA SHOULD GIVE GROUND (PEW.15=1) [N=425]:

PEW.16 If the only way to end the shutdown soon is for Republican leaders to agree to a bill without cuts or delays to the health care law, would this be acceptable or unacceptable to you

#### IF REPUBLICANS SHOULD GIVE GROUND (PEW.15=2) [N=446]:

PEW.17 If the only way to end the shutdown soon is for Obama to agree to a bill that includes cuts or delays to the health care law, would this be acceptable or unacceptable to you?

#### **BASED ON TOTAL:**

Oct 3-6

- 2013
  - 42 Should Obama agree to a bill that INCLUDES cuts or delays to the health care law
  - 14 Acceptable if Republicans agree to bill without cuts or delays
  - 26 Unacceptable if Republicans agree to bill without cuts or delays
  - 2 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

[OR]

- 44 Should Republican leaders agree to a bill WITHOUT cuts or delays to the health care law
- 13 Acceptable if Obama agrees to bill with cuts or delays
- 29 Unacceptable if Obama agrees to bill with cuts or delays
- 2 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 14 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

PEW.18 As you may know, the deadline to raise the nation's debt limit is also approaching, as soon as October 17th. From what you've read and heard, do you think **[INSERT; RANDOMIZE]**, or do you think **[INSERT; RANDOMIZE]**?

Oct 3-6 <u>2013</u>		Jul 15-17 <u>2011</u> 6
47	It is absolutely essential that the federal debt limit be raised to avoid an economic crisis [OR]	40
39 15	The country can go past the deadline for raising the debt limit without major economic problems Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	39 21

#### ASK ALL:

PEW.19 And all in all, are Republican leaders in Congress paying too much attention, too little attention, or the right amount of attention to the ideas and positions of the Tea Party?

Oct 3-6		Aug 17-21	Mar 30-Apr 3	Nov 4-7
<u>2013</u>		<u>2011</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2010</u>
35	Too much	30	27	22
26	Too little	31	32	28
19	Right amount	20	23	25
19	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	20	19	25

<sup>6</sup> 

In July 2011, the question was worded "From what you've read and heard, do you think it is absolutely essential that the federal debt limit be raised by August  $2^{nd}$  to avoid an economic crisis, or do you think the country can go past the August  $2^{nd}$  date for when the government reaches its debt limit without major economic problems?"