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Majority Says Any Budget Deal Must Include Planned Parenthood Funding

Republicans Seen as More to Blame If No Budget Deal Is Reached

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
ON THIS REPORT:**

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Republicans Seen as More to Blame If No Budget Deal Is Reached

With the prospect of a government shutdown apparently decreasing, the public by a wide margin says that any congressional budget agreement must maintain funding for Planned Parenthood.

The latest national poll by the Pew Research Center, conducted Sept. 22-27 among 1,502 adults, finds that 60% say that any budget deal must maintain funding for Planned Parenthood, while 32% say that any agreement must eliminate funding for the organization.

If lawmakers fail to agree on a budget and the government does shut down, more say the Republicans (40%) than the Democrats (26%) would be more to blame; about a quarter (23%) volunteer that both sides would be equally to blame.

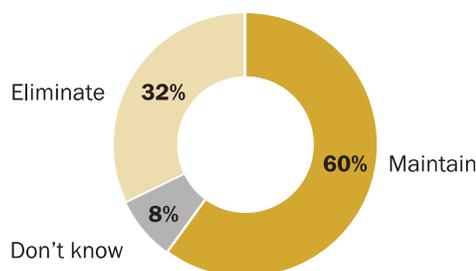
[Before the previous government shutdown in October 2013](#), when asked whether Republicans or the Obama administration would be more to blame if no budget agreement was reached, 39% said Republicans would be more to blame and 36% said the Obama administration (17% said both equally).

There are stark partisan divides in attitudes about the Planned Parenthood issue and in views of a budget compromise more generally. About eight-in-ten Democrats (83%) and 64% of independents say any budget agreement must maintain funding for the group. Two-thirds of Republicans (66%) say any agreement must eliminate Planned Parenthood funding.

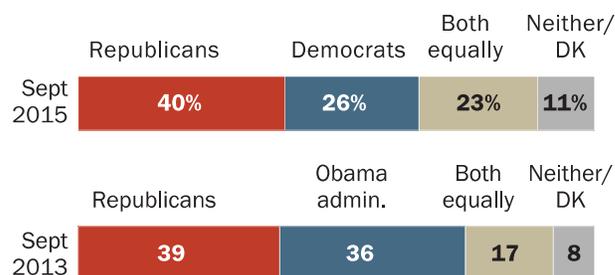
As in prior budget showdowns, the public generally favors compromise. Most Americans (58%) want lawmakers who share their views to be willing to compromise, even if that means passing a

Most Say Budget Deal Should Maintain Planned Parenthood Funding

% saying any budget agreement must ___ funding for Planned Parenthood



If the government shuts down, who is more to blame?



Source: Survey conducted September 22-27, 2015.

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budget they disagree with. Just 36% want lawmakers to stand by their principles, even if it means the government shuts down. Opinion on this measure was nearly identical in the days before the October 2013 partial government shutdown (57% compromise vs. 33% stand by principles).

As was the case in 2013, Democrats (73%) are far more likely than Republicans (40%) to say that the lawmakers who share their views should compromise, even if it results in a deal they disagree with.

Other Findings

Modest attention to budget debate. The prospects of a government shutdown have not registered widely with the public. About a quarter of Americans (26%) say they have heard a lot about the budget debate and possible shutdown, while 38% heard a little. Roughly a third (36%) say they have heard nothing at all about the budget fight and a possible shutdown.

More signs of GOP discontent. Job ratings for congressional leaders of both parties are low – 34% approve of the job performance of Democratic leaders while just 19% approve of the way Republican leaders are handling their jobs. Republicans’ ratings of the job performance of their party’s congressional leaders have plummeted this year – from 50% in February to 32% currently. About twice as many Democrats (65%) approve of the way their party’s leaders in Congress are doing their jobs.

Republicans view Boehner’s departure positively. The survey was in the field when House Speaker John Boehner announced Sept. 25 he was stepping down as speaker and resigning from the House at the end of October. Republicans and Republican-leaning independents generally view Boehner’s departure as good for the Republican Party. In polling conducted Sept. 25-27, 54% of Republicans and Republican leaners say Boehner’s exit will be good for the party while 21% say it will be bad for the GOP. Among Republicans and leaners who agree with the Tea Party, 78% view Boehner’s departure as a positive thing for the party, compared with 46% of non-Tea Party Republicans. For more on opinions of John Boehner, see [“Republicans Turned Against Boehner, Leaders After GOP’s Big 2014 Victory.”](#)

Tea Party Republicans Say Boehner’s Exit Will Be Good for the GOP

Do you think John Boehner’s departure will be good or bad for the Republican Party?

	Good %	Bad %	Other/DK %
Rep/Rep leaners	54	21	25=100
Tea Party	78	10	11=100
Non-Tea Party	46	25	30=100

Survey conducted September 25-27, 2015. Asked of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents only. N=406. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Abortion views little changed. Among the public overall, opinions about whether abortion should be legal or illegal in all or most cases have changed little over the past year. Currently, 51% say abortion should be legal in all (20%) or most (31%) cases, while 43% say it should be illegal in all (18%) or most (25%) cases. However, support for abortion has declined among conservative Republicans over the past year: Just 16% say it should be legal in all or most cases, down from 32% a year ago.

Views of the Budget Debate and Planned Parenthood Funding

In October 2013, after a partial government shutdown had begun, the public was divided over the outcome of a possible budget agreement. *At that time*, when the Affordable Care Act was at the center of the disagreement, 44% said Republicans should agree to a budget deal without cuts or delays in the health care law, while 42% said President Obama should agree to cuts or delays in the law.

Today, by a margin of almost two-to-one (60% to 32%), the public says any budget agreement must maintain funding for Planned Parenthood. But there are wide age and ideological differences in these opinions.

Majorities across age groups, except for older adults, say any budget agreement must include Planned Parenthood funding. Those ages 65 and older are divided, with 46% saying that any budget deal should maintain Planned Parenthood funding, and 41% saying it should eliminate such funding.

Republicans are internally divided over whether any budget agreement must include Planned Parenthood funding. Nearly eight-in-ten conservative Republicans (78%) say any budget agreement must eliminate funding for Planned Parenthood, twice the share of moderate and liberal Republicans (39%).

Comparable percentages of Republicans (30%) and Democrats (26%) say they have heard a lot about the budget debate and a possible government shutdown. Among those who have heard a lot about the issue, 43% say any budget

Republicans Internally Divided Over Funding Planned Parenthood

% saying any budget agreement must ___ funding for Planned Parenthood

	Eliminate %	Maintain %	DK %
Total	32	60	8=100
Male	36	55	9=100
Female	28	65	7=100
18-29	23	73	5=100
30-49	31	62	7=100
50-64	36	55	9=100
65+	41	46	13=100
College grad+	32	62	6=100
Some college	36	56	8=100
High school or less	30	61	10=100
Republican	66	25	9=100
Conserv Rep	78	16	6=100
Mod/Lib Rep	39	48	13=100
Independent	29	64	7=100
Democrat	10	83	7=100
Cons/Mod Dem	11	80	9=100
Liberal Dem	8	88	4=100

Among those who have heard ___ about the budget debate...

A lot (26%)	43	54	3=100
A little (38%)	36	57	8=100
Nothing at all (36%)	21	67	12=100

Survey conducted September 22-27, 2015. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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deal should eliminate funding for Planned Parenthood, roughly double the share among those who have heard nothing about the debate (21%).

While there is broad support for a budget compromise in principle, most of those on both sides of the Planned Parenthood funding dispute say they are unwilling to give ground when asked a follow-up question about the specifics of the issue.

Among the roughly one-third of adults (32%) who say any budget agreement must eliminate funding for Planned Parenthood, a majority – a group that constitutes 21% of the public – say it would be unacceptable to agree to a budget that maintains funding for the group, if that were the only way to avoid a government shutdown.

Conversely, most of those who favor maintaining funding for Planned Parenthood (39% of the public overall) say it would be unacceptable to agree to a budget that eliminates funding for Planned Parenthood.

Who Should Give Ground in the Dispute Over Funding Planned Parenthood?

% saying...

	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %
Any budget agreement must <u>eliminate</u> funding for Planned Parenthood	32	66	10	29
<i>If the only way to avoid shutdown is to pass bill that maintains funding for Planned Parenthood, would this be...</i>				
Acceptable	10	17	6	10
Unacceptable	21	46	4	18
Don't know	1	2	0	*
Any budget agreement must <u>maintain</u> funding for Planned Parenthood	60	25	83	64
<i>If the only way to avoid shutdown is to pass bill that eliminates funding for Planned Parenthood, would this be...</i>				
Acceptable	19	13	22	20
Unacceptable	39	11	59	42
Don't know	2	1	2	2
Don't know	8	9	7	7
	100	100	100	100

Survey conducted September 22-27, 2015.

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Among all Democrats, 59% say that it would be unacceptable to agree to a budget that eliminates funding for Planned Parenthood, if that were the only way to avoid a government shutdown. Among all Republicans, 46% say that any budget that funds Planned Parenthood would be unacceptable, if that were the only way to avoid a shutdown.

Republican Approval of GOP Leaders at New Low

Approval of the congressional leadership of both parties continues to be low among the public. In particular, ratings of Republican leaders are far more negative than they are for their Democratic counterparts. Today, 34% of Americans approve of the job Democratic leaders are doing, while just 19% approve of the job GOP leaders' job performance.

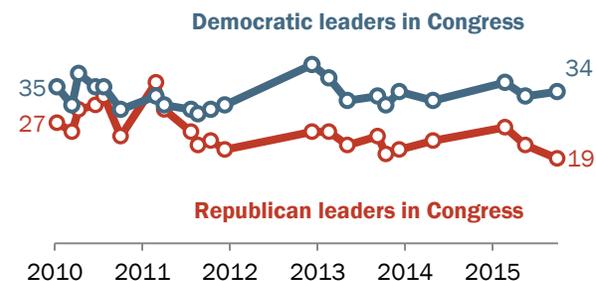
Republicans' ratings of their own party's leadership have declined once again, hitting a record low. Today, just 32% of Republicans approve of their party's congressional leaders down from 41% in May and 50% in February.

Just 15% of independents rate Republican leaders in Congress positively, which is little changed from May and six points lower than in February.

Democratic congressional leaders in also do not fare especially well among independents; 27% approve of their job performance. Among Democrats, though, ratings of their own party's leadership are much more positive than Republicans' ratings of GOP leaders. Nearly two-thirds of Democrats (65%) approve of the job performance of Democratic leaders.

Low Job Ratings for Democratic Leaders; Even Lower for GOP Leaders

% who approve of the job _____ are doing

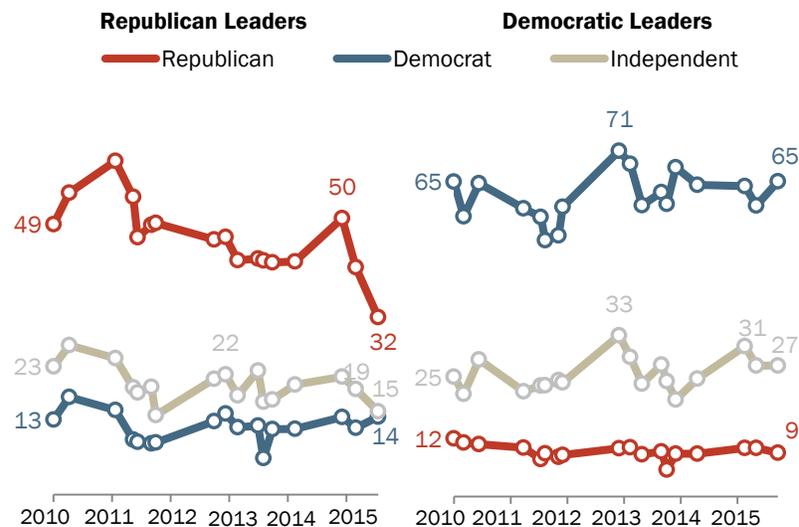


Survey conducted September 22-27, 2015.

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Republican Approval of GOP Congressional Leaders Continues to Decline

% who approve of the job of...



Survey conducted September 22-27, 2015.

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Views of Abortion

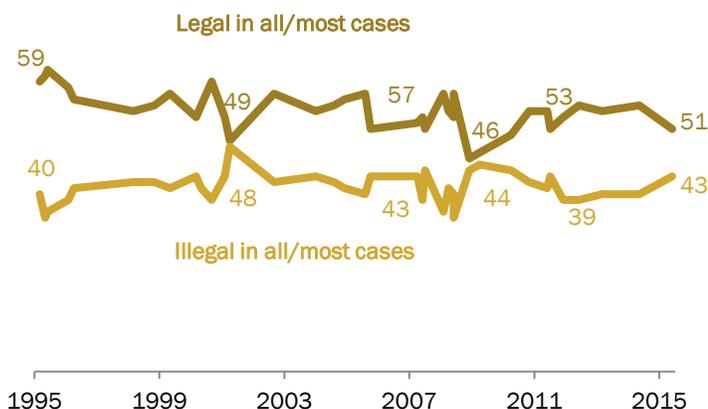
Overall views of abortion have changed little in the last year. Currently, around half of the public (51%) says that abortion should be legal in all or most cases, while 43% say it should be illegal in all or most cases. In September 2014, a slightly larger share of Americans was in favor of abortion in all or most cases (55%), while 40% were opposed.

There continues to be a substantial partisan gap in opinions about abortion. Democrats express strong support for abortion by a wide 68% to 27% margin, while Republicans show opposition to abortion by a nearly identical 67% to 28% margin.

Republican support for abortion has fallen over the past year, from 37% to 28%, with virtually all of the decline coming among conservative Republicans. Today, just 16% of conservative Republicans say abortion should be legal in all or most cases, the lowest share among this group since the question was first asked in 2007. A year ago, twice as many conservative Republicans (32%) said abortion should be legal in all or most cases.

Public Views of Abortion: 1995-2015

% saying abortion should be...



Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015.

Data from 1995-2005 from ABC News/Washington Post polls; data for 2006 from AP-Ipsos poll. Trend lines show aggregated data from polls conducted in each year. 2013, 2014, and 2015 figures are based on one poll.

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There are widening age differences in opinions about abortion. About six-in-ten (63%) of those younger than 30 say abortion should be legal in all or most cases, the highest share of any age group. Just 41% of those 65 and older support abortion, down from 46% a year ago.

In contrast to the wide partisan and age gaps, there is virtually no difference in views of abortion among men and women. Roughly half of both genders—50% of men and 52% of women—express support for abortion and a slightly smaller share (42% of men, 43% of women) are opposed.

Support for Legal Abortion Falls Sharply Among Conservative Republicans

% saying abortion should be...

	September 2014		September 2015		Change in those saying 'legal in all or most cases'
	NET Legal in all/most cases	NET Illegal in all/most cases	NET Legal in all/most cases	NET Illegal in all/most cases	
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	55	40	51	43	-4
Men	54	40	50	42	-4
Women	57	40	52	43	-5
18-29	58	39	63	36	+5
30-49	59	38	52	42	-7
50-64	56	37	48	44	-8
65+	46	48	41	50	-5
Republican	37	60	28	67	-9
Cons Rep	32	65	16	79	-16
Mod/lib Rep	54	43	55	41	+1
Independent	59	35	54	39	-5
Democrat	66	30	68	27	+2
Cons/mod Dem	57	38	62	33	+5
Lib Dem	81	17	80	16	-1

Survey conducted September 22-27, 2015.

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About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted September 22-27, 2015 among a national sample of 1,502 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (525 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 977 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 560 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://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/>

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 2013 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 (landline only, cell phone only, or both landline and cell phone), based on extrapolations from the 2014 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. The margins of error reported and statistical tests of significance are adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, a measure of how much efficiency is lost from the weighting procedures.

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	1,502	2.9 percentage points
Republican	421	5.5 percentage points
Democrat	456	5.3 percentage points
Independent	564	4.7 percentage points
<i>Q.79, about John Boehner's resignation, asked Sept. 25-27, 2015</i>		
Rep/Rep leaners	406	5.6 percentage points
Tea Party	123	10.1 percentage points
Non-Tea Party	272	6.8 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
SEPTEMBER 2015 POLITICAL SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
SEPTEMBER 22-27, 2015
N=1,502**

QUESTIONS 1-2 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**NO QUESTIONS 3-4****ASK ALL:**

Q.5 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.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Republican leaders in Congress			
Sep 22-27, 2015	19	73	8
May 12-18, 2015	22	72	6
Feb 18-22, 2015	26	66	8
Apr 23-27, 2014 (U)	23	68	10
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)	21	72	7
Oct 9-13, 2013	20	72	8
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
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

Q.5 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
June, 2001	40	40	20
May, 2001	45	36	19
April, 2001	45	30	25
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
May, 1999	38	44	18
March, 1999	38	47	15
February, 1999	37	51	12
January, 1999	38	50	12
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 ¹	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
b. Democratic leaders in Congress			
Sep 22-27, 2015	34	60	6
May 12-18, 2015	33	60	6
Feb 18-22, 2015	36	58	7
Apr 23-27, 2014 (U)	32	60	8
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)	34	58	8
Oct 9-13, 2013	31	62	7

¹ 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.5 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
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
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 ²	37	42	21
February, 2007	41	36	23
Mid-January, 2007	39	34	27
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

QUESTION 6 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

² In March 2007 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Democratic leaders in Congress?"

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

Q.7 Do you think abortion should be **[READ IN ORDER TO RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE, IN REVERSE ORDER TO OTHER HALF OF SAMPLE]**?

	Legal in all <u>cases</u>	Legal in most <u>cases</u>	Illegal in most <u>cases</u>	Illegal in all <u>cases</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>	NET <i>Legal in all/most</i>	NET <i>Illegal in all/most</i>
Sep 22-27, 2015	20	31	25	18	6	51	43
Sep 2-9, 2014	22	34	26	14	5	55	40
Jul 17-21, 2013	20	34	24	15	7	54	40
Oct 24-28, 2012	23	32	25	13	7	55	39
Apr 4-15, 2012	23	31	23	16	7	53	39
Nov 9-14, 2011	20	31	26	17	6	51	43
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	19	35	25	16	5	54	41
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	18	36	26	16	4	54	42
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	17	33	27	17	7	50	44
August 11-27, 2009	16	31	27	17	8	47	45
April, 2009	18	28	28	16	10	46	44
Late October, 2008	18	35	24	16	7	53	40
Mid-October, 2008	19	38	22	14	7	57	36
August, 2008	17	37	26	15	5	54	41
June, 2008	19	38	24	13	6	57	37
November, 2007	18	33	29	15	5	51	44
October, 2007	21	32	24	15	8	53	39
August, 2007	17	35	26	17	5	52	43
AP/Ipsos-Poll: February, 2006	19	32	27	16	6	51	43
ABC/WaPo: December, 2005	17	40	27	13	3	57	40
ABC/WaPo: April, 2005	20	36	27	14	3	56	41
ABC/WaPo: December, 2004	21	34	25	17	3	55	42
ABC/WaPo: May, 2004	23	31	23	20	2	54	43
ABC/WaPo: January, 2003	23	34	25	17	2	57	42
ABC/WaPo: August, 2001	22	27	28	20	3	49	48
ABC/BeliefNet: June, 2001	22	31	23	20	4	53	43
ABC/WaPo: January, 2001	21	38	25	14	1	59	39
ABC/WaPo: September, 2000 (RVs)	20	35	25	16	3	55	41
ABC/WaPo: July, 2000	20	33	26	17	4	53	43
ABC/WaPo: September, 1999	20	37	26	15	2	57	41
ABC/WaPo: March, 1999	21	34	27	15	3	55	42
ABC/WaPo: July, 1998	19	35	29	13	4	54	42
ABC/WaPo: August, 1996	22	34	27	14	3	56	41
ABC/WaPo: June, 1996	24	34	25	14	2	58	39
ABC/WaPo: October, 1995	26	35	25	12	3	61	37
ABC: September, 1995	24	36	25	11	4	60	36
ABC/WaPo: July, 1995	27	32	26	14	1	59	40

QUESTIONS 8-9, 11, 13, 20, 27-28, 33-36, 39, 45-47 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**NO QUESTIONS 10, 12, 14-19, 21-26, 29-32, 37-38, 40-44, 48-50**

ASK ALL:

On another subject ...

Q.51 How much if anything, have you heard about the budget debate in Washington and the possibility of a federal government shutdown in the next few weeks? **[READ IN ORDER]**

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>A little</u>	Nothing <u>at all</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Sep 22-27, 2015	26	38	36	*
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 ³	31	42	25	2
Feb 24-27, 2011 ⁴	37	34	29	*
Feb 17-20, 2011	21	35	44	*

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? **[READ IN ORDER]**

Jul 20-24 <u>2011</u>	50	A lot
	32	A little [OR]
	16	Nothing at all
	2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Q.52 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? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

		Sep 19-22 <u>2013</u>	Mar 30-Apr 3 <u>2011</u> ⁵	Feb <u>2011</u> ⁶	Aug <u>1995</u> ⁷
Sep 22-27 <u>2015</u>	Should they stand by their principles, even if that means the government shuts down [OR]	33	36	32	35
	Should they be more willing to compromise, even if that means they pass a budget you disagree with	57	55	60	60
	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	10	8	5

TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:
-----Gallup-----

³ In March 2011, the question was worded: "How much if anything, have you heard about the possibility that the federal government might shut down this year if Republicans and the Obama administration can't agree on a budget."

⁴ For both February 2011 trends, the item was asked as part of a list. The wording for February 17-20, 2011, was: "The possibility that the federal government might shut down this year if Congress and President Obama can't agree on a budget."

⁵ 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?"

⁶ 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?"

⁷ 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?"

Q.52 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...

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	Should they be more willing to compromise, even if that means they strike a deal you disagree with	
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	

NO QUESTION 53**ASK ALL:**

Q.54 If the federal government shuts down because [RANDOMIZE: Republicans and Democrats] in Congress can't agree on a budget, who do you think would be more to blame: [READ IN SAME ORDER AS ABOVE: Republicans or Democrats]?

Sep 22-27

<u>2015</u>	
40	Republicans
26	Democrats
23	Both equally (VOL.)
2	Neither (VOL.)
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:

If the federal government shuts down because [RANDOMIZE: Republicans and the Obama administration] can't agree on a budget, who do you think would be more to blame: [READ IN SAME ORDER AS ABOVE: Republicans or the Obama administration]?⁸

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

⁸ This question was asked on the same survey as the National Journal's Congressional Connection poll, also released Sept. 23, 2013.

Q.54 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...2013 Sequester

If an agreement to prevent automatic federal spending cuts is not reached before next week's deadline, who do you think would be more to blame **[READ AND RANDOMIZE: Republicans in Congress or President Obama]**?

(WP) Feb 21-24 <u>2013</u>		(U) Feb 13-18 <u>2013</u> ⁹
45	Republicans in Congress	49
32	President Obama	31
13	Both equally (VOL.)	11
1	Neither (VOL.)	1
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7

2012 Fiscal Cliff

Do you think President Obama and Republicans in Congress will reach an agreement to prevent automatic spending cuts and tax increases from going into effect before January 1st, or not? If an agreement is not reached, who do you think would be more to blame: **[READ AND RANDOMIZE: Republicans in Congress or President Obama]**?

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>	
53	Republicans in Congress
29	President Obama
10	Both equally (VOL.)
2	Neither (VOL.)
7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

2011 Government Shutdown Threat

If the federal government shuts down because **[RANDOMIZE: Republicans and the Obama administration]** can't agree on a budget, who do you think would be more to blame: **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS ABOVE: Republicans or the Obama administration]**?

Mar 30-Apr 3 <u>2011</u>		Feb 24-27 <u>2011</u>
39	Republicans	36
36	The Obama administration	35
16	Both equally (VOL.)	17
2	Neither (VOL.)	1
7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10

1995 Government Shutdown

There's a possibility the federal government might have to shut down in the next few days because the Clinton administration and the Republicans in Congress can't agree on a plan to keep it running while they work on a new budget. Whose fault do you think this mainly is—Clinton's or the Republicans' in Congress?

ABC News/Wash Post

Nov 10-13 <u>1995</u>	
27	Clinton
46	Republicans in Congress
20	Both equally (VOL.)
2	Neither (VOL.)
5	Don't know/No opinion (VOL.)

⁹ In February 13-18, 2013 survey, question was worded: "If a deficit reduction agreement is not reached before the deadline, who do you think would be more to blame?"

ASK ALL:

Q.55 As you may know, a main point of disagreement in a possible government shutdown is about Planned Parenthood. **[RANDOMIZE: Some Republicans say that any budget agreement must eliminate funding for Planned Parenthood / Democrats say any budget agreement must maintain funding for Planned Parenthood]** Which comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right?**[READ IN SAME ORDER AS RANDOMIZATION]:**

IF AGREEMENT MUST ELIMINATE FUNDING (Q.55=1) [N=519]:

Q.56 If the only way to avoid a government shutdown is to pass a bill that maintains funding for Planned Parenthood, would this be acceptable or unacceptable to you?

IF AGREEMENT MUST MAINTAIN FUNDING (Q.55=2) [N=854]:

Q.57 If the only way to avoid a government shutdown is to pass a bill that eliminates funding for Planned Parenthood, would this be acceptable or unacceptable to you?

BASED ON TOTAL:

Sep 22-27

2015

32	Any budget agreement must eliminate funding for Planned Parenthood
10	Acceptable to agree to budget with funding for Planned Parenthood
21	Unacceptable to agree to budget with funding for Planned Parenthood
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
	[OR]
60	Any budget agreement must maintain funding for Planned Parenthood
19	Acceptable to agree to budget without funding for Planned Parenthood
39	Unacceptable to agree to budget without funding for Planned Parenthood
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Disagreement over whether changes to the 2010 health care law should be included in a budget deal..

BASED ON TOTAL:

Oct 3-6

2013¹⁰

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.)

QUESTIONS 58-59, 62-64 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**NO QUESTIONS 60-61, 65-76**

¹⁰ Response options for Oct 3-6, 2013 survey were [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.]

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?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.) No preference	(VOL.) Other party	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Lean Rep	Lean Dem
Sep 22-27, 2015	26	30	40	2	*	2	15	16
Jul 14-20, 2015	22	32	41	4	*	1	15	19
May 12-18, 2015	24	32	38	3	1	2	15	18
Mar 25-29, 2015	25	30	39	4	*	2	15	17
Feb 18-22, 2015	24	31	38	4	1	1	18	17
Jan 7-11, 2015	21	30	44	3	1	1	19	18
Dec 3-7, 2014	24	31	39	3	1	2	17	17
Nov 6-9, 2014	27	32	36	2	*	1	15	16
Oct 15-20, 2014	24	33	38	4	*	1	13	17
Sep 2-9, 2014	24	33	38	3	1	2	15	15
Yearly Totals								
2014	23.2	31.5	39.5	3.1	.7	2.0	16.2	16.5
2013	23.9	32.1	38.3	2.9	.5	2.2	16.0	16.0
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
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=406]:

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion either way</u>	<u>(VOL.) Haven't heard of</u>	<u>(VOL.) Refused</u>	<u>Not heard of/ DK</u>
Sep 25-27, 2015 ¹¹	28	11	58	2	1	--
May 12-18, 2015	34	13	51	1	*	--
Mar 25-29, 2015	35	11	52	1	1	--
Feb 18-22, 2015	36	9	54	*	*	--
Jan 7-11, 2015	34	9	54	1	2	--
Dec 3-7, 2014	34	9	55	2	1	--
Nov 6-9, 2014	31	10	57	1	1	--
Oct 15-20, 2014	32	8	56	2	2	--
Sep 2-9, 2014	38	10	50	1	1	--
Aug 20-24, 2014	34	10	53	*	2	--
Jul 8-14, 2014	35	12	50	2	1	--
Apr 23-27, 2014	33	11	54	1	1	--
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	37	11	50	1	1	--
Feb 14-23, 2014	36	9	54	1	1	--
Jan 15-19, 2014	35	12	52	1	*	--
Dec 3-8, 2013	32	9	57	1	1	--
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	40	9	48	2	1	--
Oct 9-13, 2013	41	11	45	2	1	--
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	--
Dec 5-9, 2012	37	11	51	1	*	--
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 (RVs)	40	8	49	1	2	--
Oct 4-7, 2012	38	9	50	1	3	--
Sep 12-16, 2012	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	--

¹¹ Question asked September 25-27, N=406.

TEAPARTY3 CONTINUED...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion either way</u>	(VOL.) <u>Haven't heard of</u>	(VOL.) <u>Refused</u>	Not heard of/ <u>DK</u>
Feb 2-7, 2011 ¹²	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 (RVs)	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

QUESTIONS 77-78 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):**

Q.79 As you may know, Republican Speaker of the House John Boehner has announced that he will step down as speaker and resign his seat at the end of October. Overall, do you think John Boehner's departure will be good for the Republican Party or bad for the Republican Party?

BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS [N=406]:

Sep 25-27

2015¹³

54	Good for the Republican Party
20	Bad for the Republican Party
5	Not make much difference either way (VOL.)
20	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

(U)	Pew Research Center/USA Today polls
(WP)	Pew Research Center/Washington Post polls

¹² 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."

¹³ Question 79 asked September 25-27, N=665.