PewResearchCenter

SEPTEMBER 11, 2013

Tea Party Increasingly Unhappy with GOP Leadership

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS

Michael Dimock

Director

Carroll Doherty

Associate Director

1615 L St, N.W., Suite 700 Washington, D.C. 20036 Tel (202) 419-4372 Fax (202) 419-4399 www.people-press.org

Tea Party Increasingly Unhappy with GOP Leadership

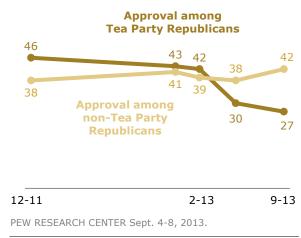
As lawmakers return for what promises to be a busy fall session, GOP congressional leaders face mounting disapproval among Tea Party

Republicans. Just 27% of Republicans and GOP leaners who agree with the Tea Party approve of the job Republican leaders in Congress are doing, compared with 71% who disapprove.

The job rating of GOP leaders among Tea Party Republicans has fallen 15 points since February, from 42% to 27%. Disapproval has risen from 54% to 71% over this period. There has been no similar decline among Republicans who do not agree with the Tea Party. Currently, 42% of non-Tea Party Republicans and Republican leaners approve of how GOP leaders in Congress are handling their job, which is little changed over the past year.

Tea Party Republicans' Growing Dissatisfaction with GOP Leaders

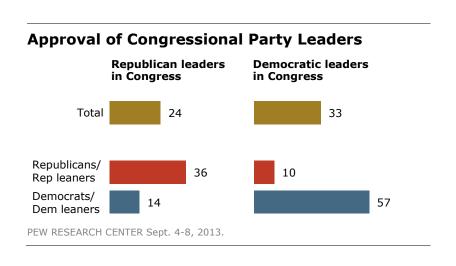
Based on Republicans and Republican leaners



This internal dissent contributes to the lower job ratings Republican leaders receive from the public when compared with Democratic congressional leaders. The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center, conducted Sept. 4-8 among 1,506 adults, finds that just 24% of the public approves of Republican leaders' job performance, while somewhat more (33%) approve of the job of Democratic congressional

This modest advantage for Democratic leaders stems from the substantially more positive job ratings they receive from their own base: 57% of Democrats and Democratic leaners approve of how Democratic congressional leaders are handling their job. That compares with just 36% of Republicans and Republican leaners who approve of the job

leaders.



their party leaders are doing. Democratic and Republican leaders get similarly low job ratings from members of the opposition party.

There is no internal ideological divide within the Democratic Party, as the GOP leadership faces. Among all Democrats and Democratic leaners, 55% of moderates and conservatives and 60% of liberals approve of the job performance of the party's congressional leaders.

While Tea Party Republicans have a low regard for GOP congressional leadership generally, it is not clear that this transfers to the party leaders individually. A <u>July Pew Research Center survey</u> found similarly low satisfaction with the GOP leadership's job, yet also found that House Speaker John Boehner and Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell were better known and better liked among Tea Party Republicans than non Tea-Party Republicans.

Yet both leaders were viewed less favorably among Tea Party Republicans than were several other major GOP figures tested, including Paul Ryan, Rand Paul, Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz.

The current survey finds that 35% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents agree with the Tea Party while 9% disagree and 54% have no opinion either way. This is little changed from July, but since 2010 there has been a decline in the percentage of Republicans who agree with the Tea Party. (For trends in Tea Party support based on GOP voters, see <u>"Whither the GOP? Republicans Want Change, Split over Party's Direction,"</u> July 31, 2013.)

Views of John Kerry, John McCain

The new survey finds that 45% of the public views Secretary of State John Kerry favorably while 36% have an unfavorable impression, and are largely unchanged from earlier in the year when he was first appointed and confirmed. Public opinion is divided about Sen. John McCain (44% favorable, 42% unfavorable).

Both men are viewed more favorably by those who support military airstrikes against Syria than those who oppose them. Among the 28% of the public that supports U.S. airstrikes in response to Syria's reported use of chemical weapons, Kerry is viewed favorably by 64% to 23%. Kerry's image is mixed among the much larger share of the public (63%) that opposes airstrikes (39% view Kerry favorably, 43% unfavorably).

Supporters of Syria Action View Kerry, McCain More Favorably

	John	Kerry	John	McCain
	Fav	Unfav	Fav	Unfav
	%	%	%	%
Total	45	36	44	42
Republican	28	55	59	32
Democrat	61	17	39	47
Independent	44	39	41	45
Opinion of U.S. airstrikes in Syria				
Favor	64	23	54	36
Oppose	39	43	40	45

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Don't know responses not shown.

McCain's favorable ratings also are higher among supporters of U.S. military action in Syria. About half of those who support U.S. airstrikes (54%) view McCain favorably compared with 40% of those who oppose airstrikes.

About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted September 4-8, 2013 among a national sample of 1,506 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (751 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 755 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 401 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 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	1,506	2.9 percentage points
Republican	396	5.7 percentage points
Democrat	472	5.3 percentage points
Independent	569	4.8 percentage points
Republican/Rep leaner	657	4.5 percentage points
Tea Party	267	7.0 percentage points
Non-Tea Party	381	5.8 percentage points
Democrat/Dem leaner	696	4.3 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.

© Pew Research Center, 2013

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS SEPTEMBER 2013 POLITICAL SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE September 4-8, 2013 N=1,506

QUESTIONS 1, 3 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED NO QUESTION 2

ASK ALL:

Q.4 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] are doing? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the [ITEM] are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]. [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: REPEAT FULL QUESTION FOR NEXT ITEM]

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.	Republican leaders in Congress			
	Sep 4-8, 2013	24	68	8
	May 1-5, 2013	22	68	10
	Feb 13-18, 2013 (U)	25	67	9
	Dec 5-9, 2012	25	67	8
	Dec 7-11, 2011	21	68	11
	Nov 9-14, 2011	23	67	10
	Aug 17-21, 2011	22	69	9
	Jul 20-24, 2011	25	66	10
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	30	61	9
	Feb 24-27, 2011	36	45	19
	Jan 5-9, 2011¹	34	43	22
	Nov 4-7, 2010	41	37	22
	Sep 30-Oct 3, 2010	24	60	16
	Jul 22-25, 2010	33	53	14
	Jun 16-20, 2010	31	55	14
	Apr 8-11, 2010	30	56	14
	Mar 10-14, 2010	25	59	16
	Jan 6-10, 2010	27	57	16
	Dec 9-13, 2009	29	51	20
	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	24	60	17
	Jun 10-14, 2009	29	56	15
	Mar 9-12, 2009	28	51	21
	Feb 4-8, 2009	34	51	15
	Early October, 2006	33	56	11
	June, 2006	30	53	17
	March, 2006	32	50	18
	January, 2006	33	52	15
	Early November, 2005	33	50	17
	Early October, 2005	32	52	16
	Mid-September, 2005	36	49	15
	Mid-May, 2005	35	50	15
	Mid-March, 2005	39	44	17
	Early February, 2004	41	42	17
	January, 2003	48	37	15
	June, 2002	50	34	16
	May, 2002	49	34	17
	February, 2002	56	24	20
	Early September, 2001	43	39	18
	June, 2001	40	40	20
	May, 2001	45	36	19
	April, 2001	45	30	25
	r ,	• •	= =	==

-

Question wording for Nov. 4-7, 2010, and Jan. 5-9, 2011, was: "Do you approve or disapprove of Republican congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future?"

Q.4 CONTINUED...

Ą.				(VOL.)
		<u>Approve</u>	Disapprove	DK/Ref
	January, 2001	43	36	21
	July, 2000	36	46	18
	May, 2000	40	42	18
	March, 2000	38	43	19
	February, 2000	40	43	17
	January, 2000	39	41	20
	December, 1999	38	42	20
	October, 1999	34	50	16
	Late September, 1999	34	46	20
	August, 1999	40	44	16
	July, 1999	36	45	19
	June, 1999	37	46	17
	·	38	44	18
	May, 1999	38	47	15
	March, 1999		51	12
	February, 1999	37	50	12
	January, 1999	38		
	Early December, 1998	38	49	13
	November, 1998	41	48	11
	Early September, 1998	44	37	19
	Early August, 1998	43	37	20
	June, 1998	42	38	20
	May, 1998	40	41	19
	April, 1998	41	40	19
	March, 1998	43	39	18
	January, 1998	43	41	16
	November, 1997	41	43	16
	August, 1997	42	44	14
	June, 1997	33	50	17
	May, 1997	40	44	16
	April, 1997	40	44	16
	February, 1997	44	42	14
	January, 1997	38	47	15
	December, 1996 ²	40	43	17
	July, 1996	38	48	14
	June, 1996	36	50	14
	April, 1996	39	46	15
	March, 1996	35	51	14
	February, 1996	33	53	14
	January, 1996	36	54	10
	October, 1995	36	51	13
	September, 1995	36	50	14
	August, 1995	38	45	17
	June, 1995	41	45	14
	April, 1995	44	43	13
	March, 1995	43	39	18
	December, 1994	52	28	20
	2000201, 200	~ _		
b.	Democratic leaders in Congress			
	Sep 4-8, 2013	33	59	7
	May 1-5, 2013	32	59	9
	Feb 13-18, 2013 (U)	37	55	8
	Dec 5-9, 2012	40	53	7
	Dec 7-11, 2011	31	58	11
	Nov 9-14, 2011	30	61	9
	Aug 17-21, 2011	29	63	9
	Jul 20-24, 2011	30	60	10
		20		

From December, 1994, through December, 1996, the question was worded: "As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress?"

Q.4 CONTINUED...

			(VOL.)
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	DK/Ref
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	31	60	9
Feb 24-27, 2011	33	48	19
Sep 30-Oct 3, 2010	30	53	17
Jul 22-25, 2010	35	56	10
Jun 16-20, 2010	35	53	12
Apr 8-11, 2010	38	51	11
Mar 10-14, 2010	31	57	12
Jan 6-10, 2010	35	53	11
Dec 9-13, 2009	36	47	17
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	33	53	15
Jun 10-14, 2009	42	45	13
Mar 9-12, 2009	47	35	18
Feb 4-8, 2009	48	38	14
August, 2008	31	58	11
January, 2008	31	53	16
November, 2007	35	50	15
October, 2007	31	54	15
July, 2007	33	54	13
June, 2007	34	49	17
April, 2007	36	43	21
March, 2007 ³	37	42	21
February, 2007	41	36	23
Mid-January, 2007	39	34	27
November, 2006 ⁴	50	21	29
Early October, 2006	35	53	12
June, 2006	32	50	18
March, 2006	34	46	20
January, 2006	34	48	18
Early November, 2005	36	44	20
Early October, 2005	32	48	20
Mid-September, 2005	36	45	19
Mid-May, 2005	39	41	20
Mid-March, 2005	37	44	19
Early February, 2004	38	42	20
June, 2002	47	36	17
May, 2002	42	37	21
February, 2002	49	30	21
Early September, 2001	49	30	21
June, 2001	50	28	22
December, 1994	52	28	20

QUESTIONS 5-8 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED NO QUESTIONS 9, 11-14 QUESTIONS 10, 15-16 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

_

In March 2007 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Democratic leaders in Congress?"

Question wording in November, 2006, and December, 1994, was: "As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of Democratic congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future?"

ASK ALL:

Next,

Q.17 Would you say your overall opinion of [INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [NEXT NAME]? [IF NECESSARY: Just in general, is your overall opinion of [NAME] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

ITEMS a, b HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=744]:								
cF1. John Kerry	4.5	12	22	26	1.5	2.1	-	1.4
Sep 4-8, 2013	45 45	13	<i>32</i>	36	15	21	5	14
Feb 14-17, 2013	45	13	<i>32</i>	33	14	19	10	12
Jan 9-13, 2013	39 45	11	27 25	36	15 20	21	12	13
April, 2006	45	10	<i>35</i>	44	20	24	2	9
Late October, 2005	46	12	34	43	20	23	2	9
Late March, 2005	49	13	<i>36</i>	41	17	24	2	8
Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	56	21	35	40	16	24	0 *	3
Early October, 2004 (RVs)	53	16	<i>37</i>	41	16	25	*	6
Early September, 2004	49	17	32	43	19	24		8
August, 2004	56	23	33	36	14	22	1	7
June, 2004	50	11	39	41	16	25	0	9
Early February, 2004	58	14	44	28	8	20	1	13
January, 2003	30	6	24	16	4	12	36	18
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=762]:								
d.F2 John McCain								
Sep 4-8, 2013	44	7	<i>37</i>	42	16	26	3	10
Mid-October, 2008	51	17	34	44	17	27	*	5
Late September, 2008	55	19	36	38	14	24	*	7
Mid-September, 2008	58	20	38	38	16	22	*	4
Late May, 2008	46	12	34	44	20	24	1	9
April, 2008	48	11	<i>37</i>	40	17	23	2	10
March, 2008	45	8	<i>37</i>	41	16	25	2	12
Late February, 2008	48	12	36	38	14	24	1	13
Early February, 2008	53	12	41	31	10	21	3	13
January, 2008	55	14	41	31	9	22	3	11
Late December, 2007	46	8	38	34	10	24	7	13
August, 2007	47	8	39	29	8	21	12	12
December, 2006	51	13	38	26	6	20	10	13
April, 2006	54	14	40	26	7	19	8	12
Late October, 2005	56	15	41	19	5	14	10	15
Late March, 2005	59	15	44	17	4	13	8	16
July, 2001	51	14	<i>37</i>	22	5	17	13	14
January, 2001	59	18	41	15	3	12	9	17
May, 2000	54	14	40	20	5	15	11	15

NO QUESTIONS 18-28, 30-34, 40, 42-43, 46-54, 57-59, 62, 68, 70-77 QUESTIONS 29, 35-39, 41, 44-45, 55-56, 60-61, 63-67, 69, 78-85 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	<u>Independent</u>	preference	party	DK/Ref	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>
Sep 4-8, 2013	26	32	38	3	1	1	17	15
Jul 17-21, 2013	19	29	46	3	*	2	19	18
Jun 12-16, 2013	23	33	39	3	*	2	17	15

PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

PARTYLN CONTIN	NUED							
				(VOL.)	(VOL.)			
				No	Other		Lean	Lean
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>			DK/Ref	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>
May 1-5, 2013	25	32	37	2	1	3	14	16
Mar 13-17, 2013	26	33	34	3	1	3	14	15
Feb 13-18, 2013	22	32	41	2	*	2	15	19
Jan 9-13, 2013	25	32	38	2	*	2	15	16
Dec 17-19, 2012	21	32	38	4	*	4	15	14
Dec 5-9, 2012	23	33	38	3	1	2	14	19
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012		34	34	3	1	3	13	16
Oct 24-28, 2012	28	33	33	4	*	2	12	16
Oct 4-7, 2012	27	31	36	3	1	3	15	15
Sep 12-16, 2012	24	35	36	2	*	2	14	16
Yearly Totals								
2012	24.7	32.6	36.4	3.1	.5	2.7	14.4	16.1
2011	24.3	32.3	37.4	3.1	.4	2.5	15.7	15.6
2010	25.2	32.7	35.2	3.6	.4	2.8	14.5	14.1
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.7	36.0	31.5	3.6	.3	3.0	10.6	15.2
2007	25.3	32.9	34.1	4.3	.4	2.9	10.9	17.0
2006	27.8	33.1	30.9	4.4	.3	3.4	10.5	15.1
2005	29.3	32.8	30.2	4.5	.3	2.8	10.3	14.9
2004	30.0	33.5	29.5	3.8	.4	3.0	11.7	13.4
2003	30.3	31.5	30.5	4.8	.5	2.5	12.0	12.6
2002	30.4	31.4	29.8	5.0	.7	2.7	12.4	11.6
2001	29.0	33.2	29.5	5.2	.6	2.6	11.9	11.6
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	<i>27.</i> 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	31.6	30.0	33.7	2.4	.6	1.3	15.1	13.5
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3		3.6	13.7	12.2
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	26	35	39					

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):

TEAPARTY3 From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS [N=657]:

				(VOL.)		Not
			No opinion	Haven't	(VOL.)	heard of/
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	either way	heard of	Refused	<u>DK</u>
Sep 4-8, 2013	35	9	54	1	1	
Jul 17-21, 2013	37	10	50	2	1	
Jun 12-16, 2013	44	9	46	1	2	
May 23-26, 2013	41	7	48	1	3	
May 1-5, 2013	28	8	61	2	1	
Mar 13-17, 2013	43	7	47	1	1	
Feb 13-18, 2013	36	9	52	1	3	
Feb 14-17, 2013	43	9	45	1	2	
Jan 9-13, 2013	35	10	51	2	2	

TEAPARTY3 CONTINUED...

iki 15 COMIZMOZDIII				(VOL.)		Not
			No opinion	Haven't	(۷01.)	heard of/
	Agroo	Disagree	either way	heard of	Refused	DK
Doc 5-0, 2012	<u>Agree</u> 37	<u>Disagree</u> 11	51	1	*	<u>DK</u>
Dec 5-9, 2012	_		49			
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 (RVs)	40	8	_	1	2	
Oct 4-7, 2012	38	9	50 53	1	3	
Sep 12-16, 2013	39	7	52	1	1	
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	40	9	47	2	1	
Jun 7-17, 2012	42	8	48	1	1	
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	36	9	53	1	2	
Apr 4-15, 2012	42	8	48	1	1	
Mar 7-11, 2012	38	10	49	2	1	
Feb 8-12, 2012	40	7	51	1	1	
Jan 11-16, 2012	42	8	47	1	1	
Jan 4-8, 2012	37	8	52	1	1	
Dec 7-11, 2011	40	9	48	2	1	
Nov 9-14, 2011	41	9	49	*	1	
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	37	11	51	1	1	
Aug 17-21, 2011	43	7	49	*	1	
Jul 20-24, 2011	40	7	51	*	1	
Jun 15-19, 2011	42	9	47	1	1	
May 25-30, 2011	37	7	52	1	3	
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	45	9	46	*	1	
Mar 8-14, 2011	37	7	54	1	*	
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	41	9	48	1	1	
Feb 2-7, 2011 ⁵	43	8	47	1	1	
Jan 5-9, 2011	45	6	47	1	1	
Dec 1-5, 2010	48	5	45	1	1	
Nov 4-7, 2010	51	5	42	1	1	
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)	58	5	27		1	9
Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)	54	5	30		1	10
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i>	56	6	29		*	9
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	46	5	36		1	13
Jun 16-20, 2010	46	5	30		*	19
May 20-23, 2010	53	4	25		1	16
Mar 11-21, 2010	48	4	26		1	21

Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

(U

Pew Research Center/USA Today polls

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."