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Ryan Has Broader Appeal in GOP than Paul, Rubio or Christie

Whither the GOP? Republicans Want Change, But Split Over Party's Direction

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Whither the GOP? Republicans Want Change, But Split over Party's Direction

Coming off of two consecutive presidential election defeats, most Republican voters believe that their party must address major problems to be more competitive in the future. And roughly six-in-ten say improved messaging alone will not be enough – the GOP also needs to reconsider some of its positions.

Yet while Republicans may agree on the scope of the problem, there is little consensus over the party's future course on either policy or strategy.

Move in a more conservative or moderate direction on policy? By 54% to 40%, Republican and Republican-leaning voters want the party's leaders to move further to the right. Not surprisingly, conservatives and those who agree with the Tea Party overwhelmingly favor moving in a more conservative direction, while moderates and liberals would like to see the party take more centrist positions. Yet the more moderate wing of the party is a minority generally, and makes up an even smaller share of the likely primary electorate.

Has the GOP compromised too much, or not enough? Republican voters are divided: 35% say the party has compromised too much with Democrats, 27% say not enough, while 32% say party leaders have handled this about right. On this tactical question the Tea Party stands apart: about half (53%) think party leaders have already compromised too much with Democrats, compared with just 22% of non-Tea Party Republicans.

GOP Voters Say Party Needs to Change ...

	Rep/Rep lean RVs
<i>To do better in future presidential elections, the Republican Party...</i>	%
Just needs to make minor changes	30
Needs to address major problems	67
Don't know	3
	100
Mainly needs to make a stronger case for its current policy positions	36
Also needs to reconsider some positions	59
Don't know	4
	100

But Little Agreement on Direction

<i>GOP leaders should move in a more...</i>	
Conservative direction	54
Moderate direction	40
No change (Vol.)/Don't know	5
	100
<i>In dealing w/ congressional Democrats, Republicans in Congress have...</i>	
Compromised too much	35
Not compromised enough	27
Handled this about right	32
Don't know	6
	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

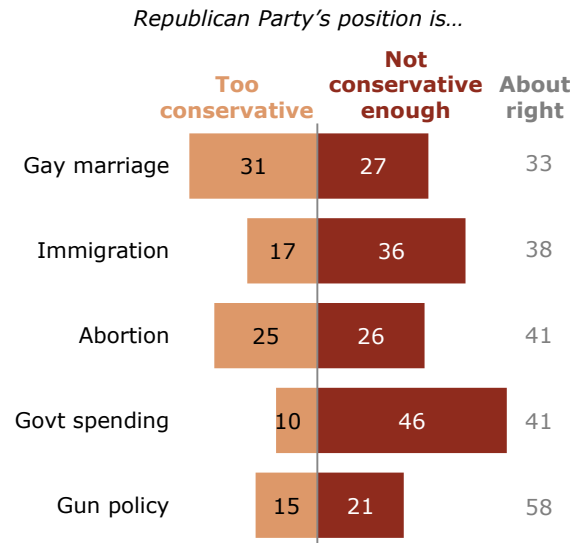
The Pew Research Center's latest national survey, conducted July 17-21, 2013, among 1,480 adults, including 497 Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters, finds broad dissatisfaction among GOP voters with the party's positions on a number of issues. And while the general sentiment is that the party should commit to more conservative positions, two issues stand out. On abortion and gay marriage about as many Republicans want the party to move in a more moderate direction as support a more conservative stance.

Most Republicans also feel change is needed on two other issues – immigration and government spending – and on both the balance of opinion tilts toward taking a more conservative approach. On immigration, more Republicans say the party is not conservative enough than say it is too conservative, by roughly two-to-one. That margin is about four-to-one when it comes to the party's position on government spending.

Among five issues tested, on only one – gun policy – do a majority of voters say the party's position is about right.

Amidst these debates, no single figure stands out as the current leader of the Republican Party; in fact when asked who they see as the leader of the party these days more volunteer that nobody is (22%) than the most mentioned name, Speaker of the House John Boehner (10%). This is typical for parties out of power. In 2006, for instance, Democratic voters were unable to point to a single leader for their party.

GOP Voters Divided over Party's Stances on Abortion, Gay Marriage



PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Q79. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Don't know responses not shown.

At the same time, however, several prominent Republicans are quite popular with Republican and Republican-leaning voters. Of these, Rep. Paul Ryan stands out as having the most positive image among GOP voters (65% favorable). Not only is Ryan highly visible after his vice-presidential run, but the vast majority of those who know him view him favorably.

Sen. Rand Paul also has a very positive image (55% favorable), as does Sen. Marco Rubio (50%). Sen. Ted Cruz is not as well known as other GOP figures, but his image is quite positive among those who are familiar with him, particularly among those who identify with the Tea Party.

Chris Christie, by comparison, draws a more mixed reaction among the roughly three-quarters of Republicans who offer an opinion; 47% view him favorably while 30% say they have an unfavorable impression of the New Jersey governor.

Both of the party's congressional leaders – John Boehner and Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell – receive more favorable than unfavorable marks from Republicans, but by slimmer margins than other GOP political figures.

While the survey's focus is on the GOP's internal debate, the Democratic Party, too, faces internal tensions. Just as with the Republicans, about a third (31%) of Democrats and Democratic-leaning voters say their party has compromised too much with the opposition party in Congress, while another third (32%) say it has not compromised enough.

Among GOP Figures, Ryan Viewed Most Favorably

	Favorable	Unfav	No Opinion
Paul Ryan	65	15	20
Rand Paul	55	19	27
Marco Rubio	50	20	30
Chris Christie	47	30	23
John Boehner	44	29	27
Mitch McConnell	36	24	40
Ted Cruz	33	13	53

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Q71. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Views of Compromise Similar among Voters in Both Parties

<i>In dealing with the other party in Congress, your party has ...</i>	Rep/Rep lean RVs %	Dem/Dem lean RVs %
Compromised too much	35	31
Not compromised enough	27	32
Handled this about right	32	33
Don't know	6	4
	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Q75, Q76. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Unlike Republicans, however, most Democrats (57%) say their leaders in Washington should move in a more moderate direction. Just 35% of Democratic voters say the party should move in a liberal direction, compared with the 54% of Republicans who say their party's leaders should be more conservative.

Inside the GOP Electorate

Tea Party Republicans have influence in the GOP partly because of their high level of political engagement. Overall, they make up a minority (37%) of all Republicans and Republican-leaning independents nationally. Yet this group is more likely than other GOP voters to say they always vote in primary elections; as a result they make up about half of the Republican primary electorate (49%).

Far more Tea Party Republican voters identify as conservatives than as moderates. But conservatives also make up about half of GOP voters who disagree with the Tea Party or have no opinion.¹ Overall, 27% of all GOP voters are non-Tea Party conservatives, while 29% are moderates who do not agree with the Tea Party.

Tea Party's Stronger Influence in GOP Primaries

	<i>Among Reps/Rep leaners</i>		
	All	Regist- ered Voters	Always vote in primary
	%	%	%
Agree w/ Tea Party	37	42	49
Disagree with/ No opinion of Tea	60	56	48
<i>Conservative</i>	29	27	26
<i>Moderate/Liberal</i>	31	29	22
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
N	578	497	265

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

¹ While the majority of those in this group self-identify as moderate (82%), it also includes 18% who identify as liberal.

Broad Agreement that GOP Needs to Make Changes

There is general agreement across all segments of the party that the GOP needs to address major problems in order to be more successful in future presidential elections: 69% of Tea Party Republican voters say this, along with 65% of non-Tea Party Republican voters.

But there are significant divisions over whether addressing those changes involves shifting policy positions – and, if so, what direction those shifts might take.

Tea Party Republicans are split on the question of whether the Republican Party “mainly needs to make a stronger case for its current policy positions” or if it “also needs to reconsider some of its policy positions” (51% vs. 46%). But 70% of non-Tea Party Republicans, including 79% of moderates, say the Republican Party needs to reconsider some policies.

There is no consensus among GOP voters who think the party needs to reconsider some policy positions about what those positions are. About one-in-five (19%) say the party needs to reconsider its position on immigration and border security, 18% abortion and 11% cite gay marriage, gay rights or homosexuality.

Non-Tea Party Republicans More Likely to Say GOP Needs to Reconsider Policy Positions

	All Rep/Rep lean RVs	Tea Party	Non Tea Party		
			All	Cons	Mod/Lib
<i>To do better in future presidential elections, the Republican Party needs...</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Just minor changes	30	27	33	37	29
To address major problems	67	69	65	60	70
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
To mainly make a stronger case for current positions	36	51	26	33	19
To also reconsider some positions	59	46	70	60	79
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Q73, Q74. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

What Policy Positions Does the Party Need to Reconsider?

<i>Among Rep/Rep lean RVs who say party needs to reconsider its policies</i>	%
Immigration/Border security	19
Abortion	18
Gay marriage/rights/homosexuality	11
Health care	7
Jobs/Economy	6
Taxes	5
Guns	5

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Q74a. Open-ended question. Only responses mentioned by 5% or more shown. Based on Republican and Republican leaning registered voters who say the party needs to reconsider some of its positions (N=289).

These responses have a “long tail” – numerous issues receive mentions by relatively small percentages (less than 5%) of those who believe the party needs to reconsider some positions. A third (33%) of Republican voters who say the party needs to rethink some of its stances could not come up with a specific issue.

Republicans Divided over Party’s Course on Major Issues

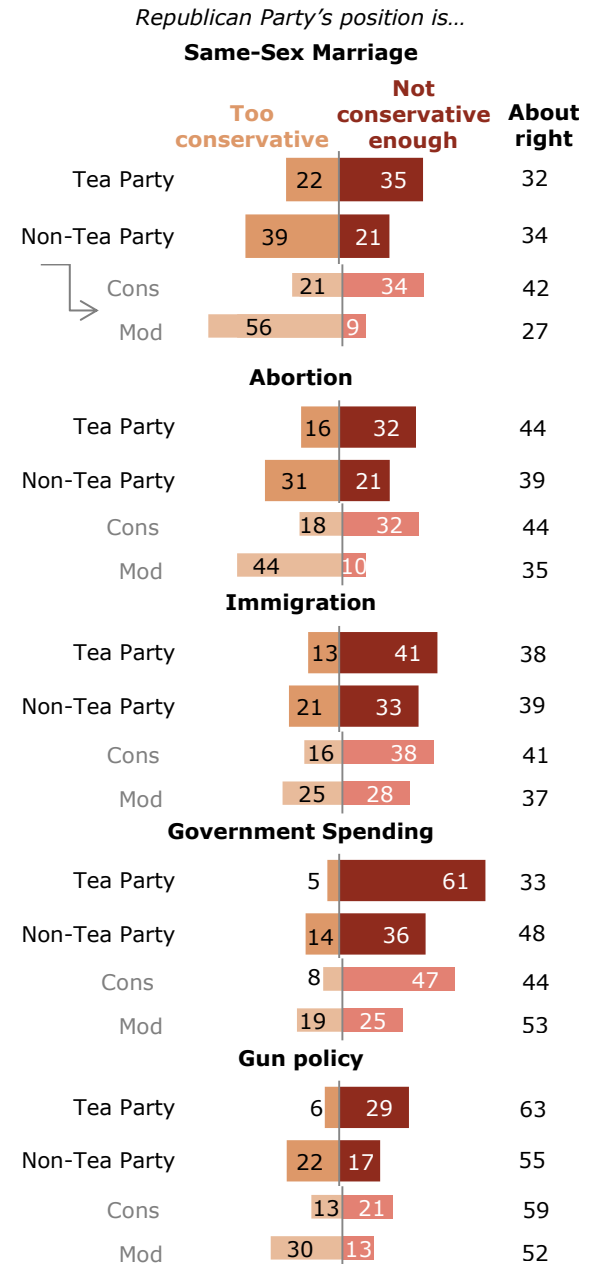
Fully 69% of Tea Party Republican voters want Republican leaders in Washington to move in a more conservative direction. That compares with just 43% of all non-Tea Party Republicans and just 24% of moderates who do not agree with the Tea Party.

These differences are reflected in GOP voters’ views about the party’s future direction on major issues, including same-sex marriage, abortion and government spending.

Some of the starkest intraparty divisions are over same-sex marriage and abortion: Just a third (33%) of Republican voters characterize the GOP’s position on gay marriage as “about right.”

A majority (56%) of moderate non-Tea Party Republicans say the party’s position on gay marriage is too conservative. That compares with just 22% of Tea Party Republicans and 21% of GOP conservatives who do not agree with the Tea Party. Among the latter groups, more say the party’s stance on gay marriage is not conservative enough (35% of Tea Party, 34% of non-Tea conservatives) than say it is

Wide Gaps Within GOP over Party’s Positions on Social Issues



PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Q79. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. “Cons” are conservatives who do not agree with Tea Party; “Mod” are moderates who do not agree with Tea Party..

too conservative.

Similarly, 44% of moderate non-Tea Party Republicans say the party is too conservative on abortion; fewer than half as many Tea Party Republicans (16%) and non-Tea Party conservatives (18%) agree.

With major debates ahead in Congress over government spending, fully 61% of Tea Party Republicans say the party is not conservative enough on this issue. Just 33% say the GOP is handling the issue of government spending about right. Far more Tea Party Republicans say the party is insufficiently conservative on this issue than on the other four issues tested.

There is less support for a more conservative stance on spending among other GOP voters. About half of conservative non-Tea Party Republicans (47%) say the party's position on government spending is not conservative enough; about as many (44%) say it is handling the issue about right. Among moderates who do not agree with the Tea Party, just 25% say the party is too conservative on spending while about twice as many (53%) say its position is about right.

Views of Compromise

Overall, 35% of GOP voters say that, in dealing with Democrats, congressional Republicans have compromised too much. Slightly fewer (27%) say they have not compromised enough, while 32% say they have handled this about right.

About half (53%) of Tea Party Republicans say the party has compromised too much with Democrats, while just 12% say it has not compromised enough. By contrast, 39% of Republicans who are not affiliated with the Tea Party say there has not been enough compromise; 22% say there has been too much.

Tea Party Republicans Say Party Has Already Compromised Too Much

<i>In dealing w/ congressional Dems, Reps in Congress have...</i>	All Rep/Rep lean RVs	All Tea Party	Non Tea Party		
			All	Cons	Mod/Lib
Compromised too much	35	53	22	25	19
Not compromised enough	27	12	39	36	41
Handled this about right	32	30	34	35	34
Don't know	6	5	5	4	6
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Q75. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Republican voters who say they always vote in party primaries are less amenable to compromising with Democrats than are those who vote less often. About four-in-ten (42%) Republicans who always vote in primaries say there has been too much compromise with Democrats in Congress; 28% of those who vote less often say the same. Less frequent voters are more likely to say that Republican leaders in Congress have not compromised enough with Democrats (32% vs. 22% of those who always vote in primaries).

GOP Primary Voters More Likely to See Too Much Compromise

<i>In dealing w/ congressional Dems, Reps in Congress have...</i>	Primary vote		Diff
	Always	Less often	
	%	%	
Compromised too much	42	28	+14
Not compromised enough	22	32	-10
Handled this about right	31	33	-2
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	
	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Q75. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Favorability of Leading GOP Figures

Among seven prominent Republicans tested, all of whom garner more favorable than unfavorable ratings, Paul Ryan enjoys the most positive image. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of Republican and Republican-leaning voters view the former vice-presidential candidate favorably while just 15% have an unfavorable view. Rand Paul and Marco Rubio also are popular; about half have favorable impressions of each, while only about two-in-ten have unfavorable impressions.

About half (47%) of Republican voters also rate Chris Christie positively, yet unfavorable opinions of the New Jersey governor (at 30%) are higher than for Ryan, Paul or Rubio. Texas Sen. Ted Cruz, while not very well known among GOP voters, is rated positively (33% favorable, 13% unfavorable).

Ryan Has Broad Appeal, Christie Viewed More Unfavorably by Tea Party Republicans

	All Republican/Republican Leaning RVs			Tea Party Rep/Rep Lean RVs			Non-Tea Party Rep/Rep Lean RVs		
	Favorable	Unfav	No Opinion	Favorable	Unfav	No Opinion	Favorable	Unfav	No Opinion
Paul Ryan	65	15	20	81	7	12	54	21	25
Rand Paul	55	19	27	70	12	18	43	25	32
Marco Rubio	50	20	30	59	23	18	43	18	39
Chris Christie	47	30	23	47	35	17	48	26	26
John Boehner	44	29	27	52	27	20	39	30	31
Mitch McConnell	36	24	40	46	22	33	30	26	44
Ted Cruz	33	13	53	48	9	43	23	17	60

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Q71. Based on Republican and Republican leaning-registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Ryan, Paul and Cruz are viewed more positively by Tea Party Republicans than among others in the party. By contrast, Christie's unfavorable rating among Tea Party Republicans (35%) is the highest of any Republican tested.

While there is no consensus on who is the leader of the Republican Party currently (this is common for the party not holding the presidency), many of these figures elicited mentions from respondents, with House Speaker John Boehner leading the list (named by 10% of respondents).

Boehner is viewed favorably by 44% of GOP voters, and unfavorably by nearly three-in-ten (29%). Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell remains comparatively less well known (40% don't provide an opinion), with 36% rating McConnell favorably while 24% rate him unfavorably.

No Clear Republican Party Leader

<i>Who do you think of as the leader of the Republican Party these days?</i>	%
John Boehner	10
Marco Rubio	5
John McCain	3
Rand Paul	3
Paul Ryan	3
Other (<3% mentions)	19
Nobody is	22
Don't know	34
	100

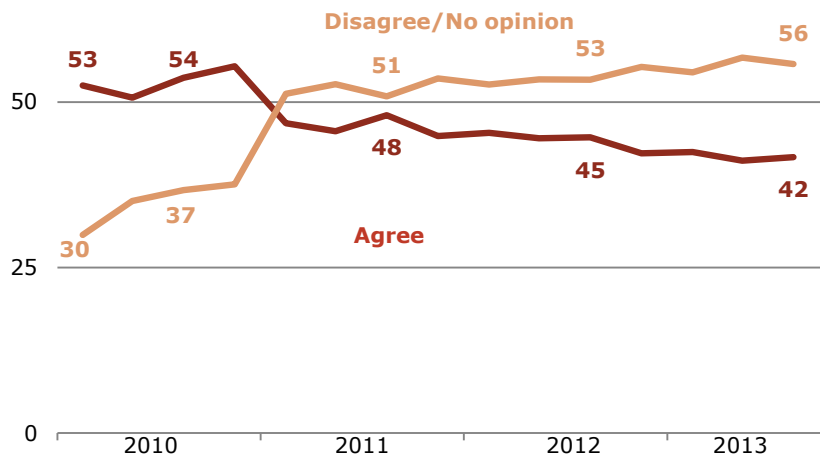
PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Q70. Open-ended question. See topline for more detail. Based on Republican and Republican leaning registered voters.

Fewer GOP Voters Agree with Tea Party than in 2010

Currently about four-in-ten (42%) Republicans and Republican leaning registered voters say they agree with the Tea Party movement. This is little changed over the course of the last year, but down from the height of the movement in 2010, when a majority of Republican voters identified with the Tea Party.

Although 56% of GOP voters do not agree with the Tea Party, this is mostly non-opinion rather than active disagreement: 44% say they have no opinion of the movement, while 11% disagree with the Tea Party.

Tea Party Agreement Levels Out Among Republican Electorate



PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 17-21, 2013. Quarterly averages. 2nd quarter 2013 based only on current survey. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters.

The segment of the Republican electorate that is affiliated with the Tea Party differs substantially from other Republican voters, both demographically and ideologically.

Overall, Republican voters are evenly divided by gender. Six-in-ten (60%) Tea Party Republicans, by contrast, are male.

Those who agree with the Tea Party are also considerably older (67% are 50 or older, compared with just 52% of other Republicans). A third (33%) of Tea Party Republicans have at least a college degree, compared with 23% of other Republicans. Similarly, Tea Party Republicans are more affluent than others affiliated with the GOP.

White evangelicals—who are 31% of all Republican voters—are 36% of those affiliated with the Tea Party.

Fully 80% of Republicans who agree with the Tea Party movement are conservative; just 19% say they are moderate or liberal. Other Republicans are more divided; among those who do not affiliate with the Tea Party, about half (48%) say they are conservative, while 51% say they are moderate (42%) or liberal (9%).

Tea Party Republicans Older, More Male, Evangelical, Educated

	All Rep/Rep lean RVs	View of Tea Party	
		Agree	Disagree /No opinion
	%	%	%
Men	50	60	43
Women	<u>50</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>57</u>
	100	100	100
18-29	15	6	21
30-49	26	26	26
50-64	37	44	32
65+	22	23	20
White	83	87	80
Black	2	*	3
Hispanic	7	6	8
College grad+	27	33	23
Some college	34	31	37
HS or less	38	35	40
Less than \$30k	23	19	25
\$30-\$75K	35	35	35
\$75K+	31	36	29
White evangelical	31	36	26
White mainline	21	17	24
Catholic	19	22	18
Unaffiliated	12	11	14
Urban	28	30	26
Suburban	50	52	48
Rural	23	18	26
Conservative	62	80	48
Moderate/Liberal	37	19	51

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Jul. 17-21, 2013. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Based on Republican and Republican leaning registered voters.

About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted July 17-21, 2013 among a national sample of 1,480 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (750 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 730 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 382 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	1,480	3.0 percentage points
Republican	318	6.4 percentage points
Democrat	446	5.4 percentage points
Independent	644	4.5 percentage points
All Rep/Rep-leaning RVs	497	5.1 percentage points
Tea Party	225	7.6 percentage points
Non-Tea Party	259	7.1 percentage points
Conservative	129	10.0 percentage points
Moderate/Liberal	128	10.1 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
JULY 2013 POLITICAL SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
July 17-21, 2013
N=1,480

QUESTIONS 1-3, 5, 7, 9-10, PREVIOUSLY RELEASED
NO QUESTIONS 4, 6, 8, 11-14

RANDOMIZE Q.15 AND Q.16

ASK ALL:

Now I have a few questions about the political parties...

[First]

Q.15 The Republican Party. Do you think the Republican Party **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** or not?

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Is too extreme			
	Jul 17-21, 2013	48	46	6
	Feb 13-18, 2013	52	42	5
	TREND FOR COMPARISON			
	<i>Please tell me whether you think each of the following description applies or does not apply to the Republican Party ... too extreme</i>			
	<i>CNN/Gallup: February, 1999</i>	56	42	3
b.	Has strong principles			
	Jul 17-21, 2013	60	33	7
	Feb 13-18, 2013	63	30	7
c.	Stands up for individual rights			
	Jul 17-21, 2013	46	48	6
d.	Is tolerant and open to all groups of people			
	Jul 17-21, 2013	33	62	6
	TREND FOR COMPARISON			
	<i>Please tell me if you think it describes or does not describe the Republican Party ... Is tolerant and open to all groups of people</i>			
	<i>NBC News/Wall Street Journal: August, 1996 (RVs)</i>	31	62	7
e.	Cares about working class Americans			
	Jul 17-21, 2013	42	54	4

RANDOMIZE Q.15 AND Q.16

ASK ALL:

[Now thinking about...]

Q.16 The Democratic Party. Do you think the Democratic Party **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** or not?

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Is too extreme			
	Jul 17-21, 2013	41	54	5
	Feb 13-18, 2013	39	56	6
	TREND FOR COMPARISON			
	<i>Please tell me whether you think each of the following descriptions applies or does not apply to the Democratic Party ... too extreme</i>			
	<i>CNN/Gallup: February, 1999</i>	39	57	3

Q.16 CONTINUED...

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
b.	Has strong principles			
	Jul 17-21, 2013	52	42	7
	Feb 13-18, 2013	57	37	6
c.	Stands up for individual rights			
	Jul 17-21, 2013	56	39	5
d.	Is tolerant and open to all groups of people			
	Jul 17-21, 2013	60	35	5
e.	Cares about working class Americans			
	Jul 17-21, 2013	56	40	4

NO QUESTIONS 17-19, 28-32, 35-39, 41-45, 53-54, 56-57, 59-60, 62, 65, 67
QUESTIONS 20-27, 33-34, 40, 58, 66 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED
QUESTIONS 46-52, 55, 61, 63-64 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

Next,

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?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.) <u>No preference</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other party</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>	<i>Lean</i> <u>Rep</u>	<i>Lean</i> <u>Dem</u>
Jul 17-21, 2013	19	29	46	3	*	2	19	18
Jun 12-16, 2013	23	33	39	3	*	2	17	15
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	26	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
Jul 16-26, 2012	22	33	38	4	*	3	14	15
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	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

PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

				(VOL.) No	(VOL.) Other	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Lean Rep	Lean Dem
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	preference	party			
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 (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=578]:

Q.68 Would you like to see Republican leaders in Washington move in a more conservative direction or a more moderate direction?

		Voters				Voters
Jul 17-21		Nov 8-11	Nov 4-7	Jun 16-20	Jan 6-10	Nov
<u>2013</u>		<u>2012</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2008</u>
54	More conservative	57	56	57	51	60
41	More moderate	35	38	37	42	35
2	No change (VOL.)	3	2	2	2	1
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	5	5	5	4

ASK DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS (PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2) [N=716]:

Q.69 Would you like to see Democratic leaders in Washington move in a more liberal direction or a more moderate direction?

		Voters				Voters
Jul 17-21		Nov 8-11	Nov 4-7	Jun 16-20	Jan 6-10	Nov
<u>2013</u>		<u>2012</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2008</u>
36	More liberal	33	34	34	35	33
57	More moderate	57	54	54	53	57
2	No change (VOL.)	4	3	4	2	2
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7	10	8	9	8

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=578]:

Q.70 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?]**

		(NJ)				
Jul 17-21		Nov 4-7	Sep 9-12	Apr 21-26	Dec 9-13	Mar 9-12
<u>2013</u>		<u>2010¹</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>
9	John Boehner	12	6	1	1	1
5	Marco Rubio	--	--	--	--	--
3	John McCain	3	6	10	8	12
3	Paul Ryan	--	--	--	--	--
3	Rand Paul	--	--	--	--	--
3	Mitt Romney	2	3	5	1	1
2	Ted Cruz	--	--	--	--	--
2	Chris Christie	--	--	--	--	--
2	Mitch McConnell	2	1	1	2	1
1	Ron Paul	--	--	--	--	--
1	Mike Huckabee	1	*	1	1	1
1	Sarah Palin	7	6	4	5	1
1	Rush Limbaugh	*	1	1	1	4

¹ "Other" includes anybody less than 1% in the current poll. Individuals with at least 1% in past polls but not in current poll not shown. Dashes in past polls indicate less than 1% (or none) of the general public.

Q.70 CONTINUED...

Jul 17-21 2013		Nov 4-7 2010 ²	(NJ) Sep 9-12 2010	Apr 21-26 2010	Dec 9-13 2009	Mar 9-12 2009
8	Other					
22	Nobody is	13	16	20	26	20
37	Don't know/Refused	45	49	46	47	48

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=578]:

Q.71 And is your overall opinion of **[INSERT ITEM; 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."]**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.) Never	(VOL.) Can't
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	heard of	rate/Ref
a. John Boehner								
Jul 17-21, 2013	43	9	34	28	9	19	15	14
Jan 9-13, 2013	39	8	31	34	9	25	11	16
Dec 5-9, 2012	41	7	34	29	8	21	18	11
Jan 11-16, 2012	32	8	25	34	9	25	18	16
Mar 8-14, 2011	41	13	28	17	5	11	25	18
Dec 2-5, 2010	41	13	28	16	3	13	28	15
Jun 10-13, 2010 (NJ)	19	6	13	15	4	10	50	16
b. Mitch McConnell								
Jul 17-21, 2013	36	7	29	24	5	19	21	19
Jan 9-13, 2013	30	5	25	23	6	17	27	21
Dec 2-5, 2010	31	7	24	19	4	15	30	20
c. Chris Christie								
Jul 17-21, 2013	46	9	37	28	6	22	15	11
Jan 9-13, 2013	49	13	35	19	6	13	16	17
d. Marco Rubio								
Jul 17-21, 2013	48	14	34	21	3	17	19	12
Feb 14-17, 2013	48	22	26	17	8	9	23	12
e. Ted Cruz								
Jul 17-21, 2013	33	9	24	14	2	11	34	19
f. Rand Paul								
Jul 17-21, 2013	52	17	35	19	4	15	14	14
g. Paul Ryan								
Jul 17-21, 2013	61	20	41	16	4	12	13	10
Oct 24-28, 2012	77	41	36	13	6	8	4	5
Oct 4-7, 2012	74	37	38	12	5	7	2	11
Sep 12-16, 2012	68	35	33	16	7	9	5	12

NO QUESTION 72

² "Other" includes anybody less than 1% in the current poll. Individuals with at least 1% in past polls but not in current poll not shown. Dashes in past polls indicate less than 1% (or none) of the general public.

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=578]:

Q.73 Looking forward to future presidential elections, do you think **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** or do you think **[INSERT ITEM]**?

Jul 17-21

2013

32	The Republican Party just needs to make minor changes to do better than in 2012
65	There are major problems the Republican Party needs to address in order to do better than in 2012
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=578]:

Q.74 To perform better in presidential elections, do you think the Republican Party mainly needs to make a stronger case for its current policy positions or does it also need to reconsider some of its policy positions? **[CODE "BOTH" AS 2]**

Jul 17-21

2013

36	Mainly needs to make a stronger case for its current policy positions
59	Also needs to reconsider some of its positions
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK IF "ALSO NEEDS TO RECONSIDER SOME POSITIONS" IN Q.74 (Q.74=2) [N=337]:

Q.74a What policy positions do you think the Republican Party needs to reconsider? **[OPEN END: ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES.] [IF NECESSARY: "Just any policies that come to mind that you think the Republican Party may need to change?"]?**

Based on Republicans and Republican leaners who say "also reconsider positions":

Jul 17-21

2013

17	Immigration
16	Abortion
9	Gay marriage/other homosexual issues
9	Jobs/Economy
6	Health care
5	Taxes
4	Guns
4	Minority/Hispanic voters (gen.)
2	Foreign policy
2	Social Security/Medicare
2	Social issues (gen.)
2	Poverty/Working class
2	National Security/Defense
2	Education
1	Debt/Deficit
1	Religion/Morality
1	Candidate selection
1	Constitution/Rights
1	Less infighting
1	Budget
1	More conservative positions (gen.)
1	More moderate positions/Compromise (gen.)
1	Women's issues
1	Environment
3	All of them
8	Other
34	Don't know/Refused

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=578]:

Q.75 In dealing with Democrats in Congress these days, do you think Republicans in Congress: **[READ; RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 FOLLOWED BY OPTION 3]**

Jul 17-21

2013

- 32 Have compromised too much
 29 Have not compromised enough [OR]
 33 Have they handled this about right
 6 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

ASK DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS (PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2) [N=716]:

Q.76 In dealing with Republicans in Congress these days, do you think Democrats in Congress: **[READ; RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 FOLLOWED BY OPTION 3]**

Jul 17-21

2013

- 31 Have compromised too much
 32 Have not compromised enough [OR]
 34 Have they handled this about right
 3 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

RANDOMIZE Q.77 AND Q.78**ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=578]:**

Q.77 Do you think nominating more women to run for office would help the Republican Party perform better in national elections, or not?

Jul 17-21

2013

- 52 Yes, help
 41 No, not help
 8 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

RANDOMIZE Q.77 AND Q.78**ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=578]:**

Q.78 Do you think nominating more racial and ethnic minorities to run for office would help the Republican Party perform better in national elections, or not?

Jul 17-21

2013

- 55 Yes, help
 37 No, not help
 8 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=578]:

Q.79 Thinking about the Republican Party's position on some issues, do you think the Republican Party is **[RANDOMIZE: too conservative/not conservative enough]**, or about right when it comes to **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**? How about on **[ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: Do you think the Republican Party is too conservative, not conservative enough, or about right when it comes to [ITEM]?**

		Too <u>conservative</u>	Not conservative <u>enough</u>	<u>About right</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Government spending Jul 17-21, 2013	11	46	40	3
b.	Abortion Jul 17-21, 2013	26	26	39	9
c.	Gay marriage Jul 17-21, 2013	30	28	31	10

Q.79 CONTINUED...

		<u>Too conservative</u>	<u>Not conservative enough</u>	<u>About right</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
d.	Immigration Jul 17-21, 2013	18	35	39	9
e.	Gun policy Jul 17-21, 2013	14	23	57	6

NO QUESTIONS 80-82**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?

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

3

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."

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REG=1) [N=1,183]:

Q.83 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]**?

Jul 17-21

2013

46	Always
23	Nearly always
13	Part of the time
14	Seldom
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

(NJ) Pew Research Center/National Journal polls
