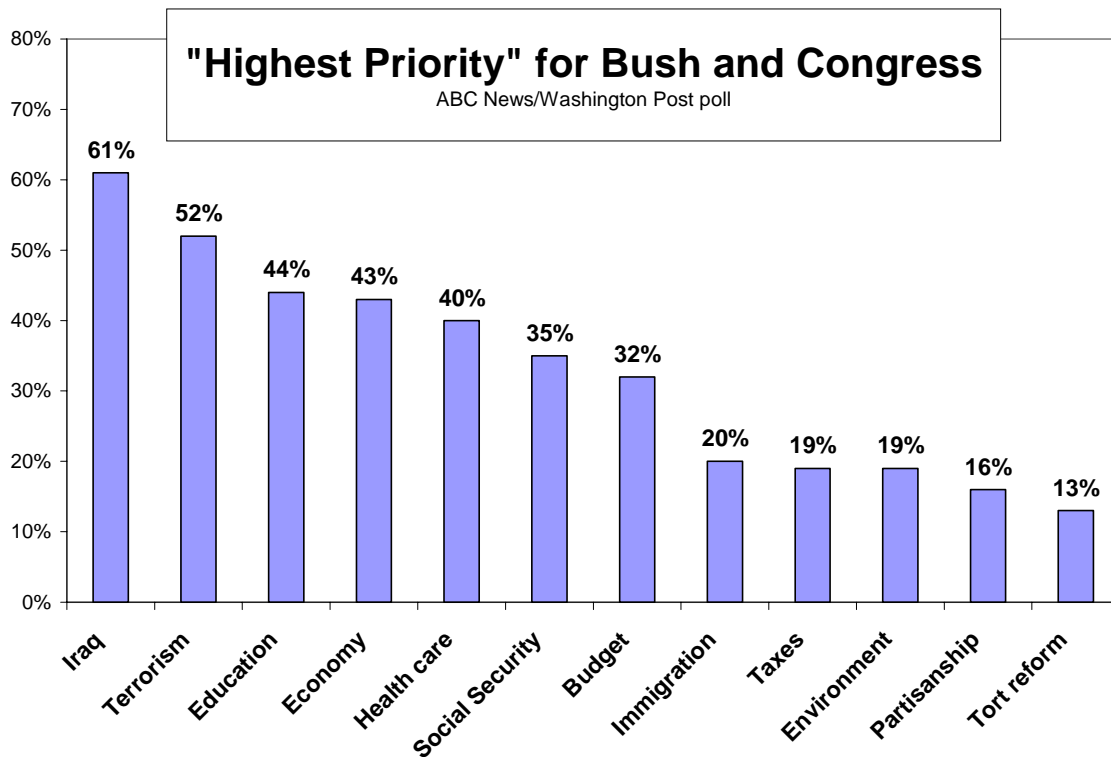


## **Iraq Looms Large Over 2<sup>nd</sup> Bush Term; Ratings are Tepid, Expectations Mixed**

George W. Bush approaches his second inauguration with a comparatively weak job approval rating, subdued expectations for his performance in office and the daunting challenge of a single issue with the potential to make or break his second term: Iraq.

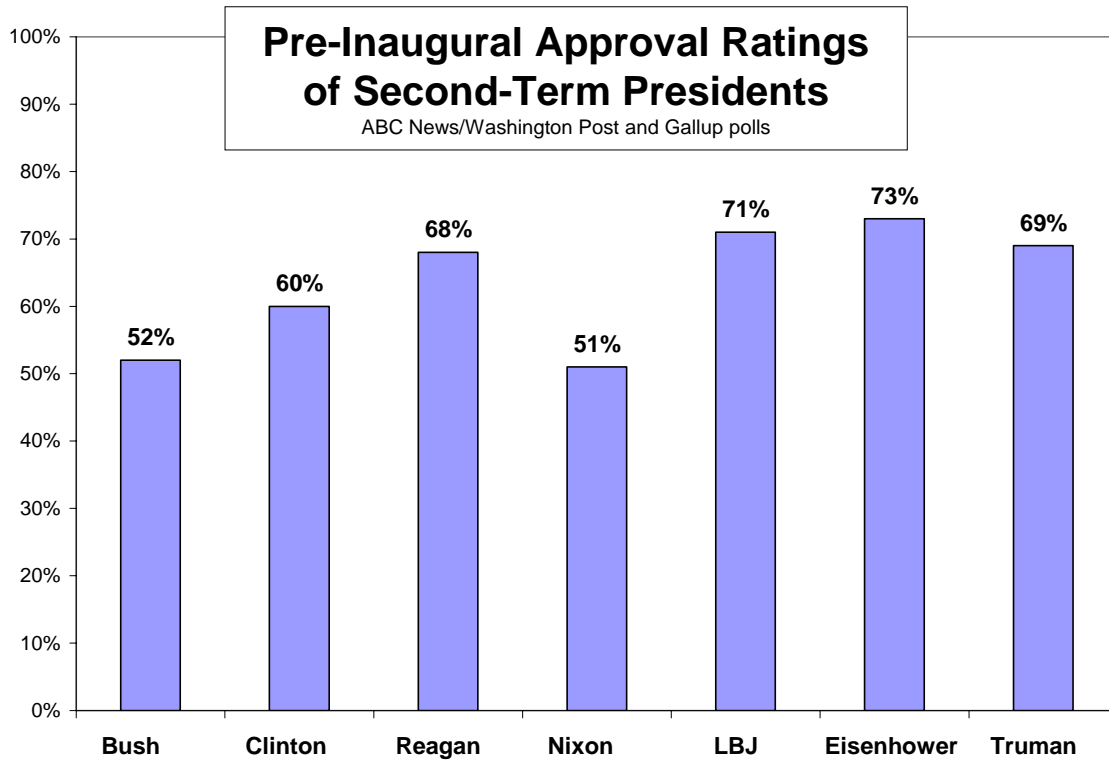
While the president has signaled an intention to focus on selected domestic issues, it's Iraq that dominates public concern. Sixty-one percent give it a "highest priority" rating for Bush and the Congress to address, easily the most among a dozen issues tested in this ABC News/Washington Post poll. Thirty-five percent, by contrast, give that level of priority to Social Security, and far fewer still to either immigration issues or tort reform.

Reflecting their political mood – hardly celebratory – Americans even express doubt about the president's inaugural plans, saying by more than a 2-1 margin, 66-32 percent, that because the country is at war they'd prefer a smaller and more subdued inauguration to the \$40 million bash (largely privately funded) the administration plans this week.



Bush's overall job approval rating stands at 52 percent, about its average across election-year 2004 and well below his career average, 64 percent. Perhaps more tellingly, of the

seven presidents elected to a second term in the last 56 years, only one – Richard Nixon – received as tepid an approval rating on the eve of his second inauguration. Indeed Bush's rating is 13 points below the pre-inaugural average for the last six second-termers.

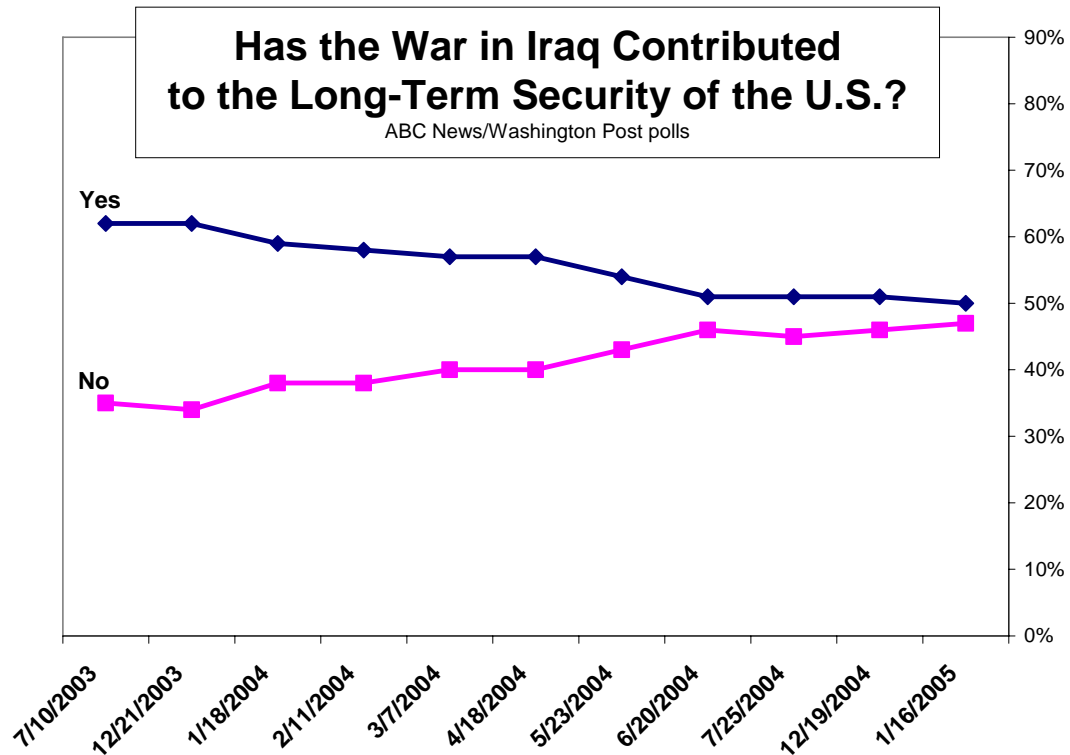


There are opportunities for Bush in public attitudes: More than half the public supports changes he's proposed in Social Security, immigration and tort reform. His approval rating for handling terrorism – the wellspring of his support – has rebounded, gaining eight points since last month. And, critically for any incumbent, economic discontent has eased, with a 13-point drop since mid-2003 in the number of Americans who give it a top priority.

There are clear challenges for Bush as well, including an advantage for the Democrats in trust to handle Social Security, and continued weak ratings for the president on this and a range of other domestic issues. But there also are challenges for the Democrats in Congress: The public by 45-39 percent says the country should go in Bush's direction rather than theirs; and by a huge 69-28 percent says the Democrats should compromise with Bush on major issues rather than simply blocking him.

In terms of the double-edged sword of expectations, 55 percent expect Bush to do a better job in his second term than in his first, about the same as it was for Bill Clinton on the eve of his second inauguration. But 29 percent expect Bush to do a worse job in his second term – 10 points higher than it was for Clinton.

IRAQ – Handling Iraq is Bush’s greatest task. Fifty-eight percent disapprove of his work there, matching his worst rating on the issue (set last May in the aftermath of the Abu Ghraib scandal). Fifty-five percent say the war was not worth fighting, about the same as last month, when it hit a new high. And the number who say the war has improved the long-term security of the United States – its fundamental rationale – has slipped beneath a majority for the first time.



The shift in public perceptions on Iraq is striking. In April 2003, as the major fighting ended, just 29 percent of Americans assigned the situation there a “highest priority” for Bush and the Congress. Today, as noted, 61 percent give it top priority – up by 45 points among Democrats, but also by 25 points among Republicans.

There is broad support for holding the Iraqi elections scheduled for later this month – 73 percent say they should go forward, up from 60 percent last month – even though most, 57 percent, are skeptical these elections will produce a stable government. A chief reason for this support is that most think the elections will move the United States closer to the day U.S. forces can be withdrawn from Iraq.

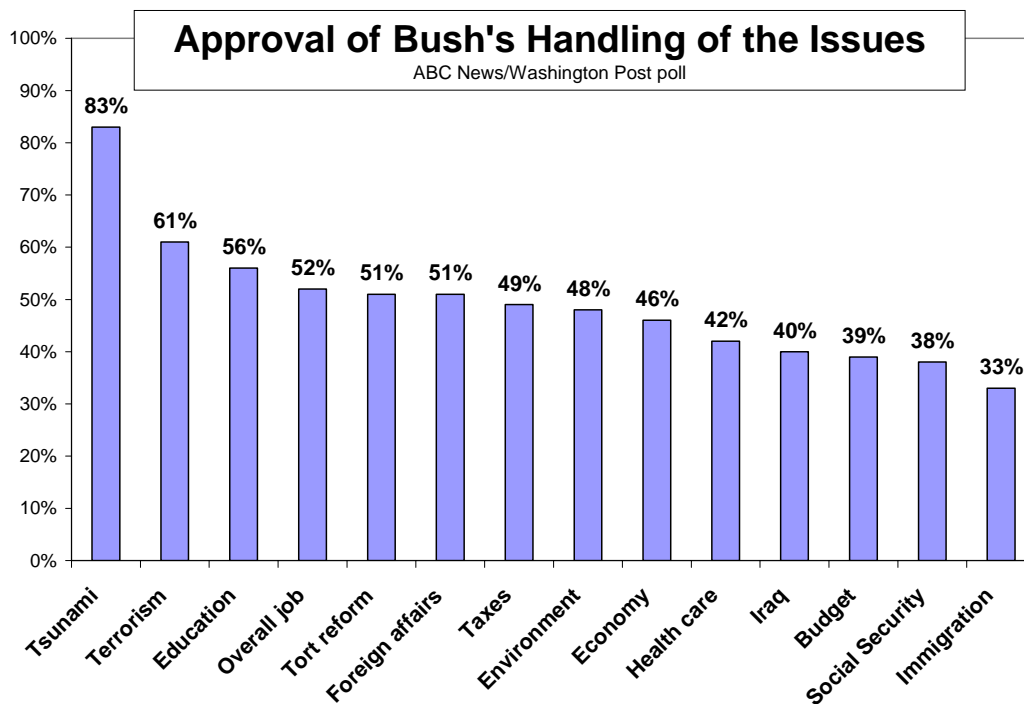
It’s notable – and perhaps a concern for the administration – how closely linked Iraq is to the president’s bottom line. Among people who think the war was worth fighting, 92 percent also approve of Bush’s work in office overall. Among those who think the war was not worth it, 79 percent disapprove of Bush’s performance more broadly.

In one heartening result for the administration – yet also a challenge to perform – 58 percent of Americans expect “substantial progress” on Iraq in Bush’s second term, second only to the 70 percent who expect good progress in the war on terrorism. Overall, though, of the dozen issues tested, majorities expect substantial progress in just half – and that does not include such heavy hitters as health care and Social Security.

PRIORITIES, PROGRESS and APPROVALS – Terrorism comes second to Iraq in public concern, with 52 percent rating it a “highest priority” issue. Next, at some distance, are education – an issue on which Bush’s rating has rebounded from something of an election-year slump – and the economy and health care. While he’s not strong on these, his approval rating on health care, at 42 percent, has inched to a career best.

Social Security and the deficit are next on the priority list; other issues a good deal lower.

	Top priority	Approve of Bush’s work	Expect major progress
Iraq	61%	40%	58%
Terrorism	52	61	70
Education	44	56	53
Economy	43	46	56
Health care	40	42	48
Social Security	35	38	46
Deficit	32	39	35
Immigration	20	33	39
Taxes	19	49	52
Environment	19	48	32
Reducing partisanship	16	NA	26
Tort reform	13	51	54



It's notable that Bush gets majority approval on just three of these issues, terrorism, education and tort reform, compared with majority disapproval on six – Iraq, the deficit, Social Security, immigration, the economy and health care. It's more of a split on three others, taxes, the environment and foreign affairs. In one other issue, his response to the South Asian tsunami disaster, Bush gets a vast 83 percent approval rating.

Comparisons to Clinton at this stage are available on some issues. Forty-six percent approve of Bush's work on the economy; it was 61 percent for Clinton just before his second inauguration. On the other hand, Bush's 51 percent approval for handling foreign affairs is close to Clinton's 54 percent in mid-January 1997.

Expectations for "substantial progress" from Bush are about the same as they were for Clinton on some issues – the economy, Social Security and health care. But they're six points lower for Bush on education, 16 points lower on the deficit and 28 points lower on the environment.

On a more personal level, half of Americans said Clinton understood the problems of average Americans; seven points fewer say the same of Bush. Indeed there are just three prominent political groups in which majorities say Bush understands their problems: Republicans, conservatives and evangelical white Protestants. Bush does better, though, as a leader who "shares your values"; 54 percent of all Americans say this is so.

**PARTISANSHIP, MODERATION and WOMEN** – Partisanship is a heavy factor in presidential approval. At the most basic, Bush gets a 91 percent job approval rating from Republicans, but just 22 percent from Democrats.

But that isn't necessarily new: There was a similar partisan gap for Clinton in January 1997. The difference is in their appeal to the center: In 1997, 61 percent of independents and 65 percent of moderates approved of Clinton's performance; today, Bush gets just 49 and 46 percent support in these same groups.

There's a difference between the sexes, too. Bush and Clinton's approval ratings at this point in their careers are nearly identical among men. But Bush's is 15 points weaker among women – who, among other factors, are more critical of his work on Iraq.

	Job approval	
	Bush, 1/05	Clinton, 1/97
All	52%	60%
Democrats	22	87
Republicans	91	28
<b>Independents</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>61</b>
Liberals	26	78
<b>Moderates</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>65</b>
Conservatives	73	40
Men	56	57
<b>Women</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>63</b>

There also are grounds for comparison with Richard Nixon, since his and Bush's pre-inauguration job approval ratings are so similar. The most striking difference is in volatility: Nixon's rating gyrated dramatically, 59 percent a month after the 1972 election, 51 percent before his second inauguration, up to 67 percent when the Vietnam peace accords were signed days later, then spiraling rapidly down in the Watergate scandal. Bush's by contrast has been steady, between 47 and 54 percent, over the last 11 months.

**SOCIAL SECURITY** – As noted, Bush has underscored three domestic issues in recent weeks – Social Security, immigration and tort reform. He has good possibilities on all three, but again, challenges as well.

On Social Security, Americans divide about evenly on the question of cutting the rate of growth in benefits for future retirees: Forty-eight percent opposed, 47 percent in favor. That's less opposition than some have suggested, given the treasured program's famed third-rail danger.

One likely factor is how the issue is presented. Some other surveys have posited a cut in benefits; this one instead posed the question as a reduction in the rate of growth, which is more specifically what's been proposed. This survey also specified the apparent size of the reduction, up to one and a half percent a year.

Another aspect of the administration's plan, partial privatization through a stock-market investment option, gets 55 percent support in this survey, about where it's been (but down from its level before the market bubble burst in 2000 and 2001). An ABC/Post poll last month, however, found this support sharply lower if it means borrowing up to \$2 trillion to pay for it.

A plan that combines these two features – reducing the rate of growth in benefits, and providing a stock-market option for contributions – wins 54 percent support, with 41 percent opposed. (Twenty percent are “strongly” in favor, 25 percent strongly against.)

Polls describing the change as a cut in benefits, rather than as a cut in the growth of benefits, have found majority opposition. Further testing is needed as the plan becomes clearer, but this suggests that ultimate public perceptions of what's cut – benefits or their rate of growth – may well be a decisive factor in its acceptability.

There are other factors as well. Working against Bush is the plurality preference for the Democrats' approach to Social Security, and his 55 percent disapproval rating for handling the issue (matching the worst of his career). So is partisanship – Republicans are 25 points more apt than Democrats to support his plan, 69 percent to 44 percent.

But working for him is belief the program is in trouble: Six in 10 Americans continue to think there won't be enough money in the system to pay their full benefits. Younger

adults are especially likely to think so, and as a result are especially likely to support the changes Bush has proposed. Support for his plan peaks at 71 percent among adults younger than 30; it's just half that, 34 percent, among senior citizens.

**IMMIGRATION** – On immigration, the public favors both a carrot and a stick approach that seems similar to Bush's, despite his low (33 percent) approval on the issue. On one hand, 77 percent say the government should do more to keep illegal immigrants out; 57 percent also favor denying them driver's licenses or other official ID, as some Republicans have proposed.

At the same time, 61 percent say illegal immigrants living and working here should be offered a chance to keep their jobs and eventually apply for legal status, rather than being deported. Interestingly this amnesty plan gets more support from Democrats (72 percent) than from Republicans (55 percent), and more from liberals than from conservatives – surely one of the very few Bush proposals that does better outside his base than within it.

**TORT REFORM** – On one further issue, Americans by 2-1 favor limits on class-action lawsuits, as Bush has proposed. Support for a \$250,000 cap on non-economic damages in medical liability is lower but still over half (52 percent when the question is made personal; a similar 56 percent if it applies to others).

Nonetheless, 57 percent also say, on principle, that companies should face the possibility of large-penalty lawsuits, both to compensate the injured and to keep hazardous products out of the market. That makes this yet another issue on which careful pathfinding is required if Bush's proposals are to prevail in the second term ahead.

**METHODOLOGY** – This ABC News/Washington Post poll was conducted by telephone Jan. 12-16, 2005, among a random national sample of 1,007 adults. The results have a three-point error margin. Sampling, data collection and tabulation by TNS of Horsham, Pa.

Analysis by Gary Langer.

ABC News polls can be found at ABCNEWS.com at <http://abcnews.com/pollvault.html>.

Media contact: Cathie Levine, (212) 456-4934.

Full results follow (\*= less than 0.5 percent).

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? Do you approve/disapprove strongly or somewhat?

	-----Approve-----			-----Disapprove-----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opin.
1/16/05	52	33	19	46	11	35	2
Compare to:							
Clinton 1/97	60	NA	NA	34	NA	NA	6
Reagan 1/85	68			28			3

Nixon*	1/73	51					37		12
LBJ	1/65	71					15		14
DDE	1/57	73					14		13
Truman	1/49	69	"	"			17	"	"

\*Nixon and previous: Gallup.

Full Bush trend:

1/16/05	52	33	19	46	11	35	2
12/19/04	48	27	21	49	12	38	2
10/20/04	50	30	20	46	11	35	4
10/17/04 LV	54	35	19	45	9	36	2
10/16/04 LV	54	35	19	44	10	34	2
10/15/04 LV	54	35	19	44	10	34	2
10/3/04 LV	53	36	17	46	11	34	1
9/26/04	50	33	18	45	13	32	5
9/8/04	52	35	17	43	11	32	5
8/29/04	50	31	19	47	13	34	3
8/1/04	47	28	18	49	13	36	5
7/25/04	50	32	19	47	13	34	3
7/11/04	48	31	17	50	11	39	2
6/20/04	47	30	17	51	13	39	1
5/23/04	47	31	17	50	14	36	3
4/18/04	51	33	18	47	13	34	1
3/7/04	50	32	18	48	12	36	2
2/11/04	50	30	21	47	14	34	2
1/18/04	58	35	24	40	9	30	2
12/21/03	59	39	21	38	15	23	3
12/14/03	57	37	20	39	10	29	5
12/7/03	53	32	21	40	13	27	7
11/16/03	57	34	23	39	11	28	4
10/29/03	56	30	26	42	13	29	2
10/13/03	53	33	20	43	13	29	4
9/30/03	54	34	20	44	15	29	2
9/13/03	58	35	23	40	14	27	2
9/7/03	56	34	22	41	13	28	4
8/11/03	59	37	22	37	14	23	4
7/10/03	59	35	24	38	13	25	3
6/22/03	68	45	23	29	11	18	4
4/30/03	71	50	22	26	17	9	3
4/16/03	74	52	22	23	9	14	3
4/9/03	77	58	19	20	6	14	4
4/3/03	71	54	16	25	7	19	4
3/23/03	68	NA	NA	27	NA	NA	4
3/20/03	67	NA	NA	28	NA	NA	5
3/2/03	62	38	23	35	13	22	4
2/23/03	60	NA	NA	34	NA	NA	6
2/9/03	64	42	21	34	14	20	3
2/1/03	62	41	21	34	13	22	4
1/28/03	62	43	19	36	13	23	2
1/27/03	59	39	21	37	15	22	4
1/20/03	59	36	23	38	16	22	2
12/15/02	66	37	28	32	12	20	2
11/4/02 LV	67	45	23	31	12	20	1
11/3/02 LV	67	45	22	32	12	20	1
11/2/02 LV	67	47	20	32	9	23	1
10/27/02	67	39	28	29	13	16	4
9/26/02	67	42	25	30	12	18	3
9/8/02	71	42	28	27	12	15	3
7/28/02	69	39	31	28	14	14	3
7/15/02	72	42	31	25	12	13	2
6/17/02	74	42	32	22	9	13	4
6/9/02	77	41	36	20	9	11	3
5/19/02	76	48	28	22	8	13	3



4/21/02	78	47	31	20	9	10	2
3/28/02	79	49	30	18	8	10	3
3/10/02	82	52	30	16	9	7	2
1/27/02	83	56	27	14	7	7	3
12/19/01	86	64	22	12	6	6	2
11/27/01	89	69	21	9	4	5	1
11/6/01	89	65	24	9	5	4	2
10/9/01	92	76	16	6	3	3	1
9/27/01	90	70	20	6	3	3	4
9/13/01	86	63	23	12	5	6	2
9/9/01	55	26	29	41	20	22	3
8/12/01	61	28	33	31	14	17	8
7/30/01	59	28	30	38	17	22	3
6/3/01	55	27	28	40	18	22	6
4/22/01	63	33	30	32	16	16	5
3/25/01	58	NA	NA	33	NA	NA	8
2/25/01	55	NA	NA	23	NA	NA	22

2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling (ITEM)?

1/16/05 - Summary Table\*

	Approve	Disapprove	No op.
a. The economy	46	52	2
b. The situation in Iraq	40	58	2
c. Social Security	38	55	7
d. Taxes	49	46	5
e. The environment	48	44	7
f. Immigration issues	33	54	13
g. The US campaign against terrorism	61	38	2
h. Health care	42	51	6
i. The federal budget deficit	39	58	3
j. Education	56	36	8
k. Restricting medical malpractice and class-action lawsuits	51	38	11
l. Foreign affairs	51	48	1
m. The U.S. response to the South Asian tidal wave, or tsunami	83	13	4

\*Half sample answered a-f, other half answered g-m.

Trend:

a. The economy

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	46	52	2

Clinton:

1/15/97	61	34	5
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Full Bush trend:

1/16/05	46	52	2
12/19/04	46	51	3
9/26/04 RV	47	50	4
8/29/04 RV	45	52	3
7/25/04	47	50	3
6/20/04	46	53	1
5/23/04	44	54	2
4/18/04	44	54	2
3/7/04	39	59	1
2/11/04	44	54	2

1/18/04	51	47	2
12/21/03	51	44	5
11/16/03	48	49	3
10/29/03	45	53	2
10/13/03	45	52	2
9/13/03	42	56	3
9/7/03	44	51	5
8/11/03	45	51	5
7/10/03	47	49	4
4/30/03	52	45	3
2/9/03	47	49	4
2/1/03	44	52	4
1/28/03	46	49	4
1/27/03	47	47	5
1/20/03	43	53	4
1/5/03	50	43	7
12/15/02	50	46	4
11/4/02 LV	53	45	2
11/3/02 LV	52	46	2
11/2/02 LV	55	43	2
10/27/02	51	43	6
10/27/02 LV	53	44	3
9/26/02	51	47	3
9/8/02	57	40	4
7/28/02	57	39	4
7/15/02	58	38	3
4/21/02	64	33	3
1/27/02	62	34	4
12/19/01	67	27	6
11/6/01	72	23	5
9/9/01	48	48	4
7/30/01	52	45	3
6/3/01	53	41	6
4/22/01	55	38	7
3/25/01	50	42	8

b. The situation in Iraq

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	40	58	2
12/19/04	42	57	1
9/26/04 RV	47	50	3
8/29/04 RV	47	51	2
7/25/04	45	53	2
6/20/04	44	55	2
5/23/04	40	58	2
4/18/04	45	54	1
3/7/04	46	53	1
2/11/04	47	52	1
1/18/04	55	42	2
12/21/03	60	39	2
12/14/03	58	38	4
11/16/03	48	48	4
10/29/03	47	51	2
10/13/03	51	47	2
9/29/03	50	47	3
9/13/03	52	46	2
9/7/03	49	47	4
8/24/03	56	37	7
8/11/03	56	41	3
7/10/03	58	41	2
6/22/03	67	30	2
4/30/03	75	22	2

Compare to: The situation with Iraq and Saddam Hussein

3/27/03	69	26	5
3/23/03	71	26	3
3/20/03	65	29	5
3/17/03	64	29	7
3/9/03	55	38	8
2/23/03	55	39	6
2/9/03	61	37	2
2/5/03	61	32	7
2/1/03	61	35	3
1/28/03	58	38	4
1/27/03	57	40	3
1/20/03	50	46	4
12/15/02	58	37	5
11/4/02 LV	56	40	4
11/3/02 LV	57	40	4
11/2/02 LV	56	41	3
10/27/02	57	38	5
9/26/02	58	39	3
9/14/02	65	31	4
8/29/02	52	36	12

c. Social Security

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	38	55	7
12/19/04	38	52	9
4/18/04	41	51	8
3/7/04	38	55	7
10/29/03	40	46	14
9/13/03	43	46	11
4/30/03	49	38	13
12/15/02	49	38	13
9/26/02	42	43	15
7/15/02	54	35	11
1/27/02	54	28	18
9/9/01	41	50	9
7/30/01	46	48	6
6/3/01	46	40	14

d. Taxes

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	49	46	5
8/29/04 RV	49	48	3
7/25/04	49	46	5
6/20/04	42	54	4
4/18/04	48	49	3
3/7/04	50	47	3
1/18/04	45	51	4
10/29/03	41	53	6
9/13/03	48	48	4
8/11/03	49	46	5
4/30/03	50	46	4
2/1/03	51	43	7
1/20/03	50	45	5
12/15/02	51	44	5

e. The environment

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	48	44	7
9/13/03	51	42	7

4/30/03	49	40	11
12/15/02	50	40	10
9/26/02*	49	40	11
7/15/02	52	39	9
1/27/02	54	31	15
9/9/01	50	44	6
7/30/01	45	49	6
6/3/01	41	50	9
4/22/01	47	41	12
3/25/01	46	41	13

f. Immigration issues

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	33	54	13
1/18/04	34	56	10

g. The US campaign against terrorism

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	61	38	2
12/19/04	53	43	3
9/26/04 RV	59	38	3
8/29/04 RV	60	37	3
7/25/04	57	40	4
6/20/04	50	48	2
5/23/04	58	39	4
4/18/04	63	35	2
3/7/04	63	34	3
2/11/04	64	34	2
1/18/04	66	33	2
12/21/03	70	28	2
10/29/03	63	35	2
10/13/03	66	30	4
9/13/03	70	27	3
9/7/03	67	28	5
4/30/03	79	19	2
2/9/03	74	23	4
2/1/03	75	21	3
1/27/03	72	26	2
1/20/03	71	25	4
12/15/02	79	20	1
11/4/02 LV	76	22	1
11/3/02 LV	77	22	3
11/2/02 LV	78	21	2
10/27/02	74	23	4
10/27/02 LV	78	20	2
9/26/02	70	28	2
9/8/02	74	24	2
7/28/02	81	17	2
7/15/02	83	15	2
5/19/02*	79	19	3
4/21/02*	81	18	2
3/10/02*	88	10	2
1/27/02	88	10	2
12/19/01*	89	9	2
10/15/01*	92	5	3

\*Asked very/somewhat follow-up

h. Health care

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	42	51	6

12/19/04	37	56	7
8/29/04 RV	39	55	6
7/25/04	38	53	9
6/20/04	39	57	4

Compare to: The cost, availability and coverage of health insurance

4/18/04	33	61	5
3/7/04	32	62	6
2/11/04	32	62	6
1/18/04	37	55	8
12/21/03	34	56	10
10/29/03	28	63	9
10/13/03	30	60	10
9/13/03	32	61	7
4/30/03	34	57	9
1/28/03	40	47	13
1/20/03	36	51	13
12/15/02	33	58	9

i. The federal budget deficit

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	39	58	3
6/20/04	39	56	5
4/18/04	34	60	6
3/7/04	30	65	5
1/18/04	35	58	7
12/21/03	37	52	10
10/29/03	32	61	7

j. Education

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	56	36	8
8/29/04 RV	52	43	5
7/25/04	49	41	9
6/20/04	51	45	5
4/18/04	51	43	6
3/7/04	50	45	5
2/11/04	47	45	8
1/18/04	55	37	9
12/21/03	47	37	15
10/29/03	55	38	7
9/13/03	56	39	6
4/30/03	59	34	7
12/15/02	62	30	8
9/26/02	61	32	7
7/15/02	62	31	6
1/27/02	71	21	8
9/9/01	61	32	7
7/30/01	63	31	5
6/3/01	57	35	8
4/22/01	60	28	12

k. No trend.

l. Foreign affairs

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
1/16/05	51	48	1
10/29/03	49	47	4

Clinton:  
 1/15/97            54                    39                    7

m. No trend.

3. Do you think Bush will do a better job as president in his second term than in his first term, a worse job or what?

	Better	Worse	Same(vol.)	No opinion
1/16/05	55	29	14	3

Clinton:  
 1/15/97            56                    19                    21                    3

4. Do you think the country should go in the direction (Bush wants to lead it), go in the direction (the Democrats in Congress want to lead it), or what?

	Bush	Democrats	Other (vol.)	Neither (vol.)	No dif. (vol.)	No opin.
1/16/05	45	39	3	6	2	5
12/19/01	54	28	4	9	6	0
9/9/01	41	42	4	6	1	5
7/30/01	42	43	4	6	3	3
6/3/01	40	42	5	7	3	3
4/22/01	46	36	4	6	3	4

5. For each issue I name, please tell me what kind of priority you think Bush and the Congress should give it - the highest priority, a high priority but not the highest, or a lower priority than that.

1/16/05 - Summary Table\*

	NET	-----High----- Highest	High	Lower	None (vol.)	No op.
a. The economy	94	43	51	5	0	1
b. The situation in Iraq	91	61	30	7	*	1
c. Social Security	90	35	55	10	0	*
d. Taxes	80	19	60	19	*	1
e. The environment	78	19	59	22	0	*
f. Immigration issues	68	20	49	28	1	2
g. The U.S. campaign against terrorism	93	52	41	6	*	1
h. Health care	94	40	54	5	*	1
i. The federal budget deficit	89	32	57	9	0	1
j. Education	95	44	52	4	0	1
k. Reducing political partisanship in Washington	56	16	41	36	1	6
l. Restricting medical malpractice and class- action lawsuits	61	13	48	36	1	1

\*Half sample answered a-f, other half answered g-l.

Trend where available:

a. The economy

	-----High-----				None	No
	NET	Highest	High	Lower	(vol.)	op.
1/16/05	94	43	51	5	0	1
4/30/03	95	56	39	4	*	1

b. The situation in Iraq

	-----High-----				None	No
	NET	Highest	High	Lower	(vol.)	op.
1/16/05	91	61	30	7	*	1
4/30/03	83	29	54	15	*	1

c. Social Security

	-----High-----				None	No
	NET	Highest	High	Lower	(vol.)	op.
1/16/05	90	35	55	10	0	*
4/30/03	88	34	54	12	*	*

d. Taxes

	-----High-----				None	No
	NET	Highest	High	Lower	(vol.)	op.
1/16/05	80	19	60	19	*	1
4/30/03	82	30	51	17	*	2

e. The environment

	-----High-----				None	No
	NET	Highest	High	Lower	(vol.)	op.
1/16/05	78	19	59	22	0	*
4/30/03	81	26	55	18	*	1

f. No trend.

g. The U.S. campaign against terrorism

	-----High-----				None	No
	NET	Highest	High	Lower	(vol.)	op.
1/16/05	93	52	41	6	*	1
4/30/03	93	48	45	7	0	1

h. Health care

	-----High-----				None	No
	NET	Highest	High	Lower	(vol.)	op.
1/16/05	94	40	54	5	*	1

Compare to: The cost, availability, and coverage of health insurance

	-----High-----				None	No
	NET	Highest	High	Lower	(vol.)	op.
4/30/03	89	50	40	10	*	*

i. No trend.

j. Education

	-----High-----				None	No
	NET	Highest	High	Lower	(vol.)	op.
1/16/05	95	44	52	4	0	1
4/30/03	94	49	45	5	1	*

k, l. No trend.

6. For each issue I've named, please tell me if you think Bush will or will not make substantial progress on it in the next four years.

1/16/05 - Summary Table\*

	Yes, will make progress	No, will not make progress	No opin.
a. The economy	56	42	2
b. The situation in Iraq	58	40	2
c. Social Security	46	53	1
d. Taxes	52	46	2
e. The environment	32	65	3
f. Immigration issues	39	57	3
g. The US campaign against terrorism	70	27	2
h. Health care	48	50	3
i. The federal budget deficit	35	62	3
j. Education	53	45	1
k. Reducing political partisanship in Washington	26	66	9
l. Restricting medical malpractice and class-action lawsuits	54	43	3

\*Half sample answered a-f, other half answered g-l.

Trend where available:

a. The economy

	Yes, will make progress	No, will not make progress	No opin.
1/16/05	56	42	2

Clinton:

1/15/97*	60	38	2
1/17/93	63	32	5

George H.W. Bush:

1/16/89	55	41	4
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\*1/15/97 and previous: "Improving the nation's economy"

b. No trend.

c. Social Security

	Yes, will make progress	No, will not make progress	No opin.
1/16/05	46	53	1

Clinton:

1/15/97*	49	46	5
----------	----	----	---

\*"Protecting the social security system"

d. No trend.

e. The environment

	Yes, will make progress	No, will not make progress	No opin.
1/16/05	32	65	3

Clinton:



1/15/97*	60	35	5
1/17/93*	68	27	6

George H.W. Bush:

1/16/89**	57	38	5
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\*"Dealing with environmental problems"

\*\*"Toxic waste and other environmental problems"

f,g. No trend.

h. Health care

	Yes, will make progress	No, will not make progress	No opin.
1/16/05	48	50	3

Clinton:

1/15/97*	46	52	2
----------	----	----	---

1/17/93	68	27	5
---------	----	----	---

\*1/15/97 and previous: "Improving the cost and availability of health care in this country"

i. The federal budget deficit

	Yes, will make progress	No, will not make progress	No opin.
1/16/05	35	62	3

Clinton:

1/15/97*	51	45	4
----------	----	----	---

1/17/93	52	42	7
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George H.W. Bush:

1/16/89	47	48	5
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\*1/15/97 and previous: "Dealing with the federal budget deficit"

j. Education

	Yes, will make progress	No, will not make progress	No opin.
1/16/05	53	45	1

Clinton:

1/15/97*	59	37	4
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1/17/93*	70	27	2
----------	----	----	---

George H.W. Bush:

1/16/89**	61	35	4
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\*"Improving education"

\*\*"The quality of education in the public schools"

k,l. No trend.

7. Which of the following comes closer to your views: Because the election was close, Democrats in Congress should not compromise with Bush on major issues, even if the result is nothing gets done on some of these issues OR because Bush won the election, Democrats in Congress should find ways to compromise with him on major issues, even if the Democrats have to agree to things they find objectionable

Democrats should not compromise	Democrats should find ways to compromise	No opinion
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8. Please tell me whether the following statement applies to Bush, or not.

1/16/05 - Summary Table

	Yes	No	No op.
a. He understands the problems of people like you	43	56	1
b. He shares your values	54	45	1

Trend:

b. He understands the problems of people like you

	Yes	No	No op.
1/16/05	43	56	1

Clinton:

1/15/97	50	49	2
---------	----	----	---

Full Bush trend:

1/16/05	43	56	1
5/23/04	42	57	1
4/18/04	41	57	2
3/7/04	41	57	2
2/11/04	41	57	2
1/18/04	43	56	1
12/21/03	45	53	2
10/29/03	40	58	2
9/13/03	48	51	1
4/30/03	51	48	1
12/15/02	51	47	2
7/15/02	57	41	2
1/27/02	61	37	2
7/30/01	45	54	2
4/22/01	47	51	2
11/4/00 LV	49	46	5
10/24/00 LV	50	46	3
10/15/00 RV	46	46	7
10/9/00 RV	50	44	6
9/6/00 RV	47	49	4
8/20/00 RV	50	46	5
7/23/00 RV	44	51	5
7/23/00	44	51	5
6/11/00	48	47	5
4/2/00	48	46	6
3/11/00	47	47	6
2/27/00	43	51	6
2/6/00	43	52	5
1/16/00	46	49	6
12/15/99	47	46	7
10/31/99	54	39	7
9/2/99	50	39	11
3/14/99	52	27	21

b. He shares your values

	Yes	No	No op.
1/16/05	54	45	1
5/23/04	49	50	1

9. When you think about how the Bush Administration may deal with (ITEM), do you feel mostly (hopeful) or mostly (fearful), or would you say your feelings are mixed?

1/16/05 - Summary Table

	Hopeful	Fearful	Mixed	No opin.
a. Environmental policy	35	27	35	2
b. Same-sex marriage	35	27	35	3
c. Abortion	36	26	35	3
d. Appointing judges to the U.S. Supreme Court	43	26	29	2
e. The situation in Iraq	41	38	20	*
f. Social Security	35	37	27	1
g. The economy	43	31	24	1

10. All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

	----Worth fighting----			----Not worth fighting---			No op.
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	
1/16/05	44	32	12	55	10	45	1
12/19/04	42	31	11	56	10	47	2
10/3/04 LV	49	34	15	48	11	37	3
9/26/04 LV	48	36	12	50	7	43	2
RV	46	35	12	51	8	42	3
9/8/04 RV	51	38	13	45	10	34	4
8/29/04 RV	48	34	14	50	11	39	2
7/25/04	49	36	13	48	11	37	3
6/20/04	47	32	14	52	13	39	2
5/23/04	48	35	13	50	13	37	1
5/6/04	49	NA	NA	47	NA	NA	5
4/18/04	51			47			2
3/7/04	52			44			3
2/11/04	48			50			2
1/18/04	56			41			3
12/21/03	59			39			2
12/14/03	53			42			5
11/16/03	52			44			4
10/29/03	54			44			2
10/13/03	54			44			2
9/13/03	61			37			2
9/7/03	54			42			4
8/24/03	57			37			5
8/11/03	61			35			4
7/10/03	57			40			3
6/22/03	64			33			3
4/30/03	70	"	"	27	"	"	4
Gulf War:							
2/2/92*	66	NA	NA	32	NA	NA	2
7/28/91	67			30			3
6/2/91	70			26			3
3/4/91	86	"	"	13	"	"	1
*2/2/92 and previous: "the Persian Gulf war"; 3/4/91: "this war"							

11. Do you think the war with Iraq has or has not contributed to the long-term security of the United States? IF YES: Has it contributed to the long-term security of the United States a great deal, or somewhat?

	-----Contributed-----			Has	No
	NET	Great deal	Somewhat	not	opin.
1/16/05	50	30	21	47	3
12/19/04	51	27	23	46	4
10/3/04 LV	53	32	22	42	4
9/26/04 LV	54	36	18	43	3
RV	54	36	18	42	4
9/8/04 RV	57	36	22	40	3
8/29/04 RV	54	33	20	42	4
7/25/04	51	32	19	45	3
6/20/04	51	28	23	46	2
5/23/04	54	30	24	43	3
4/18/04	57	33	24	40	3
3/7/04	57	29	29	40	3
2/11/04	58	32	26	38	4
1/18/04	59	34	25	38	3
12/21/03	62	34	29	34	4
7/10/03*	62	33	29	35	3

\*"did or did not"

12. As you may know, elections for a new national government in Iraq are scheduled for later this month. Do you think the Iraqi elections should be (held as scheduled), or (put off until a later date)?

	Held as scheduled	Put off until a later date	No opinion
1/16/05	73	23	4
12/19/04	60	34	6

13. How confident are you that these elections will produce a stable government that can rule Iraq effectively - very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not confident at all?

	-----Confident-----			-----Not confident-----			No
	NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Not too	At all	opin.
1/16/05	42	6	36	57	29	27	1
12/19/04	44	6	38	54	29	25	2

14. Do you think holding these elections will or will not bring the United States closer to the day U.S. forces can be withdrawn from Iraq?

	Will	Will not	No opinion
1/16/05	57	39	4

15. On another subject, what do you think of the nation's Social Security system? Do you think that by the time you retire there will be enough money in the system to pay you the benefits you are entitled to, or do you think there will not be enough money left to pay you benefits?

	Enough	Not enough	Not covered (vol.)	No opin.
1/16/05	36	60	1	4
12/19/04	32	63	1	4
5/10/00	38	51	3	7
5/4/97	27	66	3	4
8/22/95	23	73	0	4

11/19/84            29            59            2            9

16. One idea to help keep the Social Security system funded is to reduce the rate of growth in guaranteed benefits for future retirees by up to one and a half percent a year. Would you support or oppose this reduction in the rate of growth in benefits for future retirees as a way to help keep Social Security funded?

	Support	Oppose	No opinion
1/16/05	47	48	5

17. Another idea would let workers put some of their Social Security savings into stocks or bonds if they wanted to. That could produce higher or lower benefits depending on how the investments perform. Would you support or oppose this stock-market option for Social Security?

	Support	Oppose	No opin.
1/16/05	55	41	4

Compare to: Would you support or oppose a plan in which people who chose to could invest some of their Social Security contributions in the stock market?

	Support	Oppose	No opin.
12/19/04	53	44	3
7/15/02	52	45	3
4/22/01	53	46	2
3/25/01	52	45	3
10/30/00 LV	58	35	8
9/6/00 RV	59	37	4
5/10/00	64	31	5

18. What would you think of a plan that included both these ideas - a reduction in the rate of growth in Social Security benefits for future retirees, and a stock market option for Social Security contributions? Would you support or oppose that? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

	-----Support-----			-----Oppose-----			No opin.
	NET	Strg.	Smwt.	NET	Smwt.	Strg.	
1/16/05	54	20	34	41	16	25	5

19. Who do you trust to do a better job handling Social Security, (Bush) or (the Democrats in Congress)?

	Bush	Dems	Both (vol.)	Neither (vol.)	No opin.
1/16/05	37	50	2	8	3
4/30/03	43	50	1	3	3
9/9/01	41	50	1	4	4
7/30/01	42	51	1	5	2
6/3/01	38	52	1	5	3

20 Held for release.

21. Officials say Bush's inauguration ceremonies next week will cost about 40 million dollars, nearly all of it coming from private donations. Some people say that because the country is at war, it would be better to have a smaller

and more subdued inauguration. Others favor continuing the country's tradition of large inaugural celebrations. Which of these views comes closer to your own?

	Smaller inauguration	Large inauguration	No opinion
1/16/05	66	32	2

22. (HALF SAMPLE) On the subject of lawsuits: Some people say it's (good) for companies to face the possibility of paying very big penalties in lawsuits, (because it compensates people who are hurt and also makes companies think twice before selling dangerous products.)

Others say it's (bad) (because these lawsuits may be frivolous and the cost of the lawsuits gets passed on to customers as higher prices.)

Which of these do you agree with more - do you think companies should or should not face the possibility of paying very big penalties in lawsuits?

	Should face penalties	Should not face penalties	No opinion
1/16/05	57	37	6

23. (HALF SAMPLE) Thinking now of medical lawsuits: Say you are injured by bad medical care, and you sue the doctor, hospital or drug company. Would you support or oppose a law saying the most you can get is 250 thousand dollars, plus your actual losses for things like medical bills and lost income?

	Support	Oppose	No opinion
1/16/05	52	47	1

24. (HALF SAMPLE) Thinking now of medical lawsuits: Say someone is injured by bad medical care, and they sue the doctor, hospital or drug company. Would you support or oppose a law saying the most they can get is 250 thousand dollars, plus their actual losses for things like medical bills and lost income?

	Support	Oppose	No opinion
1/16/05	56	41	3

25. (HALF SAMPLE) Class-action lawsuits are lawsuits in which groups of people who say they've been injured by a product get together to sue. Would you support or oppose a new law putting tighter limits on who can file class-action lawsuits and how much money they can win in damages?

	Support	Oppose	Only limit who can file (vol.)	Only limit damages (vol.)	No op.
1/16/05	66	31	*	*	2

26. (HALF SAMPLE) Do you think the United States is or is not doing enough to keep illegal immigrants from coming into this country? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

	----Doing enough-----			---Not doing enough---			No opin.
	NET	Strg.	Smwt.	NET	Smwt.	Strg.	
1/16/05	20	9	11	77	18	58	4

27. (HALF SAMPLE) Do you think illegal immigrants who are living and working in the United States now (should be offered a chance to keep their jobs and

eventually apply for legal status), or do you think they (should be deported back to their native country)?

	Offered chance to keep jobs/apply	Deported	No opin.
1/16/05	61	36	3

28. (HALF SAMPLE) Would you support or oppose a law that would prohibit states from giving drivers licenses or any other official photo ID to illegal immigrants?

	Support	Oppose	No opinion
1/16/05	57	40	3

\*\*\*END\*\*\*